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Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

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Table of Contents

Preface 9

List of Figures 11

1. Florian Wöller/Ueli Zahnd
Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology: Introduction 13

I. Dominican Identities and Cultures of Expertise

2. Jan-Hendryk de Boer
Giving Advice to the Pope
Dominicans as Experts During the Pontificate of Pope John XXII 23

3. Marcel Bubert
Black Friars as Heresy Experts
Dominican Identities and Inquisitorial Expert Culture
in Late Medieval France and Aragon 43

4. Isabel Iribarren
The Monzón Affair (1387–1403) and the Construction
of a Dominican Thomist Identity 59

5. Ulrike Treusch
The Grabow Case
An Example of Dominican Identity at the Council of Constance 79

II. Preaching and Liturgy

6. Christian Troelsgård
Mnemonic Verse, Theology, and Pedagogy
in Augustinus de Dacia's († 1285) *Rotulus pugillaris* 93

7. Carol J. Williams
Guy of Saint-Denis and Jerome of Moravia
on the Modally Sequential Office 109

8. Alberto Ferreiro
In Vigilia Sancti Iohannis Babtiste
St Vicent Ferrer on the Vigil of John the Baptist in a Catalán Sermon 123

9. Kristin Hoefener
Liturgical Chant and Devotional Practices
in Late Medieval Dominican Nunneries 139

III. Memory and Material Cultures

10. Marika Räsänen
Rethinking Relic Devotion in Medieval Dominican Culture 161

11. Kirsten Schut
Lay Death and Burial in Dominican Habits 181

12. Christian Etheridge
The Iconography of Dominican Saints Found on the
Claus Berg Altarpiece Made for the Priory of St Nicholas
in Aarhus, Denmark 197

IV. Dionysian Theology

13. J. Cornelia Linde
Pseudo-Dionysian Thought in Early Dominican Theology
The Concept of *Ordo* in Guerric of St Quentin's *In Lamentationes* 225

14. Samuel Baudinette
Between Philosophical and Christian Contemplation
The Role of Dionysius in the Writings of Albert the Great 241

15. Constant J. Mews
Dionysius, *Theologia*, and Thomas's Final *Summa* 265

V. Albert the Great and the Plurality of Dominican Thought

16. Amalia Cerrito
Faith and Natural Philosophy in Albert the Great's Account
of the *generatio Christi* 283

17. Marco Vorcelli
The Book of Job Through the Lens of the *Nicomachean Ethics*
Aristotelian Fortitude and Virtuousness of Job's Lamentation
in Albert the Great's Commentary on Job 6:11–12 297

18. Paul D. Hellmeier
Neo-Platonic Ways and Levels of Knowledge in the Interpretation
of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Berthold of Moosburg 311

VI. Dominicans on Prayer

19. Jonathan Reinert
Thomas Aquinas on Petitionary Prayer and Divine Providence 327

20. Anja Bork
Meister Eckhart on Petitionary Prayer and the Relationship between God and Human 345

21. Andreas Zecherle
Johannes Tauler on Petitionary Prayer
An Attempt at Bridging the Gap Between Ecclesiastical Tradition and Mystical Thought 359

VII. Dominicans and the 'Others'

22. Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen
The Dominicans and 'the Others'
The Friars Preachers as Vanguard Against Pagans, Orthodox, Jews, Muslims, and Heretics. The Case of the Baltic Sea Region 373

23. Cheryl Midson
The Dominican Order and Eastern Christianity in the Thirteenth Century 395

24. Volker Leppin
Just a Quarrel of Monks?
Dominicans, Augustinians and the Early Reformation 409

List of Contributors 425

Index of Names 427

Index of Places 432

Index of Subjects 435

Mnemonic Verse, Theology, and Pedagogy in Augustinus de Dacia's († 1285) *Rotulus pugillaris*

Christian Troelsgård

The prologue of the *Rotulus pugillaris* ("The Tiny Manual") proclaims that the work was aimed at the education and examination of the young friars of the Dominican province of Dacia in Scandinavia, of which Augustinus was prior provincial for two periods, 1261–1266 and 1272–1285.[1] The fifteen chapters (*tractatus*) of the *Rotulus pugillaris* are interspersed with forty-seven mnemonic verses, mainly in hexameter, placed towards the end of the respective chapters or paragraphs as a form of brief summary.[2] Ever since Henri de Lubac used the first pair of hexameters from the *Rotulus pugillaris* (*Líttera gésta docét* [...]) as a motto for his magisterial work *Exégèse médiévale*,[3] these iconic verses have

[1] Editions: Augustinus de Dacia: *Rotulus pugillaris,* ed. Angelus Maria Walz: "Augustini de Dacia O.P. 'Rotulus pugillaris', examinatus atque editus", in *Angelicum* 5 (1928), pp. 380–406 (introduction), and *Angelicum* 6 (1929), pp. 253–278 and pp. 548–574 (text); Augustinus De Dacia: *Rotulus pugillaris*, ed. Angelus Maria Walz: "Des Aage von Dänemark 'Rotulus pugillaris'", in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 16 (1955), pp. 135–194; Augustinus De Dacia: *Rotulus pugillaris,* ed. Christian Troelsgård, Copenhagen 2021, available at https://www.jggj.dk/rotulus.pdf (accessed on July 25, 2024). General studies and introductions: Walz, Angelus Maria: "Der 'Rotulus pugillaris' des Aage von Dänemark (d. 1285) im Licht dominikanischer Theologiepflege", in *Antonianum* 20 (1945), pp. 369–400; *id.*: "Des Aage von Dänemark 'Rotulus Pugillaris' im Lichte der alten dominikanischen Konventstheologie", in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 15 (1954), pp. 198–252; Jensen, Kurt Villads: "Augustinus de Dacia", on the website Borgehammar, Stephan/Friis-Jensen, Karsten/Mortensen, Lars Boje/Ommundsen, Åslaug, eds.: *Medieval Nordic literature in Latin: A website of authors and anonymous works c. 1100–1530,* https://medieval.wiki.uib.no/Augustinus_de_Dacia (accessed on July 3, 2025); Jakobsen, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig: "Fr. Augustinus de Dacia OP and his Rotulus pugillaris", https://jggj.dk/Augustinus.htm (accessed on March 31, 2025).

[2] Châtillon, François: "Vocabulaire et prosodie du distique attribué à Augustin de Dacia sur les quatre sens de l'Écriture", in *L'homme devant Dieu – Mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac* (Théologie, 57), vol. 2, Paris 1964, pp. 17–28, addressed some metrical particularities in the first two hexameters of the *Rotulus* as compared to Classical Latin verse. It seems, however, that the metrical profile of the *Rotulus* verses generally complies with medieval Latin versification, the most important differences from the classical tradition being the facultative shortening of ō at end of words and the treatment of Greek words like *allegoría* with the prosody ¯ ◡ ◡ ¯ ◡, cf. Norberg, Dag: *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification,* ed. and trans. Jan Ziolkowsky, Washington 2003, especially pp. 12–22. In this article, I render Latin dactylic verse with accents on the first syllable of each metrical foot and a vertical stroke (|) at *caesurae* in pentameters. Hexameters are separated with a vertical stroke in English prose translations to emphasize the performative and rhythmical properties of didactic verse.

[3] Lubac, Henri: *Exégèse médiévale, Les quatre sens de l'Écriture,* parts 1–4, vols. 1–2, Paris 1959–1964, vol. 1, pp. 23–24.

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repeatedly been quoted in studies on medieval exegesis and the fourfold sense of Scripture.[4] I shall here approach Augustinus de Dacia's use of mnemonic verse in the *Rotulus pugillaris* as an expression of thirteenth-century pedagogy and theology, pursuing its plausible Dominican and Franciscan contexts together with other possible links to the use of didactic poetry in cathedral schools and the early universities. Finally, I briefly consider the late medieval reception of mnemonic verses with relation to those in the *Rotulus pugillaris*, in Latin and in vernaculars.

1. The Pedagogical Scope of the *Rotulus pugillaris*

In the prologue, which is only preserved in one of the two extant manuscripts,[5] Augustinus states that the work is indeed small in size.[6] The core of the science of theology, he says, has been condensed and explained in simple words.[7] Therefore, he refers young friars who want to read more to his own slightly larger work, though still a *summula*, entitled *Compendiosum breuiarium theologice* ("A short and concise introduction to the theological science"), which unfortunately is lost. Consequently, it has been discussed whether the *Rotulus pugillaris* could or should be supplemented with further readings to fulfil the basic Dominican syllabus in its Scandinavian setting, and whether it can function as a witness to educational practice among Dominicans in general.[8] With respect to its status as a textbook for young friars written by a prior provincial, the *Rotulus* has also

[4] Recently quoted, for example, by Nieuwenhove, Rik van: *An Introduction to Medieval Theology*, Cambridge 2012, p. 47 and Spurrell, Mark: *The Symbolism of Medieval Churches. An Introduction*, Abingdon/New York 2020, pp. 28 and 153. Another recent study with an updated reference list on the two verses is Harrington, Jay: "Augustine of Dacia O.P. (d. 1285) and the Fourfold Sense of Scripture: The Bible in the Thirteenth Century", in ed. Harrington, Jay: *Christian Faith and the Power of Thinking: A Collection of Essays Marking the 800th Anniversary of the Founding of the Order of Preachers in 1216*, Chicago 2017, pp. 35–66.

[5] MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B X 9 (xiv–xv), *Rotulus* on ff. 37r–69r; the other manuscript is MS Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C 647 (xiv 2/2), ff. 159r–176v. The Basel manuscript was first identified by Morin, Germain: "A travers les manuscrits de Bâle. Notes et extraits des plus anciens manuscrits latins de Bâle", in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 26 (1927), pp. 175–249: 222–223. The Uppsala manuscript was identified, on Angelus Walz's instigation, by Nelson, Axel: "Ett återfunnet arbete af provinsialpriorn Augustinus de Dacia", in *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 15 (1928), pp. 199–202.

[6] It comprises about 17,000 words. For comparison, Bonaventure's *Breuiloquium* consists of c. 57,000 words, and Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg's *Compendium theologicae ueritatis* has about 150,000.

[7] Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris* 1 (prologus), ed. Troelsgård, p. 2, ll. 5–6/ed. Walz, p. 237: "[...] simplicibus ad sciendum in unum quasi 'Rotulum pugillarem' breuiter collecta redegi". Walz 1954, p. 237, understood *simplicibus* as 'for simple or uneducated <people/friars>', which I read as 'with simple <words/means>', since the target group of the work is explicitly mentioned immediately above in the same sentence (*ibid.*, ll. 1–3): "pro instructione iuuenum fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum et aliorum qui pro tempore ob salutem animarum predicacioni et confessionum audicioni sunt exponendi."

[8] Mulchahey, Michèle: *"First the Bow is Bent in Study...": Dominican Education before 1350* (Studies and Texts 132), Toronto 1998, p. 204, describes the work as follows: "The *Rotulus*

been compared to Simon of Hinton's *Summa iuniorum* (written c. 1255–1261), with which it has a certain thematic overlap.[9] Differences in selection, sequence, and depth of treatment, however, seem to indicate that there is no direct correlation.[10]

Apart from references to Scripture (*passim*), liturgical formulas (*passim*), and St Augustine's works (23 times), the most frequent *auctoritates* cited in the *Rotulus* are the *Glossa ordinaria* (10), Gratian's *Decretum* (8), works by Gregory the Great (5), Augustinus de Dacia's own *Breuiarium* (3), and Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de paenitentia* and *Summa de matrimonio* (3). Most of the references seem to be offered to corroborate the authority of the points made. Only with regard to the last two works mentioned do we find encouragement, but not any directives, to read more. My assumption is that the author truly only intended to summarize the most necessary aspects of the subject matter in this short treatise so as to provide a foundation for the examination and authorization of the young friars. The list of authorities underlines that the purpose of the *Rotulus* was to guarantee that the Dominican *iuvenes* mastered the basics in terms of preaching the Gospel and administering ecclesiastical penance. The goal of developing individual piety and Christian values (regarding the theological nucleus of the text) and stabilizing society and saving souls (regarding the quite extensive presence of canon law components) complies with the pastoral mission of the Dominican Order. At this basic level of education, the use of mnemonic verse to sum up—and sometimes to supplement or clarify—the main points delivered in the text was a powerful tool. Also, the persistent structuralization of subject matters in lists of e.g. two, three, four, or seven items, as in contemporary sermons and other theological literature, would make it easy for students to reproduce the core contents in a semi-oral didactic culture. In addition, definitions of technical terms, (pseudo-)etymologies, and the acronym SALIGIA to remember the seven deadly sins (*superbia, avaritia,* etc.) emphasize the basic pedagogical nature of the *Rotulus pugillaris.*

2. Structure and Models of the *Rotulus pugillaris*

While working with the *Rotulus pugillaris,* I frequently came upon close similarities in the sequence of subject matter between this work and Bonaventure's *Breuiloquium,* dated c. 1257. A number of passages, which could have been paraphrased from Bonaventure's text, also suggest a close relationship between the

pugillaris is Aage of Denmark's thumb-nail sketch of the training he expected the convents in Scandinavia to impart to their sons."

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 206–207. There is no complete modern edition of Simon of Hinton's work, but it was published together with the works of Jean Gerson, ed. Louis Ellies du Pin*: Joannis Gersonii* [...] *Opera Omnia,* vol. 1, Antwerp 1706, cols. 234–422, under the title *Compendium Theologiae.* The identity was established by Dondaine, Antoine: "La Somme de Simon de Hinton", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 9 (1937), pp. 5–22 and 205–218.

10 Hinton's work includes a selection of mnemonic verses, but the intersection with those contained in the *Rotulus* is better interpreted as independent borrowings, mainly from Raymond of Peñafort's works.

two. Alongside shorter literal coincidences, the most evident link is the borrowing in the *Rotulus pugillaris* of the last sentence from the last chapter of the *Breuiloquium*.[11] Fig. 6.1 compares the general layout of the two works. The left column lists the Latin rubrics of the *Rotulus pugillaris*, while the right provides my translation with a summary (in italics) of coincident subject matters from the chapters and parts of the *Breuiloquium*.

Fig. 6.1 Rubrics of the *Rotulus pugillaris* and the *Breuiloquium*

1. In primo tractatur de introductoriis sciencie theologice	1. Introductory matter to the theological science 0. Prologue on theological science (*scripture and exegesis*)
2. In secundo de fide, symbolis et fidei articulis.	2. On faith, the creeds, and the Articles of Faith 1.1–4 The Trinity and the faith
3. In tercio de angelis et animabus	3. On angels and souls 2.6–11 On the creation of the world (*spiritual creatures*)
4. In quarto de gratia et eius differenciis	4. On grace and its varieties 5.1–3 Grace as God's gift, etc.
5. In quinto de uirtutibus theologicis, cardinalibus et aliis	5. On the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, etc. 5.4 Grace and virtues
6. In sexto de donis et operibus misericordie	6. On the gifts (of the Holy Spirit) and the works of compassion 5.5 Grace in works of compassion
7. In septimo de beatitudinibus et contemplacione	7. On the Beatitudes and contemplation 5.6 The Beatitudes and contemplation
8. In octauo de oracione et specialiter de oracione dominica	8. On prayer, specifically on the Lord's Prayer 5.9 Grace and prayer
9. In nono de preceptis et plagis	9. On the (Ten) Commandments and the (ten Egyptian) plagues 5.8 Grace and the Ten Commandments

[11] Concerning the Last Judgment or, in scholastic terms, "the great exam of life": Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris* 17 (tractatus XV), ed. Troelsgård, p. 33, l. 1204: "Et in his autem omnibus sumitur gradus secundum exigenciam meritorum" ("and in all these matters, the grade is assigned according to the required number of merits"). Cf. Bonaventura: *Breuiloquium* 7.7, ed. Quaracchi: *S. Bonaventura, Opera Omnia* 5, Quaracchi 1891, pp. 201–291: 289a: "Et in omnibus praedictis servabitur gradus et distinctio secundum exigentiam meritorum".

10. In decimo de uotis, iuramentis et ignorancia	10. On vows, oaths, and ignorance
11. In undecimo de peccatis et eorum speciebus et differenciis in generali	11. On sins, their main types, and categorization 3.1–8 On sins, original sin, and actual/venial sin
12. In duodecimo de quibusdam peccatis in speciali	12. On various particular sins 3.9–10 Mortal sins
13. In decimo tertio de sacramentis	13. On the sacraments 6.1–12 The sacraments as remedies of sin
14. In quarto decimo de distinctione temporum	14. On the ages of the world 7.1. On the age of the Last Judgment
15. In quinto decimo de antichristo et ultimo iudicio	15. On Antichrist and the Last Judgment 7.2–7 On Hell, Purgatory, and the glory of Paradise

The alignment shows that extracts of parts 3 and 5 in the *Breuiloquium* have been swapped in the *Rotulus pugillaris*. The Dominican text also includes a small treatise on judicial themes, tractatus X, which is absent from Bonaventure's work. I suggest nevertheless that Augustinus de Dacia used Bonaventure's *Breuiloquium* as a template. The adaptation process seemingly involved extracting what suited his own purpose and simplifying it for pedagogical reasons, as well as supplying suitable material from a variety of sources. Still visible in the *Rotulus pugillaris*, however, is Bonaventure's soteriologically conceived plan, namely, to cover theology from the creation of the world to the fall of man; the incarnation, the passion and the resurrection of Christ; the giving of grace through the Holy Spirit; and the sacraments as a remedy for sin, with the goal of reaching the glory of Paradise. As an example of the supposedly selective process of adaptation, only doctrines about the souls and angelology remain from the first part of the *Breuiloquium* (on the creation), likely because that theme was more useful regarding the *cura animarum*, the main theme of the *Rotulus pugillaris*.

Already in 1940, Grabmann put forward the suggestion that Augustinus de Dacia's work is closely related to Bonaventure's *Breuiloquium*, but without further details or argumentation.[12] Walz, who was first to edit the *Rotulus pugillaris,* was less inclined to accept a close relationship between the two works, preferring to see a looser connection with another candidate for inspiration that Pelster had suggested earlier,[13] namely Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg's *Compendium theologicae*

[12] Grabmann, Martin: "Albert von Brescia O.P. (d. 1314) und sein Werk 'De officio sacerdotis'", *Divus Thomas* 18 (1940), pp. 5–38: 37: "Eine Schrift *pro instructione iuvenum fratrum* [...] ist der von P.A. Walz O.P. entdeckte und mustergültig edierte Pugillaris Rotulus des schwedischen Dominikaners Augustinus de Dacia, der stark vom Compendium theologicae veritatis des Hugo Ripelin von Straßburg und vom Breviloquium des hl. Bonaventura abhängig ist."

[13] Pelster, Franz: "Walz, A.M., O.P., Augustinus de Dacia O.P., 'Rotulus pugillaris' examinatus atque editus", review of Walz 1929, in *Theologische Revue* 29 (1930), cols. 119–120:

ueritatis,[14] which eventually became an extremely popular theological textbook in the later Middle Ages.[15] Most likely written during the 1260s, Hugh's *Compendium* clearly represents another early Dominican adaptation of the *Breuiloquium*, in this case an expansion of each of the original seven parts of Bonaventure's work.[16]

The *Breuiloquium* is clearly more literary in nature than its two younger Dominican relatives, the shorter and the longer, which for their part display more didactical and practical approaches to theology with an emphasis on pastoral care. However, Bonaventure also occasionally includes canon law subjects. In one single instance, he incorporates mnemonic verse, quoting four hexameters to illustrate hindrances to marriage, verses also present in the *Rotulus:*

Érror, cóndició, uotúm, cognácio, crímen,
Cúltus dísparitás, uis, órdo, ligámen, honéstas.
Sí sis áffinís, si fórte coíre nequíbis.
Héc sociánda uetánt connúbia, iúncta retráctant.[17]

In turn, Bonaventure might have borrowed these verses from Albert the Great,[18] who most likely also inspired Thomas Aquinas occasionally to insert mnemonic verses into his own writings.[19] An earlier source, namely the *Summa de matrimonio* by Raymond of Peñafort, compiled before he served as Master General of the Dominicans from 1238 to 1240, contains these verses. [20] Together with Raymond's other *summa* on penitence, the *summa* on marriage rapidly entered the standard Dominican curriculum.[21] Hugh Ripelin's *Compendium* includes

"Starke Ähnlichkeit besteht zwischen dem Compendium theologiae Hugo Ripelins und der Summa, ohne dass jedoch dieses als unmittelbare Quelle gedient hätte."

14 Walz 1954, p. 151: "Dass Aages Schrift stark von Bonaventuras *Breviloquium* oder Hugos von Strassburg *Compendium theologicae veritatis* abhängt, wie Grabmann schrieb, leuchtet nicht ohne weiteres ein. Zusammenklänge einzelner Teile oder Abschnitte [...] sind noch keine Abhängigkeit."

15 Steer, Georg: *Hugo Ripelin von Straßburg. Zur Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte des 'Compendium theologicae veritatis' im deutschen Spätmittelalter* (Texte und Textgeschichte 2), Tübingen 1981.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 225–239.

17 Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris,* 15 (tractatus XIII), ed. Troelsgård, p. 29, ll. 1055–1058/ed. Walz, p. 185: "Mistake, existing marriage, religious vow, family relation, and crime, | different religions, violence, ordination, close relations, and honor | if you are related by marriage, if for some reason you cannot have sexual intercourse | all these cases oppose entering into the contract of marriage and dissolve one already entered into" (translation mine). Borrowed from Bonaventura *Breuiloquium* 6.13, p. 279a.

18 The four verses feature in the *Commentary of the Sentences,* written c. 1243–1249, Albertus Magnus: *Commentarii in IV Sententiarum d. 34A, a. 2,* ed. Auguste Borgnet: *B. Alberti Magni Opera omnia* 30, Paris 1894, p. 327b.

19 The same four verses appear in Thomas de Aquino: *Commentum in quartum librum Sententiarum* d. 34, q. 1, a.1, co., in *Opera omnia* 7.2, Parma 1858, p. 985a. There is a scant total of some 40–50 mnemonic verses in Thomas's collected works, almost all with parallels in Albert the Great's works.

20 Raimundus de Pennaforti: *Summa de matrimonio,* tit. 2.16, eds. Xavier Ochoa/Aloisio Diez, Rome 1975, col. 925.

21 Mulchahey 1998, pp. 533–539. A few mnemonic verses from Raymond's *summae* are also present in Simon of Hinton's *Summa iuniorum*, e.g., the one just mentioned; see Simon de

thirty-three mnemonic hexameters and an elegiac distich taken from Ovid's *Remedium amoris,* but Hugh's verses and those in the *Rotulus pugillaris* only overlap slightly, indicating only a secondary relationship. However complex or impossible it is to establish secure genealogies and map the origins of verses like these, it is evident that many thirteenth-century theologians drew heavily on a pool of mnemonic verses circulating in scholastic milieus. Searchable text corpora, not accessible to earlier generations, offer today's scholars better opportunities for tracking relationships between authors in a highly intertextual and quotative form of literature like medieval theology. For this study, I also consulted conventional reference works on medieval proverbs and poetry, yet with less success.[22]

3. Mnemonic Verses in Thirteenth-Century Theology and in the *Rotulus pugillaris*

In the twelfth century, Latin verse composition enjoyed yet another renaissance. Hildebert of Lavardin's (or 'of Cluny', c. 1056–1113)[23] hexameters on selected theological topics and the slightly younger Bernard of Cluny's (or of Morlaix's) theological epics[24] gained wide circulation, especially through *florilegia* and recurrent use in epigraphy. Mnemonic verse specifically for elementary schooling also gained renewed impetus around 1200, probably with the greatest inspiration derived from grammar teaching. A well-known example is the *Doctrinale puerorum,* a grammar textbook in verse by Alexander of Villa Dei composed c. 1199. William de Montibus (d. 1213) wholeheartedly introduced mnemonic verse into the discipline of theology.[25] Alexander studied in Paris with Petrus Comestor (d. 1178), eventually opening his own school there. Returning to England, he became chancellor at Lincoln Cathedral in 1186 and in the early thirteenth century compiled pedagogical works, many of which were conceived in verse, e.g., an extensive encyclopedia of mnemonic verses on theology, the *Versarius.*[26] Under the letter M (*opera Misericordie*), we find the following elegiac couplet reminding the reader of Christian works of charity:

Hinton: *Compendium theologiae [= Summa iuniorum],* tractatus III, ed. Du Pin, col. 293.

22 Walther, Hans: *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum,* Göttingen 1959; Walther, Hans/Schmidt, Paul G.: *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis medii aevi,* vols. 1–8, Göttingen 1963–1983. Many of the mnemonic verses present in the *Rotulus pugillaris* are listed in these works. Most often, however, Walther refers to fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, while the *Rotulus pugillaris* remains the oldest witness cited. Since only a fraction of the verses in the *Rotulus pugillaris* has been assigned a Walther number, these reference works are of less importance for the identification of possible models, though they offer many insights into the later medieval dissemination of mnemonic verse.

23 Hildebertus Cenomanensis: *Carmina,* PL 171, cols. 1381–1456.

24 Bernardus Cluniacensis: *Carmina,* ed. Katarina Halvarson (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 11), Stockholm 1963.

25 Goering, Joseph W.: *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213), The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Studies and Texts 108), Toronto 1978, especially the chapter "Literature of Pastoral Care", pp. 58–99, where William's role is discussed under themes such as "Techniques of Popularization", "Pedagogical Methods", and "The Content of the Pastoralia".

26 *Ibid.*, p. 396.

Véstio, póto, cibó, tectúm do, uísito, sóluo
Quó defúnctus egét, | nón tua cúra negét.[27]

Dinkova-Bruun has shown that anthologies containing selections of similar verse theology by William de Montibus and one of his pupils were already circulating in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[28] She has also described manuscripts of Peter Riga's (d. 1209) *Aurora*, a versified Bible with commentary in elegiac distichs, as a channel for transmitting mnemonic verse on theological themes.[29] *Aurora* gained a vast circulation, if judged by its many redactions and more than 468 preserved manuscripts.[30] Dinkova-Bruun has also mentioned the presence of the cited distich under the rubric *De operibus misericordie* in a Vatican *Aurora* manuscript,[31] summarizing the complexity of the original versified Bible with additional poetic material as follows: "The poem elicited multifaceted responses and was clearly considered to be a repository of useful and learned verse that was used for multiple purposes and in various contexts."[32] The actual distich also wandered to other hosts. A recast version containing the duty to provide burial (squeezed into one hexameter line instead of a separate pentameter) resurfaces in works by Alexander of Hales (c. 1185–1245),[33] Albert the Great (1193–1280),[34] Bonaventure (1221–1274),[35] Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274),[36] and in the *Rotulus pugillaris*:

Vísito, póto, cibó, redimó, tego, cólligo, condo.[37]

27 Cf. Gulielmus de Montibus: *Versarius*, ed. in Goering 1978, pp. 289–471: 436 ("I clothe the naked, give the thirsty to drink, feed the hungry, give hospitality to strangers, visit the sick, and ransom prisoners. | What a dead person needs, your care must never deny") (translation mine). In Goering's edition the couplet is rendered without the pentameter, which was supplied here from the principal manuscript behind that partial edition, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms. 186, f. 68v, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hg583np7605 (accessed on March 31, 2025).

28 Dinkova-Bruun, Greti: "Notes on Poetic Composition in the Theological Schools ca. 1200 and the Latin Poetic Anthology from Ms. Harley 956: A Critical Edition", in *Sacris Erudiri* 43 (2004), pp. 299–391.

29 Dinkova-Bruun, Greti: "Poetic Attraction: Anonymous Verses in Two Manuscripts of Peter Riga's *Aurora*", in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2018), pp. 423–442.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 423.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 434. The manuscript is MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 2867 (thirteenth ct.), with a collection of mnemonic verses in the margins on ff. 120–122. The hand of the marginal notes is somewhat younger than the manuscript itself, probably from the fourteenth century.

32 Dinkova-Bruun 2018, p. 424.

33 Alexander Halensis: *Alexandri de Hales Glossa in quatuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi* IV, d. 15.14, ed. Quaracchi: *Glossa in librum quartum* (Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi 15), Quaracchi 1957, p. 232.

34 Albertus Magnus *In quartum Sententiarum*, d. 2A, a. 1, ed. Borgnet, p. 43.

35 Bonaventura: *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum* IV, d. 15, p. 2, a. 2, q. 4, dub. 2, ed. Quaracchi: *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia* 4, Quaracchi 1889, p. 376b.

36 Thomas de Aquino: *Summae Theologiae* II-II, q. 32, a. 2, ed. Leonina 8, Rome 1894, p. 250a. The verse is repeated in other works by Thomas.

37 Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris*, 8 (tractatus VI), ed Troelsgård, p. 12, l. 407/ed. Walz, p. 155: "I visit the sick, give the thirsty to drink, feed the hungry, ransom prisoners,

I suppose that Paris was an important marketplace for the exchange of such teaching materials. The verses apparently circulated freely between Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans in ever-changing versions. In a secondary recension, a companion verse was added to introduce a (vulgar-)scholastic dichotomy between corporeal and spiritual acts of charity:

Cónsule, cástigá, soláre, remítte, fer, óra.[38]

I consider it likely that Augustinus de Dacia borrowed this pair of hexameters from Albert, since Thomas, although quoting both verses, explicitly objects to the idea that burial is a work of charity.[39] Furthermore, the *Rotulus* was probably compiled some time before the wider dissemination of Thomas's writings as there are no signs of direct influence.

Tractatus IX of the *Rotulus pugillaris* includes two hexametric couplets that align the Ten Commandments with the ten Egyptian plagues. The idea of identifying the plagues with transgression and sin in juxtaposition to the Decalogue goes back at least to a sermon by Augustine of Hippo. The concept was further exploited in various pieces of catechetical poetry from the eleventh century onwards.[40] Peter Riga's *Aurora* from c. 1200 lists the plagues in an elegiac distich:

Sánguis, rána, culéx, muscé, moriéns pecus, úlcus
Grándo, lócusté, | nóx, prius órta necáns.[41]

In the *Rotulus pugillaris*, the couplet was transformed into two regular hexameters:

Sánguis, rána, culéx, muscé, pecus, úlcera, grándo
Brúchus, cáligó, mors, óbtinuére necándo.[42]

clothe the naked, give hospitality to strangers, and bury the dead" (translation mine).

38 *Ibid.*, ed. Troelsgård, p. 12, l. 411/ed. Walz, p. 155: "Counsel, reprove, console, pardon, forbear, and pray" (translation mine).

39 Thomas de Aquino *Summae Theologiae,* II-II, q. 32, a. 2, ed. Leonina 8, p. 250a: "Videtur autem quod inconvenienter huiusmodi eleemosynae distinguantur [...] per hoc quod proximus sepelitur, in nullo ei subvenitur."

40 Doležalová, Lucie: "Latin Mnemonic Verses Combining the Ten Commandments with the Ten Plagues of Egypt, Transmitted in Late Medieval Bohemia", in eds. Youri Desplenter/Jürgen Pieters/Walter Melion: *The Ten Commandments in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Intersections 52), Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 154–155.

41 Petrus Riga: *Aurora,* Exod., vv. 187–188, ed. Paul E. Beichner, 2 vols., Notre Dame, IN 1965, vol. 1, p. 98: "Blood, frogs, lice, flies, dying livestock, boils, | and hail, locusts, night, killing the firstborn" (translation mine).

42 Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris*, 11 (tractatus IX), ed. Troelsgård, p. 16, ll. 564–565/ed. Walz, p. 163: "Blood, frogs, lice, flies, livestock, boils, hail, | locusts, darkness, death, they had it by murder" (translation mine). Doležalová 2017, pp. 156–157, mentions another, and perhaps slightly more elegant, recension of the second hexameter, documented in a Czech Augustinian manuscript from the fifteenth century: "Brúcus, cáligó, mors pígnora príma necándo".

Many of the *Rotulus*'s verses are designed to recapitulate the most basic aspects of Christian education. The preceding pair of hexameters on the Decalogue also seems to relate to verses in the *Aurora*, though not as closely as those on the plagues:

Súnt precépta deí nomén, festúm, pater ét mors.
Méchus, fúr, testís, coniúx, res, sís memor hórum.[43]

Another example leads us back in time, well into the twelfth century, and connects to French monastic theological poetry. In tractatus XII of the *Rotulus pugillaris* ("On various particular sins"), Augustinus de Dacia teaches that some sins are committed secretly, some publicly, and some have grown into customary sin, hinting at the true repentance of sins committed in thought, word, and deed, respectively. This triad, he says, can be recollected through the three individuals Jesus resurrected from the dead in the Gospel narratives. To this end, he quotes the following group of verses, an elegiac couplet followed by one of the few verses in the *Rotulus* with suspicious scansion (an intended hexameter?):

Mórs mala, mórs intús, malus áctus, mórs foris, úsus.
Túmba, puélla, puér, | Lázarus, ísta notánt.
Hánc uerbó, hunc uóce,[44] lacrimándo súscitat íllum.[45]

As is the case regarding many other verses in the *Rotulus*, especially those concerning penance and canon law, this triplet of verses is also present in Raymond of Peñafort's *Summa de paenitentia*,[46] which was probably Augustinus de Dacia's source. The precarious textual transmission of the *Rotulus* may account for the likely deterioration of the text through the substitution of *mens* with *mors* at the beginning of the first hexameter. What interests me here, however, is Raymond's borrowing of the entire initial elegiac couplet from a little poem consisting of four elegiac couplets, written by the twelfth-century monastic poet Hildebert of Lavardin mentioned above. This poem belongs to a series of small pieces on

[43] Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris*, 11 (tractatus IX), ed. Troelsgård, p. 16, ll. 550–551/ed. Walz, p. 163: "The Commandments concern the name of God, celebration, parent, and death, | adulterer, thief, witness, wife, and property: Remember all of these!" (translation mine).

[44] The hexameter is defective somewhere around here.

[45] Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris*, 14 (tractatus XII), ed. Troelsgård, p. 19, ll. 667–669/ed. Walz, p. 168: ("Evil death, death inside, evil deed, death outside, and custom. | Grave: girl, boy, and Lazarus. Remember these! | The girl, he brought back to life with a word, the boy with his voice, and Lazarus with his tears") (translation mine), referring to Mark 5:35–43, Luke 7:11–17, and John 11:11–45, respectively.

[46] Raimundus de Pennaforti *Summa de paenitentia III*, tit. 34.7, eds. Ochoa/Diez, col. 803. The verse is in slightly better shape, due to apheresis between *verbo* and *hunc*: "Méns mala, mórs intús, malus áctus, mórs foris, úsus | Túmba, puélla, puér | Lázarus ísta notánt | Hánc uerbó, hunc motú, lacrimándo súscitat íllum" ("Evil mind, death inside, evil deed, death outside, and custom. | Grave: girl, boy, and Lazarus. Remember these! | The girl, he brought back to life with a word, the boy with a gesture, and Lazarus with his tears") (translation mine).

New Testament episodes.[47] The couplet, which entered into wider circulation as part of various thematically organized *florilegia*,[48] was incorporated in poem by the slightly younger Bernard of Cluny (or of Morlaix),[49] and even Walter Map (1130–c. 1210) quoted it in in his satirically oriented *De nugis curialium*.[50]

Depending on the poetic skills of a medieval compiler/poet, less than a complete verse could also be borrowed. Beginnings, phrases from middle positions, and hexameter tails from various model verses were often put together to build 'new' verses. In tractatus II of the *Rotulus pugillaris* ("On faith, the creeds, and the Articles of Faith"), we encounter a patchwork hexameter that explains the doctrine of the Trinity:

Súnt pater ét natús, flamén deus ét deus únus.[51]

This is the first of three verses that remind students of the Twelve Articles of Faith.[52] The *Rotulus* seems to be a unique source of the triplet, but some of its constituents might be borrowings or parallels. The closest parallel to the cited verse is probably from the anonymous hexameter poem *Floretus* (first half of the thirteenth ct.), using *pneuma* instead of *flamen*.[53] The hexameter tail *ét deus únus* is read as part of an inscription framing Christ in his *mandorla* on the gilded altar cover (dated c. 1200–1225) in Sahl Church in Northern Jutland, Denmark:

Nón di nón dominí dominús tres ét deus únus.[54]

47 Hildebertus Cenomanensis: *Carmina,* PL 171, col. 1279, under the rubric: "XXIII. Quid Lazarus et ejus tumulus denotent."

48 Munk Olsen, B.: "Note sur quelques préfaces de florilèges latins du XIIe s.", *Revue Romane* 8 (1973), pp. 190–196.

49 Bernardus Cluniacensis *Carmina*, ed. Halvarson, p. 57.

50 Gualterus Mapes: *De nugis curialium*, eds. and trans. M.R. James/C.N.L. Brooke/R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1983, p. 24.

51 Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris,* 4 (tractatus II), ed. Torelsgård, p. 6, l. 198/ed. Walz, p. 146: "Father, Son and Spirit (breath) are God, and they are one God" (translation mine).

52 The two remaining verses condense the rest of the creed: "Hic creat ét fundát, laxát reuelátque corónat. | Náscitur ét patitúr, soluít, surgít, uolat, audit" ("<God> creates and lays foundations, extends himself, reveals, and crowns.' | <Christ> is born, suffers, releases <the dead>, rises, flies <to heaven>, and hears <us from his throne>") (translation mine). See also a similar list of verbs on the Christological Articles of Faith in Dinkova-Bruun 2018, pp. 432–433.

53 Floretus, ed. Árpád Orbán (Beihefte zum Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch 16), Kastellaun 1978, p. 2: "Súnt pater ét natús et pneúma sacrúm deus únus". Also another *Rotulus* verse (ed. Troelsgård, p. 33, l. 1182/ed. Walz, p. 191: "Clárus, súbtilís, agilís, non pássibilísque") comes close to Floretus, ed. Orbán, p. 55: "[...] pássibilís fit." Consequently, this poem on Christian doctrine, virtues, and vices, and ending in praise of the joys of Paradise, must also be placed among possible sources of inspiration. It is dated before 1247, cf. the introduction to Floretus, ed Orbán, p. IX.

54 "Not three gods, not three lords, for the three are one Lord and one God" (translation mine). Cf. Troelsgård, Christian: "Latin verse inscriptions on 'golden altars' in medieval Scandinavia. Literary, epigraphic, palaeographical, theological and liturgical contexts", in eds. Michael Andersen/ Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen/Rasmus Christensen/Per

The Sahl altar inscriptions include many loans from Bernard of Cluny's poems, and Bernard indeed favored the hexameter tail *deus unus*. Likewise, Adam of Saint Victor (d. 1146) used the phrase in the fourth stanza of his Trinitarian, rhythmical (trochaic), and rhyming sequence *Profitentes unitatem*:

Pater, Proles, Sacrum Flamen,
Deus unus, sed hii tamen
habent quedam propria.[55]

The verse *Súnt pater* [...] in the *Rotulus* could be associated with the distinct literary flavor of the twelfth-century renaissance as seen in the poetry by Hildebert, Bernard, and Adam. The occasional use of poetic words such as *natus* for *filius* and *flamen* or *pneuma* for *spiritus* clearly appeals to the imagination, interrupting dull lists of the names, properties, and actions that otherwise dominate such didactic verses.

My analysis confirms that the underlying poetic skill and style of the *Rotulus*'s verses in general comply with the standards of the time. The grouping in pairs or triplets, occasional Leonine rhymes,[56] and the rhythmic structure of the hexameters made them easier to recall, but the verses also triggered the imagination through poetic polysemy and linking conceptual structures together. Furthermore, the use of the most high-profile poetic medium of the Middle Ages, the hexameter, may have conveyed authority on the doctrines presented.

I shall now return to the famous verses *Littera gesta docet* etc. from tractatus I of the *Rotulus pugillaris*, rubricated: "Introductory matters to the theological science", to present them in the context of the paragraph they were meant to sum up or shed light on:

This knowledge is explained in four ways, according to the four senses, a literal way and three spiritual ones, namely the allegorical, the tropological or moral, and the anagogic. For example, Jerusalem is a city in Judaea according to the literal sense. According to the allegorical sense, this city signifies the Church militant; according to the tropological or moral sense it is the faithful soul and its conduct; according to the anagogical sense it signifies the Church triumphant. And if any other senses are found, the text must be understood according to one of these three in transferred mode, which is frequent in the Gospels, to be read both literally and metaphorically. And it is to be known that in all parabolic or metaphorical sayings, it is not the literal sense that the words put forward openly, but what the author intends secretly, that counts. Otherwise, there would be something false in Holy Scripture, which it is blasphemy to say. So, when it is said that God has hands or feet or something like that, it is a metaphor and signifies literally that God is powerful and does everything and is in everything. I epitomize all this in the following verses: "The literal sense communicates facts, allegory tells what you believe, | the moral sense directs your acts, and the anagogical sense reveals the Christian hope."[57]

Kristian Madsen: *Visions of Heaven and Earth. Romanesque Golden Altars and Cruxifixes from Medieval Denmark* (Publications from the National Museum), forthcoming.

55 Adamus de Sancto Victore: *Sequentiae*, ed. Jean Grosfillier (Bibliotheca Victorina 20), Turnhout 2008, p. 345: "Father, offspring, Holy Spirit, is one God, but each of the three also possesses something particular" (translation mine).

56 About one third of the *Rotulus*'s hexameters displays Leonine rhyme, e.g., *Súnt pater ét natús, flamén deus ét deus únus*. This is also the dominant verse form of the Floretus.

57 Augustinus de Dacia *Rotulus pugillaris*, 3 (tractatus I), ed. Troelsgård, pp. 2–3, ll. 32–67/

Early Christian scriptural exegesis was tentatively systematized by John Cassian (c. 360–435), who used the 'Jerusalem example' to illustrate the fourfold sense of Scripture. Venerable Bede (c. 672–735) appears to be among the first theologians to swap the anagogical and the tropological/moral senses to obtain a perhaps more logical sequence.58 In prose versions, many theologians repeated and explained this sequence and example of the four senses up to the thirteenth century and beyond. In the prologue of Bonaventure's *Breuiloquium*, Jerusalem is mentioned, but it is not used in the traditional schematic way. Instead, the fourfold sense of Scripture is explained as follows under the rubric *De profunditate sacrae scripturae* ("On the depth of Holy Scripture"), since Bonaventure used a spatial scriptural metaphor (length, width, height, and depth) to structure his exposition:

> Finally, Scripture possesses a depth consisting in the multiplicity of mystical intelligences. For, besides the literal meaning, it must be set forth in various places in a threefold way: allegorically, morally, and anagogically. There is allegory when some fact is indicated by another, according to which we must believe it. There is tropology, or moral direction, when some fact indicates what must be done. Anagogy, like an invitation to rise up, is at hand when we happen to understand what we are longing for, namely the eternal happiness of the blessed.[59]

In my search for contexts and models, I also noticed that the verses occur as anonymous marginal additions in manuscripts of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. This is the case in a Parisian manuscript written c. 1290,[60] where the two verses occur on the inside of the cover. The pair of verses follows the *Rotulus* recension, and not the secondary version commonly ascribed to Nicolas of Lyra

ed. Walz, pp. 138–139: "Hec sciencia quattuor modis exponitur secundum quattuor sensus scilicet unum litteralem et tres spirituales scilicet allegoricum, tropologicum seu moralem et anagogicum. Verbi gracia Ierusalem secundum sensum litteralem est quedam ciuitas in Iudea. Et hoc signatum siue hec ciuitas secundum sensum allegoricum significat ecclesiam militantem, secundum sensum tropologicum siue moralem significat animam fidelem et eius operacionem, secundum sensum anagogicum significat ecclesiam triumphantem. Et si qui alii eius sensus inueniuntur sub aliquo istorum comprehenduntur ut parabolicus, qui frequens est in euangeliis, sub litterali et similiter metaphoricus. Et sciendum est quod in omnibus sermonibus parabolicis et metaphoricis non sensus est litteralis quem littera prima facie pretendit sed ille quem intendit auctor, alioquin esset aliqua falsitas in sacra scriptura, quod nefas est dicere. Ut cum dicitur deum habere manum uel pedem et similia, metaphora est et significat per hoc secundum sensum litteralem quod potens est deus omnia operari et omnia penetrare. Dictos autem quattuor sensus his uersibus comprehendo: Líttera gésta docét, quid crédas állegoría, | Móralís quid agás, quid spéres ánagogía" (translation mine).

58 Lubac 1959–1964, vol. 1.2, p. 646.

59 Cf. Eph 3:18; Bonaventura *Breuiloquium*, prol. 4, ed. Quaracchi, p. 203b: "Habet postremo ipsa scriptura profunditatem quae consistit in multiplicitate mysticarum intelligentiarum. Nam praeter litteralem sensum habet in diversis locis exponi tripliciter scilicet allegorice moraliter et anagogice. Est autem allegoria quando per unum factum indicatur aliud factum secundum quod credendum est. Tropologia sive moralitas est quando per id quod factum est datur intelligi aliud quod faciendum est. Anagogia quasi sursum ductio est quando datur intelligi illud quod desiderandum est scilicet aeterna felicitas beatorum" (translation mine).

60 MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 15718.

(1270–1349).[61] The manuscript addition with the mnemonic verses is—as is the case with the marginalia in the *Aurora* manuscripts mentioned earlier—written by a younger hand. Also, in another earlier Parisian manuscript of the *Sentences*, dated to around 1240, we find these mnemonic verses included in a marginal note that gives a brief definition of theology reminiscent of the simplicity encountered in tractatus I of the *Rotulus pugillaris*:

> The themes of theology are Christ and the Church or the City of God. It has two parts, namely the Old and the New Testaments. In the Old Testament things unfold according to austerity, in the New Testament according to grace. It should be noticed that theology is the most fruitful science, for it has many meanings and accordingly many explanations, i.e., the historical or literal meaning, and the spiritual meaning. The latter is three-fold: allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. The allegorical meaning teaches what should be believed, the tropological meaning teaches what should be done, and the anagogical what to be hoped for, as in the following verses: [...].[62]

In this way, the manuscripts of the *Sentences* could, alongside a work like Peter Riga's *Aurora*, accommodate elementary materials for the teaching of theology in their margins. The *Sentences* were used extensively for almost all schooling in theology and became a "classic handbook on which later theologians wrote commentaries".[63] Since mnemonic verses are found in so many thirteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences*,[64] and since so many of them have parallels in the *Rotulus* verses, the idea that these manuscripts regularly served not only as textbooks, but also as repositories of other and more elementary teaching resources in their margins and additional folios, is strengthened. Collections of mnemonic Latin verses were obviously circulating between cathedral schools, the early *studia* of the mendicant orders, and the universities around the middle of thirteenth century. Given the international network of a prior provincial, Augustinus de Dacia could easily have picked up the *Littera gesta* [...] verses from such contexts, as he did with other verses in the *Rotulus pugillaris*. Alternatively, he might have authored this pair of emblematic verses himself, with inspiration from Bonaventure or another prose source. I am still keeping all options open. In conclusion, it is fair to say that skillfully borrowing, patchworking, and compiling a text was an important part of the métier of any medieval author and poet. In the case of the *Rotulus pugillaris*, Augustinus de Dacia provided a

[61] See Lubac 1959–1964, vol. 1.2, pp. 23–24.

[62] MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 15727, f. 191r: "Subiectum theologie est Christus et ecclesia vel civitas dei et habet duas partes scilicet vetus testamentum et novum. In ueteri testamento proceditur secundum rigorem sed in nouo secundum gratiam. Item sciendum quod theologia est sciencia fecondissima: habet enim multos sensus et per consequens multas expositiones scilicet sensum historicum siue litteralem et sensum spiritualem. Et iste triplex: allegoricus, tropologicus et anagogicus. Sensus allegoricus docet quid credendum, sensus tropologicus docet quid agendum, anagogicus quid sperandum. Unde versus: Líttera gésta docét, quid crédas állegoría. | Móralís quid agás, quid spéres ánagogía." (translation mine).

[63] Nieuwenhove 2012, pp. 147–148.

[64] Consider the specific cases mentioned above in the text and footnotes regarding mnemonic verses in the commentaries on the *Sentences* written by Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Albert the Great, and Thomas.

highly condensed and pedagogically well-balanced *summula*, using mnemonic verse more frequently, systematically, and consistently than is visible in other textbooks of his time.

4. The Reception of the *Rotulus pugillaris* with Special Regard to Mnemonic Verse

One of the two surviving manuscripts transmitting the *Rotulus*'s text testifies to its continued use as a Dominican textbook in Scandinavia in the fourteenth century, since it was owned by Niels Laugesen, a friar presiding over the conventual school in Helsingborg, Sweden.[65] The other manuscript, from Basel, might indicate that the *Rotulus pugillaris* also earned some popularity in the order's German province of Teutonia.[66] Furthermore, excerpts are found in manuscripts from the same area,[67] just as a recast and abbreviated version of the *Rotulus pugillaris* has been located in no less than four manuscripts under the title *Rotulum manuale*.[68] The *explicit* of the *Rotulum manuale* describes its author as an (anonymous) theologically skilled Dominican friar.[69] The prologue, however, clearly paraphrasing that of the *Rotulus pugillaris*, mentions an authorial 'I', with implicit reference to Augustinus de Dacia's *Breuiarium*:

> I have commended this little work to writing, collected from the works of many Catholic teachers with summarizing brevity, like a digest (*breuiarium*) [...] But if somebody should think that things are said with too much brevity and should like to have them more clearly explained, they can have recourse to the little handbook (*summula*), which bears the title *Compendiosum breuiarium*, which I wrote earlier, and of which the present little work is called a *Rotulum manuale*. For everything that is placed in it is like an abstract, to be understood in utmost brevity.[70]

[65] An *ex libris* on f. 159r in MS Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 647, i.e., at the beginning of the *Rotulus Pugillaris*: "Liber fratris nicholai laghonis de conuentu helsinburgensi ordinis predicatorum prouincie dacie" ("This book belongs to friar Niels Laugesen from the convent in Helsingborg of the province Dacia of the Order of Preachers"). Other sources indicate that he was conventual *lector* there c. 1351–1371, see Nelson 1928, p. 202.

[66] See Walz 1954, pp. 217–218.

[67] MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. oct. 70, f. 528v (a thirteenth-century Bible with a marginal note quoting the treatment of the fourfold senses of Scripture from tractatus I of the *Rotulus pugillaris*); MS Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs 81, ff. 114v–115r (a fifteenth-century collection of theological works, citing tractatus XII on ecclesiastical abuse); MS Kiel, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. ms. Bord. 119, f. 78r (a fifteenth-century collection of pastoral texts, also on ecclesiastical abuse, from tractatus XII).

[68] MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28505 (fifteenth century), ff. 316 sqq.; MS Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 179 (fifteenth century), ff. 266r sqq.; MS Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Lüneburg 18 (fifteenth century), ff. 123r sqq.; MS Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, theol. lat. 149 (fifteenth century), ff. 120r sqq.

[69] E.g., the Munich manuscript, f. 327v: "Explicit summula theoloyici cuiusdam fratris ordinis predicatorum que vocatur Rotulum manuale" ("Here ends the little compendium written by a theologian and friar of the Order of Preachers, with the title *Rotulum manuale*").

[70] *Ibid.*, f. 316r: "[...] hoc opusculum de multis catholicorum doctorum scriptis compendiosa breuitate collectum scripto commendaui in unum quasi breuiarium [...] Ubi autem alicui

The *Rotulum manuale* has sixteen *tractatus* but treats approximately the same themes as the fifteen in the *Rotulus pugillaris,* though in a slightly different order and with slightly deviating rubrics. It transmits only a tiny selection of the mnemonic verses contained in the *Rotulus pugillaris*, but they are, in particular, those most frequently quoted in later sources.[71]

Assessing the exact extent to which the *Rotulus pugillaris* and *Rotulum manuale* contributed to the dissemination of mnemonic verse on theological themes in the late Middle Ages is difficult, since many other possible channels of transmission are possible. The *Rotulus* tradition nonetheless undeniably contributed to the practice of teaching basic Christian doctrine through verse, eventually also adopted into the educational agendas of the *devotio moderna* and other reform movements in the later Middle Ages. The pair of hexameters beginning *Littera gesta* were recycled by, e.g., Nicolaus de Lyra (c. 1270–1349) and John Wycliffe (c. 1320–1384) and occur multiple times in Jean Gerson's (c. 1363–1429) writings. The verses on the Commandments and plagues are cited by, for instance, Wycliffe and Hus (1369–1415),[72] while other verses in the *Rotulus* tradition resurface in theological handbooks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, perhaps most frequently in the Augustinian reform theologian Arnold Gheyloven's (c. 1375–1420) pastoral handbook *Gnotosolitos parvus*.[73] What is more, such pedagogical practices also point forward to the late medieval teaching of basic Christian doctrine through mnemonic verse in the vernaculars, focusing on central themes such as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.[74]

uisum fuerit quod nimis breviter dictum sit et libet sibi lucidius aperiri habeat recursum ad summulam que Compendiosum Breuiarium intitulatur, prius a me compilatum, cuius summule presens opusculum Rotulum manuale nominatur. Est enim quasi epilogus omnia fere que in illo collocata sunt, brevissime comprehendendum" (English translation mine).

71 I have located eight hexameters in the Munich manuscript of the *Rotulum manuale* in the following folios: 317r (Líttera gésta [...]); 320r (Sólatúr, stimulát [...]); 323r (Vísito, póto [...]); and 324v (Sánguis, rána [...]).

72 Doležalová 2017, pp. 152–154.

73 Arnoldus Theoderici Roterodamus: *Gnotosolitos parvus*, ed. A.G. Weiler (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 212), Turnhout 2008.

74 Doležalová 2017 documents related Czech texts. For examples in Middle English, see, e.g., Opalińska, Monika: "Mnemonic verses and pastoral care – the case of MS Aldini 69 from Bibliotheca Universitaria in Pavia", *Studia Neophilologica* 93 (2021), pp. 72–91.