

**Centuries of Silence:
The Discovery of the Salzennes Antiphonal**

By
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Abstract

“Centuries of Silence: The Discovery of the Salzinnes Antiphonal”

By Judith E. Dietz

The thesis examines the sixteenth century *Salzinnes Antiphonal* in the collection of the Patrick Power Library, Saint Mary’s University, Halifax. The study traces the manuscript’s European provenance, analyzes the structure of the codex and examines the Latin liturgy, musical and artistic compositions, as well as the iconography and symbolism of the devotional images. As a selective review into the history of the Low Countries, the thesis explores the religious and social forces that influenced the manuscript’s creation such as the patronage of the de Glymes family. It reveals a unique insight into the spiritual and cultural lives of the nuns of the Cistercian Abbey of Salzinnes in Namur, Belgium.

The thesis concludes that the *Salzinnes Antiphonal* represents a record of commemoration, monastic kinship and communal devotion. This study establishes the *Salzinnes Antiphonal* as a rare cultural and ecclesiastical treasure containing multiple images of nuns, their corresponding inscriptions, the presentation of three separate religious orders and patrons’ coats-of-arms.

August, 2006

CONTENTS

Introduction 1

Chapter:

1. **Provenance : From Salzinnes to Halifax** 6
 - Bishop William Walsh
 - Preservation and Future of the Salzinnes Antiphonal

2. **The Abbey of Salzinnes** 16
 - Founding and Incorporation
 - Domains and Architecture of Salzinnes
 - Reform
 - Elections
 - Sieges and Suppression
 - Libraries, Archives and Documentary Records

3. **Liturgy and Music** 47
 - Reformation and the Council of Trent
 - Diocese of Liège and Liturgical Reform
 - The Relationship between the Liturgy and Music
in the *Salzinnes Antiphonal*

4. **Illuminated Art of Sixteenth Century Europe** 62
 - Illuminated Manuscripts in the Diocese of Liège
 - Stylistic Influences and Regional Characteristics

5. **The Art of the Antiphonal** 72

Part 1: Composition, Contents and Description

Preparation Process

Production Process

Binding Process

Part 2: The Illuminations in the *Salzennes Antiphonal* 88

Salzennes Antiphonal: Volume I

Iconography and Symbolism

Veneration of Saints

Eucharistic Devotion

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and
Humanity of Christ

Artistic Style

The Annunciation

The Adoration of the Shepherds

The Adoration of the Magi

Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane

The Resurrection

Christ in Majesty and the Assembly of Saints

The Holy Kingship

Salzennes Antiphonal: Volume II

Saint George

Saint Maurice

Saint Hubert

Saint Juliana

Conclusion

6. The Salzennes Antiphonal and the Nuns of Salzennes 134

The Monastic Family

The Cistercian Family of Nuns

The Colophon

Coats-of-Arms and Donor Patronage

The Annunciation

The Baptism of Christ

The Resurrection

Christ in Majesty and the Assembly of Saints

The Holy Kinship

Patron Saints

Saint George

Saint Maurice

Saint Hubert

Saint Juliana

Conclusion

Bibliography 183

APPENDICES

1.	1.1	Foliation Index	200
	1.2	.1 - Foliation Cover Sheet .2 to .31 - Foliation Structure - Individual Folios and Quires	202
2.	2.1	Decorated Initial Letters and Historiated Initials	233
	2.2	Feast Days and Holy Days	235
3.	3.1	Catalogue Record and Inscription Documentation	238
	3.2	.1 to .6 - Detail Images of Inscription Names Accompanying the Miniatures with the Nuns of Salzinnes	243
4.	4.1	Identifiable Names and Election Records Documentation for 1553 and 1559	251
5.	5.1	Index of Coats-of-Arms	254
	5.2	.1 to .3 - Wyngaert, de Glymes and Nys Coats-of-Arms	255
6.	6.1	de Glymes Family Genealogy	258
7.	7.1	Index of Historical Images	259
	7.2	.1 to .5 - Abbey of Salzinnes, Map, Portrait	260
8.	8.1	Index of Salzinnes Antiphonal Miniatures	265
	8.2	.1 to .17 - Full Page Illuminations, Historiated Initials, Colophon Page etc.	266

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Judy Dietz

INTRODUCTION

Hand-produced illuminated manuscripts are some of the most important historical, social and religious documents ever created. Examination and study of their composition, form and function can provide us with an extraordinary amount of information. In contrast to the uniformity of the printed book, hand-produced books present a unique insight into the traditions and practices of their owners, as well as their social and religious identities. The text, script and imagery offer a sense of daily life and religious practices. The language of the text and selection of the imagery reflects local and regional traditions. The quality and complexity of the script and decorations suggests the level of professionalism of the scribes and illuminators and the financial resources of the owners or patrons. An examination and analysis of each aspect, independently, and jointly in context, serves to establish the significance of the hand-produced book.¹

The focus of this thesis is the recently discovered Salzinnes Antiphonal. A sixteenth-century liturgical manuscript containing the choral parts of the Divine Office, the antiphonal is in the Rare Book Collection of the Patrick Power Library, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. No previous literature exists on this rare, indeed unique illuminated manuscript and it has never been thoroughly examined and researched. This thesis is the first part of a multifaceted, on-going project which includes digital photo-documentation of each folio; transcription and translation of the Latin text; transcription of the music to modern notation, and a documentary web-site. In addition, a concert presentation of a select portion of the antiphonal is planned for Saint Mary's Basilica in

¹ James R. Tanis, ed., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp.1-3.

Halifax. The final objective is the restoration and conservation of the Salzennes Antiphonal to preserve this unique cultural and historical artifact.

Based on an interdisciplinary approach, the thesis uses social, cultural and art historical methods. It employs techniques of codicology, iconography and genealogy, with textual analysis and critical assessment of the primary and secondary source documents. In addition, archival records, local histories and chronicled events are examined and analyzed in order to provide a cultural and historical portrait of the nuns of Salzennes.

Many challenges arise in retracing the history of a manuscript created in the mid-sixteenth-century. Because of many disasters over the past four centuries, both natural and man-made, the abbey where the Salzennes Antiphonal originated no longer exists. Documentary information about the provenance of the manuscript is vague, fragmented and scarce. Originating from a Cistercian convent of nuns in the Diocese of Liège, chapter 1 focuses on the provenance of the Salzennes Antiphonal. It explains how the manuscript came to light, who may have acquired it and brought it to Halifax and how it came to be in the collection of Saint Mary's University. A brief biography of the first Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Halifax is included to provide the historical link between Europe and North America. A long range plan for the manuscript's future preservation and public accessibility is also presented as a result of the examination and research initiated by this study.

Chapter 2 places the Salzinnes manuscript in its appropriate historical and social context. It presents the history of the Abbey of Salzinnes from the beginning of its formation in the twelfth century to its demise at the end of the eighteenth century. Included is a description of gifts by early patrons of properties, buildings and tithes, as well as the architectural plan of the abbey and the effects of monastic reform. An additional feature is documentary evidence on the nuns, focusing on two abbatial elections around the time period of the manuscript's production. In order to place the Salzinnes Antiphonal within this historical framework, a review is made of some of the archival records and artworks which have survived from the Abbey of Salzinnes.

Chapter 3 focuses on the liturgy and music in relation to the Divine Office, the Rule of St. Benedict and the Cistercian *Ecclesiastica Officia*. It provides a brief background description of the political and religious turmoil in the Low Countries and discusses the effects of liturgical reform and the Council of Trent on the Diocese of Liège. The Salzinnes Antiphonal features plain chant music and includes psalms, canticles, antiphons, responsories, hymns, and versicles. As well as examining the Latin text, the study outlines the liturgical content, including identification of feast days and the regional traditions represented in the antiphonal.

In addition to the text and music, the Salzinnes Antiphonal contains several unique devotional images. To provide a textual context for the manuscript, chapter 4 examines the illuminated art of sixteenth-century Europe featuring regional extant manuscripts with a focus on those from the Diocese of Liège. Common attributes,

stylistic influences and regional characteristics are identified with examples, as a basis for comparison to the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

The art of the antiphonal is explored in the broadest sense in chapter 5. Divided into two parts, part 1 examines in detail the codicology or physical composition of the Salzinnes Antiphonal and the methods and skills required in the preparation and production. This includes a study of the assembly, script, rubrication, decoration, illumination and binding, as well as the manuscript's foliation and the marks of production and assembly, which are important components in the dating and authentication of manuscripts of the medieval and early Renaissance. Part 2 discusses the genre of religious convention in the art prevalent in the Medieval and Renaissance periods. It also examines the religious themes and subject matter common to the Cistercian Order and found in each of the images as part of the iconographic program of the Salzinnes Antiphonal. In addition to documenting the full-page illuminations and historiated initials, each image is assessed based on artistic style, including the iconography and symbolism.

Chapter 6 examines and researches the Cistercian nuns of Salzinnes represented in the antiphonal. It identifies the key figures depicted, as well as their roles within the monastic community and family coats-of-arms. This chapter analyzes the images featuring nuns in order to assess their patronage within the framework of the manuscript. It also establishes the significance of the appearance of nuns from the Carmelite and Benedictine Orders in this Cistercian manuscript. A summary of the examination and

analysis of the Salzinnes Antiphonal is presented, based on the historical background of the abbey, the textual content, the devotional imagery, portraits of nuns and their corresponding inscriptions found in the manuscript. The evidence provides the authority to recognize the Salzinnes Antiphonal not only nationally, but internationally, as a rare cultural and ecclesiastical treasure.

Apart from the music, Latin text and illuminations, examination of the manuscript alone, presents only three facts. The manuscript was hand-produced in 1554-1555 for the former Cantrix and Prioress, Dame Julienne de Glymes at the Abbey of Salzinnes. What does the Salzinnes Antiphonal tell us about the abbey? Who were the nuns and what did they contribute to the cultural and spiritual lives of their congregation? Does the Antiphonal offer an insight into the demographic profile of their isolated community? A final question focuses on what the Salzinnes Antiphonal represents. Was it a liturgical enhancement for spiritual expression or a relic of medieval tradition? This study concludes that in addition to its function as a liturgical manuscript for spiritual devotion, the Salzinnes Antiphonal represents a rare document of cultural and historical significance and a testament to the abbey and the nuns of Salzinnes.

CHAPTER 1

Provenance: From Salzannes to Halifax

My interest in the Salzannes Antiphonal developed as a result of research for an exhibition of European religious sculptures curated for the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia in 1998. The exhibition entitled, *An Expression of Faith: Sacred Art of Centuries Past* included sculptures from the fifteenth to the seventeenth-century donated by the Archdiocese of Halifax to the Gallery in 1997. Research showed that some of the religious sculptures depicting scenes from the *Passion of Christ* were Flemish, German or French in origin, dating from about 1470 to 1510. These sculptures of the *Passion of Christ* installed in the *Chapel Built in a Day, Holy Cross Cemetery* in the 1840s by Bishop William Walsh of Halifax were among the many artworks acquired by the Bishop as he travelled throughout Italy, Switzerland, France, England and Ireland in the 1840s and 1850s.

To offer visitors a visual and textual enhancement of other artistic disciplines of the late Middle Ages to the early Renaissance, my search led me to seek out an example of an illuminated manuscript. Following research visits to several local institutions, a manuscript was found in the Rare Book Collection of the Patrick Power Library, Saint Mary's University. Although described as a Roman Catholic Antiphonary, little documentation existed in library records. The sheer size and grandeur of this fine manuscript fascinated me, and thus began an intriguing journey of research and exploration on what is now known as the Salzannes Antiphonal.

Hand-written and illuminated Cistercian antiphonals are not common, particularly in North America, and finding such a manuscript in Halifax was an unexpected and exciting find.¹ Although the Salzinnes Antiphonal had great historic and artistic merit and would have been an excellent addition to the exhibition, I decided against including it, since the poor and fragile condition of its binding could lead to further deterioration. To ensure its conservation as a cultural and historic treasure and to promote its consideration for restoration at the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa, I began to research its provenance and contents for justification. This led to a quest of study and research, which led me to England and Belgium in 2003 and Rome and a second visit to Belgium in 2006.²

The last page of the Salzinnes Antiphonal provides the information regarding patronage, date and geographic origin of the manuscript, but how it came to Halifax from Belgium is not known for certain. Preliminary research indicates that it may also be linked to Bishop William Walsh who acquired the religious sculptures, now in the

¹ In the article on antiphoners, their origin, evolution, important manuscript and modern research; Michel Huglo and David Hiley state, "about 75 Cistercian antiphoners survive," citing S.R. Marosszeky, *Les origines du chant cistercien.*, *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* (VII, 1-2) Vatican City, 1952. Although this figure may not be up to date, it does give an indication of the small number of extant Cistercian manuscripts. See Michel Huglo and David Hiley, "Antiphoner: 3(v) Important manuscript antiphoners: manuscripts of the religious orders," Grove Music Online, <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.01034.3.5>. 16 June 2006. See also Seymour de Ricci and William J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1935-40). Also Christopher Faye and W.H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, ed. W.H. Bond (New York: The Bibliographic Society of America, 1962).

² With the assistance of a research and travel grant from Saint Mary's University Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, I was able to undertake research on the Salzinnes Antiphonal in London, England and attend the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, 14-17 July, 2003 to co-present with Rowan Watson, a paper on the Salzinnes Antiphonal at the session entitled, *Cistercian Manuscripts: Recent Discoveries and New Attributions*. This was followed by research on the Abbey of Salzinnes in Brussels and Namur, Belgium. Research on Bishop William Walsh at the Vatican Secret Archives in Rome in March/April 2006 was also funded in part by Saint Mary's University, through the office of the Academic Vice-President.

collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia. Although most biographical documents on William Walsh are limited to factual details, personal insights are found in his funeral address written in 1858 by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Louis Connolly.³ In addition to being his friend for eighteen years, Connolly served as his personal secretary and eventual successor.

Bishop William Walsh

William Walsh, the eldest of fourteen children of Joseph Walsh was born in Waterford, Ireland on November 7, 1804. During his early schooling, Walsh showed a sincere devotion to study and learning and excelled in scholastic achievements. He attended St. John's College and went to the seminary in Maynooth, in the County of Kildare. In 1828, he was ordained a priest and served in various parishes at Clontarf and Kingstown around Dublin Bay.⁴ Although Walsh was on the honorary rolls of Propaganda "to fill the first vacancy that might occur," he declined the Bishopric of Calcutta and a parish in the Archdiocese in Dublin, since he desired a more modest position.⁵ Initially, he even turned down his nomination to Nova Scotia. Walsh finally conceded and on 1 May 1842, he was consecrated titular Bishop of Maximianopolis and appointed Coadjutor Bishop of

³ Thomas L. Connolly, *Funeral Oration, at the month's memory of His Grace the Most Rev. William Walsh, D.D., Archbishop of Halifax* (St. John: T.W. Anglin, 1858), pp. 1-17. See also John E. Burns, "Archbishop William Walsh," *Nova Scotia Historical Society*, 25 (1949), pp. 131-143. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 1851-1860, Vol. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 919-921.

⁴ Burns, "Archbishop William Walsh," p. 133.

⁵ Connolly, *Funeral Oration*, p. 10. The term *propaganda* is derived from the name, *Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* or *sacra congregatio de propaganda fide*, administered by the department of the pontifical administration. The Roman Commission of Cardinals was responsible for the spread of Catholicism and the administration and monitoring of ecclesiastical affairs in all foreign missions in the Roman Catholic Church. See J. Brian Hannington, *Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax 1604-1984* (Halifax: Archdiocese of Halifax, 1984), pp. 70, 89.

Halifax.⁶ He traveled to Halifax on board the BRITANNIA arriving on 16 October 1842 and immediately began his duties as assistant to Bishop William Fraser.

Due to opposing factions within the Catholic Church, relations in Halifax were difficult.⁷ However, as directed, Walsh assumed the control of the temporalities of St. Mary's Cathedral and took over the position of President of Saint Mary's College (now Saint Mary's University). He supervised the construction of *Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel*, more commonly known as the *Chapel Built in a Day* in 1843 and the opening of *Holy Cross Cemetery*. Walsh also established a monthly publication entitled *The Cross* and supported the publication of prayer books and catechisms printed in English and French, as well as the native dialect of the Mi'kmaq Indians, as a means of liturgical instruction for his diocesan members.⁸

By 1849 his interest in education resulted in establishing the first religious congregation in Halifax of the Sisters of Charity.⁹ The Religious congregation of the Sacred Heart soon followed. On 4 May 1852, Pope Pius IX erected the Metropolitan Province of Halifax and appointed William Walsh as the first Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Halifax.¹⁰

⁶ Burns, "Archbishop William Walsh," p. 133.

⁷ For a brief history of the religious and political contentions in Halifax associated with Bishop William Fraser and Coadjutor Bishop William Walsh, see Hannington, *Every Popish Person*, pp. 89-95.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 110.

¹⁰ Hannington, *Every Popish Person*, p. 105. See Appendix 7.2.5, p. 264 for a portrait of Archbishop William Walsh.

In 1854 Walsh took a leading part in the discussions surrounding the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary held at the Vatican under Pope Pius IX.¹¹ For his contributions, Walsh's name is inscribed on a plaque in the choir of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, dated December 8, 1854: *Guillelmus Walsh, Archiep[iscopu]s Halifaxiensis*.¹² He is also acknowledged in a plaque behind the altar of St. Paul's Outside the Walls, dated December 10, 1854.¹³ After many years of failing health, Walsh died in Halifax on 10 August 1858 and was buried in *Holy Cross Cemetery*.

Walsh's seventeen-page eulogy is filled with praise and admiration. Thomas Connolly notes that every step of Walsh's career was marked with "unconscious mastery of intellectual power blended with true unassuming worth".¹⁴ He continues by saying, "he had not an unoccupied day, not a single hour in which he was not doing good and valiant services in the cause of God."¹⁵

Similar to the religious sculptures in the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia's collection, the Salzannes Antiphonal was likely acquired by Bishop William Walsh as he traveled throughout Europe in the 1840s and 1850s. Since most of the liturgical art objects seized by the French Revolutionary army were brought back to their homeland, it is likely that

¹¹ Connolly, *Funeral Oration*, p. 13. See also Burns, "Archbishop William Walsh," p. 142.

¹² The plaque honoring this occasion was photo-documented in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, 23 March 2006. See also Burns, "Archbishop William Walsh," p. 142. See also Hannington, *Every Popish Person*, p. 107.

¹³ Walsh is acknowledged for his attendance at the consecration of the reconstructed Basilica of St. Paul. The plaque located behind the altar in St. Paul's Outside the Walls was photo-documented, 30 March 2006.

¹⁴ Connolly, *Funeral Oration*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the Salzinnes Antiphonal was acquired by the Bishop in France. It is also likely that Walsh acquired the manuscript because of the focus on the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Salzinnes miniatures in commemoration of two significant occasions in his life - his ordination as a Roman Catholic priest on 25 March, 1828, the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in commemoration of his personal participation in discussions at the Vatican surrounding the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception. Additionally, the date on the plaque acknowledging Walsh at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome is inscribed as December 8th – the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

As Rev. Connolly notes in his funeral address:

In the Vatican at Rome, as in Ireland and in the pulpits of Nova Scotia he taxed his powerful mind to the utmost in sifting every objection and bringing every imaginable argument to bear in favour of the Immaculate Conception of her whom he loved as a mother during his whole life, and whose name and praises were still lingering upon his purpled and quivering lips as they were being closed in death, and only one moment as it were before his pure and beauteous soul was presented at the tribunal of her Divine Son.¹⁶

Bishop William Walsh was a great writer of letters, poems and devotional literature. In 1831, he wrote a poem *Memory and the Freshness of the Heart*, and a book of prose and verse entitled, *Devout Offerings of a Catholic Heart*, published after his death in New York in 1864. His spiritual devotion and interest in education further justifies the likelihood of his interest in acquiring such a personal and unique manuscript as the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

¹⁶ Connolly, *Funeral Oration*, p. 13.

In addition to providing an in-depth account of political and administrative issues relating to the diocese, Walsh's letters to Dr. Paul Cullen, Rector, and Dr. Tobias Kirby, Vice-Rector of the Pontifical Irish College in Rome, clearly demonstrate his love and interest in art and culture.¹⁷ They also refer to the purchase of religious paintings, sculptures and books for the "Cathedral" in Halifax and for his various missions.¹⁸

In a letter to Dr Tobias Kirby, written from Kingstown, Ireland, on 28 September 1842, Bishop Walsh writes, "I have collected a very respectable library, and am also bringing over several valuable paintings for the Churches."¹⁹ Again in a letter to Kirby from Kingstown, 15 March 1843, he writes, "I added greatly to my stock of Religious Treasures in my passage through France."²⁰

Bishop Walsh refers to specific artworks in a letter to Dr Paul Cullen written on 18 September, 1844 from Paris:

"I have been making a great number of purchases for the wants of the missions... I am about securing a very handsome stone statue of our Blessed Lady - as old as the 13th century - for an empty niche in the Facade of the Cathedral at Halifax. I have also bought several other statues of her, Crucifixes and a very respectable Statue of a bishop for St. Patrick."²¹

¹⁷ Original letters are preserved at the Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives. Copies of some of the letters are located at the Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax.

¹⁸ Hannington, *Every Popish Person*. Hannington writes of Walsh, "...his love of tradition and art inspired him to gather a collection of antiques and relics to enrich the churches and libraries of Halifax." "Paintings, statuary and ancient volumes of prayer and music arrived with him when he returned [from Rome] to Halifax..." p. 107.

¹⁹ Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives KIR/1836-1861/129.

²⁰ Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives KIR/1836-1861/343.

²¹ Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives CUL/1821-1878/944.

Again, in another letter to Cullen written from London on 18 November 1844, Bishop Walsh states, “I have further picked up many valuable things enroute, and in every case (an?) opportunity of securing anything I can for the missions.”²² In a letter to Cullen written from Halifax, 30 October 1846, Walsh writes about his travels around Nova Scotia in order to “make a complete circuit of the diocese.” “I travelled upwards of 500 miles with one pair of horses and brought an immense quantity of religious objects for distribution.”²³

It is clear from the known artworks acquired by Bishop Walsh that he was a man with a discerning eye. He had a sense of refinement and looked for quality and excellence in everything he did. As an avid scholar, having a thorough knowledge of at least four languages, he was interested in old books and manuscripts. He regularly attended markets and visited bookstalls.

Walsh recorded the following in a *Martyrologium Romanum*, printed in Rome in 1583, “Purchased at Naples in June, 1844 by W. Walsh, Bishop of Maximianopolis and Coadjutor of Halifax.”²⁴

For many years, several of the ecclesiastical treasures acquired by Bishop William Walsh had been placed in storage in the attic of *Villa Maria*, the former Catholic Archbishops residence, built in Halifax in 1931. In the early 1970s Archbishop James M.

²² Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives CUL/1821-1878/981.

²³ Pontificio Collegio Irlandese, Archives CUL/1821-1878/127.

²⁴ *Martyrologium Romanum*, Collection of the Atlantic School of Theology, Halifax, N.S.

Hayes found the Salzennes Antiphonal in the attic. As a continuation of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, it was appropriate that the antiphonal would find its way from *Villa Maria* to a university named in her honour. In 1975-76 Archbishop Hayes presented the Salzennes Antiphonal to the Patrick Power Library, Saint Mary's University, when new facilities were built which could suitably house this rare and important manuscript. Although looked at periodically, for the most part, the antiphonal lay in storage until 23 March, 2000 when it was brought to the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia for examination and study.

Preservation and Future of the Salzennes Antiphonal

The art of female monasticism has mainly survived in the form of fragments, such as, for example, the drawings of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Walburg, Germany.²⁵ Interest and study of female monastic art has only developed over the last decade and a half. With the exception of the removal of two numbered folios, the Salzennes Antiphonal is intact, and its unique function as a liturgical manuscript, historical record and a personal artifact offers considerable contextual insight and inquiry.

As a valuable historical resource, the Salzennes Antiphonal is a personalized testament to the nuns of Salzennes. Its discovery and study has assisted in filling a void in the history of the abbey and the region and has aroused great interest internationally. The findings of this research and study attest to its significance and intrinsic value as a historical, sociological and cultural portrait of the Abbey of Salzennes. Due to the variety

²⁵ For a study of the art by nuns from the Abbey of St. Walburg, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 213.

of disciplines covered and magnitude of information, the Salzinnes Antiphonal offers considerable interdisciplinary opportunities for further study. In order to preserve the fragile sixteenth century manuscript and to limit the need for handling, a decision was made early in the research process to photograph each folio. As a result, the digital photo-documentation of each folio, produced during the course of this study, will allow unlimited access to scholars and benefit on-going examination and research in the future.

Based on an application for restoration and the accompanying research justification provided by this study, the preservation of the antiphonal is now assured following its acceptance for restoration by the Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa in June 2005.²⁶ In addition to repairs to the deteriorating structure and leather binding and minor consolidation to the illuminations and text, the manuscript will undergo extensive analytical work of the pigment, ink, vellum and leather for study and future publication. Following this process, plans for an educational program is proposed to include a public exhibition and concert featuring excerpts from the sixteenth century manuscript. Thus, just over 450 years after its completion, the Salzinnes Antiphonal will be restored to its original form and take its place among the ranks of one of the most prominent Cistercian manuscripts ever created.

²⁶ A letter of acceptance was received from the Canadian Conservation Institute 10 June, 2005, based on an application I made on behalf of Saint Mary's University with the support of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, 26 April 2005. The analytical work is scheduled to begin at the CCI labs in Ottawa in December, 2006.

CHAPTER 2

Abbey of Salzinnes

Founding and Incorporation

The Abbey of Salzinnes was situated on the banks of the Sambre near the junction of the Meuse River on the outskirts of Namur, in the southern Low Countries.¹ Several inconsistencies and contradictions exist in the documentation about the founding date of the abbey.² Besides the scarcity of records, a misinterpretation of medieval Latin records and paleography by eighteenth and nineteenth-century historians contributed to these errors.³ Modern historical research suggests the Abbey of Salzinnes, founded in 1196-97 and incorporated in 1203-1204, coincided with the period of expansion around the late

¹ Over the centuries, the Abbey of Salzinnes has been identified in several different ways in various historical records. Documents record the name of the Abbey as (Salzinia, Salsinia, Salsines, Salesinnes, Salezines, Salzines, Salzinne, Salsen, Saint-Georges, Vallis Sancti Georgii, S. Georgius de Valle and Val-Saint Georges in the 13th century; Vaul-St-George in the 14th century; Sallesines, Salisennes and Val-St-George in the 15th century; and Salzin and Salzenne in the 17th century. Ursmer Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, I, *Provinces de Namur et de Hainaut, Abbaye de Salzinnes* (Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1890), p. 101; Jean-Marie Duvosquel, ed., *Albums de Croÿ, Comté de Namur I*. Vol. 14 (Bruxelles: Crédit Communal, 1986), pp. 60-61; Émile Brouette, *Recueil des chartes et documents de l'abbaye du Val-Saint-Georges à Salzinnes (Namur), 1196/97-1300*. *Cîteaux-Commentarii Cistercienses Studia et Documenta – Vol. I* (Achel: Abbaye Cistercienne, 1971), p. v; Jean-Jacques Bolly, “Les abbayes de femmes: L’abbaye de Salzinnes,” in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens en Namurois XIII^e - XX^e Siècles* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 1998), p. 171. For the purpose of this study, the name Val-Saint-Georges will be used in reference to the medieval charters and the Abbey of Salzinnes as the accepted contemporary standard to all references thereafter. The Low Countries refer to present day Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands. Today, Namur is in the southern part of the kingdom of Belgium which was created in 1831. The official language in southern Belgium is French.

² References may be found in *Gallia Christiana*, Vol. 3, ed. Palmé (Paris, 1876) pp. 601-603, to the consecration date of the Abbey of Salzinnes as 1130; in C. Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et province de Namur*, Vol. 4 (Liège, 1789), p. 302 to the founding date of 1111, the consecration date of 1130 and the confirmation date by the bishop of 1146, also in L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*. Vol. 2 (Macon: Protat Frère, 1937), p. 2944, to the founding date of 1111, the consecration date of 1130 and incorporation date of 1154. However, these dates are unsubstantiated and discounted by contemporary historians. See for example Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, pp. v-vi. Also on the problems of dating, see Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, I, p. 102.

³ Émile Brouette, “Chartes hennuyères de l’abbaye du Val-Saint-Georges de Salzinnes (Namur) (1202-1365),” *Documents et Rapports de la Société royal d’archéologie et de paléontologie*, Vol. 49 (1954), pp. 70-71 and *Recueil des chartes*, pp. vi-vii. See also Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, p. 101.

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries of the Cistercian Order in the region.⁴ Although not the oldest monastery in the county of Namur, the Abbey of Salzinnes was the first of nine Cistercian convents for women incorporated in the Order of Cîteaux.⁵ The other abbeys for women included: Boneffe, Solières, Argenton, Saint-Remy, Moulins, Le Jardinnet, Soleilmont and Marche-les-Dames.⁶

According to the founding charters for the Abbey of Salzinnes, the first record of 1196-97 documents a gift from Philip the Noble, Count and Marquis of Namur.⁷ Records dated March 1202 show evidence of a pre-Cistercian community. It documents that Baudouin, the Count of Flanders and Hainaut with his wife Marie made many gifts to the

⁴ The founding date of 1196-97 is recorded in Émile Brouette, "La date de fondation de l'abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur)," *la Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 27, Fascicles 1-2 (Bruxelles, 1949), p.137 and Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vi; 1197-98 is documented as the incorporation date in Brouette, "Chartes hennuyères de l'abbaye," p. 68 and J. Bovesse, *Inventaire général sommaire des archives ecclésiastiques de la province de Namur*, Minister de l'Education National et de la Culture, Archives Generales du Royaume, Archives de l'État à Namur (Bruxelles, 1962), p. 239; 1203-04 is recorded as the incorporation date in Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p.171. The Cistercian Order was founded in 1098 by Robert of Molesmes (c.1028-1111). For readings on the Cistercians see Louis Bouyer, *The Cistercian Heritage*, Mowbray (London: Mowbray, 1958), pp. 1-14. See also Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee: Our Lady of Spring Bank, 1953), pp. 16-33 and Bede K. Lackner, "The Monastic Life According to Saint Bernard" *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series 34 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp. 49-62. For references to the expansion of the Cistercians in the Namur region see Brouette, "La date de fondation," p. 137 and *Recueil des chartes*, pp. vi-vii. For a study of the Cistercian nuns of the Diocese of Liège and the county and Diocese of Namur, see Marie-Elisabeth Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes du pays mosan moniales et vie contemplative à l'époque modern* (Brussels: Brepols, 1990), see also p. 190. For a study of the growth and expansion of female monastics in the Low Countries, see Craig Harline, "Actives and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries before and after Trent," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 81 (1995), pp. 541-568.

⁵ Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Namurois XIII^e- XV^e Siècles: aux origines des abbayes de cisterciennes en Namurois," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp. 35-45.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

⁷ Marcel Walraet, *Actes de Philippe I^{er}, dit le Noble, comte et marquis de Namur (1196-1212)*, Commission royale d'histoire (Bruxelles: Palais de Académies, 1949), p. 56. Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter No. 1, p. 1. See also Émile Brouette, "Supplément à l'inventaire analytique des chartes de l'abbaye de Salzinnes," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, Vo. 117 (Bruxelles: Palais des Academies, 1952), p. 203.

“blessed sisters of Saint Georges near Namur,” ‘*sororibus ecclesie beati Georgii prope Namurcum*,’ or more specifically, to the priest of Saint Georges where the holy women lived.⁸ Another record dated June 1203 documents that Jean III of Béthune, Bishop of Cambrai, confirmed the transfer of tithes from a locality known as Mont-Sainte-Geneviève, owned by Baudouin and his wife Marie, to the religious women of Saint Georges.⁹ The terms found in early records such as ‘*mulieres devotae*’, ‘*mulieres sanctae*’, ‘*mulieribus religiosis*’, or pious women, holy women or a religious group of unmarried women, all refer to a pre-Cistercian period.¹⁰ The women at Saint Georges may well have originated as a group of Beguines, a women’s movement that began in the Diocese of Liège in the late twelfth century.¹¹ The Beguines did not take vows but devoted themselves to prayer and charitable works.

The first record to document a religious association is dated 1204. Hugues de Pierrepont, Bishop of Liège, accepted the Abbey of Val-Saint-Georges in the Order of Cîteaux under his protection from Philip the Noble Count of Namur, his brother,

⁸ The gifts were given to the “blessed sisters of St. George near Namur”. See Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter No. 3, pp. 2-3. See also Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, p. 102. For additional gifts from Baudouin and Philip in 1202 see Charles Duvivier. *Actes et documents anciens intéressant la Belgique* (Brussels: P. Weissenbruch, 1903), p. 329.

⁹ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter No. 6, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰ Lefèvre, “Aux origines des abbayes,” p. 39. See also Émile Brouette and Jacqueline Dejaiffe, “L’origine de l’abbaye du Val-Saint-Georges et la formation de son domaine,” *Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses*, Fasc 3 (Achel, 1968), p. 158. For the use of similar terms with reference to Beguines see Dennis Devlin, “Feminine Lay Piety in the High Middle Ages: The Beguines” in *Medieval Religious Women Distant Voices*, Vol. 1, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), p. 183.

¹¹ For a study of lay piety and the Beguines, see Devlin, “Feminine Lay Piety,” pp. 183-196. See also Lefèvre, “Aux origines des abbayes,” p. 39.

Baudouin VI Count of Hainaut and IX Count of Flanders and Henry I Duke of Louvain.¹²

This is the first reference to the abbey as a Cistercian convent, one of several in the region established for women in the first half of the thirteenth century. By 1205, terms such as '*sorores*,' sisters or '*domine*,' [*domina*], ladies of Val-Saint Georges were more commonly found.¹³

The first formal recognition in the statutes of the Chapter General of Cîteaux is not recorded until 1218.¹⁴ The Papal Bull, documented below, granting papal protection to the Abbey of Val-Saint Georges by Pope Honorius III is dated 5 March 1219.

No. 1916 – Laterani 5 Martii, 1219

*Monasterium monialium de Valle s. Georgii (Salzennes) Cisterc. Ord.
tuendum suscipit eiusque privilegia ac bona confirmat.
Laterani III Nom.Martii anno tertio.*¹⁵

¹² Éd. Poncelet, *Actes des Princes-Évêques de Liège. Hugues de Pierrepont, 1200-1229*, Commission royale d'histoire (Bruxelles: Palais de Académies, 1941), p. 274. On the Bishop of Liège, see Conradum Eubel, ed. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum*, Series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 Perducta. Liber Primus (Munich: Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), pp. 301-302. Hugues de Pierrepont was Bishop of Liège from March 3, 1200 to April 12, 1229. On the documentation for incorporation, see Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter No. 8, pp. 8-9 and "Supplément à l'inventaire analytique," pp. 206-207. See also Montulet- Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 190 and Lefèvre, "Aux origines des abbayes," p. 39.

¹³ Brouette and Dejaiffe, "L'origine de l'abbaye," p. 158.

¹⁴ D. Josephus-Mia Canivez, ed., *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cistercienses ab anno 1116-ad annum 1786*, Tomus I, Ab Anno 1116 Ad Annum 1220. Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Fascicle 9 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933), No. 66, p. 499. See also Émile Brouette, "De oorsprong van de abdij Salzennes en haar overgang naar de orde van Cîteaux," *Cîteaux in de Nederlanden*. Vol. 3 (Bruxelles, 1952), p. 180 "Annum foundationis abbatiae de Salzennes...". Brouette and Dejaiffe, "L'origine de l'abbaye," p. 158 and Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 190, 416.

¹⁵ Honorius III, Pope, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. Pietro Presutti, Volumen Primum. Annus I-V (Rome, 1888), No. 1916, p. 317. See also Augustus Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I, Ann. 1198-1243, Inde Ab A. Post Christum Natum, MCXCVIII Ad. A. MCCCIV* (Berolini: Rudolph De Decker, MDCCCLXXIII), No. 6003, 1219, p. 526 and Augustae Taurinorum, Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, editoribus. *Bullarium Romanum, Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanum Pontificum*. Tomus III ab MCLXXXI-MCCLXVIII, Taurinensis edition, 1858, "XXXIII Summarium: Confirmatio statutorum ordnis Vallis-Scholarium ordnis Cisterciensis 7 Martii 1219 (anno 3), pp. 355-356. The translation is: XXIII Summary: Confirmation of the Statutes of the Order of Valle Scholarium of the Cistercian Order, 7 March 1219, Year 3 of the pontificate. There is a discrepancy in the date between 5

He (Honorius III) undertakes to be the protector of the monastery of nuns of Val-Saint-Georges of the Cistercian Order, and confirms its privileges and goods.¹⁶

On 5 January 1234, Pope Gregory IX sanctioned burial privileges to patrons and benefactors of Val-Saint Georges and on March 22 of the same year, the abbey was granted his recognition and protection.¹⁷

Incorporated into the Order of Cîteaux under the jurisdiction of the General Chapter, the Abbey of Salzinnes was placed under the filiations of Clairvaux; the Abbot of Clairvaux commissioned the Abbot of Aulne with canonical visits and supervision of the abbatial elections.¹⁸ The Father Immediate or Father Abbot was responsible for the *cura monialium* or the pastoral care of the nuns. The Confessor and Chaplain appointed by the Abbot were responsible for the spiritual needs and guidance of the nuns, hearing confessions and celebrating mass.¹⁹

March and 7 March in this source. See also Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter No. 15, pp. 17-18. *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastiques de la Belgique*, Vol. 3 (Bruxelles: H. Goemaere, 1866). "Le pape Honorius confirme l'abbaye dans ses possessions, 1219," p. 190. Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 190.

¹⁶ My thanks to Father Michael Shields, SJ., Lonergan Research Institute, Toronto, for translating this passage.

¹⁷ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter Nos. 49-51, pp. 56-62.

¹⁸ Theophile Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux depuis le XVI siècle jusqu'à la Révolution française de 1550 à 1800*, Vol. 3, *Les Abbayes en Wallonia* (Westmalle: Onvers, 1937), p. 222. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 190, 423. The author notes that the Abbey of Salzinnes was under the continuous jurisdiction of the Abbey of Aulne to 1729; from 1729-1755 under Cambron; 1755-1783 under Aulne and perhaps under Boneffe from 1783-1796.

¹⁹ Andrea Gail Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals at the Cistercian Convent of Flines 1500-1575," (Ph.D. Diss.) (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1995), pp. 44-46.

Domains and the Architecture of Salzennes

Although documents of 1196-97 show gifts from Count Phillip the Noble included a mill, the rights to the deadwood of Salzennes and several loads of wood, these gifts were considered modest.²⁰ However, as a result of the sponsorship of Philip, Count of Namur, the Abbey of Salzennes received support from relatives and influential nobles. Henry I, Duke of Louvain granted land at Jauche, Avin-en Hesbaye, Braives and Grand-Hallet and the Prince Bishop of Liège, Hugues de Pierrepont gifted a mill at Goyet and lands at Plomcot and Autre-Eglise.²¹ Additionally, tithes were received from Temploux, Estinnes, Mont-Sainte-Genève, Vellereille and Sars-La-Buissière from the Counts of Flanders.²² In 1205, two noblemen from the community granted their support. Henri de Nil gave Salzennes the support and tithes from Nil-Saint-Vincent and Jean de Berzée the tithes from his properties.²³ In total, the abbey owned property in Hesbaye, Hainaut and the north east part of Entre-Sambre-Meuse, constituting a domain that continued to grow throughout the thirteenth century.²⁴

²⁰ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii and Charter No. 1, p. 1 and “Supplément à l’inventaire analytique,” p. 203.

²¹ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii and Charter No. 2, pp. 1-2 and “Supplément à l’inventaire analytique,” pp. 203-204, 206-207.

²² Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii and Charter No. 3, pp. 2-3; Charter No. 5, pp. 5-6; Charter No. 6, pp.6-7; Charter No. 7, p.7; Charter No. 11, pp. 11-14.

²³ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii and Charter No. 9, p. 9; Charter No.10, pp. 10-11.

²⁴ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii and “Chartes hennuyères de l’abbaye,” pp. 69-70. See also Brouette and Dejaiffe, “L’origine de l’abbaye,” pp. 161-162.

Mills were an important part of the “self-sufficient economy” required by the rule of the Cistercian Order.²⁵ The Abbey of Salzinnes owned three mills located on a series of islands in the Sambre, downriver from the monastery - a large flourmill, a bark mill and an oil mill and press for personal consumption.²⁶ Although the mills at Salzinnes disappeared over one hundred and fifty years ago, they represented an exceptional example of “industrial architecture” for the period.²⁷

Depending on the local circumstances and available expertise, evidence shows that architectural plans for Cistercian monasteries varied, however, the buildings were still required to reflect “the spirit of simplicity” with “the resulting structure refrained from colour and narrative”.²⁸ The church at the Abbey of Salzinnes was built in the early Gothic style between 1220 and 1238.²⁹ In 1238 the Count of Flanders and of Hainaut, Thomas de Savoie and his wife Jeanne of Constantinople, provided funds to build a chapel and altars in the church.³⁰ Records also document gifts of relics enclosed with

²⁵ Jean-Louis Javaux, “Les moulins,” in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp. 193-194.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.194. See also Raymond de Fays, “Les abbayes:La maîtrise de l’eau dans les abbayes cisterciennes du Namurois XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles,” in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 110-116.

²⁸ Terry Kinder, *Cistercian Europe, Architecture of Contemplation* (Kalamazoo: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), p. 164. For a complete study on Cistercian church architecture see pp. 141-242.

²⁹ Bolly, “Les abbayes de femmes,” p.172.

³⁰ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. vii; Charter No. 73, pp. 87-88 and “La date de fondation,” p. 136. For a reading on monastic patronage see Constance H. Berman, “Women as Donors and Patrons to Southern French Monasteries in the 12th and 13th centuries,” *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, Imagination*, ed. Constance H. Berman (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1985), pp. 53-68. Patronage as a mainstay of monasteries will be discussed further in chapters 5 and 6 as it relates to art and liturgical objects and the familial support of nuns.

jewels in gold and silver.³¹ Church relics consisted of bones or body parts of saints or material objects which had come in personal contact with them, such as clothing or the instruments of their torture or martyrdom.

Typically, Cistercian churches in the Namur region consisted basically of a rectangular plan that included a sanctuary or priest's choir on the east end, and on the same axis but separated by a railing, the nave and choir for nuns and a separate choir for the *conversae*, or lay sisters.³² Separated from the choir with a railing, a small private chapel and confessional was on the level with the right bay of the apse.³³ In contrast, the church for the Abbey of Salzinnes was constructed in a distinct cruciform design. It had a single nave, and a large transept with four chapels, two on each side. The plan was considered unusual since Salzinnes, constructed as an abbey for women, had only one confessor and one chaplain; the Eucharistic liturgy took place only in the chancel.³⁴ The nave was used exclusively for the nuns and the chancel was used by the clerics to celebrate mass.³⁵ This "hybrid" plan relates to the rich support or patronage of the Abbey of Salzinnes.³⁶ Because of the level of financial resources of its patrons and the ability of

³¹ Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p.171.

³² Ibid., p.151. Bolly states that the "simple" rectangular plan was less costly and easier for local artisans to build.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 151, 172-173.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 173. For a study on the influences and effects of gender on religious architecture and their symbolic content, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London Routledge, 1997).

³⁶ Ibid., p. 173. For a study of monastic archaeology, material culture and the influences of patrons or religious architectural features, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action, The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), pp. 4-7. The author states that the influence of patrons on the

the abbey to supply stone from its own quarry, the quality of construction of the thirteenth-century church and convent buildings served to resist the armies during the sieges of Namur between 1689-1698 and 1702-1712, including the French (1692), the coalition troops of the Spanish, Dutch, Bavarians, Germans and English, (1695) and the Dutch (1704).³⁷

The convent or the east wing, built between 1220 and 1250, was also unique in design to Salzinnes. Typically, the Cistercian convent was an extension of the church transept and contained standard rooms with designated locations. At Salzinnes, the building was set back from the transept and the standard areas for Cistercian convents were regrouped.³⁸ They included the chapter room (meeting and community room), workplace, refectory (dining hall) and kitchen on the ground level, and the dormitory for nuns on the first floor. Even after several restorations of the convent, the original design principles remained unchanged.³⁹

The north wing included the abbess's quarters, guest quarters, bursar's room, and the dormitory for *conversae*. Because of its proximity to the Sambre River and floods, these buildings went through several reconstructions, specifically in 1598-1627 and

“specific iconographic message signaled in a building’s form,” is one of the factors in the material culture of monasticism. p. 6.

³⁷ Bolly, “Les abbayes de femmes,” pp. 171, 173.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 173.

³⁹ Ibid.

1778-1780.⁴⁰ Additional buildings included quarters for the priest and the gatekeepers, located to the south of the complex built around 1665, guest quarters and the Sambre portal on the north were built in three stages in the seventeenth-century.⁴¹ Several rooms housed male guests, some of whom were employed permanently by the Abbey of Salzinnes. Others appointed as assistants and servants accompanied the Abbot of Clairvaux during his regular visits to the abbey.⁴²

In 1265, the Abbey of Salzinnes was enclosed by a stone wall under the directives of the general chapter on enclosure.⁴³ Within its confines were gardens and an orchard, surrounded by a hedge and palisades. One entrance, the gatehouse, provided the only access to the cloistered abbey. At Salzinnes, the only remnant remaining today is the arched gateway known as Porte Sainte Julienne.

A major activity for the Abbey of Salzinnes was the harvesting of wood at the edge of the Marlagne Forest in addition to the operation of a pig farm and vineyards.⁴⁴ Like the monks, Cistercian nuns (also known as choir-nuns) did not engage in manual labor because it would interrupt their daily structure under the Rule of Saint Benedict. The *conversi*, lay brothers and *conversae*, lay sisters, who left the towns and cities to live their lives in the abbey, performed this work. They took a vow of obedience to the

⁴⁰ Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p. 173.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. A visit from the Abbot of Clairvaux was recorded on June 15, 1561.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 171.

⁴⁴ Ibid. See also Brouette and Dejaiffe, "L'origine de l'abbaye, p. 170.

Abbess and formed a distinct group, separate from nuns and monks. Each group had their own living quarters, a separate area reserved in the church and wore different habits.⁴⁵ In contrast to the free-flowing robes and wide sleeves of the Cistercian habits for choir nuns, the habits of the *conversae* were tied at the waist and had narrow sleeves, which made them more suitable for manual labor.⁴⁶ Usually illiterate, the *conversae* had no knowledge of Latin. They were generally socially inferior to choir nuns, did not participate in chapter meetings or hold any offices within the convent.⁴⁷ Such rights and powers were reserved solely for choir nuns, who stemmed mainly from the upper class and the nobility.

Under the control of the abbey's *boursière* or bursar, the *conversi* or lay brothers managed the farms at Salzinnes, provided the manual labor needed in the mills, fields, barns or grangia and went into the town to sell the goods at the markets.⁴⁸ The *conversi* formed an important connection between the nuns and the outside world. The abbey also had tenants who cultivated the lands and paid taxes. In 1293, the Abbey of Salzinnes was one of the first monasteries in the region to begin replacing taxes with farm leases; the

⁴⁵ Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "L'Ordre de Cîteaux XII^e-XVIII^e siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 27.

⁴⁶ Lefèvre, "L'Ordre de Cîteaux," pp. 23-27. For additional descriptions of Cistercian robes, see chapter 55 of the Rule of Saint Benedict and also Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, pp. 59-63.

⁴⁷ Documented in the *Ecclesiastica officia*, the concept of *conversi* began in the twelfth-century. For a discussion of the social division between choir nuns and *conversae*, see Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Enclosed Lives and Broken Vows in the Renaissance* (London: Penguin, 2002), pp. 8-9, 48. For a discussion of the division of labour and class differences, see P. Renée Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 7, 50. For a discussion on the noble status of choir nuns in relation to material culture, see Silvia Evangelisti, "Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Italian Convents," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47 (2004), p. 15.

⁴⁸ Lefèvre, "L'Ordre de Cîteaux," pp. 24-27.

leasing period extended from six to eighteen years, but usually averaged twelve years.⁴⁹

Besides supplying labor, this arrangement brought in much-needed cash.

Reform

By the late sixteenth century there were fourteen abbeys in the Namur region including nine Cistercian, three Benedictine, one Norbertine and one from the Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order.⁵⁰ Cistercian reform took place in the women's abbeys in the county of Namur during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in two stages. The reform, supported by Guillaume II the Count of Namur in 1413 and the Duke of Burgundy around 1440, stemmed from local initiatives, as a result of decaying buildings and the "spiritual decadence" of women's abbeys.⁵¹ The objective was to return to the 'true spirit' of the Order and the Rule of Saint Benedict by excluding all personal property and re-establishing a strict enclosure.⁵²

The reforms of the early fifteenth century affected all female abbeys in the region except for one - the Abbey of Salzinnes.⁵³ The reason why Salzinnes was excluded is not known. Perhaps due to its state of self-sufficiency Salzinnes did not show signs of

⁴⁹ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, pp. viii-ix. See also Brouette and Dejaiffe, "L'origine de l'abbaye, pp. 171-172.

⁵⁰ Émile Brouette, "La population monastique d'origine namuroise d'après les enquêtes ecclésiastiques (1553-1635)," *Études d'histoire et d'archéologie Namuroises*, Vol. 2 (1952), p. 664. The Canons Regular was an independent community under the Augustinian Order.

⁵¹ Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Réformes Cisterciennes en Namurois et leur rayonnement XV^e-XVI^e siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 47. See also Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p. 152.

⁵² Lefèvre, "Réformes Cisterciennes," pp. 47-54. See also Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," pp. 152-154.

⁵³ Lefèvre, "Réformes Cisterciennes," pp. 49-50. See also Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p. 171.

spiritual or monastic corruption to the same degree as other Cistercian convents for women in the region.⁵⁴

The first reform in the women's abbeys in Namur County was recorded in 1406 at the Abbey of Marche-les-Dames. It was followed at the Abbeys of Moulins, Jardinnet, Argenton and Soleilmont. The Abbey of Soleilmont became the model abbey and supplied nuns and abbesses to other abbeys including Salzinnes from 1450-1462.⁵⁵ Jeanne de Senzeilles, originally from Soleilmont, came to Salzinnes in 1450 and became the first abbess to introduce reform in the abbey. She was the niece of Dame Marie Senzeilles who originally came from Marche-les-Dames to introduce reform in Soleilmont and became renowned as an abbess for restoring "humility, poverty, solitude and silence and work".⁵⁶ Signs of reform were first evident at the Abbey of Salzinnes in 1478 and 1479 when new wall enclosures were built around the quarters of the *conversae*; in 1495-96, records document construction of window partitions, and in 1497, a brick wall by the courtyard.⁵⁷ Reforms continued in all female abbeys in the region throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁵⁴ Lefèvre, "Réformes Cisterciennes," pp. 49-50. See also Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," p. 171.

⁵⁵ For a history of the Abbey of Soleilmont and its impact on reform in the region, see Elizabeth Connor, "Ten Centuries of Growth: The Cistercian Abbey of Soleilmont," in *Medieval Religious Women, Distant Voices*, eds., John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Vol. 1, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 253-254.

⁵⁶ Connor, "Ten Centuries of Growth," p. 254.

⁵⁷ Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," pp. 153-54, 173.

The Rule of Saint Benedict outlines the guidelines of enclosure for both male and female communities. The extent of enclosure and the response to it varied but was historically stricter in houses for women than in those for men.⁵⁸ Traditionally, the need for enclosure for women was imposed because of the necessity for protection against physical and sexual abuse and lack of morals.⁵⁹ However, it was also enforced because of the need for control by male clergy and episcopal authority.⁶⁰ Although resistance to enclosure in some monastic communities may have been a reaction against the loss of personal independence, it may also have been either for economic and family reasons, or simply out of necessity, including fleeing foreign invaders.⁶¹ In the mid-sixteenth century, the Council of Trent reinforced enclosure in an attempt to remove the external

⁵⁸ On the variances in the enforcement and types of enclosure, see Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1999), pp. 1016-1017. See also Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe, English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 46.

⁵⁹ Walker, *Gender and Politics* p. 46. The need for enclosure was "ostensibly for the women's protection from 'the rapacity and other crimes of evil men'." On 'crimes of sacrilege,' see Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, pp. 140-160, also with reference to Venetian laws and 'sex crimes against God,' Laven writes, "...the severest legislation to date [was passed] against those wicked and sacrilegious men who violate the convents of nuns dedicated to the service of God. Perpetual banishment from Venice...was to be the fate...", p. 146.

⁶⁰ On the subject of male authority, see Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, p. 19; "nuns had to work within the available power structures, currying favor and wheedling alms, indulgences, privileges, and the rest from male authorities". See also Gary M. Radke, "Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 No. 2 (2001), pp. 455. Radke states, "Church authorities sought to limit nuns' autonomy and their contact with the outside world." On the varying views of the acceptance of authority, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 44-45. See also Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 9.

⁶¹ Bolly, "Les abbayes de femmes," pp. 152-153. On the loss of networks of supporters due to enclosure, see Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, p. 9, "Convents depended for survival on networks[and] many houses resisted enclosure because it cut them off from those networks." On resistance and relinquishing of control, see also Radke, "Nuns and Their Art," p. 457, "Though they were ultimately unsuccessful in resisting male authority, they demonstrated the remarkable power of passive as well as active resistance."

distractions of society and to reinforce spiritual unity and monastic discipline. The overall impact to religious houses for women was financially restrictive and debilitating.⁶²

Gender and social issues were major factors in Tridentine Europe and controlled both the avenues open to women and their ability to respond.⁶³ Noblewomen, whether secular or religious, had the most impact due to their familial ties, power and influence.⁶⁴ However, as a result of regional and cultural differences, the impact of the Counter Reformation varied throughout Europe, and its effects were diverse and inconsistent.⁶⁵

In 1563, *Session XXV* of the Council of Trent enacted decrees focusing specifically on regulars and nuns. Twenty-two decrees related to monastic governance and included rules regarding discipline, disputes, punishments and the process of abbatial elections; religious vocation, age of entry and age of profession; property ownership;

⁶² On the Council of Trent and the financial impact of clausura, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 85. The author states that “the Council of Trent actually worsened nuns’ financial plight by its insistence on monastic enclosure.” She further adds that “gaining of alms through the performance of valuable community work was closed to female houses and their participation in the urban market....was limited if not forbidden. See also Lehfeltdt, “Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage,” p. 1025.

⁶³ On nuns and the effects of Tridentine reform see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 46-54. On the concept of class, gendered roles and experience, see also Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 18-19. The author states, “Certainly the nuns...like all women and men of their day, were acutely aware of their gendered roles in society”, p. 19. For a study on the effects of the Tridentine climate on female monasticism in Spain, see Lehfeltdt, “Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage,” p. 1022-1030. For a study of women’s experience in Germany, see also Merry E. Wiesner, “Germany: Nuns, Wives and Mothers,” in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*, ed. Sherrin Marshal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 8-26.

⁶⁴ Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, p. 19. The Sfondrati family of nuns considered the order of influence to be family first, followed by class (nobility), religious, and gender (female) last.

⁶⁵ On the refusal or compliance to reform, see Pearson, “Gender, Image and Ideals,” p. 60-61, “...mandates of reform were not always welcome, nor were they easy to heed”. On the uneven implementation of decrees and reactions to Counter-Reformation, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, p. 46. See also Lehfeltdt, “Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage,” p. 1030. Lehfeltdt states that the “orthodoxy of the Council of Trent was unevenly encountered,” also Trent was, “subject to local interpretation”.

provisions for enclosure; confession, visitations and observances of feasts.⁶⁶ Even before the decrees were enacted in 1563, the Abbey of Salzinnes had already followed a similar program of reform with respect to enclosure. During the elections of 1553, records show that the elder nuns, in particular, desired reform and indeed welcomed it at Salzinnes.⁶⁷ The Synod of Namur of 1570 reinforced the spirit of the Council of Trent, condemned individual property, reinforced enclosure and required high standards for the abbey's superiors.⁶⁸

Elections

Under Chapter 64 of the Rule of St. Benedict, abbatial elections were based on a system of free elections with the spiritual character of the nominee taking precedence. By the fifteenth century, in France, the influence of political power became more apparent when the commendatory system replaced the traditional regular abbot. Nominated by the King, the commendatory abbot was sometimes a member of the clergy, but often a high-ranking civil servant, who did not necessarily live in the abbey.⁶⁹ This threatened the traditional controls and greatly restricted and ultimately weakened the authority of the General

⁶⁶ Norman Tanner ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council Vol. 2. Trent to Vatican II* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), pp. 776-784, 1167-1168.

⁶⁷ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, p. 223, "exprimé le désir d'avoir une sérieuse réforme, bien nécessaire." See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 345.

⁶⁸ Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 474.

⁶⁹ Michel Dubuisson, "Les élections abbatiales dans les monastères cisterciens du Comté de Namur XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 61. For a study on the history and effects of the commendatory system, see William J. Telesca, "The Cistercian Dilemma at the Close of the Middle Ages: Gallicanism or Rome," in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History*, ed. M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series 13 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), pp. 163-185.

Chapter of the Order. In the Namur region, the right to nominate the abbot or abbess was given by Pope Leo X in 1515 to Archduke Charles, later Emperor Charles V.⁷⁰

As part of the rules for Cistercian abbeys, abbatial elections were held either after the resignation or death of the abbot or abbess. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, fifteen elections were held at the Abbey of Salzinnes to elect abbesses. As the superior of the convent, the abbess was responsible for all spiritual and temporal matters. Two abbatial elections of interest to this study are the elections of 1553 and 1559, held before and after the creation of the Salzinnes Antiphonal.⁷¹ In addition to providing a demographic profile of the nuns of Salzinnes, the election records provide an insight into the monastic and social structure of the convent and the lives of the nuns at the abbey.

The 1553 elections were held after the death of Abbess Marguerite Wingaert, represented as an abbess with her crozier in the Salzinnes Antiphonal on folio 2.⁷²

The Regent of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, appointed Mathias Hortebeek, the Abbot of Boneffe (1543-1554), to preside over the abbatial elections of Salzinnes.⁷³

Thirty-two nuns participated in the elections of 1553; the *conversae* were not included in

⁷⁰ Brouette, “La population monastique,” pp. 663-672. Charles V obtained an “indult l’autorisant à nommer aux dignités abbatiales, à diriger les elections des prélats en fait à en supprimer le plus souvent la liberté et à imposer ses candidats.” p. 63. See also Dubuisson, “Les élections abbatiales, p. 61. Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 326.

⁷¹ The original abbatial records for this time period for the Abbey of Salzinnes are preserved at the Archives générales du Royaume de Belgique à Bruxelles. Papiers du Conseil d’État et du l’Audience: Nos. 896 and 900. See Appendix 4.1 for a listing of nuns represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, pp. 251-253.

⁷² See Appendix 8.2.1 for reproduction of *The Annunciation* folio including Abbess Marguerite Wingaert.

⁷³ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre*, Vol. 3, pp. 221-224; Michel Dubuisson, “Les élections abbatiales,” p. 70. Mary of Hungary (1505-1558) is also referred to as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Mary of Hapsburg, Archduchess of Austria and Regent of the Netherlands. She was the sister of Charles V. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 332.

the voting process.⁷⁴ Hortebeek recounted the following details of the election process in his reports.⁷⁵

Hortebeek, the Abbot of Boneffe (1543-1554) was accompanied by his Flemish secretary Jacques Verroux, who was more proficient in speaking and writing the Walloon language and understanding the nuns.⁷⁶ Part of the election process included an interview with the nuns to determine conduct, “spiritual doctrine and temporal administrative skills,” all qualities needed to be an abbess.⁷⁷ A further consultation process included Jacques de Ligny from the Abbey of Auln and the Confessor of Salzinnes for twenty-six years, and Paul de Velaine, the Chaplain of Salzinnes for twenty-two years. In addition, Hortebeek consulted several influential people of the town of Namur, such as two council members, Jacques le Thourier and Georges des Mysmes, the administrator of the collegiate church of Notre Dame de Namur, Pierre Lost, and a Canon of the collegiate church of Saint Aubain, Jean Massart.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol. 3, pp. 222 and list page 224. Although the text notes 33 religious, the list records 32 nuns. Also on the number of religious in monasteries in the region and the *conversae*, see Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol.1, *Les Abbayes Brabançones*, p. xii. See also Brouette, “La population monastique,” p. 670.

⁷⁵ For a complete account of the elections of 1553, see Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol. 3, pp. 221-224. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 326-327, 332.

⁷⁶ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol. 3, p. 221.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222. The interview determined conduct, “doctrine spirituelle qu’en administration temporelle”. See also Brouette, “La population monastique,” p. 664.

⁷⁸ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol. 3, pp. 222-223.

In 1553, the Abbey of Salzinnes was a convent of thirty-two nuns, some of whom were from the Namur nobility.⁷⁹ Based on the election list which provided the names and ages of the nuns and the number of years in the priory, fifteen were admitted under the age of fifteen, fifteen were admitted between the ages of fifteen and twenty and two were admitted between the ages of thirty and thirty-three.⁸⁰ Typical for the region, once admitted into the convent, the average age of profession in the mid-sixteenth century was between fifteen and sixteen, which gradually rose towards the end of the century to about seventeen.⁸¹

Based on the election procedures that began on 24 October 1553, the nuns presented themselves to Hortebeek, stated the reasons for their nomination, including their candidate's "virtues and abilities," and signed their ballots.⁸² The two most popular nominations were Marie Nys, the *céresse* or cellaress, responsible for food distribution and procuring supplies, and Anne de Noirmont, the *boursière* or bursar, who came from the Namur nobility.⁸³

⁷⁹ For a study of the population of the nuns of Salzinnes see Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 608. See also Brouette, "La population monastique," p. 670. For a study on vocations see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 30-38. See also Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, pp. 22-42; also Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 12, 17-18, on vocations in female religious houses.

⁸⁰ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 222.

⁸¹ Dubuisson, "Les élections abbatiales," pp. 67-68. For a study on the reasons women entered convents and their average age of entry, see Elizabeth Rapley, "Women and the Religious Vocation in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies III*, Volume 18 (1994), pp 613-631.

⁸² Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol 3, pp. 222. The interview included determination of, "les vertus et les capacités". See Archives générales du Royaume, Papiers du Conseil d'État et du l'Audience: No. 896.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 223. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 332, 345-346.

As mentioned previously, the abbatial election records show the elder nuns expressed a desire for serious reform and preferred Marie Nys because of her “great qualities and talent”.⁸⁴ The Confessor, Jacques de Ligny, felt that Marie Nys would “reform some excesses and vices reigning at the said monastery” and would be “well equipped to manage the goods and revenues”.⁸⁵ The Chaplain, Paul de Velaine recommended Marie Nys as a “mirror of all the community”.⁸⁶ Mathias Hortebeek felt that Marie Nys had a “serious nature, maturity and total honesty” and that Anne de Noirmont from a noble house “could be of great assistance”.⁸⁷

Records show that Hortebeek expressed concern about the lack of time to gather all the information needed for such an important decision. Based on his observations, he requested that Mary of Hungary direct the Prelate of Auln to “take charge of reform of the convent of young and noble religious women” since the nuns “admitted into their chambers, laymen of all rank”.⁸⁸ New fences were required on the riverside where the door “was never closed and anyone who wished could enter”.⁸⁹ The Regent’s authority

⁸⁴ See Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 223 on the qualities of Marie Nys, “grande qualités et de ses talents”.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 222 on Marie Nys, “afin de reformer aucuns excès et vices regnant au dit monastère”.

⁸⁶ Ibid., on Marie Nys, “le miroir de toute la communauté”.

⁸⁷ See Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 223 for additional qualities on Marie Nys, “sa grande gravité, maturité et tout honnesteté” and on Ann de Noirmont, “on pourroit avoir bonne assistance”.

⁸⁸ Ibid. Hoetebeek requested that the Prelate “opérer cette réforme, dans un couvent rempli de jeunes et de nobles religieuses” Also the nuns, “admettaient en leurs chambres des séculiers de toute condition” See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 527.

⁸⁹ Ibid. For an additional reference of the state of the Abbey of Salzinnes during the second half of the sixteenth century, see Brouette, “La population monastique”. Brouette makes reference to the nuns’ discipline, “la discipline était médiocre, une réforme s’imposait.” p. 670. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 527.

was important in controlling the young noble women and he requested a quick intervention and resolution.⁹⁰

Although the letter of acceptance from Marie Nys was not included in the election's dossier, Mary of Hungary probably followed the advice of her ecclesiastical adviser, Hortebeek, and appointed Marie Nys.⁹¹ The Salzinnes Antiphonal confirms this, as Marie Nys is represented with a crozier as the 22nd Abbess of Salzinnes on the folio interpolated between 133 and 134.⁹² The list of the nuns represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal who took part in the 1553 elections of the Abbey of Salzinnes is included in Appendix 4.1, pages 251-253.

The next elections of importance to this study took place after the death of Abbess Marie Nys in 1559. Although the elections occurred after the creation of the Salzinnes Antiphonal in 1554-55, many of the nuns who took part in the 1559 elections, including the elected abbess, are depicted in the antiphonal and together with the election records serve to show the development of the abbey.

⁹⁰ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre*, Vol. 3, p. 223.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 392.

⁹² The chronology as the 22nd abbess of Salzinnes is also confirmed in Émile Brouette, "Chronologie de abbesses du Val-Saint Georges," *Namurcum*, Chronique de la Archéologique de Namur, Vol. 39, année No.1 (Gembloux: J. Duculot, S.A., 1967), p. 6. See also *Gallia Christiana*, p. 603.

The following description of the 1559 elections of 2 June also originated from reports by Mathias Hortebeek.⁹³ Hortebeek, formerly the Abbot of Boneffe, who since 1554 was also the Abbot of Villers and Rombout, oversaw the election process once again.⁹⁴ Contrary to the previous elections, the council members of Namur were not included in the 1559 process. Although most likely consulted, there is no reference in the abbatial records for recommendations from either the Confessor or Chaplain of Salzinnes.⁹⁵

There were fewer nuns at the Abbey of Salzinnes in 1559, down to thirty from thirty-two.⁹⁶ However, five young women had been admitted since 1553 whose ages ranged from 15 to 22. In the 1559 elections the professed nuns did not sign their ballots.

The justifications for the nominations portrayed a fervent community. Anne de Noirmont was nominated as “very zealous about religion and the Order’s discipline” - a woman of “good graces,” her manner “frank, good and honest”.⁹⁷ As a result, the consensus was that the abbey, which had fallen in financial arrears, would be re-established under her direction. Jacqueline Deve alias de Walzin, portrayed on folio 126

⁹³ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre*, Vol. 3, pp. 225-226. See Archives générales du Royaume, Papiers du Conseil d’État et du l’Audience: No. 900.

⁹⁴ Dubuisson, “Les élections abbatiales,” p. 70. See also Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 225.

⁹⁵ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 225.

⁹⁶ Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 608. See also Brouette, “La population monastique,” p. 670.

⁹⁷ See Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 225 on the qualities of Anne de Norimont, “très zélés pour la religion et la discipline de l’Ordre,” “bonnes graces,” “franche en ses paroles et tout bien et tout honneur”.

recto, was considered to have the right spirit, “a child dedicated to God and doing good”. Anne Smalkin, portrayed on folio 126 verso, was represented as a role model and one who would keep the convent “in good reform and discipline”.⁹⁸

Similar to his 1553 report, Hortebeek again expressed concern in his account about making an important decision in such a limited time with only “one interview and deposition” from each nun.⁹⁹ However, he was confident in recommending Anne de Noirmont because of her good qualities and the number of votes she received from the older nuns.¹⁰⁰ Unlike the 1553 elections, the 1559 elections document a breakdown of votes. Anne de Noirmont received “fifteen first votes,” Anne Smalkin received “five first votes and two others,” and Jacqueline Deve, alias de Walzin, received “eight first votes”.¹⁰¹ Documents show the abbey was over 3,000 florins in debt. Based on the vote, Noirmont was elected to address the financial problem, since she was well positioned as a member of the Brabant nobility and a bursar under the two previous abbesses.¹⁰² This is verified by the Salzennes Antiphonal; Anne de Noirmont is depicted as the 23rd Abbess

⁹⁸ See Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 225 on the qualities of Jacqueline Deve, “enfant dédiée à Dieu,” and on the qualities of Anne Smalkin who would maintain, “en bonne reformation et discipline”. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 346.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 225, on Hortebeek and the election process of, “une seul communication et déposition d'autrui.”

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* Anne de Noirmont- “15 premières voir,” Anne Smalkin- “5 premières,” Jacqueline Deve- “8 premières et 2 autres”.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 332, 392. For a discussion on the influence of nuns in advancing their convent’s economic and political interests see Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 102-129.

with her crozier on folio 126 verso.¹⁰³ The list of the nuns represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal who took part in the 1559 elections of the Abbey of Salzinnes is included in Appendix 4.1, pages 251-253.

Sieges and Suppression of Salzinnes

The reform of 1553 under Abbess Marie Nys appears to have had a positive effect on the abbey as records show that five women were admitted in six years. The situation changed under the Abbess Anne de Noirmont. Between 1560 and her death in 1580, the number of nuns living at Salzinnes decreased to about fourteen.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the possible resurgence of the Black Death, it was a period of religious revolts and political unrest when abbeys in the region suffered destruction.¹⁰⁵ In 1577 the abbey was occupied by the military.¹⁰⁶ Although their farms and holdings were destroyed, the Abbey of Salzinnes initially escaped the general destruction.¹⁰⁷ On 18 September 1581, the abbey was attacked and sacked by military deserters, probably from Brussels.¹⁰⁸ Again, in 1585 the convent was pillaged and partially destroyed and the Abbess Anna de Hemptinne (de

¹⁰³ The chronology as the 23rd abbess of Salzinnes is also confirmed in Brouette, “Chronologie de abbesses,” p. 7. See also *Gallia Christiana*, p. 603. See Appendix 8.2.7 for reproduction of the *Christ in Majesty* folio including Abbess Anne de Noirmont.

¹⁰⁴ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 226. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 608. Brouette, “La population monastique,” p. 670.

¹⁰⁵ Brouette, “La population monastique,” pp. 665, 672.

¹⁰⁶ Duvosquel, *Albums de Croÿ*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁷ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. xi. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 606.

Waignye) who was elected in 1580 had to take refuge in Namur.¹⁰⁹ Anna de Hemptinne, inscribed as Anna de Waignye in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is depicted on folio 126 recto. De Waignye was portrayed as a nun, when the manuscript was created.¹¹⁰ In 1580 fourteen nuns and eight *conversae* lived at the abbey. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Abbey of Salzinnes had fallen into poverty.¹¹¹

During the reign of Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor (1765-90) and ruler of Austria and the Austrian Netherlands (1780-1790), a series of religious reforms took place including suppressing contemplative orders such as the Order of Cîteaux.¹¹² There were thirteen abbeys in the Namur region during this period: two Benedictine abbeys for men - Saint Gérard and Waulsot; nine Cistercian abbeys, four for men - Boneffe, Grand Pré, Jardinnet and Moulin and five for women - Argenton, Marche-les-Dames, Salzinnes, Soleilmont and Solières; one abbey Premontrés - Floreffé; and one Chanoises Reguliers from St. Augustine - Geronst. ¹¹³ These religious reforms affected most of the abbeys in the Namur region except the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Gérard, the premontrés Abbey

¹⁰⁹ On the destruction of Salzinnes see Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, pp. 226-230. Brouette, "La population monastique". p. 670. On the election of Abbess Anna de Hemptinne, see the 1580 election records in the Archives générales du Royaume Papiers du Conseil d'État et du l'Audience: No. 909. See also Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, pp. 227-230 and Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 332, 392.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix 8.2.6 for reproduction of *The Resurrection of Christ* folio. Anna de Hemptinne is portrayed as a regular nun as she does not carry the abbatial crozier. This confirms that the illumination was inserted prior to the 1580 elections.

¹¹¹ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 230. See also Brouette, "La population monastique". p. 670.

¹¹² Placide Lefèvre, "Les abbayes du pays de Namur en 1785," *Études d'histoire et d'archéologie Namuroises*, Vol. 2 (1952), pp. 879.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 881.

of Floreffe and the two Cistercian abbeys of Boneffe and Salzinnes.¹¹⁴ The Abbey of Salzinnes was spared because in 1785 it opened a school for young women offering instruction in spinning, sewing, knitting, and lacework.¹¹⁵ Handwork or *opus manuum* was considered a virtuous quality for women in the eighteenth century.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were marked by the wars between France and Austria, and in 1745 Salzinnes suffered heavily. During the mid 1700s, twenty-four nuns and five *conversae* lived at the abbey. In 1795 during the French Revolutionary rule many Cistercian abbeys including the Abbey of Salzinnes were suppressed and the nuns were forced to leave and were dispersed.¹¹⁶ Beginning in February 1797 ecclesiastical properties in the region were sold.¹¹⁷ A failed attempt was made to reinstate the Abbey at Malonne in 1808 and in 1829 the last abbess, Albertine Frérot died.¹¹⁸ After 1820, the major part of the Abbey of Salzinnes was torn down and the remaining property was transferred and used by the Séminaire de Namur.¹¹⁹ Except for the remnants of Porte Sainte Julienne, the last vestiges of the Abbey of Salzinnes disappeared in 1964 with the construction of the new Séminaire de Namur. The seminary

¹¹⁴ Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Vers la fin des abbayes cisterciennes au XVIII^e siècle," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 84. See also Lefèvre, "Les abbayes du pays de Namur," p. 881.

¹¹⁵ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. xi. Lefèvre, "Les abbayes du pays de Namur," pp. 881, 884.

¹¹⁶ Alonzo de Villegas de Clercamp, André Lanotte, Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Destinées des sites cisterciens XIX^e-XX^e siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 87.

¹¹⁷ Lefèvre, "Vers la fin des abbayes cisterciennes," p. 85.

¹¹⁸ Brouette, "Chronologie de abbesses," p. 10 and *Recueil des chartes*, p. xii. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 611.

¹¹⁹ André Lanotte, "Destinées des sites cisterciens XIX^e-XX^e Siècles: Salzinnes de l'abbaye au séminaire, 1797-1991," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 102.

opened in 1967, but with declining enrollment after Vatican II, the property was sold to the province in 1997.¹²⁰ Today it is the site of the “Campus Provincial” for Namur.

Libraries, Archives and Documentary Records

The suppression and destruction of abbeys and the dispersal of properties including libraries and books resulted in a significant loss to the historical and cultural heritage of religious institutions. Although not a single original inventory has survived from the abbeys of Cistercian nuns in the Namur region, evidence exists verifying that libraries consisted mainly of two groups of codices, liturgical books in Latin and devotional books in the vernacular language.¹²¹ These were stored mainly in the *armarium*, a small room adjoining the sacristy.¹²²

Before the discovery of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, only one manuscript, “Le Martyrologe-obituaire de l’abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur),” a necrology, is known to have survived from the Abbey of Salzinnes.¹²³ First written sometime near the end of the

¹²⁰ Lanotte, “Destinées des sites Cisterciens,” p. 106.

¹²¹ Xavier Hermand, “Les bibliothèques des abbayes cisterciennes du Namurois XV siècle- début XVI siècle,” in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 267. On the lack of inventories for abbeys for Cistercian nuns in the region, the author states that, “L’on n’en possède en effet aucun inventaire, médiéval ou moderne, et presque tous les manuscrits ont disparu.”

¹²² Walter Horn and Ernest Born, “The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts,” in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 44 (1986), pp. 16-47.

¹²³ The Martyrologe-obituaire de l’abbaye de Salzinnes (MS 333) is in the collection of the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels. My thanks to Xavier Hermand for informing me about this manuscript. See Hermand, “Les bibliothèques,” pp. 258, 275-276. The author notes that “the martyrologe Salzinnes [est]...seul survivant de la collection manuscrite de cette Abbaye... See also Maurice Coens, *Analecta Bollandiana*. Vol. 85. (Bruxelles: Société de Bollandistes, 1967), pp. 365-373. Émile Brouette, “Le martyrologe-obituaire de l’abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur),” *Bulletin de la Société royale paléontologique et archéologique de l’arrondissement judiciaire de Charleroi*, 26 année, 1957, Vol. 26 (1959), pp. 1-10. On the importance of martyrologies and obituaries and its links with the spiritual and administrative affairs of the

fifteenth century or beginning of the sixteenth century, it contains a list of martyrs and saints' feast days, as well as death dates of those associated with the abbey. Its purpose was to remind the monastic community of specific dates of commemoration, such as the anniversary of the deaths of its members and patrons, as well as liturgical obligations. Typical for the region, donors gave gifts for anniversary masses to be said after their deaths in order to save their souls.¹²⁴ The Martyrologe-obituaire also served to provide the chronology of the nuns who lived in the abbey. The obituaries of all three of the abbesses represented in the antiphonal are also found in this manuscript.¹²⁵ The Salzinnes Antiphonal served, to some degree, a similar purpose of commemoration for the nuns who lived there, in addition to being a record of the abbey's monastic heritage.

The management and operations of the abbey were of prime importance for its economic self-sufficiency. The accounting records of income and expenses were housed in the bursar's office, known as the "counting room," and included all the daily accounts with farmers and trades people. The maintenance of these records was the responsibility of the bursar or treasurer, who acted as the abbess's right arm in temporal matters.¹²⁶ Although fragmented and incomplete, a selection of lists of titles, privileges, income and expenses for the Abbey of Salzinnes has been preserved for the periods from 1202-1562

abbey see Daniel van Overstraeten, "La gestion des archives dans les abbayes cisterciennes du Namurois XVe-XVIIIe siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp. 275-276.

¹²⁴ Berman, "Women as Donors and Patrons," p. 6.

¹²⁵ The obituaries for Marguerite Wyngaert are found on folio 73 verso, Anne de Noirmont on folio 58 recto and Marie Nys on folio 34 recto. In addition the obituary for the future abbess Anna de Hemptinne is found on folio 20 verso in the Martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzinnes (MS 333) is in the collection of the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels.

¹²⁶ van Overstraeten, "La gestion des archives," p. 276.

and 1695-1741.¹²⁷ Additional records of 1736 citing endowments, titles, lawsuits, leases, accounts and documents have also been preserved, as well as abbatial election records for 1598-1740 and abbesses' correspondence from 1642-1783.¹²⁸

At the end of the eighteenth century, the religious archives of the Namur region were seized for fiscal purposes by French officials in the invasion by the Republican Government during the French Revolution. Although some documents escaped seizure and were either hidden or destroyed by their owners fearing searches, those seized were stored in the attic of the police headquarters, the former Episcopal Palace.¹²⁹ There they remained in total disorder and neglect until 1844 when they were moved to the Palace of Justice where Jules Borgnet undertook their classification in order to preserve the remaining records.¹³⁰ Since their initial seizure, Borgnet noted that many documents were damaged or destroyed and records show that a number of manuscripts were sold for their parchment. Today in addition to the necrology in the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes in Brussels, the surviving manuscripts and records are preserved in the Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, the Archives de l'Etat à Namur, as well as the Archives of the Grand Séminaire de Namur.

¹²⁷ Archives de l'État à Namur: Nos. 3201- 3202 and Nos. 3247-3249.

¹²⁸ Archives de l'État à Namur: Nos. 3201-3204, 3247-3249. See also van Overstraeten, "La gestion des archives," p. 274 and J. Bovesse, *Inventaire général sommaire*, pp. 239- 241.

¹²⁹ J. Bovesse, *Inventaire général sommaire*, pp. vi-vii.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x. Jules Borgnet was the first director of the collection of the State Archives of Namur in 1848.

Besides these documentary records, several paintings, prints and drawings have survived over the centuries depicting the Abbey of Salzinnes and the surrounding landscape.¹³¹ They include works by seventeenth-century artists, Adrien Montigny and Jean-Baptiste Gramaye; eighteenth-century artists, Remacle Leloup and Jean de Beyer; and nineteenth-century artist, Otto de Howen. Not only have they aided in the architectural reconstruction of the abbey, these works of art have served to fill in the gaps for records that no longer exist.

Prior to the twelfth century, decorative elements for religious objects of the Order of Cîteaux were minimal and austere as directed by the Rule of Saint Benedict.¹³² During the late Medieval and early Renaissance periods, sacred art manifested itself in diverse representations and grew during the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In addition to some reliquaries, a processional cross in the collection of Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, a portrait painting of Saint Bernard and some minor textile pieces in the *Eglise Saint-Berthuin*, Malonne, a devotional image which more than likely originated from the Abbey Salzinnes is known to have survived and is now housed in the *Eglise Sainte-Julienne*, Namur.¹³³ Originally affixed to a cross, the sculpture portrays a very large image of the body of Christ made in the Namur region c.1520-1530.¹³⁴

¹³¹ For reproductions of a select number of images, as well as a map of Namur county and detail showing the location of the Abbey of Salzinnes or "Salsen Abbay" see Appendix 7.1 and 7.2.1 - 7.2.4., pp. 259-263.

¹³² Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Les fondements de la vie monastique," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp. 218-219. See also Jean-Pierre Félix, Bernadette Gillain, and Jacques Toussaint, "Mobilier culturel," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 221

¹³³ Félix, Gillain, and Toussaint, "Mobilier culturel," pp. 221-242. Lefèvre, "L'Ordre de Cîteaux," p. 16.

¹³⁴ Félix, Gillain, and Toussaint, "Mobilier culturel" p. 225. See also Toussaint, *Art en Namurois: La sculpture 1400-1550* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, Province de Namur, 2001), p. 226.

Although plain in appearance, the tortured body of Christ and the agony portrayed in his face instills great emotion.

The Salzennes Antiphonal can now be added to this small collection of artworks. Unknown in extant documents from the region, its discovery provides a unique record of the community of nuns in the mid-sixteenth century and a significant contribution to the monastic patrimony of the Abbey of Salzennes.

CHAPTER 3

The Liturgy and Music

Reformation and the Council of Trent

The sixteenth century witnessed both political and religious turmoil in the Low Countries. Through a series of strategic marriages and family inheritance, the Habsburg dynasty became the most powerful rulers in Europe, dominated by Charles V (1500-1555). Born in Ghent, Charles V was brought up at the court in Mechlin by his aunt Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands.¹ A devoted patron of art and music, Margaret of Austria and his tutor Adrian of Utrecht, later Pope Adrian VI were strong influences upon Charles in his youth.² Moving his court to Brussels in 1515, he was crowned the King of Spain as Charles I in 1516 and became Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 at the death of his grandfather, Maximilian I of Austria. Following his coronation he made Spain his principal residence. As Holy Roman Emperor, the vast territories of Charles V included the Spanish kingdoms in the west, the Italian states in the south and the Habsburg lands in the north and east, as well as the Spanish conquests in Africa and America. This was an era marked by on-going struggles with France, peasant wars in Germany and the threat of incursions from the Ottoman Turks. It was also a period of growing opposition to the position of the Catholic Church over the practice of granting or

¹ Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt, eds., *Princes and Princely Culture 1440-1650*, Vol. I (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2003), p. 240.

² Martin Picker, *Habsburg: 13th to 16th Centuries, Music under the Spanish Habsburgs*. Online. <http://www.stmartins.org/music/habsburg.pdf>. 10 December 2005, p. 2.

selling indulgences and criticism of the clerical hierarchy.³

In 1517 the Reformation movement began to emerge in Germany under Martin Luther and spread across Europe. In response to the growth of Protestantism and to counteract this movement, the Council of Trent was convened from 1545-1563. The purpose was to provide clarification of Catholic doctrine and legislation for internal Church reform.⁴ The Council of Trent issued disciplinary decrees which resulted in strengthening the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical life.⁵ Between the 1550s and 1560s iconoclastic outbreaks occurred throughout the Low Countries and resulted in the destruction of churches and monasteries, their religious contents, and the killing of clergy. The Peace of Augsburg signed in 1555 removed religious control from the central authority of the Emperor and transferred it to the control of local princes. Two denominations were recognized with equal rights, Catholic and Lutheran. By the end of the sixteenth century, the bourgeoisie of the northern provinces of the Low Countries, including Holland, Zealand and northern Germany, embraced Protestantism, and the southern provinces, Belgium and southern Germany, remained chiefly Catholic.⁶

³ For a study of “special papal gifts of benefices, dispensations, honors, dignities, privileges and other favours,” see H. Outram Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, ed. John Bossy (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 103-106. Evennett notes that the High Renaissance was a “period of maximum odium for the papal curia...the outward flow of dispensations and favours and the inward flow of money, pushing to their culmination point the secularization and venality of the whole machine.” p. 103.

⁴ N.S. Davidson, *The Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp. 9-10.

⁵ For a listing of the decrees, see Norman Tanner, editor, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council, Vols. 1 and 2 Trent to Vatican II* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

⁶ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 63-66.

Diocese of Liège and Liturgical Reform

Before 1559 the Cistercian Abbey of Salzinnes followed the practices and rites of the Catholic Diocese of Liège.⁷ The Salzinnes Antiphonal produced in 1554-55 followed these guidelines and incorporated its liturgical traditions. In 1559 the Council of Trent imposed Roman rites, dismembered the Diocese of Liège and erected the new Diocese of Namur (12 May 1559) which included the Abbey of Salzinnes.⁸ Antoine Havet was appointed the first Bishop.⁹ The decrees of the Council of Trent were introduced in the region by Robert de Berghes in 1564.¹⁰

The liturgical reform, inaugurated by the Council of Trent and completed under the pontificate of Pope Pius V (1566-1572), imposed a new *Breviary* (1568) and *Missal* (1570) on religious orders having a liturgy of “less than two hundred years”.¹¹ As the Cistercian Order was founded in 1098, the General Chapter of the Order of Cîteaux did

⁷ Conradum Eubel, ed., *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum*, Series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 Perducta. Liber Primus (Munich: Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913). Listed as Leodien, Liège, Luyk, or Lüttich, in the Belgio suffragan of Colonien, Köln (Cologne), pp. 301-302.

⁸ Augustae Taurinorum, Seb. Franco et Henrico Dalmazzo, eds. *Bullarium Romanum, Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanum Pontificum*. Tomus VI ab 1522-1559. Turin edition, 1860. See also Xavier Hermand and Bernadette Petitjean, “Les livres liturgiques des paroisses de l’ancien diocèse de Liège au bas Moyen Âge: le témoignage des records ecclésiastiques.” *Bulletin de la Société d’art et d’histoire du Diocèse de Liège*, Vol. 65 (2001), p. 163. See also Marie-Elisabeth Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes du pays mosan Moniales et vie contemplative à l’époque moderne*. (Brussels: Brepols, 1990), p. 473.

⁹ Ludovicus Schmitz-Kallenberg, ed. *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentrories aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum, saeculum XVI ab anno 1503 Complicentis*, Volumen Tertium. (Munich: Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913), p. 252. Antonius Navet (Antoine Havet) was appointed Bishop of Namur on 10 March 1561; he died 30 November 1578, p. 252. See also Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 473.

¹⁰ Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 474. See also Schmitz-Kallenberg, ed. *Hierarchia catholica*. p. 222. Robertus de Bergis (van Berghen) (Robert de Berghes) was appointed Bishop of Liège 25 June 1554; he died 26 January 1565, p. 222.

¹¹ Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee: Our Lady of Spring Bank, 1953), p.182.

not adopt the Roman Missal until 1618 and the revised Breviary until 1666.¹²

More than fifty kinds of liturgical books were used to celebrate the liturgy in the Middle Ages.¹³ The Council of Trent reduced the number of liturgical books to seven, as well as extracts for special occasions and functions such as baptisms and funerals. The main books included the *Missale*, *Breviarium*, *Graduale*, *Antiphonale*, *Martyrologium*, *Pontificale* and *Rituale*.¹⁴ Thus even after the reforms, antiphonals were still preserved as one of the primary books used in celebrating Christian worship.

The Ecclesiastica Officia and the Divine Office

Cistercian abbeys were governed by the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, a collection of rules about all aspects of monastic life including the mass, liturgy, chant and their daily schedule.¹⁵ Abbots were bound together by the *Carta Caritatis*, a constitution which required annual visits to Cîteaux as the centre of the Order.¹⁶ Under the direction of the Abbot as

¹² Lekai, *The White Monks*, pp.182-184.

¹³ Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, translated and revised by William G. Storey and Neils K. Rasmussen et al. (Washington DC: The Pastoral Press, 1986), p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.

¹⁵ For a study of the guiding principles of Cistercian life, see Bede K. Lackner, "The Monastic Life According to Saint Bernard" *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series 34 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), pp. 49-62. See also Terryl Kinder, *Cistercian Europe, Architecture of Contemplation* (Kalamazoo: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), p. 52. Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Les fondements de la vie monastique," in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens en Namurois XIII - XX siècles* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 1998), p. 219.

¹⁶ For a study of the rules and constitution of the Cistercian Order, see Lekai, *The White Monks*, pp. 23-28. For a study of Cistercian liturgy and practices, see Bede K. Lackner, "The Liturgy of Early Cîteaux" *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History I*, ed. M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series 13 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1971), pp. 10-12. But due to vast distances between some Cistercian houses and Cîteaux and the dangers of travel during the Medieval and Renaissance periods, this requirement eventually changed to four, five or seven year visits based on the geographic location of the house. See also Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, pp. 51-54.

representative, meetings of the General Chapter were held to discuss issues affecting the Order. A system of visitations to Cistercian houses served to transmit information and ensured fidelity and discipline, although internal autonomy of individual houses was respected. As part of the Cistercian Rite and the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* or the Rule of Saint Benedict, uniformity of rules and customs in all monasteries was of prime importance and included the need for uniform liturgical books.¹⁷ The books included: *Missal* - a liturgical text required by the celebrant of the mass; *Gospel* - text read daily by section; *Epistle* - a book of the letters of the Apostles, especially those of St. Paul; *Collects* - a collection of sermons, one for mass and one for the Divine Office; *Gradual* - cantor's book for the mass; *Antiphonal* - cantor's book for the Divine Office; *Hymnal* - book of hymns, lyrical and poetic pieces introduced by St. Benedict, many attributed to St. Ambrose; *Psalter* - a collection of 150 psalms known as David's Psalms; *Reader* - readings from the Old and New Testaments; *Rule of St. Benedict* - read daily in the chapter room and *Calendar* – a book of saint's days to be celebrated in the liturgy of the mass and Divine Office.¹⁸

As part of the early twelfth-century reform of liturgical practices, Cistercians aimed to return to the “original scheme of the Rule concerning the celebration of the Divine Office”.¹⁹ As a result, Stephen Harding, Abbot of Cîteaux from 1109 to 1133 ordered the copying of an antiphonal from the school of Metz, c. 1109. Since Metz was

¹⁷ Lackner, “The Monastic Life,” p. 55 and “The Liturgy of Early Cîteaux,” p. 24. See also Lefèvre, “Les fondements,” p. 219.

¹⁸ Lefèvre, “Les fondements,” p. 219. See also Lackner, “The Liturgy of Early Cîteaux,” pp. 13-14.

¹⁹ For a study of the reform of the Divine Office, see Lekai, *The White Monks*, pp. 171-177.

considered to have preserved the authentic tradition of Gregorian chant music, due to Harding's authority, this antiphonal became the exemplar for the Cistercian Order. Dissatisfaction over the quality of the antiphonal grew among early Cistercians and following Harding's death, at the direction of the General Chapter, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), supervised a revision of the Metz Antiphonal to simplify and eliminate embellished melodies. In 1148 the General Chapter approved the new and revised antiphonal which remained for the most part unchanged until the mid-seventeenth century.²⁰ Transcribed in 1554-55, the Salzinnes Antiphonal was created under the guidelines of the reformed Metz Antiphonal.

The Salzinnes Antiphonal is a liturgical book containing the chants associated with the Divine Office and was used by the choir during the cycle of daily prayers. Music played a major role in the liturgical practices of the clergy and of particular importance to the Cistercian Order, confirmed by the revisions of the chant repertory under the supervision of Bernard of Clairvaux.²¹ Although other religious orders had chant traditions, none made revisions to the degree undertaken by the Cistercians and these were later adopted, for the most part, by the Dominican Order.²²

²⁰ Louis J. Lekai, *The White Monks*, pp. 175-176. See also Lackner, "The Liturgy of Early Cîteaux," pp. 23-24. For further readings regarding the Metz Antiphonal and reforms, see Chrysogonus Waddell, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphonary: Reflections on Two Cistercian Chant Reforms," *The Cistercian Spirit A Symposium*, ed. M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series 3 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), pp. 190-223 and "Monastic Liturgy Prologue to the Cistercian Antiphonary – Introduction and Text," *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, ed. M. Basil Pennington, Vol. 1, Cistercian Fathers Series: No. 1 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), pp. 153-162. For a study of the Cistercian reform of Plain Chant, see Claire Maître, *La réforme cistercienne du plain chant: étude d'un traité théorique*. (Brecht: Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses, 1995).

²¹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 608-609. See also Lefèvre, "Les fondements," pp. 217-218.

²² Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 608.

Often produced in multiple volume sets, antiphonals were intended for those who played specific roles during communal devotion. The large sized manuscript was designed to ensure the music and text could be seen on the lectern by groups of singers during the service. The cantor or cantrix led the music, with responsive singing by the choir. Julienne de Glymes was the Prioress and former Cantrix at the Abbey of Salzinnes when the Salzinnes Antiphonal was produced.²³ As the provider and leading performer of music, she would have set an example to her monastic community, cultivating music as the principal form of spiritual devotion.²⁴

The *Opus Dei* or the work of God was the essential core of monastic life and formed the primary occupation for all Cistercians.²⁵ The mass and the Divine Office formed the basis of Christian liturgy and were central to the daily life of the religious of the Medieval and Renaissance period and had a vital influence on communal prayer.²⁶ The Office, based on a continuous cycle of daily prayers divided the liturgical day into eight canonical hours (seven day offices and a night office of vigils): *Matins* – after midnight; *Lauds* - daybreak or morning prayer; *Prime* - first hour of the day (6:00 a.m.); *Terce* - the third hour of the day (9:00 a.m.); *Sext* - the sixth hour (12:00 Noon); *None* -

²³ The positions of Julienne de Glymes at the Abbey of Salzinnes are noted in the inscriptions in Vol 1. folio 2 recto, Vol. 2 folio 36 verso and in the colophon page 40 verso of the Salzinnes Antiphonal. In the 1553 election records, she was documented as the Cantrix. By the 1555 completion date of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, Julienne de Glymes is noted as the former Cantrix. See Appendices 4.1 for the election records documentation, p. 251 and 8.1 for the index of miniatures, p. 265 and reproductions 8.2.1 and 8.2.12 - 13.

²⁴ For a study on the importance of convent music, see Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

²⁵ Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, pp. 55-58. See also James France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 169-190.

²⁶ Chrysogonus Waddell, *Twelfth Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*. Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses Studia et Documenta, Vol. 12 (2002), p. 33-36.

the ninth hour of the day (3:00.p.m.); *Vespers* – sunset; and *Compline* - before retiring.²⁷

The hours of the day are also noted throughout the Salzinnes Antiphonal, as are the days of the liturgical week: for example, *Dominica* - Sunday; *Feria II* - Monday; *Feria III* - Tuesday; *Feria IV* - Wednesday; *Feria V* - Thursday; *Feria VI* - Friday; and *Sabbatum* - Saturday.

The Relationship between the Liturgy and Music in the Salzinnes Antiphonal

The Salzinnes Antiphonal is composed of the two annual cycles: the Temporal and the Sanctoral, as well the Common of Saints, in liturgical order.²⁸ The Temporal (Temporale or the Proper of Time) includes the portion of the Calendar or the part of the liturgical book which contains the texts and chants to celebrate the annual cycle of feasts and seasons of the year based on the events of the life of Christ, including Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, as well as the associated saints' feasts days between December 24 and January 13.²⁹ The Sanctoral (Sanctorale or Proper of Saints) includes the portion of the Calendar or the part of the liturgical book that contains the texts and chants for the

²⁷ Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, eds., *The Divine Office in the Late Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Development, Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 3-11. There are slight variations in the hours cited based on different sources.

²⁸ For a study on antiphonals and their relationship as a liturgical manuscript, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 160-193.

²⁹ Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p. xxiii. See also La Trobe University Library, *Medieval Music Database – Annual Cycle of Feasts: The Temporal Cycle. Online.* <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/Temporal.htm>. 7 January 2005; *Celebrating the Liturgy's Books: Online. Liturgical Year*, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/music/manuscript/liturgical_year.html. 6 December 2004.

annual cycle of saint's feasts based on the Calendar.³⁰ The Common of Saints includes those saints not given individual services in the Temporal and the Sanctoral cycles. It applies to any saint in one of several categories: apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and holy women.³¹

Written in Latin, the Salzinnes Antiphonal contains text and music including psalms, canticles, antiphons, responsories, hymns, versicles, lessons and prayers, as well as weekday offices. Volume I, the Temporal cycle is found in folios 1 to 125 and covers the winter part, beginning with the first Vespers, the Saturday before the first Sunday of Advent, and goes to the Easter Vigil.³² The Sanctoral cycle also in Volume I covers folios 127 to 197. It includes saints and feast days from Advent to the Annunciation (25 March) and those for Saint Roch (16 August) and Saint Hubert (3 November). The Common of Saints Volume II covers folios 1 to 40 and includes among others, Saint Maurice, Saint Hubert and Saint Juliana, as well as Saint George.³³

As noted previously, antiphonals follow a prescribed format as set out by the religious order. The only deviation would be to incorporate regional or local traditions, such as regional saints and the feast day to dedicate the local church, a common practice

³⁰ Palazzo, *History of the Liturgical Book*, p. xxiii. See also La Trobe University Library, *Medieval Music Database – Annual Cycle of Feasts: The Sanctoral Cycle*. Online. <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/MMDB/Sanctoral.htm>. 7 January 2005. *Celebrating the Liturgy's Books: Online. Liturgical Year*, <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/music/manuscript/liturgicalyear.html>. 6 December 2004.

³¹ *Celebrating the Liturgy's Books: Liturgical Year as Organization of Texts within Books*. Online. http://www.columbia.edu/itc/music/manuscript/lit_year_as_org.html. 6 December 2004.

³² Barbara Shailor, *The Medieval Book: Illustrated from the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 72.

³³ See Appendix 2.2 pp. 235-237 for feast days and holy days.

throughout the region.³⁴ Regional influences in the Salzinnes Antiphonal include feasts for Saint Hubert and Saint Roch found in the Sanctoral, Volume I on folio 197 verso and the unnumbered page following [198 recto]. Of particular note, both saints are highlighted at the end of Volume I by individual antiphons. In addition, the Common of Saints in Volume II includes a miniature of Saint Hubert and related text for the Common of a Confessor Bishop on folio 30 recto, as well as text related to the dedication of the Church - the Abbey of Salzinnes, on folio 16 verso.³⁵

The inclusion of Saint Hubert as the Bishop and patron saint of the Diocese of Liège is obvious. The addition of Saint Roch in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is as a powerful protector. Saint Roch, a French noble was born at Montpellier c. 1295. He devoted himself to administering to the plague-stricken, whom he encountered on a pilgrimage to Rome. Contracting the plague himself, he withdrew to the forest to die, but was befriended and looked after by a dog until his eventual recovery. Returning to France he was charged with spying after refusing to disclose his identity. Thrown in jail, Saint Roch died five years later in 1327. The patron saint of the sick, among others, Saint Roch is honored in France and Italy.³⁶ Represented in art as a pilgrim with a dog, many chapels are dedicated to him as a result of the great epidemics which resurfaced in the sixteenth

³⁴ For a specific study of the intrinsic factors in localizing and dating manuscripts with reference to liturgical evidence, see James Douglas Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and the Discovery of Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours: Walters MS. 239," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 45 (1987), p. 46.

³⁵ See Appendix 2.2 pp. 235 for St. Hubert and St Roch and p. 236 for Dedication of a Church feast days.

³⁶ Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Donald Atwater, edited, revised and supplemented, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 3 (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1990), p. 338.

century.³⁷ Chapels dedicated to the Saint in the county of Namur include Chapelle Saint-Roch in Andenne and Somme-Leuz-Somal, among others, as well as a hospital located in Namur near the Meuse River, all evidence of his importance to the region.³⁸ Even after the new Diocese of Namur was erected in 1559, special veneration was extended to the saints of Liège including Hubert, Lambert and Saint Juliana.³⁹

The following feast days are represented in the Sanctoral section of the Salzennes Antiphonal, Volume I.

Folio 127r	- Feast of Saint Andrew	30 November
Folio 134r	- Feast of Conception and Birth of Blessed Virgin Mary	8 December
Folio 142v	- Feast of the Birth of Saint Stephen	26 December
Folio 147v	- Feast of Saint John Evangelist	27 December
Folio 152v	- Feast of the Holy Innocents	28 December
Folio 157r	- Feast of the Birth of Saint Agnes	21 January
Folio 162r	- Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul	25 January
Folio 168v	- Feast of the Purification of the Virgin	2 February
Folio 169r	- Feast of the Presentation in the Temple	2 February
Folio 174r	- Feast of the Birth of Saint Agatha	5 February
Folio 179r	- Feast of the Chair of Saint Peter	22 February
Folio 185r	- Feast of the Birth of Saint Benedict	21 March

³⁷ Émile Male, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1958), pp. 129-132. Male states that, "In the sixteenth century the great epidemics gave rise to confraternities of Saint Roch everywhere, including the smallest villages."

³⁸ The *S. Rocque hospitale* is represented in a 1575 engraving of the town of Namur in the collection of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Jewish National and University Library.

³⁹ Additional references to these saints are found in chapters 5 and 6.

Folio 191v	- Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	25 March
Folio 197v	- Feast of Saint Roch	16 August
Folio [198r]	- Feast of Saint Hubert	3 November

Although the saints listed above are common in the Christian religion, a few names require special mention in relation to the Cistercian Salzinnes Antiphonal. The Cistercian Order was founded in 1098 as part of monastic spiritual reform and a return to the true spirit of the Rule of Saint Benedict. As such, Saint Benedict is featured here “as the real founder and father of Western monasticism”.⁴⁰ Its inclusion in the antiphonal (folio 185 recto) confirms that the Abbey of Salzinnes followed this Rule. The last two saints, Saint Roch and Saint Hubert (folios 197 recto and [198 recto] respectively), are featured in individual antiphons, verifying their status and special significance to the Abbey of Salzinnes, the Diocese of Liège, as well as the Namur region.

A Cistercian antiphonal in the collection of the Abbey of Maredsous bears some resemblance to the Salzinnes Antiphonal.⁴¹ Like the Salzinnes manuscript it contains the Temporal from the first Saturday of Advent to the Easter vigil; the Sanctoral includes feasts for St. Andrew to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, but the page containing the regional saint(s) for the monastery is missing. Also similar to the Salzinnes manuscript, the Maredsous Antiphonal was produced over a period spanning almost two years; the

⁴⁰ Lekai, *The White Monks*, p. 4.

⁴¹ MS. F^o/4. Antiphonaire cistercien, Collection of the Abbey of Maredsous, Belgium. My thanks to Xavier Hermand, Rowan Watson and Dom Daniel Misonne for informing me about this manuscript mentioned in Luc Knappen, *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Maredsous* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. 12-14.

dates March 1549 and September 1550 are inscribed. Based on its contents, it was made for a Cistercian monastery that followed the Rule of St. Benedict. An inscription in French bearing the name Dame Jehenne de Jasse(?) is found on a folio stub in the Sanctoral and together with an image of a Cistercian nun with Saint Anne, which indicates that the manuscript was made for a female Cistercian convent in the French region. Although similar in liturgical content and written in the approximate time period, the Maredsous Antiphonal does not resemble the Salzinnes Antiphonal in the appearance of the script, the initials or the illuminations, but serves as an example of the uniformity of Cistercian liturgical books and verifies the practice of hand-producing antiphonals in the region as late as the mid-sixteenth century.

Liturgical music is the most important form of sacred music, since it accompanies the principal rites of Christian worship - the mass and the Divine Office.⁴² The traditional music of the Western Church is known as chant or plainchant. Gregorian chant is recognized as the earliest layer of chant. In the Cistercian monasteries, the worship of God was expressed through the chanting of the Divine Office and celebrating mass. The Salzinnes Antiphonal represents a fine example of plainchant in the typical musical notation of the late Middle Ages. The distinct square neumatic notations, called neumes, are presented on four-line staves using F or C clef per staff, sung on a single syllable.

In order to fully examine and understand the Salzinnes Antiphonal a major focus of this study is the transcription and translation of the liturgical text, as well as

⁴² Joseph Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments in Christian Worship*; translated by Clifford Howell, SJ., (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1964), pp. 59-65.

identification of the psalms and Biblical passages in the manuscript.⁴³ The Latin transcription has been completed for the entire manuscript. Although still a work in progress, the English translation has been completed for the Temporal cycle to folio 125. Research on this section using Gregorian chant indexes indicates the manuscript follows to a certain degree standard chant repertoire.⁴⁴ Based on a comparison of the first ten folios with the *Liber Usualis*, a compilation of most frequently used chants, some passages are more musically decorated, while others are different from the standard repertoire.⁴⁵ Should the Salzinnes Antiphonal be found to contain some unique passages or chants it would have a significant affect on its status among similar Cistercian antiphonals.

Typically, the Sanctoral section of a manuscript would provide some variance to the standard chants. Since this portion normally contains examples of regional offices and saints, this section would, more than likely, contain original music from the Abbey of Salzinnes. Continuing the translation project and cross-checking of remaining transcribed passages with Gregorian chant indexes for the Sanctoral and the Common of Saints will allow for further methodical study of the Salzinnes Antiphonal. Once these passages have been identified, a study of the musical compositions will follow to verify if a unique

⁴³ Since September 2003 work has been ongoing with Geraldine Thomas, Associate Professor, Department of Modern Languages and Classics, Saint Mary's University to transcribe and translate the Salzinnes Antiphonal. Dr. Thomas is preparing a translation and edition of the Salzinnes Antiphonal for publication.

⁴⁴ John Bryden and David Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant*, Vol. I Alphabetical Index (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969). See also *CANTUS*, A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant. Online. <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/mssindex.htm>. 9 September 2003.

⁴⁵ Jennifer Bain, Assistant Professor, Department of Music, Dalhousie University, personal correspondence, 6 June 2004.

musical style was composed for the Abbey of Salzinnes. The final step is the musical transcription with a focus on passages which may be unique to Salzinnes.⁴⁶

From medieval times, art and music were considered as spiritual expressions to enlighten the faithful and as a means to glorify God.⁴⁷ For the clergy, liturgy evoked music and *musica sacra* served to enrich the liturgy and celebration of the mass.⁴⁸ This mutual relationship is represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal as both a personal and communal function in fulfillment of the *Opus Dei*. A further study of this relationship is examined in the themes and artistic patronage of the devotional images.

⁴⁶ Jennifer Bain will undertake select musical transcriptions for future presentation in a concert and for potential publication.

⁴⁷ Gelineau, *Voices and Instruments*, pp. 9-13. Gelineau states that some liturgical music can be “traced to ancient Jewish and Mediterranean sources dating back to the first Christian centuries; others, belong to the Middle Ages are of Latin or Syrian provenance...”

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-58.

CHAPTER 4

Illuminated Art of Sixteenth Century Europe

Illuminated manuscripts were some of the most precious objects made during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance with the finest period of production spanning about three centuries from 1250 to 1550. France, Italy, England and the Netherlands produced some of the finest illuminations in the fifteenth-century. Although the era of manuscript illumination was approaching the end of its production history in the sixteenth-century, this period still produced some of the most “magnificent and florid ornamentations”.¹

During the Middle Ages and early Renaissance periods, mainly the aristocracy had luxury items such as paintings and lavishly decorated illuminated manuscripts, including private devotional prayer books such as psalters and books of hours. Toward the end of the Renaissance period, the wealthy merchants and professionals began to collect books and amass private libraries. Despite the growth of secular literature driven by institutions, notably the University of Paris, Christian doctrine remained the focus of most books produced. Even with the arrival of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, the art of hand illumination was still a viable industry.

Literature on antiphonals and illuminated manuscripts of the sixteenth-century, and in particular those originating from abbeys such as Salzinnes, is not extensive. In

¹ B.D. Maggs, C.A. Maggs, and E.U. Maggs, *Illuminations and Woodcuts, Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures*, No. 404 (London: Maggs Bros., 1921), p. 7. See also Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), p. 7.

1998, the 900th anniversary of the Order of Cîteaux became the catalyst for renewed interest in the historical and cultural heritage of Cistercian abbeys in Europe. As a result, documentation and provenances of manuscripts from the Diocese of Liège, including the Abbey of Salzinnes, emerged from its infancy.² Research and examination provided by this study on the Salzinnes Antiphonal attempts to fill a void in the history of the Abbey of Salzinnes. The study will place the antiphonal in context within the broad framework of illuminated manuscripts and the current patterns of historical scholarship.

Medieval production of illuminated manuscripts is well documented for the northern cities of Ghent and Bruges, the style known as the *Ghent-Bruges School*.³ This has not been the case for the Diocese of Liège, which, until 1559 included the town of Namur where the Abbey of Salzinnes was located. Painters and illuminators in the independent cities of the Low Countries belonged to the guild of Saint Luke, patron saint of painters.⁴ In Namur, a more isolated and mainly rural area, illuminators belonged to

² For information on studies related to manuscripts from the Diocese of Liège see: Xavier Hermand and Bernadette Petitjean, "Les livres liturgiques des paroisses de l'ancien diocèse de Liège au bas Moyen Âge: le témoignage des records ecclésiastiques," *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du Diocèse de Liège*, Vol. 64 (Liège, 2001); Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, "Quelques considérations sur le livre enluminé dans la ville et le comté de Namur à la fin du Moyen Âge" and "Manuscrits à peintures du bas Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance conservés dans les collections namuroises. Un premier tour d'horizon," in Toussaint, ed., *Art en Namurois: La sculpture 1400-1550* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, Province de Namur, 2001). These essays were produced for an exhibition, *Art en Namurois: La sculpture 1400-1550* at the Musée des Arts anciens du Namurois, Namur, Belgium, 2001-2002; Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens en Namurois XIII^e - XX^e siècles* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, Province de Namur, 1998). Also in May 2003, following receipt of documentary material, Rowan Watson, Head of Collection Development, National Art Library from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, came to Halifax at my invitation to examine and authenticate the Salzinnes Antiphonal. See also Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Makers*, (London: V&A Publications, 2003).

³ John Harthan, *An Introduction to Illuminated Manuscripts, Victoria and Albert Museum* (Owings Mills: Stemmer House, 1983), pp. 29, 34.

⁴ Vanwijnsberghe, "Quelques considérations," p. 332. For a discussion on guilds and confraternities, see Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*. (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 30-31, 126-127.

the guild of haberdashers, which included “such diverse occupations as pewterers, harness makers, basket makers or greasers”.⁵ Perhaps, members of local abbeys and monasteries already fulfilled the available work and as a result, there were too few professional illuminators to form their own guild. A study of the illuminated manuscripts of the region of Liège provides some clarification and basic insight into the stylistic origins of the Salzinnes Antiphonal.⁶

Illuminated Manuscripts in the Diocese of Liège

Originally created in the fourth century, the ancient Diocese of Liège saw monastic institutions and churches flourish throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance periods. Grouped in eight archdeaconries and twenty-eight deaneries or councils, the Diocese of Liège extended to the Dioceses of Utrecht in the north, Cologne in the east, Trier and Reims in the south and Cambrai in the west.⁷ Around 1559 the 1,676 parishes known to have existed had a great need for liturgical books.⁸ Since the Abbey of Salzinnes was part of the Bishopric of Liège, an examination of extant regional manuscripts provides a valuable basis for comparison with the sixteenth-century Salzinnes Antiphonal.

⁵ Vanwijnsberghe, “Quelques considérations,” p. 332. See also J. Borgnet, “Des corps de métier et des serments de la Ville de Namur depuis leur origine jusqu’à l’avènement de Philippe le Bon, 1429,” *Messenger des Sciences historiques et Archives des Arts de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1847), pp. 80-81.

⁶ For a specific study of internal evidence in localizing and dating manuscripts, see James Douglas Farquhar, “Manuscript Production and the Discovery of Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours: Walters MS. 239” in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 45, Baltimore, 1987. Categories include marks, coats-of-arms, artistic style and sources, as well as codicological evidence. A further discussion on these categories in relation to the Salzinnes Antiphonal is found in chapters 5 and 6.

⁷ Joseph Brassinne, “Liège,” Catholic Encyclopedia Online. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09236a.htm>. 4 January 2005.

⁸ Hermand and Petitjean, “Les livres liturgiques,” p. 161.

A review of three recent studies on liturgical books and ecclesiastical records for the Diocese of Liège conclude that only a few manuscripts from the thousands of churches from the region have survived.⁹ Based on these studies, the discovery and identification of the Salzennes Antiphonal and its place of origin appear to be significant. Also of interest is the identification of workshops or monastic scriptoria active in the Liège region during the first half of the sixteenth century. A review of these records together with monastic documents for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries serves to place the antiphonal in historical context with other regional manuscripts.

Records confirm the Benedictines of Gembloux, the Cistercians of Jardinnet à Walcourt and the Norbertines of Floresse copied manuscripts.¹⁰ In addition, the Cistercians of Moulins, Boneffe, Rochefort and the nuns of Moulins, Marche-les-Dames, and Argenton, most likely had copyists in their abbeys.¹¹ Records from two abbeys for the county of Namur document expenses for transcribing, illuminating and binding liturgical books covering specific periods for the Cistercian Abbey of Salzennes (1464-1521) and the Benedictine Abbey of Florennes (1495-1508).¹²

Specifically, records of 1467-68 and 1505-06 note expenses incurred for

⁹ Hermand and Petitjean, "Les livres liturgiques," p. 162. See also Vanwijnsberghe, "Manuscrits à peintures," p. 337. R. Forgeur, "Introduction à l'histoire des livres liturgiques du diocèse de Liège," *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du Diocèse de Liège*, Vol. 62, 1997, p. 8.

¹⁰ Vanwijnsberghe, "Quelques considérations," pp. 328, 330.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹² Hermand and Petitjean, "Les livres liturgiques," p. 166.

illumination and binding by the Abbey of Salzinnes.¹³ There is also a reference to the purchase of five dozen skins of parchment for a commission. The Holy Cross Fathers of Namur charged Dame Anne, a nun at the Abbey of Salzinnes, with copying a large antiphonal.¹⁴ Additional documents record purchases of only small amounts of parchment outside commissioned works from the period of the last half of the fifteenth-century. However, references to purchases for the period 1508-1524, include among others, a large amount of parchment consisting of four bundles in 1512-13, 1518-19, 1519-1520, and 1523-24.¹⁵ This could suggest a resurgence in the art of transcription at the Abbey of Salzinnes in the first quarter of the sixteenth-century. However, since the account records also note costs incurred for commissions, assessment of these documents must proceed with caution. For example, a record dated 1519-20 notes commissioning an “aesthetic work,” as well as a liturgical book in 1520-21.¹⁶

These records verify that nuns at the Abbey of Salzinnes had expenses relating to the transcription and illumination of manuscripts and that transcribing was practiced in the early sixteenth-century. However, documents do not confirm an organized scriptorium and evidence to support the possibility that these roles were performed by the mid-sixteenth century when the Salzinnes Antiphonal was produced has not been found to date.

¹³ Xavier Hermand, personal correspondence, 8 August, 2003. Original source: Archives de l'État á Namur, Nr. 3242 f.153v, 1467-68; Nr. 3246, f. 24r, 1505-06.

¹⁴ Ibid. Original source: Archives de l'État á Namur: Nr. 3246 f. 25r for 1502-03; Nr. 3246 f. 23v and 25v for 1503-04.

¹⁵ Ibid. Original source: Archives de l'État á Namur, ecclésiastiques: Nr. 3247, Nr. 3248.

¹⁶ Ibid. Original source: Archives de l'État á Namur, ecclésiastiques: Nr. 3248.

Stylistic Influences and Regional Characteristics

Current sources for researching genealogical records in Belgium include sixteenth and seventeenth century state and ecclesiastical documents consisting of parish registers of births, deaths and marriages.¹⁷ A special feature of the miniatures in the Salzennes Antiphonal is a type of family record in the form of coats-of-arms. The antiphonal also presents a rare form of an ecclesiastical archival record by identifying nuns who lived in the abbey around the time of its production in the mid-sixteenth-century. Of particular interest however, is why would a liturgical book contain multiple images of nuns, some with their coats-of-arms.

A study of manuscripts in Namur produced between 1425 and 1530 provides a survey of the stylistic influences and standard practices for the geographic region from Flanders to Provence, through Northern France, and the Hainaut.¹⁸ Similar to the Salzennes Antiphonal, several of the illuminations portray the coats-of-arms of their patrons, shown kneeling in prayer, a common and well-documented practice by patrons beyond the region.¹⁹ An example found in an early sixteenth-century antiphonal made for the Abbey of Forest shows a coat-of-arms with Abbess Marguerite de Gavre de Liedekercke depicted in the right border, kneeling in prayer.²⁰ A second example is found

¹⁷ *Vade-Mecum, Genealogicae et Heraldicae Belgicae*. Fédération généalogique et héraldique de Belgique, Archives générales du Royaume, Bruxelles, 1996. pp. 54-69.

¹⁸ Vanwijnsberghe, "Manuscrits à peintures," p. 337. For a study of stylistic influences in the identification of manuscripts, see Farquhar, "Manuscript Production," pp. 46-49.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 341. For further discussions on coats-of-arms and donor patronage, see chapter 6. For related readings on iconography and donor patronage, see chapter 5.

²⁰ Vanwijnsberghe, "Manuscrits à peintures," p. 353. Antiphonal leaf, *Jugement dernier*, 1500-1502, Westmalle, Abbaye des trappistes: MS 9, Vol. 1, Fol. 1.

in an antiphonal (c.1511-1516) commissioned for a sister convent, the Abbey of Flines.²¹ Attributed to Jacquet d'Anvers or his workshop, the miniature initial depicts the Abbess Jeanne de Boubais kneeling before St. Benedict and includes coats-of-arms of both the abbess and the abbey within the folio's border. The Salzinnes Antiphonal includes the Abbess Marie Nys prominently portrayed with her patron saint and coat-of-arms within the main scene of the *Holy Kinship* image.²² Additionally, Prioress Julienne de Glymes, as patron of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, is portrayed with other members of her family with their coats-of-arms in *The Annunciation*, *The Baptism* and *the Holy Kinship* images.²³

Regional Namur manuscripts show an evolution of illuminated border designs from "simple vignettes of the 1400s to the illusionist margins of the *ganto-brugeois* style, after 1475".²⁴ Three examples of interest to the Salzinnes Antiphonal are a miniature *Jugement dernier* from an antiphonal made for the Abbey of Forest in 1500-1502, an example possibly from the Hainaut area; a miniature *Confesseurs* from a gradual produced after 1530, and a leaf from a gradual *Adoration des mages* miniature, made in the early sixteenth-century.²⁵ Both graduals were commissioned by the Abbey Saint

²¹ Andrea Gail Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals at the Cistercian Convent of Flines 1500-1575," (Ph.D. Diss.) (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1995), pp. 415-418. The antiphonal is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai: MS. 126.

²² See Appendix 8.2.8 for reproduction of the *Holy Kinship* folio including Abbess Marie Nys.

²³ See Appendices 8.2.1 for reproduction of *The Annunciation*; 8.2.4, for reproduction of *The Baptism* and 8.2.8 for reproduction of the *Holy Kinship* folios.

²⁴ Vanwijnsberghe, "Manuscrits à peintures," p. 341.

²⁵ Ibid. Antiphonal leaf, *Jugement dernier*, 1500-1502, Collection Abbaye des trapistes: MS 9, Vol. 1. Fol. 1, p. 353; Gradual leaf, *Confesseurs*, after 1530. Collection Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1st: MS

Pierre of Gembloux. All three manuscripts display the *ganto-brugeois* style of art also found in the Salzinnes Antiphonal in the images of *The Adoration of the Magi* and *Christ in Majesty*.²⁶ These folios have similarities not only in the illusionist style borders but also in the colour palette with the Salzinnes manuscript. Common characteristics include rose-gold coloured backgrounds and brown and pale blue acanthus leaves, another confirmation of regional origin. The examples also show a likeness with the Salzinnes Antiphonal in the representations of flora and fauna, found in the illuminated bar borders such as veronicas, roses and sweet peas, as well as birds and insects.

Regional iconography serves to establish and confirm the district of origin of a manuscript. As noted earlier, the Salzinnes Antiphonal has a few examples including an image of Saint Hubert, the patron saint and Bishop of the Diocese of Liège, portrayed in the historiated initial *St. Hubert* in Volume II.²⁷ Additionally, as further regional confirmation, the Salzinnes manuscript also includes two collections of antiphons featured at the end of the *Sanctoral* cycle in Volume I. One is dedicated to Saint Hubert and the second to Saint Roch, a saint common to the Namur region.²⁸

5644, Fol. 99, pp. 356-357; Gradual leaf, *Adoration des mages*, early sixteenth century. Collection Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert 1st, MS. 5648, Fol. 31, p. 358.

²⁶ See Appendices 8.2.3 for reproduction of *The Adoration of the Magi*, and 8.2.7 for reproduction of *The Christ in Majesty* folios.

²⁷ See Appendix 8.2.11 for reproduction of the *Saint Hubert* folio.

²⁸ In addition to the reference of regional influences in chapter 3 on the liturgy and music, more detailed discussions are found in chapter 5 as it relates to the art of the antiphonal. See also references to Saints Hubert and Roch in Appendix 2.1, p. 234 and Appendix 2.2, p. 235.

Research confirms the practice of transcribing and illuminating manuscripts in the Namur region, however, based on current studies no professional scribes have been identified.²⁹ Given the great need for liturgical books by monastic institutions, it is not likely that monastic scribes could fulfill both their own needs and those of the commercial market. Consequently, the aristocracy commissioned manuscripts outside Namur, since manuscripts produced by prestigious workshops were status symbols, preferred by the nobility.³⁰ As a result, book markets for illuminated manuscripts flourished in larger cities because of the demands of the aristocracy and the growing middle class.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries marked the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period brought on by the spread of humanism and the Renaissance from Northern Italy.³¹ It was an era of exploration, expansion of European trade and economy, scientific development and the advent of the printing press. In Liège, records show that Bishop George of Austria ordered the first printed *rituel* in 1553, confirming the use of printed liturgical books in the region, by that date.³²

²⁹ Vanwijnsberghe, "Quelques considérations," p. 331.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 327-329.

³¹ Cécile Douxchamps-Lefèvre, "Le Comté de Namur de 1400 à 1550: Le cadre historique," in Toussaint, ed., *Art en Namurois*, p. 24.

³² Hermand and Petitjean, "Les livres liturgiques," p. 183. "le premier rituel imprimé...Liber sanctae ecclesiae Leodiensis". On George of Austria, see Ludovicus Schmitz-Kallenberg, ed., *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum, saeculum XVI ab anno 1503 Complicens*, Volumen Tertium. (Munich: Librariae Regensbergianae), 1923. "Georgius de Austria" was Bishop of Liège from February 23 1541. He died May 5, 1557, p. 222.

By the mid-sixteenth century the era for producing manuscripts was ending.³³ Although few 'survivors' of the illuminated manuscript tradition of Liège exist, those that remain serve to show the spiritual 'art' of worship and provide for an historical reconstruction of, and insight into the lives of the worshipers. The question of what contributed to their disappearance is of great interest. The impact of the printing press, political and religious upheavals and the Council of Trent all had an impact to varying degrees. However, the issue of why the Salzinnes Antiphonal was produced one hundred years after the arrival of printing merits further attention.³⁴ Was it created to fulfill a purpose of artistic interest or cultural expression, or was it a reaffirmation of faith? This study maintains that the Salzinnes Antiphonal represents a devotional and cultural symbol, a personal and communal contribution, as well as fulfilling a memorial record to the abbey and a dedicatory record of the nuns of Salzinnes.

³³ Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 413.

³⁴ The first book printed in the west was the Gutenberg Bible produced in Mainz in 1454-1455 by Johannes Gutenberg.

CHAPTER 5

The Art of the Antiphonal Part 1: Composition, Contents and Description

*'Where the spirit does not work with the hand
there is no art.'*

Leonardo da Vinci

To create an illuminated manuscript involved the participation and cooperation of many artisans throughout the preparation and production process. From the parchment maker to the scribe, to the illuminator and the bookbinder, each area of specialty required dedicated individuals working meticulously in a consistent and cognitive manner.¹

Although manuscripts were handmade and reflected the styles of their makers, they also displayed regional influences of training and patronage. The extent of the illuminations and the style of script depended on the purpose of the manuscript and the degree of patronage.

Based on the codicology and style of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the first part of this chapter provides an outline of the structure of the antiphonal, as well as the methods and skills needed to produce a manuscript.² Hand-scripted and illuminated in tempera on vellum or parchment, the Salzinnes Antiphonal, created in 1554-1555, measures 61.5 x

¹ For a study of the qualifications of scribes and the physical environment of the monastic scriptoria see Walter Horn and Ernest Born, "The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 44 (1986), pp. 33-36.

² For a specific codicological study of a manuscript see James Douglas Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and the Discovery of Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth century Books of Hours: Walters MS. 239" *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 45 (1987), pp. 49-53. For an explanation of the term, see Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts A Guide to Technical Terms* (London: Getty Museum and British Library, 1994), p. 42.

39.5 x 14.5 cm. or 24" x 15½" x 6". It consists of two volumes bound together of 240 folios or 480 pages and weighs approximately 16.5 kg, or 36 lbs.³

Antiphonals are large in size and format, in contrast to the small handheld manuscripts, such as books of hours.⁴ Placed on a church lectern, groups of people can sing from a single codex during the liturgical service. Because of their size, antiphonals were expensive to produce and required a financial commitment from the abbey and in some cases a communal commitment of labor in the monastic scriptorium.

Preparation Process:

Although paper was produced in Europe by the ninth century, despite the expense, animal skins were preferred as a writing material for manuscripts until the sixteenth century.

Skins were more durable and easier to inscribe than paper and adjusted to the fluctuations of temperature and humidity, which contributed to their preservation.⁵ The size of the manuscript dictated the number of skins needed.⁶ Large-scale antiphonals, such as the Salzinnes Antiphonal, required almost the same amount of skins as the number of folios.

The first step in the process was to prepare the parchment or vellum on which the manuscript was inscribed and illuminated. Parchment is made from the untanned skin of

³ The folios in the Salzinnes Antiphonal include numbered and un-numbered pages. For foliation details, see Appendix 1.2.2 to 1.2.31, pp. 203-232.

⁴ See Appendices 8.2.16 and 8.2.17 for views of opened manuscript.

⁵ Nigel Thorp, *The Glory of the Page: Medieval & Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from Glasgow University Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 1987), p.15.

⁶ James R. Tanis, ed. and Jennifer A Thompson, assistant, *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), p. 131.

sheep or goat. Normally of a finer quality, vellum is made of calfskin and is therefore more desirable than parchment. Uterine vellum was made from stillborn or aborted calves or lambs and was the most prized, but for obvious reasons it was not widely used. To remove the fat, the skins were soaked for several days in a lime solution in wooden vats or stone-lined pits.⁷ Once removed and washed in water, the skins were stretched on wooden frames and scraped with a crescent shaped knife, known as a *lunular* or *lunellum*, to remove the remaining hairs. Any abrasions or gashes created during the flaying process stretched into oval or circular holes during drying. These were common occurrences in medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and the Salzinnes Antiphonal shows evidence of flay holes, for example in folios 20, 25, 27, 72, 74. Once dried, the skins were rubbed with pumice to make the surface smooth and remove any blemishes. The process of re-wetting and drying the skins under tension was repeated and the skins were rubbed with chalk to smooth and whiten the writing surface. On completion, the skins were cut into rectangular sheets and prepared for measuring and ruling for the next procedure known as pricking.

Several different methods and tools were used for measuring and ruling of the manuscript folios to guide the hand in the writing of the text. The folios of the Salzinnes Antiphonal display a fine example of this process, showing measuring and ruling guidelines using prickings and lead. The pricking tool most commonly used was the stylus or awl, called a *punctorium*. It made tiny pinholes at regular intervals in the outer margins of each folio, which served as a ruling guide. Other types of pricking tools

⁷ Richard W. Clement, *Medieval and Renaissance Book Production – Manuscript Books*, ORB: The Online Reference Book for Medieval Studies, p. 4. <http://the-orb.net/encyclo/culture/books/medbook1/.html>. 6 January 2005.

included a pointed compass or *circinus*, or a star wheel.⁸ The folios were ruled using one of several methods, including a stylus, which created furrows in the folio, a lead plummet or lead point, similar to an early form of pencil, or pen and ink.⁹ The rulings in the Salzinnes Antiphonal show two sets of two vertical lines extending from the top to the bottom edges of the page. The first set marks the beginning of the text along the left edge and the second marks the end of the text line along the right edge. Twelve rows of horizontal rulings define the text field. Occasionally, following the pricking and ruling procedures, an extra application was made of pumice or chalk to smooth and whiten the folios, then stanchgrain was applied to prevent the ink from bleeding.¹⁰ On completion, the folios were gathered for the final step in the preparation process.

Traditionally, the vellum sheets were assembled in a gathering of leaves, or inquires. The hair side, darker in colour was placed on the outside, and the flesh side, lighter and more even in colour, was placed on the inside. Each leaf faced similar adjoining sheets so the texture and colour matched for visual appearance. The front of each folio is known as the recto, and the back, the verso.

For oversized manuscripts, such as the Salzinnes Antiphonal, normally four large sheets of bifolium made of vellum were folded in half and nested, making eight folios or sixteen pages. Occasionally, for textual or pictorial requirements, an extra bifolium (full sized folded sheet), or folio (half sheet or singleton), was inserted, thus the order of the

⁸ Clement, *Medieval and Renaissance*, p. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

quires may result in an uneven count. In the Salzinnes Antiphonal, for example, four singletons were glued or bound in to accommodate the full-page miniatures. They include *The Adoration of the Magi*, between folios 45 and 46; *The Baptism of Christ*, between 50 and 51; *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane*, between 117 and 118; and *The Holy Kinship*, between 133 and 134. There are thirty quires in total: twenty-four quires of eight folios, four quires of nine folios, one quire of seven folios and one quire of five folios. See Appendix 1.1, pages 200-201 for foliation details and Appendix 1.2.1 to 1.2.31, pages 202-232 for foliation structure.

Production Process:

Scribes performed the practice of transcribing or hand-copying texts. Lay scribes were usually members of a guild and worked in local or regional workshops with apprentice assistants. Ecclesiastical scribes were traditionally male and sometimes female religious monastics who lived in abbeys and transcribed manuscripts in a room called the scriptorium. Under the direction of a supervisor, the scribes worked either individually or in teams and followed a basic sequence of work. This included writing the text, the rubrication, illumination and correction.

Financial transaction records from the mid-fifteenth century to the first quarter of the sixteenth century indicate expenses incurred by the Abbey of Salzinnes for transcribing manuscripts.¹¹ Unfortunately, no records have been found in the few

¹¹ Xavier Hermand and Bernadette Petitjean, "Les livres liturgiques des paroisses de l'ancien diocèse de Liège au bas Moyen Âge: le témoignage des records ecclésiastiques," *Bulletin de la Société d'art et d'histoire du Diocèse de Liège*, Vol. 65 (2001), p. 166. See also Xavier Hermand, "Les bibliothèques des

preserved documents to confirm the continuation of the practice into the mid-sixteenth century when the Salzinnes Antiphonal was produced.

Written in Latin in a late Gothic hand, the style of the script in the antiphonal is known as *textura quadrata semi-quadrata* and the design and execution is of high quality.¹² *Textura quadrata* is characteristic of a formal Gothic book hand with careful delineated angular feet on the bases of all letters. The *semi-quadrata* style has some bases with angular feet and others are flourished. Textura was one of the higher grades in the hierarchy of scripts and reflected the status of the manuscript; “the most lavish manuscripts were written in the highest grade”.¹³ To produce this style of script was more time-consuming than cursive scripts and reflects the importance of the Salzinnes Antiphonal to the abbey. Typically, twelve lines of text in black ink, plus twelve lines of four-line staves in red ink, are inscribed on each page.

The use of abbreviations in the form of suspensions, contractions and abbreviated symbols is common throughout the Salzinnes Antiphonal, reflective of the manuscript tradition. Examples of suspensions include: “dñs” = d[omi]ñ[u]s; “advētus” = advē[n]tus; “v̇s” = v̇[espera]ṡ. Examples of contractions are: “miss’ ” = miss’[us]; “vers’ ” = vers’[us]; “spirit’ ” = spirit’[us]. An example of an abbreviated symbol is “+” = et.

abbayes cisterciennes du Namurois XV siècle- début XVI siècle,” in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp-257-259.

¹² My thanks to David Bell, University Research Professor, The Department of Religious Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland for identifying the style of script during an examination of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, 30 May 2003.

¹³ Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), p.517. See also Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Makers* (London: V & A Publications, 2003), p. 14.

The antiphonal's foliation is in Roman numerals, found in the top right corner of the recto side of each folio of text. The images with Roman numerals are the historiated initials in the Temporal section, *The Annunciation* and *The Adoration of the Shepherds*; the full page illumination of *The Resurrection* which includes the image of *Christ in Majesty* (au verso); and the four historiated initials in the Common of Saints section, *Saint George, Saint Maurice, Saint Hubert and Saint Juliana*. Pagination, or the assigning of numbers on the pages, implies the images were painted at the time the manuscript was created. The remaining images are not paginated (and are blank on the reverse side), which may imply additions to the manuscript after completion of the text.¹⁴

Introduced in Europe in the twelfth century, Arabic numerals are found in the inscription of the manuscript's production dates of "1554" and "1555", with one exception. The exception, in Roman numerals, found in the date 1554 in Volume I, folio 197 recto is inscribed as "ā°[anno]. xv°·liiii". The remaining production dates are inscribed in Arabic numerals; Volume I, folio 122 recto, "ā[anno] ·1·5·5·4·", and on folio 197 verso, "·1·5·5·5·". Production dates are also found in Volume II on folio 16 verso, "1554", followed by the inscription, *A Salsine*; and on folio 40 verso, on the colophon page, "Anno 1·5·5·5·". These dates suggest that both Volumes I and II of the Salzinnes Antiphonal were created simultaneously. See Appendix 3.1 page 242 for date inscriptions.

¹⁴ Reasons for adding these folios for at least one of the remaining images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal will be examined in chapter 6.

The inscriptions below the images in the *Annunciation* folio in Volume I and each of the four historiated initials in Volume II, share a common element. All are inscribed in capital letters. Upon examination of the block letters, based on similarities in the letters “W”, “F”, “A” and “N” for example, the inscriptions were executed by the same hand. In contrast, the inscriptions for the remaining illuminated miniatures found in Volume I are written in cursive script in both upper and lower cases and include *The Baptism of Christ*, *The Resurrection*, *Christ in Majesty* and *The Holy Families*. Some of the capital letters are more decorative, particularly the “M” when used as an initial, and the letters “S” and “J”. Because of the different styles, it is difficult to determine, if one or more persons inscribed the names in these miniatures.¹⁵

The scribe used several tools to produce a manuscript. They included a quill pen made from the wing feathers of a goose or swan; a hard point stylus made of metal, bone or graphite used for drawing; black ink, stored in metal or horn inkwells and a knife, used to make erasures by scraping away the ink from the vellum.¹⁶ An example of an erasure in the Salzinnes Antiphonal may be found in the last line on folio 174 recto in the hymn for a feast day of the virgin martyr Saint Agatha, “Agathe sacre virginis ...”.

Different types of ink were produced including carbon ink from charcoal or lamp black mixed with gum and metal gall ink or iron gall from a combination of gallnuts,

¹⁵ See Appendix 3.1 for inscription details, pp. 238-241 and Appendix 3.2.1 - 3.2.6, pp. 243- 250. For reproduction of images showing the nun’s with their inscriptions, see Appendix 8.2.1 - 8.2.12.

¹⁶ Clement, *Medieval and Renaissance*, pp. 11-12.

ferric sulphate and tannic acid with gum arabic as a thickener.¹⁷ Most manuscripts from the late Medieval and Renaissance periods were made with iron gall inks. In addition, compasses, dividers, squares, rulers and templates were used for guides. Scribes worked on slanted desks with their copybooks or exemplars nearby. Since the folios were gathered in quires, the sheets could be shared among other scribes for transcribing. Each quire was marked with a letter and number and copied in a natural order. Notations or instructions were placed in the bottom margins as directions for the rubricator, decorator and illuminator.¹⁸ Normally trimmed off by the binder during the binding process, many of these inscriptions did not survive.

The Salzinnes Antiphonal has over eighty such inscriptions noted in the margins. Since many were applied with lead, some have become faint and a few are now illegible. These inscriptions or quire signatures include letters, “A”, “B”, “C”, and “D”. Leaf signatures are also present and include letters and numbers inscribed as “Ai”, “Aii”, “Aiii” and “Aiiii”. One hundred and fifteen quire and leaf signatures survive in the manuscript. Notations for the rubricator are also included on some folios on the inside margin near the spine. An example is in Volume II, folio 33 verso. Below the text along the bottom edge of almost all the quires are inscriptions, called quire catchwords. The words inscribed at the end of each quire on the verso side are the same words that begin the text on the first page of the following quire. These inscriptions also served as

¹⁷ Clement, *Medieval and Renaissance*, p. 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

guidelines to facilitate the binder in collating the manuscript. Inscriptions are documented together with the foliation structure in Appendix 1.2.1 to 1.2.31, pages 200 to 232.

The next step in the production process was the rubrication and decoration of the manuscript normally performed by the rubricator. Rubric is the term used for a title, chapter heading, commentary or instruction and was usually scripted in red. The decorations, painted mainly in reds, blues and greens, included capital letters and pen flourished initials and normally introduced the various sections of the text. The degree of elaboration of the decoration often indicated the significance of the text as noted in Appendix 2.1, pages 233 to 234.¹⁹

Almost every page of the Salzinnes Antiphonal contains rubrics in the form of musical instructions for the choir members. There are twenty-five, two-line foliated initials in colours of green, blue and orange (perhaps formerly a red pigment). Over a thousand smaller pen foliated and plain initials have been documented, from one, to one and a half lines in colours of red, blue, and black. The black initials are elaborately decorated with multicoloured foliations. Some are enriched with comical figures with large noses and caricature-like faces. A prime example found in Volume II on folio 30 recto is in the letter “D”. The image shows a figure’s head in profile with a large nose, protruding chin and pursed lips, blowing out air. A second figure portrays a large nose and sharp protruding chin and is found in the letter “P” on folio 11 verso. Often

¹⁹ It is quite possible that the orange coloured decorated initial letters found in the Salzinnes Antiphonal were originally red in colour, and over the centuries turned into a fugitive pigment.

representing a self-portrait of the scribe, many examples of these caricature initials have survived in Cistercian manuscripts.²⁰ By far, the most impressive aspect of all manuscripts is the miniatures or illuminations. In the Salzinnes Antiphonal, twelve miniatures including historiated initials are found in full-page, half-page and quarter page sizes in both Volumes I and II as documented in Appendix 8.1, page 265 and reproduced in Appendices 8.2.1 to 8.2.12.

Illumination is the art of decorating or embellishing manuscripts with luminous colours including gold leaf. The illuminator was normally responsible for hand-painting decorative initials and border designs. The miniaturist, a specialized illuminator was responsible for the manuscript images. Normally copied from stencils or pattern books, decorations and images showed influences from other schools or styles of illuminations, a trend evident in the antiphonal.²¹ Once selected, the first step in the process of producing an image was to outline the decoration or image in lead. If the results were satisfactory, the image was outlined in ink. A layer of gesso was applied as a ground, and a binding medium of clarified egg white called glair or gum arabic was added to provide adhesion.

Gold leaf or gold paint is applied first. The use of gold leaf is minimal in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and appears only in highlighted areas, such as in the halos around the heads of Jesus, Mary, Saint John the Baptist and the Holy Trinity, among others.

²⁰ James France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 129-130, 217-218. See Appendix 8.2.11 for caricature portrait, centre left margin beside the letter “D,” Vol. 2, folio 30 recto.

²¹ Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*. (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 94, 126. See also John Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 23. An example of a pattern book containing written instructions and painted specimens is found in the *Göttingen Model Book* used in the fifteenth century.

Instead, more predominant is what appears to be a powdered gold method, known as shell gold - a matt or liquid gold.²² Considered a luxury, the Cistercian Order restricted the use of gold as it was not in keeping with their austere life-style.²³ The pigments for miniatures came from mineral, vegetable and organic sources, such as lapis lazuli, azurite, verdigris, cinnabar, saffron, wood dyes and seeds.²⁴ Red and blue were the most popular colours followed by green and yellow. The colour ultramarine blue made from lapis lazuli originated from Afghanistan or Persia, one of the most prized and expensive colours.²⁵ Pigments were ground up using a pestle and mortar and stored in dishes and shells. Egg yolk was added to produce egg tempera. Each colour was applied individually using animal hair brushes and allowed to dry.

The state and quality of the pigments in the Salzinnes Antiphonal are in very good condition, with only a few exceptions. The image of the *Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* has a minor paint loss, while the images of *The Annunciation* and *The Resurrection*, show losses due to wear in the lower border decoration in the portraits of the nuns. This is clearly the result of handling the parchment in the corners to turn the page, causing flexing of the support and damage to the pigment. Although the pigments in the Salzinnes Antiphonal have not been analyzed for composition, an analysis of the ink and pigment will be part of a future restoration process.

²² *Medieval Manuscript Manual: II. Materials and Techniques of Manuscript Production-7 Gilding*. Online. <http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/gilding.html>. p. 1, 6 January 2005.

²³ *Medieval Manuscript Manual: V. Manuscript Illumination- The Technique of Illumination in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance*. Online. <http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/techniques.html>. p. 2, 6 January 2005.

²⁴ Clement, *Medieval and Renaissance*. p. 12.

²⁵ Tanis, *Leaves of Gold*, p. 16. See also Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 40.

Binding Process:

The final stage of the production process is binding the manuscript. This includes sewing the codex or quires with linen threads and fastening them to flax or leather cords on a sewing frame, applying headbands and binding them in leather covers between oak boards. Bookmarkers used for marking significant passages were made of linen threads that originated from the endbands at the head of the spine. The leather covers were sometimes decorated with blind-tooled designs of geometric or floral impressions made by heating a metal tool and pressing and rocking the tool into the leather in rows or patterns. In addition, metal bosses, corner pieces and clasps were applied to protect the corners and hold them together. The most expensive and elaborate book covers were gilt embossed and decorated with jewels, commissioned mainly by the elite and members of the courts.

The Salzinnes Antiphonal is bound with ten stitches along the spine. Besides the two remaining linen markers, twelve tabs made of vellum include seven complete and five partials affixed along the fore edge of the manuscript, mark significant pages in the text. The cover is bound in brown tanned calf leather and is decorated with plain raised brass bosses and incised corner plates in a feather-like design. Some of the bosses are now missing as well as the two original clasps used to close the manuscript along the fore edge. Both front and back leather covers have blind tooled geometric designs formed using a set of incised lines.²⁶ The design has a central rectangle and within the rectangle, diagonal lines form diamond shaped panels in the center and triangular panels along the

²⁶ See cover reproductions in Appendix 8.2.14 for front view and Appendix 8.2.15 for back view of the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

edges.²⁷ Within each centre is a stamped floral design, possibly an embellished version of a fleuron design. Although separated and deteriorating with extensive sections of losses on the leather spine, the cover appears to be in its original state, except for a marbled paper, possibly of German design, applied to the interior.²⁸ This was applied, most likely, in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Based on the current condition and presentation of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the manuscript was, no doubt, repaired and rebound sometime in the nineteenth century. In its present state, folio 2 is placed at the beginning of the manuscript as the first page, and folio 1 is bound between folios 7 and 8. A possible explanation for this is that the binder wanted the first page of the antiphonal to portray an illumination for aesthetic reasons. In the nineteenth century, manuscripts were sold chiefly as works of art and not for their liturgical contents. Some dealers commonly cut out illuminated pages and sold them as individual paintings. It appears that this may also have been the case in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, where two pages have been excised. The large-scale size and weight of antiphonals in particular were contributing factors as import duties imposed by England in the nineteenth century placed a tax of “six pounds ten shillings per

²⁷ Carmélia Opsomer, “La reliure: 1400-1550,” in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Art en Namurois: La Sculpture 1400-1550* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 2001), p. 363. The basic design is referred to as “the monastic style in all its purity” or “style monastique dans toute sa pureté”.

²⁸ My thanks to Rowan Watson for suggesting this origin and application date following examination of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, May 2003, see Richard J. Wolfe, *Marbled Paper, its History Techniques and Patterns*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, plate XXII, no. 117, p. 185, (German, 1840-1860).

hundredweight” on bound manuscripts.²⁹

Given the liturgical sequence and the text, the missing page in Volume I, folio 125 was probably the image of the *Crucifixion*. Based on the surrounding text, the excised page in Volume II, folio 32, was possibly the image of a martyred priest. As this volume represents the Common of Saints, the specific subject of the image cannot be identified with certainty. Three prominent saints can be considered in the category of a martyred priest: Saint Simeon, Saint Valentine and Saint Lambert. Of these three saints, only one has a connection to the region of Namur. Saint Lambert, the spiritual teacher of St. Hubert and Bishop of Maestricht, was stabbed through the heart by a javelin in 700 AD while celebrating mass at the Chapel of Saints Cosmos and Damian in Liège.³⁰ This strongly suggests that the missing page included an image of Saint Lambert of Maestricht as the patron saint of the Diocese of Liège.

Bernard of Clairvaux’s philosophy of art and architecture reflected the embodiment of monastic spirituality and contemplation fostered by “spiritual authenticity”.³¹ His treatise, *Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem*, written to Abbot William

²⁹ Tanis, *Leaves of Gold*, p. 131. This catalogue was produced for the exhibition of the same name. Unlike the Salzinnes Antiphonal, all of the antiphonal illuminations in the exhibition were extracted leaves, fragments or cuttings.

³⁰ Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Donald Atwater, edited, revised and supplemented, *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 3 (Westminster: Christian Classics, 1990), pp. 579-580.

³¹ Emero Stiegman, “Saint Bernard: The Aesthetics of Authenticity,” *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture II*, ed. Meredith Parsons Lillich, Cistercian Studies Series 69 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 1-9.

of St. Thierry c. 1125, expresses these aesthetic principles.³² Artistic asceticism advocating austerity and simplicity is contained in three early statutes of the *Instituta Generalis Capituli apud Cistercium*: Statute 10 restricted the presence and limited the use of gold, silver, jewels and silk; Statute 20 forbid the use of sculptures or paintings in churches or monasteries except for crosses; and Statute 80 decreed letters to be made of a single colour and not-depictive, and windows made white (colourless) with no pictures.³³ These statutes were open to varying degrees of artistic interpretation, based on definition, application and circumstances. However, the underlying premise was not to detract or distract from monastic spirituality and voluntary poverty by the use of extravagant iconographic elements.³⁴ By the early thirteenth century a wide inconsistency between practice and legislation existed. Gradually, no visible difference was noticeable between the art of the Cistercian Order and other religious orders in the region.³⁵

³² Stiegman, "Saint Bernard," p. 1.

³³ Statutes were official decisions by the Cistercian General Chapter. For a study about the artistic legislation and statutes of the Cistercian Order, see Conrad Rudolph, "The Principal Founders and the Early Artistic Legislation of Cîteaux," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture III*, ed. Meredith Parsons Lillich, Cistercian Studies Series 89 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1987), pp. 2-7, 21-23. Statute 10 and 20 were legislated between 1115-1119; Statute 80 was legislated between 1149-1150. pp. 29-30. Early Cistercian documents are limited and records of these statutes contain variants in source and date. For an extensive analysis of the twelfth century statutes and reference to the early statutes of the *Instituta Generalis Capituli apud Cistercium*, see Chrysogonus Waddell, *Twelfth Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*. Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses Studia et Documenta, Vol. 12 (2002), pp. 53, 532-565.

³⁴ Terryl Kinder, *Cistercian Europe, Architecture of Contemplation* (Kalamazoo: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), pp. 14-15, 25, 142, 172, 341.

³⁵ Jean-Pierre Félix, Bernadette Gillain, and Jacques Toussaint, "Mobilier cultuel," in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens en Namurois XIII - XX siècles* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 1998), p. 221. Jean-Baptiste Lefèvre, "Les fondements de la vie monastique," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens* pp. 218-219. See also France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, p. ix. Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p. 343.

The Art of the Antiphonal:

Part 2: The Illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal

Illuminations or miniatures were used as visual symbols to illustrate important sections in the liturgy and served to communicate and enhance spiritual devotion. Painted in a bright palette, the Salzinnes Antiphonal contains some of the most unique and magnificent images of its kind. Consisting of six full-page illuminations, two four-line, and four two-line historiated initials, the images include a combination of interior and exterior scenes, several depicting multiple narratives from the Bible. The illuminations also contain various border styles from decorative architectural designs to classical panels, foliate motifs of acanthus leaves and borders with heightened naturalistic representations of flora and fauna. Several drolleries appear throughout the manuscript in select images and initials, some of a grotesque or comical nature. Although some of the illuminated figures may be considered mannered, provincial or indigenous in character, some with oversized heads and feet; the treatment of the drapery, the architectural settings, and the landscapes, is of good quality. Of particular significance are the depictions of individual nuns and groupings of nuns identified by their names in cursive script, some with their coats-of-arms.

Iconography and Symbolism

Iconography in the Christian religion incorporates the history, description and interpretation of traditional representations of God, the saints and sacred subjects. Together, symbolism and iconography was used as a common form of instruction and an

expression for Christian ideals and principles.³⁶ These iconographic expressions may take the form of religious subject matter or may be represented by numbers, colours, actions, as well as by animals, plants and objects.³⁷ For example, flowers and fruits portrayed in the borders of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Christ in Majesty* images, suggest the cycle of life – birth, death and resurrection.³⁸ In representing saints, the figures are usually portrayed with specific attributes or objects associated with their life or their death.

The use of colours in images gives a mystic sense of symbolism. In addition to the inherent characteristics, colour can also evoke emotions. The symbolism of colours must be viewed in context since colours worn individually or in combination, as well as colours worn by different figures, may have distinctly different meanings. Various combinations of colours are included in the garments throughout the miniatures in the Salzinnes Antiphonal. With the exception of Christ and Saint John the Baptist, all figures are represented with two or more colours. A brief summary of the individual symbolic meaning of each colour is presented: blue symbolizes heaven, spiritual love and truth; white, represents purity, innocence, faith and glory; red represents blood and fire and is often associated with the *Passion* and martyred saints; green is the colour of victory, representing hope, regeneration, fertility and spring; purple is the colour of sorrow and

³⁶ Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), pp. xi-xii. See also Joan Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 1-3.

³⁷ Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), for general reference entries see: animals, pp. 24-27; colours, pp. 214-220; numbers, pp. 706-708; and plants, pp. 760-761.

³⁸ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 49. See Appendix 8.2.2 for reproduction of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* folio and Appendix 8.2.7 for reproduction of *The Christ in Majesty* folio.

penitence and the liturgical colour for Lent; yellow represents illuminated truth the colour of God and divinity; gold solar represents light and divine intelligence, symbolic of marriage, faith and fruitfulness; black represents mourning and death; brown and gray are colours of humility.³⁹ The combination of black and white, as in religious habits, is penance, humility and purity of life.⁴⁰

During the Medieval and the early Renaissance periods, the iconographic program found in paintings, sculptures and manuscripts was traditionally part of the genre of religious convention.⁴¹ These were generally prescribed by the donor or art patron based on certain criteria such as the reason for the object's commission and its specific use and final destination. Other considerations which determined the program plan and selection of themes and subject matter included: the nature of the subject - religious or secular; whether the work was in commemoration of a person or special event; and finally, whether the artwork was for private use or public display.⁴² Iconography of kingship was another type of iconographic program found in numerous examples of objects commissioned by nobles and court patrons.⁴³ Margaret of Austria, a prominent noble

³⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 29-30. George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 151-153.

⁴⁰ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 29. Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 151.

⁴¹ E.H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 6.

⁴² For a study of secular women commissioning art and the criteria for program selections, see Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives, Widows in Italy c. 1300-1550* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 1-19, 81. For a study of programs and instructions for illuminators, see also Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 52-71.

⁴³ For a study of patronage and court culture, see Malcolm Smuts, "The Political Failure of Stuart Cultural Patronage," in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds., Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 165-179.

patron and regent of the Low Countries, frequently commissioned both religious and secular artworks that reinforced her political power and ceremonial displays of her position, in an effort to raise the public profile of herself and her family.⁴⁴

In the case of religious manuscripts, since the canonical text was part of the iconographic program, its purpose and use was already pre-determined. For example books of hours were for private prayer and personal devotion, and antiphonals, such as the Salzinnes Antiphonal, were for liturgical use for communal devotion. Unfortunately, specific evidence is lacking on the commissioning of this manuscript and the nature and characteristics of the images, which may have been proposed by the donors. The antiphonal displays a traditional selection of themes based on the textual content, as well as the themes of the devotional images based on the subjects and saints common to the Cistercian Order, the Diocese of Liège and patron coats-of-arms.

The iconography in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is consistent with the iconography prevalent in the mid-sixteenth century and, in general, with the decrees proclaimed in 1563 at the Council of Trent. Session XXV condemned images that would “inspire false doctrine,” warned artists to “avoid all impurities,” including nudity, breasts and genitals

⁴⁴ Dagmar Eichberger, “A Cultural Centre in the Southern Netherlands: The Court of Archduchess Margaret of Austria (1480-2530) in Mechlen,” in *Princes and Princely Culture 1440-1650*, eds., Martin Gosman, Alasdair MacDonald and Arjo Vanderjagt, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2003). In the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria’s cultural patronage was responsible for making her court in Mechlin one of the “most influential cultural centres of the region.” p. 240. For a study of the impact and prominent role of court patronage in raising public profile, see pp. 244, 255-258. For an account of Margaret of Austria’s art patronage and list of court painters, see R.H. Wilenski, *Flemish Painters 1430-1830*, Vol. 1 (London: Faber, 1960), pp. 100-115.

and urged that new art should inspire spiritual devotion and inform viewers through the “accurate representation of Christian doctrine and Church history”.⁴⁵ Counter-Reformation iconography continued to depict traditional themes including representations of saints and martyrs, as well as the annunciation, adoration, baptism and crucifixion, among others. However, their representation in the seventeenth century was different. For example, seventeenth century annunciation scenes introduced the heavens and depicted additional angels alongside the Archangel Gabriel; in the nativity scenes, the infant Jesus is no longer naked.⁴⁶ Additional subjects included guardian angels and powerful and dramatic images of martyrdom, torture, and ecstasy, portrayed with a bold use of light and shadow.⁴⁷ One image in the antiphonal that might be deemed controversial, however, is the *Holy Kinship* scene on the folio interpolated between 133 verso and 134 recto.⁴⁸ The scene shows an image of the young James the Greater, exposing his genitals while playing on a hobby horse.

Veneration of Saints

Before and after the Catholic Reformation, the Church encouraged the veneration of saints and their relics. Catholics could seek the blessings and support of the saints as a means to worship God and in the hopes of intercession. Martyrs were the first to be

⁴⁵ For references to post-Tridentine iconography, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 152. See also Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France*, p. 1. For reference to Session XXV, see Norman Tanner ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council Vol. 2. Trent to Vatican II* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), p. 1167.

⁴⁶ Émile Male, *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1958), pp. 183-189. See also Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, pp. 163-164.

⁴⁷ Male, *Religious Art*, 175-183. See also Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, pp. 163-164.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 8.2.8 for reproduction of *The Holy Kinship* folio.

recognized as saints and celebrated with feast days. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in particular witnessed a proliferation of saints' images in the form of sculptures, paintings and stained glass windows.⁴⁹ Those included in the Salzinnes Antiphonal are identified in the *Sanctoral* section.⁵⁰ The saints that can be identified in the image of *Christ in Majesty* include the apostles, as well as saints having a direct and indirect connection with Salzinnes and the Diocese of Liège.⁵¹ Specific examples of a direct connection in this image are Saint Juliana of Cornillon and Saint Hubert who appear in the background behind the apostles.

Eucharistic Devotion

A central subject of the *Christ in Majesty* image is Christ as the savior of the human race and the Eucharist, represented by the pyx. The pyx, located in the center foreground of the image, holds the consecrated host. The devotion of the Eucharist had special meaning to women, especially the Beguines, a trend which developed in the Low Countries in the late twelfth and thirteenth-centuries.⁵² Food as well as fasting had significant implications

⁴⁹ Male, *Religious Art*, pp. 123-129.

⁵⁰ See chapter 3 for a list of the saints in the *Sanctoral*. See also feast days in Appendix 2.2, pp. 235-237.

⁵¹ For the roles of saints and those relevant to the Diocese of Liège, see Marie-Elisabeth Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes du pays mosan Moniales et vie contemplative à l'époque moderne* (Brussels: Brepols Publisher, 1990), pp. 576-577. See Appendix 8.2.7 for reproduction of *The Christ in Majesty* folio. The saints that can be identified in this miniature are listed, see pp. 103-104.

⁵² For a study of Eucharistic Piety, see Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast, The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) p. 115. For a study of Eucharistic Piety in the Diocese of Liège and the county and Diocese of Namur, see Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 575-576. For a study of Eucharistic devotion see also Dennis Devlin, "Feminine Lay Piety in the High Middle Ages: The Beguines" in *Medieval Religious Women Distant Voices*, Vol. 1, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 191-193. For a study on Eucharistic Piety in relation to Flines, see Andrea Gail Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals at the Cistercian Convent of Flines 1500-1575," (Ph.D. Diss.) (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1995), pp. 5, 155-162.

in the piety of women in the late Middle Ages and eating the Eucharist represented a union with God.⁵³ Specifically, the central theme of food served as a metaphor; eating the host or the Eucharist symbolized the ecstatic experience of eating the ‘body’ of Christ. In the illumination of *Christ in Majesty*, the Eucharist suggests this union with God; the saints represent the intercessors. Incorporating the portraits of nuns from Salzinnes in the subject of this miniature portrays their piety and devotion, in particular, the Abbess of Salzinnes, Anne de Noirmont as spiritual mentor to her community.

The Abbey of Salzinnes had a strong connection to the Eucharist since a direct link existed between the abbey, the Eucharistic feast day of Corpus Christi and its proponent, Saint Juliana of Cornillon.⁵⁴ Born in Flanders in 1193, Saint Juliana of Cornillon joined the Augustinian Order at Mont Cornillon near Liège, where she became the Prioress in 1225.⁵⁵ She experienced visions and promoted the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, adopted in Liège in 1246. Before her death in 1258, Saint Juliana of Cornillon lived briefly at the Abbey of Salzinnes under the protection of the Abbess Imène de Loos, who later became Abbess of Flines.⁵⁶ Thus Saint Juliana of Cornillon, who was responsible for the Feast of Corpus Christi, had a direct connection to the Abbey

⁵³ For a study of food metaphors, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, pp. 3-4, Bynum notes, “Eating was also an occasion for union with one’s fellows and one’s God...” See also p. 115, “the women themselves ... used eating imagery not merely for the Eucharist but for other spiritual experiences...”

⁵⁴ Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, p. 188, St. Julianna was “notamment les moniales de Salzinnes.”

⁵⁵ Thurston and Atwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 2, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁶ Brouette, “Chronologie de abbesse du Val-Saint Georges,” *Namurcum*, Chronique de la Archéologique de Namur, Vol. 39, année No.1 (Gembloux: J. Duculot, S.A., 1967), pp. 3-4. See also Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique*, p. 306. For references to the association of St. Juliana with Flines, see Pearson, “Gender, Image and Ideals,” pp. 6, 156-158.

of Salzinnes, a fact which would strengthen the Eucharistic devotion of the nuns as represented in the devotional image of *Christ in Majesty*.

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Humanity of Christ

The *Devotio Moderna* or movement of spiritual devotion and meditation began in the Low Countries in the late Middle Ages. In addition to being popular among the laity, it also found expression in monastic institutions including the Cistercian Order. The *Devotio Moderna* was manifested in writings and images which included a devotion to the Virgin Mary and the humanity of Christ.⁵⁷ Of all the saints, male or female, Mary was the most venerated.⁵⁸ The Cistercian Order introduced the commemoration of Mary in the daily office in 1152; the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin became a community prayer in 1185; a daily conventual mass has been said in Mary's honor since 1194; her Saturday votive mass appeared in Cistercian Missals in 1220; the *Salve Regina*, one of the main Marian Antiphons has been sung in every Cistercian community as the closing devotion of the day since 1218.⁵⁹ Recognition of her importance is confirmed by the records of the General Chapter.⁶⁰ The Salzinnes Antiphonal also contains Marian Antiphons.

⁵⁷ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 178-185. For a study of the major religious themes of early Netherlandish art see Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece: Sacramental Themes in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York: Harper, 1984), pp. 1-10. For a study of the devotion to Mary and of Christ in the Diocese of Liège and the county and Diocese of Namur, see Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes*, pp. 572-574. See also Evans, *Monastic Iconography*, p. 18.

⁵⁸ McCash, *Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, p. 21.

⁵⁹ Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee: Our Lady of Spring Bank, 1953), p. 151.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

An example is found on folio 135 verso, ‘*Ave maris stella dei mater alma*’ or Hail star of the sea, gracious mother of God.⁶¹

The role of Mary as patroness and protectress of the Order of Cîteaux is a common theme in Cistercian art since all Cistercian houses are dedicated to her.⁶² Perhaps one of the best known images is from a sister abbey, the nuns’ house of Flines, attributed to Jean de Bellegambe (c.1470-1535), and entitled *Our Lady of Mercy*.⁶³ The painting depicts Mary holding her mantle over a large group including Saint Bernard and several unidentified monks on the left, as well as Ysabel de Maléfiance, the donor and a community of unidentified nuns on the right. Such images depicting the Madonna wearing a large protective mantle are also known in German as the *Schutzmantelmadonnas*.⁶⁴

Mary is portrayed in six of the Salzennes Antiphonal’s illuminations: *The Annunciation*, *The Adoration of the Shepherd*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *Christ in Majesty* and *The Holy Kinship*, as well as in the border of *The Resurrection*.⁶⁵ In addition to these images of Mary, two inscriptions are found in banderoles surrounding the nuns in

⁶¹ My thanks to Geraldine Thomas, Associate Professor, Department of Modern Languages and Classics, Saint Mary’s University, for translating this passage.

⁶² For a study of the importance of Mary in Cistercian iconography see James France, “Cistercians Under Our Lady’s Mantle,” in *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2002, pp 393-414. See also Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France*, p. 18.

⁶³ France, “Cistercians Under Our Lady’s Mantle,” pp. 394-395, 409. See also France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 185-186. For a study of the importance of Mary as protectress, see Pearson, “Gender, Image and Ideals,” pp. 250, 406-408, 454.

⁶⁴ France, “Cistercians Under Our Lady’s Mantle,” pp. 401, 407, 412-413.

⁶⁵ See the following Appendices for reproductions: 8.2.1 *The Annunciation*; 8.2.2 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*; 8.2.3 *The Adoration of the Magi*; 8.2.7 *Christ in Majesty* and 8.2.8 *The Holy Kinship*.

The Annunciation miniature: “Star of the Sea...” and “Mother of God...” and in the *Apparition of Christ to the Virgin* scene in *The Resurrection* image, a banderole behind Christ is inscribed, “Queen of Heaven...”, thus confirming the importance and devotion to the Blessed Virgin by the nuns of the Abbey of Salzennes.

With the exception of the image of *Christ in Majesty*, the theme of the humanity of Christ is manifested in the remaining miniatures showing events in Christ’s life on earth. In particular, the illumination of *The Holy Kinship* portraying the genealogical family of Christ is the most animated of all the illuminations.⁶⁶ This image emphasizes tenderness and compassion between mother and child, especially between the female members of his family and their children, displayed by the playful gestures.

Artistic Style

The style prevalent during the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries was a fusion of late Gothic and Renaissance, a trend reflected in the Salzennes Antiphonal. Examples of the Italian Renaissance influence are found in the architectural and foliate bar borders and classical panels of the illuminations of *The Annunciation*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, and *The Resurrection of Christ*.⁶⁷ French compartment borders are found in the images of *The Annunciation* and *Christ in Majesty*.⁶⁸ The influence of German art is portrayed by interlacing ribbons and bands or banderoles represented in illuminations of *The Baptism*

⁶⁶ See Appendix 8.2.8 for reproduction of *The Holy Kinship* folio.

⁶⁷ See the following Appendices for reproductions and examples of the Italian influence: 8.2.1 *The Annunciation*; Appendix 8.2.3 *The Adoration of the Magi*; Appendix 8.2.6 *The Resurrection*.

⁶⁸ Tanis, *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination*, p. 115. See the following Appendices for reproductions and examples of French compartment borders: 8.2.1 *The Annunciation* and 8.2.7 *Christ in Majesty*.

of Christ and the Holy Kinship, among others.⁶⁹ Influence of the Flemish *Ghent-Bruges* style of illumination is apparent in the images with naturalistic borders such as *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Christ in Majesty*.⁷⁰ They include sensitive portrayals of birds and insects and delicate renderings of flowers and other foliage giving them a *trompe l'oeil* appearance, as if the objects were strewn across the page. Although sometimes employed as a decorative element, when used to adorn the borders of illuminations, they usually have a specific symbolic reference. The gold decorative backgrounds found in early Gothic and Byzantine art, gave way to a more naturalistic representation introducing landscapes and architecture in the imagery. This decorative enhancement is also evident in each of the illuminations in the antiphonal. The Salzinnes Antiphonal clearly represents a hybrid production strongly influenced by three powerful centers of manuscript production, the Netherlands, France and Italy.⁷¹ Although the figures are crudely portrayed, the abundance of decorations is quite remarkable in presentation.

The illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal highlight events in the life of the Virgin and the life of Christ and include portraits of apostles and saints, as well as key episodes in the liturgical year. Each image is unique in its decorative treatment from the layout, to the framework, to the border design. The following section documents the full-

⁶⁹ See the following Appendices for reproductions and examples of the Germanic influence: 8.2.4 *The Baptism of Christ* and 8.2.8 *The Holy Kinship*.

⁷⁰ See the following Appendices for reproductions and examples of the Flemish *Ghent-Bruges* style of art: 8.2.2 *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and 8.2.7 *Christ in Majesty*.

⁷¹ For a discussion on the influence of France and Netherlands on manuscript production, see Tanis, *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination*, p. 115.

page illuminations, the historiated initials and related inscriptions.⁷² It identifies the images, the scriptural sources, the saints and their attributes, including iconography and symbolism. A stylistic analysis is made of the borders and decorations, and their influences. Where possible, the potential sources or influences for the images, or images similar to those of the antiphonal, are identified. The individual images in the Salzennes Antiphonal are presented in the sequence found in the manuscript.

⁷² Cataloguing details of the images are documented in Appendix 3.1, pp. 238-242.

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL: Volume I

Volume I of the Salzinnes Antiphonal comprises the Temporal and Sanctoral cycles of the Liturgy. This volume consists of 197 numbered folios, including one excised folio, possibly an illumination, plus one unnumbered folio of text, and four folios containing five full-page illuminations (one folio is painted on both recto and verso).

The Annunciation - *Luke 1: 26 - 38*

The first image presented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal depicts a scene of *The Annunciation* in a large four-line historiated initial within a full and elaborate classical framework⁷³. The scene portrays the Archangel Gabriel standing before the Virgin Mary to announce that she has been chosen to bear the Son of God. The Archangel says to her “Hail Mary full of grace, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among women” (*Luke 1:28*). This event marks the beginning of Mary as the vessel of divine incarnation and of the story of the Holy Mother and Child. The Annunciation is celebrated on March 25.

The scene shows the Virgin Mary in her bedchamber kneeling at a carved paneled prie-dieu which holds an open book, a symbol of wisdom.⁷⁴ The Archangel Gabriel stands behind her, barefoot holding a sceptre in his left hand, a symbol of power as the herald of God.⁷⁵ Shown in the background is a red-canopied bed placed on a checkered

⁷³ See Appendix 8.2.1 for reproduction of *The Annunciation* folio.

⁷⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 126. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 171.

⁷⁵ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 119. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 180.

tiled floor and a niche with a sculpture on a blue textured wall. This scene shares a similar composition to the painting of the same subject by the Flemish artist Roger van der Weyden (Tournai, 1399/1400 - Brussels, 1464).⁷⁶ The difference is found mainly in the more elaborate drapery of the Archangel Gabriel, the positioning of his hands and a window in the background instead of a sculpture niche. Similar to van der Weyden's *Annunciation*, the Salzinnes Antiphonal presents the Archangel Gabriel and Mary in the same position kneeling on a prie-dieu with an open book and a canopied bed in the background.

Placed in a decorative surround forming the letter "A", the image in the Antiphonal is painted predominantly in colours of red, green and blue on a red crimson background framed by a plain gold square border. The letter, in brushed gold, is in the form of a curled acanthus leaf and a knobbed tree trunk with pruned branches. An animal head, possibly a lion on the right outside edge, faces away from the image. The lion is a symbol of valor, fortitude and resolution.⁷⁷ Painted within separate but joining compartments, the full-length illuminated bar border contains intertwining acanthus leaves. Other foliated decorations within the border include leaf masks, faces, figures, animal finials and groteschi panels. These are painted in gold on separate blue, pink and gold backgrounds.

⁷⁶ *The Annunciation* by Roger van der Weyden is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, New York, USA.

⁷⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 23. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, pp. 21-22.

Classical Renaissance panels show an Italian influence and feature vertical designs of candelabra and ornamental vase-like elements in the right and left borders. A classical style element painted in red is found in the upper right side of the right bar border. This symbolic object represents a heart pierced with crossed arrows, a symbol of contrition, repentance and devotion, foreshadowing Christ's suffering and death.⁷⁸ The lower border is reminiscent of the *Ghent-Bruges* style with finely decorated flowers which surround two central coats-of-arms. The central flower has a tiny caterpillar crawling on the stem. The caterpillar represents a symbol of life and is the first of three stages in the life of a butterfly.⁷⁹ Two groupings of two nuns from the Cistercian Order are depicted in the bottom left and lower right corners. A crozier, a symbol of authority identifies the nun, center left, as an abbess.⁸⁰

The image of *The Annunciation* is the only historiated initial in the Antiphonal within a full decorative framework surrounding text and the only image portraying a figure, the Prophet Isaiah, within its border design. One of the four major Prophets, Isaiah holds a scroll in his left hand, a symbol of his writings as a herald of God.⁸¹ The illumination is one of two images in Volume I that incorporates text and music within its border. The text follows the prophecy of Isaiah who foresaw the birth of Christ. It is complemented with a chant to be sung on the first Sunday of Advent. This folio is also

⁷⁸ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 63. Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 49.

⁷⁹ Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 13. In the cycle, the first stage is the caterpillar, symbol of life, the second is the chrysalis, the symbol of death and the third is the butterfly, a symbol of the resurrection.

⁸⁰ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p.167. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 164. The identification and the importance of the abbess will be discussed in chapter 6.

⁸¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 133, 163-164. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p.100.

one of three images that depict family coats-of-arms and one of three images to portray a Cistercian abbess holding a crozier.⁸² It also depicts nuns within the border framework and presents their names in cursive script.

The Adoration of the Shepherds - *Luke 2: 8-16*

The second image in the Salzinnes Antiphonal depicts *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in a large four-line historiated initial framed by a classical and natural bar border.⁸³ The subject represents the shepherds kneeling in adoration of the infant Jesus. They came to Bethlehem after an angel had appeared to them and announced the birth of the Christ Child. They found Mary, Joseph and the infant Jesus in the stables in Bethlehem. The Adoration of the Shepherds is celebrated on December 25.

The scene shows the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph kneeling; Mary's hands are folded in prayer. The infant Jesus, his arms extended upwards towards his mother, lies naked on the lower part of Mary's mantle which is draped on the ground. Four rocks and four green plants are visible on the ground in the front of the infant. Four represents the family, the earth or the number of the elements.⁸⁴ Rocks are symbolic of the solidity, firmness and strength of Christ and are prominent features in almost every illumination in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.⁸⁵ Two shepherds holding staffs kneel reverently. A donkey and

⁸² The coats-of-arms will be identified and examined in relation to patronage and the nuns of Salzinnes in chapter 6.

⁸³ See Appendix 8.2.2 for reproduction of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* folio.

⁸⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 137. See also Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 402-407.

⁸⁵ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 41. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 44.

an ox peer out between Mary and Joseph. The donkey, a humble, stubborn and long-suffering animal suggests that even the most simple and humble recognize the Lord.⁸⁶

The ox, an animal of strength and patience, represents Christ the Saviour or the multitude who labour for the good of others.⁸⁷ A thatched timbered structure with a block wall in the background represents the ruins of David's palace. In the distance is a hilly landscape with mountains.

The Adoration of the Shepherds is similar in representation to the adoration scene found in the Utrecht *Breviary of Beatrice Assendelft*, 1485, which also portrays the infant Jesus lying on the ground on the edge of Mary's mantle.⁸⁸ In addition, it also includes an unusual depiction of the ruins of David's palace in the background. The major difference between the two images is the addition in the Breviary of six angels and a less significant representation of the shepherds in the background.

Painted mainly in blue, green and red, the image of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* is in a decorative surround forming the letter "H". The letter, in brushed gold, is in the form of a knobbed tree trunk with pruned branches on a purple-red background framed by a plain gold square border. Incorporated in the lower left hand part of the letter, and almost hidden in the design, is a small and peculiar seated figure playing a bagpipe, an instrument sometimes associated with the shepherds.⁸⁹ Such figures, also

⁸⁶ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 16. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 11, reference under "ass".

⁸⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 24. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 22.

⁸⁸ Collection of the Rijksmuseum Het Catherijneconvent, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

⁸⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 71.

called drolleries, were popular in illuminated manuscripts from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰ In contrast to *The Annunciation*, this scene shown within a U-shaped illuminated bar border on the lower portion of the page and represents the second image in Volume I incorporating text. Decorations include freestyle acanthus leaves painted on the left in purple and pink. A classical Italian style panel painted in pink and blue features vertical designs of candelabra, ornamental vase-like elements and groteschi panels with animal finials and faces on the right. Finely decorated flora and fauna reminiscent of the *Ghent-Bruges* style are along the bottom, all on a background of gold. In the naturalistic border along the bottom are several images of identifiable flora and fauna. The main flowers depicted include a columbine, rose, sweet pea and veronica. The columbine, with petals shaped like a dove, a symbol of sorrow, may be a reference to the Christ Child's destiny or based on the prophecy of Isaiah, a symbol of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit - power, riches, wisdom, might, honour, glory and blessing.⁹¹ The red rose is a symbol of martyrdom.⁹² The animals include a peacock, bee, caterpillar and what appears to be a stork. The peacock, a symbol of immortality, represents the constant presence of God and the 'eyes' of the peacock's tail represents the all-seeing church.⁹³ A bee, a symbol of the Christian Church and of industry, may represent God's public

⁹⁰ Additional examples of drolleries may be seen in the following illuminations: *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, c. 1470 by the Master of the Geneva Latini and his workshop for a French Book of Hours. Collection of The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (MS M.1093, fol. 57r). An example, not in a shepherd's scene, is found in the Gradual miniature, *Confesseurs* (L'abbaye Saint Pierre de Gembloux), after 1530. Collection of the Bibliothèque royale Albert 1st, Brussels (MS 5644, fol. 99r).

⁹¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 51. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 30.

⁹² Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 37.

⁹³ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 24. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 23.

ministry on earth.⁹⁴ The bee is also an attribute of Bernard of Clairvaux of the Cistercian Order. It represents a united community working in harmony and a fitting addition to this devotional image.⁹⁵ The top edges of the borders on the right and left sides have a curvilinear pattern. This is the only example of this style of border design in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

The Adoration of the Magi - *Matthew 2: 1-11*

The illumination of the *Adoration of the Magi* is the first of six full-page illuminations found in the Salzinnes Antiphonal. The main scene presents the story of the Magi, the three kings who came from the east to present gifts to the newborn King of the Jews.⁹⁶ Representing the kings of Tharsis and the islands Arabia and Saba, each came bearing a gift. Gold, symbolized the royalty of Christ; frankincense, an emblem of his divinity; and myrrh, a symbol of death.⁹⁷ They followed a star in the sky that brought them to Bethlehem and the place where the Christ child was born. In the center background are the attendants with their camels who accompanied the three kings. Known also as the feast of the Epiphany, the Adoration of the Magi is celebrated on January 6.

In this image, the Virgin sits in the foreground holding the naked infant Jesus on her knee; Saint Joseph stands behind them with his arms extended. A red and white hat lies prominently on the ground in front of Jesus on the left, a symbol of honour and

⁹⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 17. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 12.

⁹⁵ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 17. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 12.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 8.2.3 for reproduction of *The Adoration of the Magi* folio.

⁹⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 72-73. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 78.

respect. Similar to *The Adoration of the Shepherds* miniature, the ruins of David's palace are again represented by a thatched timbered structure with a stepped block wall. King Casper, the black king Balthasar and King Melchior are all shown richly garbed, paying homage to the Christ child. Again, three rocks are prominently shown lying on the ground in front of the two kings. The number three usually refers to the Blessed Trinity. In this image, it may refer to childbirth, or faith, hope and charity, as well as the three gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh.⁹⁸ A donkey and ox already seen in *The Adoration of the Shepherds* reappear in *The Adoration of the Magi* as symbols of humility and strength.⁹⁹ Stone turreted buildings are in the middle ground. In the background is a windmill and a scene depicting armed retainers with their camels, following the star of Bethlehem.

A magnificent architectural arch in purple, red and pink tones frames the scene painted mainly in gold, blue, red and green. Displayed in a framework with pilasters, the image copies Italian Renaissance art and includes typical classical panels with acanthus leaves and other foliated grotesques of figures, faces and animal finials, painted in gold along the top and bottom. Two groups of angels, peer over the edge of the columns at the scene below. This scene is one of three miniatures containing images of angels.

Additional panels featuring vertical designs of candelabra, ornamental vase-like elements held by naked figures are along the left and right side, the only such example in the manuscript.

⁹⁸ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p.137. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 154; Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 993-997.

⁹⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, pp. 16, 24. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, pp. 11, 22.

The Baptism of Christ - *Matthew 3: 13-17; Mark 1: 9-11; Luke 3: 21, 22*

The second full-page illumination and the first that features nuns from two separate orders within the main image, represents the scene of *The Baptism of Christ*.¹⁰⁰ It shows Christ's baptism in the River Jordan by Saint John the Baptist that marked the beginning of Christ's public ministry.

In this scene, Saint John the Baptist kneels on the ground with his right hand extended over the head of Christ. Christ stands in the center of the river with his arms folded across his chest. A grouping of three figures is shown behind the main central figures. Between the two groupings of nuns in the foreground are two rocks. The significance of the number two in this scene represents God the Son within the Trinity (God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost). It also represents two kinds of baptism, water and spirit (*John 3:5*), witness and separation or the human and divine nature of Christ.¹⁰¹ The scene is set in a hilly forested landscape with walls and turrets visible in the background and is similar in composition to the painting of the same subject by the Bruges artist, Gerard David (Oudewater, Holland c. 1460 - Bruges, 1523).¹⁰² The difference is in the position of Christ's hands, the more prominent portrait of a single donor and multiple groupings of figures in the background landscape. Similar to the Salzinnes Antiphonal image, John the Baptist and Christ are portrayed in more or less identical positions.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 8.2.4 for reproduction of *The Baptism* folio.

¹⁰¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art*, p.137. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 154; Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 1050-1052.

¹⁰² *The Baptism of Christ* by Gerard David is in the collection of Musée Communal, Bruges.

Painted mainly in green, blue and brown, the image in the Antiphonal is set in a golden-brown architectural framework with slender Corinthian columns. Animal finials and acanthus leaves extend from the top of each of the columns towards a central coat-of-arms held by two naked angels.¹⁰³ This is the second of three images depicting crests. Freestyle acanthus leaves and other foliated decorations with animal finials are along the base. Two groupings of two nuns from the Cistercian and Carmelite Orders are shown as witnesses to the event.¹⁰⁴

The image of *The Baptism of Christ* is the only illumination that includes spoken words in script on a banderole within the image, in contrast to the banderoles surrounding the nuns in the borders of *The Annunciation* and to some extent, in *The Resurrection* image. It contains the Latin words: “TU ES FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS IN TE COMPLACUI MIHI IPSUM AUDITE MAT III”; “This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, listen to him, Mat III.” (*Matthew 3:17*).

The illumination of *The Baptism of Christ* portrays perhaps one of the most naive images in the Antiphonal based on the treatment of the anatomy of the two large-scale central figures. A distinct idiosyncrasy is apparent and common in many of the illuminations. For example, attached to Saint John the Baptist’s right foot is his left leg. Portrayed below Christ’s jaw-line are his ears. One possible explanation is that the artist might have been an untrained ecclesiastical illuminator, perhaps even a nun from the

¹⁰³ The coat-of-arms will be identified and examined in relation to patronage and the nuns of Salzinnes in chapter 6.

¹⁰⁴ The significance of representing two different orders will be addressed in detail in the chapter 6.

Abbey of Salzinnes. Since the nun's head and feet were covered by their habits and no mirrors were allowed in the convent, anatomically accurate drawings might have been difficult without the benefit of a model, something which would not have been permitted in the abbey. This image is perhaps the best example of this idiosyncrasy, although the next two examples in the Salzinnes Antiphonal include similar peculiarities.

The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane- *Matthew 26:36-46; Mark 14:32-42;*

Luke 22:39-46

One of the most indigenous-styled, full-page images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is the scene which portrays Christ and his disciples, Peter, James and John.¹⁰⁵ The figures are shown in the Garden of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives beyond Cedron, outside the walls of Jerusalem. In the biblical narrative, this was the place where Christ went with his disciples after the Last Supper and where he received a visit by an angel. Three times he interrupts his prayer to find his Apostles asleep. "Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners." (*Matthew 26:46*). Eventually taken prisoner, this event marks the beginning of the *Passion of Christ* or the sufferings of the Lord, which ended in his death on the cross. The scene is one of three examples of a continuous narrative, depicting two, possibly three separate events.

The scene, in two main sections, shows Christ in the center foreground, standing, with his arms extended towards Peter. Peter faces Christ and reclines on the ground with his head leaning back on his left hand. John leans forward facing Christ and covers his

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix 8.2.5 for reproduction of *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* folio.

face with his hands in shame or sorrow. Seated on the right, James looks up toward Christ. In the centre of the illumination, Christ lies down on the ground with sweats of blood running down his feet; a symbol of sacrifice.¹⁰⁶ An angel looks down at Christ and stands with outstretched arms, an aureole around his feet. A Eucharistic chalice stands in front of the angel symbolizing the cup of suffering.¹⁰⁷ In the background is a grouping of figures representing Judas with the servants of the chief priests planning the betrayal of Christ. Two rocks are shown prominently in the middle. Similar to the image of *The Baptism of Christ*, the number two represents the placement of God the Son within the Trinity or the human and divine nature of Christ.¹⁰⁸ Typical of most of the illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, a forested landscape is in the background.

Painted in the main colours of green, purple, blue and red in a golden-brown architectural framework with slender Corinthian columns, the scene is similar in style to the miniature of *The Baptism of Christ*. Grotteschi figures with filigree foliated acanthus leaves extend from the top of each column to a central figure above the image. Acanthus leaves with animal finials are in the panel along the base.

Although the intention of the central image is to represent Christ in emotional anguish and corporeal torment, the image of St. John with his hands covering his face evokes more of an emotion from the viewer than does the central subject and theme.

¹⁰⁶ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 130. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 167.

¹⁰⁸ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 137. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 154.

Clearly unintentional, this would be another example of the hand of an untrained artist. Similar to *The Baptism of Christ*, the image of *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* shows large-scale figures with naive qualities in representing feet. Christ's right foot is on his left leg; Peter's left foot is on his right leg and James' right foot is on his left leg. Again, this idiosyncrasy may also be a possible confirmation of the theory that an untrained artist and perhaps a nun may have painted the image.

The Resurrection of Christ and the Road to Emmaus

Matthew 28: 1-8; Mark 16: 9-10; Luke 24: 13-18; John 20: 11-18

Similar to the previous illumination, this image also displays the characteristics of an indigenous style. The scene portrays the resurrection of Christ as he arose from his sarcophagus, surrounded by soldiers.¹⁰⁹ After his resurrection, Christ reveals himself to his followers. He appears to Mary Magdalene as a gardener wearing a pilgrim's hat in a scene known as *Noli me tangere* (touch me not). Then he appears to his Apostles, Peter and John, and to two of his disciples on the *Road to Emmaus*, a hamlet near Jerusalem. The Resurrection is celebrated on Easter Sunday. The image of *The Resurrection of Christ and the Road to Emmaus* is a prime example of a continuous narrative, depicting four separate events.

The scene shows Christ with stigmata extending his hand in blessing, standing behind an open sarcophagus. He holds a standard, a symbol of his victory over death.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix 8.2.6 for reproduction of *The Resurrection* folio.

¹¹⁰ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 97. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 170.

Four soldiers sit on the ground around the sarcophagus. Similar to *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and *The Adoration of the Magi* images, three rocks lie in the foreground, perhaps symbolizing the Blessed Trinity, or body, soul and spirit.¹¹¹ Three Tau crosses, ancient symbols of eternal life, are shown in the center background on Mount Calvary. The scene in the background on the right shows Mary Magdalene kneeling in reverence to Christ who is dressed as a gardener. Behind this scene are two apostles, Saint Peter and possibly Saint John walking along a road. The scene on the left shows Christ walking with two of his disciples on the road to Emmaus. Based on the biblical narrative, one of the disciples is Cleopas.

Shown in a full-length illuminated bar border, painted in gold ornamental design, the main scene is painted predominantly in colours of red, purple, gray and green, and is set against a purple pink background. Groteschi panels with acanthus leaves are along the top and side panels. Classical panels feature vertical designs of candelabra and ornamental vase-like elements with faces and animal finials on the left and right. Two-winged horses, or horses' heads with lions' bodies, sit back to back in the candelabra ornament on the right, the only such example in the manuscript, perhaps a vague reference to wars of conquest, or an artistic expression.¹¹²

The representation of the *Apparition of Christ to the Virgin* is portrayed in the bottom bar border. Christ is shown holding a standard, facing Mary who kneels at a prie-

¹¹¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 137. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 154.

¹¹² Charles L. Souvay, *Animals in the Bible*. Catholic Encyclopedia. Online. <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/0157a.htm>. p. 18, 13 September 2004.

dieu with her hands folded in prayer. Mary is represented in front of what appears to be an open yellow tent with green tassels. Two groupings of six Cistercian nuns are also represented. Similar to the two previous images, the artist shows a problem in portraying body structure. In this particular case, the top left soldier's left hand is attached to his right arm. The left hand of the soldier depicted in the bottom right is on his right arm. Again, this displays a distinct idiosyncratic style by the artist.

Christ in Majesty and Assembly of Saints

Mark 16: 15-17; Luke 24: 50-53; Acts 1: 9-11

The most heavily populated and one of the most striking images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is the illumination of *Christ in Majesty and Assembly of Saints*.¹¹³ Distinguished because of the sheer number of saints and their attributes, the scene shown in two sections portrays the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost in heaven, and a large grouping of saints on earth. Based on biblical tradition, the event follows Christ's final appearance to his disciples on earth where he spoke about the Kingdom of God. He directed his disciples to go out and preach the Word of God.

Shown at the top in a radiant aureole is a scene of the Holy Trinity. God the Father extends a hand in blessing and holds an orb surmounted by a cross, a symbol of the triumph of Christ and His Church over the world.¹¹⁴ Seated next to him, God the Son holds a large cross with a partial inscription *NR*, from the abbreviation *INRI*. The initials,

¹¹³ See Appendix 8.2.7 for reproduction of *The Christ in Majesty* folio.

¹¹⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 131. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 175, reference under "globe".

INRI are an abbreviation for the Latin phrase *IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM*, meaning Jesus the Nazarene, or Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews.¹¹⁵ He also holds an orb surmounted by a cross and extends a hand in blessing. The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovers between God the Father and God the Son. Mary and Saint John the Evangelist stand below with their hands folded in prayer and gaze upwards towards the Holy Trinity. In addition to the main figures, three angels are placed in a mandorla that intersects the aureole around the Holy Trinity, a representation of divinity and supreme power.¹¹⁶ The mandorla is a symbol of the union between Heaven and Earth and the coming together of spirit and matter.¹¹⁷ Groupings of angels kneel in the upper corners. A string of fluffy clouds separates this scene from the gathering below. This unique style of clouds is also found in four early seventeenth century Netherlandish relief sculptures depicting the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, with their emblems.¹¹⁸

A second scene in the foreground shows a large gathering of apostles and male and female saints, also known as the communion of saints. They stand barefoot, a symbol of humility, holding the emblems of their martyrdom.¹¹⁹ Identifiable saints in the foreground with their emblems, beginning with the second figure, from left to right include: Saint James the Lesser with a club; Saint Jude Thaddeus with a halberd; Saint

¹¹⁵ The phrase appears in the Gospels of *Matthew 27:37, Mark: 15:26; Luke: 23:38 and John: 19:19.*

¹¹⁶ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 60. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 148.

¹¹⁷ James Smith Pierce, *From Abacus to Zeus: A Handbook of Art History* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall 1968), p. 124.

¹¹⁸ Collection of the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, Gift of the Archdiocese of Halifax, 1999 (1999.106-1999.109).

¹¹⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 62. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 47.

Andrew with a traverse cross; Saint Simon with a saw; Saint Bartholomew with a knife; Saint Peter with two crossed keys; Saint John with a bird and chalice and Saint Paul with a sword. The possible identification of the Saints in the second row are: Saint Catherine with a sword; Saint Gregory in papal robes; Saint Maurice with a banner; Saint Hubert in a bishop's miter; Saint Matthew with a sword; Saint Apollonia with pincers and a tooth; Saint James the Greater with a pilgrim's staff; Saint Juliana of Liège as an Augustinian nun; Saint Juliana of Nicomedia with a crown; Saint Matthias with an axe and Saint Barbara with a crown. Four rocks and a square covered jar lie on the ground along the bottom of the scene. The four in this image, divided into two groups, include one set of three rocks and a separate single rock. This may be a reference to the revelation, a union of the three persons of the Trinity in one being, or it may also be a reference to the earth.¹²⁰ The square jar in the foreground is a pyx and holds the consecrated Eucharist, an important theme in Cistercian art.

Shown in red, yellow, green and blue in a full-length illuminated bar border, the main scene includes freestyle acanthus leaves in gold and pink. Placed on a background of green and gold coloured alternating panels are finely decorated flora and fauna including roses, veronicas, pansies, and strawberries, sparrows, caterpillars and a cock. Red roses are a symbol of martyrdom; pansies a symbol for remembrance and reflection; strawberries symbolize fruits of the spirit, good works and the righteousness of the Virgin; the sparrow a symbol of the lowly; caterpillars, a symbol of life and the cock, an

¹²⁰ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 137. See also Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), pp. 402-407.

emblem of vigilance.¹²¹ The style shows a combination of the French compartment borders and the *Ghent-Bruges* style of illuminations with naturalistic images of birds, flowers and berries. Interlacing ribbons figures prominently in the bottom center border, separating two groups of four Cistercian nuns. The nun in the center left carries a crozier, a symbol of her authority.¹²² This is the second image that includes a Cistercian abbess with a crozier and the second scene without any architectural elements.

The Holy Kinship

Perhaps the finest illumination in the Salzinnes Antiphonal this full-page image is a magnificent genealogical representation of the family of Christ, focusing on the female lineage, with the addition of Saint Mary Magdalene.¹²³ A popular subject in the late fifteenth century in the Low Countries and in Germany, a possible source for the image may be found in the painting entitled *The Kinship of Saint Anne* by the Master of the Liesborn, Westphalia. Painted around 1470, it is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum Het Catherijneconvent in Utrecht, The Netherlands. The *Kinship* image is identical in the portrayal of the female figures and their children in the Salzinnes Antiphonal. In addition to the male figures, the Master of the Liesborn painting also incorporates a cousin to Saint Anne, as well as a representation of the Bishop of Maestricht. Another example is *The Holy Kinship* by an early sixteenth century Swabian artist found in the collection of

¹²¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, pp. 52, 53, 56. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, pp. 13, 14, 25, 37, 36, 38.

¹²² Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 167. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 164. The identification and importance of the abbess will be discussed in chapter 6.

¹²³ See Appendix 8.2.8 for reproduction of the *Holy Kinship* folio.

the Philadelphia Museum. Similar to the Master of the Liesborn painting, it also contains additional figures not portrayed in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

The figures in the Salzinnes Antiphonal identified in banderoles on four levels, are from left to right. Background: St. Alpheus, Cleophas, St. Joachim, Salome, St. Joseph, Zebedee; Middle ground: St. Mary Cleophas, St. Anne, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Mary Salome; Lower ground: St. James the Less, St. Simon, St. Jude Thaddeus, St. Joseph Justus, Jesus Christ, St. John the Evangelist, St. James the Greater; Foreground: St. Mary Magdalene and nuns from the Cistercian and Benedictine Orders. This is the third image of a Cistercian abbess with a crozier and the second image that portrays nuns from two separate orders.

The scene, divided in three sections is portrayed in an open colonnade room with stone turreted buildings in the background surrounded by a hilly wooded landscape. The adult males are portrayed in the top portion of the image standing outside the columned room within a rural landscape. They gaze away from their families, perhaps in conversation, except for Saint Joachim who looks downward at the scene below. The remaining part of the family image is portrayed within the interior of the room, in the central plane. All the female figures are shown seated on podiums; the Virgin Mary is shown on an elaborate throne. Except for Saint Anne, her three daughters (all named Mary) are each shown cuddling their infants on their laps, with their young children surrounding them. Their heads are all inclined downwards, their attention focusing on their infants in a scene of warmth and intimacy. The infant Jesus sitting on the lap of the

Virgin Mary turns his body around towards Saint Anne and outwards towards the viewer, as if to invite participation. A peach appears to be the centre-point of the image and is presented to Saint Anne by the infant Jesus. The peach, a reference to the fruit of salvation, also symbolizes the charitable nature of heart and tongue and the humanity of Christ, another subject important to the Cistercian Order.¹²⁴ Except for the infant Jesus, the children are shown in charmingly natural gestures either reaching towards their mothers or playing with what appears to be toys, heightening the family scene. Of particular note is the depiction of the young Saint James the Greater lifting his robes and exposing his genitals, possibly a symbol of purity and innocence.¹²⁵ In the lower portion of the picture plane, a Cistercian abbess with her patron Saint Mary Magdalene and a Benedictine nun are represented in the foreground, each kneeling on their prie-dieu, suggesting collaboration.¹²⁶ Two shields in the shape of lozenges are featured in front of the prie-dieu. An ointment jar, the attribute of Mary Magdalene stands on the floor, below her, on the left.¹²⁷

Painted in purple, red, green, and blue, the image is set in a golden-brown architectural framework with slender Corinthian columns. Freestyle acanthus leaves and other foliated groteschi panels are painted in golden-brown. Groteschi elements of animal finials begin at the top of each of the columns, changing into outstretched figures extending towards a central coat-of-arms held by two naked angels. This is the third full

¹²⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 56. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 36.

¹²⁵ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 64.

¹²⁶ The identification and importance of the abbess and the nun will be discussed in chapter 6.

¹²⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 194. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 171.

page illumination depicting coats-of-arms.¹²⁸ An illuminated panel of finely decorated flora and fauna is along the base on a background of gold. Similar to *The Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Christ in Majesty* images and the lower border of *The Annunciation* image, the border of *The Holy Kinship* is representative of the *Ghent-Bruges* style of illumination with flowers, birds and insects along the bottom border. Representations include a caterpillar, snail, owl, sparrow, roses and veronicas, among others. In addition to the symbols already mentioned, the snail symbolizes the cycle of birth.¹²⁹ The owl symbolizes solitude, wisdom and death.¹³⁰

This image in particular has a good sense of design and balance between figures and space. Although the figures are doll-like in quality, the broad facial characteristics show individuality and variety. The faces are distinctive with broad, flat foreheads, straight eyebrows, prominent eyes and lids, long straight noses and pursed lips. The linear perspective and flowing drapery with deep folds and curvilinear edges demonstrates skillful handling by the artist. The figures show animation in their movements giving a heightened sense of energy and activity, representative of a typical family scene.

Based on the iconographic evidence, this image had great meaning for the nuns and was likely viewed on a regular basis during spiritual meditation, as a devotional

¹²⁸ The coats-of-arms will be identified and examined in relation to patronage and the nuns of Salzinnes in chapter 6.

¹²⁹ Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 890-891.

¹³⁰ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 24. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 22.

image or *Andachtsbild*. The miniature, however, is in very good condition, while the adjoining text page is gray and dirty. This discolouration may have been the result of the manuscript lying open for extended periods, making the vellum of the text page susceptible to environmental elements, such as dust and soot. No doubt, the reason *The Holy Kinship* illumination is in such excellent condition is that it was covered with a protective ‘curtain’ although, no physical evidence of any remnants of linen or cloth or an impression on the vellum exists to prove this theory.¹³¹

The Holy Kinship scene is the most dramatic image, divided into three separate planes. In the family setting, the husbands are separated from their wives and children by the architectural feature of a columned knee-wall. Traditional gender roles portray fathers as family providers and mothers as nurturers; however, this illumination focuses on the matriarchal family of Christ, as the central theme, suggesting a gender specific subject. Although depicted within the interior scene, the nuns are on a lower plane, separated from the domestic family scene, possibly to represent their roles as protectors, educators and spiritual caregivers. Opened books are prominently featured in this interior setting.

Books in the hands of saints were commonly found in medieval and Renaissance art suggesting the pious nature of their bearers.¹³² Portraits of females portrayed with books were more prevalent in the fifteenth and sixteenth century than those of male

¹³¹ John Higgit, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London: The British Library, 2000), p. 87.

¹³² James Finn Cotter, “The Book within the Book in Mediaeval Illumination.” Online. *Florilegium* 12, 1993. <http://www.uwo.ca/english/florilegium/vol-xii/cotter.html>. p. 118, 1 December 2004.

portraits, suggesting a gender specific subject.¹³³ *The Kinship of Saint Anne* by the Master of the Liesborn shows an open book only on the lap of Saint Anne. With the exception of Mary Magdalene, every female figure in the *Kinship* image in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is shown with an opened book. The books on their laps or on a prie-dieu represent their pious devotion. The book in the hands of the Virgin Mary symbolizes wisdom and the gospel; in the hand of the nuns, the book represents scriptures and disseminating wisdom through learning, teaching and writing.¹³⁴ Saint Anne is often portrayed with her attribute a book, teaching Mary to read the Bible.¹³⁵ For example, in the French miniature *Hours of Henry VIII*, c. 1500 by Jean Poyet, Saint Anne is shown teaching Mary together with other students in the background.¹³⁶

Prescribed books were part of the Rule of Saint Benedict and specific hours of the day were allotted for the *Lectio Divina*, sacred reading and devout meditation.¹³⁷ Normally spoken aloud, the *Lectio Divina* was a reading of spiritual transformation and Cistercian devotion.¹³⁸ This occupation resulted in the need and importance placed on

¹³³ For a study on the relationship between gender and devotional imagery, see Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals," p. 9-10. For a study on female book ownership in convents see Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 116-133.

¹³⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, pp. 126, 128-129. See also George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 171.

¹³⁵ Thurston and Atwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 3, pp. 189-90

¹³⁶ Collection of the Pierpont Library MS H.8, f.186 v.

¹³⁷ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 205-212.

¹³⁸ Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p. 58.

books and libraries which counted as the true treasures of Cistercian abbeys.¹³⁹ The symbolic imagery is also an indication of the level of literacy of the nuns of Salzinnes. It also suggests the importance that abbesses placed on reading, as spiritual mentors to the nuns in the community. In addition, as in the previous miniature, this devotional image also includes two themes of importance to Cistercian houses, the devotion to Mary and the humanity of Christ.

The illuminations in Volume I representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, and the life of Christ, including his public ministry, passion and resurrection, are presented in order based on the chronology of the Christian religion. The excised folio, which falls between *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* and *The Resurrection*, as mentioned previously, was possibly that of the *Crucifixion*. This folio, and at least one other, is now missing. Based on impressions of existing images, one can only imagine the impact of the ones no longer intact with the manuscript. Although the image of the *Crucifixion* would have been the most significant in the biblical narrative, I believe the image of *The Holy Kinship* has the most significance, based on the purpose and production of the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

¹³⁹ Xavier Hermand. "Les bibliothèques des abbayes cisterciennes du Namurois XV^e siècle- Début XVI^e siècle." in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 271. See also Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*, p. 353.

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL: Volume II

Volume II of the Salzinnes Antiphonal represents the Common of Saints in the Liturgy with the addition of Saint George. Similar in presentation to Volume I, this volume consists of 40 folios, including one excised folio of text and music, possibly with a historiated initial.

A different illuminator or miniaturist may be responsible for painting the historiated initials in Volume II from those depicted in Volume I. Smaller in size, the initials appear finer in both style and detail, however, a uniform appearance is evident in the faces and draperies of the figures presented. All images feature a saint with their attribute, placed within a scene associated with their subject. Each initial is presented with a full-length image of a Cistercian nun with an inscription of her name in cursive script.¹⁴⁰

The veneration of saints was an important part of religious devotion and martyrs, in particular, were held in the highest esteem. Their images appeared in all aspects of religious art and architecture, including illuminated manuscripts. The criteria for the selection of saints and the significance of those represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal relate to the common practice of regional and local traditions of the Abbey of Salzinnes.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 3.1, p. 241 for the inscriptions accompanying the historiated initials.

Saint George

The first two-line historiated initial in Volume II of the Salzinnes Antiphonal depicts Saint George, an officer in the army of the Roman Emperor Diocletian.¹⁴¹ According to legend, the dragon ravaged the countryside of Silena, Libya. To appease him, the townsfolk gave him a daily tribute of sheep to eat. When this supply was depleted, the dragon demanded that children be sacrificed as a substitute. A lottery was devised and one day the lot fell to the king's only daughter, Princess Cleodolinda. On the day of the sacrifice Saint George rode by, just as the dragon was about to devour the maiden.

Blessing himself first he wounded the creature. He bound the dragon around its neck with the Princess's garter and together they led it back into the city. In gratitude, the townsfolk converted to Christianity and Saint Michael slaughtered the dragon. Saint George was tortured and martyred in Lydda, Palestine c. 304.¹⁴²

Saint George is the patron Saint of England, Germany, Italy and Portugal and the patron of the *Knights of the Garter* or the *Knights of the Order of Saint George* as well as agricultural workers among others. Portrayed as a soldier slaying a dragon and sometimes a soldier bearing a red cross on a white tunic, as with the Crusaders, the legend of Saint George represents a symbol of goodness triumphing over evil.¹⁴³ His memorial date is April 23. Saint George represents the Common of a Single Saint in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix 8.2.9 for reproduction of the *Saint George* folio.

¹⁴² Thurston and Atwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 2, p. 148.

¹⁴³ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, pp. 187-88. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 121.

The scene shows Saint George holding a sword and riding on a horse. The dragon lies on the ground below the horse and rider, a forked tongue extending from his open mouth. A single stone lies on the ground. The number one in this image symbolizes the supreme God and principal of all things.¹⁴⁴ Portrayed in a wooded and hilly landscape in the background, Princess Cleodolinda holds a rope tied around the neck of a sheep. A Cistercian nun stands outside the border of the historiated initial on the left, with her hands folded in prayer. A banderole extends above her head with the words: “S. GEORG-
- (?). ORA.PRO.ME.PECCATRICE”, “Saint George pray for me a sinner.”¹⁴⁵

Painted mainly in blue, green and red, the image is behind the letter “T”. The shape of the initial is in the form of an acanthus stem painted in golden-brown within a plain golden-brown square border. Portrayed in the center-point of the tree trunk is a face.¹⁴⁶ Saint George was the patron saint of the Abbey of Salzinnes, formerly Val-Saint-Georges and therefore, a primary candidate for inclusion in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

Saint Maurice

The second historiated initial depicts Saint Maurice, an officer and leader of the Theban Legion massacred with his legion of Christian soldiers.¹⁴⁷ Maximian Herculus ordered

¹⁴⁴ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 137. See also Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 719-720.

¹⁴⁵ Due to the curved nature of the banderole containing the inscription letters, it is difficult to read the full inscription of the saint’s name.

¹⁴⁶ The possible significance and the only portrayal of a historiated initial behind a letter will be addressed in the chapter 6.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix 8.2.10 for reproduction of the *Saint Maurice* folio.

the killing of over 6,000 men when they refused to make an offering of sacrifice to the pagan gods. Saint Maurice died in Agaunum, c. 287.¹⁴⁸

Saint Maurice is the patron Saint of Austria, Switzerland, France and Germany and the patron of soldiers among others. Maurice is usually represented as a soldier in armour bearing a standard or a knight with a red cross on his breast, the badge of the *Sardinian Order of Saint Maurice*. His memorial date is September 22. Saint Maurice represents the Common of a Single Martyr in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

The scene shows Saint Maurice dressed in armour, holding a standard and riding on a prancing horse. Next to the horse and in between its legs are four stones, a symbol of the earth.¹⁴⁹ A wooded and hilly landscape is in the background. A Cistercian nun stands outside the border of the historiated initial on the left, with her hands folded in prayer. A banderole extends above her head with the words: “ORA. PRO. ME. SANCTE. MAURICE”, “Pray for me Saint Maurice.”¹⁵⁰

The image painted mainly in blue, green and red is enclosed by the letter “A”. The shape is in the form of an acanthus stem on the left and a knobbed tree trunk with pruned branches on the right, painted in golden-brown within a plain golden-brown square border. Represented on the right outside edge of the initial is a head of a lion as a

¹⁴⁸ Thurston and Atwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 3, pp. 619-621.

¹⁴⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art*, p.137. See also Chevalier, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, pp. 402-407.

¹⁵⁰ Due to the curved nature of the banderole containing the inscription letters, it is difficult to read the full inscription of the saint's name.

vigilant protector. The lion is a symbol of fortitude, valor and resolution.¹⁵¹ The addition of this saint would relate to his regional representation, since the town of Namur, because of its strategic location and military fort, was often at war. Perhaps too as the patron saint of soldiers he represented a “soldier” of God to the nuns of the Abbey of Salzinnes.

Saint Hubert

The third initial represents Saint Hubert, the grandson of the King of Toulouse and a man of wealth and prominence.¹⁵² Devoted to the hunt, Saint Hubert received a vision of a stag with a crucifix between its antlers and heard voices warning him to turn to God. Giving up his birthright and having distributed his wealth to the poor, he entered the priesthood studying under his spiritual adviser, Saint Lambert. Ordained as a priest, he later became the Bishop of Maestricht and the second Bishop of Liège. Saint Hubert died in Brabant, c.727 following a brief illness.¹⁵³

Saint Hubert is the patron Saint of Liège and patron of hunters, archers and forest workers among others. He is represented with a stag bearing a crucifix between its antlers. His memorial date is November 3. Saint Hubert represents the Common of a Confessor Bishop in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

¹⁵¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 23. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 21.

¹⁵² See Appendix 8.2.11 for reproduction of the *Saint Hubert* folio.

¹⁵³ Thurston and Atwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 4, pp. 247-248.

Saint Hubert kneels with his hands folded in prayer. A stag with a crucifix between its horns, an emblem of solitude and hermit life, stands facing Saint Hubert. An attendant with a horse stands behind Saint Hubert. A wooded and hilly landscape is in the background. A Cistercian nun stands outside the border of the historiated initial on the left, with her hands folded in prayer. A banderole extends above her head with the words: “S.HUBERTE.ORA.PRO.ME.PECCATRICE”, “Saint Hubert pray for me a sinner.”

Painted in green, blue and red, the image is enclosed by the letter “E”. The shape is in the form of a knobbed tree with pruned branches on the left and right, painted in golden-brown within a plain golden-brown square border. Saint Hubert’s inclusion in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is based on his association with the Diocese of Liège as the first Bishop.

Saint Juliana

The only historiated initial of a female saint is that of Saint Juliana, the daughter of Africanus, a pagan who hated the Christians.¹⁵⁴ Betrothed to the prefect of Nicomedia Senator Eleusius, she refused to marry him until he converted to Christianity. Tortured and martyred during the Diocletian period for her refusal to denounce her own Christian faith, Saint Juliana died in Nicomedia, c.305.¹⁵⁵ Saint Juliana is the patron saint of the sick, among others and is usually represented with a chained dragon. Her memorial date is February 16.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 8.2.12 for reproduction of the *Saint Juliana* folio.

¹⁵⁵ Thurston and Atwater, *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 1, pp. 349-350.

The scene shows Saint Juliana standing and holding a palm leaf, a symbol of martyrdom and a victory over sin and death.¹⁵⁶ She holds a rope in her left hand tied to a dragon, a symbol of sin, paganism and heresy vanquished.¹⁵⁷ In her right hand, she holds a book open to the viewer to represent learning and her writings. A hilly and wooded landscape is in the background. A building, possibly a monastery is in the background on the right. Although difficult to corroborate based on this image and available historical images, the buildings in the background may represent the monastery of the Abbey of Salzinnes. Some monasteries that produced illuminated manuscripts included representations of their abbeys within the miniatures.¹⁵⁸ A Cistercian nun stands outside the border of the historiated initial on the left, with her hands folded in prayer. A banderole extends above her head with the words: “S. IULIANA.ORA.PRO.ME”, “Saint Juliana pray for me.”

Painted in green, blue and red, the image is enclosed by the letter “D”. The shape is in the form of a knobbed tree with pruned branches on the left and right, painted in golden-brown within a plain golden-brown square border. The right side of the initial has animal finials and a head of a lion, facing inwards towards the image, symbolizing Saint

¹⁵⁶ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 207. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁷ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 20. See also Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ An example of a miniature incorporating a monastery in the background is found in a *Fragment of an Illuminated Antiphonaire* featuring Saint Begge c.1470-1480, at the Diocesan Museum, Namur MS. 17. Also in the *Historiated Initial H with the Nativity* c. 1440 in a *Leaf from an Antiphonary* from the Cistercian monastery at Zwettl, Austria in the collection of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Dept. Lewis EM 65.7. For a description of the architecture of the Abbey of Salzinnes, see Bolly, “Les abbayes de femmes,” p.171-173.

Juliana's strength and fortitude.¹⁵⁹ Saint Juliana represents the Common of a Single Virgin in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and her inclusion would be as the patron saint of the newly elected Prioress, Julienne de Glymes.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion:

The illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal clearly reflect the late Gothic and Renaissance styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the influences of French, Flemish and Italian schools. All of the images show mannerist elements and are presented either with a decorative border or in an architectural framework; each one is unique. The border ornaments give the illusion of depth and a three-dimensional perspective, as if viewing the scene through a window or doorway. The painted shadows and the highlights represented in both the borders and images also aid in achieving a three-dimensional illusion through modelling in darker tones.

Although all the images depict a degree of linear perspective, in which objects appear to recede in the distance, each image displays a different level of skill. The individual large-scaled central figures such as the figures of Christ and Saint John the Baptist in the miniature, *The Baptism* demonstrate a more naive skill level or intuitive perspective, verging on caricature. Similar representations are found in the image of Christ and the Apostles, Peter, James and John in the miniature, *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane* and again in the figure of Christ, in the illumination of *The Resurrection*.

¹⁵⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 23. Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁰ The importance of the de Glymes family and in particular Julienne de Glymes will be addressed in chapter 6 focusing on the nuns represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

On the other hand, a homogeneous ensemble of multiple figures is shown in the images of saints. The *Christ in Majesty* miniature and *The Holy Kinship* miniature show a higher degree of competency, paradoxically, in the groupings of figures. In these images, the artist appears more competent in painting groups of people, in contrast to the treatment of individual central figures. The full-page illuminations in particular also show a separation of planes with a clear delineation of a foreground, middle ground and background. This has also been successfully achieved in the smaller historiated initials. Gradient levels of brightness, texture and colour saturation and the use of classic colour theory, where warm colours appear to advance and cool colours recede, show a sense of atmospheric perspective. Examples include images of *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane*, *The Resurrection* and *The Holy Kinship*.

Unified by integrating figures, architecture and landscape, all the scenes in the Salzinnes Antiphonal show a degree of homogeneity. However, an interesting comparison is in the quality of the landscape and the figures. The flora and fauna are artistically competent. On the other hand, stylistically, the figures show a foreshortening, as well as a mannered and rather rudimentary execution and idiosyncratic style.

Of great interest is the question of who painted the miniatures in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and the significance, if any, of the multiple portraits of nuns. Although the Salzinnes artist produced impressive representations of flowers, birds and insects, the figures are naive with anatomical peculiarities, showing a lack of formal training. Therefore, while not common, it is possible that these images were not created by

professional artists in lay workshops or itinerant painters, but perhaps by untrained ecclesiastical illuminators.¹⁶¹ Additional indications to support this theory may be found in the examination of the miniatures with images of the nuns.

¹⁶¹ For an example and a comparison study and analysis on the unique devotional artworks produced by an unknown nun for her religious community at the convent of St. Walburg, Germany, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. xix-xxii.

CHAPTER 6

The Salzinnes Antiphonal and the Nuns of Salzinnes

The psalmist said to the Lord:
'I sing for joy at the works of your hands'.
 Psalm 92:4

In contrast to the previous chapter, which focused on the codicology of the manuscript, the iconography, symbolism and artistic style of the illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, this chapter examines only those images which portray nuns. These images include the five full-page illuminations in Volume I: *The Annunciation, The Baptism of Christ, The Resurrection, Christ in Majesty and The Holy Kinship*, as well as the four historiated initials in Volume II: *Saint George, Saint Maurice, Saint Hubert and Saint Juliana*. Based on textual, genealogical and heraldic evidence, the identities of the featured nuns are established with particular emphasis on the principal figures. Focus is placed on the inscriptions, coats-of-arms, key symbols and subject matter associated with the nuns of the Abbey of Salzinnes.¹

The Monastic Community:

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a variety of contemplative orders for women established themselves in the Low Countries.² The traditional contemplative orders including the Cistercians and Benedictines followed structured rules of

¹ See Appendix 3.1 for inscription documentation pp, 238-242 and 3.2 for reproduction of inscription details for nuns of Salzinnes, pp. 243-250. See Appendix 5.1 for listing of coats-of-arms p. 254 and 5.2.1 to 5.2.3 for reproductions of the coats-of-arms, pp. 255-257.

² For a study and analysis of the various religious orders established in the Low Countries during the Middle Ages, see Craig Harline, "Actives and Contemplatives: The Female Religious of the Low Countries before and after Trent," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 81 (1995), pp. 541-568.

monasticism; taking solemn vows and following *clausura*, or strict enclosure. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries new active orders for women were established including the Grey Sisters, Hospital Sisters and Augustinian Black Sisters, among others. They adhered to varying guidelines of the traditional monastic lifestyle, together with an active apostolate. Depending on the specific religious order, vows were either simple or solemn, varying degrees of enclosure were enforced, and multiple types of roles were provided by the religious community. These included social and educational services, for example, caring for the sick and educating young girls. Some orders provided these services only within the confines of the convent, while others were unencumbered by enclosure and allowed freedom of movement to its religious members to undertake charitable work in the community. As a contemplative order, the Cistercian nuns of the Abbey of Salzinnes were bound by strict monastic rules.

Although the size and resources of the abbey dictated the number of choir nuns and *conversae* it could house, many external forces affected its well-being. In addition to warfare, the plague, natural disasters and internal dissension, hardships also resulted from the low recruitment of nuns.³ Although the immediate impact of the diminishing recruitment of nuns was financial, the long-term impact had the potential to affect its very existence. Therefore, local recruitment from the region was of prime importance for the long-term viability of the abbey. As verified by the election records, many of the nuns from the Abbey of Salzinnes were from the predominantly French speaking district

³ For a discussion on factors affecting recruitment, see Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe, English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 20-30.

known as the Walloon region, which includes the present day provinces of Hainaut, Walloon-Brabant, Liège, Namur, and Luxembourg.⁴

In common with secular families, the monastic community also sought ways to attract and maintain alliances as a means to improve their fortunes. In addition to the support of noble patrons, recruiting their daughters as potential candidates for the convent was of prime importance.⁵ A professed nun, particularly one of noble birth, brought with her a dowry, a monetary benefit that brought prosperity to the abbey.⁶ Through their professed daughters, families gained visible, as well as spiritual benefits, and their piety was expressed through support or patronage.⁷ Such patronage included financial assistance or commissioned gifts of works of art and liturgical or devotional objects.⁸ As evident in the devotional images, the Salzinnes Antiphonal exemplifies this family piety, while serving as a memorial record to the abbey's history.

⁴ See Appendix 4.1, pp. 251-253 for documentation identifying some of the regions of origin for the nuns of Salzinnes, specifically the election records of 1559.

⁵ Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 75, Walker states, "Houses which boasted ... [generous endowments and patronage] and professed the daughters of the local nobility, were most likely to succeed."

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107. "...certain cloisters emphasized their impeccable pedigree in the quest to attract novices who were well endowed both financially and socially." p. 107.

⁷ Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 19. Diefendorf points out that in addition to acquiring "intercessory prayers" for their families, patronage was "a form of conspicuous consumption... publicized their family's wealth... allowed them to bask in a reflected godliness... [and] helped establish their family's worldly honor".

⁸ On family donations of art, music and chapel sponsorship, see P. Renée Baernstein, *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 126. For additional examples, see also Silvia Evangelisti, "Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Italian Convents," *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 47 (2004), p. 10. In addition to domestic goods and furnishings, examples of religious devotional objects included paintings, crucifixes, relics, and tabernacles.

The tradition of familial support and patronage allowed the nuns to preserve and maintain their familial ties as well as their social status both outside and inside the convent walls.⁹ This pattern of familial support is found throughout Europe. In her study on Italian convents Silvia Evangelisti notes, “Providing their daughters, sister or aunts with an income allowed them to achieve a decent standard of living...secured them an honourable position within the convent and represented the status and wealth of the family inside the walls.”¹⁰ As will be demonstrated in the Salzennes Antiphonal, it was not uncommon to have aunts, nieces, cousins and even sisters living together in the same convents.¹¹ During the Medieval and Renaissance periods many young girls of noble birth entered convent life.¹² Either voluntarily or involuntarily, they joined for many different reasons including family, “economic, social or religious”.¹³ Although some

⁹ For a discussion on the importance of preserving “social and familial identity,” see Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice: Enclosed Lives and Broken Vows in the Renaissance* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 41. For a discussion on family support, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 75. With reference to female religious houses, Walker notes, “Families supported them as a civic resource where their unmarried daughters could live honourably.” See also Kate Lowe, “Elections of Abbesses and Notions of Identity in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Italy, with Special Reference to Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001), p. 397. The author states, “There is ample evidence of the involvement of families of the nuns in convent affairs...”

¹⁰ Evangelisti, “Monastic Poverty and Material Culture,” p. 17.

¹¹ A reference to multiple members of the de Glymes family as members of the clergy in regional monasteries is found in Jacques de Potter, *Epigraphie de L'Abbaye de Marche-Les-Dames, Le Parchemin XXXII* (Brussels: l'Office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique, 1982). In addition to a reference to Julienne de Glymes and her niece, Marguerite de Glymes, mention is made of two other family members, Guillaume and his brother Henri. «La famille de Glymes avait déjà offert à Dieu et à l'Ordre de Cîteaux deux de ses enfants... » p. 69. For a mid-sixteenth century historical study focusing on a noble monastic family having similar familial relationships as the de Glymes family, see Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 113-144 on the influence of the Sfondrati family of nuns and their relatives; see also pp. 10-13, 19-22, 44, for readings on the extent of family entry into clerical careers in Northern Italy.

¹² Jean-Jacques Bolly, “Les Abbayes de Femmes: L'abbaye de Salzennes,” in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens en Namurois XIII - XX siècles* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 1998), p.150. See also Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 10-11.

¹³ On religious vocations, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*, p. 177; on involuntary vocations, see p. 29. Walker notes, “Rising secular dowry prices, evidence of child oblates and coerced vocations imply that family strategies were often behind a woman’s adoption of the religious life.” See also Baernstein,

entered with no viable options as a result of being unmarried, disabled or unwanted, others entered religious life from the upper echelons of society including the daughters of barons, dukes and knights. The life of a nun was considered an honourable profession; nuns were responsible for doing God's work and were respected by society for their prayers of intercession.¹⁴ However, once formally professed in the religious order, technically the status of the nun changed, as she ceased to exist in the secular world. As P. Renée Baernstein points out, "the professed nun was legally dead to the world", however, many continued to maintain their connections, through families and related enterprises.¹⁵ Although documentation for the Abbey of Salzinnes is "vague and fragmentary", favor was extended to Salzinnes, since family members of nobles and burghers were part of the religious community and based on ecclesiastical tradition, gifts were given as dowries for the nuns.¹⁶ This family connection is, however, uniquely and significantly featured in the Salzinnes Antiphonal by the portraits of at least six of the nuns portrayed in select images both in Volume I and Volume II.

A Convent Tale, pp. 11-12, 17-18 and Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, p. 41. On the "condemnation" of forced vocations by the Council of Trent, see also Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, p. 26.

¹⁴ John A. Nichols, "Introduction," *Medieval Religious Women, Distant Voices*, eds., John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Vol. 1, Cistercian Studies Series 71 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), pp. 1-9. See also Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action, The Other Monasticism* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), p. 3.

¹⁵ Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 46, 101.

¹⁶ For reference to Salzinnes, see Émile Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. viii. For an analysis of nun's dowries in the Low Countries, see Walker, *Gender and Politics*. pp. 23, 31-33, 101. On dowries paid to convents, see Constance H. Berman, "Dowries, Private Income and Anniversary Masses: The Nuns of Saint-Antoine-des-Champs (Paris)," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 20 (1993), pp. 6-7. On the cost of nun's dowries, see Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, pp. 24, 39-40. On dowries and inheritance laws, see Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, p.11-13.

The Cistercian Family of Nuns

One of the most fascinating aspects of the Salzinnes Antiphonal is the full-length depiction of thirty-four nuns with their names written in cursive script.¹⁷ No other examples in art have been located which contain both portraits and names. Although many images of nuns exist in Cistercian art from the Medieval and Renaissance periods, most notably in the fourteenth-century *Hedwig Codex*, only two examples of antiphonals depicting Cistercian nuns from female religious houses have been located. They include the thirteenth-century Flemish *Beaupré Antiphonary* and the fourteenth-century German *Seligenthal Antiphonary*. However, the names of the nuns represented are not included, with the exception of the *Seligenthal Antiphonary*, which depicts the portrait and name of the manuscript's scribe, Adelheid.¹⁸ Additionally, one work, painted in 1635 featuring multiple portraits of nuns with their names in print form, has been documented. The painting entitled, *Les Saintes de l'Ordre de Cîteaux (The Holy Nuns of Cîteaux)*, symbolizes the female branch of the Order of Cîteaux.¹⁹ The image represents thirty-three Cistercian nuns as saints.²⁰ Twenty-five are portrayed in half-length length medallion-style miniature portraits, as branches or leaves on a 'family tree'. The remaining eight

¹⁷ The thirty-four nuns portrayed in the Salzinnes Antiphonal represent thirty-one Cistercian nuns, two Carmelite nuns and one Benedictine nun. Although thirty-four nuns are represented, one nun, Julienne de Glymes is portrayed three times. Once with the inscription of her name and title, once with the inscription of her name, and once with the inscription of her new title as Prioress. See Appendix 3.1, pp. 238-241 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

¹⁸ The *Beaupré Antiphonary*, 1290, (MSS W.759-W.762) is in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD, USA. The *Seligenthal Antiphonary* (MS Clm 23046) is in the collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany.

¹⁹ Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, p. 26. See also James France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 139-141. The painting is in the collection of the Prieuré de Marienhof, Kerniel, Belgium.

²⁰ Hildegard von Bingen, Elizabeth von Schönau and Humbeline were actually from the Benedictine Order, although they followed the Cistercian way of life.

nuns are shown in full-length - standing, kneeling or sitting, at the base of the tree. Saint Humbeline, the sister of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux of the Order of Cîteaux, is seated, depicted as an abbess in the bottom center of the painting, in front of the trunk of the 'family tree'.²¹ In this position, Humbeline is portrayed as the "head of the female branch of the Cistercian Order" or "spiritual mother" of Cistercian nuns.²² Some of the nuns are shown with their symbols or attributes representing their martyrdom; crowns, representing their former status as noblewomen, and books, a symbol of the scriptures and spreading wisdom through learning, teaching and writing.²³ Although painted eighty years after the illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the depiction of a 'family tree' confirms the importance of the 'family' to the nuns of the Cistercian Order and in addition to representing the ideal community, the painting serves as an inspiration to follow the Cistercian way under the Rule of St. Benedict and also acknowledges the importance of St. Bernard, through his sister, Humbeline.

The Colophon

Details about the production and ownership of a manuscript are traditionally found in the colophon. Normally located at the end of a codex, the colophon appears "sporadically" in medieval and Renaissance manuscripts.²⁴ Fortunately, in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the

²¹ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 139, 141. Humbeline attained the status of Prioress at the Benedictine Abbey of Jully, prior to her conversion.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 140-141.

²³ Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 128-130.

²⁴ Michelle P. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts A Guide to Technical Terms* (London: Getty Museum and British Library, 1994), p. 43. See also *Medieval Manuscript Manual: III*.

following is found on folio 40 verso in Volume II and is written in French, the only vernacular language found in the manuscript:²⁵

Che libure feist faire Dame Julienne de glymes prieuse de Salsines
Jadit grande chantre de ce lieu. Pries dieu pour elle.²⁶

The English translation is:

Dame Julienne de Glymes, Prioress of Salsines,
formerly the cantrix of this place, had this book made.
Pray to God for her.

The inclusion of the colophon and the identification of Julienne de Glymes were critical to addressing the subject of patronage of the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

Coats-of-Arms and Donor Patronage

The representation of coats-of-arms of the nobility and royalty has become instrumental in identifying patrons and donors of the late Medieval and Renaissance periods.²⁷ This is also the case in the Salzinnes Antiphonal where coats-of-arms and heraldry assisted in the identification of the families and has confirmed a familial relationship with the key figures in the illuminations.

The Structure of the Text of Medieval Manuscript. Online.
<http://www.ceu.hu/medstud/manual/MMM/structure.html>. p. 2, 6 January 2005.

²⁵ See Appendix 3.1, p. 242 for catalogue record and inscription documentation and Appendix 8.2.13 for reproduction of the Colophon page.

²⁶ The modern French transcription of the colophon is: Dame Julienne de Glymes, prieure de Salzinnes, jadis grand-chantre de ce lieu, fit faire ce livre. Priez Dieu pour elle. My thanks to Xavier Hermand for this translation.

²⁷ For a specific study of internal evidence in localizing and dating manuscripts, see James Douglas Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and the Discovery of Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth century Books of Hours: Walters MS. 239" *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. 45, (1987), p. 45.

Heraldry is the description of armorial bearings and their accessories including the shield, charges, mantling, helm, wreath and crests. Developed during the Medieval period as a means to identify knights in armour, heraldic shields were used by secular society and guilds, as well as by the church. Coats-of-arms can be either personal or institutional. Although not represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the institutional heraldic shield for the Abbey of Salzinnes featured Saint George and the dragon; the seal featured the Blessed Virgin Mary on one side and Saint George on the reverse and was based on the abbey's twelfth century medieval name, Val-Saint-Georges.²⁸ Saint George appears instead in the antiphonal in the historiated initial featuring Saint George and the dragon in the *Common of Saints*. Noble families, such as the de Glymes, would grant gifts, a common and well-documented practice outside the region.²⁹ Personal armorial shields identified the donors of these gifts and gave recognition to the family. Although six coats-of-arms are represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, they represent only two separate families.

²⁸ Jean-Marie Duvosquel, ed. *Albums de Croÿ, Comté de Namur I*. Vol. 14 (Bruxelles: Crédit Communal de Belgique, 1986), pp. 60-61. See also Émile Brouette, "Sceaux de l'abbaye et des abbesses de Salzinnes," *Revue Belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*, Vol. 97 (1951), pp. 153-157. The incorporation of the image of Mary on every Cistercian Monastery was directed by the General Chapter of 1335. See Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee: Our Lady of Spring Bank, 1953), p. 151.

²⁹ Members of the de Glymes Family are included in *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, publié par le baron de Stein d'Altenstein (Bruxelles, 1877). pp. 189-220. For a study on the subject of women patronage, see Constance H. Berman, "Women as Donors and Patrons to Southern French Monasteries in the 12th and 13th centuries," *The Worlds of Medieval Women: Creativity, Influence, Imagination*, ed. Constance H. Berman (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1985), pp. 55-56. On the subject of women as cultural patrons and on the various forms of patronage, see June Hall McCash ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), p. 22. See also Walker, *Gender and Politics*, pp. 103, 106-115.

The Annunciation

The first illumination presented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and the first image to portray nuns from the Abbey of Salzinnes is *The Annunciation*, on folio 2.³⁰ The subject of the annunciation is the announcement of the incarnation and the symbols include the sceptre of power and the book of wisdom.³¹ Because of this subject matter, the annunciation may have been selected as the first image to represent the nuns to symbolize them as heralds or messengers of God's word and handmaidens to the Lord. Extra evidence to support this hypothesis is in the unique presentation of a distinctive border of classical panels surrounding the text, the only such border example in the antiphonal, as well as previously mentioned, the figural border depiction of the prophet Isaiah, a herald of God. Represented on the first Sunday of Advent, the accompanying liturgical text in Latin translates as follows:

Looking from afar, behold I see the power of God coming and the cloud covering the whole earth. Go to meet him and speak...³²

Another unique feature in this folio is the decorative feature of banderoles located above the heads of each of the four nuns. Although two other full-page illuminations include banderoles (located either above or between the images of the nuns), this folio is the only one in which words are inscribed. These prayers represent the spiritual devotion of the nuns at the Cistercian Abbey of Salzinnes, and in addition to their devotion to

³⁰ See Appendix 8.2.1 for reproduction of *The Annunciation* folio.

³¹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, pp. 119-120, 126. For the importance of this subject of the annunciation in Cistercian art, see also Joan Evans, *Monastic Iconography in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 18.

³² My thanks to Geraldine Thomas, Associate Professor, Department of Modern Languages and Classics, Saint Mary's University, for translating this passage.

Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary is featured in their prayers, as patroness and protectress.³³ The Latin transcription and English translation are below:

O STELLA MARIS DUC NOS AD PORTA SALUTIS
O Star of the Sea, lead us to the gate of our salvation.

O IHESU FILI DEI VIVI MISERERE
O Jesus, Son of the living God, have mercy.

O AMOR MEUS IH[E]S[U] ESTO MIHI PRO PICI
O Jesus, my love, be propitious to me.

O MATER DEI MEME[N]TO MEI PECCATRICE
O Mother of God, remember me, a sinner.

The inscriptions of the nuns represented in the 1554-55 manuscript can be cross-referenced with the abbatial election records of 1553 and 1559 at the Abbey of Salzinnes.³⁴ As well as identifying the names of each of the nuns who took part in the election, the document also includes information on their ages and positions within the Abbey of Salzinnes during the specific years.³⁵ As one of the only means for women to exercise power in the medieval and early modern periods, the election process and the holding of an office was an important aspect of the monastic community.³⁶

³³ For a study of the importance of Mary as protectress, see James France, "Cistercians Under Our Lady's Mantle," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 37.4 (2002), pp. 394-395, 401. See also p. 412 for reference to the Marian hymn, "Hail Star of the Sea".

³⁴ The election records for 1553 and 1559 are found in the Archives générales du Royaume de Belgique à Bruxelles, Papiers du Conseil d'État et du l'Audience: Nos. 896 and 900. See Appendix 3.1, pp. 238-242 for inscriptions of nuns represented in the Antiphonal and Appendix 4.1, pp. 251-253 for listing of nuns in the manuscript who participated in the 1553 and 1559 elections.

³⁵ For a listing of the nuns who participated in the elections at the Abbey of Salzinnes, see Theophile Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux depuis le XVI^e siècle jusqu'à la Revolution française de 1550 à 1800*. Vol. 3 *Les Abbayes en Wallonia* (Westmalle: Onvers, 1937), pp. 223-224, 226. For a study of the election process in Cistercian monasteries in the County of Namur, see also Michel Dubuisson, "Les élections abbatiales dans les monastères cisterciens du Comté de Namur XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles," in Toussaint, ed., *Les Cisterciens*, pp. 61-81.

As previously mentioned, the abbatial election of 1553 was called following the death of Abbess Marguerite Wyngaert.³⁷ The abbess is represented second from the left, with a crozier in the bar border, below the image of *The Annunciation*, with the inscription in capital letters, “D. D[OMI]NA MARGARETA ABBATISSA WYNGAERT”.

In addition to Abbess Wyngaert, the portrait of Sibilla de Forvie inscribed as “D. SIBILLA DE FORV[I]E” documents the nun who held the position of *garde de l'ordre*. As confirmed in the records of 1553, as guardian of the order, Forvie would have been responsible for the discipline within the community. Two other figures of interest, Marguerite de Glymes and Julienne de Glymes are also portrayed on the folio with the inscriptions “D[OMI]NA MARGARETA GLIMES” and “D[OMI]NA IVLIANA PRIORISSA GLIMES - ME FECIT”. The common connection between Marguerite and Julienne is the Glimes or Glymes name, and of particular note is the name, Julienne de Glymes which also appears in the colophon.³⁸ Her name is shown with the Latin words, “*me fecit*”, which translated together means [she] “made me” or [it was] “made by”

³⁶ For a discussion on the opportunity nuns had, to make decisions and influence power with reference to Italy, see Lowe, “Elections of Abbesses,” pp. 391. Lowe states, “...abbesses’ elections provide the only known opportunity for women to vote...”.

³⁷ See *Martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzennes* (MS 333) collection of the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels for obituary documented as “Margareta de Wygaert”, p. 73 verso. C. Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et province de Namur*, Vol. 4 (Liège, 1789), p. 308, documented as “Marguerite Wigart”. Émile Brouette, “Chronologie de abbesses du Val-Saint Georges,” *Namurcum*, Chronique de la Archéologique de Namur, XXXIX année, No.1 (1967), p. 6, documented as “Marguerite Wingaert.” See also Émile Brouette, *Abbés et abbesses du Namurois*, Namur, 1953, p. 20. Marguerite Wyngaert was Abbess of Salzennes from 1534 to 1553.

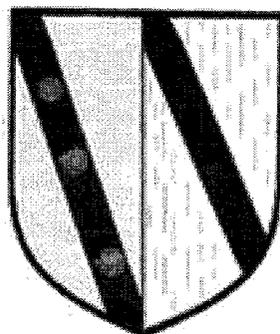
³⁸The inscription written in French in the colophon (Volume II - folio 40 verso) is *Julienne de Glymes*. The inscription under the nun’s image in this illumination (Volume I - folio 2 recto) is *Juliana Glimes* and in the historiated initial (Volume II - folio 30 recto) is *Juliana de Glimes*. See also Appendix 3.1, pp. 238-241.

[me].³⁹ Based on the colophon, however, the implication is that Julienne de Glymes ‘had this book made’ or ‘commissioned’ the Salzennes Antiphonal. But, based on the inscription in *The Annunciation* folio, is it possible that she was also personally involved in the production process or even ‘made it’?

As noted in the previous chapter, three illuminations in this manuscript portray coats-of-arms. They include *The Annunciation*, *The Baptism of Christ* and *The Holy Kinship*. Two coats-of-arms are represented in the folio of *The Annunciation* in the bottom center area of the bar border.⁴⁰ Research on the shield shows the following:

The first shield on the left is shown divided in half.

Left side	- Wyngaert Family (van den Wijngarde)
Right side	- de Glymes Family (Glymes de Jodoigne) ⁴¹



The same coat-of-arms is found on the tomb fragment of the Abbess Marguerite Wyngaert.⁴² Her father, Jean de Wyngarde (Wyngaert) was married to Jacqueline de

³⁹ My thanks to David Bell for identifying the Latin word, which is partially illegible below the miniature.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 5.2.1, p. 255 for reproduction of the coats-of-arms.

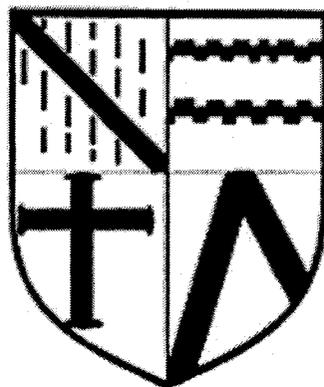
⁴¹ From the private research library of Adolphe Prouveur, Heraldiste. Correspondence, 2 February 2005.

⁴² From Jean-Jacques van Ormelingen, Président, l'Office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique, personal correspondence, 11 January 2006. Hadrien Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires en pays mosan. Arrondissement de Namur* (Malonne, 2001), p. 145, No. 88.

Glymes, daughter of Jacques de Glymes and Sibille de Dalhem.⁴³ Based on this genealogy, Abbess Marguerite Wyngaert is a first cousin to Julienne de Glymes, since they have the Glymes and Dalhem grandparents in common.⁴⁴ Although the abbess would have died before the Salzennes Antiphonal was made, her representation is out of honour and respect and in recognition of the connection to the de Glymes family.

The de Glymes coat-of-arms is shown in the second shield on the right in *the Annunciation* folio, divided in four quarters:

Top left	- de Glymes Family	(Jacques de Glymes)
Top right	- Dalhem (Daelhem) Family	(Sibille de Dalhem)
Bottom left	- Guttecoven (Guttenhoven) Family	(Jean de Guttecoven)
Bottom right	- Senzeilles Family ⁴⁵	(Françoise Senzeilles)



Based on the de Glymes family genealogy, Jacques de Glymes of Jodoigne-Souveraine, was *Seigneur* de Refayt and of Wastinne married Sibille de Dalhem,

⁴³ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. Registers of *Fonds Le Fort*, Vol. 8, April 1917, de Glimes de Jodoigne, 174, 174.2 and de Wingarde 51.2 Original register at the Archives de l'Etat Liège. Copy preserved at l'Office généalogique et héraldique de Belgique.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 6.1, p. 258 for the de Glymes family genealogy.

⁴⁵ Prouveur, 19 September 2003 and 2 February 2005. Also van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006.

daughter of Adrien and of Antoinette de Glymes called de Berghes.⁴⁶ They had several children, including a daughter Jacqueline who, as mentioned earlier, married Jean de Wyngarde, and a son Jacques who was the *Vicomte* of Jodoigne and of Wastinne, *Seigneur* of Boneffe and Stave and *Bailli* of Jodoigne, who married Julienne de Berghes called de Guttecoven, daughter of Jean, *Seigneur* of Stave and of Françoise de Senzeilles.⁴⁷ Julienne de Glymes, the Prioress of Salzennes inscribed in the colophon and represented in *The Annunciation* folio, among others, was the daughter of Jacques de Glymes and Julienne de Berghes.⁴⁸ Therefore the coat-of-arms represents the four grandparents of Julienne de Glymes.

Paternal Grandparents:	Top left	- de Glymes
	Top right	- Dalhem (Daelhem)
Maternal Grandparents:	Bottom left	- Guttecoven (Guttenhoven)
	Bottom right	- Senzeilles ⁴⁹

In addition, based on genealogical records, Marguerite de Glymes portrayed next to the Abbess Marguerite Wyngaert was also related to Julienne de Glymes. Marguerite was the daughter of Guillaume de Glymes and Catherine de Cotereau.⁵⁰ Guillaume was Julienne's

⁴⁶ F.X. Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique et héraldique des familles nobles du royaume de Belgique*, t. II (Bruxelles, 1849), pp. 488 and *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, p. 196. See Appendix 6.1, p. 258 for the de Glymes family genealogy.

⁴⁷ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. Original source: *Fonds Le Fort*, de Glimes de Jodoigne, 174, 174.2. See also *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, pp. 196-197 and Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique et héraldique*. pp. 487-492.

⁴⁸ Prouveur, 2 February 2005. Also van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. Original source: Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique et héraldique des familles nobles*, pp. 481-534. *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, pp. 189-220.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ For references to Guillaume de Glymes, see M. Felix-Victor Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique et héraldique*. p. 492. See also Appendix 6.1, p. 258 for de Glymes family genealogy.

brother; therefore, Marguerite de Glymes was Julienne's niece.⁵¹ This provides further evidence of the importance of the de Glymes name and familial relationship to the manuscript. As noted previously, commissioned gifts of liturgical or devotional objects were typical for noble families which included the de Glymes. However, unique to the Salzennes Antiphonal is the incorporation of portraits of immediate and extended family members, not living in the Abbey of Salzennes, and not members of the Cistercian Order.

Besides the imagery and emblems of the de Glymes family, this illumination is also an example of 'family' - the Cistercian family as portrayed by the nuns. As patron of the Salzennes Antiphonal and possibly a contributor in its creation, Julienne de Glymes is prominently represented with the de Glymes coat-of-arms in this illumination. Its incorporation within the text at the beginning of the antiphonal, and not as an interpolated folio, serves to provide further evidence of her patronage as part of the original iconographic plan.

The Baptism of Christ

The illumination of *The Baptism of Christ* on the folio interpolated between 50 and 51 also includes images of nuns and a coat-of-arms.⁵² This scene represents baptism by water and spirit, or purification. For the nuns it represents an expression of piety and devotion and admission to the Christian Church insuring salvation.

⁵¹ van Ormelingen, 27 February, 2006.

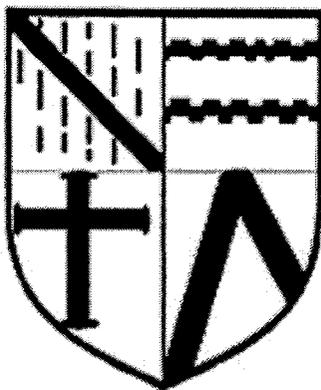
⁵² See Appendix 8.2.4 for reproduction of *The Baptism* folio.

The depiction of nuns from both the Cistercian and Carmelite Orders suggest collaboration between the two orders. Portrayed kneeling as witnesses to the baptism, this is one of two illuminations that portray nuns within the full-page illumination. Of particular interest is why this manuscript from the Cistercian Abbey of Salzinnes would incorporate portraits of Carmelite nuns. To address this issue the inscriptions must again be examined.

Four nuns are depicted in this illumination: Johanna de Soy, Johanna de Binche, Marie Spontin and Francisca de Glymes. The inscriptions under the images of the Cistercian nuns on the left are “D. Johā[n]na de Soy” and “D. Johā[n]na de Binche”. In addition, two names of interest appear on the right, under the image of the Carmelite nuns, “S[oror]. M[arie]. Spontin” and the second and most important, because of the family name, is “Soror Francisca de Glymes, Priorissa Carmelita Namurcēn[sis]”. To determine Francisca’s relationship to Julienne de Glymes and the relationship, if any, to the Spontin family, the coat-of-arms must again be examined for possible answers.⁵³ This time the shield appears in a more prominent position in the top center area of the illumination supported by two naked angels. The shield in the top center is divided in four quarters:

Top left	- de Glymes Family
Top right	- Dalhem Family
Bottom left	- Guttecoven (Guttenhoven) Family
Bottom right	- Senzeilles Family

⁵³ See Appendix 5.2.2, p. 256 for reproduction of the coat-of-arms.



Identical with the second coat-of-arms represented in the illumination of *The Annunciation*, this coat-of-arms depicts the grandparents of Julienne de Glymes. Therefore, this implies another family relationship; Francisca is Julienne's sister. The same coat-of-arms is represented in a drawing of Francisca's tombstone and verifies the family relationship.⁵⁴ Francisca de Glymes was the Prioress of the Carmelite house of Namur for seventeen years and died in 1559.⁵⁵

A family connection has also been established with Marie Spontin. Her sister, Marguerite de Spontin married Jean de Glymes,⁵⁶ who based on various documents was either Julienne's uncle or her brother.⁵⁷ As an interpolated folio, this illumination would

⁵⁴ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. The *Fonds of Albert Huart*, folio 7777, contains the description of the coat-of-arms listed for "Francisca de Glimes".

⁵⁵ J. Bovesse, *Inventaire général sommaire des Archives ecclésiastiques de la province de Namur*, Minister de l'Éducation National et de la Culture, Archives Generales du Royaume, Archives de l'État à Namur (Bruxelles, 1962), p. 261. The Carmelites or "les Dames Blanche de Namur" built a convent in Namur in 1467 after the sack of their refuge in Dinant in 1466. They were suppressed in 1783.

⁵⁶ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. *Fonds Le Fort*, de Glimes de Jodoigne, 174.2 and Spontin, 323. See also M. Felix-Victor Goethals, *Miroir des notabilités nobiliaires de Belgique des Pays-Bas et du Nord de la France*, Vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Polack-Duviver, 1862), pp. 208-209, 211. For details on Marie Spontin, p. 211, for details on Marguerite, see pp. 208-211. See also Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique*, pp. 488-489.

⁵⁷ Discrepancies exist in the sources listed on whether Jean de Glymes is the son of Jacques de Glymes and Sybille de Dalhem, or the son of Jacques de Glymes and Julienne de Berghes called de Guttecoven. See *Fonds Le Fort*, de Glimes de Jodoigne, 174.2 and Spontin, 323. See also Goethals, *Dictionnaire*

have been commissioned, no doubt by Julienne de Glymes, in honour of her sister and the de Glymes family and their association through marriage with the Spontin family.⁵⁸

The Resurrection

The next illumination in the manuscript containing multiple portraits of nuns is *The Resurrection* on folio 126 recto.⁵⁹ The resurrection is the fundamental tenet of Christian belief. For the nuns of Salzinnes this devotional image represents salvation and redemption.

Portrayed below the image in the bar border, the nuns are represented in two groupings of six: Barbe Gerard, Catherine Piretz, Anthonette de Crehen, Jacqueline Dève, Catherine du Bois, Anna de Waignye, (alias de Hemptinne), Anne Colmonde, Barbe del Scanée, Catherine Walsins, Odilia de Braine and the last name Mag Sta(?)pplyan(?) is illegible, for the most part.⁶⁰ Although there are six nuns portrayed on the left, only five names are listed. This is the only image which portrays a nun without her corresponding inscription, perhaps an over-sight on behalf of the scribe.

généalogique, pp. 488-489 and *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, p. 197. Also M. Felix-Victor Goethals, *Miroir des notabilités nobiliaires de Belgique des Pays-Bas et du Nord de la France*, Vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Polack-Duviver, 1862), pp. 208-209, see references to Jean de Glymes under Marguerite de Spontin.

⁵⁸ The abbatial elections of 1580 notes another possible extended family member, Jeanne de Spontin, age 70, who was listed as a *coversae* at the Abbey of Salzinnes since about 1530. See Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p.227, footnote 2.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 8.2.6 for reproduction of *The Resurrection* folio.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 3.1, pp. 239-240 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

Between the two groupings of six nuns in the bottom bar border is the image representing the *Apparition of Christ to the Virgin*. The banderole behind Christ honors Mary with the words, *REGINA CELI LETARE, Queen of Heaven Rejoice*. Again the family unit is emphasized through Christ and his mother and the family of the Cistercian nuns. Since no coats-of-arms are represented, a direct connection to the de Glymes family can not be made for certain, however, based on the other devotional images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the de Glymes were likely the patrons for this illumination.

Christ in Majesty and the Assembly of Saints

The only image in the Salzinnes Antiphonal that depicts multiple images of saints and holy figures is *Christ in Majesty* on folio 126 verso.⁶¹ This full-page illumination depicts the Holy Trinity and Mary with the apostles and saints. To the nuns of Salzinnes, this image represents a reaffirmation of faith and the omnipotence of Christ.

Below the *Christ in Majesty* image, eight Cistercian nuns appear in the bar border divided into two groups of four. The list of nuns' names and in some cases their positions are included: Johanna de Thy, Marguerite de Vellaine Assistant Prioress, Anne Smalkin, Anne de Noirmont 23rd Abbess, Marguireta [sic] Bredemaire, Catherine de Senzeille, M. Balenge [Balez?] and Johanna de Rim(?).⁶² Of particular interest, however, is the representation of an abbess with a crozier. The Abbess Anne de Noirmont was elected the 23rd Abbess of Salzinnes in 1559 after the death of Abbess Marie Nys on 21 May of the

⁶¹ See Appendix 8.2.7 for reproduction of the *Christ in Majesty* folio.

⁶² See Appendix 3.1, p. 240 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

same year.⁶³ Therefore, this illumination would have been produced no earlier than 1559 and inserted in the manuscript after its completion date of 1554-55. The addition or alteration of manuscripts was not an uncommon practice and the structure of the quires facilitated revisions.⁶⁴ This process, which allowed for the efficiency and flexibility of the hand-produced illuminated manuscript, was perfected in larger production centers.⁶⁵

As in *The Resurrection* miniature, no coats-of-arms are represented and similar to the previous image, its addition in the Salzinnes Antiphonal was likely the result of patronage from the de Glymes family. The *Christ in Majesty* image represents the family of Christ in heaven and on earth.

The Holy Kinship

The final full-page illumination is, I believe, the most significant in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and the only image that does not have a scriptural source. Based on the subject the kinship of Saint Anne from the apocryphal writings, this image known as *The*

⁶³ See *Martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzinnes* (MS 333) collection of the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels for obituary documented as "Maria Nys," p. 34 verso and 34 recto. Brouette, "Chronologie des abbesses" p. 6. Émile Brouette, "Le martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzinnes (Namur)," *Bulletin de la Société royale paléontologique et archéologique de l'arrondissement judiciaire de Charleroi*, 26 année, 1957, Vol. 26 (Namur: 1959), p. 8. Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique*, p. 308. For references to Anne de Noirmont, see Brouette, "Le martyrologe-obituaire," p. 8, documented as "Anne de Juppleux de Noirmont". Brouette, "Chronologie des abbesses" p. 7, documented as "Anne de Juppleu de Noirmont". Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique*, p. 308, documented as "Anne de Noirmont". Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol 3, p. 226. See also Brouette, *Abbés et abbesses*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), pp. 15-16. See also Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*. (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 36.

⁶⁵ Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, "Manuscrits à peintures du bas Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance conservés dans les collections namuroises. Un premier tour d'horizon," in Jacques Toussaint, ed., *Art en Namurois: La sculpture 1400-1550* (Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 2001), p. 349.

Holy Kinship, interpolated between folio 133 verso and 134 recto, is a portrayal of the ‘family’.⁶⁶ The scene highlights the family and inner sanctuary. It represents the family of Saint Anne, her three husbands, three daughters and sons-in-law and seven grandchildren.

Two nuns are placed within the main body of the miniature as witnesses to the *Holy Kinship* scene. The patron saint, Mary Magdalene, presents the Cistercian nun Marie Nys, as the 22nd Abbess of Salzinnes, “D[omi]na Maria Nys xxij^o Abbatissa huius monasterii”.⁶⁷ On the right, the portrayal of the Benedictine nun, Sybilla de Glymes of the Convent of Saint Victor of Huy, is underscored by the inscription, “D[omi]na Sibilla de Glymes abbatissa Sancti Victoris p[ro]pe Huyēn”.⁶⁸ The two abbesses from two different orders and two different monasteries merit further investigation. An examination of the three shields portrayed in this illumination points to a familial relationship between one of the nuns and the de Glymes family.⁶⁹

Supported by two naked angels, the coat-of-arms in the top center of the image above the Romanesque arches is divided into quarters, superimposed with a central shield.

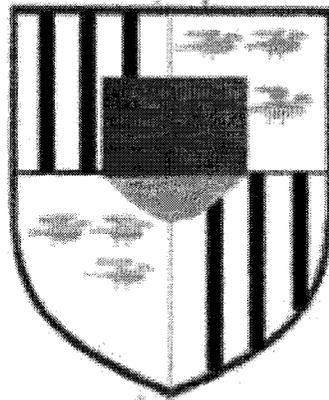
⁶⁶ See Appendix 8.2.8 for reproduction of *The Holy Kinship* folio.

⁶⁷ Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique*, p. 308, documented as “Marie Nys”. See also Brouette, “Chronologie des abbesses,” p. 6, documented as “Marie de Clermont alias Nys”. Also Brouette, “Le martyrologe-obituaire,” p. 8, documented as “Maria Nys.” Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol 3, pp. 223-224. See Appendix 3.1, p. 240 for catalogue record and inscription documentation and Appendix 4.1, p. 253 for election records.

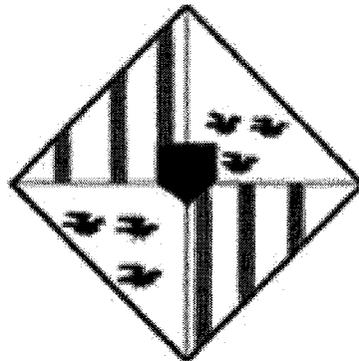
⁶⁸ Ursmer Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*. Vol. 2, Province de Liège (Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous, 1929), pp. 130-132.

⁶⁹ See Appendix 5.2.3, p. 257 for reproduction of the coats-of-arms.

Top left/bottom right - the Houtain or Houtaing Family
 Top right/bottom left together with the superimposed shield
 - 't Serarys dit de Woelmont Family⁷⁰



The superimposition of the smaller shield represents a function or a responsibility. The same coat-of-arms is displayed in the shape of a lozenge on the front of the prie-dieu of the Cistercian Abbess Marie Nys.⁷¹



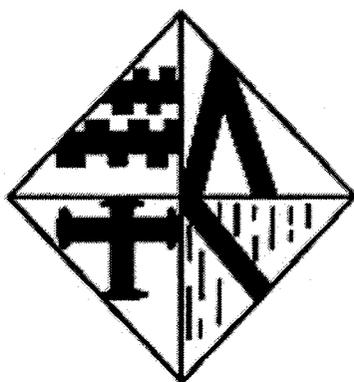
The Benedictine nun on the right, Sybilla de Glymes, displays an erroneous version of the de Glymes coat-of-arms on the front of her prie-dieu. Her tombstone carries the authentic de Glymes coat-of-arms, similar to that shown on the *Annunciation*

⁷⁰ Prouveur, 2 February 2005.

⁷¹ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. *Fonds of Albert Huart*, folio 14929, contains the description of the coat-of-arms listed for "Marie Nyz de Louvain".

and *The Baptism of Christ* miniatures, confirming Sybilla as Francisca and Julienne's biological sister.⁷² In the representation of the coat-of-arms, the shield on the right is divided in four quarters and is identified erroneously as follows:

- Top left - Dalhem Family
- Top right - Senzeilles Family
- Bottom left - Guttecoven (Guttenhoven) Family
- Bottom right - de Glymes Family⁷³



If the quarters were repositioned within the armorial shield of the *Holy Kinship* image, they would be the same as the shield in the illuminations of *The Baptism of Christ* and the shield on the right side of the illumination of *The Annunciation*. The only possible explanation is that the erroneous version is a result of artistic inaccuracy.

⁷² van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. L. Naveau de Marteau et A. Poulet, *Recueil d'épithaphes de Henri van den Berch*, Vol. 2 (Liège, 1928), p. 417, n° 2349. *Fonds of Albert Huart*, folio 7778 contains the description of the coat-of-arms listed for "Sibile de Glime".

⁷³ The family crest and corresponding names are identified above exactly as pictured in the illumination and as previously noted, must be the result of artistic inaccuracy.

A second error is found in the representation of nuns with their inscriptions, which identify both as abbesses. Only one of the nuns, the Cistercian nun on the left, Marie Nys is shown with a crozier, the symbol of the position of an abbess. Based on existing records, the Benedictine nun on the right, Sybilla de Glymes only attained the position of prioress. The convent of Saint Victor was an old and important priory, but was not elevated to the status of an abbey until 1656 and based on documentary evidence, Sybilla died in 1563.⁷⁴ Although as prioress of a priory and head of the convent from 1546 to 1563, Sybilla would have assumed a similar position to that of an abbess, the inscription “abbatissa” written under the illumination, notes specifically that she was an abbess. As Sybilla is not shown with a crozier, this could be a ‘courtesy title’ to show the level of her authority. Similar to the painting, *Les Saintes de l’Ordre de Cîteaux* mentioned earlier, Humbeline, the sister of St. Bernard was also assigned the erroneous title of abbess through representation of an abbatial crozier. However in the painting, Humbeline is depicted without the corresponding inscription of “abbess”. In contrast, the portrait of Sybilla in the Salzinnes Antiphonal shows her without the abbatial crozier, but with the inscription, “abbatissa”. Both the painting and the manuscript images indicate the high esteem with which the ‘abbesses’ were held by their monastic communities and indicate that these were most likely a deliberate representation as directed by the patrons. However, since any error in the family coats-of-arms for Sybilla would have been corrected by Julienne de Glymes, a possible explanation is that although the miniature

⁷⁴ Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*. Vol. 2, Abbaye de Saint –Victor a Huy, pp. 130-132, “Sibille de Glimes gouverna 17 ans et mourut le 17 Mars 1563,” p. 131. The priory of St. Victor de Huy was founded early in the twelfth century by Ermesinde, daughter of Conrad de Luxembourg. Also Luc Engen and Frédéric de Barsy, Musée communal de Huy in personal correspondence, 6 January 2006; Original source: J. Halkin, “Les prieurés clunisiens de l’ancien diocèse de Liège,” *Bulletin de Société d’art et d’histoire du diocèse de Liège*, Vol.10 (1896), p. 226.

may have been painted before her death, the shields and perhaps even the inscriptions were applied following her death. This would also explain why the perspective in the rendering of the shield is so poor, particularly in relation to the rest of the image.⁷⁵ The inclusion of Sybilla's portrait and shield again suggests that Julienne would have commissioned it as patron in honour of her sister and her family, the de Glymes. Another possibility is that the patronage of this image was a collaboration between Julienne de Glymes and Marie Nys. As the Abbess of Salzinnes, Marie Nys is shown with her patron Saint Mary Magdalene; she takes the primary position of honour on the Virgin's right, (viewer's left) in the illumination of *The Holy Kinship*.

The scene of *The Holy Kinship* has the most intense visual impact and is the most relevant to the personal devotion of the abbess and prioress. In addition to its portrayal of a gender specific subject, it is also suggestive of monastic structure and the forced hermetic enclosure of nuns imposed as a result of reform, the most recent which occurred at Salzinnes in 1553.⁷⁶

As documented by Mathias Hortebeek, Abbot of Boneffe, appointed to oversee the abbatial elections of 1553, Marie Nys was nominated by the confessor because she

⁷⁵ This possibility was suggested by Jean-Jacques van Ormelingen in personal correspondence, 11 January 2006.

⁷⁶ For an analysis of the relationship between gender and devotional imagery see Andrea Gail Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals at the Cistercian Convent of Flines 1500-1575," (Ph.D. Diss.) (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1995), pp. 96-139. For a study of the cultivation of the arts in music and forced enclosure see Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp.1-3. See also chapter 2 in this study for references to sixteenth century reform at the Abbey of Salzinnes.

would “reform all excesses and vices reigning in the monastery”.⁷⁷ As mentioned previously, the chaplain recommended her as the “mirror of the community” and the older nuns also expressed a desire for serious reform.⁷⁸ The image of *The Holy Kinship* confirms that Marie Nys was personally dedicated to the program of reform including the principles of feminine monasticism, hermetic enclosure and spiritual devotion - an exemplary model for the nuns of Salzinnes. In addition to symbolizing death, the image of the lone owl in the border portrays a sense of solitude and separation from the outside world.⁷⁹ Since the Cistercian Abbess Marie Nys died in 1559, the symbol could be a reference to her death.⁸⁰ Another possible reinforcement to this interpretation can be seen in the portrayal of the Abbess Marie Nys gazing upwards towards heaven, while the Benedictine Prioress Sybilla de Glymes casts her eyes downwards, a sign of humility and respect. In addition to representing familial ties, the image of the *Holy Kinship* demonstrates monastic kinship and a spiritual solidarity between the Cistercian and Benedictine nuns under the Rule of St. Benedict.

Patron Saints

The remaining four individual portraits of nuns in the Salzinnes Antiphonal are found in the historiated initials in Volume II, the *Common of Saints*. Placements of the nuns in the

⁷⁷ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Order de Citeaus*, Vol. 3, p. 222.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols*, p. 24.

⁸⁰ As documented in chapter 5 it was not uncommon to insert illuminations in manuscripts as singletons after their completion. In addition to this illumination of Abbes Marie Nys (22nd Abbess of Salzinnes), an image of Abbess Anne de Noirmont (23rd Abbess of Salzinnes) with her crozier, elected in the abbatial elections of the Abbey of Salzinnes in 1559 corroborates a later insertion in the Salzinnes Antiphonal. See chapter 2 in this study for reference to the abbatial elections for the Abbey of Salzinnes. See also Appendix 4.1, pp. 251-253 for election records documentation.

margins in prayer, suggest a personal devotion to these saints. Similar only to the inscriptions accompanying the portraits in *The Annunciation*, the inscriptions in the historiated initials are in capital letters. All of these images are incorporated in existing text and again similar to *The Annunciation*, were part of the antiphonal's program plan. The criteria for selecting the saints, the significance of the selection and their possible association with the nuns portrayed are addressed.⁸¹ Besides the Sanctoral section, the Common of Saints contains a representation of regional and liturgical traditions, found in the saints featured. This section of the Salzinnes Antiphonal includes the dedication of the church and in addition to the colophon page was instrumental in identifying the name of the abbey, inscribed in Volume II, folio 16 verso, "*A Salsine*", the Abbey of Salzinnes.⁸²

Saint George

The first historiated initial is the illumination of *Saint George* with the initial "I".⁸³ Although not a regional saint, based on historical and documentary evidence, the selection of this saint relates directly to Salzinnes.

⁸¹ For an additional example of the influence of nuns as patrons of devotional images and the inclusion of saints not having a direct relationship to the monastery, see Gary M. Radke, "Nuns and Their Art: The Case of San Zaccaria in Renaissance Venice." *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2001). With reference to altarpieces, the author notes that devotional images "also include images of saints who were personally significant to the nuns..." p. 439. Radke further states that, "as was frequently the case in other patronage situations, this explains the presence of images of saints whose relics were not held by the convent." p. 442.

⁸² See Appendix 3.1, p. 242 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

⁸³ See Appendix 8.2.9 for reproduction of the *St. George* folio.

In the twelfth century, the Abbey of Salzinnes was known as Val-Saint-Georges.⁸⁴ Saint George was the patron saint of the abbey and as mentioned earlier, the image of Saint George and the dragon was represented on the abbey's shield, as well as the seal. One possible way to represent the significance of this saint's status and to highlight its importance in the Salzinnes Antiphonal would be to represent the image in a unique fashion. This is shown in the design of this historiated initial that includes a representation of a head depicted in the center of the tree trunk in the initial "T". Another unique element and the only such example in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the image is portrayed behind the initial. This appears to be an uncommon occurrence in historiated initials as most initials serve to surround or 'hold' the devotional image. It is possible that the head on the initial represents the Father Abbot or the abbey's Confessor as the liaison between the abbey, the Order of Cîteaux and the outside world. It is also possible that representing the initial in front of the image could symbolize the Cistercian rule of monastic enclosure. If this hypothesis is correct, the unique artistic style employed would justify selecting this important image for the abbey. Saint George is a unique representation for the Common of a single saint in the antiphonal. The feast of Saint George is ranked as one of the greatest feasts, similar to that of Christmas Day.⁸⁵ The Cistercian nun Francisca de Waingniez is associated with the Saint George image identified by the inscription: "D. FRANCISCA. DE. WAINGNIEZ".⁸⁶ In addition to his

⁸⁴ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, p. v. See also Ursmer Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, Vol. 1, Provinces de Namur et de Hainaut, Abbaye de Salzinnes (Maredsous, 1890), p. 101.

⁸⁵ Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Donald Atwater, edited, revised and supplemented, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Vol. 2 (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1990), p. 148. In 1415, the observance of the feast day of Saint George was raised to the rank similar to that of Christmas day. Since 1778, the liturgical ranking of Saint George is double of the first class with an octave.

⁸⁶ See Appendix 3.1, p. 241 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

significance to the Abbey of Salzinnes, Saint George would have a personal significance to Francisca de Waingniez as her saintly protector.

Saint Maurice

The next historiated initial in the *Common of Saints* is *Saint Maurice*, portrayed as saintly protector of the Cistercian nun Catherine Waret identified with her inscription, “D. CATARIN. WARET”.⁸⁷ Saint Maurice represents the Common of a single martyr in the Salzinnes Antiphonal and is the patron Saint of Austria, Switzerland, France and Germany and the patron of soldiers among others. His incorporation in the antiphonal would likely be due to regional representation as the town of Namur was strategically situated on the Sambre and Meuse Rivers, in the heart of Northern Europe. Its medieval fortification on the Citadel was a major military site, dating back to the Roman invasions.

Saint Hubert

The third initial represented is of *Saint Hubert*.⁸⁸ As noted previously, Saint Hubert is the patron saint for the Diocese of Liège. In addition to his representation here, an antiphon is dedicated to him at the end of the Sanctoral section of Volume 1. Representing the Common of a confessor bishop in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the Cistercian nun Julienne de Glymes, associated with her saintly protector Saint Hubert, is identified with the inscription “D. IVLIANA. DE GLIMES”.⁸⁹ The donor patron Julienne de Glymes is the

⁸⁷ See Appendix 8.2.10 for reproduction of the *Saint Maurice* folio. See also Appendix 3.1, p. 241 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 8.2.11 for reproduction of the *Saint Hubert* folio.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 3.1, p. 241 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

principal figure in the Salzinnes Antiphonal as the former Cantrix and Prioress of Salzinnes. Saint Hubert was the Bishop of Liège and an important saint for the Abbey of Salzinnes under the bishopric of the Diocese of Liège.

Saint Juliana

The final historiated initial is *Saint Juliana* who represents the Common of a single virgin in the Salzinnes Antiphonal. This representation based on the iconography, is not Saint Juliana de Cornillon, the patron Saint of the Diocese of Liège who spent time at the Abbey of Salzinnes. This representation of Saint Juliana is the namesake and patron saint associated with the Cistercian nun Julienne de Glymes, portrayed with the inscription: D. PRIEVSE.⁹⁰ Incorporating this image in the Salzinnes Antiphonal is a symbol of recognition and celebration of Dame Julienne as the newly elected Prioress of the Abbey of Salzinnes.

⁹⁰ See Appendix 8.2.12 for reproduction of the *Saint Juliana* folio and Appendix 3.1, p. 241 for catalogue record and inscription documentation.

Conclusion:

The Salzinnes Antiphonal is a unique example of a manuscript that displays the spiritual, visual and vocal tradition of the Abbey of Salzinnes in the mid-sixteenth century. In addition to presenting a systematic program to celebrate the liturgy, this study concludes that the antiphonal was produced as a dedicatory record to the nuns and a memorial record of the abbey, representing its past, present, and symbolizing its continuity.

According to the history and chronology of the Abbey of Salzinnes, specific dates appear to have a significant meaning. The first record to document a religious affiliation and the first reference to the abbey as a Cistercian convent incorporated in the Order of Cîteaux is dated 1204.⁹¹ The Salzinnes Antiphonal was begun in 1554, therefore the year 1554 represents the 350th anniversary for the Abbey of Salzinnes, acknowledging its incorporation and identifying it as Cistercian. Based on this chronology and the unique illuminations in the manuscript, the Salzinnes Antiphonal was created as an anniversary record of commemoration and a testament to the tradition and patrimony of the abbey.⁹² Based on its hybrid personalized appearance of nuns and coats-of-arms, it is clear that Julienne de Glymes and the nuns at the abbey were directly involved in its creation as ‘artists’ in the broadest sense, or at the very least, as direct collaborators as patrons.

⁹¹ Brouette, *Recueil des chartes*, Charter #8, pp.8-9. For further details, see chapter 2, *Founding and Incorporation*.

⁹² To the nuns of Salzinnes, the Antiphonal may have represented a glimpse into a specific period of the Abbey’s history, perhaps even an extension of the Cistercian Order’s *Exordium Parvum*, or foundation history. However, contrary to the *Exordium Parvum*, the Salzinnes Antiphonal was a liturgical manuscript and the pictorial representation of nuns represented their fervent devotion, while celebrating the Abbey’s historical roots or its ‘birth’ of incorporation in the Order of Cîteaux in 1204. As such the Salzinnes Antiphonal represented a memorial record and monastic legacy of the Abbey of Salzinnes. See also France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 23-25. France discusses the importance of pictorial foundation narratives in “forging of a Cistercian mythology which would influence future attitudes”, p. 23.

In her study on cultural patronage and female influences as patrons, June Hall McCash points out that “some patrons....were active participants in the creative process, directing writers or artists to sources and proscribing subjects....”⁹³ Similarly, Jeffrey Hamburger argues that “even if not always as artists, then often as patrons and recipients, nuns played active, resourceful roles in determining how images were employed in the rituals that dominated their lives.”⁹⁴ Further evidence is found in a case study of a Venetian convent by Gary M. Radke. The author states that, “Documentation regarding the construction of the convent church and its liturgical furnishings provides the most explicit surviving evidence that the nuns were intimately involved in “artistic decision making” at the convent.”⁹⁵ As previously mentioned, with the exception of the colophon, documentation regarding the commissioning of the Salzinnes Antiphonal has not been located. However, as direct consumers of the manuscript’s devotional images, the nuns of Salzinnes understood their function and importance as a legitimate vehicle for fulfilling their spiritual obligations.

Monastic women were active contributors to the spiritual and cultural lives of their monasteries and communities. As spiritual and “cultural forces” nuns played

⁹³ McCash, *The Cultural Patronage*, p. 3. For a study on the subject of patronage, dedication, evidence and collaboration, see pp. 2-4.

⁹⁴ For a study on the subject of patronage, culture and spirituality, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), p. 18.

⁹⁵ For a case study on the subject of nun’s patronage, see Radke, “Nuns and Their Art,” pp. 447-448. See also Pearson, “Gender, Image and Ideals,” pp. 201-223 The author states that prior to reform the “...nuns were able to negotiate directly with artists and pay for works with their own funds.” p. 202.

significant roles in the production and consumption of devotional art.⁹⁶ Copying and reading devotional books was a primary occupation in religious houses and many included the cultivation of arts.⁹⁷ The Salzinnes Antiphonal represents the significant contribution of the nuns of Salzinnes to the social history and cultural identity of the Namur region. It emphasizes the role of devotional images in female spirituality and demonstrates the influences of religious women as patrons and recipients in the cultural development of the early modern period. In their essential role in the *Opus Dei*, the nuns of Salzinnes contributed to the spiritual lives of their community. In their role as singers of the *musicae sacrae* and perhaps even as scribes, composers, or artist practitioners, the nuns contributed as active cultural participants. It is clear that the arts were cultivated at the Abbey of Salzinnes and were important to the nuns who lived there, as demonstrated by the commissioning of the liturgical music manuscript by Julienne de Glymes and the inclusion of her portrait and that of her religious sisters in the devotional images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.⁹⁸

The influence and collaboration of nuns as patrons of devotional objects may be found in an antiphonal commissioned in 1516 by Abbess Jeanne de Boubais for her

⁹⁶ For a study of the importance of devotional images and texts see Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary*, pp. 13-34. For a study of religious women as “cultural forces”, see Craig A. Monson ed., *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Press, 1995), p. 11. See also Radke, “Nuns and Their Art,” p. 447.

⁹⁷ Lina Eckenstein, *Woman Under Monasticism, Chapters on Saint Lore and Convent Life Between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), pp. 222-238. Eckenstein makes reference to art industries in religious houses as being, “important centres of culture where industrial arts were cultivated...books were prized...” p. 223.

⁹⁸ The term “arts” denotes both the visual and performing arts and refers to the miniatures and music in the Salzinnes Antiphonal.

monastic community at the Cistercian Convent of Flines in Hainaut.⁹⁹ Featured previously as an example of stylistic influences and regional characteristics, the Flines Antiphonal also contains patron's coats-of-arms similar to the Salzinnes Antiphonal. The image portrays the abbess kneeling before Saint Benedict "declaring her loyalty to this saint and to his Rule".¹⁰⁰ Consistent with the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the iconography in the Flines manuscript "reinforces the doctrines of the Church, uniting the nuns who sang together in front of the volumes in a spiritual practice common to the order".¹⁰¹

An example of patronage through collaboration is found in contract records for a 1448 carved altarpiece, also from Flines, commissioned by Abbess Catherine de Saint-Genois and her unnamed prioress.¹⁰² The carving depicted "events in the life of the Virgin and Christ" and although the prioress paid for the commission from her "personal income", both the abbess and prioress were involved in the negotiations and the selection of "the subject matter and size of the work, the quality of the craftsmanship, and the colors and placement of the figures".¹⁰³ A similar collaboration between nuns can be seen in *The Holy Kinship* image of the Salzinnes Antiphonal which, based on the inscriptions, portrays the Abbess Maria Nys and Abbess (Prioress) Sybilla de Glymes.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ The antiphonal is in the collection of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai: MS. 126.

¹⁰⁰ Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals," p. 199.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 202-204.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ As noted previously, Sybilla de Glymes attained the position of Prioress at the Benedictine Convent of Saint-Victor in Huy.

Patrons' coats-of-arms for the Nys family and the de Glymes family verify this collaboration of spiritual and communal values.

The patronage and representation of nuns in the antiphonal are evidence of a personalized, collaborative and communal effort, influenced both by current and local circumstances, as well as past experiences. It also demonstrates the nuns' capacity to innovate and to respond. As a symbol of their strength and spirituality, the nuns were conscious of the importance of their continuity and the Cistercian tradition of a contemplative life. The Salzinnes Antiphonal exemplifies this influence and spiritual fervor and sense of monastic pride.¹⁰⁵ It also represents a reaffirmation of their faith, as well as their presence at the Abbey of Salzinnes.

Throughout the history of the Abbey of Salzinnes the nuns portrayed a fervent and strong monastic community. For example, the abbey was the first of nine convents for women accepted into the Order of Cîteaux. The architecture of their church, as well as their convent was unique in design compared to other Cistercian communities in the region and during the first wave of reform they were deemed exempt, indicating their faithful support of Cistercian ideals and principles. The election of 1580 was again indicative of the strength and loyalty of the nuns of Salzinnes. During the abbatial tenure of Anne de Noirmont, the convent's council and senior nuns were regularly consulted regarding issues concerning the abbey, instilling a democratic and collective cohesiveness among the community of nuns. Following Noirmont's death on 17 August

¹⁰⁵ For a study of the influence of nuns on their artistic projects see Radke, "Nuns and Their Art," pp. 430-457.

1580,¹⁰⁶ an outsider, Marguerite of Austria, Abbess of Orienten (1558-1604) and a former nun of Soleilmont indicated an interest in the position through postulation.¹⁰⁷ In an effort to prevent the nomination and to insure the appointment of one of their own, the abbatial nominations were unanimous for Anna de Hemptinne.¹⁰⁸ This trend is reflective of a strong and unified community. It also indicates the fervor and political strength of the community of nuns in preventing the appointment of a member of the nobility and relative of the former Bishop of Liège, George of Austria. Not only did they petition the Governor prior to the election, the nuns also petitioned the Councilor of the State Council and the President of the Privy Council who in turn addressed their report to the Prince of Parma.¹⁰⁹ In the end, the wishes of the nuns of Salzinnes were accepted and Anna de Hemptinne was elected as the 24th Abbess of Salzinnes.

The abbatial election records for the Abbey of Salzinnes verified the nuns who lived in the abbey in 1553 and 1559 and validated those represented in the Salzinnes Antiphonal in 1554 and 1555. The coats-of-arms confirm a family connection and the status and prominence of the patrons featured.¹¹⁰ Together with the portraits of nuns, the

¹⁰⁶ See *Martyrologe-obituaire de l'abbaye de Salzinnes* (MS 333) collection of the Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, Brussels for obituary documented as "Anna Juppleau dite de Noirmont," p. 58 recto. Brouette, "Le martyrologe-obituaire," p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 1, pp. 314-316 and Vol. 3, p. 228. See also Marie-Elisabeth Montulet-Henneau, *Les cisterciennes du pays mosan Moniales et vie Contemplative à l'époque moderne* (Brussels: Brepols Publisher, 1990), pp. 211, 215.

¹⁰⁸ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 1, pp. 314-316 also Vol. 3, p. 228. See also Brouette, *Abbés et abbesses*, p. 21-22.

¹⁰⁹ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, pp. 228-229.

¹¹⁰ Lowe, "Elections of Abbesses," p. 410. The author notes that, "identities are indicated by dress, position within the image, and by coat of arms, all things that were additionally indicators of status." See also p. 417.

antiphonal provides important evidence concerning patronage and ownership. The importance of familial ties as a foundation for communal values is demonstrated. The colophon folio verified the manuscript's provenance.

The election records provide additional critical information about the nuns in the illuminations, in addition to the administration, social structure and demographic profile of the Abbey of Salzinnes.¹¹¹ Specifically, in addition to their ages and in some cases their place of birth, and the number of years in the priory, the election records also note the ecclesiastical and administrative offices held by many of the professed nuns portrayed: Sibilla de Forvie, Guardian of the Order, 1553 (responsible for the discipline within the community); Johanna de Binche, Second or Assistant Bursar, 1559; Jacqueline Dève, Infirmarian, 1553 (in charge of the infirmary and care of the sick including guests); Catherine du Bois, Cellaress, 1559 (chief housekeeper in charge of food distribution, fuel, maintenance and equipment);¹¹² Marguerite de Vellaine, Assistant Prioress, 1559; Anne Smalkin, Matron of the Sisters, 1553 and 1559 (responsible for the sisters who have taken the veil) and Sacristan, 1559 (in charge of the church including fittings, furnishings, maintenance and security and in charge of the clock); Anne de Noirmont, First Bursar and Chaplain, 1553 (in charge of the revenue, expenditures and financial statements of the abbey and in charge of the church), Bursar and 23rd Abbess, 1559; Marguireta [sic] Bredemaire, Cantrix, 1559 (in charge of the choral service as choir master or director of

¹¹¹ See Appendix 4.1 pp. 251-253 for election records documentation.

¹¹² The importance of the position of Cellarer (Cellaress) in a Cistercian Abbey is the focus of Chapter 31 in the Rule of Saint Benedict.

music, as well as the music books and the monastic library);¹¹³ Catherine de Senzeille, Assistant Cantrix, 1559; Marie Nys, Cellaress and 22nd Abbess, 1553; Julienne de Glymes, Cantrix, 1553 and Prioress, 1559 (chief administrator, head of the priory of nuns and second in charge to the abbess).¹¹⁴

The ecclesiastical and administrative positions within the abbey, available only to choir nuns, demonstrate a structured and hierarchical society within the monastic community. It was not until the elections of 1580 that reference was first made to the participation of the *conversae* as a “rare” occasion.¹¹⁵ It is not clear why the *conversae* were included in the process in 1580, as they also did not participate in the subsequent election held at the Abbey of Salzinnes in 1598.¹¹⁶ However, no doubt their votes assisted the choir nuns in strengthening the abbey’s case against the outside appointment of Margaret of Austria. Even though the *conversae* were an important part of the daily activity and maintenance of the abbey and its domains, they did not hold offices and participate in chapter meetings.¹¹⁷ As previously noted, the roles of the *conversae* were clearly defined by the Cistercian Rule and based on ecclesiastical traditions they formed

¹¹³ The Cantrix was also responsible for the monastic scriptoria if the practice existed in the abbey. See Terryl Kinder, *Cistercian Europe, Architecture of Contemplation* (Kalamazoo: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), p. 77.

¹¹⁴ The position of a prior in an abbey is the focus of Chapter 65 of the Rule of Saint Benedict. For more details regarding the definition of roles and responsibilities of Cistercian religious, see Kinder, *Cistercian Europe*. pp. 74-79.

¹¹⁵ Ploegaerts, *Les moniales de l’Ordre de Cîteaux*, Vol. 3, p. 227. The author notes that the election of 1580 was “un des rares exemples où les soeurs converses interviennent dans l’élection”. There were eight *conversae* living at the Abbey of Salzinnes in 1580.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231, for information on the 1598 elections.

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of the division of labour and class differences, see Baernstein, *A Convent Tale*, pp. 7, 50.

their own separate and distinct group. Although thirty-one female Cistercians are portrayed in the illuminations, the Salzinnes Antiphonal only portrays choir nuns, who stemmed mainly from the upper class.¹¹⁸ Based on the existing images, the antiphonal does not include the *conversae* who were traditionally from the lower class.¹¹⁹

The inscriptions accompanying the miniatures serve to provide further evidence that many nuns at the Abbey of Salzinnes were from the nobility. The prominent social status and origins for the families is shown by the significant number of towns from the Walloon region that bears their ancestral or collateral family names. In the province of Namur the towns of Spontin, Senzeille, Soy, Walzin, Velaine and Hemptinne resound with the family names of the nuns of Salzinnes. Similarly, in the provinces of Hainut and Liège, the towns of Binche, Thy and Crehen documents the recruitment patterns of the abbey. In addition, the province of Brabant-Walloon boasts the ancestral home of the antiphonal's patron, the town of Glimes.

Many portraits of nuns and monks are found in Cistercian art, however, they fall mainly in the domain of those identified in ecclesiastical authority, such as abbesses and

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of the social division between choir nuns and *conversae*, see Laven, *Virgins of Venice*, pp. 8, 10, 48.

¹¹⁹ As previously noted, two folios have been excised from the Salzinnes Antiphonal; one image was most likely a full page illumination of the *Crucifixion* in the Temporal section of Vol. 1 and the second image, a historiated initial in the *Common of Saints* section of Vol. 2. Although their contents and location are unknown, more than likely the images included portraits of Cistercian nuns or at the very least an image of a single Cistercian nun in the historiated initial. Therefore, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that the *conversae* were not represented.

abbots.¹²⁰ In recognition of their appointed position, abbesses and abbots gained a “new sense of identity”, their names were recorded in abbatial records, and their individual achievements judged for future generations.¹²¹ However, as Kate Lowe points out in her study on abbesses and their portraits in Italy, “in the majority of cases in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is no way of telling from the image who the abbess is, unless one knows the precise date, or an inscription is included in the painting.”¹²² In the Salzennes Antiphonal, portraits, dates and inscriptions are documented.

Typically, there are more portraits of male clerics than female and normally they do not include and identify the executive members of the order, let alone the regular nun. An exception, in part, is found in a 1324 pictorial foundation narrative from Marienstatt in the Rhineland. The panels show half-length portraits of forty-two identified abbots from the fourteenth to the seventh century, plus an additional group of monks and lay brothers, all unidentified.¹²³ However, the Salzennes Antiphonal portrays and identifies Cistercian nuns of noble heritage, including three abbesses among others, and additionally the manuscript also portrays and identifies portraits of the ‘regular’ nun, preserved and transmitted by the nuns of Salzennes. This offers further evidence to the

¹²⁰ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, p. viii. The author states, in reference to portraits of known (identified) Cistercians, “They are inevitably heavily slanted to members of the Order who rose to positions of authority in the hierarchy of the Church and are not representative of all those who contributed most to the Order.”

¹²¹ Lowe, “Elections of Abbesses”. With reference to the significance of the position, see p. 390, Lowe notes, “the name of the abbess would be recorded for posterity...held to account for and judged upon her acts...” On the recording of an abbatial election, see p. 396, “this recognition and memorialization of a defining moment and process.... lends credence to the theory that election as abbess created a new sense of identity.”

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 418.

¹²³ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 24-25.

theory that the antiphonal represents a memorial record of commemoration, Cistercian monastic kinship and communal devotion.¹²⁴

The miniatures of *The Annunciation* and *Christ in Majesty* each include an image of an abbess. In both images, it is interesting to point out that if it were not for the depiction of their croziers, there would be no visual difference between them and the other nuns portrayed. Each nun occupies the same spatial location, in height and in width and they are all portrayed within the bar borders. In contrast, the *Holy Kinship* miniature features large-scale portraits within the main image, inscribed as abbesses.¹²⁵ Again, this verifies the significance of the *Holy Kinship* image to the nuns of Salzinnes.

The illuminations in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the subject and selection of the images, the size and spatial relationship of the figures and symbols, and in particular, the portraits of the nuns of Salzinnes, all portray an important message to the viewer.¹²⁶ All the images are part of a conventional devotional set and have a direct relationship with the liturgical text they illustrate. The image of *The Holy Kinship*, however, warrants special mention. Although the surrounding text relates to the Feast of the Conception and

¹²⁴ From James France, personal correspondence 6 March 2005, regarding the images and inscriptions of nuns depicted in the Salzinnes Antiphonal: "...images of nuns in antiphonaries from women's houses are extremely rare...[and the] presence of so many named nuns is surely unique..."

¹²⁵ As previously discussed, the inscription of "abbatissa" (abbess) under Sybilla de Glymes is incorrect as St. Victor de Huy was a Benedictine Priory in the sixteenth century and even though Sybille attained the convent's highest position at that time, her title was "priorissa" (prioress).

¹²⁶ For discussion on the influence of nuns as patrons on devotional images see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 7-19, 213-222. For a discussion of the devotional images, the sizes and placements of donor portraits and self-portraits, see Catherine King, *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives, Widows in Italy c. 1300-1550*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 129-183. See also Lowe, "Elections of Abbesses," p. 412.

Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, there are no references to her mother Saint Anne, or other members of her immediate family. Although a common subject, as a representation of the abbey's Cistercian feminine devotion, the addition of *The Holy Kinship* image suggests that it was inserted as an independent picture, one designed to stand-alone.

All aspects of the Salzinnes Antiphonal have a connection to faith, whether through its art, music or liturgy. Each of these activities enriched the spiritual fervor of the nuns on a personal and communal level. The Abbey of Salzinnes provided a sense of collective identity, bringing the nuns together as a musical family within the choir and as a spiritual family when chanting the Divine Office.¹²⁷ The high quality of the script verifies the importance of the manuscript to the monastic community of Salzinnes. The representation of rocks in almost all the images represents the solidity and firmness of Christ and is also representative of the 'solidity and firmness' of the Abbey of Salzinnes. The imagery portrays a thematic and visual expression of their piety and devotion and a mystical identification with God. Symbolic of their steadfast devotion are the images of nuns kneeling, with their hands folded in prayer.

Although the Salzinnes Antiphonal does not compare to the quality of the finest sixteenth century Flemish illuminators, Simon Benning (1483-1561) and the Master of James IV of Scotland,¹²⁸ the images in the Salzinnes Antiphonal are clearly the work of a distinctive and original painter. It is evident that the illuminations were not produced in a

¹²⁷ Pearson, "Gender, Image and Ideals," pp. 198-199. Pearson states that choir books served "to bring them together physically and by extension, spiritually and emotionally as well."

¹²⁸ Kren and McKendrik, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 411.

professional painter's guild, therefore it is possible that these miniatures might have been produced by artists in a local monastic community. This could be the reason behind the apparent lack of professional artistry, specifically in the anomalies found in the anatomy. Finally, because of the personalized quality of the manuscript, it may also be possible that a nun or nuns from the Abbey of Salzinnes may have contributed to producing this unique manuscript, either as illuminators, scribes or composers. This could also explain why no other manuscript has been located to date, which could be attributed to this artist's distinct and recognizable style.

During this study, both the text and music of the Salzinnes Antiphonal and the specialized knowledge required to produce each, has been addressed. It should be emphasized however, that to produce original text and music for an antiphonal requires the combined knowledge and experience in both fields to unite the text and music to produce a coherent choir book.

Standard liturgical books contain text, and the addition of illuminations may be included for spiritual and visual enhancement. The production of a manuscript such as the Salzinnes Antiphonal requires an individual with musical literacy and experience to produce both music and text in tandem. In the sequence of production, if an exemplar is not followed, the music would most likely be transcribed first. Since the words must be inscribed according to the musical notes, they need to be separated based on the musical composition. As a result, it is possible that Julienne de Glymes, given her position as former cantrix at the Abbey of Salzinnes, may have indeed contributed firsthand to

produce portions of this manuscript. Although further research is needed to prove whether the Salzinnes Antiphonal contains musical passages and compositions unique to this manuscript, the Latin inscription under her portrait in *The Annunciation*, “me fecit” may also serve as evidence to support this theory.

Numerous artworks created in the centuries before the antiphonal bear the maker’s name accompanied by the Latin phrase “me fecit”, “made me” or “made by me”. Although the interpretation of the word varied over the centuries, it is found in manuscripts, paintings and sculptures, as well as on musical instruments such as violins, lutes, harpsichords and organs; crafted utilitarian objects including armour and swords; and religious artifacts such as church bells, among others. Examples found in manuscripts include the *Codex Las Huelgas* from the female Cistercian monastery of Santa María La Real de Las Huelgas in the Castilian city of Burgos. This rare polyphonic liturgical music manuscript was created in the thirteenth century and contains the name Johannes Roderici or Johan Rodrigues.¹²⁹ He appears to have performed multiple functions including scribe, composer, and corrector of both the notation and the text which appears in the early and latter parts of the manuscript, based on several inscriptions in the margin of the codex, two of which are “johan[n]es roderici me fecit”.¹³⁰ Another example may be found in the Beupré Antiphonary c. 1290, in which the identity of the scribe is revealed in an ornamental bar border. Although this example is more explicit in the text and includes an image of a monk seated at a writing desk, it also contains a banderole with

¹²⁹ Juan Carlos Asensio, “Codex Las Huelgas,” trans. Yolanda Acker. Online. Goldberg The early-music portal, Magazine 10. www.goldbergweb.com/en/magazine/essays/2000/03/11441.php. 20 November 2005.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the inscription “Joh me feci hunc librum”, which translates as, John has made me this book, or I am John who made this book.¹³¹

It is however more likely, based on the colophon, that the Salzinnes Antiphonal was made at the request of Julienne de Glymes as part of, or in recognition, of her former position of Cantrix and new position of Prioress and in honour of her biological family, many of whom were members of the clergy, as well as her monastic family at the Abbey of Salzinnes.¹³² Based on the election records of 1553, Julienne de Glymes was the Assistant Prioress and Cantrix. On folio 2 of *The Annunciation* miniature, she is listed as Prioress. Based on the chronological sequence, this page would have been made in 1554. On the colophon page of the Salzinnes Antiphonal, dated 1555, Julienne is listed as the Prioress and former Cantrix and in the election records of 1559, as the Prioress.¹³³ Thus, Julienne relinquished her position as Cantrix, no doubt when she became the Prioress sometime between 1553 and 1554. The Salzinnes Antiphonal represents her legacy to the Abbey of Salzinnes.

Historical records confirm that members of the de Glymes family were from the nobility, owned lands in Jodoigne-Souveraine and held many important positions within

¹³¹ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, p. 161. For additional examples found in illuminated manuscripts including the representation or self-portraits of illuminators or scribes, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 10.

¹³² As noted earlier, records confirm that the de Glymes sisters had several family members in the religious order including their uncles, Guillaume and Henri. See Potter, *Epigraphie de L'Abbaye de Marche-Les-Dames*, p. 69.

¹³³ Marguireta [sic] Bredemaire whose image is found on the *Christ in Majesty* folio, is listed in 1559 as the Cantrix.

government and the military including that of the King's representatives in Jodoigne, Nivelles and of Brabant Walloon, and were Lords of Stave, Boneffe and Wastinne.¹³⁴ As Julienne de Glymes would have been the major patron of the Salzennes Antiphonal, as supported by the evidence, she honoured her sisters, Francisca and Sybilla, as well as other members of the de Glymes family by including them in this legacy. Francisca was named after her maternal grandmother, Françoise de Senzeilles; Sibilla after her paternal grandmother, Sibille de Dalhem and Julienne after her mother, Julienne de Berghes called de Guttecoven and based on naming traditions of the medieval and early modern periods, Francisca was most likely the oldest daughter and Julienne, the youngest.¹³⁵ Familial kinship is identified and corroborated by the representations of family coats-of-arms in three of the illuminations. Thus, in addition to representing the legacy of Julienne de Glymes, the Salzennes Antiphonal also represents the de Glymes family legacy to the Abbey of Salzennes.

Two striking features found in the illuminations of *The Baptism of Christ* and *The Holy Kinship* merit further examination, the first of which is unique to the function of the Salzennes Antiphonal as a "Cistercian" manuscript. As noted previously, two images contain large scale portraits of nuns from different religious orders and are portrayed within the main body of the illuminations. In the image of *The Baptism of Christ* two

¹³⁴ Biographies and mention of the de Glymes families may be found in M. Felix-Victor Goethals, *Dictionnaire généalogique. Miroir des notabilités*. See also *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (Bruxelles: Bruylant-Christophe & C^{ie}, 1880-1883) and *Annuaire de la Noblesse de Belgique*, publié par le Baron de Stein d'Altenstein. Bruxelles: Auguste Decq., 1877. See also Kockerols, *Monuments funéraires*, on coats-of-arms. Family genealogies and coats-of-arms are also found in *Fonds Le Fort and Fonds Huart*. See Appendix 6.1, p. 258 for the de Glymes Family genealogy.

¹³⁵ van Ormelingen, 11 January 2006. For a study of the on the tradition of naming children during the Middle Ages, see Régis de la Haye, *Limburgse Voorouders: Handleiding voor genealogisch onderzoek in Limburg*, Stichting Limburgs Genealogisch Archief (Maastricht: tweede druk, 1994), pp. 114-115.

Cistercian nuns are portrayed with two nuns from the Carmelite Order, and in *The Holy Kinship* image, a Cistercian nun is portrayed with a nun from the Benedictine Order. A representation of diverse religious orders in a miniature is also documented in a manuscript of an English psalter. The illuminated border in this example portrays multiple images of unidentified monks and nuns from eight orders.¹³⁶ The purpose was to represent the religious orders located in or around the city of Oxford, England. However, in the Salzinnes Antiphonal, the intention of the representation of diverse religious orders is more personal, and their identification and coats-of-arms confirms a familial relationship of the de Glymes. Sister Francisca de Glymes is represented as a Carmelite in *The Baptism of Christ* and Sybilla de Glymes is represented as a Benedictine nun in *The Holy Kinship* image. These images have a special association and meaning, indicative of collaboration and prominence of the de Glymes family, emphasizing their roles in the various religious communities.

The interpretation of some of this evidence has to remain tentative. Further research on the genealogy may assist in clarifying lineage and familial relationships, as the female lineage, particularly of daughters or sisters who entered religious houses was generally not recorded.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, however, the lack of historical documentation may never provide the information needed to fully corroborate these theories. In fact, no extant records from the Abbey of Salzinnes document the existence of the Salzinnes

¹³⁶ France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art*, pp. 48-49.

¹³⁷ As previously noted, once a female entered the convent and became a professed religious, her status in the secular life ceased to exist and as is evident in many genealogical records, her existence was rarely recorded. Additionally, discrepancies have been noted during research between the various genealogical records, not an uncommon occurrence during the Renaissance period.

Antiphonal. Perhaps these records were among the many that were destroyed during the religious wars and the French Revolution. Nevertheless, considering the modest output of illuminated manuscripts in the Liège region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the rarity of preserved documents, it is fortunate that such an important cultural and historical document as the Salzinnes Antiphonal was preserved. Since it is unlikely that additional manuscripts will surface from the Liège region, it is indeed fortuitous that such a rare find should turn up halfway around the globe in Halifax, Nova Scotia.¹³⁸ As a symbol of the monastic patrimony of the Abbey of Salzinnes, the Salzinnes Antiphonal, which for many years remained silent, now ‘speaks’ for itself.

¹³⁸ As noted previously in the article on antiphoners, their origin, evolution, important manuscript and modern research; Michel Huglo and David Hiley state, “about 75 Cistercian antiphoners survive,” citing S.R. Marosszeky, *Les origines du chant cistercien*, *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* (VII, 1-2) Vatican City, 1952. Although this figure may not be up to date, it does give an indication of the small number of extant Cistercian manuscripts. See Michel Huglo and David Hiley, “Antiphoner: 3(v) Important manuscript antiphoners: manuscripts of the religious orders,” Grove Music Online, <http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html?section=music.01034.3.5>. 16 June 2006.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES

1.	1.1	Foliation Index	200
	1.2	.1 - Foliation Cover Sheet .2 to .31 - Foliation Structure - Individual Folios and Quires	202
2.	2.1	Decorated Initial Letters and Historiated Initials	233
	2.2	Feast Days and Holy Days	235
3.	3.1	Catalogue Record and Inscription Documentation	238
	3.2	.1 to .6 - Detail Images of Inscription Names Accompanying the Miniatures with the Nuns of Salzinnes	243
4.	4.1	Identifiable Names and Election Records Documentation for 1553 and 1559	251
5.	5.1	Index of Coats-of-Arms	254
	5.2	.1 to .3 - Wyngaert, de Glymes and Nys Coats-of-Arms	255
6.	6.1	de Glymes Family Genealogy	258
7.	7.1	Index of Historical Images	259
	7.2	.1 to .5 - Abbey of Salzinnes, Map, Portrait	260
8.	8.1	Index of Salzinnes Antiphonal Miniatures	265
	8.2	.1 to .17 - Full Page Illuminations, Historiated Initials, Colophon Page etc.	266

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL – Appendix 1.1

FOLIATION INDEX

VOLUME 1

<u>Number/folios</u>	<u>Illuminations/Inscriptions</u>	<u>Quire Signatures</u>
1 (8) - ff. 1, 8, excised and re-inserted as singleton at end of quire 2-7, 3-6, 4-5, 1, 8	2r - <i>The Annunciation</i> (Aii)	A
2 (8) - 9 – 16		[B]
3 (8) - 17 – 24		C
4 (8) - 25 – 32		D
5 (8) - 33 – 40	33r - <i>The Adoration of the Shepherds</i> (Ei)	E
6 (8+1) - 41 - 48, glued in singleton between f.f. 45, 46	45/46 [v]- <i>The Adoration of the Magi</i>	F
7 (8+1) - 49 - 56, inserted as singleton between f.f. 50, 51	50/51 [r] - <i>The Baptism</i>	G
8 (8) - 57 – 64		H
9 (8) - 5 – 72		I/J
10 (8) - 73 – 80		K
11 (8) - 81 – 88		L
12 (8) - 89 – 96		M
13 (8) - 97 – 104		N
14 (8) - 105 – 112		O
15 (8+1) -113 - 120, glued and inserted as singleton between f.f. 117, 118	117/118 [v] - <i>The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane</i>	P

<u>Number/folios</u>	<u>Illuminations/Inscriptions</u>	<u>Quire Signatures</u>
16 (6-1) - 121 - 126, f. 125 excised	122r – 1554 126r - <i>The Resurrection</i> 126v - <i>Christ in Majesty</i>	Q
17 (8+1) -127 - 134, folded over and inserted as singleton between f.f. 133, 134	133/134 [v] - <i>The Holy Kinship</i>	A
18 (8) - 135 – 142		B
19 (8) - 143 – 150		C
20 (8) - 151 – 158		D
21 (8) - 159 – 166		E
22 (8) - 167 – 174		F
23 (8) - 175 – 182		G
24 (8) - 183 – 190		H
25 (8) - 191 - 197, un-numbered folio [198]	197r - xv ^o liiii 197v - 1555 197v - Saint Roch Antiphon [198r]- Saint Hubert Antiphon	I/J

VOLUME II

6 (8) - 1 – 8		A
27 (8) - 9 – 16	16v - <i>A. Salsine</i> 1554	B
28 (8) - 17 – 24	18r - <i>Saint George</i> 24v - <i>Saint Maurice</i>	C
29 (8-1) - 25 - 31, f. 32 excised	30r - <i>Saint Hubert</i>	D
30 (8) - 33 – 40	36v - <i>Saint Juliana</i> 40v - 1555 - Colophon Page	E

My thanks to Rowan Watson for his assistance with the foliation index format.

Appendix 1.2.1

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL

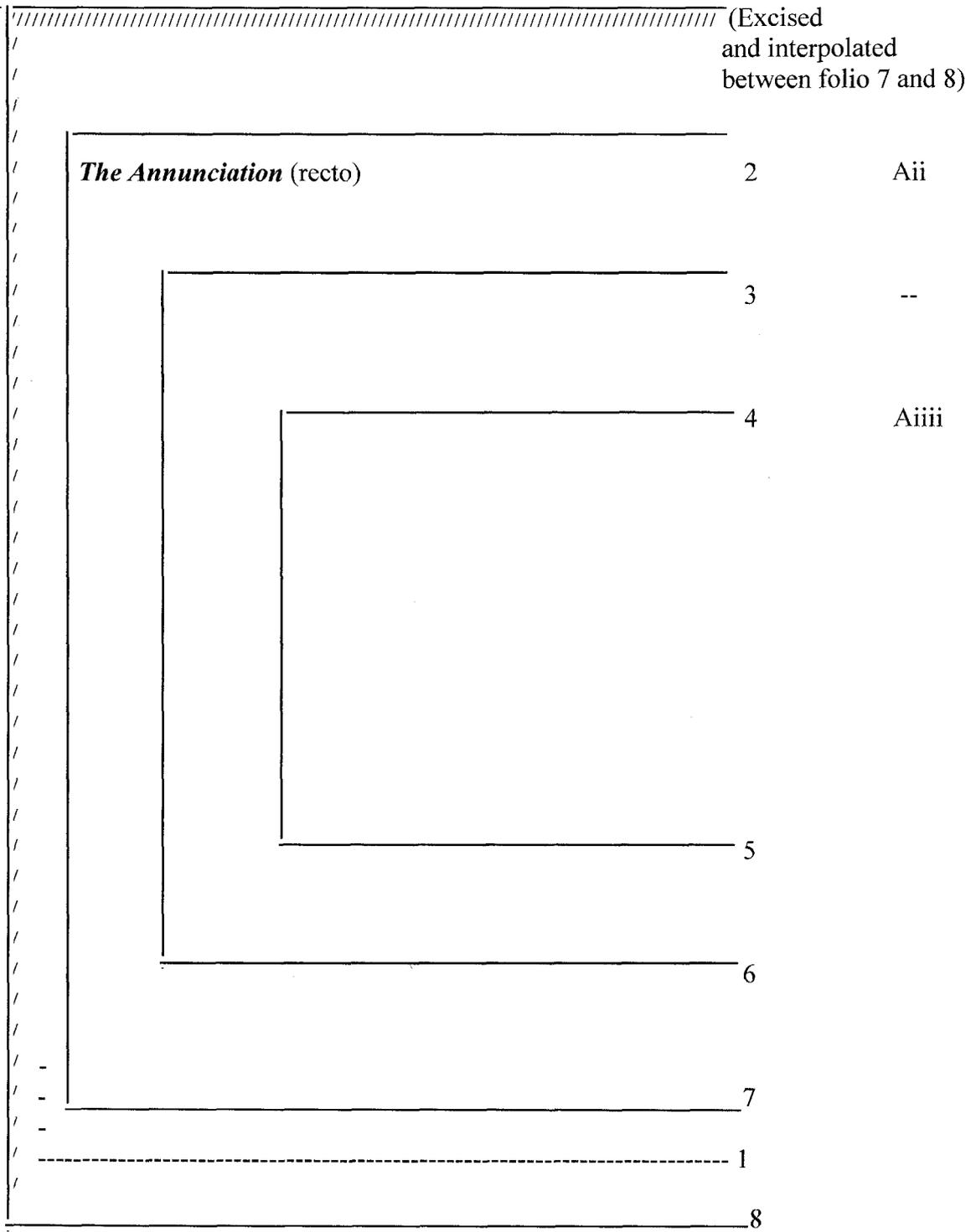
Foliation Structure - Individual Folios and Quires

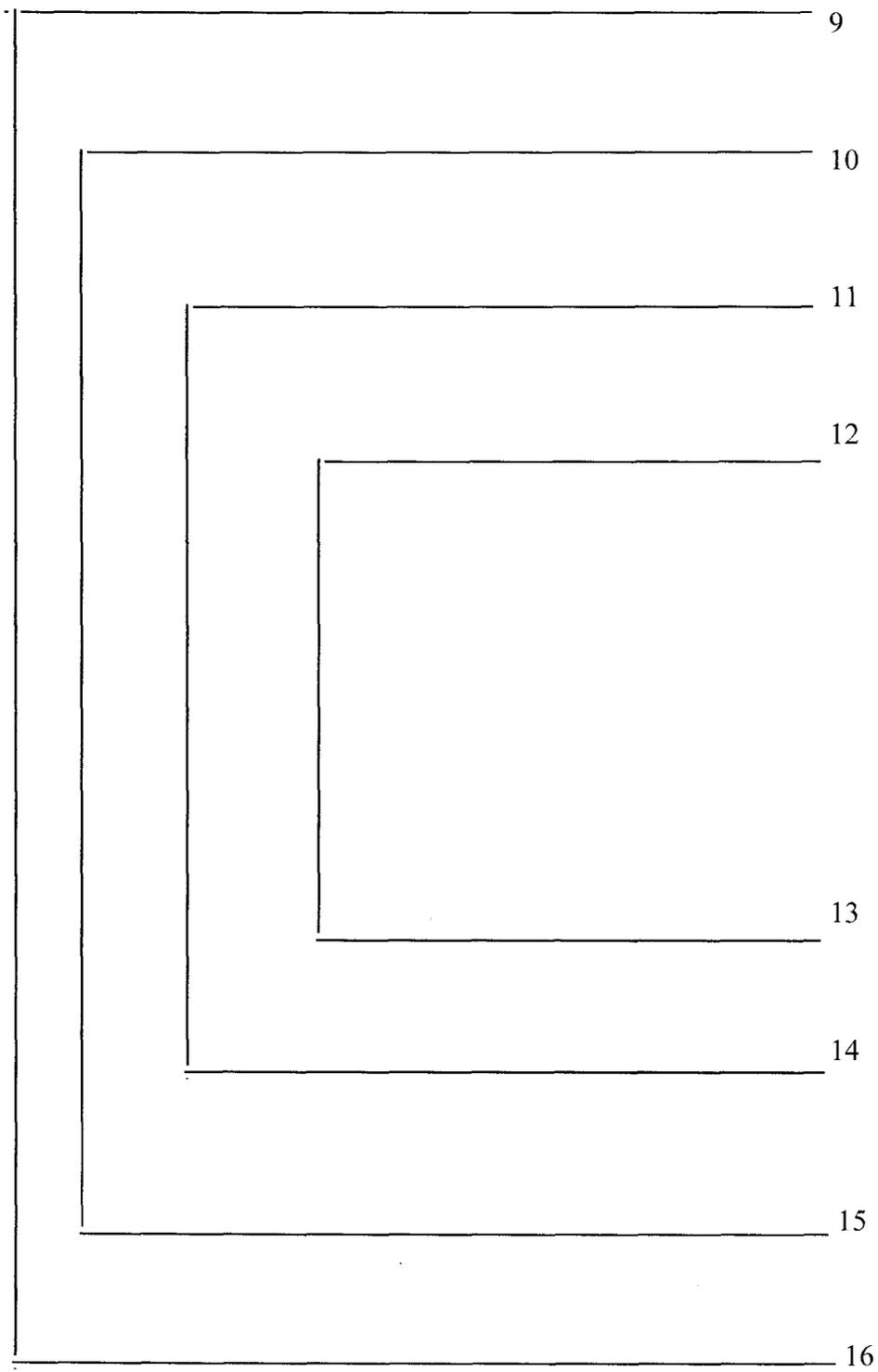
Note: The examination of the folio structure was carefully undertaken without the benefit of disassembly. Since the stitching of the folios is relatively tight, examination was difficult; therefore, once the manuscript has been disassembled for the restoration process, the structure documentation details may change.

One specific change will be to the re-ordering of Quire A in Volume I. Folio 1 currently found between folio 7 and 8, will be placed back in its original intended position. See page 203.

One quire in question is Quire Q in Volume I, page 218, containing the single folio of images of *The Resurrection* (recto) and *Christ in Majesty and Assembly of All Saints* (verso). Clarification following disassembly is required on this quire structure.

Initial E - Green





No quire letter or numbers
No quire catchwords

17	Ci
18	Cii
19	--
20	Ciii
21	
22	
23	
24	

No quire catchwords

	25	Di
	26	Dii
	27	--
Initial O - Green	28	--
	29	
	30	
Initial A - Green	31	
	32	- Tab

Quire catchwords - "Tanq*"

The Adoration of the Shepherds (recto)

33	Ei
34	Eii
35	--
36	--
37	
38	
39	
40	

Quire catchwords - "ctabat"

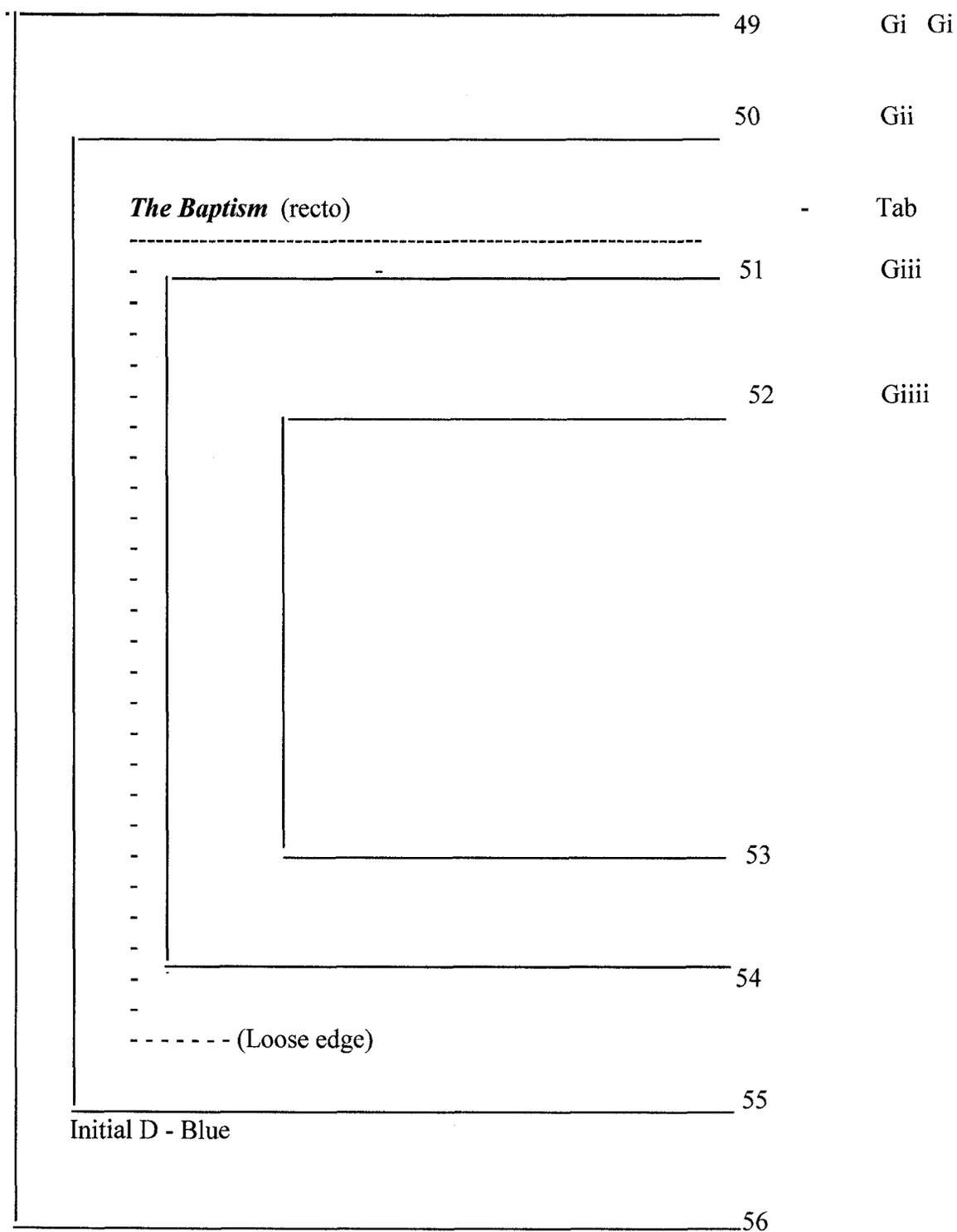
41	Fi
42	Fii
43	Fiii
44	Fiiii
45	
46	Tab - Broken off
47	
48	

----- (Glued in)

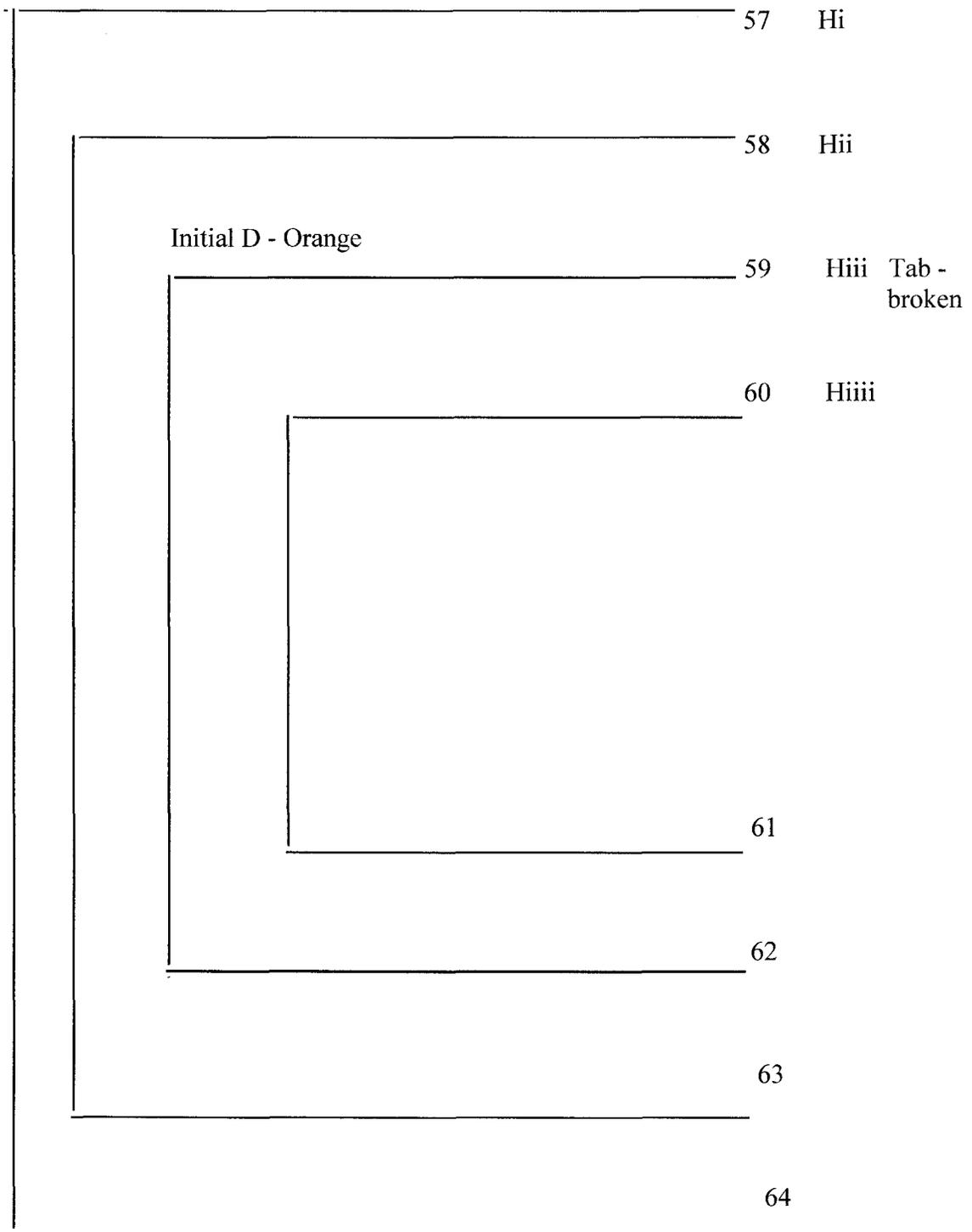
The Adoration of the Magi (verso)

Initial H - Orange

Quire catchwords - "inverunt"



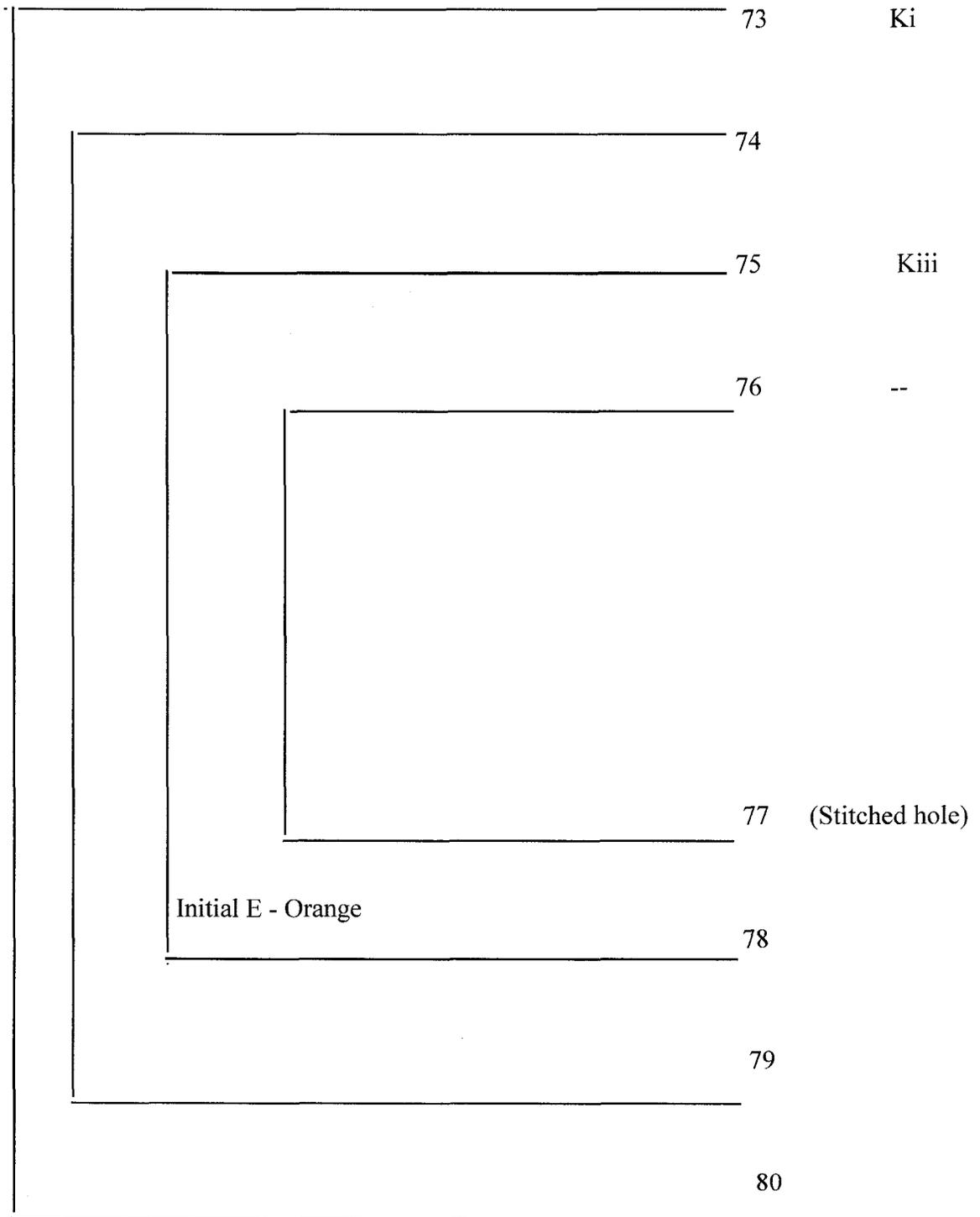
Folio 50 - Inscription along bottom - "Hic est filius meus di"
Quire catchwords - "universi"



Quire catchwords - "Fiat cor meum"

65	Ji
66	Jii
67	--
68	Jiii
69	
70	
71	
72	

Quire catchwords - "Adjutor meus"



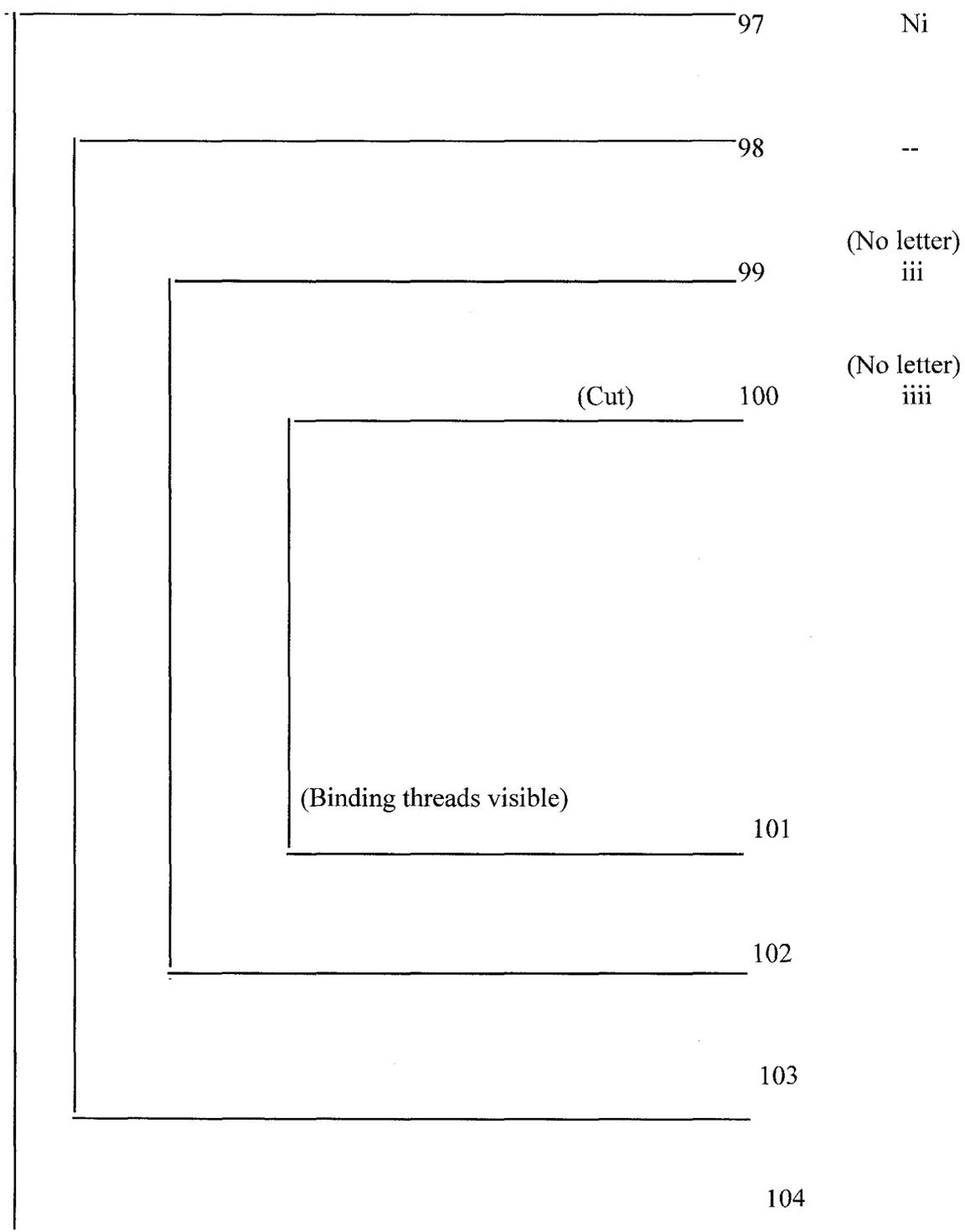
Quire letter and numbers very faint
Quire catchwords - "onem et dr"

81	--
82	Lii
83	--
84	--
85	
86	
87	
88	

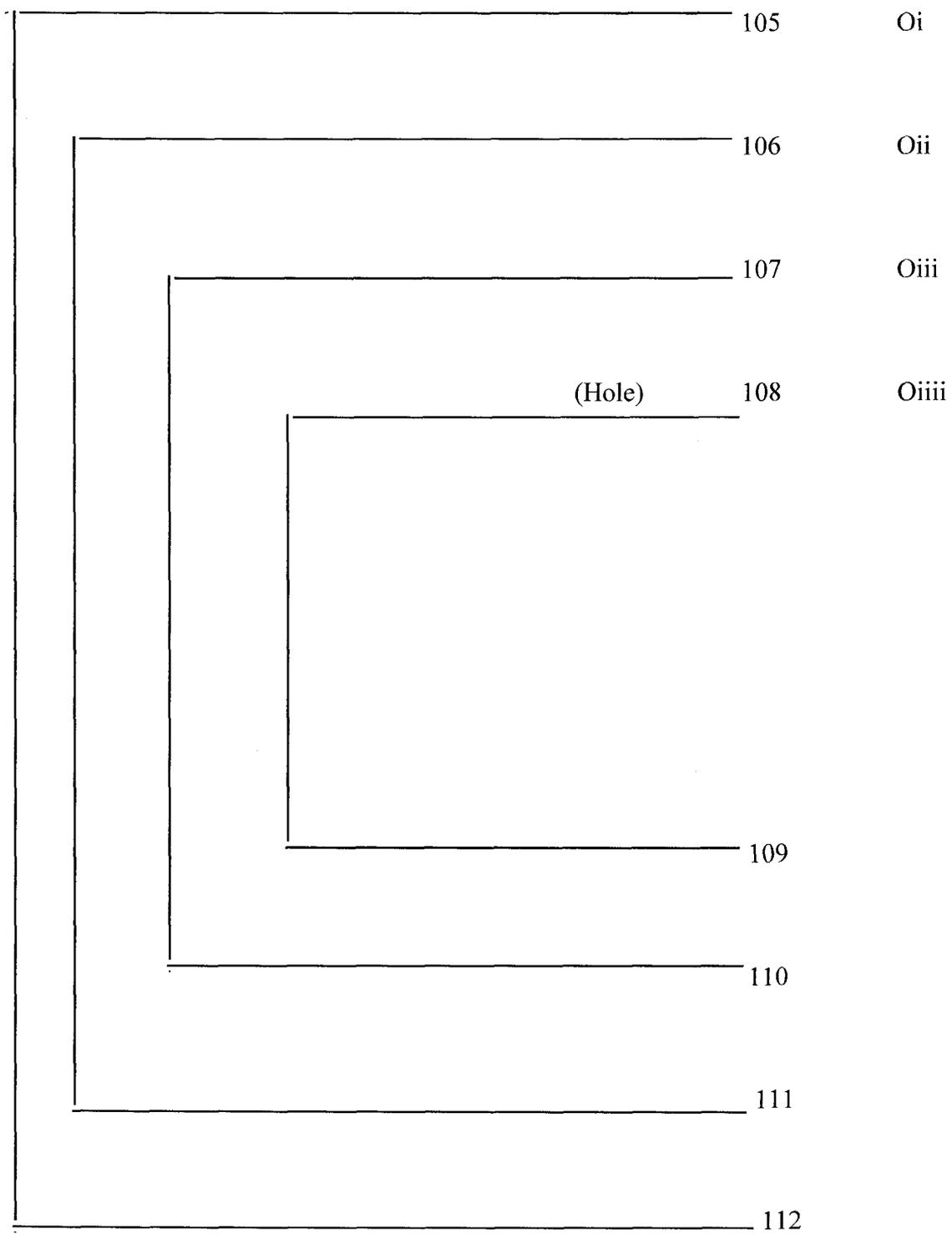
Quire catchwords - "Utiq* dne"

(Stitched hole)	89	Mi
(Hole)	90	Mii
(Small initial on verso with incomplete decoration "M")	91	Miii
	92	Miiii
	93	
(Hole)	94	
	95	
Initial L - Orange	96	

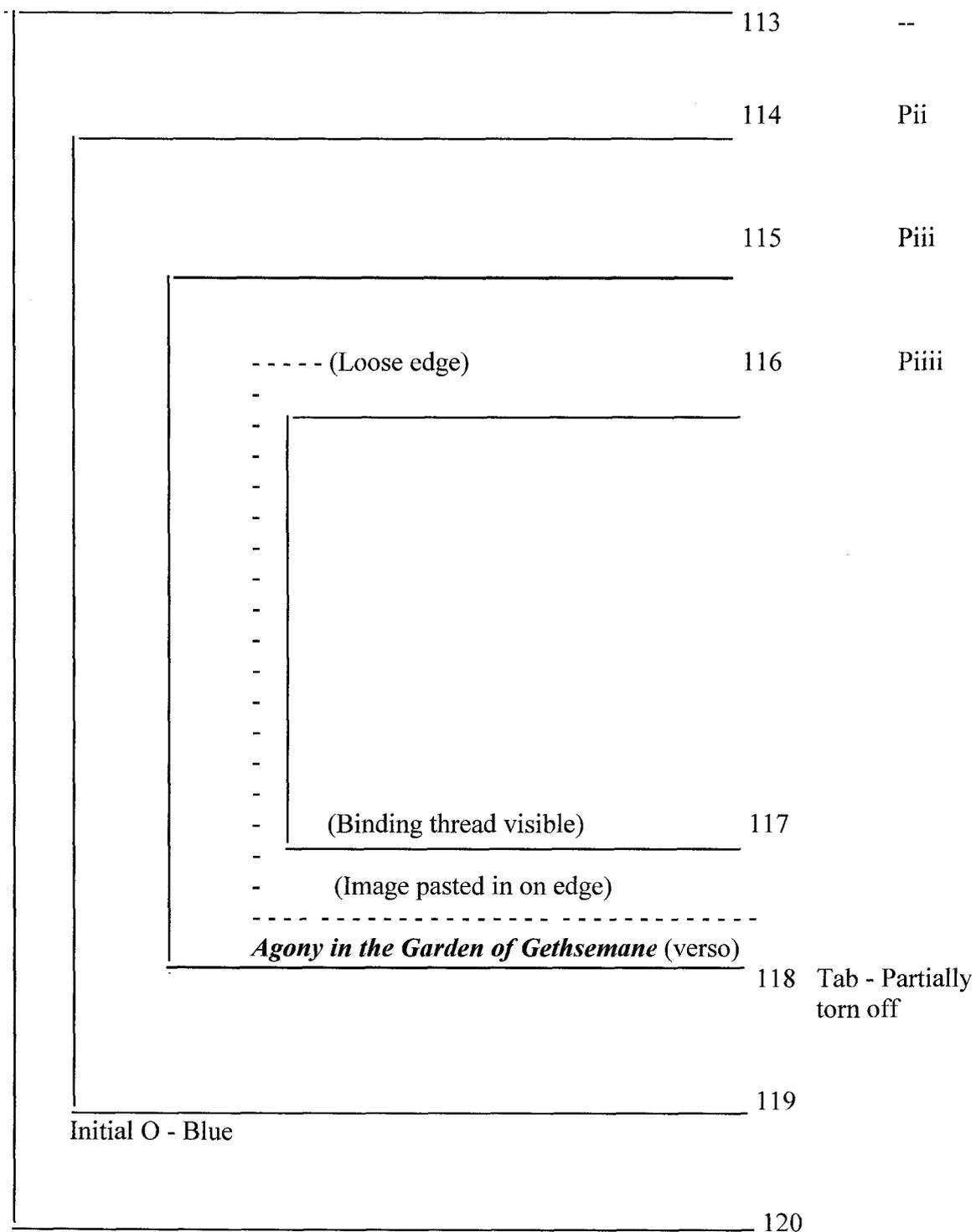
Quire catchwords - "?corem pro?"



Quire catchwords in ink - "rem nome"



Quire catchwords - "me*"



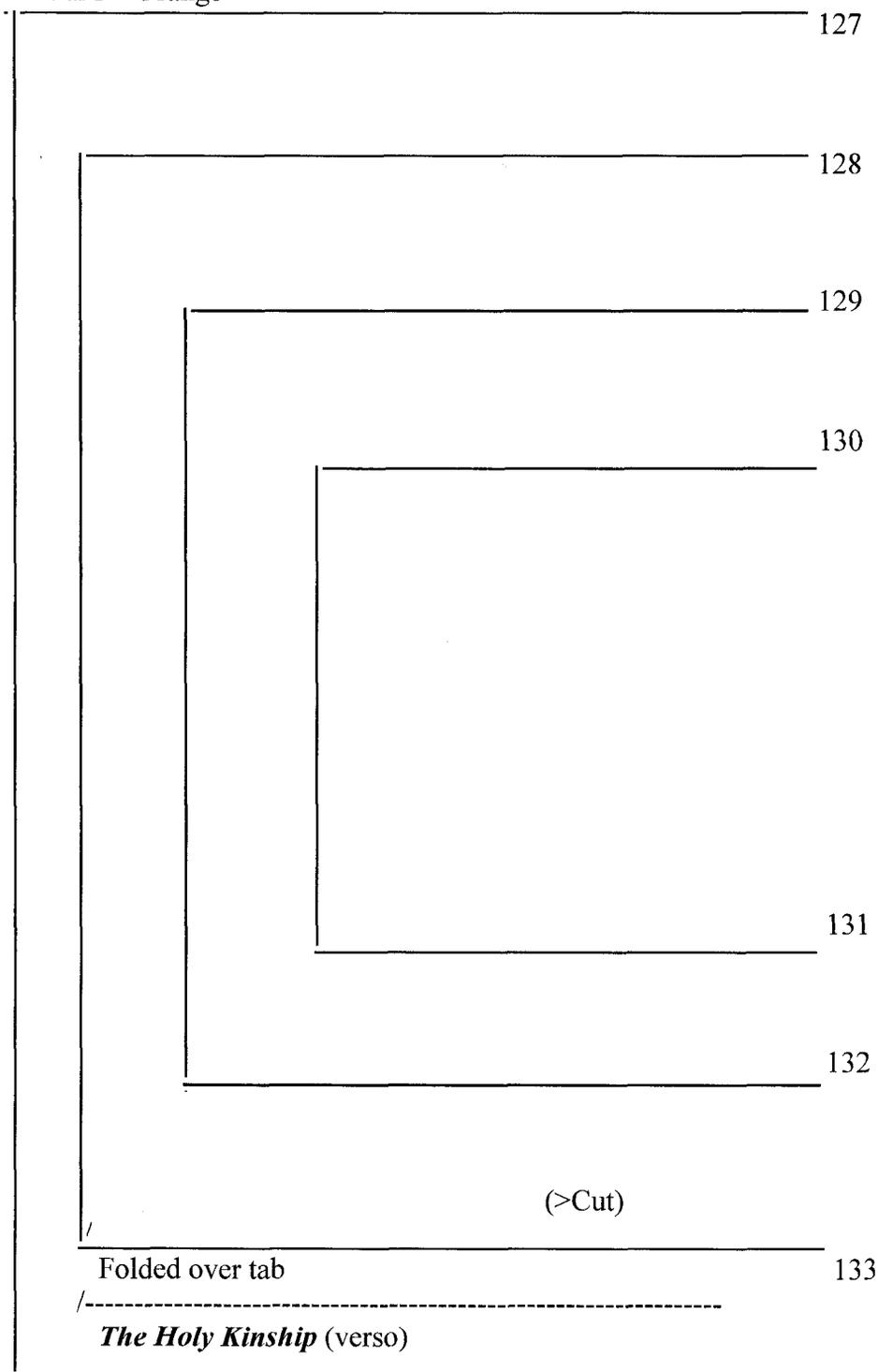
Quire catchwords - "ne"

	121	Qi
Date: 1554 (recto)		
Initial T - Orange	122	Qii
Initial A - Blue	123	Tab - Broken off
Inscription		
Initial A - Blue	124	
----- (Loose edge-irregular cut)		
	125 -	Excised
<i>The Resurrection</i> (recto)	126	
<i>Christ in Majesty and Assembly of All Saints</i> (verso)		

Folio 124 - Inscription along bottom:
 "Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper in secula seculorum Amen"

No quire catchwords

Initial P - Orange



127 Tab - Broken off

128

129

130

131

132

(>Cut)

Folded over tab

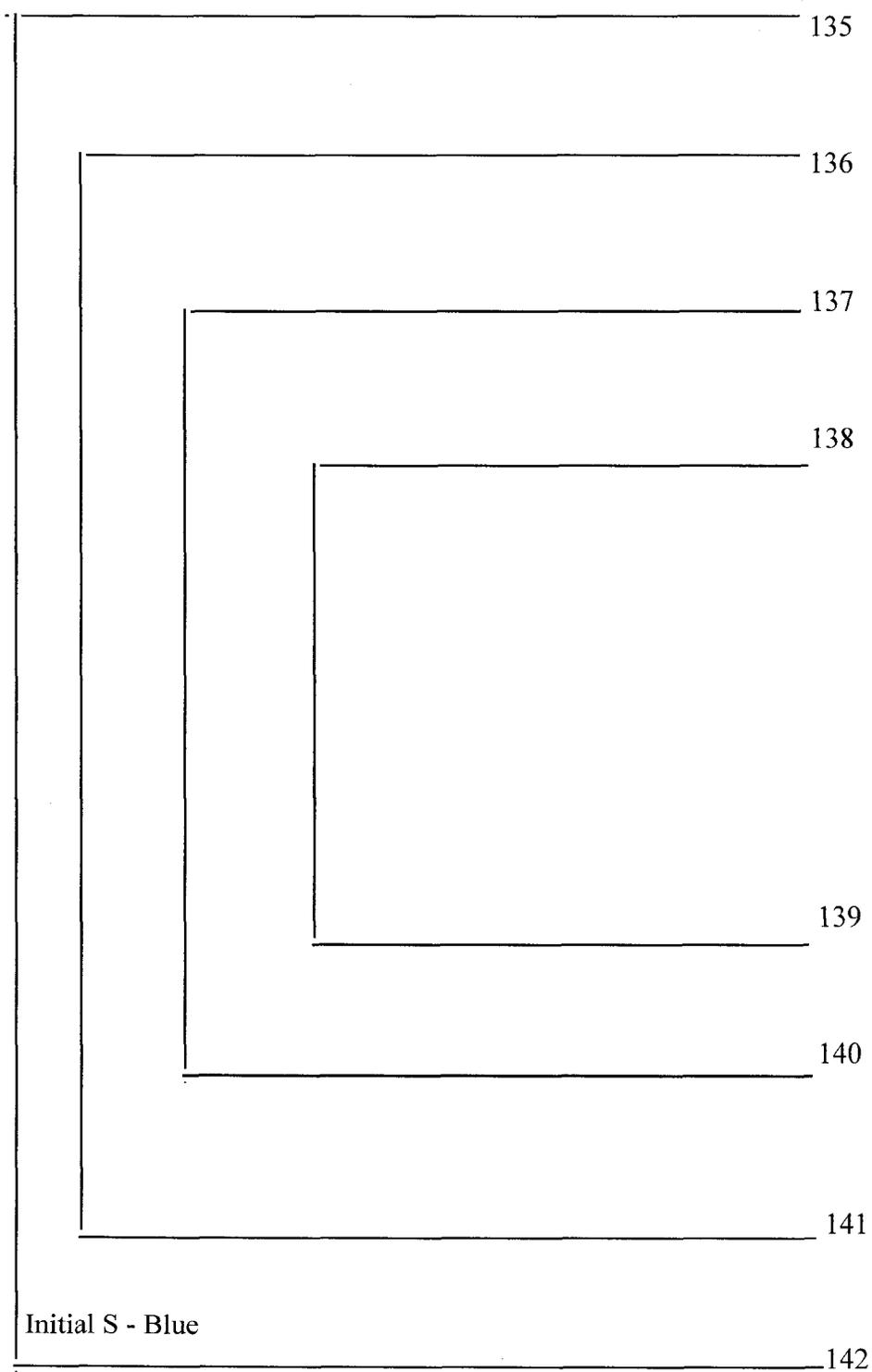
133

The Holy Kinship (verso)

Initial S - Blue

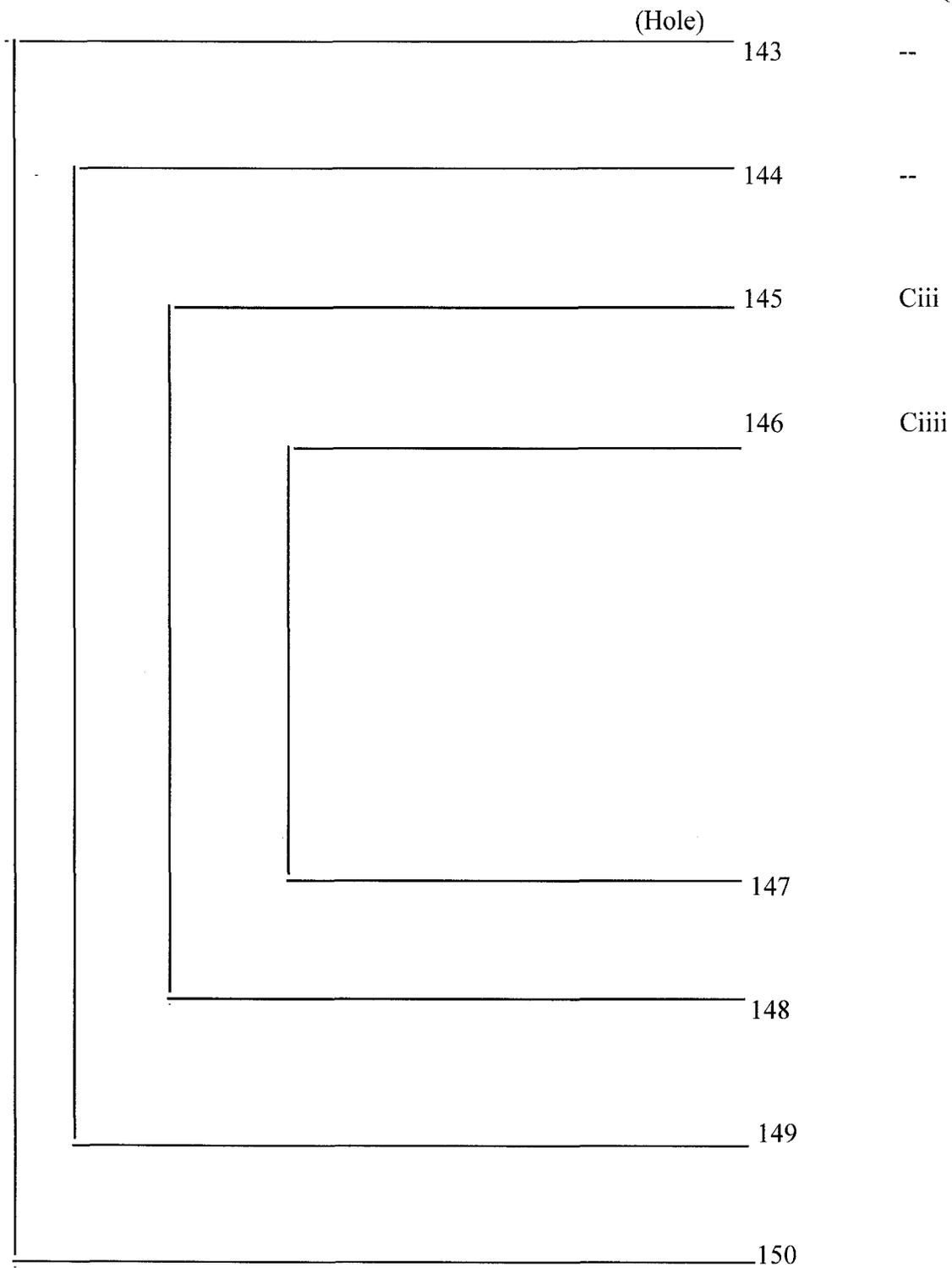
134 Tab-broken off

No quire letter or numbers
Quire catchwords- "factum est"

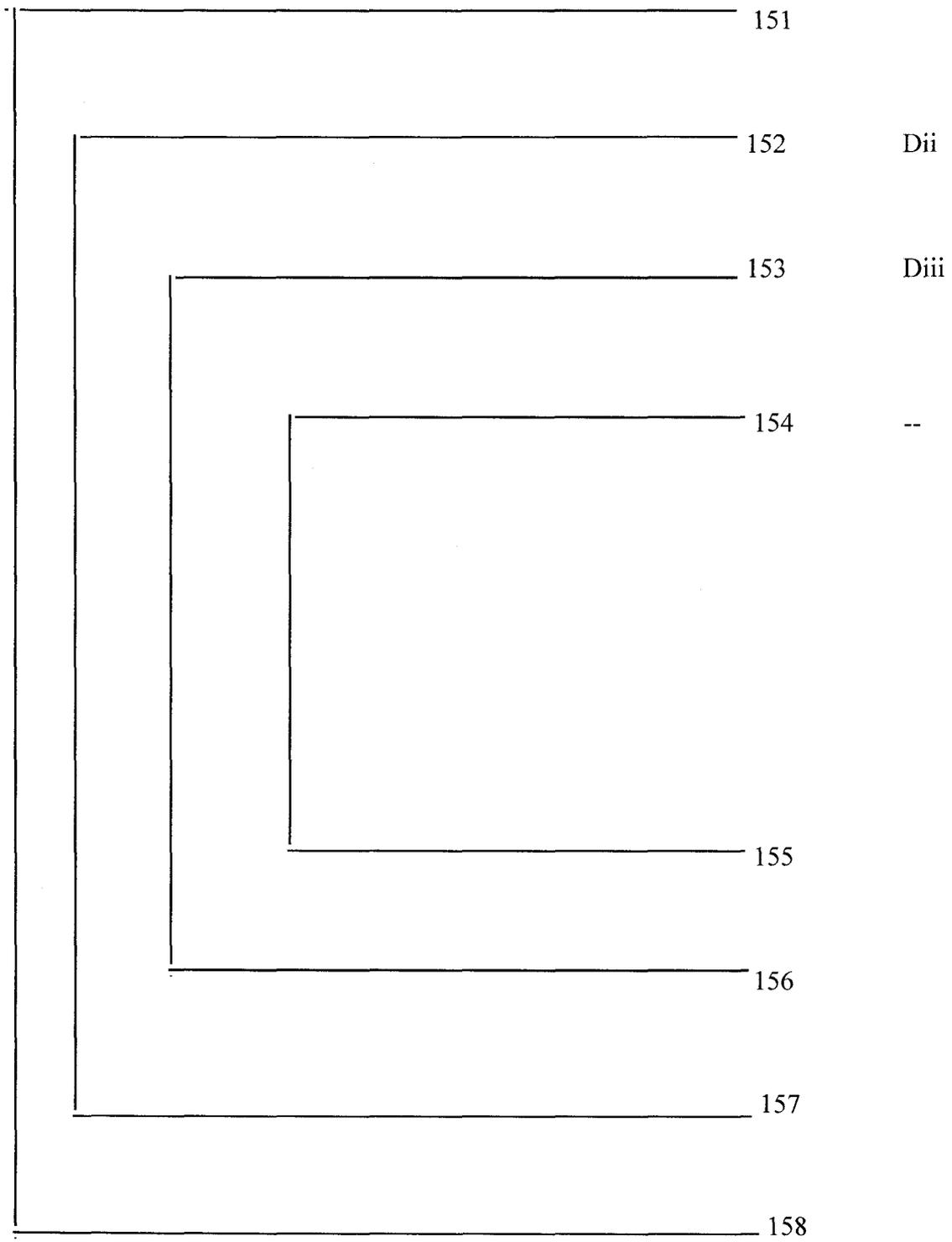


Bii

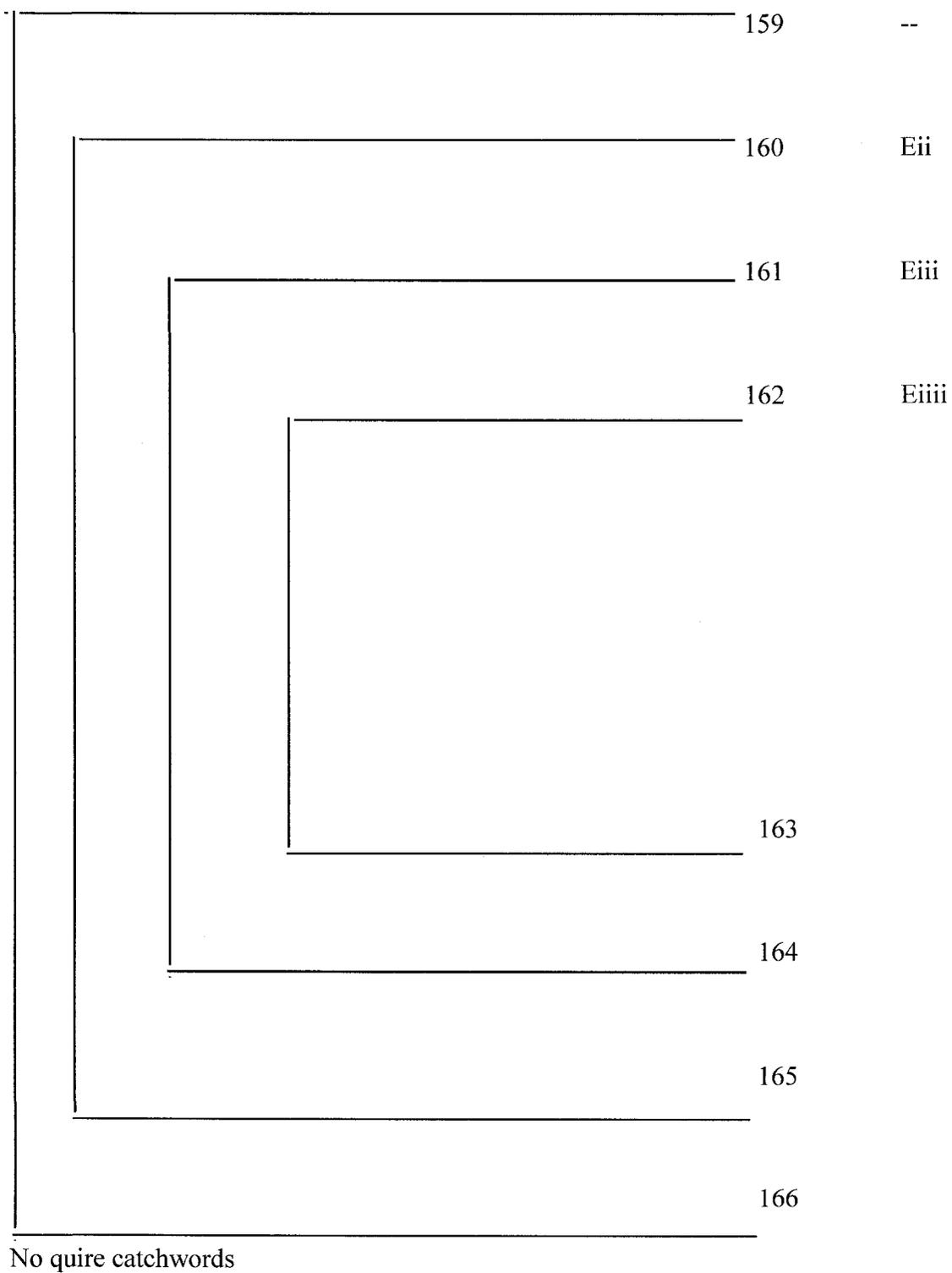
Quire catchwords - "deum"

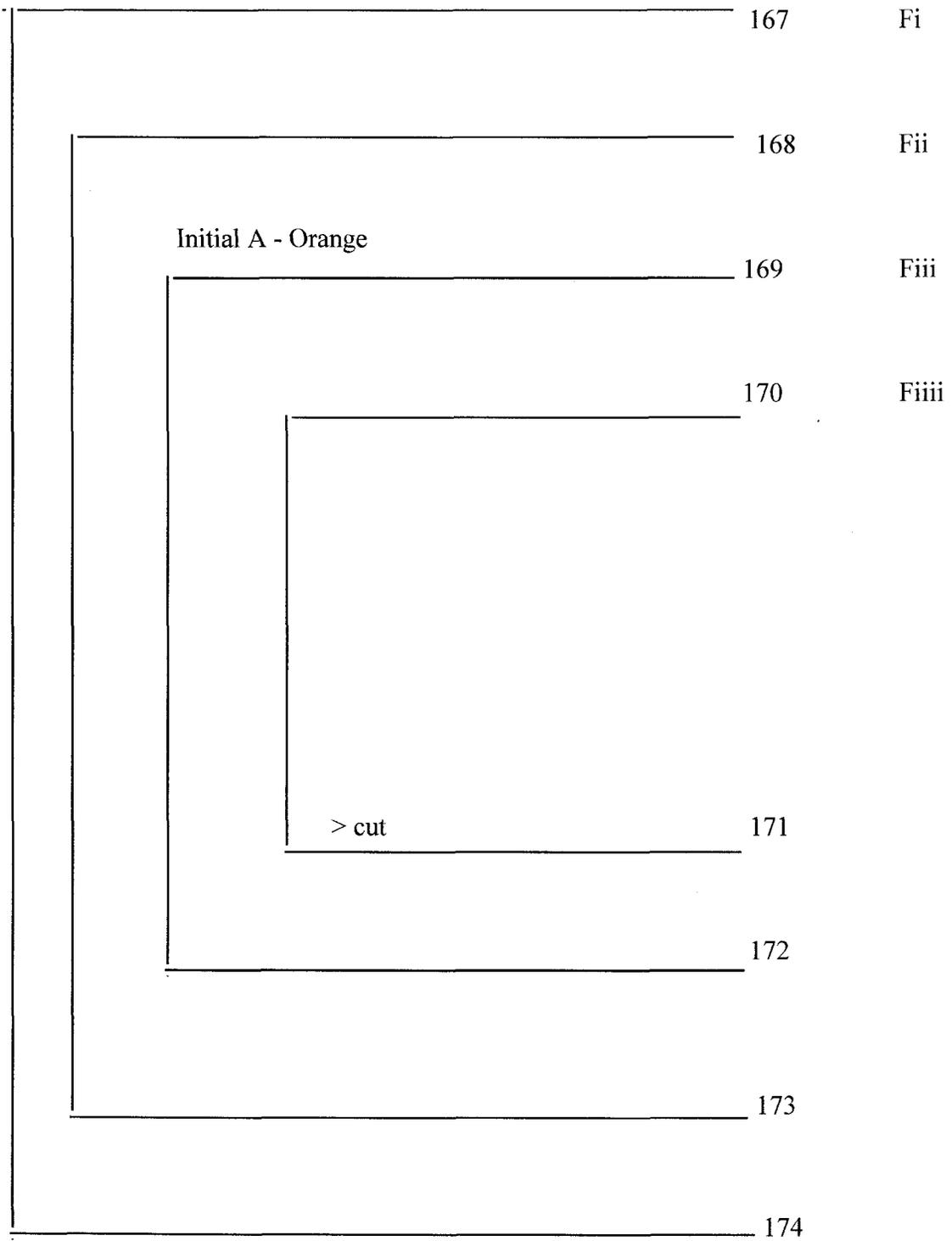


Quire catchwords - "fonte potavit"



Quire catchwords - "in euius"





Quire catchwords - "genere"

Initial A - Orange	(Hole)	175	Gi
		176	--
		177	Giii faint
		178	Giiii
		179	
	Initial Q - Blue	180	
		181	
(Hole)		182	

Quire catchwords - "Glia pti" [Gloria patri]

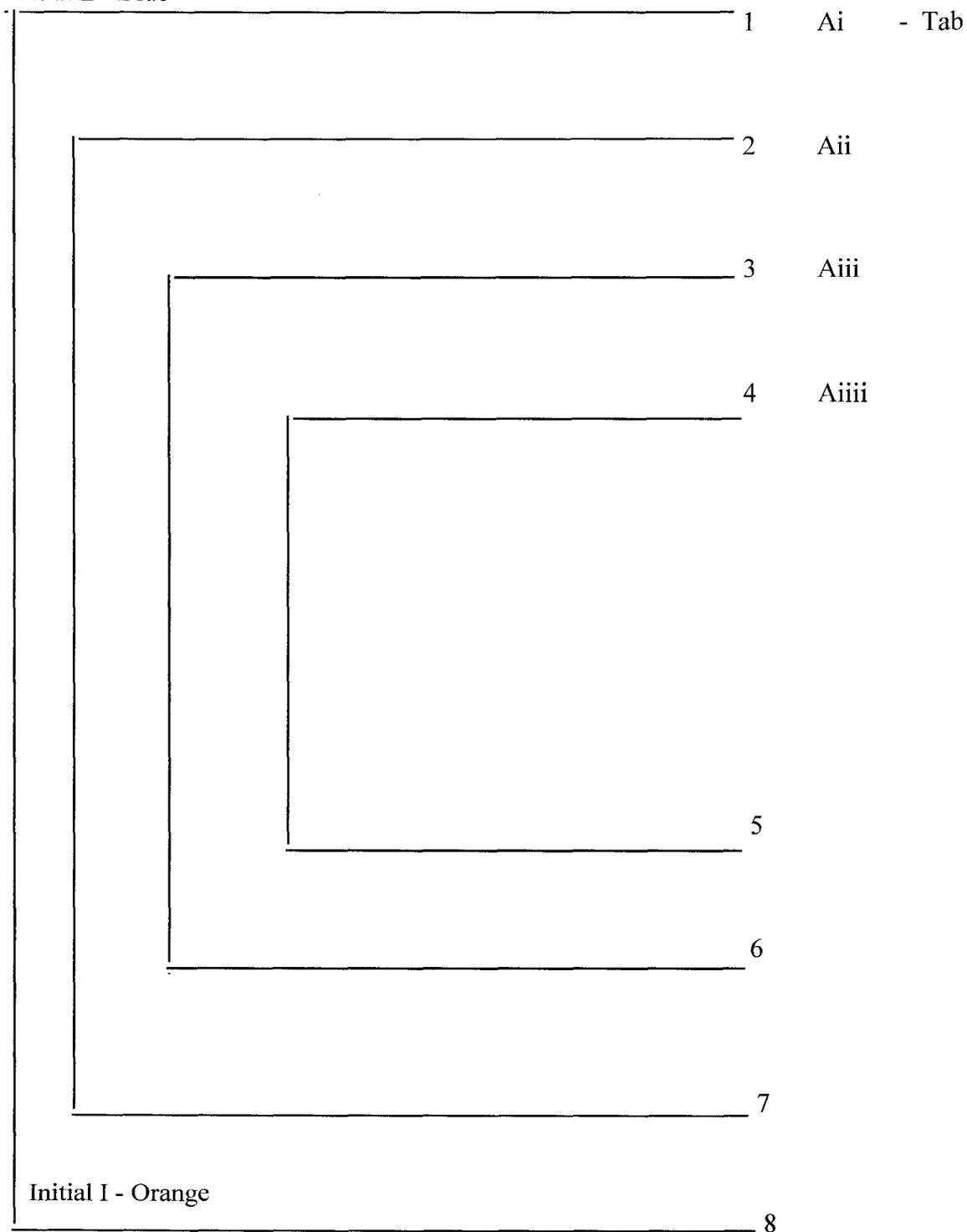
183	--
184	Hii (faint)
185	Hiii
186	Hiiii
187	
188	
189	
190	

Quire catchwords - "nimā"

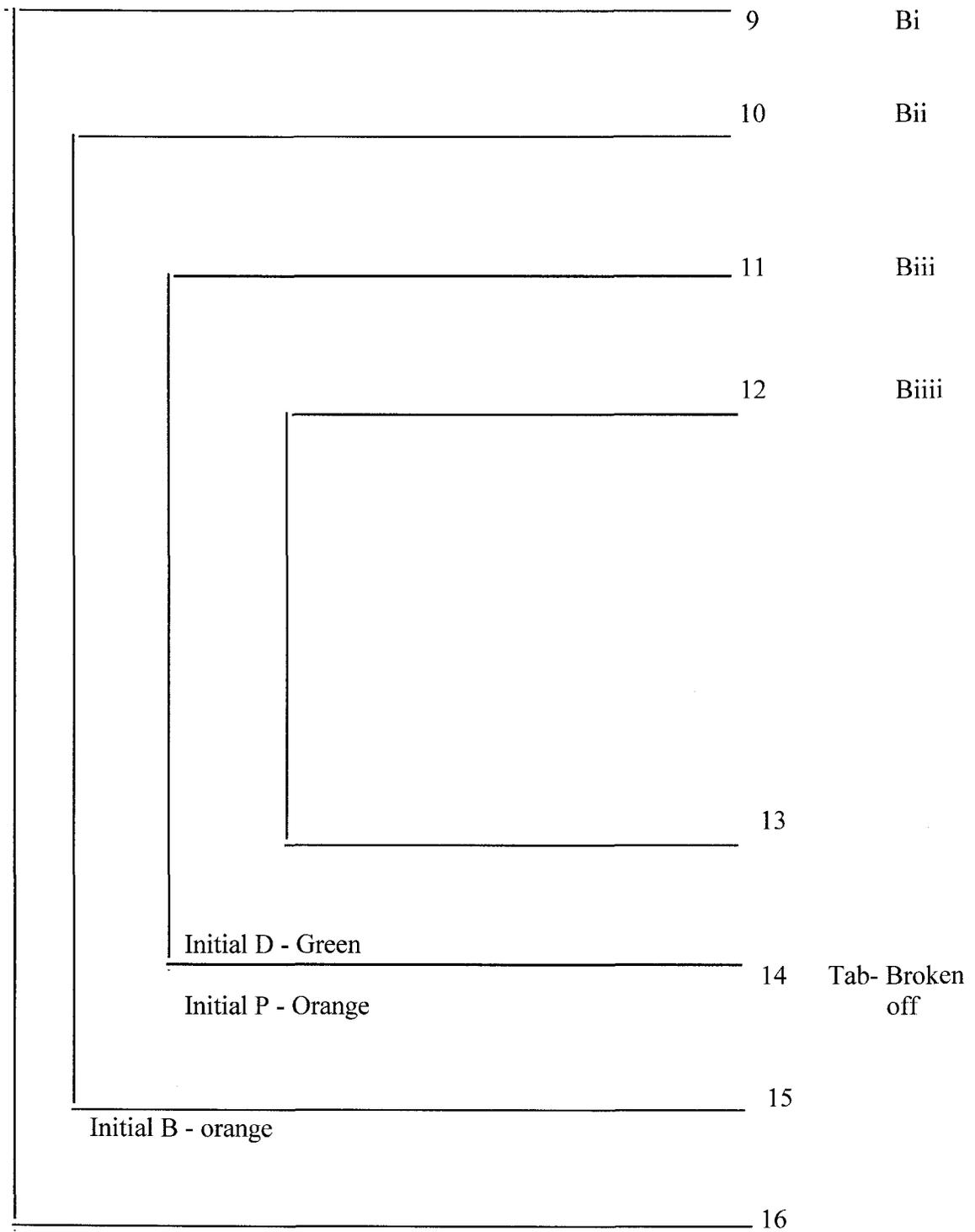
Initial N - Blue	191	Ji
	192	Jii
	193	Jiii
	194	Jiiii - (faint)
	195	
	196	
	197	Date: xv ^o liiii (recto)
Saint Roch Antiphon	Date: 1555 (verso)	
Saint Hubert Antiphon (recto)		
Blank staves (verso)	[198]	

No quire catchwords

Initial E - Blue



Quire catchwords - "e* quasi" [euius quasi]

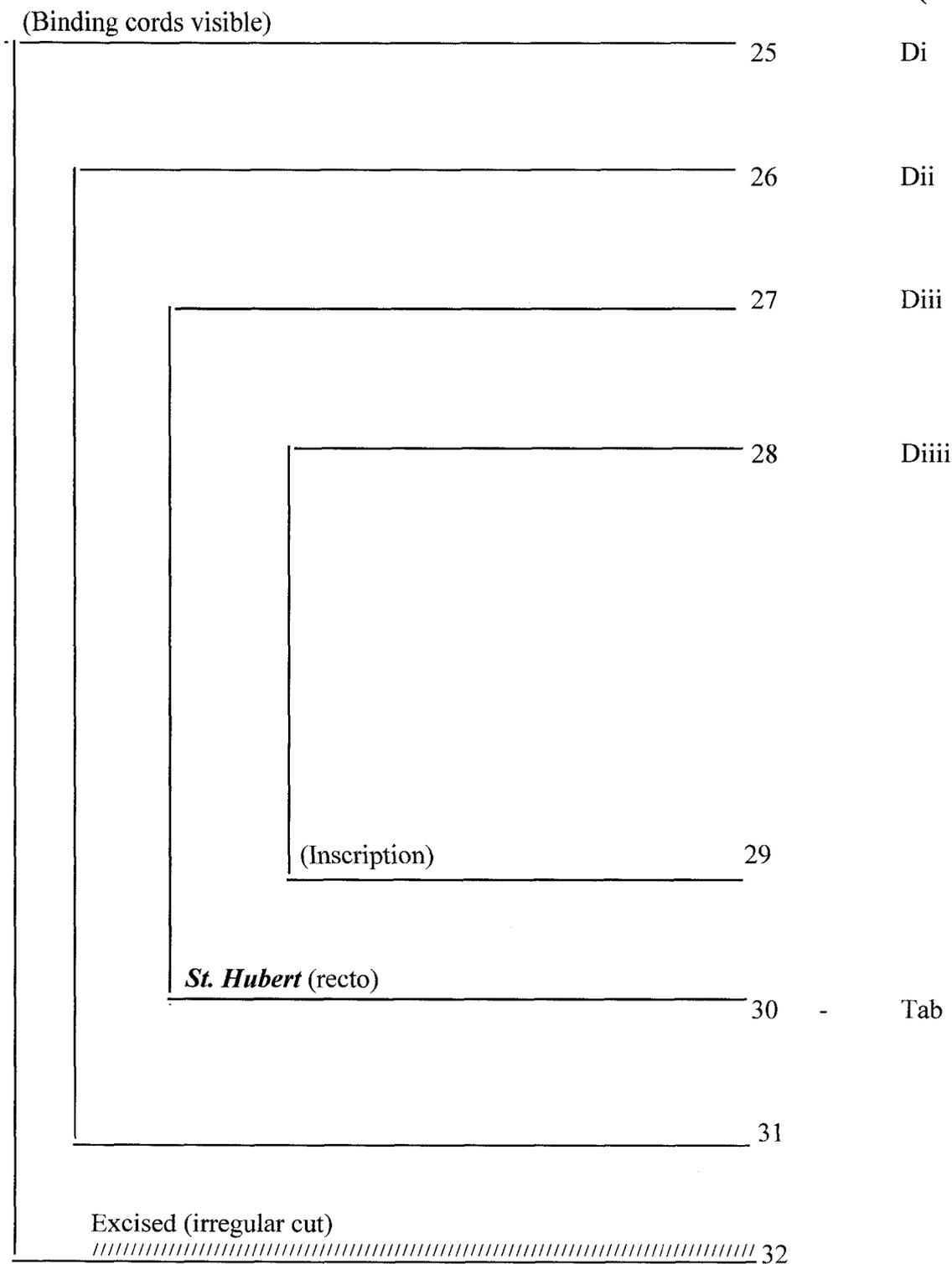


A Salsine Date: 1554 (verso)

No quire catchwords

	17	Ci Ci Tab - Broken off
<i>St. George</i> (recto)	18	Cii
	19	Ciii
	20	Ciiii
	21	
	22	
	23	
<i>St Maurice</i> (verso)	24	- Tab

No quire catchwords



No quire catchwords

	33	--	
	34	Eii	
	35	Eiii	- Tab
	36	Eiiii	
			<i>St. Juliana</i> (verso)
	37		
	38		
	39		
Colophon Page Inscription	40		Date: 1555 (verso)

No quire catchwords

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL – Appendix 2.1

DECORATED INITIAL LETTERS AND HISTORIATED INITIALS:

Volume I

Folio 1r	i	-	E	in green	Saturday before the First Sunday of Advent
Folio 2r	ii	-	A	Hist. Initial	First Sunday in Advent of the Lord Annunciation image
Folio 28r	xxviii	-	O	in green	Seven Days before the Vigil of Christmas
Folio 31r	xxx	-	A	in green	Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord
Folio 33r	xxxiii	-	H	Hist. Initial	Nativity of the Lord Adoration of the Shepherds image
Folio 46v	xlvi (verso)	-	H	in orange	(Baptism of the Lord)
Folio 55v	lv (verso)	-	D	in blue	Saturday before the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany
Folio 59r	lix	-	D	in orange	First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany
Folio 78r	lxxviii	-	E	in orange	The first Sunday of Quadragesima (Lent)
Folio 96r	xcvi	-	L	in orange	Fourth Sunday of Quadragesima (Lent)
Folio 119v	cxix (verso)	-	O	in blue	Good Friday
Folio 122v	cxxii (verso)	-	T	in orange	Holy Saturday - Te Deum
Folio 124v	cxxiii (verso)	-	A	in blue	Holy Saturday - The Vigil of Easter
Folio 127r	cxxvii	-	P	in orange	Feast of St. Andrew

Folio 134r	cxviii	-	S	in blue	Conception and Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary
Folio 142r	cxlii	-	S	in blue	Conception and Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary
Folio 169r	clxix	-	A	in orange	Presentation in the Temple
Folio 175r	clxxv	-	A	in orange	St. Agatha
Folio 180r	clxxx	-	Q	in blue	Chair of St. Peter
Folio 185v	clxxxv (verso)	-	F	in blue	Birth of St. Benedict
Folio 191v	cxci (verso)	-	N	in blue	Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary
Folio 197v	cxcvii (verso)	-	C	in blue	St. Roch

DECORATED INITIAL LETTERS AND HISTORIATED INITIALS

Volume II

Folio 1r	i	-	E	in blue	The Apostles
Folio 8v	viii (verso)	-	I	in orange	Birth of an Evangelist
Folio 14r	xiii	-	D	in green	Feast of St. Michael the Archangel
Folio 14v	xiii (verso)	-	P	in orange	Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany and Purification of Mary
Folio 15v	xv (verso)	-	B	in orange	One Martyr or one Confessor
Folio 18r	xviii	-	I	Hist. Initial	Saint George
Folio 24v	xxiii	-	A	Hist. Initial	Saint Maurice
Folio 30r	xxx	-	E	Hist. Initial	Saint Hubert Birth of One Martyr
Folio 36v	xxxvi (verso)	-	D	Hist. Initial	Saint Juliana

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL— Appendix 2.2

FEAST DAYS AND HOLY DAYS:

Volume I

Folio 45v	xliv (verso)	-	Adoration of the Magi - January 6
Folio 120r	cxx	-	The Crucifixion
Folio 127r	cxxvii	-	Feast of St. Andrew - November 30
Folio 134r	cxxxiii	-	Feast of the Conception and Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary - December 8
Folio 142v	cxlii (verso)	-	Feast of the Birth of St. Stephen - December 26
Folio 147v	cxlvii (verso)	-	Feast of Saint John the Evangelist - December 27
Folio 152v	clxxii (verso)	-	Feast of the Holy Innocents - December 28
Folio 157r	clvii	-	Feast of the Birth of St. Agnes - January 21
Folio 162r	clxii	-	Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul – January 25
Folio 168v	clvxxviii (verso)-		Feast of the Purification of the Virgin - February 2
Folio 169r	clxix	-	Feast of the Presentation in the Temple - February 2
Folio 174r	clxxiii	-	Feast of St. Agatha - February 5
Folio 179r	clxxix	-	Feast of the Chair of St. Peter - February 22
Folio 185v	clxxxv (verso)	-	Feast of the Birth of St. Benedict - March 21
Folio 191v	cxcv (verso)	-	Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary - March 25
Folio 197v	cxcvii (verso)	-	Feast of St. Roch - August 16
Folio [198r]	[cxcviii]	-	Feast of St. Hubert - November 3

FEAST DAYS AND HOLY DAYS:**Volume II**

Folio 1r	i	-	Common of Saints with Chants for Apostles
Folio 5v	v (verso)	-	Common of Two Apostles
Folio 7v	vii (verso)	-	Feast of the Evangelists
Folio 14r	xiii	-	Canticle for the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel - May 8
Folio 15r	xv	-	Common of Apostles, Martyrs and Evangelists
Folio 15v	xv (verso)	-	Canticle for one Martyr or one Confessor
Folio 16r	xvi	-	Canticle for Virgin Martyrs
Folio 16v	xvi (verso)	-	Dedication of a Church Feast - A. Salsine, 1554
Folio 18r	xviii	-	Common of a Single Saint St. George (image) - April 23
Folio 18v	xviii (verso)	-	Common of a single martyr (Saint Maurice)
Folio 23v	xxiii (verso)	-	Common of Several Martyrs
Folio 24v	xxiii (verso)	-	Saint Maurice (image) - September 22
Folio 29r	xxix	-	Common of One Confessor who is a Pope
Folio 29v	xxvix	-	Feasts of Saints Remigius, Juliani, Peter, Robert
Folio 30r	xxx	-	Common of a Confessor Bishop Saint Hubert (image) - November 3
Folio 34v	xxxiv (verso)	-	Common of One Confessor not a Pope
Folio 35r	xxxv	-	Common of One Confessor Pope

Folio 35r	xxxv	-	Common of a Single Virgin (Saint Juliana)
Folio 36v	xxxvi (verso)	-	St. Juliana (image) - February 16
Folio 39v	xxxix (verso)	-	Common of Several Virgins

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL - Appendix 3.1

CATALOGUE RECORD AND INSCRIPTION DOCUMENTATION:**VOLUME I****The Annunciation** - Folio 2 recto

Historiated initial, top left corner image : *The Annunciation*
 Image Size : 15.8 x 14.5 cm
 Border Images : Santus Izaias Prophete with groteschi panels

Inscription along bottom :

D[OMI]ÑA MARGARETA GLIMES - Marguerite de Glymes

D. D[OMI]ÑA MARGARETA.
 ABBATISSA WYNGAERT. - Marguerite de Wyngaert,
 Abbess
 (21st Abbess)

D[OMI]ÑA . IVLIANA. PRIORISSA. GLIMES. - Julienne de Glymes, Prioress
 ME FECIT (made me or made by)

D. SIBILLA DE FORV[I]E - Sibilla de Forvie

The Adoration of the Shepherds - Folio 33 recto

Historiated initial, bottom left corner image : *The Adoration of the Shepherds*
 Image size : 14.6 x 14.2 cm
 Bottom border : Groteschi panels with flora and fauna
 Inscription : None

The Adoration of the Magi - Leaf interpolated between 45 verso and 46 recto

Full Folio Image : *The Adoration of the Magi*
 Paper Size : 56.2 x 38.5 cm
 Inscription : None

The Baptism of Christ - Leaf interpolated between 50 verso and 51 recto

Full Folio Image	:	<i>The Baptism of Christ</i>
Paper Size	:	56.1 x 38.5 cm
Banderole	:	TU ES FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS IN TE COMPLACUI MIHI IPSUM AUDITE MAT III “This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, listen to him.”

Inscription along bottom:

D. Johā[n]na de Soy	-	Johanna de Soy
D. Johā[n]na de Binche	-	Johanna de Binche
Soror Francisca de Glymes	-	Francisca de Glymes
Priorissa Carmelita Namurcēn[sis]		Prioress (of the) Carmelites of Namur
S[oror] M[arie] Spontin	-	Marie Spontin

The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane - Leaf interpolated between 117 verso and 118 recto

Full Folio Image	:	<i>The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane</i>
Paper Size	:	56.1 x 38.5 cm
Inscription	:	None

The Resurrection of Christ - Folio 126 recto

Full Folio Image	:	<i>The Resurrection of Christ and the Road to Emmaus</i>
Paper Size	:	55.8 x 38.6 cm

Inscription along bottom:

Bār[be] Gerard	-	Barbe Gerard
Č[atherine] Piretz	-	Catherine Piretz
Antho[nette] Crehen	-	Anthonette de Crehen
Jac[queline] Deue	-	Jacqueline Dève
Č[atherine] [du] Bois	-	Catherine du Bois
D. Anna de Waignye	-	Anna de Waignye (alias de Hemptinne)

Ān[na] Colmō[n]de	-	Anne Colmonde
Bar[be] Chanée	-	Barbe del Scanée
C[atherine] Walsins	-	Catherine Walsins
Odilia de Braine	-	Odilia de Braine
Mag Sta pplyan(?)	-	(?)

Christ in Majesty and Assembly of Saints - Folio 126 verso

Full Folio Image	:	<i>Christ in Majesty and Assembly of Saints</i>
Paper size	:	56.2 x 38.6 cm
Banderole	:	<i>REGINA CELI LETARE</i> "Queen of Heaven Rejoice"

Inscription along bottom :

Jō[hanna] de Thy	-	Johanna de Thy
M Vellaine S[o]ū[s] p[rieuse]	-	Marguerite de Vellaine, Sous Prieuse (Assistant Prioress)
Ā[n]na Smalkin	-	Anne Smalkin
D[omi]ñā Anna de Noirmot <i>xxiii</i> abbatissa	-	Anne de Noirmont 23 rd Abbess
D. Marguireta Bredemaire	-	Marguireta [sic] Bredemaire
Č[atherine] de Senzeille	-	Catherine de Senzeille
M Balenge	-	M. Balenge [Marie de Balez (?)]
Johā[n]na de Rim(?)	-	Johanna de Rim(?)

The Holy Kinship - Leaf interpolated between 133 verso and 134 recto

Full Folio Image	:	<i>The Holy Kinship</i>
Paper Size	:	55.8 x 38.0 cm

Inscription along bottom:

D[omi]ñā Maria Nys <i>xxii</i> abbatissa huius monasterii	-	Marie Nys, 22 nd Abbess of this Monastery
D[omi]ñā Sibilla de Glymes abbatissa Sancti Victoris p[ro]pe Huyēn	-	Sibilla de Glymes, Abbess Saint Victor near Huy

VOLUME II**Saint George** - Folio 18 recto

Historiated initial, lower left : *Saint George*
 Image size : 8.3 x 11.0 cm
 Banderole : GEORG- (?). ORA.PRO.ME.PECCATRICE
 "Saint George pray for me a sinner"

Inscription lower left :
 D. FRANCISCA. DE WAINGNIEZ - Francisca de Waingniez

Saint Maurice - Folio 24 verso

Image near top left : *Saint Maurice*
 Image size : 7.0 x 11.2 cm
 Banderole : ORA.PRO.ME.SANCTE.MAURICE
 "Pray for me Saint Maurice"

Inscription lower left :
 D. CATARIN WARET - Catherine de Waret

Saint Hubert - Folio 30 recto

Image top left : *Saint Hubert*
 Image size : 7.8 x 11.0 cm
 Banderole : S.HUBERTE.ORA.PRO.ME.PECCATRICE
 "Saint Hubert pray for me a sinner"

Inscription lower left :
 D. IVLIANA. DE GLIMES - Julienne de Glymes

Saint Juliana - Folio 36 verso

Image top left : *Saint Juliana*
 Image size : 7.5 x 11.3 cm
 Banderole : S. IVLIANA.ORA.PRO.ME
 "Saint Juliana pray for me".

Inscription lower left :
 D. PRIEVSE - Prioress

VOLUME I - DATES**Folio 122 (recto)**

Inscription : a° 1SS4 i.l.r.
 (Inscription : 1554)

Folio 197 (recto)

Inscription : a° xv. liiii
 (Inscription : 1554)

Folio 197 (verso)

Inscription : l.S.S.S.
 (Inscription : 1555)

VOLUME II - DATES AND COLOPHON**Folio 16 (verso)**

Inscription : 1554 i.l.r. A Salsine
 (Inscription: 1554 Abbey of Salsine)

Folio 40 (verso)

Inscription : Anno 1555
 (Inscription : Year 1555)

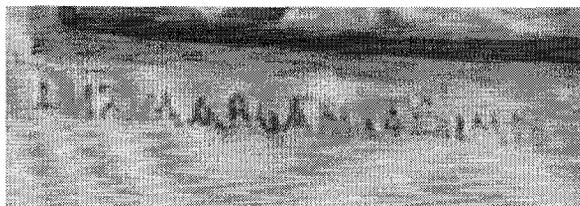
French Text:

Che libure feist faire Dame Julienne de glymes prieuse de Salsines Jadit grande chantre de ce lieu. Pryes dieu pour elle.

English Translation:

Dame Julienne de Glymes Prioress of Salsines, formerly the cantrix of this place had this book made. Pray to God for her.

Appendix 3.2 .1

Salzannes Antiphonal
The Annunciation

DÑA MARGARETA GLIMES



D. DÑA MARGARETA. ABBATISSA WYNGAERT.



DÑA . IVLIANA. PRIORISSA. GLIMES. ME FECIT

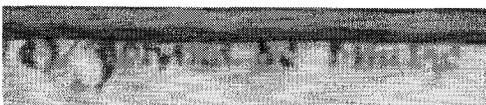


D. SIBILLA DE FORV[I]E

Appendix 3.2.2

Salzannes Antiphonal
The Baptism

D. Johāna de Soy



D. Johāna de Binche



Soror Francisca de Glymes Priorissa Carmelita Namurcēn



S M Spontin

Appendix 3.2.3

Salzannes Antiphonal
The Resurrection



Bār Gerard



Č Piretz



Antho/ Crehen



Jac/ Deue



Č/ Bois



D. Anna de Waignye



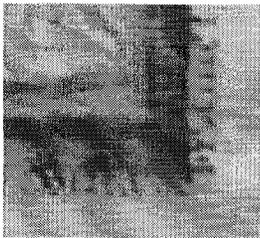
Ān Colmōde



Bar Chanée



C Walsins



Odilia de Braine



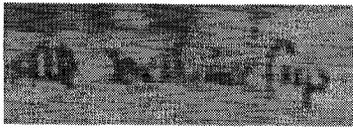
Mag Sta pplyan(?)

Appendix 3.2.4

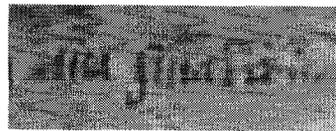
Salzannes Antiphonal

Christ in Majesty

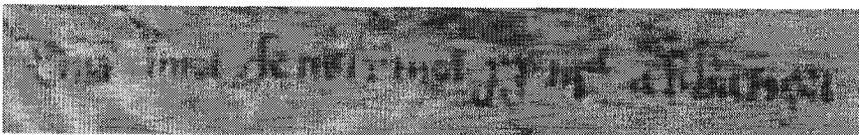
Jō de Thy



M Vellaine Sūp



Āna Smalkin

Dña Anna de Noirmot *xxiii* abbatissa



Christ in Majesty - 2

D. Marguireta Bredemaire



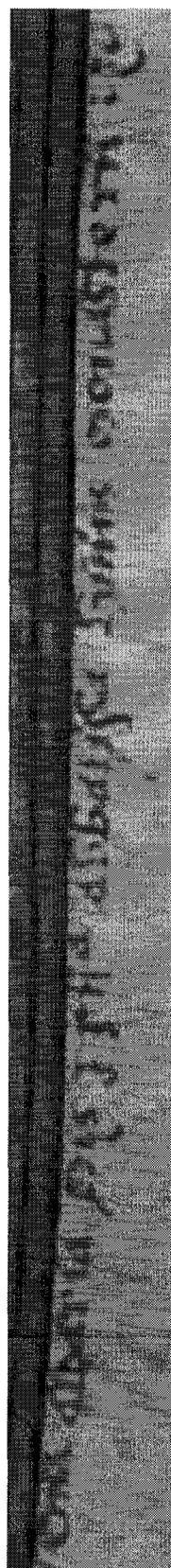
Č. de Senzeille



M. Balenge



Johāna de Rim (?)



Dña Maria Nys xxii Nys xxii abbatissa huius monasterii



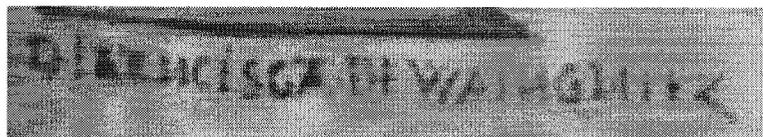
Dña Sibilla de Glymes Sancti Victoris ppe Huyen abbatissa

Salzannes Antiphonal
Holy Families

Appendix 3.2.5

Appendix 3.2.6

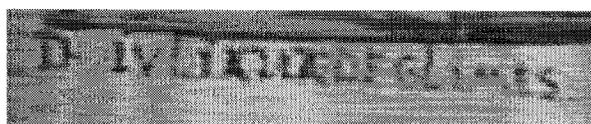
Salzannes Antiphonal



D. FRANCISCA DE WAINGNIEZ

Saint George

D. CATARIN WARET

Saint Maurice

D. IVLIANA DE GLIMES

Saint Hubert

D. PRIEVSE

Saint Juliana

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL – Appendix 4.1

**IDENTIFIABLE NAMES AND ELECTION RECORDS DOCUMENTATION
FOR THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF SALZINNES 1553 AND 1559 WITH
ASSOCIATED IMAGE**

Source:

Archives générales du Royaume, Papiers du Conseil d'État et du l'Audience: Nos. 896, 900 and Theophile Ploegaerts, *Les Moniales de l'Ordre de Cîteaux dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux depuis le XVI^e siècle jusqu'à la Révolution française de 1550 à 1800*. Livre troisième: Les Abbayes en Wallonia. Westmalle: Onvers, 1937.

1553 Abbatial Elections

1559 Abbatial Elections

The Annunciation

Deceased: Marguerite Wyngaert
Abbess to 1553

Marguerite de Glymes (Age 28)

Margritte de Glymes, de Jodoigne (33)

Julienne de Glymes, de Walhain (52)
Sous Prieure; Chantre

Julianne de Glymes, de Jodoigne (58)
Prieure

Sibille Fourvie (64)
Garde de l'Ordre

Sibille de Forvie, de Namur (72)

The Baptism of Christ

Johanna de Soye (40)

Johanne de Soy, Liège (45)

Not listed

Johanne de Binche, de Binche, (44)
Seconde Boursière

The Resurrection of Christ

Not listed

Barbe Gerard, de Jache-le-Ferron (15)

Catherine Piret (20)

Katherine Pirette, de Jodoigne (24)

Anthonette de Crehen (23)

Anthonnet de Crehin, de Namur (28)

Jacqueline Dève (26)

Jacqueline Dève, alias de Walzin (Age?)
Infirmière

1553 Abbatial Elections***The Resurrection of Christ (Cont'd)***

Catherine du Bois (29)

Anne de Wangnies (Age 25)
(alias de Hemptinne)

Anne Colmond (21)

Not listed

Not listed

Not listed

1559 Abbatial ElectionsKatherine du Bois, de Marchienne-Au-Pont (34) *Céresse*Anne de Wangnée, de Namur (29)
(alias de Hemptinne)

Anne Colmond, d'Anvers (26)

Barbe del Scanée, de Namur (20)

Catherine Dève, de Namur
(possibly also Dève alias de Walzin -
or Catherine Walsins?)

Odilla de Brene, de Braine (17)

Christ in Majesty

Johanna de Thy (34)

Marguerite de Vellane (38)

Ann Smalkin (46)
*Maitresse des Soeurs*Anne de Noirmont (40)
Boursière, Chaplain

Marguerite Bredemare (50)

Catherine de Senzelle (39)

Not listed

Jehenne de Thy, de Thy (40)

Margueritte de Vellaine, de Velaine (44)
*Sous Prieure*Anne Smalkin, de Fleurus (52)
*Sacristine; Maitresse des soeurs*Anne de Noirmont, de Noirmont (43)
*Boursière; xxiii Abbess*Marguerite Bredmeere, de Namur (53)
*Chantre*Katherine Zenzel, de Namur (47)
Sous Chantre

Marie de Balez, de Balez (44)

1553 Abbatial Elections**1559 Abbatial Elections*****The Holy Kinship***

Marie Nys, de Louvain(56)
Céresse; xxii Abbess

Deceased

HISTORIATED INITIALS***Saint George***

Françoise de Wangnies (Age 20)

Françoise de Waignée, de Namur (25)

Saint Maurice

Catherine de Waretz (27)

Katherine de Waretz, de Namur (32)

Saint Hubert

Julienne de Glymes de Walhain (52)
Sous Prieure; Chantre

Julienne de Glymes, de Jodoigne (58)
Prieure

Saint Juliana

(Represents) Julienne de Glymes
de Walhain (52) *Sous Prieure; Chantre*

(Represents) Julienne de Glymes
de Jodoigne (58) *Prieure*

Note:

This list includes Cistercian nuns only from the Abbey of Salzennes for the abbatial elections of 1553 and 1559. The Carmelite and Benedictine nuns represented in the Salzennes Antiphonal are omitted. There are several inaccuracies in the two election lists, as well as inconsistent information.

The numbers in brackets following the names indicate the ages of the nuns. There are discrepancies in the documentation if a comparison is made in the ages of the nuns in the six years from 1553 to 1559. This is also the case in the spelling of the individual names. The home towns of the nuns are listed following their names in the 1559 list. Their positions within the Abbey are listed below their names.

The entry for Julienne de Glymes has a discrepancy in place name in the two lists. The towns of Walhain and Jodoigne are within a 22 km. radius.

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL - Appendix 5.1**INDEX OF COATS-OF-ARMS**

1. Wyngaert and de Glymes Coats-of-Arms
Folio 2 recto – *The Annunciation*

2. de Glymes Coat-of-Arms
Leaf interpolated between folios 50 verso and 51 recto - *The Baptism*

3. Nys and de Glymes Coats-of-Arms
Leaf interpolated between folios 133 verso and 134 recto - *The Holy Kinship*

Salzannes Antiphonal
The Annunciation

Appendix 5.1.1



Wynngaert Coat-of-Arms

de Glymes Coat-of-Arms

Salzennes Antiphonal
The Baptism

Appendix 5.2.2



de Glymes Coat-of-Arms

Appendix 5.2.3

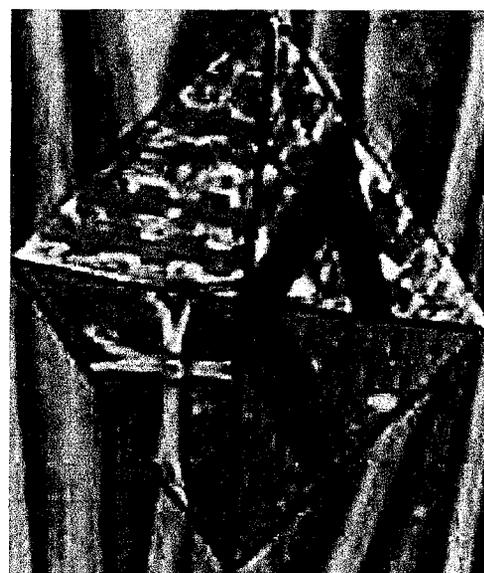
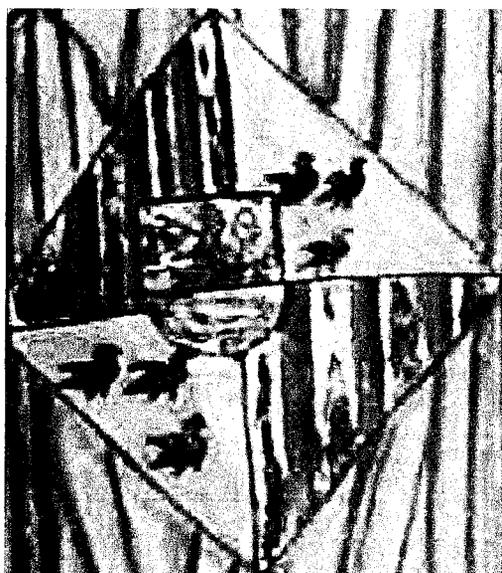
Salzennes
Antiphonal

*The Holy
Kinship*



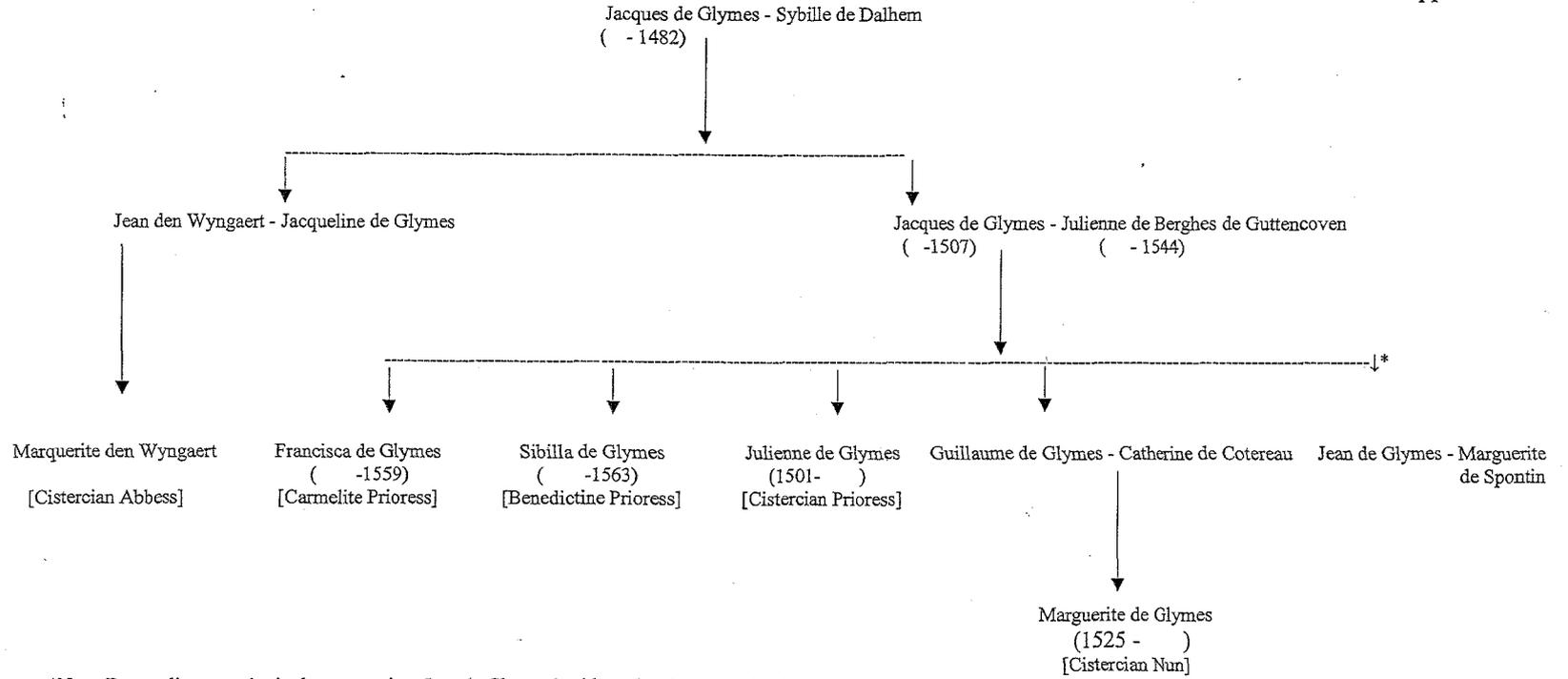
Above center and below left
Nys Coat-of-Arms

Below right erroneous version
of de Glymes Coat-of-Arms



de Glymes Family Tree

Appendix 6.1



*Note: Due to discrepancies in documentation, Jean de Glymes is either a brother or uncle of Julienne de Glymes. Also, Marguerite Spontin, Jean's wife is the sister of the Carmelite nun Marie Spontin.

Appendix 7.1

SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL

INDEX OF HISTORICAL IMAGES

7.2. Abbey of Salzennes

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| .1 | Unknown | 260 |
| | The Abbey of Salzennes by the Sambre by Namur, 1740 | |
| | Engraving | |
| | Collection: Société archéologique de Namur | |
| .2 | Unknown | 261 |
| | The Abbey of Salzennes near Namur, 18 th c. | |
| | Oil on canvas | |
| | Collection: Société archéologique de Namur | |
| .3 | Alphonse Balat | 262 |
| | Ancient Gateway of the Abbey of Salzennes, n.d. | |
| | Ink wash | |
| | Collection: Société archéologique de Namur | |

Photos 1-3 courtesy of Musée des Arts anciens du Namurois

Map

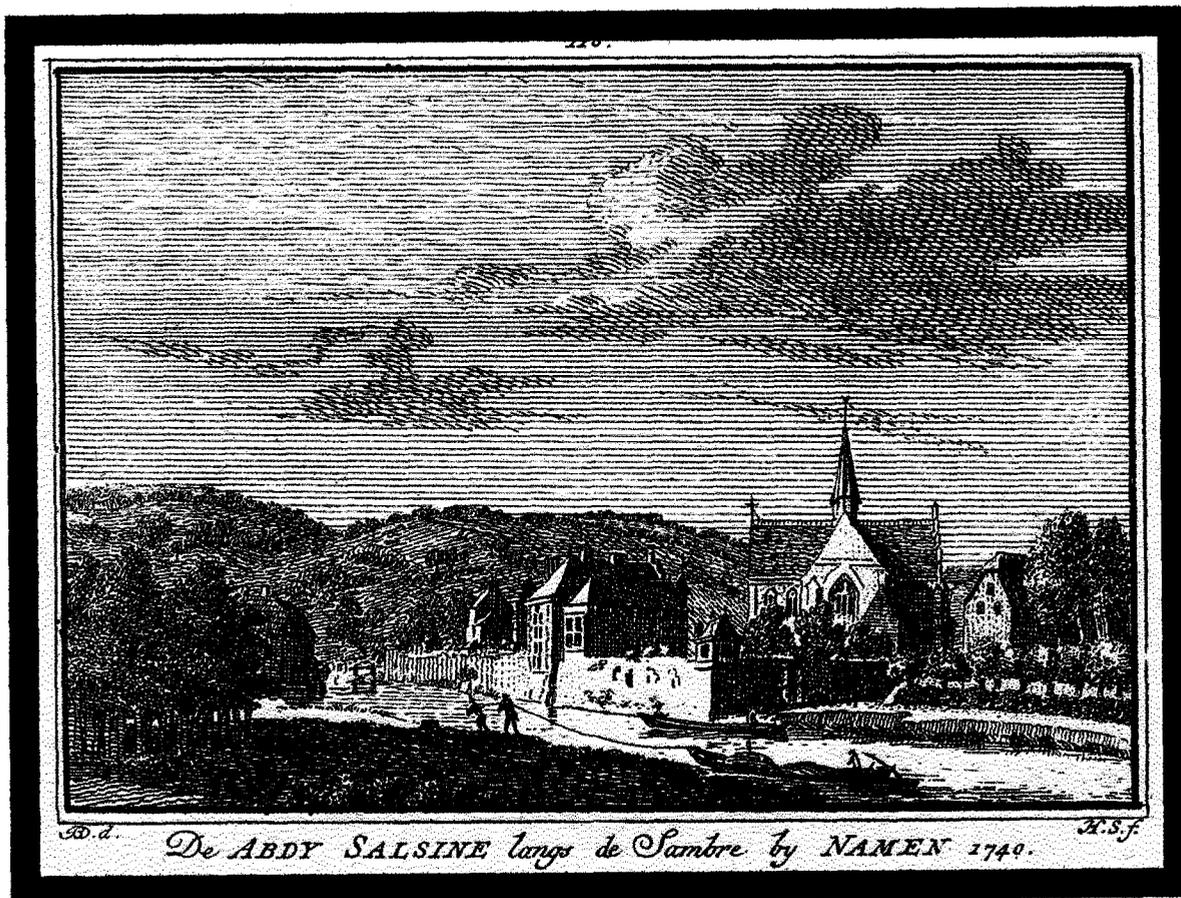
- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| .4 | Map of the County of Namur with detail | 263 |
| | Johannes Surhon / Abraham Ortelius | |
| | Namurcum comitatus, 1579 | |
| | Copper engraving | |
| | Private Collection | |

Photo courtesy of owner

Portrait

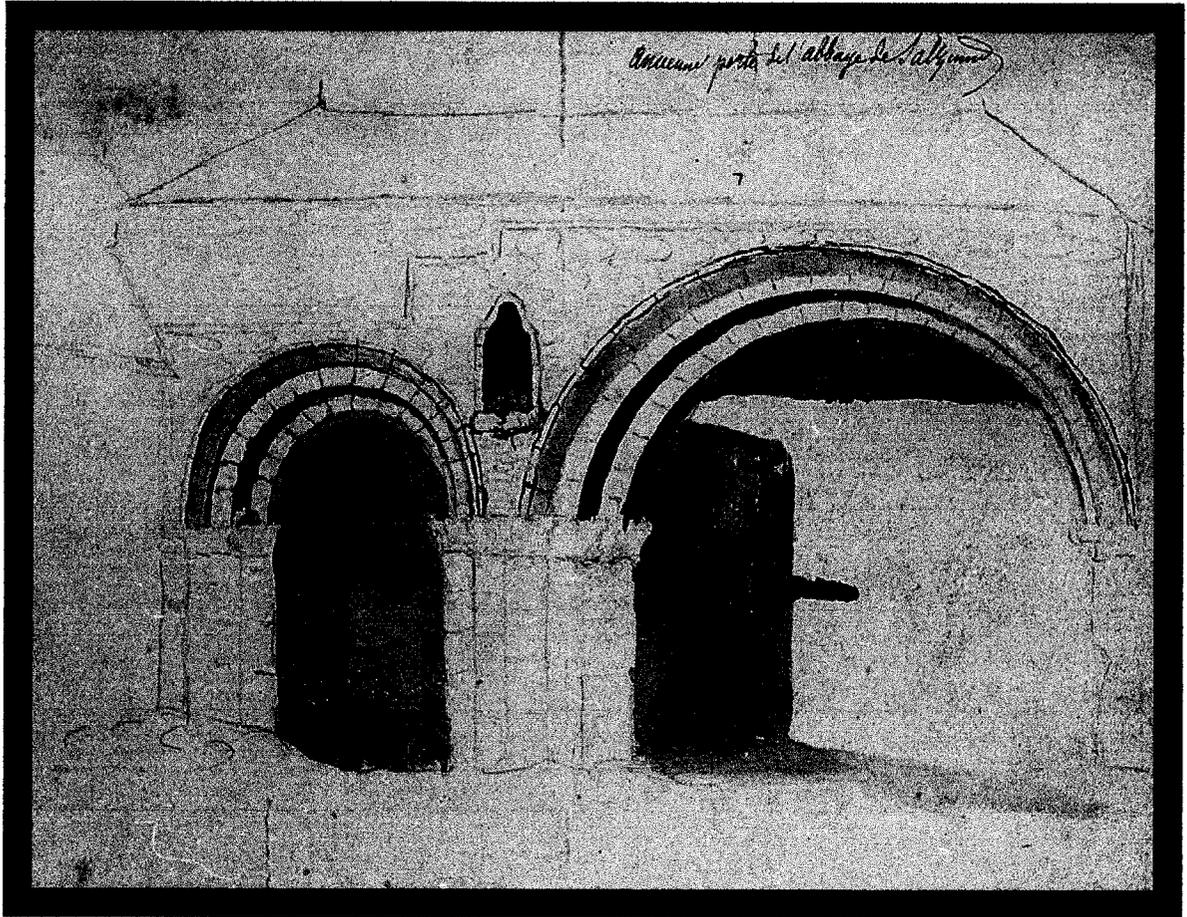
- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| .5 | Portrait of Bishop William Walsh of Halifax | 264 |
|----|---|-----|

Photo courtesy of the Archdiocese of Halifax

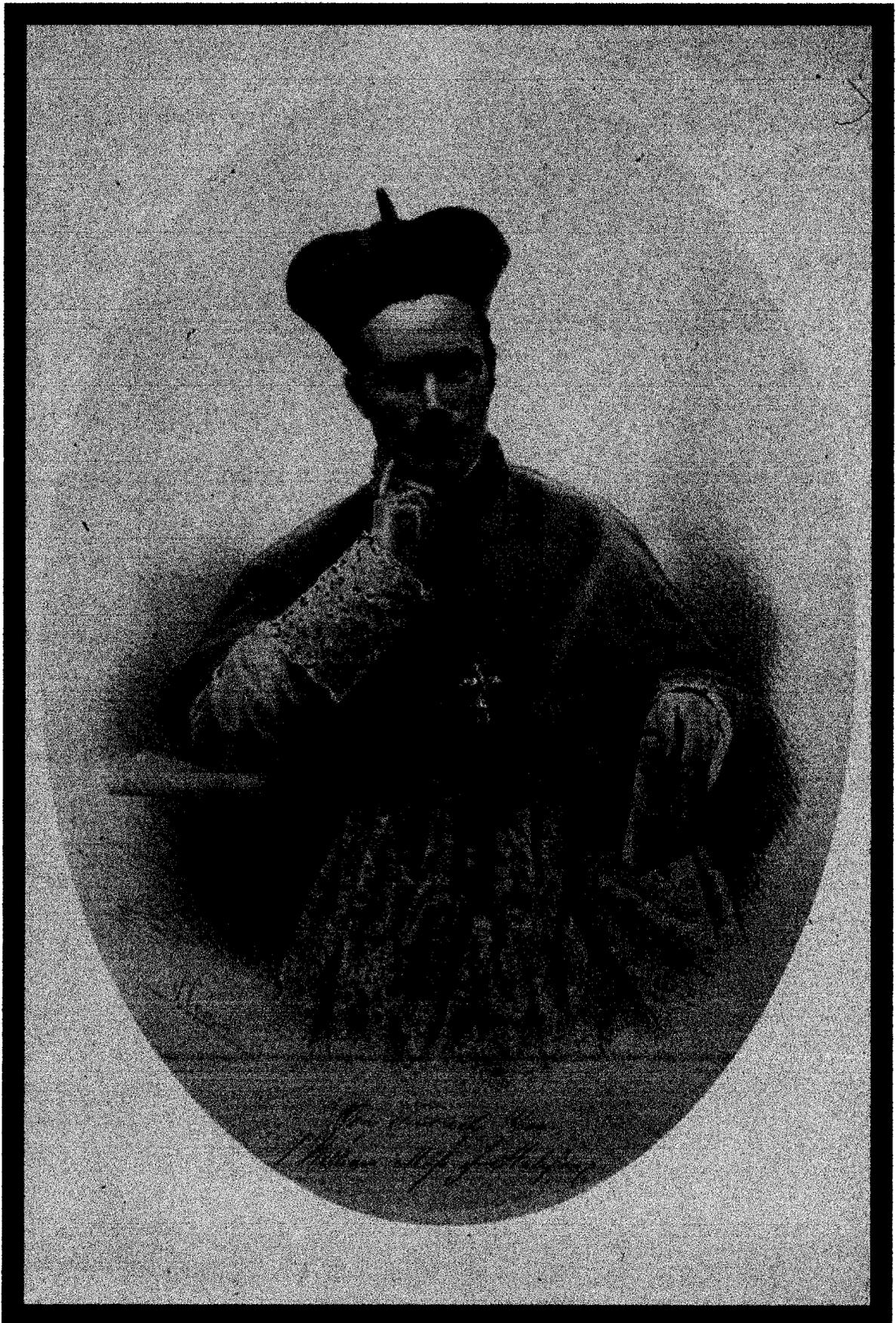


50. d. De ABDY SALSINE langs de Sambre by NAMEN 1740. H.S.f.









SALZINNES ANTIPHONAL - Appendix 8.1
INDEX OF MINIATURES

VOLUME I

- Historiated Illuminations - 4 lines each
- 8.2** .1 *The Annunciation* - Folio 2 recto
- .2 *The Adoration of the Shepherds* - Folio 33 recto
- Illuminations - full page folios each
- .3 *The Adoration of the Magi*
 Leaf interpolated between folios 45 verso and 46 recto
- .4 *The Baptism of Christ*
 Leaf interpolated between folios 50 verso and 51 recto
- .5 *The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane*
 Leaf interpolated between folios 117 verso and 118 recto
- .6 *The Resurrection of Christ - the Road to Emmaus*
 Folio 126 recto
- .7 *Christ in Majesty and Assembly of Saints*
 Folio 126 verso
- .8 *The Holy Kinship*
 Leaf interpolated between folios 133 verso and 134 recto

VOLUME II

- Historiated Initials of Saints - 2 lines each
- 8.2** .9 *St. George* - Folio 18 recto
- .10 *St. Maurice* - Folio 24 verso
- .11 *St. Hubert* - Folio 30 recto
- .12 *St. Juliana* - Folio 36 verso
- .13 *Colophon* - Folio 40 verso
- .14 Salzennes Antiphonal - Front Cover
15. Salzennes Antiphonal - Back Cover
- .16 Researcher Judy Dietz examining the Salzennes Antiphonal
- .17 Image of the opened Salzennes Antiphonal

Photographs courtesy of the researcher.

11

Spiritus
 a longe
 ecce vultu
 tuo de
 potentiam venientem et
 nebulam totam terram te
 gentem. Et te obmanc
 et dicite. Quia no
 vis si tu es ipse. Qui reg
 natus es in populo israel.

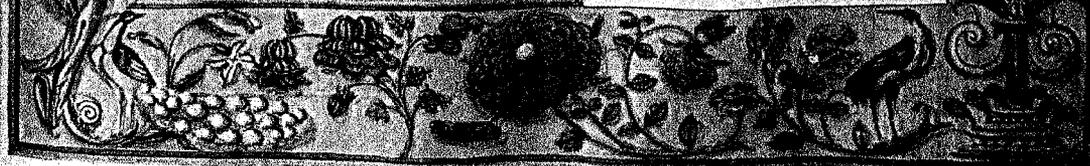
ARGENTINA... BEHN... FESTA... WENIGER...
 ...AMA... NIGATA... U... I... F... G...

xxxij.

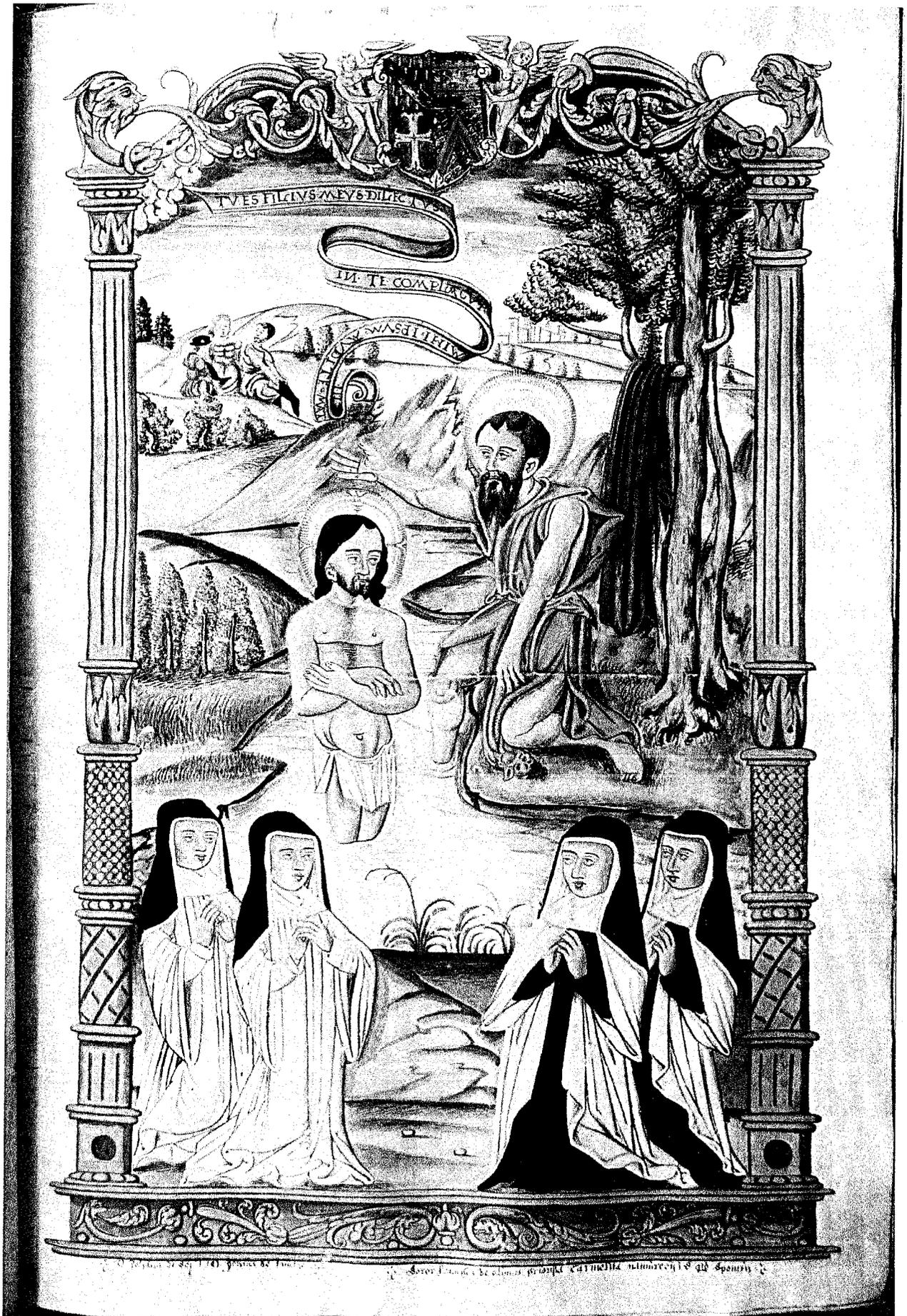
Quoniam sponsus dominus procedens de thalamo suo. ps. Celi eni. **D**iffusa est gratia in labijs tuis propterea benedixit te deus in eternum. ps. Exultant. **A**uscipimus deus misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui. ps. Magni oritur diebus domini abundantia pacis et dominabitur. ps. Deus in die. **V**eritas de terra orta est et iusticia de celo profexit. ps.



Quoniam sponsus dominus. **B**enedixisti dominus propter hoc. **D**ic nobis et loquere rex de virgine nativitate sci dei.

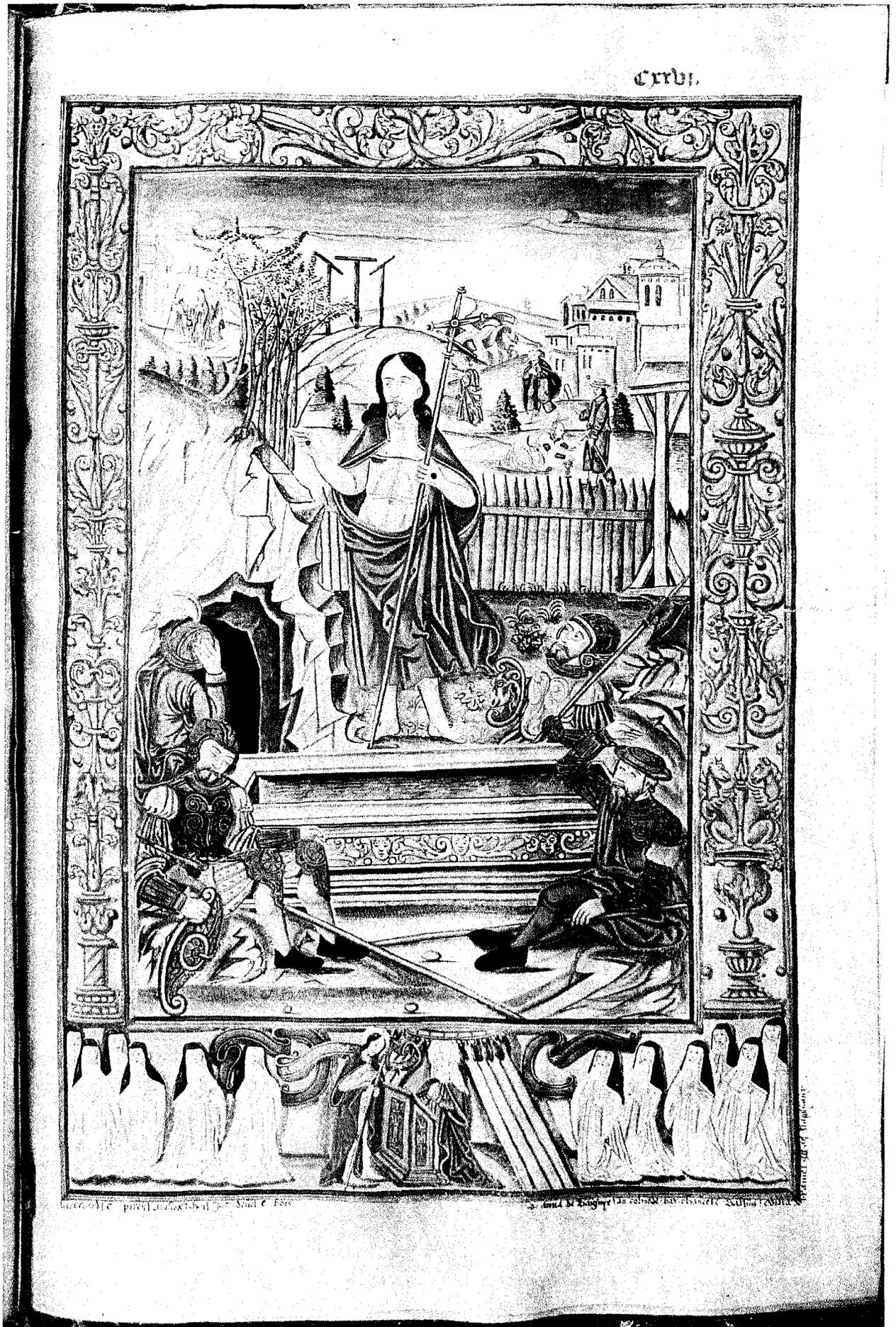


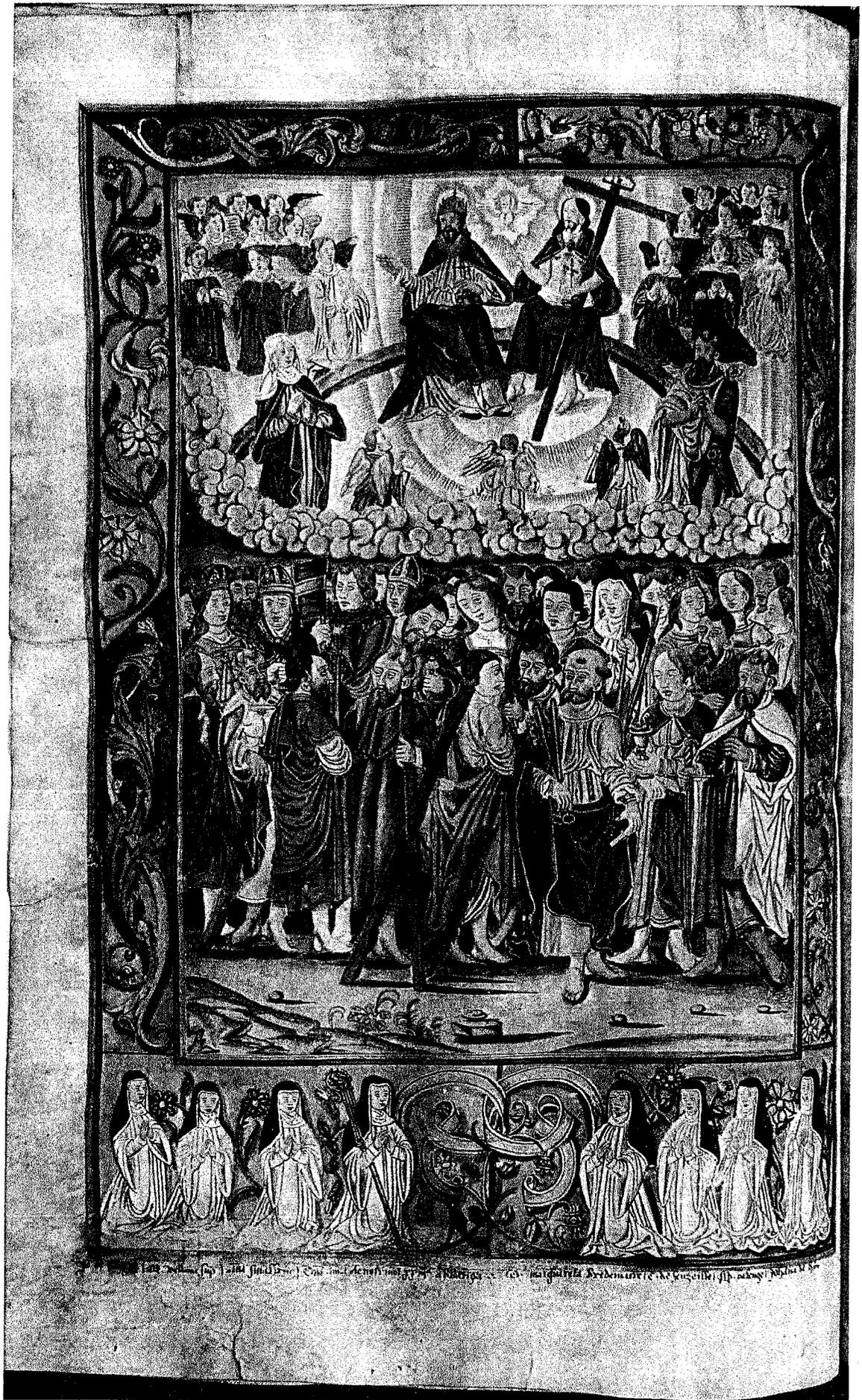




... ..









xviii.

constitutus est in monte sancto eius. ps. Quare fecit.

Inuocante exaudivit dominus sanctum suum dominus ex

audivit eum et constituit eum in pace. ps. Cum iuo.

Auto bone voluntatis tue coronasti eum domine.

ps. Verba. **D**omine dominus noster quam admira

bile est nomen tuum in universa terra quia glo

ria et honore coronasti sanctum tuum et constitu

isti eum super opera manuum tuarum. ps. Ipsi. Ant.

Iustus dominus et iustitias dilexit equitatem

Ep. paschali. Ant. All. viii.

vidit vultus eius. ps. In domino. Ant. Si cum domino. Constitutus.



DE BRITANNIA DE WASHINGTON

Sic sanctus pro lege dei su

i certavit usque ad mortem et a

1177

qui in terra sunt eius mirificavit oēs volun-
 tates meas inter illos ps. **C**onserva. *Exultet vultu
 respectu dei et de
 letet i letitia. R.*



Sicut get de us oēm lachry-
 mam ab oculis sanctorum et
 iam non erit amplius neq; luctus
 neq; clamor sed nec ullus dolor. Quomā
 pro ea transierūt. **N**on clurent
 neq; sitient amplius et nō cadet super illos sol
 neq; ullus est frigus. **Q**uia san-
 cte glorio sis sanguine fide rit pro do-
 mi no amaverūt dxi stū in vita su a imi-
 tati sunt e um in morte su a Et ideo

xxx.



Tempore pasche. In unitate. Alla. in. In primo n. an.
Beatus vir. Ut in nat. vniuersis. V. Iustum
adunat dñs p bias ritas. Et ostendit illi regnū dei.

Vge serue bone et fide. Is quia

super pauca fusti fide. Is supra multa

te confi tu am. Intra in gaudium do

mini tu i. Alle lu ya. versus.

Do nunc quinq; talenta tradidisti mihi

et ce alia quinq; super lucratus sum. Intra.

Hec sacerdos magnus qui in diebus

is placuit de o. A deo iure iuran do

fecit illū dominus crescere in plebem

su am. **B**enedictionem omniū

gentiū dedit il li et testamentū suū confirma



Effusa est gratia in
 labijs tuis propterea benedi-
 dixit te deus in eternum. **D**ile-
 xisti iusticiam et odisti iniquitatem pro-
Speravi in misericordia tua et pulchritudine tua.
 Intende prospere procede et re-
Gna. **P**ropter veritatem et mansuetudi-
 nem et iusticiam. **I**nter **P**ropter
 veritatem et mansuetudinem et iusti-
 ticiam. Et deducet te mirabiliter dex-
Ter tua. **A**udi filia et vide
 et inclina aurem tuam et obliviscere populum tuum

Speciosa
 et pulchra
 in xpo


 vs. Elongat eam ad vā. sup. ps. an. d. q. pulchra.
 a. Agra lu. a. pulchra. an. her. est. v. Spe. tua. h. n.
Euouac. Iesu corona. d. Diffusa. Ad magnificat. an. f.

Quinq; prudentes virgines acceperunt oleum
 in vasis suis cum lampadibus media autē nocte
 clamor factus est ecce sponsus venit exite
 obviam christo domino. **Euouac.** Amos. 5. 5.

Lhe libure feist faire Dame Julienne
 de glynnes prieuse de sallines Jaudit
 grande chanter de ce lieu. Priez
 dieu pour elle.

