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The History of the Legislation of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance in the Middle Ages: *The Rule of St Sixtus*

Z dziejów prawodawstwa zakonu
św. Marii Magdaleny od Pokuty w średniowieczu: *Reguła św. Sykstusa*

ABSTRACT: Due to the activity of Canon Rudolf of Worms, monasteries of penances, self-established in Western and Central Europe, were in 1227 joined into a new order in the Church: *Ordo sanctae Mariae Magdalene de Poenitentia*. Initially, the nuns followed the Benedictine rule in the Cistercian version. However, due to the specificity of the calling, it was necessary to change the law. Pope Gregory IX did this in 1232, thus giving the nuns the so-called rule of St Augustine and the constitutions of the Dominican nuns (the so-called Rule of Saint Sixtus). Although a copy of the original bull of Gregory IX has not been found, Hubertus Ermisch published its text with the Rule of St Sixtus in the *Document Collection of the City of Friborg in Saxony* in Leipzig in 1883. Besides, the papal bull with the text of *The Rule of St Sixtus* is known from the *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (ed. by Antonio Bremond Romae, 1729). The oldest document containing the Rule of St Sixtus is kept at the State Archives in Wrocław, in the set of files *Naumburg a. Queis*. We present a Polish translation of the preserved text of the rule from the Nowogrodziec Monastery. It remains the common heritage of both Magdalene sisters and Dominican nuns.

KEYWORDS: Gregory IX, *The Rule of St Sixtus*, St Dominic, Dominican Nuns, Sisters of Penance, monastery of St Sixtus in Rome

ABSTRAKT: Samoistnie powstałe na terenie zachodniej i środkowej Europy klasztory pokutniczek zostały w 1227 roku dzięki działalności kanonika Rudolfa z Wormacji połączone w nowy w Kościele zakon: *Ordo sanctae Mariae Magdalene de Poenitentia*. Początkowo mniszki stosowały się do reguły benedyktyńskiej w wydaniu cysterskim. Jednak z uwagi na specyfikę powołania konieczna okazała się zmiana prawa własnego. Dokonał tego w 1232 roku papież Grzegorz IX, nadając magdalenkom tzw. regułę św. Augustyna i konstytucje mniszek dominikańskich (tzw. regułę św. Sykstusa).

Mimo że egzemplarz oryginalnej bulli Grzegorza IX pozostaje nieodnaleziony, to jej tekst został opublikowany w *Zbiorze Dokumentów Miasta Fryburga w Saksonii* przez Huberta Ermischa w Lipsku w roku 1883. Ponadto bulla papieska z tekstem *Reguły św. Sykstusa* znana jest z *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (wyd. Antoni Bremond Romae 1729). Najstarszy dokument zawierający *Regułę św. Sykstusa* przechowywany jest w Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu, w zespole akt *Naumburg a. Queis*. Niżej przygotowane polskie tłumaczenie reguły zachowanego tekstu z klasztoru nowogrodzieckiego, która pozostaje wspólnym dziedzictwem zarówno magdalenek, jak i dominikanek.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Grzegorz IX, *Reguła św. Sykstusa*, św. Dominik, mniszki dominikańskie, magdalenki od Pokuty, klasztor św. Sykstusa w Rzymie

Introduction

It so happens that in the archival legacy of the Nowogrodziec Magdalene Monastery kept in the State Archives in Wrocław there is a manuscript of extraordinary importance for culture, primarily legal, of the universal Church. It is a transumpt from 1291 that contains a transcript of the Constitution of the Dominican Order approved in 1207–1232. Although the juridical text in question was called *The Rule of Saint Sixtus*, formally it was not a rule, but the religious constitutions. Why, despite its name, is not the text regarded a rule? Well, at the time when it was developed, not only was the creation of new religious orders but also writing rules for them prohibited. All newly established monasteries were therefore obliged to accept the already existing and legally recognized rule in the Church. However, most religious institutes added to the rule the legal norms that characterized them, which were the constitutions proper for the whole Order and the directorates that normalized the specificity of autonomous monasteries. That was the case in the thirteenth century, and it is so in the contemplative religious communities today. In the 13th century, both Dominican and then Magdalene women adopted the Augustinian Rule as their life's attitude. However, the specificity of their vocation was clarified by the constitutions, which were called *The Rule of Saint Sixtus*. The text co-existed in the use of nuns together with the Augustinian Rule and complemented it. It also regulated the charism first of the Dominicans and then of the Magdalenes, and thus was such an important document that it even received the name of the rule, although, as I repeat, it never legally was.

Until 1257, the Dominican nuns used the afore-mentioned legal text in numerous convents being established in the whole Europe. Its very name comes from the fourth Dominican monastery, which was formed in Rome at the Church

of St Sixtus in 1219, hence the document went down in history as *The Rule of St Sixtus*. Then the Dominican women received a completely new law modelled on the Dominican constitutions, and *The Rule of St Sixtus* continued to be in force as the constitutions of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance. It was given to them by papal decision from 1232.

It is worth emphasizing that the Church's concern for the fate of morally endangered women and girls was the source of the Order's creation. The nuns originated from loose groups of penitents and beguines, who, through aspirations of various driving forces, transformed into formal monasteries. In response to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Innocent III *Universis christifidelibus* of 1198, communities of women, former prostitutes seeking conversion and penance began to form. Then these communities, thanks above all to Rudolf of Worms, formed the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance, which in 1227 was approved by Pope Gregory IV with the bull *Religiosam vitam eligentibus*.

White dressed nuns quickly spread throughout Europe. The Order developed actively in particular during the Middle Ages. It declined during the Reformation when especially the Convents of the German-speaking area ceased to exist. During the revival of Catholic Church after the Council of Trent, Magdalene sisters were divided into three categories of sisters: Sisters of St Mary Magdalene with perpetual vows, Sisters of St Martha with the status of converting sisters, and Sisters of St Lazarus, who were rehabilitated from prostitution in the monastery and returned to normal life in the world after being repentant. The latter category of sisters did not wear habits, while the choir sisters differed from converts; e.g. in Lubań, the converts wore white veils and the professed black ones.

During the period of Josephinism, many monasteries were liquidated, including the Czech one in Mosty, then the Silesian houses in Nowogrodziec, Szprotawa and Nysa no longer functioned. The monasteries in Lubań, Studenice and Montpellier lived to see the 20th century. The first house was destroyed in 1945; its community split into one that remained on the site and the other that went to Bavaria and scattered throughout Germany. They settled in Seyboldsdorf in 1952. In 1941, the monastery in Studenice ceased functioning, and the decree of the Congregation of Religious incorporated the one in Montpellier into the Congregation of Sisters of Love and Christian Education in Nevers in 1958. At present, there is only a monastery in Lubań, which was transformed into a religious congregation under papal law in 1995.¹

¹ P. Stefaniak, *Dziedzictwo duchowe i spuścizna artystyczna Sióstr Magdalenek od Pokuty 1217–2017*, Lubań 2017; K. Dola, *Magdalenki w Nysie 1716–1810*, Opole 2014; P. Stefaniak,

Due to the uniqueness of the document, it has been decided to recall it in the Polish translation. To consolidate the translated content in the historical reality, the legal basis of the Order of St Mary Magdalene in the Middle Ages as the only institution which applied this law permanently for generations, and the historical context which accompanied its creation were briefly presented. This seems even more necessary since Rev. Władysław Bochnak from Legnica² introduced the previous text of *the Rule of St Sixtus*³ to Polish historiography with translation errors, thereby distorting the idea of the document. The problem was that the circumstances of the creation of the text and the institute for which it was created, i.e. the nuns of the Ecclesiastical Order, were ignored. In this situation, it was decided to retranslate the source text into the Polish language to eliminate the misunderstandings resulting from the sometimes faulty rendering of the original Latin text in the edition prepared by Fr. Bochnak. Due to the uniqueness of the document itself, the Polish translation was decided to be recalled.

The translator, not knowing the structure of the Order for which the Rule was created, did not take account of the fact that in the Ecclesiastical Order,

Na chwałę Trójcy Świętej. Dzieje klasztoru Sióstr Świętej Marii Magdaleny od Pokuty w Lubaniu 1320–2011, Kraków 2011; J. Duchniewski, *Magdalenki*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 11, Lublin 2006, pp. 791–792; J. Mlinarič, *Studeniški dominikanski samostan* ok. 1245–1782, Celje 2005; R. Stelmach, *Dzieje klasztoru Magdalenek w Nowogrodźcu...*, “Rocznik Jeleniogórski” 30 (1998), pp. 99–109; *Fragmente aus der Geschichte der Klöster und Stiftungen Schlesiens von ihrer Entstehung bis zur Zeit ihrer Aufhebung im November 1810*, A. Rathsmann (ed.), Breslau [1811]; P. Mai, *Als einzige überlebt. Die Magdalenerinnen von Lauban (gegründet 1320), heute in Seyboldsdorf/Niederbayern*, [in:] *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. 49, Hildesheim 1991, pp. 177–203; E. Piekorz, *Die Magdalenerinnen von Lauban. Ein seltenes Kleinod*, “Heimatbrief der Katholiken auf dem Erzbistum Breslau” 5(2) (1972), pp. 24–26; P. Skobel, *Das Jungfräuliche Klosterstift zur Heilige Maria Magdalena von der Buße zu Lauban in Schlesien von 1320–1821*, Stuttgart–Aalen 1970; idem, *Innere Reformen im Convent der Magdalenerinnen zu Lauban*, [in:] *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. 7, Hildesheim 1949, pp. 126–146; H.C. Wendlandt, *Die weiblichen Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirchen und ihre Wirksamkeit in Preußen von 1818 bis 1918*, Paderborn 1924; F. Wosnitza, *750 Jahre Kloster Czarnowanz*, “Heimatbrief der Katholiken auf dem Erzbistum Breslau” 5(3) (1978), pp. 39–43; A. Hytrek, *Sophie von Robitsch und das Stift und Gotteshaus Studenitz*, Studenitz 1895, Library of the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia, mps, sign. 117883 k. 3. See: H. Wilms, *Geschichte der deutschen Dominikanerinnen 1206–1916*, Dülmen 1920; *Constitutions des soeurs de la Congregation de sainte Marie-Madeleine dites de Bethanie du Tiers-Ordre de la penitence de saint Dominique*, Tournai [n.d.].

² W. Bochnak, *Z dziejów Magdalenek od Pokuty w Szprotawie*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 17–29.

³ The text [in:] *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae*, O. Posse and H. Ermisch (eds.), part 2, was used as a basis; *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Freiberg in Sachsen*, H. Ermisch (ed.), part 1, Leipzig 1883, pp. 396–402.

which received papal approval in 1216, at the head of the whole, i.e., brothers, nuns and tertiaries, there was a *magister generalis*, i.e., a master general, a general of the Order, not a parson general as was translated.⁴ Being divided into Provinces, the Order had regional superiors, provincial priors (*prior provincialis*), and never, as the translator gave, provincial prioress. By the way, there was no institution of provincial or even general prioress in the medieval Church; there were abbesses and prioresses, but they were responsible (at least nominally) for one Convent and possibly its branches and foundations, not for the whole Order or even its provinces. The problem of the nomenclature – a master general, provincial prior, prefect and prioress – in Fr. Bochnak's translation resulted from the fact that the Magdalenes accepted the law of the Dominican Order whose main tone was given by the male branch. In the case of the Magdalene sisters, it was exactly the opposite: men were an additional, ephemeral to say, branch, and their existence generated the vitality of female monasteries and their spiritual and material needs.

The Dominican legislation transferred vividly to the Magdalenes causes that translating *The Rule of St Sixtus* requires knowledge of the functioning of not only the nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance but also the Preachers' Order. Although the Roman monastery of St Sixtus was female, as such it fully integrated into the structure of the whole Order. Its law in a version adapted for women (however, legally dependent on the authorities of the entire Dominican Order) was given to the Magdalenes, who were then autonomous monasteries without a single superior centre of religious authority.

The Magdalene sisters, as a female monastery with a small male servant branch⁵ (each monk was assigned to a monastery of sisters and took his religious

⁴ Ibidem, p. 27.

⁵ The male branch of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance was created as an auxiliary formation for the functioning female branch. This is another case in the history of the Church; this was previously the case in England with the Gilbertine Order, in France with the Abbey of Fontevraud, and in the 14th century with the Order of St Brigid. The monks who followed the same rule as the nuns professed at the hands of the Prioress of the monastery to which they joined and which was adjacent to the Convent of Magdalenes. The friars, therefore, legally belonged to the Convent of Nuns that was of double nature. Because of the strict cloister of the nuns, the friars were to deal with the victualling of the friary and its economic and social service. Priest brothers, on the other hand, were responsible for the spiritual care of the nuns as chaplains, confessors and provosts. Given the absence of legal personality of women, priests, in the name of the nuns (as the friary provosts), acted in their legal activities. As early as the 13th century, the Magdalenes were temporarily subject to the jurisdiction of the Dominicans, thus the existence of the Magdalene men proved superfluous. Additionally, their servant position towards the convent

vows in front of the monastery's prelate as his son (a religious affiliation), had no general nominally. Although there was a general provost (he was not even a member of the Order), his function was primarily of prestige and peace-making nature. In no case was he the legal head of the Order, which consisted of female provostries under the jurisdiction of the Bishop, headed by an elected prioress and a provost appointed by the Bishop from the Convent appropriation. In this perspective, therefore, it is necessary to understand the entire content of the source, namely *The Rule of Saint Sixtus*. Such areas as the legal basis for the functioning of the Magdalene sisters in the Middle Ages, the historical context in which the Rule was created, and the Rule itself as the own law of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance can prove helpful. *The Rule of St Sixtus* is a valuable example of how the legal regulations governing the life of one order can prove themselves as norms that constitute the reality of another.

Legal basis for the functioning of Magdalene sisters in the Middle Ages

Each of the communities of the St Mary Magdalene penitents was guided by its own way of life during the first centuries of the Order existence (11th–13th century). Since most of them did not have ecclesiastical approval and were not legally incarcerated in it, it is difficult to say that they followed any recognised rule. The precepts of the Gospel and possible orders of the local clergy guided the sisters in their zeal. At the end of the twelfth century, however, with the Church's attempts to embrace various pious and beguine movements, the problem of the small communities of the penitents of St Mary Magdalene appeared. Also, the sisters realized that it would be best for their movement to adopt a formal style of life and transform it into a regular religious institution with own unified law. Rudolf of Worms, the canon from Hildesheim, was the critical figure thanks to whom we can speak about the Order of St Mary Magdalene as a whole. It was he who created a formal monastic order from loose Magdalene houses in Germany in the 1820s.⁶ Moreover, he gave the sisters forms of everyday life both ascetic and in the sphere of practical everyday solutions. Thus, the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance was established legally on

of nuns turned out to be unattractive and their enrolment ended up soon. It is worth noting that there was never a male branch of the order in Silesia. See: A. Simon, *L'Ordre des Penitentes de Sainte Marie-Madeleine en Allemagne au XIII-me siecle*, Fribourg 1918.

⁶ A. Simon, *L'Ordre des Penitentes...*, op. cit., p. 2.

10 June 1227 and accepted the rule of St Benedict and Cistercian observations as its law. The decision to make penitents live this legal compilation was made by the papal legate, Cardinal Conrad of Urach, who, being a Cistercian himself, recognised that this law would work.⁷

The Benedictine rule strongly emphasised the penitential element and the constant process of conversion. Thus, it created a good climate for the specificity of the Magdalene vocation. Cistercian statutes, as very pragmatic, clarified many spheres in the practical functioning of the convents, which then became contemplative centres. Canon Rudolf, familiar with the Cistercian world, laid strong foundations for the work of organising the Order. The Cistercian constitutions recommended and applied centralisation that, on the one hand, allowed the Magdalene monasteries to feel unity and become a coherent order, on the other hand, was a threat to the small Order. For the Cistercians did not accept the legal protection of the Magdalene monasteries since they defended themselves against the obligations to the female monasteries, so the autonomy and identity of the new Order were still not ensured and secured. The Magdalene sisters continued to search for their way of life and developed specificity of their vocation in the Church. After five years, the Benedictine rule in the Cistercian version turned out not to be fully in line with the vision of the Order, which steered towards a canonical-mendicant rather than a monastic lifestyle. After all, the Magdalenes did not create rural feudal and self-sufficient rich abbeys, but medium-sized priories within the cities. Thus, Cistercian observances turned out to be difficult to reconcile with the Magdalenes, who were joined by different candidates than the Order of St Bernard of Clairvaux. However, what the nuns worked out during that time was not enough to create a new law. Even more so because, because of the decision of the Lateran Councils, it was not enabled to establish additional orders and create new rules for their life, so the position of the Order of St Mary Magdalene was threatened because joining other religious institutes threatens to the penitential sisters and brothers. The problem was therefore solved in a compromise: the Council's decisions were met with satisfaction, and the Magdalenes saved their autonomous existence. Pope Gregory IX decided to fundamentally correct the legislation of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance, and in 1232 he changed the Rule of St Benedict into the Augustinian Rule and the Cistercian Observatory into the Dominican Constitutions. The new white nuns' habit, introduced in place of the former grey one, also showed the changes externally.

⁷ W. Bochnak, *Dzieje Zakonu Magdalenek od Pokuty na Dolnym Śląsku i Łużycach*, Wrocław–Legnica 1996, p. 16.

In the thirties of the 13th century, the Dominican constitutions were such a modern and practical solution, which guaranteed the severity of observing the nuns living according to his guidelines, that Pope Gregory IX decided to promote this right to another order – the nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance. The form of the sisters' vocation – penance and taking care of converts, especially women returning from the fall – demanded new legislation, other than the Benedictine one, where the aspect of the converted nuns was not foreseen on such a massive scale as the Augustinian Rule allowed.

The change of the rule for the Magdalene sisters was only an apparent revolution because the new law was much better suited to the solutions and expectations that were important for the nuns and significantly determined the specificity of their vocation. It should be stressed that the penitents found themselves much better as belonging to the innovative canonical current with elements of Mendicant monasticism than to the old type of Western monasticism.

While recognizing the unquestionable advantages of adopting the Dominican law for the development of the Order of Magdalene, one should also mention – in a way – the shortcomings. Well, a group of monasteries submitted themselves to the power of the Dominicans and became convents of the Ecclesiastical Order nuns. We know such cases in Slovenia in Studenice, Germany in Speyer, Regensburg, Italy, or Switzerland.⁸ The passage of monasteries became a forpost of the subjection of the whole Order to the Dominican general's authority in 1286. The Dominicans, who had already had many nuns' monasteries as well as tertiary and beguines communities and were advised to free themselves from them, accepted this burden with great reluctance. They also quickly got rid of the problem, and in 1291 the Magdalene sisters became independent – they created their structures of the dependence of the spontaneous convents.⁹

One of the many entities that were interested in granting legal norms was the Magdalenes' Monastery in Nowogrodziec upon Kwisia, which prided itself on the fact that it came from the community of penitents of St Mary Magdalene of Marseilles and existed already in 1217 in Silesia thanks to the foundation of the local royal couple, Henry the Bearded and St Hedwig.¹⁰ That is what the tradition of the Nowogrodziec Monastery maintained, which later took root among the Lubań nuns. It is in line with many other traditions of Silesian

⁸ See: H. Wilms, *Geschichte...*, op. cit., Dülmen 1920; *Constitutions des soeurs de la Congregation de sainte Marie-Madeleine...*, op. cit.

⁹ A. Simon, *L'Ordre des Penitentes...*, op. cit., pp. 157, 202.

¹⁰ See: F. Mücke, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Stadt und des früheren Klosters Naumburg am Queis*, Bunzlau 1844; J. Heyne, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte der katholischen Kirche Schlesiens*, Breslau 1868, p. 281.

monasteries, referring to the fact that St Hedwig founded them. Although the first surviving document of the Nowogrodzic Monastery dates to 1247, the information has been preserved that in 1232 the convent joined the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance already united by Rudolf of Worms¹¹.

The foundation of the Monastery in Nowogrodzic by St Hedwig is now being questioned. Nevertheless, it contains information that the Holy Duchess brought five penitents from Marseille. That, however, has probable signs when one considers that in Marseille there was the community of Magdalenes living on the model of the beguine community that was founded before 1153.¹² At the same time, it should be considered that St Hedwig had sister Agnes (d. 1201), the bigamous wife of the French king Philippe Augustus,¹³ and the Saint could bring these five penitents from Marseille to Silesia as part of the expiation. So, I would not be so categorical in rejecting the old Magdalenian tradition just because the first surviving document for the existing convent was issued in 1247.

The Convent of Nowogrodzic, together with other Magdalene monasteries in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, the Czech Republic, Silesia, and Slovenia, adopted the Dominican Rule in the 13th century. Through the Nowogrodzic Convent, the text of the Rule reached Lubań, where, in 1320, thanks to the Piast foundation of Duke Henry I Jaworski, a convent of the Sisters of St Mary Magdalene of Penance was established. Until now, after modifications and changes, that Rule in the form of a constitution is binding for the last living nun, Urszula Woźniak, who stays in her sister's private home. However, the sisters in Lubań were obliged to it until 1984, when the Polish Primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, approved the new constitutions on trial. On 19 March 1995, the independent monastery of nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance in Lubań together with its branches was transformed into a religious congregation under the papal law by the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and obtained a completely different legal personality in the Church. It was then that the Sisters of Magdalene transformed from the eight-hundred-year-old contemplative Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance into a modern apostolic religious congregation.

¹¹ P. Stefaniak, *Dziedzictwo duchowe...*, op. cit., p. 25.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Idem, *Mulier fortis. Święta Jadwiga Śląska (1178–1243) ludzie, miejsca, wydarzenia*, Katowice 2019, p. 89.

Historical context of the creation of *The Rule of Saint Sixtus*

The Holy See decided that the Magdalenes would function best when they received the recipes of the Dominican women as the basis of their way of life. For this reason, it is worthwhile to look at the beginnings of the existence of those nuns to better understand what face the Magdalene sisters acquired. They were established on 22 November 1206 in the result of the preaching activities of the cathedral canon in the Castilian Osmium of St Dominic (1170/73–1221) among the Cathars in Languedoc and Provence. Since they settled in the then provisional monastery at the crossroads at the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Prouilhe, Dominican nuns were given, along with the solidification of their institution of monastic life, their law that regulated their way of life within the Order of Friars Preachers.¹⁴ The Founder established three more monasteries of nuns incorporated into his Order, namely in Madrid, San Esteban de Gormaz, and Rome.¹⁵ Apart from these convents, numerous houses of nuns of the Order of Preachers were established throughout Europe from Portugal, England, through Sweden, Hungary and Croatia until the end of the 13th century. Most monastic centres were set out in the German-speaking area and in Italy. This number of convent houses necessitated binding written law that was to form the system of the Order and give it as uniform a face as possible. Besides, it would define its specificity concerning other nuns' formations and communities of various types, including penitents, who gradually joined the Dominicans.¹⁶

Since Dominic was confronted with the need to organize the Order, he had to give it an existing rule. As he was a canon living according to the rule of St Augustine, thus he chose the Augustinian Rule. Moreover, while the Augustinian tradition in the version modelled on the canons of Premonstratensian monks was adopted in a pure form adapted only to the progressiveness of the new Order, in the case of the nuns the matter was even more complicated. Thanks to its founder St Dominic and Bishop Diego of Azevedo, as well as the

¹⁴ Marie Fernande du Sacre Coeur [Feron], *Breve histoire du Monastere de Prouilhe*, Carcassonne 1994, p. 8; G. Le Bras, *Le Ordres religieux*, vol. 2: *Les Ordres Actifs*, Flammarion 1980, p. 521.

¹⁵ P. Stefaniak, *Dominikanki na ziemiach polskich XIII–XX w.*, "Studia Bobolanum" 1 (2006), p. 59; I. Gonzales, *Real Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Caleruega. Fundación de Alfonso X El Sabio*, Salamanca 1993, p. 20.

¹⁶ P. Stefaniak, *Dzieje mniszek dominikańskich w krajach słowiańskich*, Krakow–Racibórz 2007, p. 19.

friars who helped the nuns to form their community, the first friary in Prouilhe took numerous legal and customary solutions of the Cistercians. Initially, even Dominic believed that the established monastery would be a Cistercian one. Later, several more attempts were made to aggregate this convent to the Cistercians. Eventually, however, the Prulian nuns, as they were firmly attached to the preacher brothers, became legally part of the Order of Preachers. Even though they used the rule of St Augustine from the beginning, it was not enough for the internal and juridical formation of this and other emerging monasteries. Therefore, Dominic, the nuns and their guardians faced the need to draw up constitutions (statutes), which would regulate more precisely many issues in the life of the nuns.¹⁷

The provisions that applied to the nuns in Prouilhe, Madrid and San Esteban de Gormaz came into force by 1216. It is not known whether they were identical (rather not, because the local conditions were different). However, it seems evident that all those concerned (Dominic, his brother Manes – the guardian of the Madrid sisters, the superiors and the nuns themselves) considered those communities as belonging to the same order. Also, influenced by Cistercian solutions, they strived, despite the autonomy of the houses, for unification, guarantee of the distinctiveness of the charism. Thus, constitutions for Dominican nuns were created. They took the legal solutions of the Cistercians, especially in the sphere of economic functioning, and there were added passuses that had been working out for several years in already operating Dominican monasteries.¹⁸

When Dominic carried out the reform of the Roman nuns on papal commission and brought some of them to the monastery of St Sixtus, he faced the necessity to organize a renewed (reformed) lifestyle for them.¹⁹ Previously, the nuns in Rome lived according to the indications of St Benedict, and it had to be taken into consideration, mainly because of the exceptional practicality of the proposed solutions. A group of eight Dominican women led by Sister Blanca of Toulouse came to the monastery of St Sixtus from Prouilhe in 1221. In Rome, therefore, there was a confrontation between the incarnate old legal tradition and the new one brought from Prouilhe.

The imported solutions were exemplary. However, while Prouilhe was a feudal rural monastery gradually growing in latifundia, the Roman monastery had

¹⁷ M.H. Vicaire, *Histoire de saint Dominique. U homme evangelique*, Paris 1982, pp. 241–280 (chapter *Prouilhe*).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ H. Wilms, *Geschichte...*, op. cit., pp. 23–27; E. Levi, *Da San Sisto sull'appia al SS. Rosario a Monte Mario*, vol. 1 of the series *Monasteri domenicani d'Italia*, Roma 1996, pp. 9, 23, 41–43.

urban specificity.²⁰ Therefore, universal solutions had to be worked out. Thus, constitutions called *The Rule of St Sixtus* were created and adopted not only in the monastery of the Roman Dominicans, but also in Prouilhe, Madrid, and San Esteban de Gormaz. Later, the houses that were the foundations of the first monasteries and those that were formed as Dominican ones and knew about the existence of *The Rule of Saint Sixtus* introduced it. This text was binding for the nuns of the Order of Preachers for about four decades, until the Dominican general, Blessed Humbert of Romains, decided to give them a new law.

He did so for two reasons: firstly, the then numerous monasteries differed more and more distinctly in the application of inhomogeneous internal solutions, sometimes to such an extent that they seemed to belong to different orders. Secondly, he wanted the law of the nuns of the Order to be adapted to the constitution of the preachers, so that it was them, not the old Benedictine (Cistercian provenance) tradition, that would form the tone of this law. Thus, on 27 August 1257, Pope Alexander IV approved Humbert's Constitutions of the Nuns of the Order of Preachers. Modified and changed from time to time, they still function in the Cloistered Dominicans.²¹ Meanwhile, for almost eight centuries, the old Dominican law has been the basis for the life and sanctification of numerous generations of nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance.

The Rule of St Sixtus as the Magdalenes' own law

Having received *The Rule of St Sixtus*, the Magdalene sisters could, especially from the moment of the Order's independence, develop without obstacles and enrich the Church with the specificity of their vocation. The emphasis was then placed on two aspects of the religious life: an expiation and a regular monastic-canonical life in the strict cloister. That was new in the Church.²² When focusing on the strict cloister of the Magdalenes, it should be emphasized that the sisters showed great progressiveness in this matter, because they were the third in the Church – after the Dominicans (1207) and the Poor Clares (1212) to adopt this form of community life. The cloister was a space for the Magdalenes that enabled them to perform the perfect service of God, that is,

²⁰ E. Levi, *Da San Sisto...*, op. cit., p. 47.

²¹ W. Hinnebusch, *Dominikanie – krótki zarys dziejów*, [in:] *Dominikanie. Szkice z dziejów zakonu*, M.A. Babraj (ed.), Poznań 1986, p. 109; H. Wilms, *Geschichte...*, op. cit., p. 30.

²² P. Stefaniak, *Praktyki ascetyczne magdalenek od Pokuty*, "Rocznik Jeleniogórski" 48 (2016), p. 42.

the solemn celebration of the office, the meditation prayer (*lectio divina*), and the unanimous continuance in the community. Externally, through almost eight centuries, the Magdalenes did not differ in their divine service from the Dominican nuns, but the difference existed and was even fundamental as it concerned the Magdalenes' understanding of the purpose of their existence in the Church. As their constant maxim says, the Dominicans were to "speak to God about people" and send prayers, penances and efforts to save all sinners, according to the cry of their founder: "What will happen to these souls, Lord?" They also "specialized" in praying for the preaching mission of the Dominicans.²³ However, the Magdalenes understood their prayer specificity differently. They had an expiation for women's bodily sins and begged God for mercy on them or a change in their lifestyle. Also, the care for their salvation was always before their eyes during their internal practices. While remaining in the cloister, they offered to rehabilitate women who had broken with prostitution in their monasteries.²⁴

Although the penitential and expiation specificity was not exposed in *The Rule of St Sixtus*, it was only in the 13th century that it gave unlimited possibilities in its realization by contemplative nuns enclosed in a strict cloister. In addition, St Dominic's approach to the critical issue of the consecration of virgins at nuns, which was crucial in conventions based on the Benedictine rule, corresponded more closely to the accepted model for the Magdalenes. Dominic believed that consecration should not be given to sisters so that the one who for many reasons could not or did not want to receive it did not feel worse in the community and so that there was no questioning of the reasons why some were, and some were not consecrated. And as we know, especially in the initial existence of both Magdalene and Dominican nuns, the candidates were converted from heresy (in the latter) or harlot (in the former), and the law of that time (and long afterwards) refused to consecrate a woman who had no good reputation for her spiritual and moral life.²⁵

This equal, almost democratic treatment of all nuns was unattainable in the Benedictine Rule, and especially in its Cistercian denomination, so the Magdalenes, having framed the Augustinian Rule, had a broadly open path to successful development in all sections of their vocation. From the old Benedictine legislation, the Magdalene sisters preserved only until the middle of the 20th century the *stabilitas loci*, i.e. the stability of the place, which is known even

²³ Idem, *Dominikanki na ziemiach polskich XIII–XX w.*, op. cit., p. 58.

²⁴ Idem, *Praktyki ascetyczne...*, op. cit., pp. 44–45.

²⁵ Marie Fernande du Sacre Coeur [Feron], *Breve histoire...*, op. cit., p. 8.

to other nuns living according to the Augustinian Rule, namely the Canons Regular of the Premonstratensian Order, or the Norbertines.

Returning to this precious Magdalenes' keystone, it must be said that a copy of the original Gregory IX bull is still not found. However, its text with *The Rule of St Sixtus*, which is of interest to us, was published in Latin by the archival councillor Dr Hubert Ermisch in Leipzig in 1883 and included in the *Documentary Collection of the City of Freiberg in Saxony* in Part 1 and Volume 2 of the *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae* publishing series. It should be noted that the transumpt of Nicholas IV adopted by the Council of Freiberg on 14 June 1513 has not been preserved in the archives of the Magdalene Monastery in Freiburg, but exists only in a copy from the 16th century in the Dresden State Archive.²⁶ The same papal bull with the text of *The Rule of St Sixtus* is also known from a publication in *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (ed. Antoni Bremond [Dominican General], Rome 1729, vol. 7, p. 410).

Archival councillor, Dr Hubert Ermisch, made a reconstructive compilation while preparing the source text in the Diplomatic Code of the Kingdom of Saxony – he remarked in the introduction that according to him, the document under examination containing *The Rule of St Sixtus* remained a copy of the handwritten transumpt placed in the bull of approval issued on 1 January 1291 in Orvieto by Pope Nicholas IV. Dr Hubert Ermisch's achievements in examining the text of *The Rule of Saint Sixtus* are still valid, and this translation of the Dominican religious law is based on them. Similarly, a certified parchment copy of the bull, which dates to 20 May 1305, was kept in the archives of the Magdalene Monastery in Malchow in Mecklenburg and was published in *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch* (vol. 3, p. 402).²⁷

The original parchment document stored in the *Naumburg a. Queis* file group (Nowogrodziec upon Kwisa) (No. 24 in the State Archive in Wrocław – repertory number: Rep. 135 No. 80, sign. 82/80) has also been damaged. It contains the text of *The Rule of St Sixtus* written in 1297. This parchment had previously been in the archival collection of the Magdalene Monastery in Nowogrodziec. Although the bull was issued for all the monasteries of the nuns of this Order, it should be associated with the Novgorodziec Convent since the monastery was one of the leading Magdalene centres in medieval Europe.

The diploma has red threads and yellow silk, as well as the remains of the hanging for the seal. Interestingly, already at the time of the post-Trent Renewal

²⁶ State Archive in Dresden, the transumpt of Pope Nicholas IV, loc. 8917, *Geistl. Munchs-Ordens-Sachen*, bel. fol. 9.

²⁷ P. Skobel, *Das Jungfräulische Klosterstift...*, op. cit., p. 398.

in the circle of the Novgorodziec Magdalene Monastery, it turned out to be necessary to translate *The Rule of St Sixtus* along with comments to it. Thus, the nuns made a translation effort, and in 1616 the text of the Constitution of the Magdalenes with the translated Gregory IX bull was written in German.²⁸

Conclusion

Lastly, there is a curiosity to be mentioned. The Dominican nuns' constitutions that can be considered the oldest ones (only the law for the monasteries in Prouilhe and Madrid was older) and that echo the spirituality of St Dominic and his first daughters from the very first four monasteries of the closed white nuns, who, living only in prayer, made constant efforts to the mission of saving souls have been preserved due to the spiritual and legal tradition of the Silesian Magdalenes. Today, the law is an inspiration and a return to the sources for the Magdalene sisters. Even though, its form seems to be overshadowed and impossible to preserve, when one goes into details of the spirit of *The Rule of St Sixtus*, they will find still vivid and current contents there. Thus, they can boldly be an inspiration for the current realization of the Magdalene vocation in the contemporary world, as well as a strong link for the Order, which prides itself on its eight hundred years of uninterrupted tradition. For it is this ancient text that the nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene, including the sisters of the Lubań Convention, used for centuries, and they still derive their spiritual identity from *The Rule of St Sixtus*. It is good, therefore, that this dignified text is filled with contemporary content by ever new generations of sisters from the Congregation of St Mary Magdalene of Penance of Lubań.

For the sake of clarification, I want to add that the text of *The Rule of St Sixtus* together with the text of the Augustinian Rule appeared in my jubilee book *For the Glory of the Holy Trinity. History of the Convent of Sisters of St Mary Magdalene of Penance in Lubań 1320–2010* published in Krakow in 2011.²⁹ At that time, however, there was no place to take a closer look at the text, its explanation and comments, since *The Rule of St Sixtus* was published in Annex 10 solely as a reference to the legal source text to the history of the Monastery, thus complementing the basic Rule of the life of the nuns, namely the Augustinian Rule.

²⁸ Archdiocese Archive in Wrocław, sign. V 81 a, *Regel des Ordens s. Mariae Magdalenaee gezogen aus den Regeln S. Augustini*.

²⁹ P. Stefaniak, *Na chwałę Trójcy Świętej...*, op. cit., pp. 380–393.

Bull by Pope Gregory IX *Exurgentes de Pulvere Filiae Sion* published for the nuns of the Order of St Mary Magdalene of Penance in Anagni on 23 October 1232

Bishop Gregory, Servant of the Servants of God, sends his beloved Daughters in Christ, the penitential sisters of St Mary Magdalene, the apostolic greeting and blessing. Daughters of Zion, rise from the ashes and be like the Sulamites who have returned to the Lord, and sing a new song to the Lord, take up again your harps that were hanging in the meadows of the waters of Babylon, grasp the alabaster vessels, water His feet with your tears, and anoint the one who drew you out of the sea of misery and mud. From the account of our beloved son Rudolph, the priest and the provost of your Order monastery, we have learned a great deal that you have seen the way of salvation since the moment you began [acting] out of compassionate misery, so that those who are here and wander in the darkness are called to the light and converted by Him, who preached the Word of salvation to you, resort to the Lord, intending to change their shameless behavior into innocence in monastic chastity, because God praised innocence so that you could taste with God's grace how sweet the Lord is. But so that the old enemy that comes upon you as a lion can never again harm your peace of soul, you have humbly asked us to gracefully give you the religious robe and the rule of life. Therefore, with joy in the Lord, because of your salvation, leaning towards your humble requests, we considered it appropriate to give you the Rule of St Augustine and the statutes of the nuns from St Sixtus in the City,³⁰ which sounded as follows: As at the beginning of the young Church, a multitude of believers constituted one heart and one soul, so it worth having a good custom and way of life at home. Thus, you, who live under the same rule and the vows of the same Order, ought to always be in conformity with the rules of monastic life, which are as follows:

§ 1 The one who has been accepted as a sister is to promise obedience, stay permanently in her monastery and order without private property, and live in chastity, without ever leaving the monastery where she takes her vows unless for a compelling reason she is transferred to another convent of the same order.

§ 2 Your way of life is as follows: From the feast of Our Lord's Resurrection until the day of the Holy Cross in September, sisters are to eat two meals a day,

³⁰ The form taken over from ancient times that was used in the papal office was to call Rome the City (*Urbs*).

but not on Fridays, the Cross Days, the eve of Pentecost, three days of severe fasting at the beginning of each quarter, the eve of Saints John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, James and Lawrence, the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Bartholomew. From the solemnity of the Holy Cross in September to Easter Night, they are to eat once a day except on Sundays, unless they are weak, ill or for any other reason not dispensed. They are to eat two cooked meat dishes on each day, if possible. From time to time the prioress may add something more to this if in her opinion this is necessary and if the funds of the house allow it. However, throughout Advent, during Forty-day Lent, during the quatemala,³¹ on the eve of the Assumption and Pentecost, in the memories of the apostles and other saints, on the eve of which fasting is prescribed, on the remaining Fridays, the sisters are to limit themselves to fasting meals, and the sisters they serve are then also to receive fasting meals. In the monastery dining room, at the table, you should always read, and sisters are to listen to the readings in silence, devotion and focus. As far as the sick sisters are concerned, the prioress is to beware of negligence and severity, as the sick ought to be guarded and cared for in such a way that they can recover quickly. The sick, the weak, and the elderly should be given meat food, but only in the sick room, as St Benedict's Rule³² allows. In case of a less ailing weakness of the sister who has not lost the will to eat, she should not go to bed, exceed the ban on fasting nor demand other meals than those consumed in the refectory. She could read and take care of what the prioress tells her to do. After Vespers, all sisters come to dinner, during which one lesson is read out, as it is cultivated in Cistercian monasteries.³³

³¹ Four days of strict monastic fasting are called quatembras. Cf. *Lexicon latino-polonicum. Słownik łacińsko-polski na wzór słownika Jakuba Facciolati przez x. Floriana Bobrowskiego ułożony*, Vilnius 1822, p. 937.

³² The reference to the Rule of St Benedict can be read in the fact that the Pope knew that the Dominican nuns, which St Dominic gathered in the Roman monastery of St Sixtus, had previously lived according to the Benedictine rule, and this reference would be understandable and legible for them. See *Da san Sisto sull'Appia al. SS. Rosario a Monte Mario*, Roma [n.d.], pp. 23–26.

³³ It should be considered that the first Dominican nuns were formed according to the models adopted for Cistercian abbeys. When organizing the Dominican monastery in Prouilhe, St Dominic strongly benefited from the help of Rajmund of Claret, who was first a Cistercian, then a Dominican. Moreover, when the Pope issued a bull of legislation for the Dominicans from the Monastery of St Sixtus in Rome, the nuns in Prouilhe faced the problem of incorporating their monastery into the Cistercians, but their connection with the Dominicans was so great that they decided not to join the Cistercian Order. See Marie Fernande du Sacre Coeur [Feron], *Breve histoire...*, op. cit., p. 8.

§ 3 Try not to accept girls³⁴ under the age of eleven. However, if, to avoid serious annoyances or for spiritual benefit, she is to be taken in below this age limit, then she is to be separated from others and brought up customarily until the age of fourteen. Finally, weak, sickly and young sisters are not to be overburdened with fasting.

§ 4 Sisters are to observe silence in all places except the visiting room, and during a chapter in the chapter room. Besides, they are not to talk without special permission in the locutory. However, in the workshop, they may speak quietly, in half-voice, on topics related to their work and with the prioress' permission. The Priory, according to the needs and services, may sometimes allow conversations in other rooms. She can also talk on business when needed.

§ 5 The sisters' robes are supposed to be white, but not too delicate and exquisite because it is not thanks to the robes but customs and an impeccable lifestyle that you are to please God. All the splendour of the royal daughters flows from within. One nun is supposed to be satisfied with two outer garments and two thick shirts reaching down to the knees next to a suitable warm fur. The top garment is to be adjusted so that it does not inappropriately drag on the ground.³⁵ A sister may have two coats if her house can afford it, including at least one padded sheepskin and one scapular. Likewise, she should have the necessary shoes and two veils as well. The sisters are to lie down to sleep on straw and under a woollen cover, only wearing a warm woollen robe and shirt, and always girded if they wish.³⁶ The haircut for the sisters, as well as for the brothers,³⁷ is to take place eight times a year, namely: in the Resurrection,

³⁴ This is about the so-called oblates, i.e. girls before reaching adulthood, who stayed in the monastery given by their parents for upbringing and education. When they reached the age of majority, they either returned to their family homes or joined the monastery. The oblates lived in a separate part of the monastery under the supervision of the appointed educating nuns and their contact with the convent was very limited, although they were aware of the way of life of the nuns.

³⁵ In 13th and 14th century, feudal ladies and patricians used long trains on dresses to express the dignity of their house and its wealth. From the point of view of monastic asceticism, a dragging nun's tunic would mean a lack of humility and pride.

³⁶ Belting the body symbolized the power over the senses and was an echo of St Augustine Rule, which always ordered the wearing of a leather belt.

³⁷ These were the friars converts and monastic chaplains living in the friary and then subject to the authority of the prioress. In the first years of the existence of the Nuns of the Order of Preachers, St Dominic introduced an institution of friars dedicated to the spiritual and material service of the nuns who took their religious vows to the hands of the preacher and

Pentecost, the feast of St Peter and Paul, Mary Magdalene, the Nativity of Our Lady, all Saints, Christmas and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

§ 6 The slight offenses are as follows: if a sister has hurt her sister, she must kneel before her until the sorry one lifts her up. But if she has not been so moved that she cannot reconcile despite her long asking, she cannot escape the well-deserved penalty for her heart's hardness. If anyone who does not have a specific activity to which she has to be ready on the call, let her not leave her activity for a later time and let her prepare herself to pray for an hour in order and without interruption, or practice with dignity the function of reading or singing imposed on her. If, while chanting *responsorium* or antiphones by constant reading or singing she has led the choir³⁸ into confusion, has not immediately humiliated itself in front of everyone; if she hesitates before going to work at the appointed time, if she causes unforeseen chaos and brings anxiety there, if she does not come to the table with everyone at the appointed time; if she is absent when hair is cut, if she causes confusion in the bedroom, if it has poured out some liquid and said or done something that has disgusted the sisters; if at some place because of her behaviour she has deserved a reprimand or raised some concern; if she has taken a drink or a meal with her without blessing, if she has interfered with others at work or has negligently done her own work; if, when permitted to talk, she has consciously made others laugh through unrestrained laughter, loud or humorous words and conduct; if she was absent from the *Gloria* of the first Psalm and did not immediately do penance at the steps of the altar. When you ask for forgiveness for each of these faults you are say one psalm to make penance.

§ 7 The average offence is as follows: if one wildly laughs in the choir or made others laugh; if she does not come to the chapter or choir; if she has denied something stated under oath; if during a permitted conversation she spoke slanderously; if she has broken the prescribed silence; if having been given a task, she was slow to complete it and, despite being warned twice, she has not improved; if some parts of another sister's clothing or things left without permission have been taken by that sister. When accused at the chapter, she

the prioress. He took this solution from the Benedictine Orders in Prouille and the Gilbertines in Rome. Only the Constitutions of the Nuns drafted by the Dominican General, Blessed Hubert of Romains, which unified their legislation, abolished the category of the lay brothers at nuns' convents. Since then, it was the Dominicans from their monasteries that were obliged to support the nuns spiritually.

³⁸ The choir – here the nuns gathered to say prayers.

is to ask for forgiveness for each of offences and receive moderate discipline besides as many psalms as it seems appropriate and the chapter has prescribed for such a case.

§ 8 The grave offences are as follows: if a sister, in her frivolity or open rebellion or resistance, has proved disobedient to her superiors, or if a prioress or sub-prioress had some kind of quarrel with her subordinate; if she has maliciously argued with another sister in a reprehensible manner; if she talked to a stranger without permission or contrary to religious regulations; if, when appearing in public, she turned a glance at men and made a habit of it; if she has been caught lying deliberately; if she has a habit of breaking the silence; if she dared to sow discord between brothers or sisters; if, perhaps against the one by whom she was once accused at the chapter, or against something she spoke in a malicious manner, threatened, cursed, or spoke ungodly, and was caught at it; if she dared to reproach any sister for some old guilt for which she was already atoned for, or to reveal the secrets of the chapter;³⁹ if she spoke about her brothers, sisters or parents in an unfavourable way, which she could not prove and justify according to the testimony of her fellow sisters; if she spoke to a man alone, except for a confessor. For these and similar offences, she receives three disciplines in the chapter house, if she asked for forgiveness before being accused at the chapter, and if after three days expresses repentance and promises to improve, she must still fast for bread and water. If she was accused at the chapter, then the punishment of flogging and one day's fasting must still be applied. If someone dared to grumble because of food or clothing, or for any other reason, and had not previously presented her needs to the provost⁴⁰ or

³⁹ It was primarily a matter of revealing what happened at the Chapter of Wines, but the duty also applied to the house Chapter, where important monastic matters were undertaken. With this provision, a great deal of emphasis was placed on discretion in the monastic community, which could sometimes be jeopardized by the unwisdom of individual nuns or their aversion to each other.

⁴⁰ In the original *preposito monasteriorum*: it is not about the parish priest, because the female monasteries did not have such a supervising officer, but about a provost who combined functions of both a parish priest and someone like the contemporary curator and supervisor of the nunnery. Due to the social position of women in the Middle Ages, the provost was a representative of the convent of sisters who had legal and spiritual power on their behalf. He was also, together with his superior, responsible for the spiritual and material condition of the convent. A provost was initially supposed to be the Magdalene Order member, but due to rapid disappearance of the male branch of the Order, he was appointed from among the secular clergy. The institution of provosts was widely known in the Benedictine, Norbertine, and Cistercian Orders. In the Magdalenes, at least in

the prioress, even if they were necessary, she must also bear the punishment as mentioned above and be forced to take advantage of such meals, drinks or other things about which she grumbled and complained.

§ 9 Another grave offence is when one sister has deliberately struck another, or has committed a criminal act worthy of death, such as theft, blasphemy, and the like, or has deliberately concealed a sacrificed thing for herself or the monastery. Then, if after the accusation, her guilt is proven, she must voluntarily stand up at the chapter, humbly ask for forgiveness and confess her guilt. Then she is to receive on her bare body an appropriate flogging⁴¹ to her guilt. Because of her persistence in a grave offence, she has to make a provision for herself, e.g. that until a specific date she will be treated as the last of all in the sister convent,⁴² so that the one who was not ashamed to become a follower of Satan by her actions, would be embarrassed for a long time in the presence of all the sisters and would painfully feel it in order to achieve worthy fruits of penance. She cannot sit at one table with the sisters in the refectory; she must rather eat in the middle of the refectory and at an uncovered table. She is to be given only hard, thick bread and water as a drink, unless the prioress, out of pity, allows something else. Nor can the leftovers of her food be mixed up with others to make her feel that she will be excluded, as on earth she was excluded from community and relationship with her sisters, so forever from the community of saints, if she does not become a member of Christ through a penance. However, she must go to church breviary prayer. She must wait at the entrance to the church⁴³ and lie down in front of the entering nuns until they all pass. None

Silesia and Lusatia, the convent's provost combined his office with that of the city pastor. He did so because the Magdalene Monasteries in Nowogrodziec, Szprotawa and Lubań were situated near the local parish churches over which they had patronage rights. They were installed as city parish priests under the law of patronage of the Sisters of St Mary Magdalene over the parish churches of Nowogrodziec, Szprotawa and Lubań. But this function as parish priests was purely diocesan, urban and did not concern the functioning of the monastery itself. See: P. Stefaniak, *Dziedzictwo duchowe...*, op. cit., passim.

⁴¹ "Bare body" means to expose oneself to the waist to be flogged. In this way, the whipping was carried out in medieval monasteries not only because of the punishment received, but especially as part of penitential acts, for which permission was obtained from superiors. Also, in the Lenten and Advent periods, they exposed to the waist and scourged themselves with the light dimmed.

⁴² This is the order of precedence, i.e. a chronological order of professing in their choir (professed nuns or converses). The penalised one was the "youngest" in the precedence, even after the converses.

⁴³ It is about the entrance to the cloistered part of the church, i.e., the monastic choir, and not a publicly accessible church gate.

of the sisters can allow themselves to come into contact with her or accept any task from her. However, to prevent her from falling into despair and doubt, the prioress is to send her older, more prudent sisters who will urge her to repent, move her to tears, comfort her, demand reparation, and support her through their intercession. During the trial period, they will intercede for her and will not leave her. When she finally shows signs of humility and grief, the whole Convent is to intercede for her. Also, the prioress cannot hesitate to show her mercy when it deems appropriate. When the guilty person becomes worthy of reconciling, she is to fall to everyone's feet and beg for mercy, first the prioress and then the sisters sitting on both sides of her. As long as the sister remains entangled in the guilt, she cannot attend the sacraments except in danger of death. Nor can she accept a kiss of peace as she has separated herself from the community of sisters. As for the prioress or any other sister holding an office, she is to surrender her office and cannot accept any office unless she receives a dispensation at the general chapter. If, however, this sin has been concealed, then the perpetrator is to try, in a quiet and hidden penance appointed to herself, to show appropriate reparation to God as ordered. If, however, one dares to stir up rebellion or some kind of conspiracy and rise up against the female or male superiors, if she deliberately speaks against her brothers, sisters, parents with malicious words in front of outsiders or in any other matter, contrary to the religious statutes, she grumbles about her parents or others, she is to do penance in the manner previously indicated, take the last place for the rest of her life, and remain excluded from all offices unless she receives a dispensation from the master general at the general chapter. But if a sister has accused her prior or superiors, not in anger, of something she cannot suffer, then she is first to try to exhort that person with all her humility and love to improve. If, however, despite frequent exhortations, she does not undertake to improve or ridicules the admonishing person, then she must call his superior to admonish and persuade her to improve, or – when the superintendents come to visit the Convent – to inform them or to try to make the master general or the general chapter aware of her guilt.

§ 10 The gravest offence is to abide in the sin of the one who is entangled in the offence without fear of the deserved punishment. Such a person should be imprisoned,⁴⁴ fogged, and punished for her misconduct to a sufficient extent.

⁴⁴ In the monastery there was an obligation to set up a punishment cell, i.e. a room usually located next to the corners of the monastery corridor, below its level. The punishment cell was firmly closed, and the person inmates were communicated through a grate.

§ 11 Concerning the leniency or aggravation of the punishment, the provost has unlimited power.

§ 12 Nuns who once left their monastery recklessly can never again be accepted without the special consideration of the general master.

§ 13 From the older and pious ones, three are to be placed at the window of the locutory.⁴⁵ While these three or at least two are listening, the sister who has received one-time permission from the prioress or superior may speak. Nevertheless, when one witness is present at the window and hears something less noble, inappropriate, or contrary to the religion, they should immediately order the person talking to remain silent, and report it as soon as possible to the prioress or superior. The guilty parties must be penalised and the conversation is to be interrupted, according to the extent of the guilt and prudence of the prioress. However, the prioress and three Cellar sisters⁴⁶ may, together with the three sisters outside responsible for the economy, talk at the window about what is necessary and useful to their home in the presence of the three witnesses mentioned above.

§ 14 No friar⁴⁷ should enter a religious cloister, at most with a bishop, a cardinal, the legate of the Holy See, or in cases where the rule allows it. Nevertheless inside, he should not speak to any sister unless he does so under the permission of a higher provost or the provincial prior. The provincial may enter the cloister only once a year during the visitation unless otherwise specified by the general provost for some compelling reason. If, however, a sister is unable, because of weakness, to confess at the window, communicate, or receive holy oils, then the priest, together with the senior ministers dressed in holy robes, may enter the cloister to serve but without any discussion on other subjects. Whoever enters the cloister for some reason should have at least two witnesses of good repute with him. These are to be accompanied by three nuns and always keep an eye on them until they leave the cloister. However, with a guard at the window, the sisters may, with the permission of the prioress, talk about the necessary matters of the house. Eventually, if the guardian sisters have to talk necessarily with the

⁴⁵ The window in the locutory was barred and either in the grating there was a hole for serving things, or next to the grating there was the so-called circle (reel), or a drum for serving things.

⁴⁶ A Cellar Sister, i.e. a nun who takes care of the external needs of the monastery.

⁴⁷ This was the case both for the friars living by the monastery and for the Dominicans from other monasteries who came to visit the nunnery.

window guard, they may be exempted from applying for the permission of the prioress. However, they may not talk to strangers without the prioress' consent. Those who violate the prohibition of silence due to the danger of robbery or fire are usually absolved of punishment and guilt. The garden managers can talk to the gardener in case of necessity if the gardener is beyond any suspicion. If, however, a sister would otherwise enter into a conversation with a male person, if it were not a bishop, cardinal, or papal legate, then she is to be punished with severe guilt until the provost has absolved her.

§ 15 The prior and outside Cellars should not dare to give or sell, without the permission of the provost of this property, silver or gold, robes or the like without the advice and consent of the prioress and outside cellars. Likewise, the property in the house may not be exchanged or diminished without the permission of the chapter or the general provost. In any case, those entrusted with the administration of internal and external property are to submit expenses and income accounts at least twice a year to their prioress or general provost, or more often if required. Finally, they are to report to the prioress and at least three elderly nuns as often as is considered necessary.

§ 16 If any sisters with the authenticated certification of the master general or prior come to another Convent of the same Order, they are to be graciously and warmly welcomed. They should also, like the other sisters, be given a place in the refectory and dormitory. However, no brother, be it a cleric or a convert, nor any sister should dare to receive or remove any brother or sister without the recommendation of the general provost or his deputy. However, the provost is to have the authority to remove clerics or atheists, lay people, and sisters' prosecutors if he considers it appropriate.

§ 17 Since idleness is the enemy of the soul and the mother and protector of vices, no sister can remain in the monastery without occupation, but has, whenever she can, a job to do, because the one that gives up a useful occupation does not easily fall into temptation. It is the Lord's command to men that they will eat bread in sweat, and the Apostle says: Whoever does not wish to work, let him not eat, while the Prophet: What makes up the work of your hands, you may eat peacefully; you will remain in happiness and come out as you wish. Therefore everyone, except for hours appointed for prayer, reading or doing the Divine Office, singing or scientific training, is to be zealously engaged in manual work at the discretion of the prioress. The sisters who have a week's ministry are to select and prepare the material for reading. On all feasts, however, all are

to leave, abandon the mechanical work and devote themselves to the spiritual reading, the Divine Office, and prayer. After the completion, sisters ought to have one hour for themselves to do prayer, meditation, or other worship, but never to disturb others when they come too late to the dormitory. On non-celebratory days, sisters are to piously and devoutly fulfil the duties of hourly prayer, with no less zeal. However, they can perform prime, sext, and nones at work if they find it appropriate

§ 18 Understandably, all are to carefully avoid all traumas and hatred, slanders, accusations and unjust indictments from persecuting a faithful nun who has come forward with reprimand and opposition to those who do something contrary to religion and religious statutes, or because she has pointed out to the prioress, prior or provost their negligence. If any of them dares to do this, they are to do penance for an indefinite period at the lowest level so that others will be aware of similar deeds.

§ 19 In the individual houses of this Order, if possible, four pious, God-fearing husbands should be established to administer the external estate, as should four nuns as managers of the internal estate, who, advised by the prior and the prioress, are to administer everything. However, under no circumstances may they dispose of gold, silver, material or grain, and the like, without the permission of the prior or prioress.

§ 20 The prioress is chosen from among the elders and prudent nuns of and by the convent of sisters. It is to be approved by the general provost, by whom she may also be removed if deemed necessary. The other offices must be filled and changed by the prioress on the advice of the older and more experienced sisters, in all things without any concession for the care and rights of the general provost.

§ 21 The brothers are to observe the Rule of St Augustine carefully. In each house, as far as possible, there are to be at least six religious brothers committed to the Rule of St Augustine. At least three of them are to be priests.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ This paragraph refers to monks associated with a female monastery, who belonged to the Ecclesiastical Order as much as the convent of nuns belonged to it. Frequently, priests went from male monasteries to a female monastery, thus changing the conventual affiliation. Priests and converted brothers were affiliated to female Convents and this is how they differed from priests and converses affiliated to the male monasteries of the Order of the Preachers.

However, Beloved Sisters, since the crown only shines at the end of the battle, and since the result is a touchstone for the deeds, you must watch with great care that from morning to evening you consistently and bravely oppose your opponent, who is circling around looking for whom to devour. In this way, you can certainly expect, if with God's help, to be victorious, that you will have the King of Heaven, the Son of the Virgin, for the bridegroom, who will lead you happily into the bridal chamber of the Palace of Heaven.

Dano in Anagni, on the tenth Calends of October, in the 6th year of our Pontificate.⁴⁹

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis in Christo filiabus sororibus penitentibus sancte Marie Magdalene salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Exsurgentes de pulvere filie Syon et reverse ad Dominum Sunamites novum cantate domino canticum et resumptis organis vestris suspensis olim in salicibus fluminum Babilonis unguenti capite alabastrum et vestris rigate lacrimis pedes ejus et ungit, qui vos de lacu miserie et de luto fecis dignanter eduxit. Sane dilecto filio fratre Radulpho presbitero ac preposito monasteriorum sancte Marie Magdalene ordinis vestri dudum accepimus referente, quod, cum ipse divinitus inspiratus et miserie vestre compassus viam salutis vobis ostenderit, ut ambulantes in tenebris revocaret ad lucem, vos eo predicante vobis verbum salutis converse ad dominum concurristis et volentes de infami commercio ad claustralem transire mundiciam castitatem deo vovistis, ita quod jam deo propicio gustare cepistis, quantum ipse dominus sit suavis. Ne autem hostis antiquus, qui vobis insidiatur ut leo, quietem vestram possit nullatenus perturbare, nobis humiliter supplicastis, ut vobis religionis habitum et vivendi regulam concedere dignaremur. Nos igitur de salute vestra gaudentes in domino et vestris piis supplicationibus inclinati regulam beati Augustini et institutiones ordinis monialium sancti Sixtusi de Urbe vobis duximus concedendum, que noscitur esse talis. Sicut in primordio nascentis ecclesie multitudinis credentium erar cor unum et anima una erantque illis omnia communia, sic vos unius moris et vite in domo domini esse decet. Ideoque convenit, ut vos, que sub eadem regula et unius professionis voto vivitis, inveniamini semper in norma vivendi et canonice religionis observantiis uniformes, que sunt tales.

§ I Quelibet, cum recipitur in sororem, promittat obedientiam, loci stabilitatem et ordinis, vivere sine proprio ac etiam continenter, domum illam, in qua professionem fecerit, nullatenus egressura, nisi ad conventum alium ejusdem ordinis ex causa necessaria transferatur.

⁴⁹ That is, on 23 October 1232.

§ 2 Norma vestra vivendi talis est. A festo resurrectionis Dominice usque ad festum sancte crucis in septembri reficiantur bis in die sorores, exceptis sextis feriis, diebus rogationum et vigilia pentecostes et jejuniis quatuor temporum, vigiliis sanctorum Johannis baptiste, Petri et Pauli, Jacobi, Laurentii, assumptionis beate Marie et sancti Bartholomei. A festo autem sancte crucis in septembri usque ad pascha semel reficiantur in die, dominicis diebus exceptis, nisi debiles et infirme vel cum aliqua ex causa ruerit aliter dispensatum. Singulis diebus, si fieri potest, habeant duo cocta pulmenta. Poterit autem aliquando priorissa superaddere, prout opus esse judicaverit et facultas permiserit domus sue. In toto autem adventu, quadragesima et Jejuniis Quatuor temporum, vigiliis ascensionis et pentecostes, apostolorum et aliorum sanctorum, in quorum vigiliis jejunia sunt indicta, et omnibus sextis feriis quadragesimali cibo utantur sorores nec tunc que serviunt mixtum sumant. In refectorio semper ad mensam legatur et sorores cum silentio devote audiant lectionem. Sane circa infirmas caveat illa, que preest, ne sit negligens vel austera; sic enim sunt procurande infirme, ut citius releventur. Infirmis autem, debilibus et senibus tantum in infirmatorio indulgeatur cibus carnum, prout regula beati Benedicti permitrit. Si qua vero talem infirmitatem habuerit, que modicum ipsam debilitet ac comedendi appetitum non turbet, super culcitram propter hoc non jaceat nec consuetudinaria frangat jejunia nec refectorii cibos mutet; legat et operetur, secundum quod ei a sua injunctum fuerit priorissa. Post vespervas omnes simul ad collationem veniant, ubi legatur lectio, prout in Cisterciensium ordine fieri consuevit.

§ 3 Puellas citra undecimum annum recipere non solemus. Si que tamen propter vitandum grave scandalum vel spirituale commodum infra hos annos recepte fuerint, nutriantur seorsum et diligenter bonis moribus usque ad annum quartum decimum informentur. Porro infirme valetudinarie vel puelle non debent abstinentia vel jejuniis aggravari.

§ 4 Sorores autem silentium teneant in locis omnibus preterquam in locutorio et capitulo in hora capituli, nec etiam in locutorio loquantur absque licentia speciali. In operatorio vero loqui silenter poterunt de his, que spectant ad opera, et ad fenestram de licentia priorisse. Sane priorissa pro necessitate vel utilitate licentiam dare poterit aliquando in aliis locis loquendi et ipsa etiam loqui poterit, cum viderit expedire.

§ 5 Vestes autem sint albe, quibus utemini, et non sint nimis subtiles vel etiam delicate, ne sit notabilis vester habitus, que non debetis vestibus placere sed moribus et nitore mentium, cum esse debeat omnis gloria filie regum abintus.

Sufficiat autem moniali habere duas tunicas et duas camiseas grossas usque ad genu cum pelliceo competenti. Tunica non descendat ultra calcaneum, ne per humum defluat indecenter. Duos habere mantellos soror poterit, si domus ejus hoc valuerit tolerare, alterum tamen cum pellibus et scapulare, ac caldamenta necessaria et etiam duo vela. Super stramina et laneis soror jacebit in una veste lanea et camisea, si voluerit semper cineta. Tonsure monialium et fratrum etiam conversorum octo vicibus in anno fiant, scilicet in pascha, pentecostes, festivitibus beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, sancte Marie Magdalene, in nativitate beate virginis, festivitate omnium sanctorum, in nativitate domini et in purificatione virginis gloriose.

§ 6 Culpe leviores sunt iste. Sie qua sororem suam scandalizaverit, tandiu ante pedes ejus prostrata jaceat, quosque [should be: quousque] placata ipsam erigat, nisi forsan ita commota fuerit, quod diu rogata placari non possit; que tamen postmodum propter duritiam cordis sui penam debitam non evadar. Si qua non habens aliquod certum officium, cui deservire cogatur, si mox ut signum datur se relictis omnibus neglexent preparare, ut dicat secundum regulam ordinate et composite horas suas vel decenter impleat designatum sibi legendi officium aut canrandi; si responsorium vel antiphonam inceptura chorum turbaverit legendo incomposite vel cantando et offendens non statim se coram omnibus humiliaverit; si ad operam hora qua tenetur negligenter ire distulerit; si ibi aliquid tumultus vel inquietitudinis improvida fecerit; si admensam cum ceteris hora statuta non venerit; si ad omnem tonsuram praesens non fuerit; si aliquam in dormitorio inquietitudinem fecerit; si potum effuderit; si dixerii vel fecerit aliquid, unde scandalizentur sorores; si forsan in aliquo gestu reprehensibilis fuerit vel in aliquo forsan notabilis apparuerit; si potum vel cibum absque benedictione sumpserit; si operantes inquietaverit vel ipsa desidiose opus suum fecerit; si cum habuerit loquendi licentiam dissolute ridens cachinnis vel ludicris dictis vel factis alias ad ridendum studiose concitare intenderit; si ad gloriam primi psalmi non affuerit et statum ad gradus altaris non satisfecerit; pro singulis harum culparum injungatur pro pena pelenti veniam unus psalmus.

§ 7 Media vero culpa est talis. Si qua in choro aperte riserit vel alias ridere fecerit; si ad capitulum vel officium non venerit; si cum juramento, ut in loquendo solet fieri, aliquid negaverit vel affirmaverit; si turpem sermonem dixerit, cum loqui licuerit; si statutum silentium fregerit; sie qua earum, que sunt officiis deputate, in aliqua circa officium negligens reperta fuerit et bis monita se non emendaverit; si indumenta vel alia sorori data vel concessa sine ipsius sororis vel priorisse licentia recejcrit; clamata in capitulo pro aliqua predictarum culparum

petat veniam et unam recipiat disciplinam modestam cum tot psalmis, quot ei placuerit, que capitulum tunc tenebit.

§ 8 Gravior culpa est talis. Si qua per contumaciam vel manifestam rebellionem inobediens prelate sue fuerit vel cum prelato suo priorissa vel subpriorissa lites habuerit; si cum sorore inhoneste contenderit; si cum aliqua persona extranea sine licentia vel contra statuta ordinis locuta fuerit; si procedes ante homines oculos studiose in eos fixerit; et hoc in usu habuerit, si de industria mendacium dixisse fuerit deprehensa; si rumpere silentium in Consuetudinem duxerit; si discordiam inter fratres vel sorores presumpserit seminare; si forsan in illam, a qua in capitulo aliquando est clamata, vel in quamlibet aliam minas vel maledicta seu verba irreligiosa maliciose protulisse fuerit deprehensa; si alicui sorori preteritam culpam, pro qua satisfecerat, impropere ausa fuerit aut pandere secreta capituli; si de fratribus, sororibus vel majoribus suis aliqua minus bona dixerit, que testimonio sororum suarum probare nequiverit; si sola cum solo nisi cum confessore locuta fuerit: pro hujusmodi culpis et his similibus veniam petenti sed non clamate discipline tres dentur in capitulo et trium dierum interpolate tamen panis et aque Jejunium imponatur; clamate vero una disciplina et una dies jejunii addi debet. Si qua vero pro victu vel vestitu vel pro aliqua re alia murmurare presumpserit et non potius elegerit prius suas necessitates vel defectus preposito exponere pluries, si opus fuerit, seu etiam priorisse, predictam penam sustineat et quadraginta dies ab illo genere cibi vel potus vel alterius rei, pro qua murmuraverit, abstinere cogatur.

§ 9 Gravior culpa talis es. Si qua studiose percusserit aliquam vel crimen mortale commiserit ut furtum, sacrilegium vel aliud hujus modi aut rem collatam sibi vel conventui celaverit studiose, si publica fuerit culpa ejus clamata in capitulo, sponte surgat humiliter petens veniam et confitens culpam suam. Postmodum super nudo condignam factis recipiat disciplinam. De permanendo in pena gravioris culpe debita precepta recipiat, videlicet ut sit omnium novissima in conventu sororum ad tempus, ut, que fieri membrum diaboli culpam perpetrando non erubuerit, aliquandiu in conspectu sororum omnium confundatur et doleat dignos fructus penitentiae faciendo. In refectorio vero ad communem mensam cum ceteris non sedevit, sed in medio refectorio super nudam mensam vescetur. Providebitur autem ei seorsum panis grossior et potus aque, nisi priorissa ei aliquid per misericordiam largiatur, nec reliquie sui prandii admisceantur cum aliis, ut cognoscat, se ita separatam in terris a sororum consortio, quod privabitur perpetuo a sanctorum collegio, risi per dignam penitentiam denuo facta fuerit membrum Christi. Ad canonicas autem

horas veniat, ante hostium [should be: ostium] ecclesie maneat, transeuntibus sororibus prostrata jaceat, quousque intraverit universe; nulla se conungere illi audeat vel aliquid sibi mandare. Ipsa tamen priorissa, ne in desperationem labi valeat, mittat ad eam seniores ac prudentiores sorores, que moneant eam ad penitentiam et provocent ad lamentum, per compassionem eam foveant et ad satisfactionem hortentur, per suam intercessionem adjuvent, quam pro ipsa jugiter effundere non omittent. Porro si viderint in ea signa humilitatis et penitentiae, suffragetur ei totus conventus nec renuat priorissa cum ea facere misericordiam, cum viderit expedire. Cum autem reconcilianda fuerit, omnium pedibus advolvatur misericordiam petitura, primitus priorisse, deinde utriusque lateris sedentium hinc inde sororum. Talis vero, quamdiu in hac pena fuerit, non communicet nisi forsitan in mortis articulo, nec ad pacis osculum veniat, cum sequestrata sit a conventu sororum. Sane si fuerit priorissa vel officialis aliqua, perpetuo ammittat officium nec deinseps ad aliquod assumatur, nisi per generale capitulum cum ea forsitan fuerit dispensatum. Si vero hujusmodi peccatum occultum fuerit, secreta penitentia et discreta secundum tempus et personam satisfacere deo studeat, prout ei fuerit imporatum. Si que per con-
spirationem vel conjurationem contra prelatos suos vel prelatas se presumpserit erigere manifeste, si que forsitan de fratribus vel sororibus vel suis majoribus coram extraneis maledixerit studiose vel super aliqua re, unde scandalum possit oriri, non secundum statuta ordinis parentibus suis vel aliis malitiose conquesta fuerit, supradicto modo peniteat et de cetero in omni vita sua extremum locum teneat nec ei administratio aliqua injungatur, nisi a preposito per generale capitulum cum ea fuerit forsitan dispensatum. Si qua tamen adversus prelatum suum vel prelatam non malitiose quidam sed in veritate aliquid habuerit, quod tolerari non debeat vel deceat, prius personam hujusmodi cum omni humilitate ac caritate de sua correctione studeat ammonere; quod si frequenter ammonita se corrigere neglexerit vel contempserit, ad eam monendam et corrigendam priorem domus advocet vel curatoribus, cum ad eandem ecclesiam visitandum venerint, hoc manifestare procuret vel significare studeat major; preposito aut capitulo generali.

§ 10 Gravissima culpa est incorrigibilitatis, que nec culpas timet admittere ac penam fugit sustinere. Talis quidem persona incarceretur et affligatur et ponatur in pena gravioribus a

§ 13 Tres autem de maturioribus et religiosioribus sororibus fenestre parlatorii preponantur, quibus audientibus vel ad minus duabus ex ipsis loquatur illa, cui de prioris vel priorisse licentia loqui aliquando indultum fuerit, cum visum fuerit expedire, teste nihilominus semper fenestrario et presente, qui attente

super verbis et nutibus loquentium vigilare studeat et, si quid minus honestum seu discretum audierit vel religioni contrarium, statim silentium imponat loquentibus et quantocius priorisse aut priori sanctificare procuret. Delinquenti autem congrua penitentia imponatur et eadem allocutione juxta quantitatem delicti, secundum quod priorisse visum fuerit, suspendatur. Priorissae autem et tres cellerarie cum priore ac cellerariis de necessitatibus et utilitatibus sue domus supradictis testibus presentibus loqui poterunt ad fenestram.

§ 14 Nullus fratrum intret clausuram monialium nisi cum cardinali episcopo vel legato sedis apostolice seu in casibus in regula ista concessis et tunc intus cum aliqua non loquatur, nisi hoc fecerit de licentia majoris prepositi vel provincialis prioris. Provincialis autem prior tantum semel in anno tempore visitationis intrare poterit, nisi pro aliqua necessitate aliter provideatur a preposito generali. Si aliqua tamen ad fenestram confiteri, communicare vel unctionem recipere infirmitate gravata nequiverit, sacerdos et maturi ministri sacris induti vestibus intrare poterunt ad illud officium peragedum nihil aliud locuturi. Quicumque vero aliqua necessitate intraverit, non minus quam duos boni testimonii secum habeat, quos sequantur tres religiosiores moniales, eos semper coram videntes, donec monialium egrediuntur clausuram. Cum fenestrario vero de licentia priorisse loqui poterunt de domus necessitatibus moniales. Porro fenestrarie non consueverunt petere licentiam loquendi cum fenestrario, cum opus fuerit; sine priorisse tamen licentia cum extraneis non loquantur. Periculum latronum ac ignis intrantes et loquentes a culpa et pena prorsus absolvere consuevit. Ortri [should be: horti] autem procuratores pauca verba, si necessitas exigit, cum illo, qui ortum excolit, loqui poterunt, si talis fuerit ortulanus, de quo vel levis mala suspicio minime possit oriri. Si qua vero aliter quam dictum est locuta fuerit cum aliquo nisi cardinali episcopo vel legato vel forsitan cuiquam alii querenti de licentia respondendo, in pena gravis culpe debita permaneat, donec a preposito fuerit absoluta.

§ 15 Prior et exteriores cellerarii exteriores possessiones absque licentia prepositi, aurum vero vel argentum, vestes aut aliquod hujusmodi dare vel vendere non audebunt nisi de priorisse ac cellerariarum consilio et assensu. Similiter etiam interiores possessiones infra sue domus ambitum constitute sine consensu capituli vel prepositi generalis commutari vel minorari non possunt. Sane tam interiores quam exteriores officiales rationem faciant receptorum et expensarum coram suo priore aut preposito generali bis in anno vel amplius, si forsitan requiratur. Porro coram priorissa et maturioribus monialibus ad minus tribus computationes totiens faciant, quotiens visum fuerit expedire.

§ 16 Si allque sorores cum litteris testimonialibus prepositi majoris vel prioris provincialis ad aliquem conventum ejusdem ordinis venerit [should be: venerint], benigne recipiantur et eis locus in refectorio et dormitorio ut ceteris sororibus assignetur. Nullus autem clericus vel laicus frater vel soror audeat recipere vel expellere fratrem vel sororem sine mandato prepositi generalis vel illius, cui commiserit vices suas. Ipse vero prepositus potestatem habeat amovere clericos et laicos saeculares ac procuratores sororum, quando viderit expedire.

§ 17 Ceterum quia otiositas inimica est anime nec non mater et nutrix est vitiorum, nulla in claustro maneat otiosa, sed semper si poterit aliquid operis faciat, quia non de facili a temptatione capitur, qui exercitio bono vacat. A domino enim datum est homini, quod in labore vultus sui vesci debeat pane suo, et apostolus dicit: »Qui operan noluerit, non manducet« et propheta: »Labores manuum tuarum manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit«. Ideo exceptis illis horis, quibus orationi, lectioni vel provisioni divini officii seu cantus aut eruditioni litterarum debeat intendere, operibus mannum omnes attente insistant, prout visum fuerit priorisse. Ebdomadarie provideant, que legenda fuerint vel cantanda. Diebus vero festivis omnes vacent lectioni, divinis officiis et orationi, mechanicis operibus praetermissi. Post completorium et nocturnos horam unam habeant sorores, qua orationi, contemplationi vel devotioni possunt vacare, sic tamen ne aliqua tardius intrans dormitorium ceteras inquietet. Diebus autem profestis horis canonicis nihilominus omnes devote maneant et intente. Primam vero, tertiam, sextam et nonam profestis diebus in operatorio dicere poterunt, cum visum fuerit expedire.

§ 18 Sane caveant omnes et singule diligenter, ne presumant ullo modo rancore vel odio persequi seu calumpniis vel querelis aut accusationibus injustis aliquatenus perturbare monialem fidelem, que reprehenderit vel restiterit hiis, que operantur religioni contraria et institutionibus ordinis, vel quia priorisse priori vel preposito transgressiones indicaverit, ut regulariter corrigantur. Quod si que facere forte presumpserint, sub gravi pena in ultimo gradu ad tempus peniteant, ut cetere sibi caveant similia facere non presumant.

§ 19 In singulis hujus ordinis ordinentur, si haberi possunt, quator viri religiosi deum timentes, qui exteriora procurent. Bodem modo quator moniales interiorum procuratrices, que ad prioris et priorisse consilium omnia procurant. Ipse autem aurum, argentum, pannos, frumentum vel aliquid hujusmodi sine prioris vel priorisse licentia dare nequaquam presumant.

§ 20 Priorissa eligatur ab aliquibus senioribus et prudentioribus de conventu sororum ad hoc a conventu electis, et confirmetur per prepositum generalem, per quem etiam poterit amoveri, cum visum fuerit expedire. Officiales autem cetera per priorissam de senioribus sororum et prudentiorum consilio debent institui et mutari, salvo in omnibus generalis prepositi providentia et mandato. Similiter prior a suis fratribus eligatur, confirmetur autem vel si opus fuerit designetur et ordinetur a preposito generali.

§ 21 Fratres regulam beati Augustini observent. In qualibet autem domo, si fieri potuerit, sine sex fratres ad minus religiosi quidem et regulam beati Augustini professi, ex quibus tres ad minus sacerdotes existant.

Quia igitur, dilecte in Christo filie, finis non pugna coronat et exitus acta probat, diligenti vigilare sollicitudine vos oportet, ut adversario vestro, qui circuit querens quem devoret, tota die constanter et viriliter resistatis, sicque sperare secure poteritis, quod, si actore domino victrices fuistis, celestem regem virginis filium sponsum habebitis, qui vos in celestis palatii thalamum feliciter introducet. Datum Anagnis X. Kalendas novembri pontificatus nostri anno.

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