

Controlling Space, Disciplining Voice

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The Congregation of Windesheim and Fifteenth-Century
Monastic Reform in Northern Germany and the Low Countries

Beheersing van ruimte en disciplineren van de stem

De congregatie van Windesheim en monastieke hervorming in
Noord-Duitsland en de Lage Landen in de vijftiende eeuw

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Abbreviations

Primary Sources (Manuscripts and Prints)

- Agnietenberg Ordinarius Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448 (provenance: Sint-Agnietenberg by Zwolle; 1456)
- CCW ms. lat. 10882 [Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10882 (provenance: parchment from St. Johannes Baptista in Rebdorf; 15th century)
- CCW ms. lat. 10883 [Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10882 (provenance: St. Johannes Baptista in Rebdorf; c. 1432–1434)
- D [Diepenveen sisterbook] Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Coll. van Rhemen, inv. no. 1 (provenance: Meester-Geertshuis (“Master Geert’s house”), a community of religious women in Deventer; 1534)
- DV [Diepenveen sisterbook] Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 E 26 KL (provenance: Diepenveen; 1524)
- Heiningen Processionale Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 875 Helmst (provenance: Heiningen; after 1451)
- Heiningen Ordinarius Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 649 Helmst (provenance: Heiningen; c. 1460)
- OW [Ordinarius Windeshemensis] Refers to the book type
- OW 1521 Deventer: Albertus Pafraet, 1521 (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, F qu 447 (Rariora) dl 1)

Steterburg Manuale	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1028 Helmst (provenance: Steterburg; after 1451)
[Utrecht] Manuale	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 432 (4 F 16) (provenance: a male Windesheim monastery; after 1431)
<i>Statuta ordinis cartusiensis</i>	Basel: Johannes de Amerbach, 1510 (Basel, Universiteitsbibliotheek, AK VI 21)

Modern Editions of Primary Sources

ACW	[Acta capituli Windeshemensis] Sape van der Woude, ed., <i>Acta van de Kapittelvergaderingen der Congregatie van Windesheim</i> (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953)
Brinkerink	[Edition of manuscript DV] D. A. Brinkerink, ed. <i>Van den doeckden der vuriger ende stichtiger susteren van Diepen Veen ('Handschrift D'). De tekst van het handschrift.</i> (Groningen: Wolters, 1904)
Busch, <i>Chron. Wind.</i>	Johannes Busch, "Chronicon Windeshemense," in <i>Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum. Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete</i> , ed. Karl Grube (Halle: Historische Kommission der Provinz Sachsen, 1886), 1–375
Busch, <i>Liber</i>	Johannes Busch, "Liber de reformatione monasteriorum," in <i>Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum. Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete</i> , ed. Karl Grube (Halle: Historische Kommission der Provinz Sachsen, 1886), 377–799
CCW	[Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium] Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand, eds., <i>Les constitutions des chanoines réguliers de Windesheim. Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

CM	[Constitutiones monialium] Rudolph van Dijk, ed., <i>De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559: bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van het kapittel van Windesheim</i> (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, 1986)
CSOP	[Constitutionum Sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum] “Liber Constitutionum Sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum.” In <i>Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> 3 (1897): 337–48
<i>Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis</i>	Lucas Jocqué and Ludovicus Milis, eds., <i>Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis</i> . Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 61. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984)

Secondary Literature

Acquoy I, II, III	Johannes G. R. Acquoy, <i>Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed</i> . 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1875–1880)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Monasticon I, II, III, IV	Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Anton G. Weiler, eds., <i>Monasticon Windeshemense</i> . 4 vols. (Brussel: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, 1976–84)

Usual Abbreviations

fn.	footnote
fol. / fols.	folio / folios
ms.	manuscript
p.	page
r	recto
ra / rb	recto, first column / recto, second column
v	verso
va / vb	recto, first column / verso, second column

Notes to the Reader

Terminology

I use the terms “monastery” and “house” interchangeably to designate the buildings and the male or female religious communities living inside.

Windesheim sources use interchangeably the words “monialis” and “soror” to refer to female religious women who took their vows. Given the fact that the Congregation followed the Rule of St Augustine, I chose to translate these words by (resp.) “canoness” and “sister”. Like the sources, I use these terms interchangeably. The same goes for “frater”, translated to “canon”.

In the primary sources, the word “Chapter” (“capitulum”) is used to designate the annual meeting of the priors of Windesheim and, by extension, the monastic union (or Congregation) of male and female houses officially incorporated. Consequently, the words “Chapter” and “Congregation” will also be used interchangeably to designate the annual meeting or the monastic union in the following study. The word “Chapter” is capitalised, in order to make a distinction with a “chapter” (lower case) of a book. The word “Congregation” is capitalised when it refers specifically to the Congregation of Windesheim. Following common usage in modern scholarship, and to avoid confusion with homonyms, the following words are also capitalised: Mass, Divine Office (as well as Matins, Lauds, etc.), Order (when it refers to a monastic Order), Rule (when it refers to a monastic Rule), and Church (when it refers to the Catholic Church).

Following common usage, “Brother” and “Sister” are capitalised when they refer to the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life. It enables me to make a distinction between the inhabitants of these religious communities, and brothers and sisters (lower case) who lived in Windesheim monasteries.

“Visitor” and “Visitation” are capitalised when they refer to the official Visitors sent by Windesheim for the annual inspection of the monasteries (Visitation) in order to avoid confusion with more casual guests and visits. The present study makes no reference to the feast of the Visitation and, therefore, no confusion can be made with it.

Quotations

To avoid confusion, when two (or more) authors have the same name, the initial of the surname is repeated throughout the study (e.g., Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk and Mathilde van Dijk are quoted as (resp.) R. van Dijk and M. van Dijk).

Three modern editions are frequently quoted in this study: the *Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium* edited by Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), the *Constitutiones monialium* edited by Rudolph van Dijk (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, 1986), and the *Acta capituli Windeshemensis* edited by Sape van der Woude (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953). These editions are accompanied by a (more or less) extensive critical commentary. In order to distinguish quotations of the edition of the sources from references to the critical introductions, I give the names of the editors when I refer to their critical discussions (resp. Haverals and Legrand, CCW; R. van Dijk, CM; and Van der Woude, ACW). When I refer to their edition, I only use the abbreviations of the title (resp. CCW; CM; and ACW).

When a similar passage from the CCW and the CM is quoted, preference is given to the (male) spelling of the CCW for the sake of legibility. The differences between the male and female versions of the constitutions are not made explicit as long as they do not impact on the meaning; e.g.: are not stressed word orders being inverted, gender differences, differences in words which do not alter the meaning of the sentence (e.g., ut, et, vel, etc.).

Translations

Translations from the CCW are adapted from the recent French translation of Haverals. Unless otherwise stipulated, any other translations are mine. When in a footnote, Latin and Middle-Dutch quotations paraphrase the main text; for this reason, they are not translated. When the quotations figure in the main text, translations are provided next to the original text.

Introduction

Some time in the 1430s the General Chapter of the Congregation of Windesheim added a striking new decree to its constitutions:

Moniales non faciant processiones, sed in choro cantant que proprie ad processionem cantanda ordinata sunt. Canonesses are not to perform processions, but sing in the choir [the chants] which are ordained to be sung for the processions.¹

Issued by the highest authority of the Congregation, this stipulation explicitly prohibited any form of processional movements to female members, while instructing them to sing the processional chants in a stationary way inside the choir.

This prohibition was decided in the same years as several other momentous decisions concerning the female houses that were incorporated into the Congregation. One of the most important triggers for this flurry of activity may have been a Bull of Pope Eugenius IV issued in 1436, probably upon request of the Chapter of Windesheim.² It explicitly forbade the incorporation of new female houses into the Congregation. In the same year, a new decree detailed the very few persons who were endowed with the authority to grant permission to outsiders to enter the enclosure of female houses:

Nulli detur licentia ingrediendi clausuram monialium nisi per capitulum generale vel privatam, nisi talis fuerit persona cui de iure liceat vel negari non possit. No one is to receive permission to enter the canonesses' enclosure, except by approval of the General Chapter or the Private Chapter, except if such person has the legal right to do so or if it is not possible to refuse.³

¹ See the edition of the constitutions of Windesheim for female monasteries: Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk, ed., *De constituties der Windesheimse vrouwenkloosters vóór 1559: bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van het kapittel van Windesheim* (Nijmegen: Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, 1986), 828 (hereafter: CM). The date of this decree is discussed below.

² The Bull is summarised in Johannes G. R. Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed* (Utrecht, 1880), vol. 3, 290 (hereafter: Acquoy III); and in Sape van der Woude, ed., *Acta capituli Windeshemensis. Acta van de Kapittelvergaderingen der Congregatie van Windesheim* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953), 31–32 (hereafter: ACW). Within the framework of this study, I was not able to identify a contemporaneous source for this Bull. It is not mentioned in the *Bullarium Romanum (Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio)*, Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo, vol. 5, 1860). When mentioning this prohibition, all scholarship refers to Acquoy and to the ACW. This of course does not exclude survival of (a copy of) the Bull in the Vatican archives, subject to further research.

³ ACW, 31. The legal right to enter the enclosure was restricted to a select group of canons from Windesheim (the Visitors, the *confirmatores* who confirmed the election of a new prioress, the *commissarius*, the rector; see part I for a

In addition, in 1438 the General Chapter further reinforced its tight control over its canonesses by decreeing that female houses would henceforth be subject directly to the authority of the Chapter.⁴ This means that the General Chapter exerted its control on female houses without intermediary of other houses within the Congregation, as would have been the case for male houses: the *commissio monialium* (the “commission of the canonesses”, a group of at least four canons in charge of the general supervision and spiritual state of female houses) always had to report directly and exclusively to the Chapter, which made the ultimate decisions.⁵ The links between female houses and the Chapter of Windesheim before 1438 are not clear. However, the need to propose such a decree suggests that individual female houses had looser ties with the Chapter until then, and that the *commissio monialium* did not systematically report to the Chapter when important decisions had to be made.

In the following years frequent additions to the constitutions were made to reinforce the control of female houses within the Congregation. For instance, in 1444 the General Chapter confirmed an addition according to which rectors of canonesses had to run the female houses immediately after the predecessor.⁶ This suggests that some female houses were sometimes left without a rector and that the Chapter wanted to remedy this by ensuring a continuous spiritual and material care of female houses and, at the same time, a continuous control. Moreover, in 1446 an addition to the constitutions was confirmed to reinforce the enclosure of the windows and the doors, with the exception of the opening which main door, which was specifically meant to facilitate the conveyance of food.⁷ These decisions, taken in the 1430s and 1440s, show a growing

description of these roles). Persons to whom access could not be refused included (male or female) founders of a house, high-ranking prelates, workmen or rescuers in case of emergencies (fire, war, or similar); see part II, chapter 3. The Private Chapter, composed of three priors of Windesheim monasteries appointed every year, could be summoned for any issue that arose during the year, which could not wait until the next General Chapter to be resolved (see part I, chapter 1).

⁴ “Monasteria monialium immediate stabunt sub capitulo.” ACW, 33. The last two decrees were approved in the following years (respectively 1437 and 1439) but were never confirmed. Each new decree had to be approved by three consecutive Chapter meetings before being officially integrated within the Windesheim legislation. Even if the two decrees mentioned here were not officially added to the Windesheim legislation, their occurrence in two consecutive Chapter meetings point at a need to regulate the relationships between Windesheim and its female houses. On the process of decision-making by the General Chapter, see part I, chapter 1.

⁵ The *commissio monialium* was composed of at least a *commissarius* (in charge of the overall organisation and spiritual care of the female houses, such as the nomination of the rector, the investiture of the novices, and the administration of the sacraments), a rector (responsible for the local spiritual and material state of the house), a *socius* (a companion, helping the rector in his tasks), and a converse (helping the rector and his companion with lay people attached to the female house). R. van Dijk, CM, 29. For more on the *commissio monialium*, see part I, chapter 2.

⁶ “Rectores monialium nostri capituli habeant locum immediate post priorem.” ACW, 38. The rector was appointed among canons of a Windesheim monastery and was not necessarily a prior in his monastery. Therefore, in this quotation, I translate the Latin “post priorem” by “after the predecessor” rather than by “after the “prior”.

⁷ “Addatur in statutis monialium de clausura rotarum et fenestrarum excepto ostio per quod victualia inferuntur.” ACW, 40.

tendency by the Chapter to establish tight rules that would ensure control, on the one hand, of female houses' relationships to the Chapter and its representatives and, on the other, of the use of space, whether in its interactions with the outside world (reinforcing the physical means to keep enclosure) or within the enclosed space (forbidding of processions). Among them, the prohibition of processions stands apart because it significantly impacted (even hindered) long-established liturgical practices of Augustinian canons.⁸

It is generally assumed that processions (whether liturgical or not) are always connected with movement. According to Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Velten, movement even constitutes the very essence of processions.⁹ Through movement and other characteristics (sounds, objects, participants), processions reflect the social and religious order and, as such, they connect the participants together, in a collective performance. They not only *reflect* but also *create* relationships between past, present, and future events, between the individual and the collective.¹⁰ Liturgical processions commemorate biblical events or solemnise a movement which is required any way (e.g., at a burial).¹¹ Therefore, they were central in the daily life of canons and canonesses, whose most important duty was the celebration of the Divine Office.

As we shall see later when I analyse the architecture of a typical Windesheim female house, processions could certainly have been organised within an enclosure: even within this carefully delimited space where canonesses lived, where no one else was allowed to enter, and on which the Congregation of Windesheim placed such special emphasis, such possibilities could have been created if that had been the wish of the Congregation. Indeed, case studies discussed in modern scholarship attest to the well-established performance of processions inside or outside the enclosure by religious women who technically lived in enclosure.¹² However, Windesheim clearly

⁸ Such a proscription seems to have been made only once in earlier times, by Archbishop of Rouen Eude (or Eudes) Rigaud: in the twelfth century, he prohibited the Benedictine nuns of Montivilliers to continue processing and instead ordered them to sing processional chants in their choir: Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi rothomagensis: journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen*, ed. Théodose Bonnin (Rouen: Auguste le Brumet, 1852), 472. This case, however, is poorly documented and would deserve more in-depth research; in any case, it is highly exceptional. In modern scholarship, it is only briefly mentioned in Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 141; and Leonie V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050-1300: Space, Gender, and Social Pressure* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), esp. 49 and 161.

⁹ "... ces formes [the processions] ont en commun de produire leurs significations à partir du mouvement qui en constitue l'essence." Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten, "Introduction," In *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la procession*, eds. Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 24.

¹⁰ Gvozdeva and Velten, "Introduction," 23.

¹¹ See, for instance: Aimé-Georges Martimort, "Les diverses formes de procession dans la liturgie," *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 43 (1955): 44.

¹² A telling example is the nuns of the Benedictine Abbey of Sainte-Croix in Poitiers in the fifteenth century, discussed by Jennifer C. Edwards, *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2019), 201–28. Gabriela Signori also mentions several late medieval examples in Benedictine

prohibited *any* kind of processional movement in *any* kind of space. Prohibiting such movements is therefore a stringent new rule that indicates a significant shift in attitude towards both female monastic bodies and the spiritual meaning of enclosure. The present study aims at explaining this exceptional decree.

Not only the female constitutions attest to the prohibition of processions in female houses. The same decree concerning canonesses is also copied in at least one version of the male constitutions, albeit with a small variation and some examples, to remind any canons engaged in the *cura monialium* of their supervisory duties towards their sisters:

<i>Moniales non faciant processions, sed possunt</i>	Canonesses are not to perform processions, but
<i>cantare in choro que proprie ad processionem</i>	they can sing in the choir [the chants] which
<i>cantanda ordinata sunt, sicut in</i>	are ordained to be sung for the processions,
<i>Purificacione beate Marie, in</i>	such as on the Purification of Blessed Mary,
<i>dominica Palmarum et festo Pasche.</i>	on Palm Sunday and on the feast of Easter. ¹³

This version of the prohibition clearly forbade processional movements on some of the most important days of the liturgical calendar. It is copied next to a decree that was issued in 1430, so the prohibition of processions must have been decided after this date and in close chronological proximity to it.¹⁴ Its copy in a male version of the constitutions was meant to ensure that Windesheim canons supervising female houses would know about the prohibition, too. It indicates the importance of this regulation for the organisation of the female Windesheim liturgy and, therefore, its importance for the spiritual construction of the Congregation as a whole.

Moreover, while the chapter on the cantor in the male constitutions indicates that he was in charge of organising and controlling processions, including a watch over the proper movements of the monastic bodies,¹⁵ the same sentence was omitted in the corresponding chapter of the constitutions for female communities.¹⁶ All the manuscripts of the female constitutions that have

abbeys in “Wanderers Between Worlds: Visitors, Letters, Wills, and Gifts as Means of Communication in Exchanges Between Cloister and the World,” in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey H. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), esp. 260–61.

¹³ *Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium* (CCW), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10882, fol. 110^r (emphasis mine).

¹⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 513. The prohibition of processions is not mentioned in the edition of the ACW. However, some stipulations copied in the chapter “De diversis statutis” (see below) are dated in the ACW. R. van Dijk compared manuscripts of Windesheim constitutions containing this prohibition with the dating of the ACW and concluded 1430 as the *terminus post quem* for the prohibition and 1444 as the *terminus ante quem*. Moreover, the stipulation is copied in another manuscript of the CCW dated by Haverals and Legrand from c. 1432–1434, which confirms this dating of the prohibition of processional movements in female houses (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10883, fol. 82^v).

¹⁵ “Ipsius quoque est processiones ordinare et facienda disponere, et eos qui non bene incedunt dirigere.” CCW, 144:16–17.

¹⁶ R. van Dijk, CM, 726–27.

come down to us date from after the 1450s. It is therefore not possible to identify whether this passage was removed from any earlier versions of the female constitutions.¹⁷ However, the chapters on the cantor and on the cantrix are almost identical. Given the fact that the female constitutions were elaborated from the male version of the constitutions, the outright deletion of this passage confirms the great importance ascribed by Windesheim to the prohibition of processions in female houses.

Finally, this stipulation stands apart because canonesses were explicitly allowed, indeed required (“*moniales cantant*”) to sing the processional *chants*, in spite of the prohibition of processional *movements*. The stipulation therefore raises further questions on the use of space and the status of chant versus movement, based on the perceived and constructed relationships between canons, canonesses, the Congregation of Windesheim, and the outside world.

In this dissertation, I seek to contextualise the prohibition of processional movements from the 1430s by analysing the places of bodies moving through monastic space, and of the singing voice in relation to monastic discipline. I will focus on the intentions of the Windesheim Congregation, one of the most successful reform movements within the Catholic Church of the fifteenth century. I argue that the control of space, of movements through space, and of singing practices were inseparable components of the Windesheim liturgy. This control, in turn, contributed centrally to shaping the spirituality of a newly founded Congregation that deliberately wished to reach unity of the hearts through uniform practices in as many monasteries as possible. By comparing sources related to male and female communities, I also bridge the gap often (wrongly) made between the two.¹⁸

This study is largely based on the Windesheim constitutions: these are normative texts, which aimed at implementing uniform practices in order to preserve monastic observance. Because of their prescriptive nature, the constitutions do not give any hints on their actual application in individual monasteries. Frequent repetitions that silence should be kept or that no one is supposed to enter the enclosure of women (see chapter 3) suggest that not every aspect of the constitutions was respected to the letter at all times and in all houses. Therefore, these texts cannot be used to investigate actual reception and application of their content. Consequently, this dissertation specifically addresses how the Chapter of Windesheim conceived and maintained its conception of

¹⁷ See the list of these sources with detailed descriptions in R. van Dijk, CM, 114–72.

¹⁸ Indeed, scholarship on Windesheim monasteries usually either focuses on male houses or on female houses. The two are rarely compared. See the bibliography provided below.

space and voice through the Chapter's *intentions*. In this regard, the constitutions are the best witnesses capturing them.

The introduction which follows offers a brief overview of the history of the Congregation of Windesheim – its foundation, its spiritual goals, and its reforming efforts. I then provide a summary of the historiographical frameworks within which this dissertation has been elaborated. Finally, after a discussion of the main sources, I offer an outline of the chapters which follow.

1. The Congregation of Windesheim: An Overview

a. The Creation of a Monastic Congregation

The Congregation of Windesheim was an assembly of houses of Augustinian canons and canonesses regular organised under the governance of a General Chapter (“capitulum generale”). It is considered to be the monastic branch the Modern Devotion (“*devotio moderna*”), a spiritual movement which promoted inner devotion and personal communication with God, as opposed to going through the mediation of institutional tools and rituals.¹⁹ Rooted geographically in the Oversticht area of the prince-bishopric of Utrecht, in particular the towns of Deventer and Zwolle, the Modern Devotion rapidly spread through the territories encompassed by the current Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium.²⁰ Its first representatives were the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life. Following the teachings of the Utrecht canon Geert Grote (1340–1384),²¹ these people assembled to live together in semi-religious communities: their lifestyle focused on devotion but they did not take any religious vows.

¹⁹ On the spirituality and development of the Modern Devotion, see the following studies, together with the detailed bibliography they provide: Reiner R. Post, *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); John Van Engen, trans., *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988); and John Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

²⁰ “They also spread, toward Münster to the east, Cologne and Liège to the southeast, Brabant and Flanders to the south, and eventually as far as Magdeburg and Rostock to the east and the Upper Rhine to the south.” Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life*, 1.

²¹ Geert Grote studied in Paris and Cologne before spending four years (between 1374 and 1378) in the charterhouse of Monnikhuizen (near Arnhem). However, he himself never took his vows. Rather, he started to preach in the diocese of Utrecht (first with the support of Bishop Floris van Wevelinkhoven of Utrecht, r. 1379–1393) to convert people, and hence, according to him, to save their souls. He notably opened his own house in Deventer to poor and unmarried women, to offer them the possibility to live a religious life without taking the vows. His house then took the name of the “Meester-Geertshuis” (“Master Geert’s house”). It was the first community of Sisters of the Common Life. For more on Geert Grote, see Cebus Cornelis de Bruin, Ernest Persoons, and Antonius Gerardus Weiler, eds., *Geert Grote en de moderne devotie* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1984). On spiritual practices of the Modern Devotion, see Anton G. Weiler, “Over de geestelijke praktijk van de Moderne Devotie,” in *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie – Windesheim 1387–1987*, eds. P. Bange et al. (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1988), 29–45.

Following the desire to live a more structured life, and probably also in reaction to the suspicions of heresy invariably raised by communities of semi-religious people living outside the control of Church authorities,²² some Brothers of the Common Life decided to found a monastery of canons regular. This decision is sometimes attributed to Geert Grote himself, based on a statement by the Windesheim canon Johannes Busch (1399–c. 1480).²³ However, this attribution is now considered highly doubtful: already in the late nineteenth century, J. G. R. Acquoy described Johannes Busch’s history of the foundation of the Congregation as a “legendary ornament” (“legendarische opsiering”).²⁴ More recently, Aloysia Jostes demonstrated that no other sources support Grote’s personal involvement as the initiator of the monastic branch of the Modern Devotion. Rather, according to Jostes, this attribution contributed to the “Windesheim myth” (“Mythos Windesheim”) that Johannes Busch created and shaped in his chronicle of the Congregation.²⁵

In reality, the initiative came from Florens Radewyns, a Brother of the Common Life, and six other Brothers.²⁶ According to Johannes Busch, Florens Radewyns took care of finding a suitable place for building a new monastery – that is, a location suitably removed from the proximity of others. He selected a place called Windesheim, near Zwolle.²⁷ Once this potential location was chosen, the Brothers submitted the project of founding a new canonical community there to Bishop Floris van Wevelinkhoven of Utrecht (r. 1379–1393), who approved it in a letter of 30 July 1386.²⁸

²² On the suspicions raised by the lives of the Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life, see chapter 3 of Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life*, 84–119.

²³ Johannes Busch is now well-known especially for two books he wrote: one on the history of the Congregation and another on the first canons, considered to have been the founding fathers of Windesheim; respectively, *Liber de origine devotionis moderne* and *Liber de viris illustribus*. These two books are now known under the title “Chronicon Windeshemense” and have been edited in *Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum. Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen und angrenzender Gebiete*, ed. Karl Grube (Halle: Historische Kommission der Provinz Sachsen, 1886), 1–375 (hereafter: Busch, *Chron. Wind.*). Busch started writing these works in 1456 and completed them after several revisions in 1464. Bertram Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna: Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005), 58–59. For Busch’s statement on Grote asking to create the Congregation of Windesheim, see the chapter “De transitu magistri Gerardi et de commissione eius super monasterio canonicorum regularium construendo” in Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 262–65.

²⁴ Acquoy I, 46. See also Aloysia Elisabeth Jostes, “Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Verbandsbewußtsein und Selbstverständnis in der Windesheimer Kongregation” (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2008), 20.

²⁵ On the construction of a “Windesheim myth” through Johannes Busch’s chronicle, see Jostes, “Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” 17–134.

²⁶ Florens’ companions were Henricus Klingebijl (Clingebile) from Höxter, Wernerus Keynkamp from Lochern, Johannes van Kempen from Kempen, Henricus Wilde from ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Henricus Wilsen (Hendrik van Wilsen) from Kampen, and Bertholdus ten Hove from Zwolle. They became the first canons of Windesheim. Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 174–75 and 185.

²⁷ Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 266–68.

²⁸ Acquoy III, 262–64 reproduces a copy of the bishop’s letter addressed to Florens confirming the permission to build a monastery in the diocese. According to Acquoy, the letter can be found in a vidimus dated from 20 December 1387, preserved in the Belgisch Rijksarchief, *Inventaire M. S. 2 des chartes du prieuré de St. Martin à Louvain*, no. 1.

The construction of the monastery of Windesheim could therefore start: its church, four altars, a cemetery, and the west wing of the monastery were ready to be consecrated as early as 17 October 1387.²⁹ In 1392 two independent new monasteries, inspired by the Brothers of the Common Life, were founded in the diocese of Utrecht (Mariënborn or Mariëndaal near Arnhem on the Lower Rhine, and Nieuwlicht in Hoorn, situated on the coast of the Zuiderzee in the north of the county of Holland), both with the explicit aim to join the new canonical community of Windesheim. They were followed in 1394 or 1395 by the Augustinian monastery of Eemstein near Dordrecht in the Rhine-Meuse delta (founded in 1377), again in the diocese of Utrecht (see Figure 0.1).³⁰

Figure 0.1: Map of the first four Windesheim monasteries

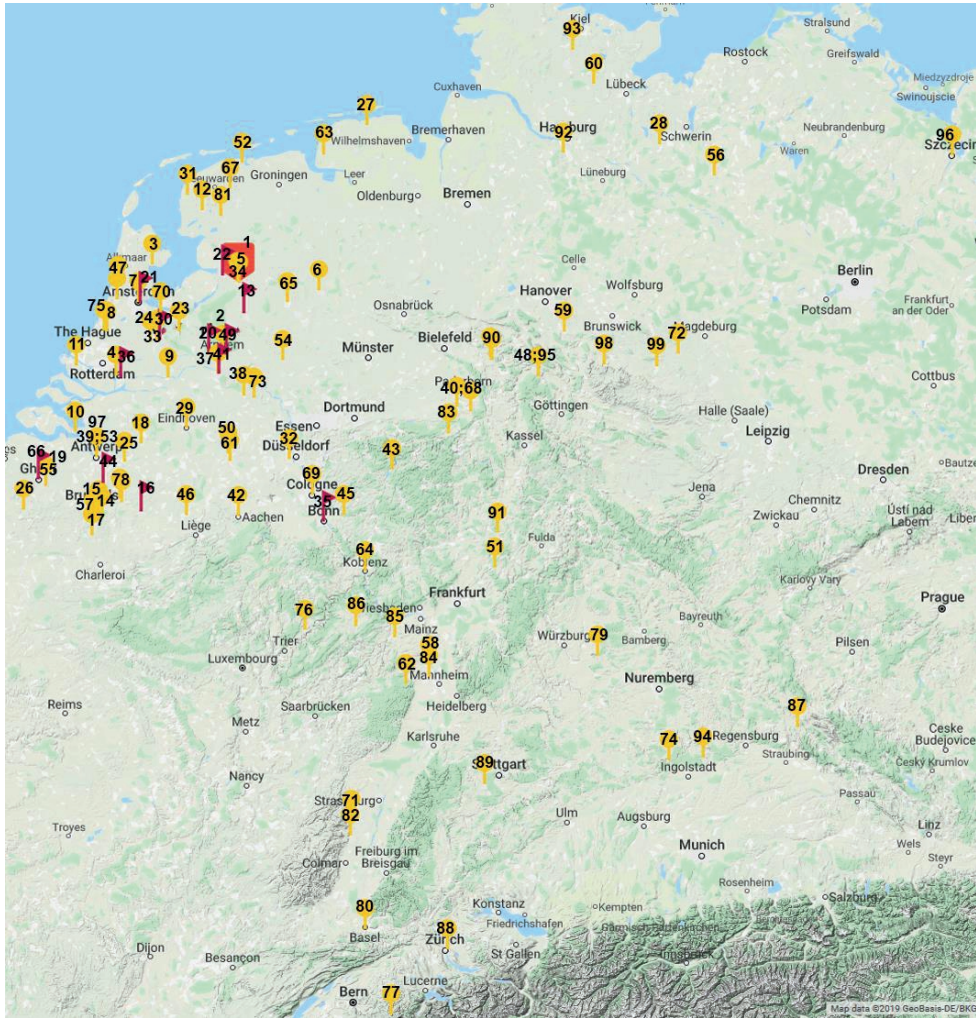


²⁹ According to Johannes Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 284–86. See also Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand, *Les constitutions des chanoines réguliers de Windesheim / Constitutiones canonicorum Windesbemensium* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014) (hereafter: CCW), 6.

³⁰ Information on Windesheim monasteries can be found in: Wilhelm Kohl, Ernest Persoons, and Anton G. Weiler, eds., *Monasticon Windesbemensense*, 4 vols. (Brussel: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, 1976–1984). On the monastery of Mariënborn, see *Monasticon III*, 127–44; on Nieuwlicht, see *Monasticon III*, 323–43; and on Eemstein, see *Monasticon III*, 183–202.

The newly founded Congregation advocated a strict life dedicated to inner devotion and focused on what was perceived by the Congregation as a need for restoring internal discipline within monastic communities, in particular with regard to the three monastic vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity.

Figure 0.2: Map of officially incorporated Windesheim monasteries at the beginning of the sixteenth century



- motherhouse in Windesheim
- incorporated male monastery
- ▲ incorporated female monastery
- 17 numbers refer to the monasteries as numbered in Appendix 1

The Congregation rapidly grew in size, especially with the incorporation of the Chapter of Groenendaal in 1413 (composed of seven monasteries situated in the dioceses of Cambrai and Liège) and of the Chapter of Neuss in 1430 (fourteen monasteries situated in the dioceses of

Cologne, Utrecht, and Paderborn). By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Congregation numbered nearly a hundred houses, mostly located in present-day Belgium, Germany, and the Netherlands (see Figure 0.2).³¹

b. Female Monasteries of the Congregation

Many medieval women were attracted by the ideas of the Chapter of Windesheim and were seeking to live a monastic life in line with its principles. Both existing and newly founded female religious communities therefore requested to join the Congregation. However, during the entire fifteenth century, only thirteen female monasteries were officially incorporated into the Congregation, compared to eighty-five male houses.³² Indeed, as mentioned before, Pope Eugenius IV issued a Bull on 8 November 1436, forbidding new female monasteries to be incorporated into the Chapter.³³ As stated earlier, it is assumed by modern scholars that the Bull followed a request of the Chapter of Windesheim itself, probably because of the time expense which the *cura monialium* (the spiritual care of the canonesses) imposed on Windesheim canons, distracting them from their primary duties.³⁴

The papal Bull, however, did not prevent female monasteries from asking for *cura monialium* from nearby male Windesheim monasteries. While it was henceforth impossible for a female monastery to become an official member of the Congregation, Windesheim priors could still be – and were many times – appointed for the spiritual care of non-Windesheim monasteries which wanted to live the faith as closely as possible to the Windesheim ideals.³⁵ For instance, during the

³¹ Appendix 1 provides a list of the officially incorporated monasteries. See also ACW, 132–33; and R. Th. M. van Dijk and A. J. Hendrikman, “Tabellarium Chronologicum Windeshemense. De Windesheimse kloosters in chronologisch perspectief,” in *Windesheim 1395 – 1995: Kloosters, teksten, invloeden; voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Internationale Congres “600 Jaar Kapittel van Windesheim”, 27 mei 1995 te Zwolle*, ed. Anton J. Hendrikman et al. (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1996), 186–212. The fundamental *Monasticon Windeshemense* provides detailed information on the history and on the locations of surviving sources of each of these monasteries.

³² In the seventeenth century, another female house joined the Congregation: Oostmalle, near Antwerpen, in 1623 (see Appendix 1).

³³ ACW, 31–32. See also Jan Paquay, ed., *Kerkelijke Privilegiën verleend aan het kapittel van Windesheim* (Lummen, 1934), 19. Two exceptions to this prohibition were however made for the monasteries of Beata Maria in Ghent (diocese of Tournai) in 1438, and Facons in Antwerp (diocese of Cambrai) in 1441. Facons is especially discussed by Wybren Scheepsma who focuses on the spiritual experiences of two canonesses of the monastery (Rieviren and Jacomijne Costers), but he does not give any explanation on why these female monasteries joined the Congregation despite the prohibition. It is likely that these exceptions were made because the requests for incorporation were formulated before the official release date of the papal Bull. See Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The “Modern Devotion”, the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings*, trans. David F. Johnson (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), esp. 171–96. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 29; and Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 507.

³⁴ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 12.

³⁵ Facing the impossibility of being an official member of the Windesheim Congregation, Scheepsma explains that: “... many female monasteries adopted the statutes of the Windesheim convents in a more or less derivative form.” Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 15. This, for instance, gave rise to the Chapter of Venlo, a

fifteenth century, canons from the Windesheim monastery of Gaesdonck, near Goch (diocese of Cologne; located in present-day Germany) were responsible for the spiritual care of at least twelve female monasteries.³⁶ Similarly, the Windesheim monastery of Bethlehem in Leuven was responsible for the spiritual care of at least seven female monasteries.³⁷ The extra amount of work for those canons, and the impediments this caused for their spiritual development, were a serious concern for the General Chapter, which, in 1488, forbade Windesheim canons to take further responsibility for female monasteries outside the Congregation.³⁸ Nevertheless, Rudolf van Dijk notes that, in the fifteenth century, over a hundred female monasteries were living in some form of obedience to the Windesheim Congregation. This shows, on the one hand, the desire of women to live in compliance with the Windesheim ideals and under the spiritual guidance of the members of the Congregation; and on the other, the high number of Windesheim canons that continued to be engaged in the *cura monialium*.³⁹

It was often suggested that the *cura monialium* led Windesheim canons to ask for the prohibition of incorporating new female monasteries. But, as Wybren Scheepsma suggests, the *cura monialium* was not an issue in itself. Rather, the fact that each female Windesheim house required a *commissio monialium*, composed of at least one *commissarius*, one rector, one *socius*, and one lay brother, could significantly strain the monastic personnel of male houses.⁴⁰ Therefore, this prohibition most likely stemmed from the will of the Chapter to limit the number of canons leaving their own monastery to take care of the *cura monialium* (perforce neglecting their most important duties, i.e., the celebration of the Divine Office), rather than from any reluctance to take care of the spiritual needs of religious women.

Another possible explanation for this prohibition might be linked to male enclosure. As will be discussed in part II, chapter 3, male monasteries could ask to live in strict enclosure. In the fifteenth century, the Chapter of Windesheim received a constant stream of requests from male

union of female monasteries formed in 1455. The “more or less derivative form” is however difficult to analyse. On this topic, see R. van Dijk, CM, 591–648.

³⁶ Monasticon II, 164–66.

³⁷ Monasticon I, 28–29. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 30; and Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 11–12. While Windesheim canons responsible for the *cura monialium* of incorporated female houses were appointed by the General Chapter of the Congregation, those in charge of non-incorporated female houses were appointed by the local bishops.

³⁸ ACW, 85. The decision was confirmed in 1490 (ACW, 86).

³⁹ R. van Dijk, CM, 30. Koen Goudriaan recently confirmed the involvement of Windesheim canons in the Visitations and/or the supervision of twenty-four female houses that were not officially incorporated into the Congregation, even after the prohibition of 1488. This suggests that existing links were not severed. See the Appendix in Koen Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print: Essays on the Late Medieval Religious Landscape* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2016), 176–81.

⁴⁰ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 11. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 29.

monasteries in the Congregation to live as such.⁴¹ In those cases, any canon responsible for the pastoral care of female houses would need to be granted an exemption to leave the enclosed space.⁴² Therefore, the adjustments necessary to, on the one hand, grant permission to live under strict enclosure for canons and, on the other, to grant exemption to some canons to leave the enclosure, required many case-by-case negotiations (besides subverting the rationale underlying enclosure). Such adjustments no doubt contributed to severely limiting the number of female houses, in order to limit the number of local adjustments in male enclosed houses, too.

As Scheepsma observes, the attitude of the Chapter of Windesheim towards the incorporation of female monasteries is reminiscent of the attitude of the Cistercians, Franciscans, and Dominicans during the thirteenth century: they, too, wanted to limit their involvement in the *cura monialium*, though, as in the case of Windesheim, a number of members of these Orders continued actively to engage in the *cura monialium*.⁴³ Goudriaan convincingly explains this phenomenon (especially in the Windesheim context) by the fact that the vocation of the canons intrinsically urged them “to commit themselves to pastoral care”.⁴⁴ Therefore, the continued engagement of canons in pastoral care of canonesses despite the obstacles described, along with the small number of incorporated female monasteries, raises the question which status canonesses had in the Windesheim organisation and hierarchy; answers to this are provided in part I.

c. Living in Uniformity

A central concern for the General Chapter of Windesheim was uniformity of spiritual and material practices in both male and female houses. It stood at the very essence of the Congregation. The prologue of the Windesheim constitutions emphasises the importance of living in uniformity of monastic observances:

<i>Quoniam ex precepto regule inebmur habere</i>	Seeing that, according to the command of the Rule,
<i>cor unum et animam unam in Domino,</i>	it is required of us to have one heart and one soul
<i>iustum est ut, qui sub una regula et unius</i>	in the Lord, it is right, [since] we live under a single

⁴¹ At least seventeen male monasteries lived under strict enclosure during the fifteenth century: Rooklooster in Oudergem, Zevenborren in Sint-Genesius-Rode, Bethlehem near Leeuwarden, Ten Troon near Grobbendonk, Beata Maria in Corsendonk (all in the diocese of Cambrai); Beata Maria near Neuss (diocese of Cologne); Mariënhage in Eindhoven, Ter Nood Gods in Tongeren (both in the diocese of Liège); Mariënborn (or Mariëndaal) near Arnhem, St. Johannes Evangelista near Amsterdam, Maria Visitatie near Haarlem, St. Salvator in Thabor, Mariënhof in Amersfoort, Regulieren near Utrecht, Nieuwlicht near Hoorn, Engelendaal in Leiderdorp (all in the diocese of Utrecht); and Ter Walle in Elsegem (diocese of Tournai). See Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 370–72; ACW, 47, 41, and 48; and Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 511.

⁴² Willem Lourdaux, *Moderne devotie en christelijk humanisme: De geschiedenis van Sint-Maarten te Leuven van 1433 tot het einde der XVte eeuw* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1967), 47.

⁴³ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 11.

⁴⁴ Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print*, 164–65.

professionis voto vivimus, uniformes in observantiis canonice religionis inveniamur, quatinus unitatem, que interius servanda est in cordibus, foveat et representet uniformitas exterius servata in moribus.

Rule and the promise of a single profession, that we be uniform in the canonical religious observances, so that the outwardly retained uniformity of behaviour may sharpen and display the unity which must be preserved internally in the hearts.⁴⁵

This opening is based on the Rule of St Augustine, which required members of a community to have one heart and one soul in God: only then can the unity of the outside behaviour stimulate and reflect the unity that must be preserved inside, in the heart.⁴⁶ The Congregation of Windesheim, therefore, wanted the same liturgical practices in *all* monasteries affiliated with its Chapter. This was officially sanctioned by an exemption granted by Pope Boniface IX on 16 May 1395: the Congregation was no longer subjected to the episcopal jurisdictions, which otherwise would have required adjustments of the liturgy in accordance with the liturgy of the diocese where the house was located, but henceforth was directly under the Pope's authority.⁴⁷ With this exemption, the Congregation was allowed to require affiliated monasteries to follow the Congregation's regulations, regardless of the diocese in which the houses were built.

The implementation of uniform practices was achieved by the uniformity of all texts used by all houses (official regulations, liturgical books, Bibles, etc.). This was meant to ensure not only the unity of the organisation, but also, and more importantly, the unity of liturgical ceremonies: uniformity had to be implemented at the local level of individual houses *and* between each house. Therefore, the Congregation put the utmost efforts in transmitting texts which would be exactly the same.⁴⁸

The Congregation of Windesheim strove to implement its spiritual ideals of uniformity in as many monasteries as possible. Consequently, in addition to admitting numerous monasteries

⁴⁵ CCW, 40:3–6. The same prologue was used before by the Premonstratensians and reused by the Dominicans.

⁴⁶ "Primum, propter quod in unum estis congregati, ut unanimes habitetis in domo et sit vobis anima una et cor unum in deum." Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), vol. 2, 417.

⁴⁷ Pope Boniface IX was of the Roman Obedience. The territories where the Congregation was active adhered overwhelmingly to that obedience, which explains why they turned to him. See Acquoy II, 70–73; and Acquoy III, 302–5. After the Council of Constance, Pope Martin V renewed the approbation of the Windesheim constitutions in a Bull of 18 March 1420. See Acquoy III, 287; and Hans Michael Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation* (Leverkusen: Borengässer, 1981), 11–12.

⁴⁸ This topic is discussed and exemplified in more detail by Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 304–8; and Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation*, esp. 11–14. The need for uniformity in the smallest details and visible in the transmission of uniform texts is not new and was promoted, among others, by the Dominicans and the Cistercians. See, for instance, Eleanor Giraud, "Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy," in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. Cornelia Linde (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 153–72; and Mette Birkedal Bruun, *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). What this meant in practice in the Congregation of Windesheim will be discussed in my forthcoming article "Flexible Uniformity or Stability over the Years? The Liturgy of Monastic Houses Affiliated with the Windesheim Congregation," in *Resounding Pasts: Music as History and Memory*, ed. Karl Kügle (Furnhout: Brepols, 2019).

which wished to become formal members of the Congregation over the course of the fifteenth century, Windesheim conducted reforms of existing monastic institutions, in what is now the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany.

Reform in this context was triggered by the perceived necessity within the Church to foster properly strict monastic observances in as many monasteries as possible. The religious and moral state of the Church in the fifteenth century, combined with a growing animosity of lay people towards the priests, led to an intensification of the discourse about the need for Church reform.⁴⁹ Restoring proper observance of the Rule and of monastic constitutions was the focus of fifteenth-century Church reform efforts.⁵⁰ To this end, monastic regulations had to be reinstated and regular Visitations carried out to control that these regulations were observed to the smallest details.⁵¹ Uniformity of practices in particular was considered a primary tool to fight against the perceived decline of the Church at that time. The reform initiatives of the Councils of Constance (1414–1418) and Basel (1431–1449) attest to the perceived need of monastic reform and the crucial importance it was given.⁵² The reforms impelled by Windesheim and today known primarily through Johannes Busch's testimony were fully imbricated in these initiatives. In fact, Busch's reproaches against unreformed monasteries were rather commonplace: disrespect of the Rule, private possessions, wrong clothes, irregular celebration of the Divine Offices, or disrespect of the enclosure.⁵³

The first reformer of the Windesheim Congregation was Heinrich Loeder (professed in 1404), prior in Marienwald in Frenswegen, near Nordhorn (diocese of Münster). He reformed monasteries in Westphalia, Saxony, Friesland, and the Rhineland.⁵⁴ Reforming efforts started to be really efficient after the Council of Basel (1431–1449) granted official permission to carry out reform to the priors of the monasteries of Windesheim and of Wülflinghausen, near Wittenburg

⁴⁹ Dieter Mertens, "Monastische Reformbewegungen des 15. Jahrhunderts: Ideen – Ziele – Resultate," in *Reform von Kirche und Reich: Zur Zeit der Konzilien von Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Konstanz-Prager historisches Kolloquium (11.–17. Oktober 1993)*, eds. Ivan Hlaváček and Alexander Patschovsky (Constance: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1996), 158. For a recent discussion and an updated bibliography on this topic, see James Mixson and Bert Roest, eds., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁵⁰ See, for instance, Heike Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten: monastische Reformen des späten Mittelalters in den Vorstellungen von Klosterfrauen* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), 40–41.

⁵¹ Mertens, "Monastische Reformbewegungen des 15. Jahrhunderts" 159.

⁵² See Jürgen Bärsch, "Liturgy and Reform: Northern German Convents in the Late Middle Ages," in *A Companion to Mysticism and Devotion in Northern Germany in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Elizabeth Andersen, Henrike Lähnemann, and Anne Simon (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 24; and Gert Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2016), 308.

⁵³ Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*, 66. For more bibliography on these concerns in other contemporary Orders, see Uffmann, 40–50.

⁵⁴ According to Johannes Busch: "Ex illo ergo priore et sua domo ... plurima capituli nostri monasteria per eos reformata, et que ex ipsis consequenter in Westvalia Frisia Saxonia et circa Rennum sunt exorta, originaliter descenderunt." Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 167. See also Jostes, "Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," 92.

(diocese of Hildesheim), another Windesheim house. The ideals of the Congregation were already known and Windesheim canons were therefore considered particularly well-suited for such a mission.⁵⁵ Reforms then started in the Duchy of Braunschweig-Calenberg and in the dioceses of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, and Verden (see Appendix 2 for monasteries which were reformed in these areas). The Congregation received powerful backing from secular rulers and bishops, who asked Windesheim to reform the monasteries that were on their lands.⁵⁶ In 1451 the cardinal-legate Nicholas of Cusa issued a mandate to Johannes Busch (at that time prior of Neuwerk near Halle, diocese of Magdeburg) and to Paul Busse (prior of St. Mauritius, near Halle) to reform monasteries in what is now Northern Germany, providing further support to the movement.⁵⁷

Despite the mention of the priors Heinrich Loeder and Paul Busse as reformers, little is known about their reforming activities. Johannes Busch, on the other hand, became the main witness of Windesheim reforms: he described the reforms he conducted in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, which he wrote towards the end of his life (between 1470 and 1474).⁵⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, this quasi-autobiographical account of reforms especially focuses on his own activities, but Busch mentions other Windesheim canons who helped him conducting his reforms. As early as the 1430s, Johannes Busch started to reform male and female monasteries, especially in the dioceses of Hildesheim and Magdeburg, upon the instigation of (respectively) the bishop and the archbishop (see Figure 0.3).

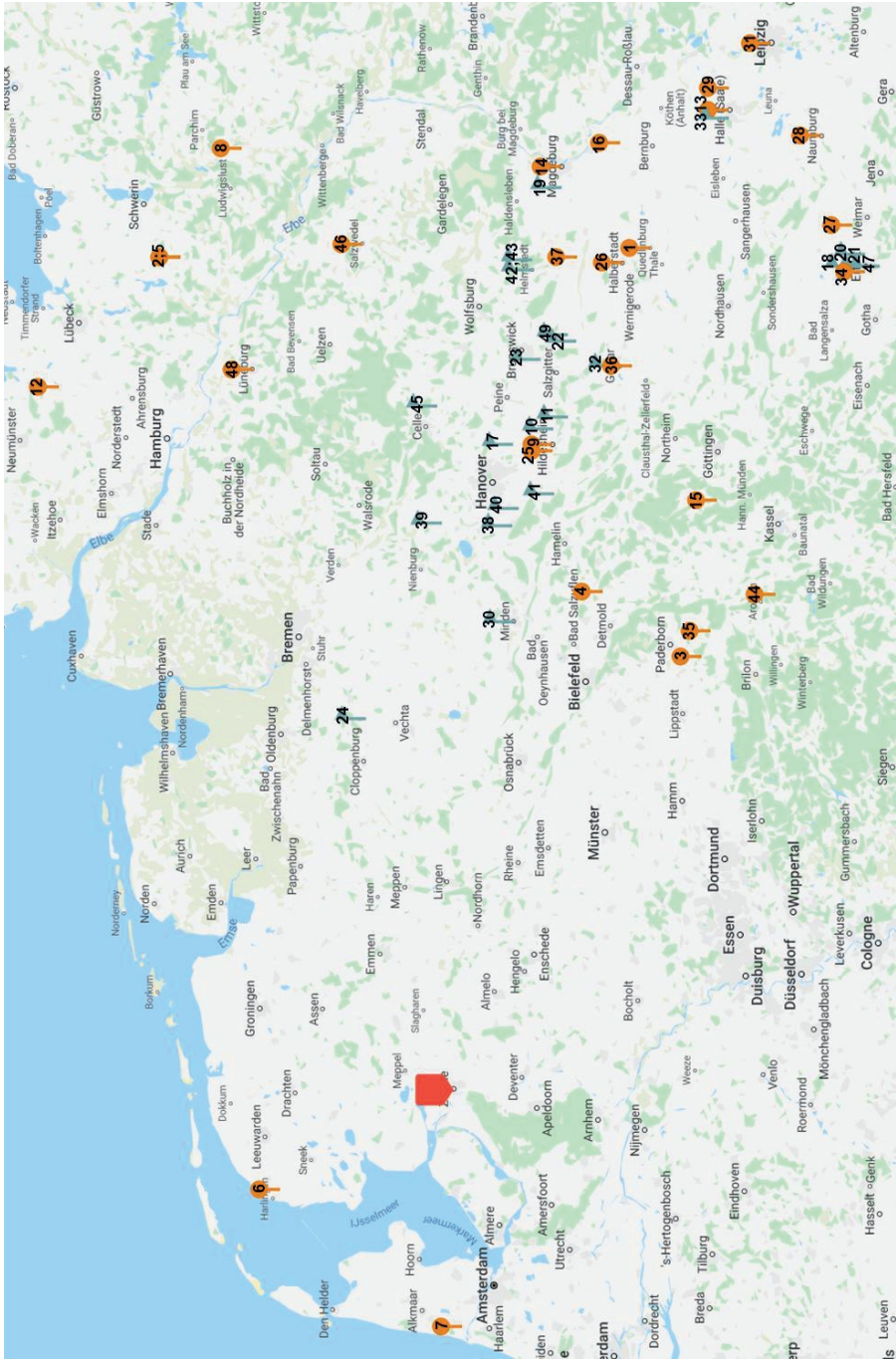
⁵⁵ Sape van der Woude, *Johannes Busch: Windesheimer kloosterreformer en kroniekschrijver* (Edam: Keizer & Van Straten, 1947), 77–81.

⁵⁶ For example, in 1455 Duke Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Calenberg (r. 1423–1473) commissioned the Windesheim canon Johannes Busch to reform several monasteries, such as the female houses of Wennigsen (Busch, *Liber*, 555–58), Mariensee (Busch, *Liber*, 562–65), Barsinghausen (Busch, *Liber*, 566–67), and Marienwerder (Busch, *Liber*, 567–68). Prince-Bishop Magnus of Saxe-Lauenburg (r. 1424–1452) also supported Johannes Busch's efforts to reform monasteries of the diocese of Hildesheim.

⁵⁷ Johannes Busch provides a list of about twenty male and female houses that the cardinal legate asked him and Paul Busse to reform, in the dioceses of Magdeburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, and Verden. See Busch, *Liber*, 762 and 765–66. On Nicholas of Cusa, see, recently, Morimichi Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa – A Companion to His Life and His Times*, eds. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (London: Routledge, 2016). On his links with Windesheim, see Karl Grube, “Die Legationsreise des Cardinals Nikolaus von Cusa durch Norddeutschland im Jahre 1451,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 1 (1880): 393–412; Donald Sullivan, “Nicholas of Cusa as Reformer: The Papal Legation to the Germanies, 1451–1452,” *Mediaeval Studies* 36, no. 1 (1974): 382–428; and Nikolaus Stauchbach, “Cusanus und die Devotio Moderna,” in *Conflict and Reconciliation: Perspectives on Nicholas of Cusa*, ed. Iñigo Bocken (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 29–52.

⁵⁸ The *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* was edited by Karl Grube in *Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, 377–799. A new edition is in preparation by Bertram Lesser: *Johannes Busch, Liber de reformatione monasteriorum – Briefe und Predigten. Textkritische Ausgabe. Mit einer Erstedition der Schriften von Hermann Ryd*, Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim (Turnhout: Brepols, in preparation). On Johannes Busch's biography, see the most recent and comprehensive study by Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna*. For a brief introduction to Busch's life and his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, see Julie Hotchin, “Guidance for Men Who Minister to Women in the Liber de Reformatione Monasteriorum of Johannes Busch,” in *What Nature Does Not Teach: Didactic Literature in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 231–41.

Figure 0.3: Map of reformed monasteries listed by Johannes Busch



motherhouse in Windesheim reformed male monastery reformed female monastery 17 numbers refer to the monasteries as numbered in Appendix 2

In Augustinian houses, Busch strove to restore what he considered as the houses' state of purity by implementing Windesheim customs. He often concluded his reports by saying that the reformed houses complied with "our" (i.e., Windesheim's) statutes, liturgies, chants, and ceremonies, which attest to the desired impact of the reform beyond the Congregation of Windesheim itself.⁵⁹ Successful reforms further contributed to the number of officially incorporated houses since, for instance, about fifteen male monasteries which Busch reformed eventually joined the Congregation. More generally, reforms also contributed to the expansion of the Congregation in the fifteenth century, by making it more widely known and powerfully enhancing its reputation as a beacon of the new spirituality of the fifteenth century.⁶⁰

However, Busch did not only reform Augustinian houses: he visited and reformed Benedictine, Premonstratensian, and Cistercian monasteries as well. In those cases, the aim was not to establish Windesheim practices but rather to make sure that every community followed the Rule it had adopted and lived in full respect of the required monastic observances.⁶¹

As in many monastic Orders before Windesheim, the uniformity desired by the Chapter, described in official Windesheim sources, and implemented by reformers such as Johannes Busch, differs somewhat from what can actually be observed in the sources surviving from those houses.⁶² Here, however, the important aspect is that uniform practices were clearly a *goal* to reach, which also accounts for the tight control the Chapter strove to exert over its monasteries. It also means that various degrees of affiliation to the Chapter existed: in addition to officially incorporated monasteries, there were houses which followed the Windesheim regulations without official incorporation into the Chapter, typically because they had recently been reformed according to Windesheim's practices. Though the exact details of their actual connection with the Chapter often remain unclear, this indubitably means that such reformed houses did not participate in the General Chapter meetings and that, most of the time, they were not subject to the annual Visitations

⁵⁹ For instance, Busch writes: "In statutis, ordinario, cantu, et ceremoniis per omnia se nostris conformaverunt" about the female monastery of Heiningen (diocese of Hildesheim), or "Sic ergo nunc in omnibus nobis sunt conformes" about the female monastery of Steterburg (diocese of Hildesheim). Busch, *Liber*, resp. 604 and 607.

⁶⁰ The list of officially incorporated monasteries (Appendix 1) shows that, at first, houses were mainly located in the diocese of Utrecht, before monasteries located farther away began to join. Later, monasteries as far as the dioceses of Basel in the South and of Cammin in the East (duchy of Pomerania) were incorporated, showing the exceptional renown of the Congregation in its heyday.

⁶¹ Jostes, "Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," 96–99. Appendix 2 of the present study provides a list of reformed monasteries discussed by Johannes Busch in his *Liber*, including their monastic affiliations.

⁶² At least if today's understanding of the term "uniformity" is applied – an aspect which I discuss in Louviot, "Flexible Uniformity or Stability over the Years?".

organised by the Chapter. Therefore, Busch's claim that reformed houses followed Windesheim regulations and liturgical uses needs to be carefully considered on a case-by-case basis. Studying sources from reformed houses will shed light on how Windesheim regulations were received in practice outside the Congregation itself, and I shall present detailed evidence for local adjustments in nuancing Busch's statement in part II, chapter 4.

To conclude this historical overview, mention should be made that the Congregation ceased to expand and to pursue its reforming efforts after the fifteenth century. The existing monasteries continued to attract new members, but from the sixteenth century onwards, these were considerably fewer in numbers. For instance, Acquoy mentions that in the monastery of Windesheim, thirty-four novices made their profession between 1490 and 1517, but only six between 1518 and 1541.⁶³ From 1523 onwards, the acts of the General Chapter's annual meetings show a growing anxiety about Martin Luther's preaching, going as far as to forbid members to read Luther's works or to propagate his writings under punishment of imprisonment.⁶⁴ By the middle of the sixteenth century, many Windesheim monasteries in Germany converted to the Protestant faith or were abolished (and sometimes destroyed), which also contributed to the weakening of the Congregation (not to mention the loss of resources it entailed since, most of the time, the relevant properties were confiscated).⁶⁵ The Reformation in the Low Countries had a particularly severe impact on the Congregation, since there, all Windesheim monasteries were "dissolved and partly destroyed before the year 1600, as were all institutions belonging to other Orders".⁶⁶ However, all the houses of Brabant survived, as well as those in Westphalia and in the Rhineland, regions which stayed Catholic. The Congregation therefore survived with thirty-two monasteries in 1663.⁶⁷ In 1790, however, Emperor Joseph II of Austria closed Windesheim houses which were on the territories he controlled; the French Revolution and ensuing invasions of territories with remaining Windesheim houses also led to the abolition of any remaining monasteries.⁶⁸ In 1802 the male monastery of Marienwald in Frenswegen near Nordhorn (diocese of Münster) was the last Windesheim monastery. It was officially closed on 25 October 1808.⁶⁹

⁶³ Acquoy III, 270–72. See also Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 637.

⁶⁴ ACW, 125, 127, and 128.

⁶⁵ See Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 639–40 and 650. The *Monasticon Windeshemensis* provides some information on this aspect of the history of Windesheim monasteries. A detailed comparative study of the sixteenth-century history of Windesheim monasteries still needs to be done.

⁶⁶ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 659.

⁶⁷ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 652. In 1628 the Congregation of Windesheim formed a union with the Canons Regular of the Lateran (founded in 1419). The links between the two and the impact this union had on Windesheim still need further research.

⁶⁸ See *Congregations and Houses: Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim* [http://www.augustiniancanons.org/about/houses_and_Congregations_through_copy\(1\).htm#Windesheim](http://www.augustiniancanons.org/about/houses_and_Congregations_through_copy(1).htm#Windesheim) (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁶⁹ *Monasticon* II, 151.

2. State of Research

The corpus of modern research on the fifteenth-century history of the Windesheim Congregation is extensive. The three volumes written by Acquoy between 1875 and 1880 were central in establishing the core knowledge about the creation of the Congregation and the organisation of Windesheim houses for modern scholarship.⁷⁰ These volumes are especially valuable because of the numerous sources from or connected to Windesheim which Acquoy collected. After the publication of his studies, it was not until the end of the 1960s that Windesheim again attracted significant attention of scholars: in 1968 Reiner R. Post dedicated three chapters to the history of Windesheim in his major work on the Modern Devotion, starting with the foundation of the Congregation and ending with what he calls the “decline” of the Congregation (the beginning of the sixteenth century).⁷¹ In constructing such a broad overview of the Congregation’s history, Post necessarily omitted studying individual, local houses (a fact that he acknowledges in the preface of his book).⁷² However, his historical study is valuable because it places the Congregation into the broader context of the Modern Devotion.

Post’s research is concomitant to a new interest in archival research and source editions concerning Windesheim, which started in the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1960s Willem Lourdaux and Ernest Persoons established a first list of manuscripts of male and female constitutions, complemented by a short overview of their content.⁷³ Both studies were greatly enhanced by the 1986 edition of the female Windesheim constitutions by R. van Dijk.⁷⁴ This edition is complemented by a very detailed analysis of the content of the female constitutions and the sources that influenced them: they are mainly based on the male constitutions, but were also influenced by other Windesheim sources (the *Liber ordinarius* and the *manuale*) and by sources outside the Windesheim Congregation drawn from the Victorines, the Carthusians, and the Dominicans. Though R. van Dijk’s thesis was published more than thirty years ago, it remains a

⁷⁰ Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*.

⁷¹ Chapters 7, 12 and 15 of Post, *The Modern Devotion* deal with the history of the Congregation. Post bases the decline of the Congregation on the “diminishing of the original zeal” in the respect for the monastic observances that can, for example, be seen in the acts of the General Chapter meetings (Post, 639). While a general increase in laxity can indeed be observed in the acts, the Protestant reform also played an important role in diminishing the attractiveness and the prosperity of the Congregation at that time, as alluded to above.

⁷² Post, *The Modern Devotion*, xiv.

⁷³ Willem Lourdaux and Ernest Persoons, “De Statuten van de Windesheim mannenkloosters in handschrift en druk,” *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 6 (1964): 180–224; and Willem Lourdaux and Ernest Persoons, “De Statuten van de vrouwenkloosters aangesloten bij het kapitel van Windesheim,” *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 9 (1967): 231–44.

⁷⁴ R. van Dijk, CM.

fundamental study for Windesheim research: the level of detail and the thoroughness of his source research are extremely valuable to any study of the life of Windesheim female houses.

The male constitutions appeared in an up-to-date modern edition made by Marcel Haverals and Francis Joseph Legrand, in 2014. Based on textual analysis and the date of specific stipulations, the editors established that three manuscripts can be considered representative of the first version of the constitutions.⁷⁵ Their edition of the Latin text (accompanied by a French translation) therefore reconstructs the constitutions in their earliest wordings, according to them. The critical introduction also discusses the influence of other monastic institutions on the male constitutions: though giving much less details than R. van Dijk, the editors identified the same Carthusian, Victorine, and Dominican influences.⁷⁶

Complementary to the Windesheim constitutions are the acts of the General Chapter meetings. Originally, new decisions confirmed by the General Chapter were communicated by the priors to the members of their own monasteries. Additionally, the decisions had to be copied into blank folios reserved for that purpose at the end of pre-existing constitutions books (of which each house had to have its own copy). They were entered in a chapter entitled “Capitulum de diversis statutis”. In the eighteenth century, the Windesheim canons Martinus Schouben and Jacobus Bosmans collected previous decisions taken by the Chapter. The results of their works have been published in an edition by Sape van der Woude in 1953.⁷⁷

These three source groups and their modern editions concern legislative aspects of the Congregation which ruled the daily life of its members. A similar rulebook for the liturgy is the *Liber ordinarius*, which was discussed by Hans M. Franke in 1981.⁷⁸

All these studies sharpen our institutional understanding of the Congregation while providing high-quality research which remains authoritative in today’s scholarship. Such an institution-centred focus was typical for nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries research on religious

⁷⁵ These manuscripts are: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 108 (c. 1434, Groenendaal, near Brussels); Leuven, Rijksarchief, Kerkelijk Archief van Brabant, 15076 (c. 1500, Sint-Maarten in Leuven); and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 56. 24 Aug. 8° (15th century, provenance unknown). See Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 26–33. The first versions of the constitutions were elaborated between 1392 and 1402. In addition, Haverals and Legrand established a list of twenty-three manuscripts of the male constitutions that have survived, thereby completing the first list proposed by Lourdaux and Persoons (which contained eighteen manuscripts).

⁷⁶ These influences are further discussed in part I, chapter 1. See also the two studies by Lucas Jocqué, “Saint-Victor et Windesheim : L’influence de la législation victorine sur les usages windeshémiens au début du XVe siècle,” *Sacris Erudiri – Jaarboek voor Godsdienswetenschappen* 29 (1986): 313–60; and Heinrich Rütting, “Zum Einfluß der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Konstitutionen,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, no. 59 (1985): 197–210.

⁷⁷ See below for more details on this edition and on Schouben’s and Bosmans’ works.

⁷⁸ Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation*. See below for a presentation of the *liber ordinarius* of Windesheim.

Orders.⁷⁹ Only the first decade of the twenty-first century witnessed a shift of focus from the global level of the Congregation to the more local level of individual houses. This turn helped build a considerably more precise idea of the spirituality of Windesheim.⁸⁰ Research in the past decade was especially focused on female monastic life in German-speaking regions, due to the quantity and quality of existing source materials.

The specific roles of individual religious men and women and their relationships in medieval monastic communities are studied more and more often in recent scholarly research. When focusing on the importance of religious women in medieval societies, an issue which frequently appears regardless of the geographical or chronological context, is the distribution of authority among men and women in female monastic communities.⁸¹ A fundamental outcome of this recent approach has been to demonstrate that religious women were not always relegated as secondary elements in the medieval life. This was made possible by the reconsideration of the status of late medieval women by modern scholarship: at least in monastic contexts, they should not only be considered in the category of gendered individuals, but also in the category of religious persons.⁸² For instance, June Mecham demonstrates how nuns of the Lüneburger Klöster “embraced and manipulated prescribed gendered roles as a means of performing their devotion and expressing their identity as religious women”.⁸³ In another context, this is also well exemplified by contemporary statements: Isabeau de Couhé, abbess of the Benedictine abbey of Sainte-Croix in Poitiers, declared in 1466 that “woman as woman may naturally be subject to man as man by reason of sex; nevertheless, man can be subject to woman not as woman but by reason of lordship, office, power, and authority”.⁸⁴

To go beyond the common view of a decline of female authority in the Church in the late Middle Ages, the recent publication of *Partners in Spirit*, edited by Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie

⁷⁹ This is very well illustrated by James Mixsona and Bert Roest “Introduction,” in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, eds. James Mixsona and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), esp. 8.

⁸⁰ An excellent study of this aspect is the dissertation of Jostes, “Die Historisierung der Devotio moderna im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert.”

⁸¹ This aspect is best exemplified by the articles in the following volume: Janet E. Burton and Karen Stöber, eds., *Women in the Medieval Monastic World* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). See also the volume edited by Erler and Kowaleski, which analyses women’s power through their relationships with men: Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski, eds., *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁸² See, for instance, Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, esp. 229–47. The Female Monasticism Database aims at giving more visibility and importance to communities of religious women in scholarly research: <http://femmodata.uni-goettingen.de/> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁸³ June L. Mecham, *Sacred Communities, Shared Devotions: Gender, Material Culture, and Monasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 153. The term “Lüneburger Klöster” designates the Benedictine communities of Walsrode, Ebstorf, and Lüne, and the Cistercian communities of Isenhagen, Medingen, and Wienhausen.

⁸⁴ “[N]aturaliter ratione sexus mulier, ut mulier, homini, ut homo, subiciatur, nichilominus homo mulieri non ut mulieri sed ratione dominii, officii, potestatis et auctoritatis, potest subici.” (Archives Départementales de la Vienne, Poitiers, 2H1/1), as quoted by Jennifer C. Edwards, “‘Man Can Be Subject to Woman’: Female Monastic Authority in Fifteenth-Century Poitiers,” *Gender & History* 25, no. 1 (2013): 100.

Hotchin, is particularly enlightening.⁸⁵ By focusing on sources from daily monastic life (such as charters or chronicles), the essays of this collection uncover multiple sites of collaboration and negotiation between religious men and women, therefore opening a new window on mutually beneficial relationships between religious women and the men responsible for their pastoral care.⁸⁶ Following such recent perspectives, I seek to uncover more precisely the relations between the Windesheim canons and Windesheim canonesses.

The material turn also has been crucial in rehabilitating religious women's importance as autonomous carriers of spirituality. Among the extensive recent literature, Britta-Juliane Kruse's study is central for the topics addressed here. She demonstrated the essential role of books in the spirituality of female houses in Lower Saxony, especially among the Augustinian canonesses of Heiningen and Steterburg (diocese of Hildesheim), reformed by Johannes Busch himself.⁸⁷ Books did not only have a practical role (to record regulations and liturgical celebrations), but they also contributed to shaping a model of feminine sanctity for these communities.⁸⁸

The spirituality of religious women and their autonomy in forming their own religious communities are also visible in the various ways in which women made use of space. June Mecham initiated the discussion concerning the German-speaking regions by showing how nuns manipulated, among other parameters, the "sacred space of their monastic communities to assert their special status as brides of Christ, empathetic intimates of Jesus, and inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem", in order to "shape the religious experiences of their local, parochial communities".⁸⁹ More specifically, it has been demonstrated that obedience and humility were the two main pillars of spirituality in Windesheim female monasteries.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Fiona J. Griffiths and Julie Hotchin, eds., *Partners in Spirit: Women, Men, and Religious Life in Germany, 1100–1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

⁸⁶ For another reconsideration of the supposed decline of female authority in the Church, see the recent case study by Jennifer C. Edwards, *Superior Women: Medieval Female Authority in Poitiers' Abbey of Sainte-Croix* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁸⁷ Britta-Juliane Kruse, ed., *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern. Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013). See also Dieuwke E. van der Poel and Hermina Joldersma, "Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875," in *Women's Writing from the Low Countries 1200–1875: A Bilingual Anthology*, eds. Lia van Gemert et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), esp. 25–32 and 40–59. Research on book production in female monastic contexts has continuously received a great deal of attention since the 2000s. Among the numerous publications, I refer to the two following ones, which are also relevant for the context to which this study contributes: Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: Women Writing about Women and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); and Joni M. Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350–1550* (2013, repr. New York: Routledge, 2016).

⁸⁸ Kruse, *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten*.

⁸⁹ Mecham, *Sacred Communities, Shared Devotions*, 153.

⁹⁰ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 146–47. This was also true for the movement of the Modern Devotion in general. See Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*.

However, these studies, while very detailed and informative, often stay at the level of codicological and content-based descriptions. The aforementioned cases of Heiningen and Steterburg, for instance, have never been examined in the broader context of the official regulations of Windesheim and the meaning, in practical terms, of their reformed status. The questions posed by the fact that these houses possessed sources describing processional movements while (according to Johannes Busch) they were supposedly following the Windesheim regulations, which prohibited such practices, have never been raised. They will be addressed in detail in part II.

Furthermore, in all the studies mentioned so far, music is present only implicitly, since their authors all deal, more or less directly, with liturgical practices. However, detailed analysis of musical performance has stayed overwhelmingly in the background up to now. Yet, musical practices, especially chant, were essential to Windesheim spirituality since “musical communication” was considered to be “a mediation between the inside and the outside [and] the justification for a musical expression through the inner attitude of someone.”⁹¹

Ulrike Hascher-Burger has amply and eloquently demonstrated the central role music played in the Modern Devotion in general and in Windesheim houses in particular.⁹² Especially interesting here are the discrepancies she observed between regulations and actual practices with regard to polyphonic practices and the use of organ in monastic settings, which again challenge the stated desire of Windesheim for uniform practices.⁹³ However, the lack of sources with musical

⁹¹ “... als eine Vermittlung von Innen und Außen, als die Begründung einer musikalischen Äußerung durch die innere Haltung einer Person.” Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme: Innerlichkeit, Affekt und Gesang im Mittelalter* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 15.

⁹² For Hascher-Burger’s contributions to the music of Windesheim, see the bibliography provided in the present dissertation. The music of the Modern Devotion has received a fair amount of attention, especially through the edition of musical manuscripts, which contributed to making the repertoire more broadly available. See, for instance, Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna (Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113): mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Singen für die Seligkeit: Studien zu einer Liedersammlung der Devotio moderna: Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, coll. Emmanuelshuizen, cat. VI. ; mit Edition und Faksimile* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); and Thom Mertens and Dieuwke E. van der Poel, *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2013). Literary scholars have also contributed to our understanding of Modern Devout songs in the vernacular (these songs are often transmitted without musical notation, while the musical tunes are assumed to have circulated orally). The following references are representative of how the devout songs could be used as spiritual exercises to be sung during work or recreation: Dieuwke E. van der Poel, “Late Medieval Devout Song: Repertoire, Manuscripts, Function,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Sonderheft*, no. 130 (2011): 67–79; Cécile de Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences in the Late Medieval Urban Sonic Environment – Soundscaping the Functional Context of Oral Literature,” *Ons Geestelijke Erf* 86, no. 3 (2015): 159–77; and Dieuwke E. van der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, and Wim van Anrooij, *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

⁹³ See, for instance, Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “In omnibus essent conformes? Windesheimer Reform und liturgische Erneuerung in niedersächsischen Frauenkonventen im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Church History and Religious Culture*, no. 93 (2013): 535–47; and Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Orgelspiel versus Orgelverbot: Ein Paradigmenstreit im Umfeld der norddeutschen Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert?,” *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 35/36 (2017): 69–86.

notation for both liturgical chant and polyphonic practices has most likely led scholars to focus on the general proceedings of liturgical ceremonies rather than on the actual liturgical music.⁹⁴

Sound studies have recently offered additional new perspectives on researching musical practices by illustrating the vivid aural background of late medieval religious communities.⁹⁵ While one general tendency has been to rehabilitate the importance of chant and of the voice,⁹⁶ no research has yet been devoted to the function, the status, and the sonic quality of chant in a Windesheim context, let alone in female Windesheim communities. Yet, “sound is not a mere secondary presence, but it is rather an essential element in elaborating the meaning of a ritual”.⁹⁷ Given the prohibition of processions in female houses, as opposed to the permission to sing processional chants, it is clear that the actual performance of chant played a central role in Windesheim houses. It will be explored in detail in parts II and III.

3. Sources

One major difficulty faced by musicologists interested in the Congregation of Windesheim, when they want to study relationships between the liturgy of male and female houses, is the lack of sources with musical notation. This is even more striking in female houses, which also accounts for the limited interest that liturgical music in Windesheim female houses has been granted up to now. However, this does not mean that sources without notation do not contain any information relevant to music, or at least traces of it. Famous examples are the “chansonniers without music” or lyric anthologies

⁹⁴ The two following studies, both excellent in their own right, illustrate this: Bärsch, “Liturgy and Reform: Northern German Convents in the Late Middle Ages,”; and Ulrike Hascher-Burger and Henrike Lähnemann, *Liturgie und Reform im Kloster Medingen: Edition und Untersuchung des Propst-Handbuchs* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 18, Spätmittelalter Humanismus Reformation 76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

⁹⁵ Sound studies deal with all kinds of sounds in the environment (from the whispers of the lay people in a church, to the barking of a dog or even “painted” sounds, like illuminations of singers in manuscript) and seek to uncover how they interacted with, for instance, people, architecture or art. This perspective is not the focus of this study, so I only refer to the following book as an updated and reliable reference: Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). In the context that interests me here, the following article can shed further insight into the soundscape: Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences”. See also the essay volume on medieval soundscapes by the Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, series Vorträge und Forschungen, eds. Harald Müller and Nikolas Jaspert (forthcoming: 2020).

⁹⁶ One of the most recent examples is the annual congress of the Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public organised in Frankfurt/Main in May 2019: the theme was “the voice in the Middle Ages”. It was addressed from an interdisciplinary perspective (see the forthcoming publication of the conference papers, in preparation for 2020). In the specific context of Windesheim, the following article is relevant: Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Ene suete eersame stemme: Katharina van Naaldwijk en de muziek in de Diepenveense zusterviten,” in *Door mensen gezongen; liturgische muziek in portretten*, eds. Martin Hoondert et al. (Kampen: Gooi en Sticht, 2005), 105–17. For a more detailed overview of the scholarly output on the medieval voice, see the introduction to part III.

⁹⁷ “... le son n’apparaît pas comme une simple présence secondaire, mais plutôt comme un élément d’importance dans l’élaboration des significations du rituel.” Eduardo Henrik Aubert, “Le son et ses sens : L’Ordo ad consecrandum et coronandum regem (v. 1250),” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 62, no. 2 (2007): 411.

of the sixteenth century, such as *La Fleur de poésie francoyse* (“The Flower of French poetry”, printed in 1543 by Alain Lotrian in Paris), or the series of *Livre de chansons* printed in the sixteenth century by Pierre Attaignant in Paris: such sources do not contain musical notation but they were designed to be sung.⁹⁸ Another kind of sources are those which neither contain music strictly speaking (that is, no musical notation nor texts to be sung), nor address music as a primary topic (such as music treatises), but which nevertheless mention musical practices: this is for instance the case of theological sources or monastic regulations, which often offer thoughts on the effect of music and frequently strove to control musical practices.⁹⁹ Windesheim regulations, though easily accessible through the editions mentioned above, have never been studied through this lens.

Therefore, I propose in this study to shift the focus from sources with musical notation to sources mentioning musical practices: this approach offers the possibility to explore Windesheim’s ideals concerning sound and musical performance through a new and different heuristic window. In the following, I provide a general overview of the sources used in all three parts of this dissertation. Details on specific sources are given in the introduction of each relevant part.

The main sources for this study are the official regulations issued by the Congregation of Windesheim: the constitutions, in their versions for male (*Constitutiones canonicorum Windeshemensium*, CCW) and female (*Constitutiones monialium*, CM) houses, which regulated the daily life of the organisation; the acts of the General Chapter meetings (*Acta capituli Windeshemensis*, ACW), which elaborated or revised stipulations from the constitutions; and the *Liber ordinarius windeshemensis* (OW), which codified the details of liturgical celebrations.

The constitutions of Windesheim have the highest normative value of all monastic books produced by and for the Congregation. Joining the Congregation meant accepting and submitting to this official text in every aspect. In the present study, I use the two modern editions of the CCW and the CM mentioned above to quote these texts.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Kate Van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), esp. 108–10. Cécile de Morrée has recently dedicated an introductory blog article to this topic, demonstrating that these collections are often wrongly regarded as poems to be read when they rather are songs to be sung. Her article shows that the topic still needs deeper investigation, which could greatly benefit from transdisciplinary perspectives across musicological and literary studies. Cécile de Morrée, “De la musique sans notes au XVIe siècle : chansonnier, parolier, recueil de poèmes”, *Blog du Société Bibliographique de France* (blog), 22 June 2019, <https://histoirelivre.hypotheses.org/>. (last accessed 29 August 2019). In another context Elizabeth Eva Leach has demonstrated how valuable it is for musicology to consider song collection without musical notation as *music* manuscripts: Elizabeth Eva Leach, “A Courtly Compilation: the Douce Chansonnier,” in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song – Inscription, Performance, Context*, eds. Helen Deeming and Elisabeth Eva Leach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 221–46.

⁹⁹ Timothy McGee gives an extensive list of such medieval mentions of music, often in passing: Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ Edited respectively by Haverals and Legrand (2014); and R. van Dijk (1986).

Haverals and Legrand chose to edit the earliest version of the legislation of the Congregation, based on the three manuscripts which they consider to be representative of the first version of the constitutions adopted in 1402.¹⁰¹ This version will be used as a reference work in this study. However, the General Chapter of Windesheim made yearly adjustments to this regulative text and, therefore, the early constitutions do not contain later additions.

To take these into account, it is necessary to refer to later manuscripts. The list of twenty-three manuscripts of the CCW identified by Haverals and Legrand contains seven manuscripts from the fifteenth century (in addition to the three manuscripts used as a reference by the editors). Six of them are complete. Of those six, two are of particular interest: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10882 (c. 1490–1510, parchment from St. Johannes Baptista in Rebdorf, diocese of Eichstätt); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10883 (c. 1432–1434, from the same monastery).¹⁰² These two later versions are not only of convenient use because of their online accessibility, but they also contain the chapter on the various degrees of faults condemned by the Congregation, which the earliest version of the male constitutions does not contain.¹⁰³ Moreover, they each contain an extensive “Capitulum de diversis statutis”, including the prohibition of processions in female Windesheim houses, and are therefore reliable testimonies to assess the evolution of the male Windesheim constitutions over the fifteenth century.

R. van Dijk has identified seven manuscripts of the female Windesheim constitutions that can be linked with certainty with Windesheim female houses, of which five are complete. He based his modern edition on a comparison of these texts. Because of the availability of sources, the manuscript of the CM preserved in Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 D 10 KL has been selected as the source to which compare the modern edition. This manuscript is particularly interesting, since, based on textual comparisons with the ACW, R. van Dijk has dated this manuscript from shortly after 1457, which corresponds to the focus of the present study.¹⁰⁴ In addition, it belonged to the male monastery of St. Anthonius in Albergen (diocese of Utrecht), whose canons served as rectors in several female Windesheim houses in the course of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵ In the framework of the present study, which deals with relationships between male and female Windesheim monasteries, the manuscript preserved in Deventer therefore offers a good comparanda

¹⁰¹ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 108; Leuven, Rijksarchief, Kerkelijk Archief van Brabant, 15076; and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 56. 24 Aug. 8°. See above.

¹⁰² Hereafter: resp. CCW ms. lat. 10882 and CCW ms. lat. 10883.

¹⁰³ The reason for this is not clear. Most likely, the Congregation relied on other legislations for this matter, before the need arose to officially incorporate a description of faults and of the ensuing punishments in the constitutions. On this topic, see R. van Dijk, CM, 416–18. The chapter on the various faults can be found in CCW, ms. lat. 10882, fols. 112^v–114^v; and CCW, ms. lat. 10883, fols. 84^r–86^r.

¹⁰⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 135–36.

¹⁰⁵ *Monasticon* III, 51–72.

with which to double check the modern edition provided by R. van Dijk. The modern edition will be the reference work for this dissertation.

The Congregation strove to adapt to changing situations over the years in their annual Chapter meetings. The priors of every male house gathered each year in the motherhouse at Windesheim to review the state of the Congregation and make decisions. The decisions were then circulated to individual houses by the individual priors. Given the tight control the Chapter of Windesheim tried to establish on the circulation of its official regulations, it might be surprising that no master-copies of the annual decisions were circulated to individual houses, contrary to the Constitutions.¹⁰⁶ This can only be explained by practical and material reasons: the Congregation numbered more and more monasteries, ever farther away. Producing master copies that could reach the individual houses in time would have been too expensive in comparison to the number of decisions confirmed every year (in the fifteenth century, two to four decisions were generally made each year). Instead, it was expected from the priors to faithfully transmit the new decisions.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, a fifteenth-century source compiling all the decisions made during the General Chapters does not exist.¹⁰⁸ It must be assumed that this organisation functioned rather well since the Chapter never felt the need to change this dissemination of information.

It is only at the beginning of the eighteenth century that the General Chapter of Windesheim wanted to create a book which would contain all decisions made by the Chapter over the three centuries of their existence. The reasons which prompted this decision are not known, but presumably, they wanted to have a complete record.¹⁰⁹ As mentioned above, this was done independently by two Windesheim canons: Martinus Schouben and Jacobus Bosmans.

Schouben was the first to be entrusted with this task by the Chapter of 1715. He presented his work to the Congregation in 1727. The prior of St. Johannes Baptista in Aachen, Augustinus Schepers, in charge of controlling the result of his work, felt that Schouben omitted some documents. Schepers had these missing decrees copied in a second, additional volume. Decisions made in subsequent Chapter meetings (from 1728 onwards) were copied in a third volume. The compilation of these three volumes was circulated to be copied by hand in every Windesheim

¹⁰⁶ Three master copies of the 1434 Constitutions were preserved in the monasteries of Windesheim, Neuss (diocese of Cologne), and Groenendaal (diocese of Cambrai). See part I, chapter 1.

¹⁰⁷ Whether this was done by memory or through an informal written copy which would have been discarded later is not known.

¹⁰⁸ One would assume that such copies must have existed at least in Windesheim, and possibly also in Neuss and in Groenendaal. If so, they did not survive.

¹⁰⁹ It is also possible that the transmission was largely oral, and not all decisions were always added everywhere to the “*Capitulum de diversis statutis*”. The transmission of the decisions made during the annual Chapter meetings needs further research.

monasteries. One of these manuscript copies, prepared in the monastery of St. Bartholomaei in Sülte, near Hildesheim, and intended for the monastery of St. Petrus in Dalheim (diocese of Paderborn) is now preserved in Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 133 C 2.¹¹⁰

Jacobus Thomas Bosmans, who lived in different Windesheim monasteries, realised a similar work in 1758. He was not commissioned by the Chapter to do it but, as secretary of the Congregation (from 1752 until his death in 1764), he felt the need to collect all important information connected to the Chapter of Windesheim, bad things as well as good, in order to learn from previous experience.¹¹¹ His work is collected in the *Bullarium Windesemense*, now preserved in Bruges, Bisschoppelijk Seminarie (without shelfmark).

The collections of Schouben and Bosmans have been edited in a single edition by Van der Woude. The editor observes that Schouben's and Bosmans's manuscripts are not fundamentally different, but Bosmans's manuscript is generally more detailed. For this reason, he used Bosmans's Bullarium as the primary source for his edition of the ACW. However, as he mentions in the introduction, the sources on which his edition relies are not exhaustive. Neither Schouben nor Bosmans discuss the sources that they used. They must have selected sources that they happened to have at their disposal and which were of interest to them at the time of writing. Their task was all the more difficult since they started more than three centuries after the creation of the Congregation.

Therefore, the source situation for the decisions taken during the annual Chapter meetings is very complex. An exhaustive edition of the acts would require a deep and detailed investigation of many Windesheim sources, starting with the collection of all CCW and CM sources, with the comparison of the stipulations copied in the chapter "De diversis statutis", and with an extended comparison with Schouben's and Bosmans's compilations made in the eighteenth century. Such a research has not yet been conducted, leaving Van der Woude's edition as the (provisional) reference work for any studies on Windesheim. While this is not unproblematic, the purpose of the present study is not to provide a corrective to the ACW: given the complexity of the transmission of Chapter decisions, I will therefore rely on Van der Woude's edition in the following study.

The constitutions and their additions in subsequent General Chapter meetings are complemented by the *Ordinarius windeshemensis* (OW), which stipulates in detail everything which is linked to the organisation of the liturgy. Generally speaking, a *liber ordinarius* "not merely indicates

¹¹⁰ Van der Woude, ACW, 3.

¹¹¹ Bosmans explains this in the preface of his work, as reported by Van der Woude, ACW, 4.

the desired or intended liturgy, but usually also the factual liturgy”.¹¹² It is therefore at once a prescriptive and a descriptive book. Its status lies between the official decisions (e.g., statutes of a Congregation, papal decrees) and liturgical books *stricto sensu* (e.g., antiphonals, missals).¹¹³

More specifically, the OW is an extension of the constitutions, specifically conceived to cover everything related to the liturgy.¹¹⁴ It essentially deals with the main feasts of the liturgical calendar and provides details for celebrations which differ from normal days.¹¹⁵ The first version of the OW was elaborated through a similar process of compilation as the constitutions: several *libri ordinarii* from different dioceses were studied and found disturbingly different, consequently leading to the decision to elaborate a specific Windesheim *Liber ordinarius*.¹¹⁶ The OW was adjusted over the years, following decisions made during the annual Chapter meetings.¹¹⁷ It took a definitive shape only in the sixteenth century, with the edition of 1521 printed by Albertus Pafraet in Deventer. This printed version transmits a re-worked and reorganised version of the OW based on these successive Chapter additions.¹¹⁸

This study focusses on fifteenth-century liturgical practices and, for this reason, the most relevant OW for us is the manuscript preserved in Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448.¹¹⁹ Indeed, R. van Dijk presents it as a crucial and representative version of the OW in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹²⁰ It is a *liber ordinarius* from the Windesheim male monastery of Sint-

¹¹² Louis van Tongeren and Charles Caspers, *Unitas in pluritate: Libri ordinarii als Quelle für die Kulturgeschichte/Libri ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 19.

¹¹³ For a general introduction to this book type, see Aimé-Georges Martimort, *Les 'ordines', les ordinaires et le cérémoniaux. Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental* 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Edward Foley, “The ‘Libri Ordinarii,’” *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, no. 102 (1988): 129–37; Pascal Collomb, “Le Liber ordinarius – Un livre liturgique, une sources historique,” in *Comprendre le XIIIe siècle – Études offertes à Martine-Thérèse Lorcin*, eds. Pierre Guichard and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1995), 97–109; and Jürgen Bärsch, “*Liber ordinarius* – Zur Bedeutung eines liturgischen Buchtyps für die Erforschung des Mittelalters,” *Archä verbi*, no. 2 (2005): 9–58.

¹¹⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 219.

¹¹⁵ Eckart Conrad Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität: Zur Medialität der ‘cura monialium’ im Kompendium des Rektors eines reformierten Chorfrauenstifts. Mit Edition und Abbildung einer Windesheimer ‘Forma investendi sanctimonialium’ und ihrer Notation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 38.

¹¹⁶ We know this from Johannes Busch: “Pluribus igitur diversarum religionum ac dyocesium ordinariis in unum recollectis diligenterque lustratis mirabilem eorum repperunt discrepantiam disparemque nimium qualitatem.” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 310.

¹¹⁷ The elaboration process of the OW has been discussed by Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation*. For a list of sources of the OW, see Ernest Persoons and Willem Lourdaux, “Bibliografische inleiding tot de studie van de Windesheimse Liturgie,” *Sacris Erudiri* 17, no. 2 (1966): 404–5.

¹¹⁸ R. van Dijk, CM, 212–20; and Franke, *Der Liber ordinarius der Regularkanoniker der Windesheimer Kongregation*, 27.

¹¹⁹ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448, <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000994561> (last accessed 29 August 2019) (hereafter: Agnietenberg Ordinarius). For a codicological description and presentation of its content, see Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 189–92.

¹²⁰ R. van Dijk, CM, esp. 217.

Agnietenberg (or: Agnietenberg) near Zwolle, copied in 1456.¹²¹ In the following, the printed version of 1521 will also be used as a complementary source to the hand-written OW from Agnietenberg.¹²²

Complementary to these official regulations, Johannes Busch's *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* is of central importance to what follows, for it discusses many different monasteries with different attitudes towards his reforms: male and female houses, willing and unwilling canons and canonesses. It thus gives another perspective on the ideals of the General Chapter, on a more local level. The *Liber* has been edited by Karl Grube in 1886: in spite of some inaccuracies, a comparison of Grube's edition with the main manuscript he used proved that his edition is generally reliable.¹²³

Busch's testimony is confirmed (and has been cross-referenced for the purposes of this study to the extent that time and the source situation allowed it) by other documents, produced by the Congregation itself, such as the ACW, or by other authorities, as in the case of papal Bulls or episcopal decrees.¹²⁴ However, Busch's writings, especially his reports on reforms, cannot be regarded as entirely neutral.¹²⁵ Bertram Lesser has demonstrated the triple function of the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. First, the *Liber* acted as an "autobiographical-missionary factual report" ("autobiographisch-missionarischer Tatenbericht"): Busch described his life through his experience as an authoritative representative of Church authorities and therefore as a quasi-missionary promoting the Windesheim observance. Secondly, it was intended as an exemplary guide – in the form of a historical account – for conducting reforms.¹²⁶ Busch wrote in the hope that "our successors and followers are fortified by our examples" and that they may "resolutely undertake and conclude that holy reform of corrupted monasteries and monks".¹²⁷ Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, through his book Johannes Busch not only established his position in the wider religious community as an author and a zealous reformer who reported on the results of

¹²¹ The provenance and the dating are known by the colophon (see part II). On the monastery of Agnietenberg, see *Monasticon* III, 14–49.

¹²² The following version is used: Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, F qu 447, <http://hdl.handle.net/1874/281119> (last accessed 29 August 2019) (hereafter: OW 1521).

¹²³ Grube's edition primarily relies on the manuscript Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, ms. 1656, which I consulted and compared with Grube's edition for the purpose of this study. A new edition is in preparation by Bertram Lesser (see above).

¹²⁴ For example, the papal Bull of Boniface IX confirming the creation and organisation of the Chapter of Windesheim in 1395 (see *Acquoy* III, 303–5).

¹²⁵ For instance, Haverals mentions Busch's tendency towards "pious exaggeration" (Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 5).

¹²⁶ Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna*, 263.

¹²⁷ "Quatinus successores et nostri posterii huiusmodi exemplis nostris roborati ... et constanter ipsam sanctam monasteriorum et monachorum perversorum reformationem incipiant et perficiant..." Busch, *Liber*, 380. Translation by Hotchin, "Guidance for Men Who Minister to Women," 238.

his work, but he also placed himself among the exemplary and illustrious men of the Windesheim Congregation.¹²⁸ Therefore, the *Liber* is not a neutral description of events.¹²⁹ This is also reinforced by the fact that he wrote it at the end of his life rather than contemporaneously with the reform efforts he discusses. It is assumed that he based his information on his memory and on the reports on the Visitations he made before and after his reforms, but these reports have not survived. A critical approach is therefore essential: Busch's *Liber* is not fully representative of reality.¹³⁰

4. Methodology

The prohibition of processional movements specifically in female houses of Windesheim, combined with the very small number of official female houses, reveals a clear differentiation between the conceptions of the ideal canon and of the ideal canoness. This is also reflected in Johannes Busch's reports on reform. As Uffmann underlines, Busch made a clear distinction between male and female monasteries: the first chapter of his *Liber* is dedicated exclusively to reforms of male monasteries while the second is dedicated only to reforms of female houses.¹³¹ Such a clear separation according to sex justifies an approach based on the comparison between male and female sources, to investigate to what extent this distinction also applied in liturgical practices.¹³²

In questioning the space, its construction, and its organisation, this study contributes to the recent spatial turn in the humanities, which considers place and space as central in creating and shaping communities.¹³³ Using the distinction of place and space proposed by Michel de Certeau, and his definition of space as a practiced place,¹³⁴ I will analyse Windesheim's conception of spatial organisation and the elements which contributed to transforming a given place into a space dedicated to the development of inner devotion. In this regard, sources containing descriptions of processions (e.g., processions and *libri ordinarii*) are most interesting sources in determining movements: not only do they organise movements through space, but they also organise the bodies

¹²⁸ Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna*, 276 and 291–92.

¹²⁹ Lesser also warns against taking Busch's writing as faithful descriptions of facts in monastic reforms of the fifteenth century: Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna*, esp. 276.

¹³⁰ See especially Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna*, 265.

¹³¹ Uffmann, *Wie in einem Rosengarten*, 66.

¹³² This, in addition to the obvious distinctions caused by the fact that the Catholic Church does not ordain women to the priesthood, and that each monastic community requires at least one priest to perform key sacraments, resulting in the *cura monialium* as discussed above.

¹³³ The introduction of part II provides a bibliographic overview on this topic.

¹³⁴ Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien, I. Arts de faire* (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1980).

moving within the space. I will therefore take into account the specific spatial content of such sources to interpret how liturgical space was shaped. More specifically, I will analyse how liturgical space related to processional chants as melodies, on one hand, and to chanting as an activity performed during the act of processing, on the other. The lack of sources dealing with the use of space in female officially incorporated monasteries led me to address these questions in female reformed monasteries: two case studies, Steterburg and Heiningen (diocese of Hildesheim), will be provided. They were both reformed by Johannes Busch himself in 1451 and had rather close ties with Windesheim.¹³⁵ However, sources from these houses attest to the continued practice of processional movements, even after the reform, when they were supposed to follow Windesheim regulations. This source-related constraint enables me to analyse the actual practice of Windesheim liturgy in reformed houses, taking into account the claims of reform and the local variations in houses that were geographically close.

Moreover, sources dealing with singing practices from official female houses did survive: the Diepenveen sisterbooks mention numerous examples of singing voices. Sisterbooks are usually collections of miracles and visions of sisters of a given monastery, as well as descriptions of their devotional practices and virtues.¹³⁶ Two sisterbooks narrating the lives of Diepenveen canonesses have come down to us and are used in this study: manuscript DV (Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 E 26 KL), copied in 1524, and manuscript D (Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Coll. van Rhemen, inv. no. 1), copied ten years later (see also part III). These two sources are not only very valuable because they come from the exemplary monastery of Diepenveen, therefore giving us an inside picture of Windesheim's standards, but also because they describe women's voices.¹³⁷ This rather exceptional aspect is highly relevant for my investigation of singing practices in female monasteries.¹³⁸ I will therefore compare the mention of the voices in those sources to the official Windesheim regulations and to the perspective on singing as developed in Johannes Busch's *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. While a larger comparison with other medieval discourses on voices would show that Windesheim sources prescribed and described

¹³⁵ See part II, Introduction.

¹³⁶ Claire Taylor Jones, *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 57. See pp. 57–59 for a historiographical summary of sisterbooks in general.

¹³⁷ Diepenveen was the first female monastery to be incorporated into the Congregation and served as the model house for all other female monasteries that were officially incorporated. See *Monasticum III*, 592–614. See also part III.

¹³⁸ For instance, Joseph Dyer has underlined that most of the medieval evidence refers to the “mature male voice”, whereas women's voices are used to describe qualities to be avoided. Joseph Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, eds. John Potter and Jonathan Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 166. The sisterbooks offer rather more complex representations of the female voice within the Windesheim context.

rather conventional ideals of singing practices, a critical approach to the Windesheim sources will enable me to uncover previously unnoticed elements of the spiritual and political agenda behind Busch's concerns for liturgical reform and in the sisterbooks.

Finally, my study mainly deals with liturgical practices and their interaction with space and voice. For this reason, it should be noted that I focus mainly on canons and canonesses – i.e., the professed members of their community who were in sole charge of liturgical celebrations and, thus, stood at the core of the spiritual life of the respective houses.

5. Outline

This study is composed of three parts comprising two chapters each. It will proceed as follows. Chapter 1 presents the dispositives of control within the Congregation while chapter 2 discusses the perception of women by Windesheim and the relationships between canons and canonesses as laid out in the constitutions. Part I thus sets the framework necessary for the analysis of how Windesheim communities were shaped by a system of control applied to bodies and space.

After an overview of scholarly research on space in the humanities and after situating the dissertation within this field, part II explores the kind(s) of space(s) which the Windesheim Congregation defined for itself. I examine what means were deployed to implement and to control these spaces in practice. In particular, drawing on the well-known distinction by de Certeau between “space” and “place”, chapter 3 will show how the discipline of the physical movements of monastic bodies were arranged to create, facilitate, and preserve the (desired) unity of the heart. This will lead to an analysis of these movements' status in the particular setting of liturgical processions and how space was shaped by these (chapter 4). A comparison of topography, actors of the liturgy, and processional chants from reformed female houses and officially incorporated male houses will demonstrate that the differences between female and male liturgical processions are few. Thus, canons and canonesses had similar ways of interacting and creating their space. Additionally, I show that processional movements, in the Windesheim view of the liturgy, were less central in accomplishing processional liturgy than singing the chants themselves. This challenges established views according to which space is central to processing. Religious studies indeed defined processions as “the movement of a group of people in the same direction for an explicitly identified purpose”.¹³⁹ While this view is indeed true in most contexts, as the word

¹³⁹ Kathleen Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Procession Performance,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 14.

“processio” implies, the results presented in chapter 4 invite us to reconsider this seemingly logical assumption in monastic contexts.

Part III will turn to an exploration of vocal qualities as desired by Windesheim, and discuss how to interpret them for their spiritual meaning. After an analysis of the Windesheim ideals as laid down through their official sources (the constitutions and the OW) in chapter 5, I will investigate how vocal features shaped Windesheim canons’ and canonesses’ daily lives (chapter 6). A great deal can be learned from these idealising statements about the desired qualities of monastic performance of chant in the late fifteenth century. However, the final analysis will reveal that these statements about singing voices did not have the mere purpose of describing or prescribing performative aspects. Rather, they were primarily used as a rhetorical tool to illustrate monastic virtues.

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This study, while giving an English-language voice to monastic practices often accessible to Dutch- and German-speaking audiences only, offers new insights into the way in which a highly centralised organisation at the end of Middle Ages endeavoured to implement its ideals concerning liturgical and spiritual practices. A new notion of monastic processions is presented by shedding light on the interactions between official and normative regulations, and local practices in monasteries reformed under the influence of Windesheim. I also demonstrate that the concern for good singing in the choir during Offices in Windesheim practices is intermingled with spiritual and political agendas, which invites us to reconsider the authority of descriptions of voices in late medieval sources: while it might be problematic for research on performance practice, this intermingling offers invaluable insights into the status of singing in monasteries, and beyond, through the paramount influence of Christianity as a world view. At the same time, the political and spiritual agendas behind descriptions of singing voices illustrate the relevance of shifting the musicological focus from the more complex polyphonic practices of the fifteenth century to simpler repertoires: combined with a discussion on the highly codified vision of space, the rich material on singing voices presented here deepens our knowledge of the place of music in various levels of medieval societies.

Part I

Setting Up the Congregation of Windesheim

Introduction

In order to develop a coherent and stable social group for the long term, it is necessary to implement an organisation which is in itself coherent and stable. The hierarchical structures constructed by a given social group reflect this group's system of representations and understanding of itself. It is necessary to take these structures into account if we want to understand the relationships between the individual parts of a highly centralised organisation like the Congregation of Windesheim. This includes, but is not limited to, the relations between the General Chapter and individual houses, between male and female houses, and between the members of a single house.

The aim of part I is to describe these structures as applicable to the Congregation of Windesheim, in order to understand the framework of Windesheim's general and local organisation, especially with regard to Windesheim canonesses. I will discuss the hierarchical structure of the Congregation and place special emphasis on the autonomy given to Windesheim canonesses in managing their own spiritual and material affairs. This is especially relevant, since the place of canonesses in the global Windesheim governance has never been studied.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, analysing the different kinds of relationships within the Congregation will enable us to establish a context for discrepancies (e.g., the prohibition of processions in female houses, discussed in part II) and for similarities (the performative aspects and aural qualities of the singing voice, discussed in part III) in liturgical practices of both male and female houses which followed the Windesheim constitutions.

¹⁴⁰ R. van Dijk only discusses this aspect through the perspective of the influences on the CM. For a general overview of the governance of the Congregation of Windesheim in particular and of Augustinian regular canons in general, see Charles Giroud, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin et ses diverses formes de régime interne: essai de synthèse historico-juridique* (Martigny: Éditions du Grand-Saint-Bernard, 1961).

1. Defining and Naming: The Inhabitants of Windesheim Houses

Before going into the details about the dispositives that the Congregation set up to organise its community, an overview of the members of a Windesheim monastery is required.

The conventual family of Windesheim monasteries is divided into religious (canons or canonesses and converses), semi-religious (oblates), and lay members. This typology, taken from Rudolf van Dijk, is helpful in clarifying the different social layers within a Windesheim house, which are often obscured by the absence of a consistent nomenclature used both in the primary sources and modern scholarship.¹⁴¹ In the following, I aim at defining the different levels of inhabitants in a Windesheim house and at clarifying the terms that I am using.

Canons (“fratres chorales”, “canonici regulares”) and **canonesses** (“moniales”, “sorores”) are religious men and women who took their vows. Their main duty is the celebration of the Divine Office. They make their profession according to the Rule of St Augustine and to the constitutions of Windesheim.¹⁴² Canons can be consecrated priests (“presbyteri”), in the process of becoming consecrated priests, or have a lesser degree of ordination (such as deacon, “diaconus”). Canonesses, due to their gender, are not ordained.

Converses (“fratres conversi”, “sorores converse”) are also religious members of a Windesheim house who took their vows. However, they are not devoted to the celebration of the Divine Office, but to daily, practical life management of the house. Neither male nor female converses are ordained.

Oblates (“donati”) are semi-religious members who have not taken their vows. They promise obedience to the General Chapter and they can be employed to perform various domestic tasks. The CCW allow for a maximum of four or five oblates per monastery as a default setting.¹⁴³ Most likely, oblates were originally lay people who lived outside the monastery but gradually came to live inside, in order to help with the daily chores and, in return, receive the spiritual benefit of association with a monastery.¹⁴⁴ The presence of oblates in female houses is not clearly attested. As R. van Dijk remarks, the Latin version of the CM does not contain any chapter on oblates, despite

¹⁴¹ Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorverking van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), 177–79 and 196.

¹⁴² The professions are made “secundum regulam sancti Augustini et constitutiones capituli nostri generalis”. CCW, 174:28–29; and CM, 782:18–19. See also below.

¹⁴³ “Numerus quoque donatorum ultra quatuor vel quinque non excedat, nisi de licencia capituli generalis.” CCW, 254:8–7.

¹⁴⁴ R. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorverking van de Moderne Devotie*, 196. For more details on the oblates, see R. van Dijk, CM, 78–82.

the fact that the prologue of the CM states that the fourth part deals with converses *and* oblates.¹⁴⁵ However, such persons were certainly present in at least some of the female houses. At least one Middle-Dutch manuscript of the CM contains a chapter on the oblates (translated from the Latin chapter of the CCW).¹⁴⁶ Moreover, oblates are mentioned at some other places in the CM, among the inhabitants of the house. For instance, the Visitors, who controlled the state of Windesheim houses (see below), have to inquire about the peace of the canonesses and of the converses, but also of the oblates and any other servants.¹⁴⁷ These two elements strongly suggest that oblates were an expected part of a female Windesheim house. In these cases, they did not promise obedience to the prioress (as the oblates in male houses promised obedience to the prior), but to the rector of the house.¹⁴⁸

In addition to these fixed inhabitants, a Windesheim house could hire laymen (“*mercennarii*”) “for the service of the house or to hold another office”.¹⁴⁹ The *procurator*, the officer in charge of the material and economical state of the house, is responsible for taking care of them and making sure that they accomplish their tasks. While a *mercennarius* is neither a religious, nor a semi-religious person, he has to follow a life-style compatible with the commandments of God.¹⁵⁰ External workmen could also be employed in female houses. The CM mention them when discussing the conditions under which certain persons were allowed to enter the enclosure: “Operarii eciam propter opera necessaria intrare poterunt...” (“Moreover, workmen will be able to enter [the enclosure] for necessary works...”).¹⁵¹ Even if there is no chapter in the CM dedicated to external workmen (unlike in the CCW), external workmen were necessary to maintain the material state of the buildings and were allowed within the enclosure.¹⁵²

In addition, the primary sources use two other terms to refer to groups of people: “*maior et senior pars*” and “*conventus*”. The first expression is used in election and nomination processes: in some cases, nominations had to be made by the “larger and healthier part” of the Congregation

¹⁴⁵ “... in quarta continetur de conversis **et donatis**...” CM, 727:39 (emphasis mine).

¹⁴⁶ The manuscript has been identified by R. van Dijk, CM, 92: Bruges, Sint-Trudoabdij, archief, s. s.: “Hier beghint de statuten ende oordinancie der donatinnen.”

¹⁴⁷ “Postea interrogetur de pace domus ... monialium et conversarum, donatarum quoque et aliarum familiarium...” CM, 731:64–65.

¹⁴⁸ “... donati universi in domibus monialium habitantes tantum rectori et non priorisse promittant obedienciam.” CM, 748:308–10. On the different promise of obedience, see below.

¹⁴⁹ “... pro domus ministerio aut aliquo officio exercendo...” CCW, 258:3–4.

¹⁵⁰ “... secundum Dei precepta vivere debeat.” CCW, 258:8.

¹⁵¹ CM, 809:22–23. The presence of male outsiders in the female enclosure is discussed in part II.

¹⁵² The absence of a separate chapter dedicated to *mercennarii* in the CM is probably due to the fact that these external workmen were male lay persons. Their regulations were already codified in the CCW and external workmen in female houses most likely had to comply with the corresponding chapter of the CCW: it was unnecessary to address their functions in the CM. On external workmen, see also R. van Dijk, CM, 83.

– that is, by a majority of those community members who at a given moment were deemed to be in full possession of their intellectual abilities and in compliance with monastic behaviour.¹⁵³ Such a formulation is not specific to Windesheim. Richard Katz attests to a wide use of the formula “maior et sanior pars” from the twelfth century onwards and traces back its appearance in response to the difficulty of obtaining unanimous choices in church councils.¹⁵⁴ Its use was “central to the theory of canonical elections for at least 600 years”.¹⁵⁵ Obviously, issues could arise when the larger and the healthier parts did not agree, not to mention the difficulty of determining which part is the healthier.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Windesheim sources do not give any information with regard to the distinction between “the larger” and “the healthier” part. It is probably assumed that the *maior pars* included the *sanior pars*. Most likely, in cases of conflict, the ultimate choice was left to the prior.¹⁵⁷

Other decisions could be made “de consilio conventus” (“following the council of the community”).¹⁵⁸ The term “conventus” also regularly comes back in liturgical ceremonies, where it designates the “community”. Its exact meaning is however unclear: did it designate all the inhabitants of the house? Only the religious and the semi-religious ones? Or only the religious ones who took their vows, that is, only the canons and the canonesses? In the primary sources, “conventus” is used either in the political organisation (the “conventus” has to appoint someone to a specific office) or in liturgical celebrations (see chapter 4). “Conventus” seems to be a generic term to designate a group of people: its meaning varies depending on the context and probably did not require any explanation for the intended readers. Given the importance of this group of people in managing the material and the spiritual state of affairs in a Windesheim house, it seems plausible, however, that “conventus” only referred to the religious group, that is canons, canonesses, and converses. This hypothesis will be reinforced by the analysis of the participants in processions of chapter 4.

¹⁵³ The exact meaning of “sanior” remains unclear, also in how modern scholarship understands the term. It is likely that “sanior” meant at once those members who were, literally, in good physical condition and who were mentally healthy (which could be translated by “sound of mind and body”).

¹⁵⁴ As Richard Katz underlines: “Unanimity was especially important for the monasteries. By definition, the community should live in perfect harmony. A division of voices, if frequent or persistent, was considered reprehensible.” Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 19.

¹⁵⁵ Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, 20.

¹⁵⁶ Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, 20. On the principles of *sanior et maior pars* see also Léo Moulin, “*Sanior et maior pars*: Note sur l'évolution des techniques électorales dans les Ordres religieux du VI^e au XIII^e siècle,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 35 (1958): 491–529; and Léo Moulin, “Une source méconnue de la philosophie politique marsilienne: l'organisation constitutionnelle des ordres religieux,” *Revue française de science politique* 33, no. 1 (1983): 5–13.

¹⁵⁸ For instance, the choice of the procurator/procuratrix. CCW, 116:4–5; and CM, 756:4–5.

2. Distribution of Functions in Windesheim Houses

In both male and female houses, religious persons (i.e., canons/canonesses and converses) could exercise specific offices. This internal organisation is already well-described in modern scholarly literature and the various offices are also explained in the CCW and the CM. Nevertheless, for easy reference, Table 1.1 provides the name of the office, a description of the associated tasks, and the way a person is chosen for this function.¹⁵⁹

These various offices were necessary to ensure the proper functioning of a house. However, the primary goal of Windesheim houses (and of monasteries in general), was to pray for the people. This is why the Windesheim constitutions emphasise the following possibility:

<i>Sciendum autem, quod obediencie plures sive officia plura uni persone committi possunt, maxime in minoribus congregationibus, ut saltem aliqui de fratribus ab officiis vacantes liberius et perfectius spiritualibus studiis inhereant.</i>	It has to be known, however, that several tasks or offices can be entrusted to a single person, especially in smaller communities, so that some canons at least, free from obligations, may engage more deeply and more perfectly in spiritual exercises. ¹⁶⁰
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Only the offices of subprior/subprioress and procurator/procuratrix could not be combined in a single person.¹⁶¹ This was clearly devised to avoid giving too many responsibilities and too much power to one individual. The spiritual progress of the inhabitants, in order to enhance the common salvation, had to be the main concern when choosing the person who would have to hold a specific office.

¹⁵⁹ Table 1.1 is adapted from R. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, 195. The information was taken from the CCW and the CM.

¹⁶⁰ CCW, 110:89–92; and CM, 751-2:67–72.

¹⁶¹ “Officium tamen supprioris et procuratoris uni persone simul committendum non est.” CCW, 110:92–93; and CM, 752:72–73.

Table 1.1: Internal organisation of male and female Windesheim monasteries

Source: Table 1.1 is adapted from R. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, 195. The information was taken from the CCW and the CM.

Note: For some offices, the way the person is appointed is not stated outright in the constitutions. One might suggest that it was decided by common agreement between the canons/canonesses and approved by the prior/prioress. Unless otherwise stipulated, all offices are fulfilled by a canon/canoness.

MALE WINDESHEIM HOUSES	FEMALE WINDESHEIM HOUSES
<u>LEADERSHIP</u>	
	<p>Commissarius monialium</p> <p>In charge of the pastoral care (<i>cura monialium</i>) of canonesses.</p> <p><i>Appointed by the General Chapter among the priors of Windesheim male monasteries.</i></p>
	<p>Rector</p> <p>In charge of the sacramental duties of female houses (daily Mass, confession); may carry out the <i>cura monialium</i> upon request of the <i>commissarius</i>.</p> <p><i>Appointed among the canons by the General Chapter or by the commissarius of the female house among canons from nearby male Windesheim monasteries.</i></p>
<p>Prior</p> <p>General management and spiritual guidance; could be appointed Visitor; could be appointed <i>commissarius monialium</i>.</p> <p><i>Elected by the canons. Confirmed by the General Chapter.</i></p>	<p>Prioress</p> <p>General management and spiritual guidance.</p> <p><i>Elected by the canonesses. Confirmed by the General Chapter and by the rector.</i></p>
<u>SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS</u>	
<p>Subprior</p> <p>Replaces the prior when he is absent.</p> <p><i>Appointed by the prior. Confirmed by the maior et sanior pars.</i></p>	<p>Subprioress</p> <p>Replaces the prioress she is absent.</p> <p><i>Appointed by the prioress. Confirmed by the rector and the council of twelve canonesses or the maior et sanior pars.</i></p>
<p>Sacristan</p> <p>In charge of the material liturgical framework (clothes, objects, giving signals for prayers).</p> <p><i>Appointed by the prior.</i></p>	<p>Sacristan</p> <p>In charge of the material liturgical framework (clothes, objects, giving signals for prayers).</p> <p><i>Appointed by the prioress.</i></p>

Cantor	Cantrix
Musical organisation of the liturgy (choosing who has to sing or read what, when and how); organisation of the refectory readings.	Musical organisation of the liturgy (choosing who has to sing or read what, when and how); organisation of the refectory readings.
Hebdomadarius	Hebdomadaria
Direction of the liturgy. <i>The hebdomadarius switches weekly between canons; cycle starts with the oldest and ends with the prior.</i>	Direction of the liturgy. <i>The hebdomadaria switches weekly between canonesses; cycle starts with the oldest and ends with the prioress.</i>
Armarius	Armaria
In charge of the books and of the scriptorium.	In charge of the books and of the scriptorium.
<u>MATERIAL AND ECONOMICAL ASPECTS</u>	
Procurator	Procuratrix
In charge of the material and economical state of the house. <i>Appointed by the prior on the council of the conventus or its maior et sanior pars.</i>	In charge of the material and economical state of the house. <i>Appointed by the prioress on the council of the rector and the Council of twelve canonesses or the maior et sanior pars.</i>
Cellerarius	Celleraria
Assists the procurator for anything related to the cellar and the kitchen (management of food stocks). <i>Appointed among the converses or the lay members of the house.</i>	Assists the procurator for anything related to the cellar and the kitchen (management of food stocks). <i>Appointed among the converses.</i>
Refeclorarius	Refecloraria
Material organisation of the refectory. <i>Appointed among the converses or the lay members of the house.</i>	Material organisation of the refectory. <i>Appointed among the converses.</i>
Infirmarius	Infirmaria
In charge of the sick and deceased. <i>Appointed among the canons or the converses.</i>	In charge of the sick and deceased. <i>Appointed among the canonesses or the converses.</i>
Vestiarius	Vestiaria
In charge of the clothes and the bedding. <i>Appointed among the converses.</i>	In charge of the clothes and the bedding. <i>Appointed among the converses.</i>
Portarius	
In charge of opening and closing the house's door, of welcoming guests. <i>Appointed among the converses or the lay members of the house.</i>	
Hospitarius	
Guest-master, in charge of the guests within the monastery's precinct. <i>Appointed among the converses or the lay members of the house.</i>	

Chapter 1

A Text to Structure and to Organise

In Windesheim monasteries, once a person was considered suitable to become part of the community, the first step was to present him or her with the specifics of the Rule and of the constitutions.¹⁶² Similarly, during the investiture, the novice made his or her profession “according to the Rule of St Augustine and according to the constitutions of our General Chapter”.¹⁶³ This shows the perception of these two texts by the Congregation of Windesheim: as two equally central and normative documents. They are therefore crucial to investigate the intended agenda of the Congregation regarding its material and spiritual organisation. Chapter 1 analyses how the constitutions were elaborated in relation to the Rule of St Augustine and which dispositives of control the Chapter set up to ensure that this text would be respected.

1. The Windesheim Constitutions

a. The Rule of St Augustine

The constitutions of Windesheim are based on the Rule of St Augustine.¹⁶⁴ The form of the Rule that was accepted by canonical communities and that still circulates is nowadays known as the *Regula recepta*. It is composed of the text of the *Praeceptum*, preceded by the first sentence of the *Ordo monasterii*. The text especially emphasises communal life and fraternal charity, and offers

¹⁶² “Cum igitur de aliquo nobis placuerit ut ad susceptionem habitus nostri recipiatur, **observancia regule et constitutionum nostrarum sibi proponenda est**, ut sciat qualibus institutis et preceptis se subdere queat.” CCW, 164:46–48; and CM, 777:55–58 (emphasise mine).

¹⁶³ “... secundum regulam beati Augustini et secundum constitutiones capituli nostri generalis.” CCW, 174:28–29; and CM, 782:18–19.

¹⁶⁴ For a study of the Rule and concerning the authenticity and textual issues of the documents, see Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967).

recommendations on the observances to be followed (which are typical monastic observances): communal praying, manual labour, common property, silence, obedience, regular reading, fasting, chastity, and fraternal correction.¹⁶⁵ The Rule was gradually recognised as the preferred Rule for monastic communities in the course of the twelfth century. In the fifteenth century it was considered a natural choice for new monastic communities.¹⁶⁶

Therefore, the choice of the Rule of St Augustine (as opposed to other monastic Rules) by the Congregation of Windesheim is in itself not surprising. More relevant, however, is how the adoption of this Rule is justified in the primary sources. According to Johannes Busch, Geert Grote supposedly advised his fellow Brothers of the Common Life on his deathbed specifically to choose the Order of Canons Regular and the Rule of St Augustine.¹⁶⁷ Grote is said to have advised his Brothers against the models of the Carthusians and the Cistercians, the first for being too separated from humankind and the latter for being too severe.¹⁶⁸ Following that, Grote recommended the Order of the Canons Regular because of their looser, more flexible (“laxiori”) Rule.¹⁶⁹ Whether this story is true or not, is not the concern here. What is really important, is that Geert Grote himself is presented as the man responsible for choosing the Rule of St Augustine. This foundational narrative lends authority to the use of the Rule: it suggests that the Rule was not chosen simply because it was customary, but because one of the central figures of the Modern Devotion asked for it with specific reasons.¹⁷⁰

Flexibility is a well-known characteristic of the Rule of St Augustine. It does not concern the monastic values of poverty, obedience, and chastity, which are upheld indisputably in the text. Flexibility rather refers to the absence of practical advice on how to implement these observances in daily life, which left room for individual adjustments depending on the needs of each community. This is an argument often used in scholarly research to justify the success of this Rule amongst

¹⁶⁵ For a brief overview of the Augustinian Rule, see Kevin L. Hughes, “Augustinian Rule,” in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, ed. William M. Johnston (London: Routledge, 2013), 106–7.

¹⁶⁶ Clifford Hugh Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 151.

¹⁶⁷ Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 264.

¹⁶⁸ Regarding the Carthusians: “... abstracti tamen nimis et segregati sunt ab hominibus...”; and regarding the Cistercians: “... ordo satis gravis est...” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 264. See also Koen Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print: Essays on the Late Medieval Religious Landscape* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2016), 157.

¹⁶⁹ “Ordinem vero canonicorum regularium laxiori regule...” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 264.

¹⁷⁰ It was especially necessary to justify the use of the Augustinian Rule because the Congregation of Windesheim was newly established. The history of foundations of medieval monasteries and institutions, and the rationale underlying them, was a very important concern in the Middle Ages. The scholarly literature on this topic is extensive. I here only refer to the three following studies and to the bibliography they provide: Amy Goodrich Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Gert Melville, *Institutionalität und Symbolisierung: Verfestigungen kultureller Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001); and Michel Lauwers, “Mémoire des origines et idéologies monastiques : Saint-Pierre-des-Fossés et Saint-Victor de Marseille au XIe siècle,” *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 115, no. 1 (2003): 155–80.

religious communities of the medieval Latin West,¹⁷¹ but it is also supported by medieval evidence, such as the example of Johannes Busch and Geert Grote.¹⁷²

Consequently, the Rule of St Augustine was not in itself enough to organise a whole community with many different members and affiliated monasteries. Canons regular had to compose their own regulations to supplement the Rule. This did not prevent the Rule of St Augustine from being used in the regulations themselves. Similar to the Premonstratensian and the Dominican statutes, the Windesheim constitutions open with a literal quotation from the Rule of St Augustine. Direct quotations of earlier, well-established monastic Rules are a common means to lend authority to newly designed regulations.¹⁷³ By doing so, the Windesheim constitutions were placed under the authoritative umbrella of the Rule. Therefore, within the constitutions of Windesheim, the Rule of St Augustine is not only a spiritual guidance: it is also a legitimisation of the newly written constitutions, a way to present them as an authoritative extension of the Rule.¹⁷⁴

b. Male vs Female: One Rule, Two Constitutions

The *Constitutiones Canoniarum Windeshemensium* (CCW) were gradually elaborated and subject to change over the years. The creation of the monastery of Windesheim was approved by Bishop Floris van Wevelichoven of Utrecht on 30 July 1386.¹⁷⁵ It was only when two other monasteries were founded (Marienborn in Arnhem and Nieuwlicht near Hoorn, both in 1392) and when the monastery of Eemstein joined this association in 1394, that the need of instituting a central authority arose.¹⁷⁶ In order to maintain a strict monastic life and forge a spiritual community out of several, technically independent houses, it was perceived as a necessity to have shared customs and to make sure that these customs were observed throughout the Congregation. A central authority

¹⁷¹ Hughes, “Augustinian Rule,” 106.

¹⁷² Goudriaan also mentions the example of the Augustinian hermit Gottschalk Hollen who considered the Rule of St Augustine as milder because of “the moderation of its prescriptions” (Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print*, 157). The author rightfully stresses the relative value of “looseness”: the Tertiaries of the Chapter of Utrecht, for instance, adopted the Rule of St Augustine in 1418 because they considered the Third Rule of St Francis too loose for their desire of a strict and safe life. In the case of Windesheim, however, the testimony left by Busch suggests that the Rule of St Augustine was chosen because of its perceived looseness if compared to that of the Carthusians and the Cistercians. Other examples can be found in Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print*, 158.

¹⁷³ On this and the use of monastic rules as vehicles of authority, see Markus Bitterlich, “Statuten mittelalterlicher Ordensgemeinschaften – Strategien normativer Stabilisierung mittels statutarischer Gesetzgebung am Beispiel der Zisterzienser, Prämonstratenser, Dominikaner und Franziskaner” (PhD diss., Technische Universität Dresden, 2015), 589–91.

¹⁷⁴ See Bitterlich, “Statuten mittelalterlicher Ordensgemeinschaften,” esp. 590–91. For the Dominican male constitutions, see “Constitutiones antiquae Ordinis Fratris Praedicatorum,” in *De oudste constituties van de Dominicanen: voorgeschiedenis, tekst, bronnen, ontstaan en ontwikkeling (1215-1237)*, ed. Antoninus Hendrik Thomas (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1965), 304–69. For the Premonstratensian constitutions, see: *Institutiones patrum Premonstratensis ordinis*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 9752, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90766962> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

¹⁷⁵ Acquoy III, 262–64.

¹⁷⁶ Reiner R. Post, *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 296.

therefore had to be created: it would be responsible for the regulations and for their ongoing reinforcement through a systematic supervision of the participant monasteries. A commission of six canons started to work on an elaborated form of constitutions in 1394 and the text was ready in 1402.¹⁷⁷ The constitutions were amended over the years through decisions taken at the annual meetings of the Chapter. The new decisions made during these meetings were added in the “Capitulum de diversis statutis” of the constitutions. In 1434 the Congregation revised the constitutions in order to better integrate these new stipulations within the main text of the constitutions.¹⁷⁸ Two similar revisions were completed in 1508 and 1553.¹⁷⁹

These versions of the constitutions, however, only concerned male monasteries. With the incorporation of female monasteries into the Chapter, it became necessary to have regulations specifically designed for canonesses. The *Constitutiones monialium* (CM) are largely based on the CCW, but their date of creation is unclear. Based on the records of the annual gatherings of the Chapter which mention the “statuta monialium”, R. van Dijk sets 1434 (the date of the first revision of the CCW) as a *terminus post quem* and 1444 as the *terminus ante quem*.¹⁸⁰

The CCW and the CM follow the same division in four parts: part 1 deals with the general organisation of monasteries. It contains the chapters on the Visitations and on the election of the prior/prioress. Part 1 of the CCW also contains prescriptions concerning the meetings of the General Chapter (these do not figure in the CM, because women of Windesheim did not attend the General Chapter meetings). Part 2 of the CCW and CM deals with the various offices in the monasteries (e.g., prior/prioress, subprior/subprioress, cantor/cantrix; see also Table 1.1). Part 3 regulates the communal and daily monastic life of canons and canonesses (including: profession of faith, celebration of the Divine Office, behaviour in the refectory). Finally, part 4 deals with the converses.

¹⁷⁷ Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 6 and 9. It was customary for monastic constitutions to be elaborated by a commission of several members of the community (usually the heads of each monastery affiliated to the Congregation). See Bitterlich, “Statuten mittelalterlicher Ordensgemeinschaften,” 535–40. Johannes Busch mentions the names of these canons: Henricus Wilde, Johannes van Kempen, Henricus Wilsen, Arnoldus Kalker, Johannes Broeckuys, and Gerardus Delft de Naaldwijk. Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 308. — In the years preceding the adoption of the constitutions, the Chapter of Windesheim followed basic indications for the organisation of the communal life contained in an episcopal decree (probably elaborated together with the Windesheim canons) and, probably, the statutes promulgated by the Pope Benedict XII for the Order of the Canons Regular of St Augustine in 1339. The introduction to the CCW edited by Haverals and Legrand gives information on the detailed elaboration of the CCW.

¹⁷⁸ R. van Dijk, CM, 26–27.

¹⁷⁹ R. van Dijk, CM, 35–42.

¹⁸⁰ R. van Dijk, CM, 45–46.

c. A “Marquetry” of Influences

The commission responsible for writing the first constitutions did so by studying older monastic regulations and by selecting the most useful elements.¹⁸¹ Despite the fact that, at least according to Busch, Grote rejected them, the Carthusian statutes were one of the two main influences used by Windesheim.¹⁸² The commission used the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, originally written by Guigo I, as they figure in the *Statuta antiqua* and in the *Statuta nova*.¹⁸³ In addition to pre-existing connections between the Carthusians and circles of the Modern Devotion, the first Windesheim canons most likely drew on the model of the Carthusian statutes because of the constant stability and vitality of the Order.¹⁸⁴ They were inspired by the Carthusians’ reputation of an intact discipline throughout their existence, which helped generate their fame – a fame encapsulated in the saying that the Carthusians never needed to be reformed.¹⁸⁵ The Carthusians especially exerted influence on the external aspects of the Congregation of Windesheim: its political structure, its organisation, its General Chapter, and on the strict monastic life as well as on the codifications of the enclosure.¹⁸⁶

The second main influence on the Windesheim constitutions was the *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*.¹⁸⁷ The Victorine *Liber ordinis* most profoundly influenced the second and the third parts of the Windesheim constitutions, respectively concerning the internal offices and the daily life of the community.¹⁸⁸ It is known that Johannes Vos van Heusden († 1424), the second prior of

¹⁸¹ This is not unusual and other monastic communities who took the Rule of St Augustine also proceeded by borrowing from pre-existing monastic statutes. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 151. This has been demonstrated for the statutes of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Dominicans, and Franciscans by Bitterlich, “Statuten mittelalterlicher Ordensgemeinschaften.”

¹⁸² The links between the two constitutions have been clearly established. See Heinrich Rütthing, “Zum Einfluß der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Konstitutionen,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, no. 59 (1985): 197–210. Jocqué also provides a rich bibliography on the topic: Lucas Jocqué, “Saint-Victor et Windesheim : L’influence de la législation victorine sur les usages windeshémiens au début du XVe siècle,” *Sacris Erudiri – Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* 29 (1986): 320–21, fn. 26.

¹⁸³ An edition of the 1510 Carthusian statutes has been carried out by James Hogg, ed., *The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the Consuetudines Guigonis to the Tertia Compilatio*, 4 vols. (Salzburg: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989). Here, I will use the following printed edition: *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis* (Basel: Johannes de Amerbach, 1510; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AK VI 21, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-2872>; last accessed 29 August 2019).

¹⁸⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 234.

¹⁸⁵ The saying reads: “Numquam reformata quia numquam deformata.” The exact origin of this saying is not known, but it is frequently quoted in modern scholarship. See, for instance, Hansjakob Becker, “Cartusia numquam reformata quia numquam deformata: Liturgiereformen bei den Kartäusern in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart,” in *Liturgiereformen. Historische Studien zu einem bleibenden Grundzug des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, eds. Martin Klöckener and Benedikt Kranemann, vol. 1 (Münster: Aschendorf Verlag, 2002), 325–45.

¹⁸⁶ These aspects within the Congregation of Windesheim are discussed below. For a more precise study of the influence of the Carthusians statutes on the Windesheim constitutions, see Rütthing, “Zum Einfluß der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Konstitutionen”; and R. van Dijk, CM, 227–38.

¹⁸⁷ For the modern edition used here as a reference, see Lucas Jocqué and Ludovicus Milis, eds., *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

¹⁸⁸ The links between the Windesheim statutes and the *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis* have been clearly discussed, with ample bibliography, by Jocqué, “Saint-Victor et Windesheim”. A shorter version of this article has been

Windesheim, and Henricus Wilde, the first subprior of Windesheim, visited Saint-Victor and Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. Their aim was to know more about the way of life of these venerable communities of canons regular and to investigate what aspects of their community would be suited for Windesheim's own needs. However, the reason for choosing Saint-Victor is not entirely clear. No contemporary sources explain this choice but the fact that Saint-Victor was an Augustinian house that had successfully preserved its standards throughout the centuries must have played a role.¹⁸⁹

Finally, the *Constitutiones antiquae Ordinis Praedicatorum* also influenced the Windesheim constitutions, though to a lesser degree than the Carthusians or the Victorines.¹⁹⁰ For instance, the chapters on the clothes or on the tonsure seem to have been taken from the Dominicans constitutions.¹⁹¹ Moreover, while the chapter on the behaviour of canons and canonesses during the canonical hours is mainly based on the Victorine *Liber ordinis*, the Windesheim constitutions required the psalms of the Divine Office to be ended “*breviter et succincte*”, a stipulation taken from the Dominican statutes:

<u>Dominican statutes</u>	<u>Windesheim statutes</u>
<p>... <i>non protrabendo vocem in pausa vel in fine versus, sed, sicut dictum est, breviter et succincte terminetur.</i></p> <p>... without excessive lengthening of the voice, in the break or at the end of the verse, but, as it is said, [the psalms] are to be ended shortly and clearly.¹⁹²</p>	<p>... <i>non protrabendo vocem in pausa neque in fine versus, sed breviter et succincte terminetur.</i></p> <p>... without excessive lengthening of the voice, in the break or at the end of the verse, but [the psalms] are to be ended shortly and clearly.¹⁹³</p>

This quotation from the Dominican statutes is probably due to the fact that the Victorine liturgy was to be celebrated with too much solemnity for the desire of Windesheim.¹⁹⁴

The Dominican constitutions for female houses (*Liber constitutionum sororum ordinis praedicatorum*) particularly influenced the CM for stipulations specific to Windesheim canonesses, such as the strict enclosure.¹⁹⁵ The great importance given by the Dominicans to the female

published in Dutch: Lucas Jocqué, “De Victorijnse wetgeving als inspiratiebron voor de constituties van Windesheim,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, no. 59 (1985): 211–24. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 238–56.

¹⁸⁹ Jocqué, “Saint-Victor et Windesheim,” 352.

¹⁹⁰ See the edition by Thomas, “Constitutiones antiquae Ordinis Fratris Praedicatorum.”

¹⁹¹ Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 21–22.

¹⁹² Thomas, “Constitutiones antiquae Ordinis Fratris Praedicatorum,” 316.

¹⁹³ CCW, 180:87–88.

¹⁹⁴ Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 22.

¹⁹⁵ R. van Dijk, CM, 843. For the Dominican female statutes, see “Liber Constitutionum Sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum,” in *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1897), 337–48 (hereafter: CSOP).

enclosure, combined with the stability and vitality of the Order around 1400, most likely explains why Windesheim relied heavily on this source to build their own constitutions.¹⁹⁶

All this suggests that the canons responsible for the constitutions knew rather precisely what they wanted. They therefore selected only those passages from their sources which matched their ideas. The conflation of elements from the Carthusian, Victorine, and Dominican statutes was skilfully achieved in order to match the spirituality that Windesheim desired.

To incorporate these pre-existing legislative texts, the Windesheim commission used three main techniques: it quoted long excerpts of the sources literally; it cut and pasted small passages of the sources (without fundamentally reworking their wordings); or it produced textual similarities. This technique of “marquetry” to write the constitutions was a widespread practice among canonical traditions.¹⁹⁷

The content of the constitutions, thus, clearly draws on earlier texts. In this way, the constitutions, and consequently the Congregation itself, are placed within the larger tradition of canonical Rules – not to mention the fact that Carthusians, Victorines, and Dominicans themselves used earlier models for their regulations.¹⁹⁸

d. The Authority of the Constitutions

As in many other monastic communities, the need for Windesheim to have its own constitutions is linked to the will to establish common and uniform practices within all the monasteries associated with the Congregation. Uniformity, in turn, was supposed to guarantee the perpetuation of the regular observance. The constitutions were central in building, shaping and maintaining this uniformity. This is clearly stated in the chapter on Visitations:

<i>... inquirant diligenter de negligencia priorum ... si statuta capituli faciunt observari – per ipsos enim viget vel deficit ordo in domibus...</i>	... that they [the Visitors] scrupulously inquire about negligence on the part of the priors [and ask] if [all members of the community] observe the statutes of [our] Chapter – for it is through them that the Order flourishes or wanes in [our] houses... ¹⁹⁹
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The strict and meticulous observance of the constitutions therefore lies at the heart of the Congregation of Windesheim, and this text is the warrant designed to uphold the ideal monastic life of Windesheim in perpetuity.

¹⁹⁶ R. van Dijk, CM, esp. 277.

¹⁹⁷ The term “marquetry” is borrowed from Haverals (“marqueterie”), as it seems particularly well fitted to describe the creation of the constitutions. Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 23.

¹⁹⁸ R. van Dijk clearly summarises the very complex relationships between monastic texts which led to the CCW and to the CM: R. van Dijk, CM, 285–87.

¹⁹⁹ CCW, 74:48–53.

The constitutions, as a prescriptive document, have an intrinsic authoritative value: in the fifteenth century the essential role of such legislative texts in regulating monastic communities was undisputed. However, the degree to which they were observed in practice varied widely. Therefore, I will now turn to the means by which the Chapter of Windesheim conferred on its new statutes a clear authoritative value, and ensured that their authority was respected in each house of the Congregation.

A first means was to create a direct filiation between the new constitutions and the well-known Rule of St Augustine, as discussed above. A second, important tool was to have master copies: after the revision of 1434, three authorised exemplars of the CCW were circulated among the incorporated Windesheim male houses with instructions to prepare an in-house copy in each Windesheim community. Once every monastery had made a copy of their own, the three master copies were stored permanently in the houses of Windesheim, Neuss (diocese of Cologne), and Groenendaal (diocese of Cambrai).²⁰⁰ This ensured the proper dissemination of the new regulations with the aim to keep uniform practices in every monastery. Third, the Congregation implemented additional practical measures to ensure as much as possible that the constitutions would be respected. For instance, Windesheim explicitly subjected every new member of the Congregation to these regulations: the newly professed brothers or sisters promised obedience to the prior/prioress and his/her successors who have been canonically established “according to the Rule of St Augustine *and* according to the constitutions of our General Chapter”. By comparison, the promise of obedience in Victorine houses was made to the Church of Saint-Victor only.²⁰¹ The fact that the Windesheim profession of faith explicitly refers to the Augustinian Rule *and* to the constitutions strengthens the affiliation between the two, and reinforces their authority over professed members.²⁰² Given the evolving nature of the Windesheim constitutions, a dynamism which seems rather specific to Windesheim,²⁰³ the Chapter of Windesheim might have felt the need to make clear that the canons and canonesses fully and explicitly complied to the constitutions, not least since these could be adjusted over the course of a monastic lifetime.

The constitutions, especially because they were present in each house in a written, tangible form, represented the physical incarnation of the norms that the community had to internalise,

²⁰⁰ Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 14.

²⁰¹ “Stabilitatem corporis mei ecclesiae Beati Victoris promitto...” *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, 282.

²⁰² The Carthusian promise was made to the prior and the charterhouse in which the profession was made, as well as to God, the Virgin Mary, and St John the Baptist, which implicitly bound the new professed member to these authorities but less to the Order as a whole (see *Statuta ordinis cartusienis*, fol. 125^r).

²⁰³ Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 24.

share and accept.²⁰⁴ In addition to their material form, they also had to be read annually by every canons and canonesses, to avoid the constitutions to be neglected or forgotten.²⁰⁵ This, too, is not specific to Windesheim; rather, this performative aspect of prompting the community's awareness of the constitutions is drawn from the Carthusians.²⁰⁶ The fact that the reading of this text was part of an institutionalised ritual was yet another means to reiterate its authority and guarantee its recurrent and conscious acknowledgment by the community.

2. Ensuring Monastic Observances

Windesheim had several ways of implementing and controlling the respect of its constitutions and, as such, of ensuring that the regular monastic observance be retained. On the level of the whole Congregation, this was achieved through two main institutional bodies: the General Chapter and the Private Chapter, and through two groups of people: the *diffinitores* who had what we might nowadays call the legislative power, and the Visitors (“*visitatores*”) who represented the executive branch. Above all these stood the motherhouse of Windesheim and its prior, designated as “Prior Superior”. Both held the highest authority within the Congregation. This section aims at presenting how the Chapter tried to control its incorporated houses through these dispositives, to the extent that its constitutions indicate.

a. A Centralised Dispositive: The General Chapter

The General Chapter gathered every year in the motherhouse of Windesheim, on the second Sunday after Easter, unless a particular reason required the meeting to take place in a different place, or at a different time, subject to the advice and the consent of the *diffinitores*.²⁰⁷ It was mandatory for the prior of each monastery, together with no more than one companion, to attend

²⁰⁴ On the importance of the internalisation of communally shared and accepted norms in ruling a community, see Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen, eds., *Authorities in the Middle Ages, Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

²⁰⁵ In male monasteries, they had to be read “in the cloister or elsewhere” (“in claustrum vel alibi”) and in female monasteries, “in the cloister or in the Chapter house” (“in claustrum vel in domo capituli”), CCW, 44:24; and CM, 728:54. For more details, see CCW, 44–46; and CM, 727–28.

²⁰⁶ *Statuta ordinis cartusienensis*, fol. 1^v.

²⁰⁷ “Capitulum generale domorum nostrarum in domo Beate Marie in Windeshem annis singulis, videlicet dominica secunda post festum Pasche celebretur, nisi forte certa ex causa ad determinatum tempus, et hoc de consilio et consensu diffinitorum, oportet illud alibi celebrari.” CCW, 46:3–6. — In 1499 the General Chapter decided to meet the third Sunday after Easter: “Incipimus hanc constitutionem ut de caetero capitulum generale seruetur dominica Iubilate, hoc est dominica tertia post Pascha.” (ACW, 96) The ACW do not give any explanation for this, but given the fact that more and more monasteries joined the Congregation of Windesheim in the course of the fifteenth century, it is likely that practical reasons prompted this decision: postponing the day of the annual Chapter meetings from the second Monday after Easter to the third Monday after Easter made it more convenient for canons from distant monasteries to attend the meeting.

the meetings of the General Chapter. This annual pilgrimage to the motherhouse continuously reaffirmed Windesheim's status as the spiritual and physical centre of the Congregation.

At the General Chapter, the priors appointed by successive elections twelve *diffinitores* – the Prior Superior being a *diffinitor* by virtue of his office.²⁰⁸ According to the constitutions, the authority of the *diffinitores* came directly from God, and the power of their decisions was acknowledged by apostolic authority (“*auctoritate apostolica*”).²⁰⁹ The twelve *diffinitores* were responsible for examining, judging, and determining the propositions to amend the constitutions submitted as a result of the reports of the Visitors and by the priors who gathered for the General Chapter.²¹⁰ Each decision had to be approved by three consecutive Chapter meetings before being officially integrated within the Windesheim legislation. When a new proposition was submitted by the *diffinitores*, it was called *ordinatio* but the regulation was not yet implemented. The following year, if the new twelve *diffinitores* still agreed on the text, it was promoted to the status of an *approbatio*. Finally, in the third year, if the new *diffinitores* still approved the decree, it reached the level of *confirmatio* and the regulation became an official amendment to the CCW, with all the regulatory force that such a step entailed.²¹¹

The *diffinitores* also appointed at least three priors each year who constituted the Private Chapter. The Private Chapter could be summoned for any issue that arose during the year, which could not wait until the next General Chapter to be resolved.²¹² It was summoned by the Prior Superior (i.e., the prior of the monastery of Windesheim) who held supreme authority over the other priors.²¹³

Finally, the *diffinitores* had the crucial task of appointing the Visitors among the priors who were attending the General Chapter. In doing so, they had to make sure that no Visitor was inspecting the house of the prior who was inspecting him.²¹⁴ This was meant to avoid vindictive behaviour and to guarantee the impartiality of these inspection Visitations. The *diffinitores* also had to avoid changing the appointed Visitors too often.²¹⁵ While the constitutions do not explain why, this system created a certain continuity in the inspection process and therefore ensured the continuity and stability of the Windesheim observance.

²⁰⁸ R. van Dijk, CM, 55 provides a clear overview of the complex election process of the *diffinitores*.

²⁰⁹ CCW, 56:10–11.

²¹⁰ CCW, 56:5–7.

²¹¹ CCW, 56:12–13. For a summary of how new regulations were discussed before being incorporated in the constitutions, see R. van Dijk, CM, 59; and Haverals and Legrand, CCW, 12.

²¹² CCW, 66:17–20.

²¹³ CCW, 64–66:4–16.

²¹⁴ CCW, 62:11–13.

²¹⁵ CCW, 62:11–13.

R. van Dijk emphasises the important fact that even if the ACW that survive do not contain every decision made, the priors who attended the Chapter came back to their monasteries fully aware of all the decisions taken during the Chapter meeting: they were thus able to communicate them to the other members of their community.²¹⁶ The Visitors were in charge of controlling the proper application of these decisions.

b. A Local Control: The Visitors

The Visitors, always subject to the authority of the Chapter, had to ensure the good spiritual and temporal state of each house and of all members of the Congregation by means of an annual Visitation.²¹⁷ During their inspection, which lasted at least three or four days, and not more than eight or ten days,²¹⁸ the Visitors had a personal conversation with each member of the monastery. They had the power to punish or correct any abuses.²¹⁹ However, they could not dismiss members of the monastery without a written permission from the General Chapter or from the Prior Superior.²²⁰

The chapter on Visitations in the CCW particularly underlines the authority of the General Chapter and, consequently, the authority of the Visitors as representatives of the Chapter. Canons and canonesses were obliged by the constitutions to speak the truth during the Visitation; in case of non-compliance, or should they be discovered, they would expose themselves to a serious danger for their souls and a serious punishment from the Order itself.²²¹ Similarly, if someone did not follow the agreements made during the previous Visitation, s/he had to be severely punished as a sign of disobedience to God as much as to the Chapter.²²² The association of God and the Chapter clearly emphasises the spiritual importance of following the Windesheim observance in all aspects. This is reinforced by the notion that the Visitors received their authority directly from God and from the General Chapter.²²³ This inscribed the General Chapter as the direct continuation of God's will. The spiritual importance given to the Visitations therefore was particularly aimed at institutionalising the external control exercised over incorporated monasteries through the Visitation mechanism.²²⁴

²¹⁶ R. van Dijk, CM, 207.

²¹⁷ CCW, 72:3–5.

²¹⁸ CCW, 80:145–47.

²¹⁹ CCW, 82:152–54.

²²⁰ Visitors could dismiss a member without permission only if the member was beyond punishment. In such cases, the guilty member was sent to another Windesheim monastery to correct his or her behaviour and, consequently, to correct his or her soul. CCW, 82:154–60.

²²¹ CCW, 72:20–21; and CM, 729:22–25.

²²² "... tanquam inobedientem Deo et generali capitulo graviter puniant." CCW, 74:46–47; and CM, 730:49–52.

²²³ CCW, 72:15–16; and CM, 729:17.

²²⁴ On the importance of the Visitations to control the regular observance, see also Goudriaan, *Piety in Practice and Print*, esp. 159.

The General and Private Chapters, the *diffinitores*, the Visitors, the Prior Superior, and the motherhouse together were the instruments through which the Congregation of Windesheim was governed: they ruled the daily lives of the members, controlled the effective application of the constitutions, and took concrete measures to correct or improve the Congregation's spiritual and temporal life in an annual cycle. It was through their rule-giving authority, which created distinctions of hierarchy and privilege, that the dispositives embedded in the constitutions could exert control over the rest of the community. The authority of these persons and institutions was itself legitimised by the nature of the objectives pursued by the Congregation: the Windesheim constitutions were presented as stemming directly from the Rule of St Augustine, while the General Chapter placed itself in the continuity of the divine authority (as is especially clear in the chapter on the Visitors). The authority of the General Chapter was reinforced by the fact that the Congregation was subjected directly to the authority of the Pope, and not to the episcopal authority (as was normally the case for houses of Augustinian canons).²²⁵ This direct papal subjection also is the reason for the Apostolic authority; the chain goes from Christ to Peter to the Pope to the General Chapter.

Finally, the power structure was rationalised: the Congregation of Windesheim strove to adapt its regulations continuously, depending on the evolution of its community. This was achieved through the annual meetings of the Congregation, from where decisions were circulated to the individual houses. On the one hand, adjusting the constitutions was achieved only to a certain extent: to ensure a stable and uniform Congregation, the regulations had to undergo as little change as possible. Habits build stability and uniformity, two central aspects of the Congregation which could be jeopardised by too frequent and numerous changes. On the other hand, to face the evolution of the Congregation (e.g., the increase in the number of monasteries and the inclusion of more distant monasteries), every so often changes had to be made. For instance, the General Chapter decided to adjust the frequency of the mandatory presence at the annual Chapter meetings for priors living in monasteries situated more than three or four days' journey from the motherhouse.²²⁶ This shows that the organisation of Windesheim was not merely a one-off document connected to the beginning of the Congregation: instead, its shape was linked directly, and deliberately, with the development of the specific needs and goals of the Congregation, and with their implementation in a dynamic environment.

²²⁵ Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 308.

²²⁶ ACW, 7. The exact date of this decision is unknown, but a later hand corrected the CCW ms. lat. 10883 (fol. 4^v) accordingly. This manuscript was copied c. 1432–1434, which places c. 1434 as the *terminus post quem* for this adjustment. This is the only exception granted to geographically distant houses. Apart from this, geographically distant monasteries had to follow the exact same rules as any other Windesheim monasteries and were subjected to the same controls, at least according to official regulations.

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The Congregation of Windesheim heavily relied on a written text amended over the years to implement uniform practices in houses officially incorporated. Its authoritative character was complemented by annual readings. The tangible form of this authoritative, prescriptive text was meant to avoid the constitutions to be forgotten as well as to facilitate the dissemination of Windesheim practices, since it was therefore not necessary that new members travel to the motherhouse to learn them.²²⁷ The institutionalised rituals surrounding the constitutions were a means to reiterate their authority within the annual cycle of the liturgical year, and thereby to help guarantee their acknowledgment by the community. The Congregation set up more dispositives to maintain its control and to ensure the monasteries' members would follow the regulations. The Visitors were the most important of them: entrusted with the General Chapter's authority, they were supposed to be the warrants of the actual observance of the constitutions. Even if the lack of sources does not allow to verify if the Visitations were in fact performed on a yearly basis in every monastery, the prescriptions show a strong desire emanating from the Chapter to regulate and control its officially incorporated monasteries and to ensure compliances within the recurring cycle of the year.

²²⁷ See also Jocqué, "Saint-Victor et Windesheim," 315.

Chapter 2

A Complex Relationship: Windesheim and Women

The dispositives set up by the Congregation to create and implement its regulations (the General Chapter and the Visitations) were designed exclusively by the male branch of the Congregation. Canonesses did not take part in the annual meetings of the General Chapter and, consequently, were not involved in the making of regulations that emanated from that body – even though they would have been subjected to its decisions. This, in addition to the aforementioned prohibition of accepting new female houses in the Congregation from 1436 onwards, points to an ambiguous relationship between the General Chapter of Windesheim and its canonesses. Therefore, starting with the relationships between Windesheim canons and women generally, chapter 2 investigates the governance of Windesheim female monasteries.

1. Windesheim Male Monasteries and Their Relations to Women

The attitude of the Chapter of Windesheim towards women (whether religious or not) is rather conventional: no woman is ever to be allowed inside a male house.²²⁸ This is clearly expressed in the chapter of the CCW dedicated to the *portarius*, the second part of which is entirely dedicated to this prohibition.²²⁹ When a new male monastery was incorporated, everything had to be organised as soon as possible to physically keep women outside the monastery.

In practice, it was impossible to completely exclude women from a male house. To begin with, lay women could attend Mass in the nave of the church, together with the other lay people, in which case they had to use a special separate entry at the back of the church.²³⁰ The Visitors were

²²⁸ “Feminas autem quocumque tempore vel quacumque de causa ingredi non permittat.” CCW, 154:17–18.

²²⁹ CCW, 152–55.

²³⁰ “Possunt tamen femine per segregatum introitum in retro ecclesiam extra cancellos intrare, et inibi cum viris secularibus divina audire.” CCW, 154:36–37.

in charge of making sure that this was the only access for women to the complex.²³¹ In addition, female founders of a house – as long as they were the only financial backers (“domus integre”) – or the (wife or mother of the) sovereign of the country and her (female) retinue could not be denied access within the enclosed space.²³² For those cases, the CCW make clear that the access to the cloister’s workshops is prohibited,²³³ and that they must not enter the dormitory and the individual cells of the monks if possible.²³⁴ The chapter on the *hospitarius* gives some instructions in case contact should occur: no professed brother (including the prior) is allowed to talk to a woman in a private place. If contacts should happen, they must be visible by all, unless the woman is the mother or a sister of the member.²³⁵ The same rule applies to the converses.²³⁶ Only the procurator is not affected by these restrictions in full because his main task is to deal with external affairs. Moreover, although the General Chapter allows visual contact and discussions between the male monastic community and women, it clearly bans the physical contact by stipulating that no one should offer his bare hand to a woman.²³⁷

All these stipulations obviously aimed at restraining the contact between religious men and women to an absolute minimum. The constitutions do not make any distinction between lay women and religious women, but given the strict position of Windesheim towards women and the issues raised by the *cura monialium* discussed below, it is safe to assume that these stipulations concerned both.

The disciplinary sanctions imposed on those who allowed women inside the monastery show the importance of the prohibition. If a professed member allowed a woman inside, he lost his office (if he had one) and had to observe three days of abstinence (when only bread and water were allowed). In addition, the professed member (with the exception of the prior) became a novice again during forty days. The General Chapter also had the power to increase these sanctions.²³⁸ These are very serious sanctions, which clearly underline the gravity of the offence.

²³¹ “Visitatores eciam solliciti sint, ut in novis domibus in quantum possibilitas admittit ita ordinetur, ut mulieres quanto cicius excludantur, ita ut nusquam accessum habeant intra septa, preterquam per introitum segregatum extra cancellos in retro ecclesiam.” CCW, 84:199–201.

²³² “Fundatrix tamen integre domus vel domina patrie cum sua comitiva intromitti potest...” CCW, 154:32–33.

²³³ “... nullatenus ad officinas claustrum admittantur...” CCW, 154:30–31.

²³⁴ “... ad dormitorium tamen et cellas fratrum, si fieri potest, non admittatur.” CCW, 154:34–35.

²³⁵ “Caveat eciam quicumque prior vel frater loqui cum femina, nisi in loco aperto ubi ab aliis possit videri, excepta matre vel sorore...” CCW, 158:24–26.

²³⁶ “Conversi cum mulieribus soli non loquantur, nisi in loco aperto ubi ab aliis videri possint, excepta matre vel sorore.” CCW, 252:11–12.

²³⁷ “... nec aliquis mulieris alicui manum nudam porrigat.” CCW, 158:26.

²³⁸ “... capitulo predictas disciplinas nichilominus aucturo.” CCW, 154:27–28. These sanctions only concerned professed members. No information is given (in this chapter or in the rest of the CCW) on the sanctions for other members of the community (novices, converses, etc.) who allowed a woman to enter the monastery.

This attitude reflects a common behaviour of religious men towards women during the Middle Ages: to protect male virtue, a strict separation from all women was necessary. Already in the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux gave the following warning in his sermon 65: “To be always with a woman and not to have sexual relations with her is more difficult than to raise the dead. You cannot do the less difficult; do you think I will believe that you can do what is more difficult?”²³⁹ Despite the positive ideal that virginity meant for both men and women, it was considered necessary to protect the canons from the temptations women could create by their sheer presence.

Canonesses’ contacts with men are not discussed with this level of detail in the constitutions (neither the CCW nor the CM), probably because it was deemed unnecessary. Indeed, Windesheim imposed a strict enclosure in female houses. Therefore, canonesses were not supposed to be in contact with male outsiders at all. While the CCW foresee very serious sanctions for canons who allowed women inside their monasteries, no descriptions of sanctions are provided in the CM for canonesses who would allow men inside the enclosure. In the rare cases when a man was indeed permitted to enter the enclosure (e.g., Visitors, workmen), the CM warn that those visits should be kept to a minimum. In addition, the prioress, who received the visitors, had to be accompanied by the rector, three guardian sisters, and, if necessary, the procuratrix.²⁴⁰ Of course, the absence of normative prescriptions does not mean that no contact happened. In 1488 the General Chapter ordained a stipulation (confirmed in 1490) according to which Visitors, *commissarius*, rectors, and prioresses must not allow any exterior person to enter the enclosure, apart from the cases mentioned in the constitutions.²⁴¹ This implies that the enclosure was not always respected to the letter, and perhaps suggests that men might have sometimes entered, if not through the prioresses, maybe through the Visitors, the *commissarius*, or the rector.

Besides, the mention of these male office-holders next to the role of the prioress questions the actual role of the prioress in managing the material and spiritual state of her monastery.

²³⁹ As quoted by Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 16.

²⁴⁰ These exceptions are discussed in more detail in part II, chapter 3.

²⁴¹ “Interdicitur visitatoribus, commissariis, rectoribus et priorissis monasteriorum monialium quod nullo modo extraneas personas clausuras ingredi permittant seu licentiant nisi secundum iuris et statutorum formas.” ACW, 85.

2. Priors and Prioresses in Windesheim Monasteries

At the local level, the prior and the prioress had the highest authority in their monastery. Because of their importance in managing the material and spiritual state of their community, these offices are particularly useful examples to study the similarities and differences between male and female houses and their hierarchical relations to the General Chapter.

a. Legitimation of Authority

I shall first focus on the election of a prior or a prioress. The criteria detailed below concern both the prior and the prioress. They are not specific to Windesheim since they are literally the same as those copied in the statutes of the Carthusians.²⁴² About canonical elections in the Middle Ages, Richard Katz writes:

... while canonical elections often involved a choice, the choice itself did not confer authority. The authority of an abbot or bishop came not from his election, but in theory from God and in practice from his appointment by canonical superiors. Thus, confirmation is an integral part of canonical election...²⁴³

The election process of Windesheim priors and prioresses did not differ from this general statement: on the contrary, the election process fully confirms Katz's statement.

The permission to elect a new prior/prioress is itself subject to the approval of the General Chapter. It is more a formality than an actual request (a prior/prioress is in any case needed to manage the state of a house). But in this way, it is clearly asserted that the permission to elect a prior/prioress is issued from the General Chapter and that the prior/prioress draws his/her authoritative function from it. Moreover, during their investiture, the prior/prioress has to promise to be obedient to the Rule of St Augustine and to the constitutions of the General Chapter.²⁴⁴ Once the prior/prioress officially holds this new office, s/he must make his/her profession to the General Chapter:

<i>Ego, frater/soror N., promitto obedienciam et fidelitatem communi capitulo pro me et domo nostra.</i>	I, brother/sister N., promise obedience and loyalty to the General Chapter on my behalf and on behalf of our house. ²⁴⁵
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²⁴² See *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis*, fols. 82^v–85^r: *De electionibus priorum et professionibus quas faciunt capitulo generali*; and *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis*, fols. 143^v–144^r: *De electionibus priorum*. For an analysis of the origins of election processes in monastic Orders, see Moulin, “Note sur l'évolution des techniques électorales dans les Ordres religieux.”

²⁴³ Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, 19.

²⁴⁴ The new prior/prioress has to answer “promitto” (I promise) to the following question: “Promittis obedienciam secundum regulam beati Augustini et secundum constitutiones capituli nostri generalis?” CCW, 98:183–85; and CM, 747–48:296–98.

²⁴⁵ CCW, 98–100:193–94; and CM, 748:306–7.

The newly elected prior had to make his profession in the next General Chapter in front of the other priors gathered for the meeting. Due to the enclosure, the new prioress did not go to the meeting in person, but sent her profession in a letter. If a new prior was unable to attend the General Chapter, he also had to send a letter. It was nevertheless required that he reiterate his profession verbally the next time he attended the meeting. Therefore, the prior/prioress clearly was dependent on the Chapter's approval, from which his or her authority emanated.

During the election of a prior/prioress in a Windesheim monastery, the Chapter was represented physically by two external priors (therefore: two *male* canons) who attended, led and confirmed the election. The constitutions make clear that these two external priors had this role specifically "from the authority of the Chapter" ("auctoritate capituli generalis").²⁴⁶ The election of a new prior/prioress is based on the decisions of Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), which text is explicitly quoted in the constitutions.²⁴⁷ However, the presence of two external priors representing the General Chapter and reporting to it is an addition specific to Windesheim: it is a concrete example of how the General Chapter wanted to embed, embody, and ensure its authority and its control in local monasteries during some of the most defining moments in the evolution of a house (priors and prioresses were elected for life, giving the event and the procedure a highly momentous character).

The Chapter also recognised the prior/prioress's authority, giving him/her the necessary authority to rule at the local level of his/her own monastery. This can be seen in the election process, laid out in great detail in the constitutions: it is a solemn act of empowerment through which the prior and prioress were legally invested with authority and were perceived as capable of generating legitimate rulings. At the same time, the fact that the new prior/prioress was elected by the voting members of the community (and not, for instance, appointed by the General Chapter) conferred on him/her the necessary recognition from the community s/he was about to lead.

The type of people allowed to vote in the election process provides information on the part of the community which is able to entrust a brother or sister with authority. The constitutions read as follows:

Sciendum autem, quod ad subdiaconatum non Let it however be known that those **who have not received the ordination to sub-deacon**, those who have

²⁴⁶ CCW, 90:43; and CM, 739:64–65.

²⁴⁷ CCW, 90–92:65–91; and CM, 740–1:84–114 quote the canons 23 and 24 which respectively deal with the obligation to organise the election of a prior/prioress within three months and with the three forms of election. The decrees of Lateran IV have been translated in H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation and Commentary* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1937), 236–96. An online version is available on the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, located at the "Fordham University Center for Medieval Studies": <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/lateran4.asp> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

<p><i>promoti, non professi, leprosi, criminosi, eciam ab omni disciplina absoluti, nisi eis vox expresse fuerit restituta, excommunicati, suspensi vel interdicti nec eligere possunt nec eligi, nec ad electionem cum aliis sunt admittendi.</i></p>	<p>not made profession, any lepers, any persons guilty of an offence, even when absolved of all disciplinary sanctions, unless their right to vote has explicitly been re-instated, any excommunicates, anyone suspended or prohibited [by canon law], cannot elect or be elected, nor must they be admitted to the election [proceedings] with the other [eligible members of the community].²⁴⁸</p>
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This quotation shows that being able to vote is a strong sign of belonging to the community, and of being in good standing in it. Losing the right to vote is also one of the sanctions of the *gravior culpa*, meaning that is a very serious punitive measure.²⁴⁹ The right to be elected is determined by similar criteria: someone who apostatised from the Order or who committed a serious act of misconduct cannot be elected as a prior/prioress. The new prior/prioress also had to have lived at least three years in a praiseworthy manner in a Windesheim monastery to be elected, unless special permission from the General Chapter or the Prior Superior and the motherhouse was granted.²⁵⁰

These details illustrate that only the persons who are entirely part of the community from a religious (the professed members), moral (absolved of disciplinary sanctions), and seniority (at least three years in a Windesheim monastery) point of view were seen fit to be elected and to become a leader.

b. Embodying Authority

In addition to the election process, the Chapter of Windesheim established several regulations to fully invest the prior/prioress with the necessary authority to lead his or her monastery.

The Chapter of Windesheim favoured long appointments since a prior/prioress was elected for life. A new prior/prioress was needed only in two cases: when the prior/prioress withdrew because of illness or old age (of which s/he had to give notice to the Chapter unless the matter could be addressed in the course of the annual Visitation),²⁵¹ or when the holder of the office died. The life-long appointments were supposed to help ensure the proper continuity of monastic observance. More generally, life-long appointments were considered to be beneficial for the perpetuation of Windesheim's spiritual ideals and way of life. The Windesheim canon and reformer Johannes Busch reserved particular praise for the exceedingly long appointments of the priors

²⁴⁸ CCW, 88:28–31; and CM, 739:41–45. The words set in bold only figure in the CCW, since only men could be ordained.

²⁴⁹ CCW ms. lat. 10882, fol. 114r; CCW ms. lat. 10883, fols. 87r–87v; and CM, 799:45–46.

²⁵⁰ “Nullus quoque absque licentia capituli generalis vel prioris et conventus superioris preficiatur in priorem, quoadusque laudabiliter steterit in domibus nostris per tres annos.” CCW, 88:35–37; and CM 739:49–52.

²⁵¹ “Cum prior aliquis propter infirmitatem vel propter senium factus inutilis voluerit infra annum **extra tempus visitacionis** habere misericordiam, significet domui superiori.” CCW, 100:202–4; and CM, 748:316–18 (terms set in bold are only found in the CM).

Johannes Vos van Heusden and Wilhelm Vornken, of the subpriors Arnold Kalker and Jacob Wael, and of the procurators Gerard Delft and Gerard Goch. Because they occupied these key positions in the material and spiritual administration of the motherhouse for considerably more than fifty years, they were unusually able, according to Busch, to maintain the original ardour in the observances of monastic life and to reaffirm the dominant position of the motherhouse within the Congregation.²⁵²

The constitutions also established rules to confer on the prior/prioress a visible authority in daily life. In the very first sentence of the chapter on the prior/prioress, the constitutions state that the prior/prioress must be treated with respect by everyone.²⁵³ Thereafter, the constitutions outline the behaviour that the brothers and sisters must adopt when the prior/prioress comes into their presence (when and where to bow, to stand, or to sit).²⁵⁴ In this way, their choice when electing a prior/prioress must be (re-)confirmed and (re-)performed on a daily basis in their actions, through the codified behaviour stated in the constitutions.

Moreover, any conspiracy or intrigue (“maliciosa concordia”) against the prior/prioress or another superior are listed among the *graviore culpe*.²⁵⁵ In addition to the usual punishments for these kinds of faults,²⁵⁶ the members of such a cabal against the prior/prioress were liable to other punishments, including the life-long loss of their right to speak and vote in Chapter (with the exception of being accused in a Chapter of faults).²⁵⁷ This is an extremely serious punishment, since it means a permanent loss of privileges, and an almost complete moral separation from the community. The separation is also expressed physically since the guilty brother/sister lost his/her usual seat and always had to be seated at the end of the line.

²⁵² “Duo igitur isti priores Johannes Vos et Wilhelmus Vornken sexaginta duos annos prioris, et isti duo supprioris Arnoldus Kalker et Jacobus Wael plusquam quinquaginta octo annos supprioris, isti quoque duo procuratores Gerardus Delft et Gerardus Goch annos quinquaginta duos procuratoris in Windesem functi sunt officii, ideoque nostrum monasterium in primo suo permansit fervore, auctoritate et reverencia pre cunctis aliis capituli nostri monasteriis, ut palam datur cernere.” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 303. Busch dedicates a specific chapter to this topic, entitled: “De laude monasterii in Windesem propter solempnes patres ibidem enutritos et longam eorum in officii suis duracionem” (Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 302–5). See also Bertram Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna: Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005), 226.

²⁵³ “Postquam ergo prior electus et confirmatus fuerit, de cetero ab omnibus in reverencia habeatur ita...” CCW, 104:3–4; and CM, 749:2–3.

²⁵⁴ CCW, 105:4–15; and CM, 749–50:3–16.

²⁵⁵ “Si qui per conspiracionem vel maliciosam concordiam adversus aliquem, prefertim prelatum manifeste se erexerint...” CCW lat. 10882, fol. 113^v; and CCW lat. 10883, fol. 85^r. The CM reads slightly differently, but the meaning is the same: “Si vero alique per conspiracionem vel conjurationem vel maliciosam concordiam adversus priorissam vel etiam superiores suos manifeste se erexerint...” CM, 799:41–43.

²⁵⁶ These punishments included exclusion from the celebration of the Office or any other task in the church, from communion, and from the right to eat at the common table. See CM, 798–800. R. van Dijk provides a clear summary of the *gravior culpa* and the corresponding punishments in R. van Dijk, CM, 415.

²⁵⁷ “... voceque in tractatibus conventualibus carebit.” CCW lat. 10882, fol. 114^r; and CCW lat. 10883, fol. 85^r. “... in tota vita ... vocem in capitulo nisi in accusatione sua non habeant.” CM, 799:45–46.

The very severe punishments of social exclusion or demotion for unjustly plotting against the prior/prioress demonstrate the need to clarify the powerful position of the prior/prioress and to ensure that the monastic community remained aware throughout of the origins and the weight of the prior/prioress's authority: the constitutions represented the voice of the General Chapter, and the prior/prioress received their power from this highest authority. The aim was to underline the hierarchical structure of the Congregation and to reinforce the exalted position of the prior/prioress. While typical of medieval thinking, the emphasis on this hierarchical organisation was perhaps even more necessary in such a newly established Congregation. It also reflects the Chapter's theology: as part of the desired moral improvement of each canon/canonesse, a member had to subject himself completely to the community. The severe sanctions against insubordination, therefore, also needed to address a theological failure of the individual(s) concerned who did not live up to the exigencies in being a Windesheim canon/canonesse. It should be remembered that Windesheim strove to strictly establish the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, as it considered the perceived decline of the Church at that time to be created by a loss of retention of these vows. The need for obedience and, therefore, for the surrender of one's free will is best exemplified by the chapter on the new novices in the constitutions: on the day of acceptance of new novices in a house, the prior/prioress had to clearly state the difficulties of living a regular life, notably because it entailed losing one's free will in order to live in full obedience of the Congregation's regulations.²⁵⁸

However, the prior/prioress also had to be a "model of discipline" ("exemplum discipline") for the community and to be absolutely beyond reproach.²⁵⁹ According to the CM, should members of a female community find themselves in disagreement with their prioress for good cause because in their eyes she failed to conform to the rules of the community, the prioress was first to be approached by her fellow sisters. If that failed to show the desired effect, the prioress needed to be lovingly and humbly admonished many times. If these interventions still did not show the desired effect, the Prior Superior or the Visitors could be notified.²⁶⁰ Moreover, concerning the prior, whenever he had to travel within five miles outside the monastery, he had to notify and explain the reasons for his trip to the subprior and to the procurator.²⁶¹ If he needed to travel farther than five

²⁵⁸ "... primo omnium prior difficultatem ordinis et quas molestias ac temptationes in conversacione regulari, in prohibendis propriis voluntatibus et obediencia sectanda sustinere necesse sit studeat demonstrare..." CCW, 166:61–63; and CM, 778:74–77.

²⁵⁹ CCW, 104:17; and CM, 750:18.

²⁶⁰ "Si que tamen non maliciose sed in veritate adversus priorissam aliquid habuerint, quod tolerari non debeat nec deceat, prius eam inter se cum omni humilitate et caritate de sua correctione ammoneant. Quod si frequenter ammonita se corrigere neglexerit aut contempserit, priori superiori vel visitoribus significetur." CM, 799–800:47–52.

²⁶¹ Because of the enclosure, this of course only concerned the prior: no similar stipulation is to be found in the CM.

miles, he was obliged to ask for the advice of the community or of the majority.²⁶² These two examples are linked to other stipulations aimed at restricting the prior/prioress's power, since, even if s/he was entrusted with the General Chapter's authority, any abuse of the power s/he received needed to be prevented.

The General Chapter was very much aware that the prior/prioress had no one above her/himself in the local hierarchy of the monastery. It was also aware of the dangers of giving a specific individual too much power, especially with regard to the discipline within the cloister to which s/he remained explicitly subject.²⁶³ Therefore, the constitutions emphasise that the prior/prioress must lead by example, living and performing his/her duties at least as well as any other canon/canonesse, preferably better: s/he must attend the Divine Office, Mass, and the Chapter of faults, s/he must eat at the refectory and keep the silence like all others, and his/her clothes and bed must be the same as the others'.²⁶⁴ Abuses of authority by the prior/prioress were a serious concern for the General Chapter. The first question the Visitors were required to ask during the individual questioning concerned the prior/prioress:

Primo super pactionibus quas priores First, they [the Visitors] are to investigate scrupulously
visitationem timentes a fratribus extorquent and individually the bargains that priors, for fear of the
et laycis, singulos diligenter scrutentur. Visitation, extort from the canons **and lay people**.²⁶⁵

All these elements reveal the concern of the Chapter to prevent the creation of excessively strong individual power: even if the prior/prioress had no one above her/himself in the monastery, the other members of the house acted as checks and balances and, in obstinate cases, could report abuses to the Chapter through the system of annual Visitations.

c. Differences of Authority

The prior and the prioress both received authority from the General Chapter and were granted the same level of respect and external control of (mis)behaviour. On the more detailed level of the actual tasks and process of decision-making in individual houses, however, differences between them become visible.

²⁶² "Extra monasterium ultra quinque milliaria non proficiscatur absque consilio conventus vel maioris partis." CCW, 106:35–36. The prior also had to travel with another religious companion (CCW, 216). See part II, chapter 3.

²⁶³ This is clear from the following sentences: "... nec accepta abutatur potestate, sed tanto magis seipsum in omni disciplina cohibeat quanto alium in monasterio supra se nullum habet, a quo cohiberi possit. Non enim ideo prelati est, ut discipline claustrali subiectus non sit." CCW, 104:17–20; and CM, 750:18–22.

²⁶⁴ A full paragraph of the constitutions deals with these aspects: CCW, 104–6:21–34; and CM, 750:22–35.

²⁶⁵ CCW, 74:39–44; and CM, 730:44–49. Words set in bold are only found in the CCW. If such bargains were made, they were to be invalidated by the Visitors. Moreover, the guilty prior/prioress lost his/her office, and the prior was kept away from Mass (the prioress from communion) during forty days ("Factas solvant et prior sit extra sedem suam et Missa/communionem careat quadraginta diebus..." CCW, 74:41–42; and CM, 46–47).

This becomes clear from the very beginning of the constitutions. The prologue opens with the interdiction of changing, adding, or deleting any parts of the constitutions. Then, it grants the possibility to the prior/prioress to adapt the stipulations in his/her community whenever necessary: difficult physical requirements may be lifted for those unable to perform them well.²⁶⁶ From there, the constitutions state that the prior/prioress must take care of the needs of everyone, as is prescribed by the Rule.²⁶⁷ However, the CM contain the telling addition according to which the prioress is allowed to exempt her fellow sisters only if the Prior Superior, the Visitors, or the rector of the house have not ordered otherwise.²⁶⁸ This specification is not written in the CCW, which suggests that the male priors do not have to refer to the Prior Superior or the Visitors (at least in principle). The subordination of the prioress to these male superiors is reaffirmed in the prologue, for it indicates that everything that is not discussed in the constitutions has to be decided by the Visitors.²⁶⁹ The same instruction is given in the first chapter of the CCW, with the only but telling difference that those decisions were to be made not by the Visitors, but by the priors.²⁷⁰ These differences do not only underline the difference in authority and autonomy granted to a prior on the one hand and to a prioress on the other, but they also underline the hierarchical structure of the Congregation of Windesheim: a prior and a prioress are not fully at the same level.

The difference stated immediately in the introduction to the constitutions (i.e., that the prioress is allowed to exempt her fellow sisters only if male superiors have not ordered otherwise) is concretely enacted in the election process.

²⁶⁶ “Ad hec tamen prior in conventu suo dispensandi cum fratribus habeat potestatem, cum sibi aliquando videbitur expedire, in hiis que ad observancias et exercicia corporalia pertinere videntur...” CCW, 40:12–14. Apart from a different ordering of words at the beginning which does not change the meaning of the stipulation, the CM reads “in hiis que ad observancias et exercicia spiritualia” (CM, 726:14–17). This difference seems to be linked to a conception of Windesheim theology: the primary role of the prioress appears to be a spiritual guidance, a role model for her fellow sisters of spiritual perfection and the divine rather than to earthly matters: the perfect, ideal female leader does not have to take care of the daily business of a monastery. This has been demonstrated by Mathilde van Dijk, “Female Leadership and Authority in the Sisterbook of Diepenveen,” in *Mulieres Religiosae: Shaping Female Spiritual Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, eds. Veerle Fraeters and Imke de Gier, Europa Sacra 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–64. Conversely, priors, in addition to spiritual guidance, are also fully involved in the daily business of their monasteries.

²⁶⁷ “... ut ipse tamquam fidelis dispensator unicuique, sicut cuique opus esse perspexerit, quemadmodum regula nostra dicit, studeat impartiri.” CCW, 40:14–16; and CM, 726–27:19–21.

²⁶⁸ “... studeat impartiri, nisi forte prior superior vel visitatores seu rector domus de quibusdam aliter ordinaverit.” CM, 727:21–22.

²⁶⁹ “Ea autem, que non sunt expressa in aliqua quatuor parcium, relinquuntur ordinanda **visitorum** arbitrio.” CM, 727:39–41 (emphasis mine).

²⁷⁰ “Ea autem, que non sunt expressa in aliqua quatuor parcium, relinquuntur ordinanda **priorum** arbitrio.” CCW, 44:14–15 (emphasis mine). The CCW also specify that such changes must not be in contradiction with the statutes and habits of the Congregation. The CCW emphasise that no local custom should receive preference over the Congregation’s customs, in particular if both are in contradiction (“Nulla vero consuetudo contra statuta capituli valeat aut tolleretur.” CCW, 44:19–20).

First of all, the title of the chapters on election point at a possibly diminished authority of the prioress: while the title of the chapter in the CCW reads “De electione et confirmatione novi prioris et professione eiusdem” (“On the election and confirmation of a new prior and his profession”), the CM reads “De electione et institutione priorisse” (“On the election and appointment of the prioress”).²⁷¹ It is unclear why the CM omit the last part “et professione eiusdem”, since both chapters contain the same steps of the election and the CM also deal with the profession of the new prioress. The meaning of the change from “confirmatione” in the CCW to “institutione” in the CM is not entirely clear, either. R. van Dijk nevertheless suggests an “emotional difference” (“emotioneel verschil”): according to him, “institutio” strengthens the affiliation of the prioress within the hierarchy of the Chapter of Windesheim. Compared to “confirmatio”, the word “institutio” would better emphasise the fact that the newly elected prioress is “installed” by the *confirmatores* (the two external priors) on behalf of the Chapter of Windesheim.²⁷² The plausibility of this hypothesis is reinforced by other differences in the election process.

While some differences are less meaningful regarding the weight of authority, others clearly attest the comparatively reduced authority granted to the prioress. For example, the CM specify that converses, clerics, and oblates do not promise obedience to the new prioress but to the rector:

<i>Nichilominus autem clerici, conversi et donati universi in domibus monialium habitantes tantum rectori en non priorisse promittant obedienciam.</i>	On the contrary, however, all the clerics, converses and oblates who live in the canonesses' houses promise obedience to the rector and not to the prioress. ²⁷³
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This stipulation from the CM is most likely drawn from the Carthusian statutes.²⁷⁴ It emphasises two aspects. First, it reinforces the absence of contact between women and men. From this perspective, the stipulation seems to be more directed towards retaining and re-affirming a strict separation between men and women rather than on a distinction of authority. On the other hand, the stipulation lessens the authority of the prioress in her monastery compared to her male counterpart, since no such restrictions of obedience were made or deemed necessary in male houses. In female houses, it is understandable that male associates (clerics, oblates) promised obedience to the rector, but it is more difficult to explain in the case of converses. It might be due

²⁷¹ CCW, 86:1–2; and CM, 737:1. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 316.

²⁷² R. van Dijk, CM, 316.

²⁷³ CM, 748:307–10. The “clerici” refer to the companions of the rector. Other differences include, for instance, that the new prior had to make his profession at the General Chapter (CCW, 98–99:193–4), while the new prioress, due to the enclosure, was obliged to send her profession to the General Chapter by letter (CM, 748:306–7). For more details on this difference, see the explanations provided by R. van Dijk in CM, 322.

²⁷⁴ As pointed out by R. van Dijk, CM, 323. The Carthusian statutes state: “Monachi conversi et redditii universi in domibus monialium habitantes: obedienciam promittant tantum vicario et non priorisse.” *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis*, fol. 156^v.

to the fact that converses had to do the menial work for the community. In addition, many decisions left to the prior alone in male houses were subject to the approval or advice of higher (male) authorities in female houses, who are the focus of the next section.

d. The Prioress and the *commissio monialium*: Equal in Authority?

The *commissio monialium* (the “commission of the canonesses”) was composed of at least one *commissarius* (in charge of the overall organisation and spiritual care of the female houses, such as the nomination of the rector, the investiture of the novices, and the administration of the sacraments), one rector (responsible of the local spiritual and material state of the house), one *socius* (an associate, helping the rector in his tasks), and one converse (helping the rector and his companion with lay people of the female house).

The *commissarii* were appointed by the General Chapter and chosen among the priors of male Windesheim monasteries. Their tasks are described in the ACW, in a stipulation ordained in 1433 and confirmed in 1435:

<p><i>Cura monasteriorum monialium, quantum ad investitionem, professionum acceptationem, rectorum et sociorum eorumdem ordinationem, sacramentalium administrationem, visitationem, a capitulo commissa est prioribus infrascriptis, de Windesim, in Diepeven, Viridisvallis, S. Barbarae, Rubeaevallis, de Bethania.</i></p>	<p>The <i>cura monialium</i>, which concerns the investiture, the acceptance of professions [of faith], the nomination of rectors and their associates, the administration of the sacraments, the Visitations, is entrusted by the Chapter to the following priors: [the priors of] Windesheim, for Diepenveen, Groenendaal, for Barberendaal, Rooklooster for Bethanië.²⁷⁵</p>
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The rectors had a complementary function. They had to be consecrated priests and were appointed by the General Chapter or by the *commissarius* of the relevant house.²⁷⁶ They were in charge of the sacramental duties of female houses (daily Mass, confession). The Chapter wanted to ensure the proper management of female houses, and the role of the rector was essential in doing so.

In practice, it seems that the tasks of the *cura monialium* as defined in the quotation above overlapped between the *commissarius* and the rector: the rector is much more frequently mentioned in the CM and played a key role in the actual spiritual and material state of individual houses.

²⁷⁵ ACW, 27 (emphasis mine). These houses were most likely selected because of their geographical proximity. It is not always known from where the rectors of female Windesheim houses came. When this is known, they came from nearby male Windesheim houses. See the Monasticon for more details. For more on the *commissarius*, see R. van Dijk, CM, 87–88.

²⁷⁶ “Rectores sive confessores monialium capitulum generale sive commissarii earum deputare habent.” CM, 824:4–5. The rector could be (and often was) the confessor of the canonesses, but this task could also be fulfilled by one of the rector’s associates.

The rector could also carry out some aspects of the *cura monialium* upon request from the *commissarius*. However, it remained the exclusive task of the *commissarius* to accept the profession of female novices, that is, the rector had no say in finally and formally accepting new canonesses, although he could be deputised by the *commissarii* for an investiture.²⁷⁷ The *commissarius*, in other words, was in charge of the general and strategic supervision of the houses, probably in order to avoid the creation of local powers. This is reinforced by the fact that the prioresses were not obliged to make a promise of obedience to the rector but could instead choose a promise of loyalty and assistance to each other.²⁷⁸

The rector's authority was in any case restrained to the female house of which he was in charge. He did not attend the General Chapter (unless a question was raised which was specific to his house),²⁷⁹ and could not be elected prior except in his own house, nor take up the additional task of Visitor.²⁸⁰ The CM explicitly stipulate that in his own monastery, the rector's place was after the prior's.²⁸¹ However, in the hierarchy constructed by the Chapter, the fact that the rector came explicitly right after the prior emphasises the gravity and importance of this office.

In spite of this apparent equality between rector and prioress, the rector had a fundamental role in making decisions in female houses. Very often, the regulations of the CM are taken from the CCW, but the roles are adjusted: certain tasks of the prior are not given to the prioress but to the rector, regarding material as well as spiritual matters.²⁸²

The use of the monastery's possessions reveals particularly interesting differences: the prior needed the approval of the community ("conventus") if he wanted to sell, exchange, give up, or rent out for more than nine years any of the monastery's possessions or any other important thing.²⁸³ A similar stipulation applied to the prioress, but first, she was not allowed to rent out possessions (at least, the CM do not mention it); second, she needed the approval of the Council of twelve canonesses instead of the *conventus* (on this Council, see below); and third and most importantly,

²⁷⁷ "Ad ipsos [rectores] etiam non pertinet investire et velare moniales, sed ad commissarium earum, de cuius tamen licencia aliquam investire possunt sed non professionem recipere." CM, 825:14–17.

²⁷⁸ "Priorisse non tenentur promittere obedienciam rectori, sed possunt sibi invicem promittere fidelitatem et assistenciam." CM, 828:94–95.

²⁷⁹ "Rectores monialium non veniunt communiter ad capitulum generale, nisi habuerint causam pro domo sibi commissa." CM, 825:10–11.

²⁸⁰ "Qui sic deputatus non debet alicubi in priorem eligi, nisi in domo propria." CM, 824:5–6; and "Rectores monialium non ... etiam ad visitandum deputantur." CM, 825:10–12. It seems that one Windesheim canon was usually either *commissarius* or rector of a single house, but several canons from one Windesheim male monastery could be responsible for several female houses.

²⁸¹ "Et ubicumque venerit in domibus nostris, habebit locum post priores." CM, 824:7–8.

²⁸² R. van Dijk, CM, 330–32.

²⁸³ "Possessiones monasterii seu alia quelibet magna vendere vel mutare seu alienare neque elocare ultra novem annos, **sine consensu et consilio conventus** ei non licet." CCW, 110:100–3 (emphasis mine).

she needed the approval of the rector.²⁸⁴ Similarly, any gifts made to the monastery had to be handed to the prior and to the prioress so that they could advise how to use them best: the prior had to manage the gifts together with the procurator, while the prioress had to do it in agreement with the procuratrix *and* with the rector.²⁸⁵

Moreover, canons and canonesses had the possibility to amend points of the constitutions by a common decision with their respective communities. If an internal amendment made in addition to the constitutions was not followed by someone, the CCW state that this had to be reported to the prior himself.²⁸⁶ Conversely, the CM indicate that this had to be reported to the rector.²⁸⁷ In terms of authority, this difference is particularly important since the General Chapter did not grant the same range of possible punitive actions to the prior and to the prioress in managing the religious community.

This comes along with another important difference: what is not codified by the constitutions, is left up to the prior's decision in male monasteries, but it is left up to the Visitors' decision in female monasteries.²⁸⁸ It is relevant that in this specific stipulation, the prior is not replaced by the rector, as is often the case in the adaptation of the CCW for female houses, but by the Visitors – that is, an external authority emanating directly from the General Chapter. The Visitors were aware of the situation in a given monastery, but they were not as close as the rector to the local community. This distance might account for the fact that the rector was not entrusted with this task: the Visitors may have had a more impartial perspective and were therefore perceived as more likely to take the proper decisions (that is, decisions that suited the General Chapter rather than particular local interests).

e. An Ambiguous Authority: The Council of Canonesses

In spite of the strong presence of male superiors, the Chapter of Windesheim established an interesting mechanism of self-government granted exclusively to the canonesses. In 1442 it established the possibility to create a Council of twelve canonesses in female houses:

²⁸⁴ “Possessiones monasterii seu alia quelibet magna vendere vel mutare seu alienare **sine consensu et consilio rectoris et sororum duodecim** ei non licet.” CM, 752:80–83 (emphasis mine).

²⁸⁵ “Donaria vero ... **ad priorem/ad priorissam** deferantur, ut ipse **cum procuratore/cum rectore et procuratrice** de hiis ordinet sicut eis pro communi utilitate domus visum fuerit...” CCW, 110:105–8/CM, 752:85–88 (emphasis mine).

²⁸⁶ “Quod si non fuerit emendacio subsecuta ... si alii sunt culpabiles **denunciatur priori**, ut eos corrigi faciat.” CCW, 44–46:28–31 (emphasis mine).

²⁸⁷ “Quod si emendacio non fuerit subsecuta ... si alie sunt culpabiles, si ammonite se neglexerint emendare, **rectori denunciatur**, ut eas corrigi faciat.” CM, 728:59–63 (emphasis mine). The CCW and the CM then both stipulate that if the brother/sister does not correct him/herself, it had to be reported to the Visitors who could in turn report it to the Prior Superior or to the General Chapter (CCW, 46:31–35; and CM, 728:63–66).

²⁸⁸ “Ea autem, que non sunt expressa in aliqua quatuor parcium, relinquuntur ordinanda **priorum/visitorum** arbitrio.” CCW, 44:14–15/CM, 727:39–41 (emphasis mine).

<i>Excepta electione priorissae in omnibus aliis maioribus causis tractandis in domibus sororum eligantur duodecim sorores per conventum, praesentibus hac vice visitoribus cum rectore...</i>	Except from the election of a prioress, in all other major matters in female houses twelve canonesses are to be elected by the <i>conventus</i> , in the presence of the Visitors and the rector... ²⁸⁹
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The decision was ordained in 1442 and approved in 1443, but it was not confirmed, at least as far as the sources consulted for S. van der Woude's edition could tell. However, the Council of Twelve is regularly mentioned in the CM, which proves that it was actually implemented. The Council was in charge of controlling the material state of the monastery since the procuratrix made her annual report to this body.²⁹⁰ It also advised the prioress on some aspects of the house's organisation, such as on the choice for a subprioress or for a procuratrix.²⁹¹

The independence of the Council is not entirely clear. On the one hand, the Council is somewhat reminiscent of the twelve *diffinitores* of the Chapter of Windesheim, who had to approve or reject proposals from the priors gathered for the General Chapter. In this regard, the Council seems to have been a well-suited instrument in giving the canonesses autonomy in managing their own internal affairs, while reducing the need for an external canon to intervene. On the other hand, the decisions of this Council normally had to be made in consultation with the rector, which challenges the Council's autonomy and independence, especially in comparison to male monasteries, where decisions were usually left to the prior's approval only. For example, to accept a new novice or to profess a novice, the prior of a male house needed the approval of the *conventus* or the *maior pars*.²⁹² However, the prioress needed not only the approval of the twelve canonesses or of the majority but also the approval of the rector.²⁹³ Therefore, the voice of the rector remained essential, helping to ensure that female houses did not diverge unwittingly from the general course of the Congregation laid out by the General Chapter.

Moreover, in 1460 the General Chapter ordained (and confirmed in 1462) that twenty-four of the senior canonesses would represent the *conventus* and would have the authority in all matters concerning a female house, except for the election of the prioress and the disposal of moveable

²⁸⁹ ACW, 37. On the creation of this Council, see R. van Dijk, CM, 328–29.

²⁹⁰ In male monasteries, the procurator made his annual report to the entire community of canons. The reason for this difference remains unclear.

²⁹¹ CM, 754:2–4; and CM, 756:2–5.

²⁹² “Neminem tamen recipiet ad habitum vel professionem sine consensu conventus vel maioris partis.” CCW, 108:67–68.

²⁹³ “Priorissa vel rector domus neminem ad ordinem vel ad professionem sine consensu duodecim monialium deputatarum vel maioris earum partis recipere debet.” CM, 750–51:40–43.

and immovable properties (which was left to the *conventus* as a whole or to its *maior et sanior pars*).²⁹⁴ This seemingly jeopardised the authority of the Council of twelve canonesses, its use, and its efficiency. However, it is also possible that the twenty-four canonesses might have been an expansion of the Council of twelve sisters for monasteries with a high number of members. The reason for creating representative bodies in female houses is difficult to explain. It points to a possible dilemma of the General Chapter: on the one hand, there was a need to control these houses and to make sure they would be kept under the Chapter's authority; on the other, the Chapter could not take care of each single house. Given the fact that prioresses did not attend the General Chapter, it was also important to grant them with the necessary dispositives to manage their own affairs internally.²⁹⁵ In all cases, however, decisions had to be made taking into account not only the advice of the Council of canonesses, but also of the rector.

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These examples demonstrate the central role of the rector in the daily life of the canonesses and show how his role complemented the role of the prioress in a form of power-sharing. On the contrary, the prior in male monasteries is not subjected to such controls. This did not only affect the authority of the prioress herself, but it also altered the quality of her authority in comparison to the authority of the prior. In the daily life of the canonesses, the rector was thus given a key position for the administration of the Congregation, since he was a mediator between the local female monastery and the General Chapter.

²⁹⁴ “Visum est capitulo quod in conventibus monialium XXIII sorores seniores repraesentantes conventum, habeant auctoritatem in omnibus causis conventualibus terminandis, exceptis electione priorissae et alienatione immobilium et mobilium bonorum, in his enim requirendus est consensus conventus vel maioris et sanioris partis.” ACW, 62. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 329. It is likely that “seniores” here means seniority in terms of the amount of time spent inside the community, not calendrical age.

²⁹⁵ On this aspect, see R. van Dijk, CM, 329.

Conclusion

The differences illustrated in this part I mainly result from the contemporary view of women, constructed by men, seen as not fully matured men, who were therefore more distant from God and more liable to sin than men.²⁹⁶ This perspective was mainly founded on Eve's weakness in succumbing to temptation in the Garden of Eden.²⁹⁷ Due to their intrinsically weaker nature, religious women needed a stricter separation from the rest of the society than religious men, and a stricter discipline.²⁹⁸

This was especially true in the view of the Windesheim canons, which also led some prioresses to be much stricter than their male counterparts, as Mathilde van Dijk demonstrated, based on evidence from the female monastery of Diepenveen and its first prioress Salome Sticken (c. 1369 – † 1449).²⁹⁹ M. van Dijk mentions the telling example of Johannes Vos van Heusden (the second prior

²⁹⁶ Differences between men and women in the Middle Ages are substantially discussed in historical gender studies, a body of scholarship too large to be referenced here in full. However, the essays collected in the following handbook very efficiently introduce these differences in various medieval contexts, while providing detailed bibliography: Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Mathilde van Dijk discusses interesting aspects of the status of women in the specific context of the Modern Devotion: M. van Dijk, "Female Leadership and Authority in the Sisterbook of Diepenveen,"; and M. van Dijk, "The Devotio Moderna, the Emotions and the Search for 'Dutchness'," *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 129, no. 2 (2014).

²⁹⁷ Medieval perspectives on women, seen as men's subordinates, are also grounded in ideas developed during Antiquity: Aristotle, for example, considered women as imperfect men. Similar ideas were expressed by Galen in the second century. The perceived inferiority of women was therefore grounded in scientific explanations. See the overview on this topic provided in the introduction of Jennifer Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe: 1200–1500* (London: Routledge, 2014), 1–13.

²⁹⁸ On the "intrinsically weaker nature" of women in this specific context, see Hermina Joldersma, "'Alternative Spiritual Exercises for Weaker Minds'? Vernacular Religious Song in the Lives of Women of the Devotio Moderna," *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, no. 3 (2008): 371–93. For a broader perspective in the same geographical area, see Klaus Schreiner, "Pastoral Care in Female Monasteries: Sacramental Services, Spiritual Edification, Ethical Discipline," in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), esp. 242.

²⁹⁹ M. van Dijk, "Female Leadership and Authority in the Sisterbook of Diepenveen." On Salome Sticken, see Wybren Scheepstra, "Sticken, Salome," *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland, Instituut Voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, Den Haag*

of Windesheim), who had “a habit of coughing when he approached brothers who were supposed to be at work, so as to make sure that they would be diligently applying themselves when he reached them”. M. van Dijk goes on by explaining, based on the Diepenveen sisterbooks, that on the contrary, “Sticken would probably have relished the opportunity to further the sisters’ spiritual progress by chastising them”.³⁰⁰

The Congregation of Windesheim established and maintained a highly centralised and hierarchical form of governance. Women in general were perceived as a threat to the peace of male houses by nature, and the very limited number of female houses officially incorporated also attests to the Chapter’s difficulty caused by the practical exertions and requirements that complicated the handling of religious women. Chapter 2 has exemplified significant differences in power between the prior and the prioress in alignment with her rector as well as the strict controls of the Chapter imposed on female houses via the rector, the *commissarii*, and the Visitation system. These two aspects were probably not seen as an inequality, but rather as an attempt by the Chapter to support incorporated female houses within the Congregation, while maintaining the high standards it had regarding the spiritual qualities of monastic life. Therefore, the difference in authority and in autonomy seems to have been a means to accommodate the (perceived) weaker nature of medieval religious women.

(blog), 13 January 2014, <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Sticken,%20salome> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

³⁰⁰ M. van Dijk, “Female Leadership and Authority in the Sisterbook of Diepenveen,” 259.

Part II

Performance of Space, Space of Performance

Introduction

The prohibition of processional movements in the *Constitutiones monialium* fundamentally questions the use of space in Windesheim monasteries. The fact that it was specifically applied to female monasteries suggests that the perception and the use of space was different in male and female monasteries. Part I presented the highly centralised administrative structure of the Congregation of Windesheim and analysed the hierarchical relationships between its members. Based on this, part II will explore how Windesheim defined space and practices of spaces, and shaped them through the control of relationships between men and women, of movements, and of bodies. Part II will focus on liturgical processions, a specific practice of space which, according to the surviving sources, continued to be performed in at least two reformed female monasteries.³⁰¹ This will allow me to study differences in structuring liturgical space in male and female houses connected to Windesheim, and to explore the tension between claims of reform and actual practices.

After an overview of modern scholarship on space and its medieval perceptions to which this dissertation contributes, I will present the sources and case studies used in part II. Following this contextualisation, chapter 3 will analyse the tools by which the Congregation of Windesheim defined its monastic space, with particular emphasis on liturgical space. In addition, chapter 3 will illustrate how the discipline of the bodies contributed to defining a monastic liturgical space by ensuring that movements would be uniform. This was very important because disciplining the

³⁰¹ As far as the accessibility of sources and the state of research could tell, among the twenty-two female houses discussed by Johannes Busch in his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, only two female monasteries have surviving sources which attest to the continuing practice of processional movements (Heiningen and Steterburg, see below). Similarly, no sources with indication of processions from officially incorporated female monasteries have survived. This could indicate that official Windesheim monasteries strictly complied to the prohibition of processional movements mentioned in the CM. Of course, it is equally possible that processions continued to be performed but that no sources attesting to them have survived to the present day.

bodies did not only contribute to creating a well-defined space, but, as will be demonstrated, also served to forge the desired unity of the hearts. Then, chapter 4 will investigate practices of space in the specific context of liturgical processions. Two case studies will be used to exemplify the interactions between liturgy, movement, chant, and space. This will also be the opportunity to discuss the notion of “reformed” monasteries, by comparing official statements by Windesheim, claims of being reformed by the houses concerned, and the actual state of play as indicated by a close reading of local sources.

1. Space: State of Research

In the humanities, scholarly research on space has seen a renewed and growing interest since the turn of the millennium, in fields as various as anthropology, sociology, history, and archaeology. However, it already found a social embedding as early as the late nineteenth century, when geographers began to study spaces as frames for societies and not merely as physical parameters to be measured. The introduction to the collection *Space in the Medieval West* provides a recent and informative survey of the historiography of space in modern scholarship. Nevertheless, for a full understanding of what follows it is worth recalling here the main developments relevant for the European context.³⁰²

The first two major trends combining geography with social or cultural questions emerged from Germany with Friedrich Ratzel in the late 1880s and from France with Paul Vidal de la Blache at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁰³ In the late nineteenth century both German and French theories of *Kulturraum* and *milieu* considered space as a structuring element of societies. In Germany, the notions of *Kulturraum* and *Lebensraum* were introduced from Ratzel’s works through Karl Lamprecht but they were soon associated with the ideologies of National Socialism in the early 1930s, which led to an absence of studies on space during the post-war years up until the late twentieth century.³⁰⁴ In France, through the work of Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel, the studies

³⁰² Dominique Iogna-Prat, Fanny Madeline, and Meredith Cohen, “Introduction,” in *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies*, eds. Fanny Madeline and Meredith Cohen (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1–21. The following historiographical summary is taken from this article. For more bibliographical information, see the works quoted in this book.

³⁰³ The most representative writings of each scholars are Friedrich Ratzel, *Anthropogeographie*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Engelhorn Verlag, 1882–1891); and Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Principes de géographie humaine. Manuscrits publiés par Emmanuel de Martonne* (1922; Paris: Édition Utz, 1995).

³⁰⁴ For a more detailed investigation on the German historiography of space, see Thomas Zotz, “Présentation et bilan de l’historiographie allemande de l’espace,” in *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge : pratiques et représentations. Actes du XXXV^e congrès de la SHMESP, Mulhouse, juin 2006*, ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007), 57–71.

of the interaction of space and society (“geohistory”) became quite important among the themes of the *Annales* school, but only found their real focus in the late 1980s with the growing interest in – and success of – microhistory.³⁰⁵

In the 1970s and 1980s a postmodern conception of space was developed through the impulses provided by American scholars and the ground-breaking ideas of Henri Lefebvre published in *La production de l'espace*.³⁰⁶ This entailed a conception of space as influenced and structured by the activities of society. While Lefebvre’s work was strongly influenced by his Marxist convictions, his definition of space through the conceptual triad of (a) representations of space (space conceived), (b) spatial practice (space perceived) and (c) representational spaces (space lived), marks a turning point in these studies: space became a social process.³⁰⁷ Though Lefebvre analyses space as being fundamental for understanding capitalism, which has no direct link with the present study, he nevertheless provides a very valuable theoretical background to understand space. As Andrzej Zieleniec sums it up, Lefebvre especially understands “the production of space as emphasising the need to consider space as both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions.”³⁰⁸ Other studies emphasise the need to avoid static definitions and binary oppositions: they advise against making a strict distinction between understanding the space as physical and without social content, and understanding social relations as abstract and without a spatial dimension. On the contrary: the two are deeply connected and constantly interact with each other.³⁰⁹

Since space is not only connected to its geographical characteristics anymore, scholars have opened a great variety of approaches and associated space with various attributes, clearly listed by Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka: “mental space, ideological space, literary space, the space of imagination, the space of the dreams, utopian space, imaginary space, technological space, cultural space, and social space.”³¹⁰ Hanawalt and Kobialka also report the influence of the philosophical background provided by Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, and Pierre Bourdieu

³⁰⁵ Iogna-Prat, Madeline, and Cohen, “Introduction,” 3.

³⁰⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 1974).

³⁰⁷ This triad can only be briefly summarised here: (a) the representations of space are connected to relations of production and order. It refers to the space conceived and arranged by scholars. (b) The spatial practice is linked with society: society produces and reproduces the space in which it evolves and thus produces and reproduces social formation. (c) The representational spaces express complex symbols; the space is experienced through its own symbols and images.

³⁰⁸ Andrzej J. L. Zieleniec, *Space and Social Theory* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007), 60.

³⁰⁹ In this regard, the book of Hillier and Hanson is very enlightening: Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). The first chapter, “The problem of space” (26–51), specifically deals with this question.

³¹⁰ Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), ix.

on space studies,³¹¹ which indeed enabled recent studies to incorporate various approaches to scrutinise the ways space is constructed: space and power, space and authority, space and gender, or space and place. This last distinction between space and place is of particular interest here, since it nuances the post-modern view of a multiple *space* in favour of a unified *place*, as defined by Certeau. I will come back to this important distinction below.

The renewed interest in space studies in the last quarter of the twentieth century extended to medieval studies, as several important conferences organised around this theme demonstrate.³¹² This led Jürgen Osterhammel to use the expression “Wiederkehr des Raumes”,³¹³ a “spatial turn” which proved to be well in place since the early 2000s in several countries and in several disciplines. In the field of medieval studies, the first important anthology probably was the book entitled *Medieval Practices of Space*, which, based on Lefebvre’s theories, considers the multiple constructions and practices of heterogeneous medieval spaces.³¹⁴

Through all these studies emerge conceptions of space remarkably interesting: to quote the introduction of *Space in the Medieval West*, “space contributes to and is formed by complex social interactions”.³¹⁵ It means that while the quantitative and material aspects of space are necessary, space cannot be limited to these features. The monastic space is especially relevant to question from this perspective, because of the constant interaction between the human and the divine that takes place within it.

³¹¹ Hanawalt and Kobialka, x–xi. Regarding Foucault, see especially: Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowicz, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27; Michel Foucault, *Dits et Écrits*, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); and Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975). Regarding Certeau, see Michel de Certeau, *L’Invention du quotidien, I. Arts de faire* (Paris: Union Générale d’Éditions, 1980). Regarding Bourdieu, see Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); and Pierre Bourdieu, *La domination masculine* (Paris: Seuil, 1998). These authors are frequently discussed or used as a starting point for reflections on space. See, for example, Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001). Foucault and Lefebvre (together with Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, and David Harvey) and their various understandings of space are also analysed in Zieleniec, *Space and Social Theory*.

³¹² Among others, German historians organised their thirty-sixth *Historikertag* on the theme “Räume der Geschichte – Geschichte des Raums” (Trier, 1986) and their forty-fifth with the title “Kommunikation und Raum” (Kiel, 2004). Philosophers organised the thirtieth congress of medievalists on “Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter” (Cologne, 1996). Outside Germany, two important conferences were also organised in Italy and France around space: the *Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* organised a symposium on “Uomo e spazio nell’alto medioevo” (Spoleto, 2002) and the *Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public* organised a congress on “La construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge : représentations et pratiques” (Mulhouse, 2006). See also Zotz, “Présentation et bilan de l’historiographie allemande de l’espace,” 58.

³¹³ Jürgen Osterhammel, “Die Wiederkehr des Raumes: Geopolitik, Geohistorie und Historische Geographie,” *Neue Politische Literatur*, no. 43 (1998): 374–97.

³¹⁴ Hanawalt and Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space*.

³¹⁵ Iogna-Prat, Madeline, and Cohen, “Introduction,” 13.

Since its origins, Christianity has paid special attention to space and to the representation of space, especially because of the need to join the human and the divine: space was not only considered a physical dimension in which to organise social existence, but also as a symbolic dimension in which to articulate Christian theology.³¹⁶ The establishment of the first monastic Rules of St Benedict and St Augustine led to a questioning, direct or indirect, of space: on the one hand, monastic Rules dealt with concrete locations of and inside monasteries (their physical features); on the other hand, they had to define and theorise coenobitic monasticism as a religious and social institution.³¹⁷ Consequently, monastic Rules in general tended to organise space in relation to the religious *and* the profane worlds. Through a material and/or symbolic localisation, the Rules tended to “strictly specialise places and their uses, [and to] establish a close connection between the division of activities, the division of space and the social division of the group”.³¹⁸ With these words, Patrice Noisette suggests that monastic space is constructed by the physical organisation of space, by the (human) activities organised in this space, and by the social relationships of the persons interacting with and within the space. This spatial organisation is not only present in the Rules, but also in monastic constitutions. This is especially the case for constitutions intended for Augustinian monasteries: due to the brevity of the Rule of St Augustine, it was necessary to complete it by constitutions, as discussed in chapter 1. This enabled specific communities to organise their members in the monastic space, to define their territory vis-à-vis the outside and inside world, and to configure the social relations within it.

Consequently, the Windesheim constitutions are central for analysing how the Congregation of Windesheim defined its space and the social relations within it. The Chapter of Windesheim, through its regulations organising its monastic community, created, organised, and defined a specific space in which its members could – or could not – perform certain actions. This construction of space also entailed a significant level of control of members’ bodies. The Chapter did not wish this control to be an abstract concept copied in a constitutions book, but rather an actual code of movements and behaviours. This can be observed not only in the legislative and liturgical documentation coming from the Chapter of Windesheim, but also in Johannes

³¹⁶ Patrice Noisette, “Usages et représentations de l’espace dans la Regula Benedicti – Une nouvelle approche des significations historiques de la Règle,” in *Regulae Benedicti studia: Annuaire Internationale. Fünfter Internationaler Regula Benedicti, Kongress St. Benoît de Fleury 16.-21.9.1984*, ed. Bernd Jaspert (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1985), esp. 69.

³¹⁷ Noisette, “Usages et représentations de l’espace dans la Regula Benedicti,” 70.

³¹⁸ “[La *Regula Benedicti*] tend à spécialiser rigoureusement les lieux et leurs usages, à établir une étroite correspondance entre la division des activités, la division de l’espace et la division sociale du groupe.” Noisette, “Usages et représentations de l’espace dans la Regula Benedicti,” 71.

Busch's reports on what he reformed, and how.³¹⁹ Therefore, two case studies will be used to complement the perspectives given by the constitutions: the reformed female monasteries of Heiningen and Steterburg (diocese of Hildesheim). The reason for this selection, and the corresponding sources, are the focus of the next section.

2. Case Studies and Sources

a. Heiningen and Steterburg: Two Reformed Houses in the Diocese of Hildesheim

The Augustinian female houses of Heiningen and Steterburg are excellent points of anchorage for my argument for several reasons. First, they are geographically close to each other: both are located in Lower Saxony in the diocese of Hildesheim. Secondly, both are Augustinian houses: Heiningen, founded toward the end of the tenth century, adopted the Rule of St Augustine in 1126.³²⁰ Steterburg was founded c. 1000 and adopted the Rule of St Augustine in 1164.³²¹ Moreover, Heiningen and Steterburg have a relatively good source situation for the fifteenth century.³²²

In addition, they were reformed in the same year, in 1451, with the help of Johannes Busch. Busch emphasises that both houses fully adopted the Windesheim practices. About Heiningen, he writes: “In statutis ordinario cantu et ceremoniis per omnia se nostris conformaverunt.” (“They fully complied with our statutes, *liber ordinarius*, chant, and ceremonies.”).³²³ Similarly, about Steterburg, he writes: “Sic ergo nunc in omnibus nobis sunt conformes.” (“Thus, in all things, they

³¹⁹ (Re-)defining the space and its use was a general trend of fifteenth-century reformers. June L. Mecham, *Sacred Communities, Shared Devotions: Gender, Material Culture, and Monasticism in Late Medieval Germany*, eds. Alison I. Beach, Constance H. Berman, and Lisa M. Bitel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), esp. 83.

³²⁰ On the history of Heiningen, see Gerhard Taddey, *Das Kloster Heiningen von der Gründung bis zur Aufhebung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

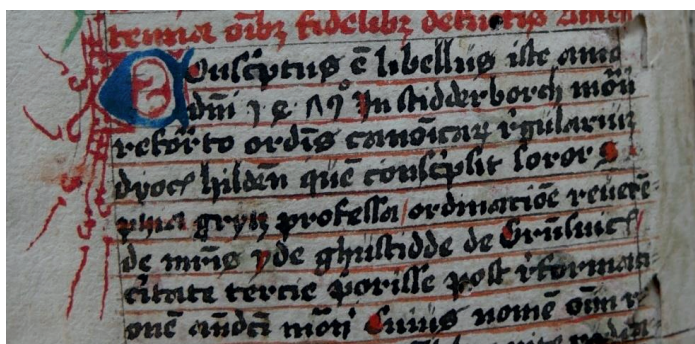
³²¹ On the history of Steterburg, see Silvia Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter* (Braunschweig: Selbstverlag des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins, 1983); and Nicolaus Heutger, *Niedersächsische Ordenhäuser und Stifte. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Viola Heutger (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2009), 263–69. See also the recently published *Urkundenbuch: Josef Dolle, ed., with preliminary work by Horst-Rüdiger Jarck, Urkundenbuch des Kanonissenstifts Steterburg*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen 301 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2019).

³²² For a list of manuscripts surviving from Steterburg and Heiningen, see Britta-Juliane Kruse and Bertram Lesser, “Virtuelle und erhaltene Büchersammlungen aus den Augustiner-Chorfrauenstiften Steterburg und Heiningen,” *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie. Sonderheft.*, no. 100 (2010): 97; and Britta-Juliane Kruse, *Stiftsbibliothek und Kirchenschatz: Materielle Kultur in den Chorfrauenstiften Steterburg und Heiningen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), esp. 419–25 (Steterburg) and 427–33 (Heiningen). Britta-Juliane Kruse has studied the material culture of these two houses in detail, demonstrating that, especially in Heiningen, a great emphasis was put on reading to improve the canonesses' spirituality.

³²³ Busch, *Liber*, 604. For Johannes Busch's descriptions of his reform of Heiningen, see Busch, *Liber*, 600–4. See also the edition published by Lutz, based on Lesser's forthcoming edition: Eckart Conrad Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität: Zur Medialität der “cura monialium” im Kompendium des Rektors eines reformierten Chorfrauenstifts. Mit Edition und Abbildung einer Windesheimer ‘Forma investendi sanctimonialium’ und ihrer Notation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 221–23.

are now in compliance with us.”).³²⁴ According to Busch, both houses *willingly* accepted the reform.³²⁵ The canonesses themselves confirmed and even proudly proclaimed their reformed status, as is visible in a colophon of a 1479 breviary from Steterburg (see Figure 2.1). In this colophon, the scribe Sophia Gryz starts the count of the prioresses from the moment of the reform. This demonstrates that she, and most likely the house as a whole, considered the reform as a milestone in the monastery’s history, tantamount to a second foundation.

Figure 2.1: Colophon of a 1470 breviary from Steterburg (Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 372, fol. 356^r [excerpt])



*Conscriptus est libellus iste anno domini 1479^o In stidderborch monasterio **reformato** ordinis canonicarum regularium diocesis Hildeshemensis quem conscripsit soror Sophia gryz professa ordinacione reverende matris yde ghustidde de Brunsvicensi civitate tercie priorisse **post reformatiōnem antedicti monasterii**...*

This book was compiled in the year of the Lord 1479 in the **reformed** monastery of Steterburg, of the Order of the Augustinian canonesses in the diocese of Hildesheim. It was written down by sister Sophia Gryz who made her profession under the guidance of the venerable Mother Yda Ghustidde from the town of Braunschweig, the third prioress **after the reform** of the aforementioned monastery...³²⁶

And yet, despite this clear claim of being reformed on both sides of the spectrum, the situation seems more complex. In this very breviary is evoked the organisation of processions: for instance, in the calendar, on the solemn feast of the Assumption of Mary, one can read:

³²⁴ Busch, *Liber*, 607. For Johannes Busch’s descriptions of his reform of Steterburg, see Busch, *Liber*, 604–7; and Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 217–21.

³²⁵ In Heiningen, the prioress and the subprioress responded favourably to Busch’s request of reforming them (Busch, *Liber*, 601), like the Steterburg canonesses, who answered: “Libenter” when Busch asked if they agreed to be reformed (Busch, *Liber*, 606).

³²⁶ Emphasis mine. Sophia Gryz (also Gris) was, at least from 1486 and until 1490, procuratrix of Steterburg. Ida Gustidde (also Ida von Gustedt) was prioress of the monastery between 1476 and 1497. See the cartulary preserved in Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 367, fols. 170^r and 715^r. See also Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter*, esp. 264 and 260. For more on the breviary, see Patrizia Carmassi, “Prozessionale und Rituale aus dem Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Steterburg,” in *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern*, ed. Britta-Juliane Kruse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 191–92.

“Ad processionem *Felix namque*” (“For the procession [sing the chant] *Felix namque*”).³²⁷ Another source from Steterburg, a *manuale* dating from after 1451 (i.e., after the reform), attests not only to the singing of processional chants, but also to the performance of processional movements.³²⁸ Such a witness of continuing practices of processions is also found in the monastery of Heiningen: in a *processionale*,³²⁹ and in a *liber ordinarius*,³³⁰ both dating from after the reform.

These three sources from Steterburg and Heiningen are in apparent contradiction with the prescription of the CM prohibiting canonesses to perform processions. On the other hand, when looking for traces of local adaptations, Lutz has compared the Steterburg Manuale with the Heiningen Ordinarius: his analysis reveals that little differences existed between the liturgical proceedings of these two houses. Lutz also demonstrated that the sources were general enough to allow for local adaptations.³³¹ This suggests that they followed a common model: the Windesheim model.

Heiningen and Steterburg are therefore particularly interesting to study: not only because sources from these locations contain descriptions of processional movements, an important liturgical marking-out of space, but also because they present discrepancies between the claim of affiliation with Windesheim practices and the actual liturgical practices. As such, they prove to be excellent case studies enabling us to scrutinise the actual implementation of reform on the micro-level.

However, these houses were *reformed* and not *officially incorporated* into the Congregation.³³² Therefore, they were not subject to the stringent control system that Windesheim used, but to their local authorities. It is possible that these authorities had an interest in retaining some local touches in the liturgical practice, all the while being in strong support of Windesheim reform in the houses

³²⁷ Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, VII B Hs 372, fol. 12r.

³²⁸ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1028 Helmst (after 1451, Steterburg), <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/1028-helmst/start.htm> (last accessed 29 August 2019) Hereafter: Steterburg Manuale. For a codicological description and presentation of its content, see Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 139–41; and Carmassi, “Prozessionale und Rituale aus dem Augustiner-Chorfrauenstift Steterburg,” 266–68. Based on a codicological comparison with other manuscripts from Steterburg, Lutz establishes that the Steterburg Manuale was made after the reform (Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 139). The extremely similar texts between this source, the [Utrecht] Manuale, and the Heiningen Ordinarius (see below) confirm that the manuscript post-dates the reform.

³²⁹ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 875 Helmst (after 1451, Heiningen) <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/875-helmst/start.htm> (last accessed 29 August 2019) Hereafter: Heiningen Processionale. For a codicological description, see Patrizia Carmassi, “Prozessionale,” in *Divina officia. Liturgie und Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Nr. 83*, ed. Patrizia Carmassi (Wolfenbüttel, 2004), 337–39.

³³⁰ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 649 Helmst (c. 1460, Heiningen), <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/649-helmst/start.htm> (last accessed 29 August 2019). Hereafter: Heiningen Ordinarius. For a codicological description and presentation of its content, see Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 185–88. The watermarks of the Heiningen Ordinarius suggest that the manuscript dates from c. 1460.

³³¹ These local adaptations and the degree of similitude between the two sources are discussed in chapter 4.

³³² Heiningen is sometimes listed among the officially incorporated monasteries (Monasticon II, 84). However, this hypothesis has been questioned by R. van Dijk (R. van Dijk, CM, 38). The incorporation is indeed doubtful, since Heiningen is never listed among the officially incorporated monasteries: neither in the ACW, which provide a list of all monasteries incorporated in 1530 (ACW, 131–35); nor in the list provided in a manuscript of the CCW copied in 1538 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10881, fols. 138v–142r).

under their jurisdiction. Because of this, and because the sources were copied before Johannes Busch wrote his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* in c. 1470–1474, the Heiningen Ordinarius, the Heiningen Processionale, and the breviary from Steterburg provide a corrective to Busch’s narratives and, to a lesser extent, to the constitutions – all sources that tend, by default and by their very nature, to give idealised versions of reality.³³³

b. The *liber ordinarius Windeshemensis*

When dealing with liturgical practices such as processions, the *liber ordinarius* is an essential source to be considered. As mentioned in the general introduction to this study, the *liber ordinarius* contains detailed information for the organisation of liturgical celebrations. R. van Dijk has demonstrated that the *liber ordinarius Windeshemensis* (OW) is an extension of the constitutions specifically conceived to cover everything related to the liturgy: its regulative value is therefore very strong.³³⁴ It essentially deals with the main feasts of the liturgical calendar and provides details for celebrations which differ from normal days.³³⁵

Since this study focuses on mid to late fifteenth-century liturgical practices, the most relevant copy of the OW here is the one from the Windesheim male monastery of Agnietenberg near Zwolle, copied in 1456.³³⁶ Its provenance and dating are known by the colophon (Figure 2.2). R. van Dijk presents it as a crucial representative version of the OW in the middle of the fifteenth century,³³⁷ but the printed version of 1521 of the OW will be used as a complementary source to the hand-written Agnietenberg Ordinarius.³³⁸

³³³ A few words on these houses’ history after 1500 should be added: Heiningen and Steterburg were converted to Lutheranism, respectively in 1569 and 1568. After the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), the community of Heiningen returned to a Catholic community of women, while most of the buildings of Steterburg were destroyed, forcing the religious women to flee to Braunschweig. The community of Heiningen was dissolved in 1810 following the secularisation movement that took place in present-day Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The monastery of Steterburg was reconstructed and religious communities of women came back to live there from 1667 onwards. Its history after the seventeenth century is unclear, but it seems that religious women continued to live there until 1938. See Taddey, *Das Kloster Heiningen von der Gründung bis zur Aufhebung*; Bunselmeyer, *Das Stift Steterburg im Mittelalter*; and Margot Ruhlender, *Die Damen vom Stift Steterburg. 1000 Jahre Stift Steterburg* (Braunschweig: Meyer Verlag, 2003).

³³⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 219.

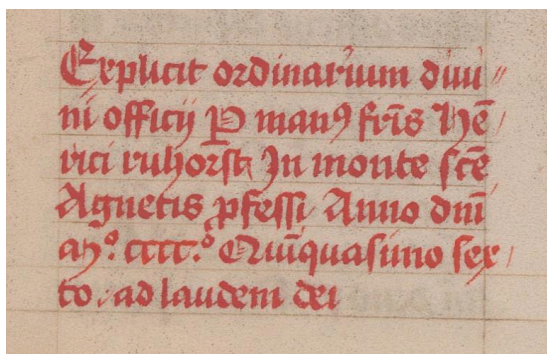
³³⁵ Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 38.

³³⁶ Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448, <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000994561> (last accessed 29 August 2019). Hereafter: Agnietenberg Ordinarius. There might be an ambiguity regarding the date: 1456 could refer to the date when the scribe Henricus Ruhorst took his profession. However, given the nature of late medieval colophons, I agree with R. van Dijk and Lutz, who read 1456 as the date when the scribe finished his copy of the OW (R. van Dijk, CM, 213; and Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 189). For a codicological description and presentation of the OW’s content, see Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 189–92. On the history of the monastery of Agnietenberg, founded in 1384 and incorporated into the Congregation in 1398, see Monasticon III, 14–49.

³³⁷ R. van Dijk, CM, esp. 217.

³³⁸ *Ordinarius Windeshemensis* (Deventer: Albertus Pafraet, 1521; Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, F qu 447, <http://hdl.handle.net/1874/281119>; last accessed 29 August 2019) (Hereafter: OW 1521).

Figure 2.2: Colophon of the Agnietenberg Ordinarius
(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448, fol. 57^v [excerpt]; used under [CC BY-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/))



*Explicit ordinariūm diuini officij per manus fratris Henrici ruhorst In monte sancte Agnetis ꝑfessi Anno domini m. cccc. Quinquagesimo sexto ad laudem dei.*³³⁹

Here ends the *liber ordinarius* [written down] by the hand of brother Henrici Ruhorst, professed in Agnietenberg. In the year of the Lord 1456, for the praise of God.

Because of its date and provenance, the Agnietenberg Ordinarius is a valuable witness to which we can compare the Heiningen Ordinarius mentioned above (see also Figure 2.3 for a geographical distribution of the case studies). Moreover, based on the verbatim matches between the Heiningen Ordinarius and the Agnietenberg Ordinarius, Lutz convincingly argues that the *ordinarius* from Heiningen is a rewriting of the OW for female monasteries.³⁴⁰ In addition, the Heiningen Ordinarius contains two chapters on how to behave during the Divine Office and conventual Mass, which are literal copies of the Windesheim female constitutions.³⁴¹ It is sufficiently clear, then, that the Heiningen Ordinarius reflects Windesheim regulations and that the female house of Heiningen was indeed reformed according to the Chapter's standards. This makes the Heiningen Ordinarius a highly relevant source for investigating the state of liturgical practice in a female reformed house in Northern Germany during the second half of the fifteenth century.

However, the OW is not an autonomous book, nor was it intended as such. For instance, it only contains the incipits of chants: their full versions, with musical notation, had to be sought in the corresponding liturgical books. The following section presents which of such surviving books are used in my study.

³³⁹ For the transcription of the colophon, see also Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 189.

³⁴⁰ “[The Agnietenberg Ordinarius] stimmt andererseits im Wortlaut so weitgehend mit dem Heiningen Text überein, dass dieser eindeutig als Überarbeitung des Windesheimer Ordinarius für einen Frauenkonvent identifizierbar ist.” Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 43.

³⁴¹ Respectively, “Qualiter sorores se habeant infra horas regulares,” fols. 44^v–47^v; and “Qualiter se sorores habeant infra missam conventualem,” fols. 47^v–48^v.

Figure 2.3: Map of the case studies of part II



- motherhouse in Windesheim
- incorporated male monastery
- ▲ reformed female monastery
- numbers refer to the monasteries as numbered in Appendices 1 and 2

c. Processional Movements: *manuale* and *processionale*

For our purposes, an essential complementary liturgical book to the OW is the *manuale windeshemensis*.³⁴² The *manuale windeshemensis* contains descriptions of specific rituals (investiture and profession of the novices, communion of the sick, burial, processions on major feast days).³⁴³ Some of these rites are already mentioned in the OW, but the *manuale* gives many more details, since it includes the texts of the prayers and the musical notations of the chants. No *manuale* from Heiningen has come down to us, but one from Saterburg still exists: the aforementioned Saterburg *Manuale*. Its survival makes it central to the current discussion.

In addition, the *manuale windeshemensis* preserved in Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek be used as a comparative source.³⁴⁴ Though its exact provenance is unknown, a marginal addition indicates the use of this manuscript in a Windesheim monastery (see Figure 2.4a) and quotes the names of Pope Martin V (r. 1417–1431) and Pope Eugenius IV (r. 1431–1447) (respectively Figure 2.4b and

³⁴² It is referred to as such in Windesheim sources: the OW, for instance, reads “... collectam et cetera sicut in manuali exprimitur legit” (Agnietenberg Ordinarium, fol. 20^{va}). The ACW also refers to it in formulations such as “In manuali signetur...” ACW, 27. See R. van Dijk, CM, 222.

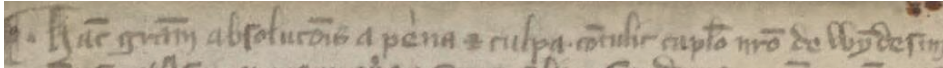
³⁴³ R. van Dijk, CM, 222. No studies have yet been devoted to the *manuale windeshemensis*. Its general content and the surviving sources need further investigation.

³⁴⁴ Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 432 (4 F 16), <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/resolver.php?obj=002652767&type=2> (last accessed 29 August 2019). Hereafter: [Utrecht] *Manuale* (the exact provenance of the manuscript being unknown, I chose to designate it by its current location. The brackets are intended to avoid the confusion with abbreviations of other sources, designated by their provenance).

Figure 2.4c). This addition establishes 1431 as a *terminus post quem* for its use in a Windesheim male house. As such, it offers a good comparand to the Steterburg Manuale.

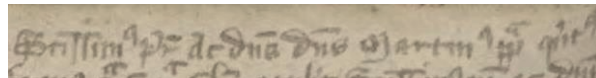
Figure 2.4: Marginal additions in the [Utrecht] Manuale
(Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 432 (4 F 16), fol. 79^v [excerpt])

(a)



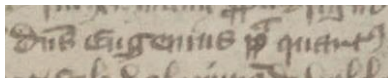
<i>Hanc gratiam absoluciois a pena et culpa contulit capitulo nostro de Wyndesim...</i>	This grace of absolution from guilt and punishment is bestowed on our Chapter of Windesheim...
---	--

(b)



<i>Sanctissimus Pater ac dominus dominus Martinus papa quintus...</i>	by the Most Holy Father and Lord of Lords Pope Martin V...
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(c)



<i>... dominus Eugenius papa quartus...</i>	... Lord Pope Eugenius IV...
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A textual comparison of processional descriptions of the Agnietenberg Ordinarius, the Heiningen Ordinarius, the [Utrecht] Manuale, and the Steterburg Manuale reveals that they use almost the exact same wording: even if they are not the same type of books, it will be highly informative to compare them.³⁴⁵ Moreover, this textual similarity across all four sources convincingly demonstrates that Steterburg and Heiningen in fact followed the Windesheim use, at least at the moment when the relevant sources were compiled.

In addition to these sources, a *processionale* from Heiningen copied after the reform has survived.³⁴⁶ It contains processional chants with musical notation and its content has been well studied.³⁴⁷ However, rubrics indicating processional movements are scarce: they only appear between fol. 20^r and fol. 24^v, out of a total of twenty-eight folios. This is due to the type of source:

³⁴⁵ In the current state of play, no *liber ordinarius* from Steterburg is known and no *manuale* from Heiningen is known, making the comparison of the same book types impossible.

³⁴⁶ The aforementioned Heiningen Processionale: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 875 Helmst (after 1451, Heiningen) <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/875-helmst/start.htm> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

³⁴⁷ Carmassi, “Processionale,” and Sven Limbeck, “Ein Konvent in Bewegung: das Windesheimer Processionale in Heiningen,” in *Rosenkränze und Seelengärten: Bildung und Frömmigkeit in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern*, ed. Britta-Juliane Kruse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 264–66.

the purpose of a *processionale* was primarily to transmit the chants to be sung during the processions. By comparison, the *manuale* gives more details on processional movements (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: Comparison of a rubric in the Heiningen Processionale (top) and in the Steterburg Manuale (bottom) (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 875 Helmst, fol. 24^r [excerpt]; and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1028 Helmst, fol. 44^r [excerpt]; used under [CC BY-SA 3.0 DE](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/))



The *processionale* is another complementary book to the *liber ordinarius*: the Heiningen Ordinarius contains no musical notation but gives detailed descriptions of processional movements, and the reverse is the case for the Heiningen Processionale. Even though it was the main source used during the processions, when studying the interactions between processional chants and space, the Heiningen Processionale therefore proves to be less relevant and can be used as a comparand only to a certain extent.

Sources containing descriptions of processions are relevant sources for our purposes, since they not only deal with spatial organisation, but they also organise the movement of the bodies through space. Therefore, part II scrutinises these aspects in the Windesheim context, starting from the highest legislative documents of the Congregation and narrowing down the focus to processional practices in individual monasteries as described in the local sources.

One important distinction to help this investigation is the distinction alluded to above between the *place* and the *space*. In his book *Space and Place*, Yi-Fu Tuan distinguishes and connects the words “space” and “place”, stating that “space” is more abstract than “place”. Through physical

experience, the two terms merge.³⁴⁸ The relation between the *place* and the *space* was also theorised by Certeau who proposed the following definitions: a “place” is connected with stability and indicates the order of the elements involved, the configuration of their positions.³⁴⁹ “Space” is connected with mobility and time variables; it exists through movements. Hence, it is possible to identify a place, while it is possible to perform or to implement a space.³⁵⁰ As Certeau sums up: “space is a practiced place”.³⁵¹ The distinction between the two terms is often blurred because of their very dynamic connection.

If we apply the distinction made by Certeau in Windesheim monasteries, the geographic location and the complex of buildings composing the monasteries can be described as *places* which are transformed into *spaces* by the whole monastic community through various performative means and practices. These means include the regulations established by the General Chapter, the kind of inhabitants and their movements, and their own representation and conception of this performed place.³⁵² This is what part II will investigate, based on the sources presented here and summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: List of sources used in part II

abbreviation	type of sources	provenance	date
Agnietenberg Ordinarius	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	Windesheim male house of Agnietenberg	1456
Heiningen Ordinarius	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	reformed female house of Heiningen	c. 1460
OW 1521	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	printed edition of the OW	1521
Heiningen Processionale	<i>processionale</i>	reformed female house of Heiningen	after 1451
[Utrecht] Manuale	<i>manuale</i>	a Windesheim male house	after 1431
Steterburg Manuale	<i>manuale</i>	reformed female house of Steterburg	after 1451

³⁴⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

³⁴⁹ This conception is also supported by Tuan’s understanding of place as a “static concept” and as a “pause in the temporal current”, Tuan, *Space and Place*, 179.

³⁵⁰ This conception is once again supported by Tuan’s: according to him, a place exists in itself while a space exists only through the intersections of mobile elements through time; as such, a space is thus more abstract than a place.

³⁵¹ Certeau, *L’Invention du quotidien, I. Arts de faire*, 208–10. For an overview of the historical distinction between space and place, see the introduction of the article by Bernhard Teuber, “Processionaliter – mittelalterliche Hymnen als liturgische Songlines?,” in *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la Procession*, eds. Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten, (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 63–91.

³⁵² Here, Tuan’s explanation is also useful: “Human places become vividly real [this author’s note: and become spaces] through dramatisation. Identity of place is achieved by dramatising the aspirations, needs and functional rhythms of personal and group life.” Tuan, *Space and Place*, 178.

Chapter 3

Structuring Practices of Space

Chapter 3 deals with the following questions: through what means can a given place become a monastic space and what are its characteristics? Are these characteristics different for male and female houses? In other words: what is the nature of the monastic space? And how can its distinctive features help us understand the conflict between the Windesheim regulations on processions for canonesses and the actual practices as reflected in the Heiningen and Steterburg sources? The first step in this undertaking will be to uncover how the Chapter of Windesheim, through its official texts, perceived, understood, and wanted to create a monastic space.

1. Organising the Monastic Space

a. Demarcation with the Outside Space

A very important criterion of a Windesheim monastery is its geographic location. As is stated in the conditions for the incorporation of new houses into the Congregation:

... *statuimus ut nulla domus recipiatur de cetero ... nisi in loco habili et honesto a cohabitatione hominum debite segregato.* ... we decree that no house should be accepted henceforth ... unless it has a fitting and honourable location that is suitably removed from the proximity of others.³⁵³

This stipulation was intended to prevent the inhabitants of the monasteries from being too close to worldly matters and consequently, from being distracted from their relation to God. Accordingly, the right place for a monastery is an essential feature for a location to become the site of a Windesheim monastic space.

³⁵³ CCW, 68:7–11. This stipulation is not written in the CM, because canonesses did not take part in the General Chapter meetings which decided on which house could, or could not, be incorporated. Therefore, it was not part of canonesses' tasks. But the condition also applied to female houses.

Access Within the Walls of the Monastery

Access to the inside of the walls of the monastery, as well as the way out, was very well controlled: the entrance was protected by a special bar against the door during the day and reinforced by a special bolt during the night.³⁵⁴ Only the *portarius* was allowed to have the keys to these special devices.³⁵⁵ The *portarius* was obliged to respect the closing hours of the monastery at dusk, from nightfall.³⁵⁶ In between, his task was to carefully control that everyone who came inside or went outside had a very specific and clear reason to do so.³⁵⁷

Half of the chapter on the *portarius* is dedicated to the strict prohibition of allowing women to enter male monastic spaces, which underlines the concern of the contact between canons and women discussed in part I. It also shows the importance of the *portarius* in maintaining the order, the separation from worldly matters, and, therefore, the devotional purpose of the monastic complex. The *portarius*, by controlling access to the place, was responsible for protecting not just the physical but indeed the spiritual space that existed within the walls of the monastery. It is by shielding the monastery from worldly matters that the *portarius* contributed to shaping the place into a spiritual space.

The *hospitarius* had a similar role. He had to welcome guests and to admonish them upon arrival to attend the Office prayers.³⁵⁸ He had to be particularly careful not to discuss worldly matters with them, but instead was to invite the guests to follow the ideals of monastic life through the betterment of their souls and rejection of worldly matters.³⁵⁹ Whenever someone entered (a guest, a workman), the visitor had to comply with the rules of the monastic space: he had to become part of it and to contribute to it, instead of contaminating the space with a worldly influence.

The *portarius* and the *hospitarius* worked together to create a clear behavioural and atmospheric distinction between the outside world and the world inside the monastery. By shielding the monastery from worldly influences, they characterised the *place* as a *space* dedicated to inner devotion.

³⁵⁴ Resp. “[During the day,] **speciali clausura portam obserabit...**” CCW, 154:15–16; and “Eis tamen qui sero ex quo **porta speciali clausura clauditur usque mane** quando aperitur veniunt, non facile aperire debet...” CCW, 154:8–9 (emphasis mine).

³⁵⁵ “... speciali clausura portam obserabit, ad quam etiam nemo sine speciali et evidenti causa, cum totius conventus noticia clavem habeat.” CCW, 154:15–16.

³⁵⁶ “Hora claudendi portam servatur, quando tenebre diem obscuraverint...” CCW, 154:10–11.

³⁵⁷ “... quando aperitur veniunt, non facile aperire debet, nisi prius personam vel causam cognoverit.” CCW, 154:8–9; and “Interim etiam, nec alicui de hiis qui intus sunt, facile aperiat, nisi certam et manifestam causam ostendat.” CCW, 154:13–15.

³⁵⁸ “Ipse etiam exhortatur hospites advenientes, ut eant ad oracionem.” CCW, 156:7–8.

³⁵⁹ “Caveantur autem colloquia vel interrogaciones cum hospitibus de rumoribus vel negociis seculi, sed magis exhortentur ad emendacionem vite et contemptum mundi.” CCW, 156:12–14.

The CM do not have chapters on the *portarius* and the *hospitarius*, contrary to the CCW, since no one was supposed to enter the monastery at all. However, the Chapter of Windesheim permitted some exceptions. One of the most explicit one is the reforms carried out by Johannes Busch. When he and, usually, a companion, reformed a female house, they were visible to the canonesses – and the canonesses were also visible to them. Busch did everything “cum eis” (“with them”) and frequently used the verbs “ostendo” (“to show”) or “demonstro” (“to demonstrate, to display”) which imply visual contact. In an even clearer way, he explicitly writes that he and his companion were visible when going into the choir, the refectory, the cloister, and the chapter hall.³⁶⁰ Symptomatically, the necessity of having the “proper behaviour” as codified in the constitutions was valued higher than the observance of the strict separation of men and women – at least for a time.³⁶¹

A few other exceptions could be made to accept visitors in female monasteries, for instance, when a canon came for the annual Visitations, or to conduct business (for food, clothes, etc.).³⁶² In such cases, and even though it is not explicitly stated, it is plausible to assume that the rector or one of his companions had to deal with such external visitors. This would explain why such prescriptions are absent from the CM, which were specifically written for women.

Travelling Outside the Monastery

The Chapter of Windesheim strove to control Windesheim canons also when they were outside the monastery. This is detailed in a specific chapter dedicated to travelling.³⁶³ This chapter reinforces the interdiction for the canons to deviate on their trip (unless there is an absolute necessity, in which case the traveller had to report it to the prior immediately after his return).³⁶⁴ This appears earlier in the CCW, in a slightly different way: the chapter dealing with the gathering for the General Chapter meetings (“De congregando capitulo generali”) explicitly asks the travelling priors not to stop in other places unless previously agreed and with good cause.³⁶⁵ To avoid any temptations, the CCW advise

³⁶⁰ “... prior de Wittenborch Rotgherus et ego propriis in personis modum et formam sancte regularis observantie in choro, refectorio, claustro et capitulo ad oculos ipsius demonstravimus.” Busch, *Liber*, 566. A similar emphasis on the visual contact is found on p. 599: “... et, que ad veram reformationem pertinent, oculata fide intus et foras eis ostendi.”

³⁶¹ The rules concerning this “proper behaviour” are discussed below.

³⁶² However, during the Visitations, the canonesses had no direct contact with the Visitors, even though they were within the monastery’s enclosure. Visitors and canonesses had to converse one-on-one through a fenced-off and veiled window: “... priorissa et moniales ad loca sua redeant ac deinde a singulis seorsum ante fenestram cancellatam et velatam que fuerint inquirenda visitatores diligenter inquireant.” CM, 730:42–44.

³⁶³ Chapter “De itinerantibus”, CCW, 216–19.

³⁶⁴ “... ad alia loca non divertant, nisi ante licenciam a priore obtinuerint, causa rationabili suffragante, vel si in via causa evidens emerit vel necessaria, eandem priori plene exponere debent, cum de via redierint.” CCW, 216:29–32.

³⁶⁵ “Nec in itinere constituti notabiliter extra viam ad alia loca divertant, nisi causam prout in capitulo de priore continetur prius indicaverint.” CCW, 48:36–37.

the priors not to leave their monastery too early and not to enter the monastery of the General Chapter before the Saturday (i.e., the day before the opening of the General Chapter) without explanation.³⁶⁶ It is a somehow implicit way of telling the priors to organise themselves well enough, so that they are outside a Windesheim monastery only for the time of their travels. Moreover, the constitutions require the canons to keep their observance during their trips: while they are allowed to stop fasting when they are outside (every day except on Fridays and during Advent), they have to do everything they can to respect the morning and evening silence unless forced to do otherwise by circumstances,³⁶⁷ and, if possible, to attend Mass.³⁶⁸

These prescriptions are a means to create, or perform, a virtual sacred space between two monasteries, in the outside world: by respecting monastic observances, the traveller transforms the outside world into a sacred space.

All comings and goings are under the control of the prior. No matter the nature of travel (going to the annual Chapter meetings, visiting a monastery), the CCW require (or strongly advise) that a travelling canon is accompanied by a companion who in turn is appointed by the prior.³⁶⁹ In addition, the Visitors who inspect the monasteries for the General Chapter have to query about abusive permissions to leave the monastery to visit friends or relatives in cities or villages. If the priors granted too many of these permissions, they had to be admonished by the Visitors.³⁷⁰ The Visitors themselves are not allowed to stay any longer than necessary in the monasteries under their review without good cause (the normal length of stay was three days at the minimum and eight to ten days at the maximum).³⁷¹

If someone needed to leave the monastery, first he had to inform the prior (or the subprior) and wait for his approval.³⁷² If the permission was granted, the CCW remind travellers that they

³⁶⁶ “Priores non nimis tempestive iter arripiant veniendi ad capitulum...” CCW, 48:35; and “Sed nec ante sabbatum domum in qua capitulum celebratur intrabunt, alias rationem capitulo reddant.” CCW, 48:39–40.

³⁶⁷ “In via igitur constituti ante Primam et post Completorium silencium teneant, nisi necessitas vel utilitas paucis verbis et submissis aliud facere cogat.” CCW, 216:8–10; and “Nemo tamen facile abutatur hac licencia.” CCW, 216:17.

³⁶⁸ “Priores et fratres dum sunt in itinere, si commode possunt, Missam audiant.” CCW, 106:45–46.

³⁶⁹ This is repeated in the chapters dedicated to the General Chapter (“Caveant eciam priores et socii eorum, qui ad capitulum veniunt...” CCW, 48:50); and to the Visitations (“Possunt tamen priores sibi fratres assumere et procuratori seu fratri exituro socium deputare.” CCW, 84:196–98).

³⁷⁰ “Visitatores districte corrigant priores, qui sine magna et evidenti utilitate vel necessitate et sine consilio conventus dant fratribus licenciam parentes vel amicos visitandi seu ad civitates et villas evagandi, et tales licencias in quantum poterunt moderentur et restringant.” CCW, 84:193–96.

³⁷¹ “Porro visitatores officium suum fideliter exercent et ferventer et in domibus, quas visitant, sine iusta causa moram nimiam non faciant, alioquin in sequenti capitulo culpas suas clament ... per tres vel quatuor dies ad brevius vel per octo seu decem ad longius in visitando duraverint...” CCW, 80:143–47.

³⁷² The subprior is allowed to go outside when the prior is absent, but only for an absolute necessity and with the council of his community (“de conventus consilio”). CCW, 117:47–50.

should avoid to listen to or to ask about worldly matters as much as possible.³⁷³ If the prior leaves the monastery (for reasons other than going to the General Chapter), he is not allowed to remove himself farther than five miles (“quinque milliaria”) from his house without the explicit consent and permission of his community.³⁷⁴ However, between Advent and the Epiphany, on one hand, and from Quinquagesima to the Octave of Easter, on the other, he is not allowed to leave the monastery at all (overnight or even to perform a Visitation), without the advice of his community or its majority.³⁷⁵ It means that even if the prior stood at the head of his monastery and gave permission for other canons to leave, he also had limits imposed on him: the obligation to have the approval of the community suggests that the community acted as a control barrier for the prior, and thus, that the community could report to the Visitors (who themselves reported to the General Chapter) if the prior behaved in an inappropriate way.³⁷⁶

Therefore, a given *place* was transformed into a monastic *space* through several criteria. First, the monastic space was defined by its geographic location. Second, the monastic space was shaped in particular ways based on who was granted access to it, and who was authorised to leave its walls and under which conditions. Finally, respecting monastic observances (fasting, attending Mass) even in a secular space created a continuity of performed sacred space outside the walls of the monastery. Against this background, the Windesheim concept of enclosure now deserves special attention.

The Enclosure: A Material and Spiritual Demarcation

Restricting access to the monastery is at the heart of monastic life, because it enabled canons and canonesses to focus on their inner development, in order to pray for their and for other people’s salvation. Enclosure materialised a strict separation between the outside and the inside worlds, demarcating the inside *place* as a spiritual *space*. The Bull “Periculoso” issued by Pope Boniface VIII in 1298, the first official text to impose enclosure on female monasteries, considered enclosure as

³⁷³ “Quandocumque spaciandi licenciam habent fratres, officinas exteriores et si ingrediuntur, caveant tamen se nimis intromittere, vel etiam curiose investigare de culturis, vel de animalibus, sive de aliis rebus, vel negociis externis.” CCW, 222:33–36.

³⁷⁴ “Extra monasterium ultra quinque milliaria non proficiscatur absque consilio conventus vel maioris partis.” CCW, 106:35–36.

³⁷⁵ “A principio tamen Adventus usque ad Epyphaniam et a Quinquagesima usque ad octavas Pasche sine consilio conventus monasterium pernoctaturus exire non presumat, nec ad visitandum quidem.” CCW, 106:40–43. Such timeframes are clearly linked with the central positions of Christmas and Easter in the liturgical calendar.

³⁷⁶ This is reinforced by the fact that the prior had to report to the subprior and to the procurator if and why he had to stay one night outside the monastery (CCW, 106:36–40).

a special opportunity to dedicate women's selves to God without any disturbance.³⁷⁷ It was especially important for fifteenth-century reformed movements in female houses.³⁷⁸ According to the Dominican reformer Johannes Meyer (active in the second half of the fifteenth century), enclosure was essential for women's salvation because it maintained both their bodies and their souls in a single place.³⁷⁹ Considerations on the enclosure usually come from male perspectives, justifying the need. Consequently, it is often difficult to evaluate the perception of this separation from the world by enclosed religious women. As Uffmann points out, reactions probably varied when fifteenth-century reformers strove to (re-)implement strict enclosure during their reforming efforts: some religious women must have indeed valued it while others would have been reluctant to give up their freedom, no matter the spiritual loss.³⁸⁰

Enclosure in Female Houses

Enclosure was of vital importance in female Windesheim houses. In the view of Johannes Busch, the disregard of enclosure was one of the reasons leading to the material and spiritual decline of houses. Its reinforcement under the aegis of reform was therefore carefully regulated. The CM dedicate a full chapter to access into the enclosure (CM, 809–11: “De introitu ad clausuram”) which begins with the sentence that canonesses cannot leave the enclosure under penalty of excommunication.³⁸¹ Only two exceptions were specified: the canonesses could leave the enclosure if some danger threatened their lives or if they received permission by the General Chapter or by the Prior Superior. Permission could also be granted if the canonesses left to found a new monastery or live in another one.³⁸²

In addition to the chapter “De introitu ad clausuram”, the CM dedicate another section to the material organisation of the enclosure.³⁸³ It explains that the windows of the monastery had to be equipped with two double iron railings and a veil had to be placed between the two. This was

³⁷⁷ Heike Uffmann, “Innen und außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters,” in *Lesen, Schreiben, Stücken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster*, ed. Gabriela Signori (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2000), 192–93.

³⁷⁸ See Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur.”

³⁷⁹ Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur,” 205. For the relation between enclosure and sanctity, see June Mechem, “A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen,” in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), 139–56; and Gisela Muschiol, “Liturgie und Klausur. Zu den liturgischen Voraussetzungen von Nonnenemporen,” in *Studien zum Kanonissenstift*, ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 129–48.

³⁸⁰ These various perspectives are mentioned in Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur.”

³⁸¹ “Circa ingressum et egressum domorum sororum summam adhibere volentes cautelam, interdicimus sub pena anathematis, ne umquam aliqua professa egrediatur clausuram...” CM, 809:2–4.

³⁸² See CM, 809:1–9.

³⁸³ The chapter “Qualiter clausure, fenestre et rote fieri debent” CM, 805–7.

to prevent any visual or physical contact.³⁸⁴ Moreover, the entrance of the enclosure had to be composed of two doors. The key of the exterior door was kept by someone inside the enclosure, and conversely. The Visitors appointed these two persons.³⁸⁵

The strictly codified enclosure materialised the authorised place for the canonesses, and helped shape it into a very privileged space for canonesses to develop their inner spirituality, a space hermetically sealed from the world.

Contacts with the outside could not be entirely avoided, however. They were especially necessary with the rector (to make confession or to run the practical organisation of the house) or with the official Windesheim Visitors. For such cases, a special window (like the one described above) was built.³⁸⁶ Moreover, a special wheel or rotating instrument (“rota”) had to be built into the outside wall of the monastery, in order to bring in food or other necessary goods (“res necessarie”) while preventing visual contact.³⁸⁷

The CM name some specific people who were allowed inside the enclosure but who must always be accompanied by the prioress and three of the senior (“antiquiores”) canonesses.³⁸⁸ First, the Visitors and the *confirmatores* were allowed, though only as part of their formal activities (respectively, the Visitations and the confirmation of a new prioress). Following this permission, the CM immediately warn that those visits should be kept to a minimum.³⁸⁹ A prelate from the (own) diocese or a high-ranking prelate in general, a princess (high-ranking noblewoman) or the female owner of the land of the monastery, or a founder (male or female) were allowed within the enclosure as well, but only if no good excuse was found to refuse them.³⁹⁰ Workmen may also be granted access within the enclosure, if the prioress and the rector thought it necessary.³⁹¹

³⁸⁴ “Porro omnes fenestre vel fenestrule per duplices cancellos ferreos cum intersticio velaminis vel asseris perforati fieri debent, ne aspectus vel contactus intervenire possit.” CM, 806:32–34.

³⁸⁵ “Clavis autem interioris ostii custodiatur exterius et exterioris intus ab illis personis, quibus a visitoribus tucius servande committuntur.” CM, 806:15–17. For the practical issues this system raised, see below.

³⁸⁶ CM, 805–7. Canonesses also had contact with the exterior world by means of letters. This is confirmed by the CM, when they stipulate that no one can write or receive letters without the permission of the prioress or the rector. (CM, 751:60–64). This is also valid for canons, in which case, only the permission of the prior was required (CCW, 112:133–35). Contacts between canonesses and the outside world by means of letters are also confirmed by a correspondence between the canonesses of Marienberg and Brunnepe which is reported by Johannes Busch (see below).

³⁸⁷ “Aptetur autem in aliquo loco convenienti in ipso muro inseparabiliter adherens ipsi aliquo instrumentum rotundum, quod rotam vocamus, per quod ita possint res necessarie dari et recipi, quod dantes et accipientes nullatenus possint se videre.” CM, 805–6:7–11. This was ordained in 1444 and confirmed in 1446 (ACW, 40).

³⁸⁸ “... priorissa cum tribus de antiquioribus semper eos simul comitetur.” CM, 809:15–16.

³⁸⁹ “Visitatores quoque tempore visitacionis et confirmatores tempore electionis priorisse ingredi poterunt, raro tamen.” CM, 809:13–14.

³⁹⁰ “Dyocesanus et superior prelatus, principissa vel domina in terra sua, fundator vel fundatrix ingredi poterunt, si bono modo excusari non possit...” CM, 809:10–12.

³⁹¹ “Operarii eciam propter opera necessaria intrare poterunt, cum priorisse et rectori visum fuerit.” CM, 809:22–23.

In this case, the procuratrix might also accompany the prioress and the three guardian sisters, and they could have short conversations with the workmen, as long as the others could also hear her.³⁹² A priest together with one minister of advanced age (“maturo”) or one companion were also allowed within the enclosure but only to give Holy Communion to the seriously ill. It is however clearly specified that the priest must wear his surplice.³⁹³ Clothes were indeed important: they immediately and visually informed the women of the reason for the break of the enclosure, and no words were needed to justify the entrance of the priest.

These people were allowed in the enclosure either because of their rank or because of practical or material necessities. Such reasons were more important than a total absence of contacts with men and visitors, since they ensured the proper functioning of the individual houses, and therefore of the Congregation as a whole: as such, they did not break with the marking-out of the monastic space created by the material enclosure.

The regulations on enclosure just described are not unique to Windesheim. The influence of the Dominican constitutions is prominent, as R. van Dijk already pointed out.³⁹⁴ The major part of the chapter on the material organisation of the enclosure in the CM is an exact copy of the chapter “De edificiis” of the Dominican female constitutions.³⁹⁵ The Chapter of Windesheim, like the Dominicans, wanted to shield canonesses from the outside world and thus to prevent contact with it as much as possible.³⁹⁶ Generally, both are very strict and the differences between them lie in the details that the CM added to the CSOP. For instance, Windesheim enclosure must be very high and strong, like the CSOP prescribe,³⁹⁷ but the CM make it clear that it must be so on every side.³⁹⁸ Such additional details show not so much a stricter enclosure, but rather a more codified and controlled one. The Chapter of Windesheim clearly wanted to have control over its incorporated monasteries, revealing the desire to have a long-lasting Congregation, by the strict observance of monastic life.

³⁹² “... et tunc priorissa et tres deputate ad hoc et procuratrix eis loqui poterunt, ita tamen quod quecumque alicui loquitur succincte loquatur et ab aliis audiatur.” CM, 809:23–26.

³⁹³ “Si aliquam ita infirmari contigerit ... sacerdos in superpellicio vel cappa cum stola Corpus Christi deferens cum ministro maturo vel socio...” CM, 810:28–31.

³⁹⁴ R. van Dijk, CM, 444–49. See also Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur,” esp. 194.

³⁹⁵ “Liber Constitutionum Sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum,” in *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* 3 (1897): 337–48 (hereafter: CSOP). For more details on Dominican organisation of space, especially in nunneries, see Erika Lauren Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 27–57.

³⁹⁶ This included not only the lay people but also the religious canons responsible for their spiritual care or practical life (the *commissarius*, the rector, and the Visitors). This is reinforced in the CM by small details, such as the stipulation which allows Visitors and *confirmatores* to enter the enclosure only “raro tamen”.

³⁹⁷ “... quod clausura sit valde alta et fortis...” CSOP, 346.

³⁹⁸ “... quod clausura sit **undique** bene alta et fortis...” CM, 805:5–6 (emphasis mine).

The chapter on access to the enclosure in the CM is also directly drawn from the corresponding CSOP chapter.³⁹⁹ The two texts are very similar: apart from terminological changes due to the different organisations and times of writing (the CSOP date from the thirteenth century, while the CM date from the fifteenth century), small additions reveal that the Chapter of Windesheim desired the same level of control as the Dominicans regarding spatial organisation. A small but interesting difference concerns the women allowed to accompany workmen when they had to enter the enclosure. The CSOP require three women for this: either the prioress, the subprioress, and the procuratrix, or three of the oldest and most mature, experienced women.⁴⁰⁰ In Windesheim female houses, the subprioress was not part of the accompanying women, but the prioress, the procuratrix *and* three canonesses had to stay with the workmen.⁴⁰¹ In both regulations, they had to be audible for everyone.⁴⁰² The fact that Windesheim deliberately required more people to accompany workmen compared to their Dominican model hardly lessened the strictness nor the control the Dominicans also aimed for. Rather, the CM clearly aimed at codifying the enclosure as precisely as possible and at controlling every aspect of the relationship to the outside world.

Enclosure in Male Houses

Canons were not subjected to the same enclosure as canonesses, but having a closed space separated from the world and from any distraction was desirable in their houses as well, since it limited distractions caused by worldly matters.⁴⁰³ According to the reformer Johannes Busch, too frequent visits of relatives as well as the prior's delicate task to accept them or not, disturbed the peace of male houses.⁴⁰⁴ This led some priors to address a request to the Prior Superior (the prior of Windesheim) to live in strict enclosure, as is attested by the several requests discussed by the General Chapter.⁴⁰⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, twenty-one male houses lived enclosed.⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁹ “De ingressu et egressu domorum.” CSOP, 347–48.

⁴⁰⁰ “... et tunc priorissa et suppriorissa et procuratrix vel alie tres de antiquis et maturis ad hoc deputate.” CSOP, 347.

⁴⁰¹ “... et tunc priorissa et tres deputate ad hoc et procuratrix.” CM, 809:24–25.

⁴⁰² “ita tamen quod una ab aliis duabus audiatur.” CSOP, 347; and “ita tamen quod quecumque alicui loquitur succincte loquatur et ab aliis audiatur.” CM, 809–10:24–26.

⁴⁰³ For instance, the procurator, a canon who dealt with exterior business of the monastery (e.g., handling money, renting lands), was advised in particular to withdraw to his cell, described as “very safe and very quiet haven”, in order to in “calm the turbulent movements (emotions) of his mind”. See CCW, 120:47–50.

⁴⁰⁴ Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 370–72. See also Acquoy II, 275.

⁴⁰⁵ See, for instance, the approval of the introduction of the enclosure in Corsendonck (ACW, 27), Elsinghem (ACW, 27), Neuss (ACW, 27), Nieuwlicht near Hoorn (ACW, 47–48), and Leiderdorp (ACW, 48). See also Reiner R. Post, *The Modern Devotion. Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 511.

⁴⁰⁶ A list of these monasteries can be found in Rafaël De Keyser and Paul Trio, “De inclusio van Melle,” in *Devotio Windesbemensis*, ed. Willem Lourdaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 196–97. — The sources do not make a clear distinction between “inclusio” and “clausura”. In the ACW, “inclusio” is usually used for male enclosure and “clausura” for female enclosure, but the latter term is occasionally found in relation to male

Busch explains that these houses lived following the Carthusian enclosure.⁴⁰⁷ This means that the enclosed space was marked out and no one could leave it, apart from the prior and the procurator (and only in case of emergencies).⁴⁰⁸ Within the enclosed space, canons could go wherever they wanted, as long as they had the permission of the prior.⁴⁰⁹ The enclosed space seems to have sometimes included lands outside the monastery walls, such as in the case of the monastery of Ter Nood Gods in Tongeren (diocese of Liège), where the enclosure was limited by the city walls,⁴¹⁰ or the monastery of Ten Hole in Melle (diocese of Cambrai), whose enclosed space also covered several lands around the monastery. The way the enclosure was put into practice, however, is not clear: in some cases, water defined natural boundaries of the enclosure. But in cases when the enclosure was not materialised in the form of walls or by natural elements, it is not specified which dispositives of control were applied to make sure the canons would respect it.⁴¹¹

Probably facing a persistent flow of requests, the Chapter of Windesheim instituted a regulation that every monastery should ask permission to be enclosed and describe the nature of the enclosure at the next Chapter meeting.⁴¹² Based on a deed regulating the enclosure of Ten Hole, two Visitors appointed by the General Chapter were responsible for accepting the request of the enclosure, for determining the limits of the enclosed space, for stipulating when the canons could leave the enclosure, for what reasons, and what the sanctions would be in case of misobservance of the enclosure.⁴¹³ The vow of enclosure was often inserted in the profession of faith,⁴¹⁴ and sanctions for leaving the enclosure could go as far as excommunication, as in female houses.⁴¹⁵

enclosure. Other contemporaries often used “clausura” for male enclosure. Therefore, the terminology did not differentiate strictly between the male and female enclosure. In both male and female monasteries, “inclusio” or “clausura” designated more than just *stabilitas loci*: the isolation from the outside world was clearly reinforced in monasteries which chose to implement it. See Floris Prims, *De kloosterlot-beweging in Brabant in de XV^e eeuw* (Antwerpen, 1944); and Willem Lourdaux, *Moderne devotie en christelijke humanisme: De geschiedenis van Sint-Maarten te Leuven van 1433 tot het einde der XVI^e eeuw* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1967), 42–48

⁴⁰⁷ See the chapter “De inclusione quorundam monasteriorum ordinis et capituli nostri more carthusiencium et de forma eiusdem inclusionis” in Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 370–72. Busch does not give any reason why they followed specifically the Carthusian regulations on this aspect but given their strong influence on Windesheim material organisation, and their excellent reputation for sanctity, this is not surprising. See Acquoy II, 274.

⁴⁰⁸ Prims, *De kloosterlot-beweging in Brabant in de XV^e eeuw*, 44.

⁴⁰⁹ Prims, *De kloosterlot-beweging in Brabant in de XV^e eeuw*, 11; and Lourdaux, *Moderne devotie en christelijke humanisme*, 44.

⁴¹⁰ “Visitatores expediant fratres de Tongris de clausura incipienda, ita tamen quod maneant intra muros civitatis.” ACW, 27.

⁴¹¹ See De Keyser and Trio, “De inclusio van Melle,” esp. 192.

⁴¹² “Omnes conventus inclusi mittant ad proximum capitulum formam inclusionis suae, cum processibus executorialibus super eisdem factis, in illum finem ut ad uniformitatem reducantur si possint.” ACW, 52 and Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 512. This stipulation, ordained in 1453, was however never confirmed in the next Chapter meetings.

⁴¹³ De Keyser and Trio, “De inclusio van Melle,” esp. 192–94.

⁴¹⁴ For instance, the Ten Hole document reads: “Sufficit autem quod ad formam professionis in statutis positam additur: ‘Promitto etiam perpetuam inclusionem secundum modum et consuetudinem huius domus.’” See the edition given by De Keyser and Trio, “De inclusio van Melle,” 201.

⁴¹⁵ Such sanctions are, for instance, described in Sint-Maarten in Leuven (see Lourdaux, *Moderne devotie en christelijke humanisme*, 45–46; and Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 506 and 512). It seems, however, that even in monasteries which

The flexibility in the adoption of the enclosure in male monasteries seems to be typical of the Windesheim Congregation.⁴¹⁶ It is probably due to spiritual as well as practical reasons. On a spiritual level, several members argued against the enclosure, since it was not in the spirit of the Rule of St Augustine.⁴¹⁷ On a practical level, the Chapter needed priors to leave their monasteries annually to attend the Chapter meetings while some canons had to leave to perform their duties in female houses or to do the annual Visitations. Consequently, in order to ensure the proper functioning of the Congregation, the Chapter could not afford to force large numbers of canons to live enclosed.⁴¹⁸

Both male and female houses were places of seclusion, of retirement from the world. The differences in the experience of the enclosure arose from the duties which canons had to perform in the outside world. These material differences required different regulations, but they did not alter the nature or the function of the enclosure: in both cases, a clear separation from the world was materialised and, thus, enabled canons and canonesses to devote themselves entirely to their inner spiritual development. This way, separation and isolation from the world created and shaped a sacred, monastic space.⁴¹⁹ Nevertheless, it should be noted that the acts of the annual Chapter meetings frequently repeat that the access to the enclosure should be strictly limited and that the Visitors should pay close attention to the enclosure.⁴²⁰ Therefore, the state of the Windesheim enclosure analysed here in all likelihood reflects more an ideal construction of space rather than reality.

asked for it, enclosure was not always strictly observed. Acquoy quotes the example of the canons of Groenendaal, who apparently often asked permission of the prior to leave the limits of the enclosure (Acquoy II, 276). The General Chapter itself also issued a stipulation (confirmed in 1465) according to which the enclosure has to be strictly observed, which suggests that it was not always the case: “Piores domorum inclararum monentur inclusionis suae formam exacta servare diligentia.” (ACW, 65) It also suggests that excommunication was not necessarily the inevitable sanction for breaking the enclosure in every male monastery. A similar latitude was perhaps granted to female houses.

⁴¹⁶ This is also the perspective underlined by De Keyser and Trio, “De inclusio van Melle,” 198.

⁴¹⁷ “... quidam preclari patres bonum dei zelum habentes continuo non acquieverunt dicentes ordini nostro et regule sancti Augustini id minime congruere...” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 371. Indeed, the Rule of St Augustine does not impose enclosure. It does, however, recommend to stay within the walls of the monastery and to avoid external contacts. See Luc Verheijen, ed., *La règle de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), 151 and 423–24.

⁴¹⁸ The issue of the *cura monialium* was at the heart of the difficulties to implement the enclosure in, for instance, the male monastery of Sint-Maarten in Leuven. Lourdaux, *Moderne devotie en christelijke humanisme*, 44–45.

⁴¹⁹ On the sanctity reinforced by separation and isolation, especially in female houses, see Mecham, *Sacred Communities, Shared Devotions*.

⁴²⁰ Various reminders of prohibiting the access to the enclosure are copied in the acts of 1456 (ACW, 55; only ordained), 1464 (ACW, 66; confirmed in 1468), 1488 (ACW, 85; confirmed in 1490), 1491 (ACW, 89; only ordained), 1536 (ACW, 143; only ordained), 1538 (ACW, 145; approved in 1539 but never confirmed), and 1549 (ACW, 152; ordained in 1461). See also R. van Dijk, CM, 458–59.

b. The Inside Space of the Monastery

Within the walls of monasteries, all space was consecrated, usually by the local bishop, but the different parts of the monastery were given various degrees of sanctity. As Dawn M. Hayes underlines, “gradations of sacredness have a biblical foundation”.⁴²¹ For instance, Guillaume Durand, whose influence on late medieval thinking was strong, distinguishes between sacred (“sacra”), holy (“sancta”) and religious (“religiosa”) spaces.⁴²² According to him, the first ones (“sacra”) are set apart for God and concern consecrated locations (mainly churches). Holy ones (“sancta”) have immunity or privilege (such as churchyards and cloisters). Religious (“religiosa”) spaces are the grounds in which Christian bodies have been buried.⁴²³ Thus, it seems that the degree of sanctity conferred to specific locations also contributed to transforming generally sacred spaces in more specific sacred spaces.

The Windesheim constitutions rarely make an explicit distinction between various degrees of sanctity, but the way they deal with the various rooms inside the monastery shows that these locales enjoyed different degrees of sacredness. This section investigates how Windesheim specifically handled their monasteries’ places, how they perceived them, and which elements were deployed to characterise them in order to transform them into specific, monastic, spaces.⁴²⁴ To support this discussion, Figure 2.6 provides a schematic diagram of a Windesheim house. This spatial distribution of rooms is rather typical of monastic complexes in general.⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ OT, 1 Kings, 8:6–8: “The priests then brought the ark of the Lord’s covenant to its place in the inner sanctuary of the temple, the Most Holy Place, and put it beneath the wings of the cherubim. The cherubim spread their wings over the place of the ark and overshadowed the ark and its carrying poles. These poles were so long that their ends could be seen from the Holy Place in front of the inner sanctuary, but not from outside the Holy Place; and they are still there today.” See Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389* (London: Routledge, 2004), 18–23.

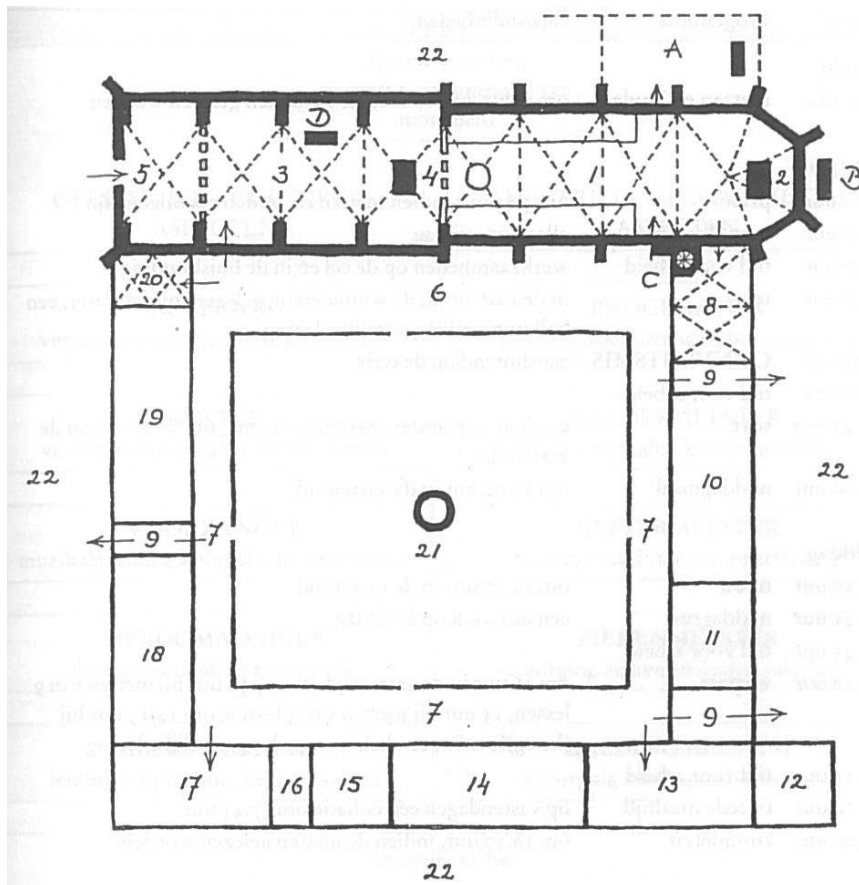
⁴²² As Thibodeau underlines, Durand’s theories on religious space are almost entirely derived from the *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* of John Belet, who himself often relied on the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. Timothy M. Thibodeau, trans., *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende – A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2007), 116. For a broader theological discussion on space in the Middle Ages, see Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389*, 1–50.

⁴²³ Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende*, 54. See also Koen Goudriaan, “Conclusion,” in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, eds. Paul Trio and Marjan De Smet (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 212–13.

⁴²⁴ For a discussion on the conception of monastic space in general, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1993); Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389*; and Columba Stewart, “Monastic Space and Time,” in *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram*, *Disciplina Monastica* 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 43–51. Benedictine and Cistercian spaces have received much scholarly attention, among which: Noisette, “Usages et représentations de l’espace dans la Regula Benedicti;” Lindgren, *Sensual Encounters*, 27–57; and Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*, *Medieval Church Studies* 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001); and Maximilian Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

⁴²⁵ The building of the monastery proper (exemplified in Figure 2.6) was surrounded by a whole range of buildings populated by converses, oblates and *mercenarii*, providing an additional threshold between the ordinary world and the sacred spaces of the monastery itself. The focus here is on the sacred spaces where liturgical actions were

Figure 2.6 Overview of a Windesheim monastery⁴²⁶



- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|
| 1. choir of the church (for the canons) | 9. exit and stairs | 16. lavatory |
| 2. sanctuary (with the main altar) | 10. chapter hall | 17. refectory for the converses |
| 3. middle-nave (for the converses) | 11. prior's room | 18. refectory for the lay people and the guests |
| 4. rood screen | 12. sickroom | 19. guesthouse for men |
| 5. west-nave (for the lay people) | 13. warming house | 20. Marian chapel |
| 6. passage | 14. refectory for the canons | 21. inner garden |
| 7. cloister | 15. kitchen | 22. garden, orchard, cemetery |
| 8. sacristy | | |

performed and on how these transformed the static place of the monastery's rooms into specific spaces. The intermediary levels will, therefore, not be discussed here.

⁴²⁶ This diagram is taken from Rudolf T. M. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapitels over ontstaan, bloei en doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2012), 193. A similar (archetypal) reconstruction has also been realised by Dicky Haze, "Het Augustinessenklooster te Brunnepe," *Kamper Almanak* 93 (1993): 166. It should also be noted

The comparison of Figure 2.6 with a diagram of the Cistercian female abbey of Wienhausen, reformed in 1469 by Windesheim, illustrates that even in a female house of a different Order, the organisation was similar.⁴²⁷ Nevertheless, the constitutions are general enough to allow each house to adjust depending on its own specific architecture. As seen in the introduction to this chapter, a definition of space(s) cannot be restricted to the analysis of quantitative and material aspects. Therefore, the purpose of the present section is to analyse how official regulations aimed at regulating the space, at least in theory.

In what follows, I will focus on three locations within monasteries: the *dormitorium*, the refectory, and the choir, because it is in these rooms that the most important liturgical celebrations took place. They also constituted the main gathering spaces of canons/canonesses. The importance of these rooms is reinforced by the fact that the constitutions dedicate specific chapters to the behaviour to be adopted there (contrary to the others rooms), and by the fact that Johannes Busch particularly emphasised the time he spent there during his reforms. Their importance is also attested in a correspondence (transmitted by Busch in his *Liber de reformatione*) between the reformed canonesses of Marienberg near Helmstedt (diocese of Halberstadt) and the Windesheim canonesses of Brunnepe near Kampen (diocese of Utrecht).⁴²⁸ Three canonesses of Brunnepe spent about three years in Marienberg to teach the members of that house the Windesheim customs. After their departure, the prioress and the procuratrix of Marienberg wrote them a letter, saying that when they see their “empty places in the choir, the refectory, and the *dormitorium*”, they are filled with sorrow and weep, and say how they regret the distance between them.⁴²⁹ This comment suggests that the choir, the refectory, and the *dormitorium* were central to the monastic community, especially because everyone could see and be seen by everyone else. These three rooms are, therefore, particularly relevant for the purpose of studying spatial and social relations.

that the constitutions do not discuss the exact position of each room, nor do they mention them all. For instance, they do not mention the “prior’s room” or the “Marian chapel” indicated on R. van Dijk’s diagram used in Figure 2.6. The presence of these two rooms would not be remarkable, but are not discussed by the sources consulted here.

⁴²⁷ The most significant difference (the position of the dormitory and of the nuns’ choir on the upper floor) is discussed below.

⁴²⁸ Brunnepe was one of the few female houses officially incorporated into the Congregation, in 1412. It started as a community of Sisters of the Common Life, who around 1410 decided to live according to the Rule of St Augustine (Acquoy III, 204). According to Johannes Busch, the monastery already existed in the time of Geert Grote (Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 362–63). On its history, see Monasticon III, 581–90; and Post, *The Modern Devotion*, 302. The Augustinian house of Marienberg near Helmstedt was founded at the end of the twelfth century and reformed by Busch with the help of the canonesses of Brunnepe in 1462 (Busch, *Liber*, 618–22).

⁴²⁹ “Quando loca vestra in choro et refectorio et in dormitorio consideramus, tunc multum contristamur et ploramus...” Busch, *Liber*, 625. This correspondence is also briefly discussed in Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The “Modern Devotion”, the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings*, trans. David F. Johnson (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 126–28.

Dormitorium

The *dormitorium* is the room in which one refocuses one's thoughts after the work of the day, engages in private prayer, and rests from physical labour: it is essential that it is a quiet space providing the necessary rest for canons and canonesses to be fully dedicated to their monastic duties.⁴³⁰ The *dormitoria* of male and female houses present different architectures: in the male houses, the *dormitorium* may be located either on the ground or a higher floor, whereas in the female houses, the *dormitorium* is always on the first floor of the monastery.⁴³¹ Moreover, canons had their own individual cells, where they also worked during the day.⁴³² Conversely, canonesses' sleeping places were materialised by individual mattresses ("culcitra") which were only separated by thin walls high enough to hide them from sight; the door was replaced by a curtain.⁴³³ This difference might be due to the fact that canonesses did not work in the *dormitorium*, contrary to canons. It might also be due to the nature of women, who were considered to be weaker than men, which suggests that women needed a stricter control of one another.⁴³⁴

Concerning the access to the *dormitorium*, according to the CCW, no one could enter someone else's cell or be invited in, unless they had special permission.⁴³⁵ The CCW foresee cases where someone would feel unwell, in which case the brother who noticed this was allowed to enter and to talk to the patient.⁴³⁶ On the contrary, the CM stipulate that no one is allowed to enter another's cell, apart from the prioress.⁴³⁷ Allowing only the prioress to access her community's sleeping areas probably made it easier to make sure that no one else would enter. Moreover, the CM do not foresee exceptional cases where canonesses could enter a fellow sisters' cell. This is due to the different spatial organisations of the sleeping areas of canons and canonesses: since the cells of the female *dormitorium* were only separated by a curtain, it was easier to for the prioress to control if everything was in order. Nevertheless, a stipulation of the ACW points at a different reality in the female monasteries from the very strict spatial arrangements aimed for by Windesheim. In 1485

⁴³⁰ "... quatinus tali quiete laboris diurni et quarumque occupationum distractiones preteritas recolligere et reformare possimus." CCW, 212:25–27; and CM, 809:14–16.

⁴³¹ The CCW read: "Dormitoria in domibus nostris superius sive inferius construenda sunt..." (CCW, 210:3–4), while the CM reads: "Dormitoria superius construenda sunt..." (CM, 807:2). This difference was most likely due to the need of shielding the women from (male) outsiders much more than men.

⁴³² "... et celle singule pro singulis fratribus ordinande." CCW, 210:4.

⁴³³ "... et singule culcitra singulari habeant. Inter lectos intersticium tam altum fiat, ut alterutrum se non videant. In anteriori parte circa latitudinem lecti fieri potest et ante residuum pannus dependeat." CM, 807:2–6.

⁴³⁴ This aspect is discussed below.

⁴³⁵ "Generaliter autem alterius cellam non ingredimur nec alicui ingressum pandimus sine licencia speciali." CCW, 210:7–8.

⁴³⁶ "Sed si quis subita infirmitate preventus fuerit, frater hoc percipiens, cellam eius intrare et secum loqui potest." CCW, 210:8–10.

⁴³⁷ "Generaliter nulla lectum alterius accedat vel scrutetur, excepta priorissa." CM, 807:8–9.

the Chapter incited the rectors and the prioresses to pay close attention to the *dormitorium* in their houses and to carefully monitor its opening and closing.⁴³⁸ Beyond the ideal situation presented by the official regulations, the reality, as far as it is possible to reconstruct from the sources, was most likely different to some degree from this ideal definition of space.

A similar spatial organisation is to be found in Benedictine houses. Based on these, Roberta Gilchrist generally defines the *dormitorium* as the “deepest space” of Benedictine nunneries (i.e., “the most segregated element of the monastery”), a specific characteristic of female houses.⁴³⁹ However, the frequent repetitions in both the CCW and the CM that the *dormitorium* is absolutely forbidden to strangers nuance Gilchrist’s general statement on female houses. The *dormitorium* is a very restricted space in male monasteries, too; the difference between male and female *dormitoria* did not seem to be as important as Gilchrist seems to think, at least in Windesheim houses.

Refectory

The second location in the monastery to have a specific devotional importance and a specific meaning for the community is the refectory. Two aspects participated in making this space very privileged: the controlled access and the mirroring of the hierarchical structure of the community. In male monasteries, the access to the refectory for guests was strictly controlled: the CCW order that guests should not be easily admitted to it, unless they are also religious persons.⁴⁴⁰ Such a stipulation does not exist in the CM, since the refectory was part of the enclosure, to which only canonesses had access. In both cases, the space of the refectory was therefore reserved for religious members only and worldly matters are not allowed within.

The chapter of the constitutions on the refectory provides much information on the behaviour that was expected of the canons and canonesses: the CCW especially insist on the necessity to uncover the head when entering and to move within and sit according to everyone’s rank (the most senior members first when entering, the more junior members first when leaving).⁴⁴¹ Accordingly, the refectory had to be a place of great modesty and devotion. Moreover, canons and

⁴³⁸ “Committitur rectoribus et priorissis domorum monialium quod diligenter faciant observari dormitoria earum temporibus nocturnis et certis ydoneis personis committatur quae ipsum *dormitorium* claudant aperiantque.” ACW, 81. This stipulation was ordained in 1485 but never seems to have been confirmed. See also Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur.”

⁴³⁹ Roberta Gilchrist, “Medieval Bodies in the Material World: Gender, Stigma and the Body,” in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, eds. Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 55–57.

⁴⁴⁰ “Ad refectorium non facilliter hospites admittantur, exceptis religiosis...” CCW, 126:56.

⁴⁴¹ “... intrent ordinate, senioribus precedentibus, nudantes capita cum intrant...” CCW, 204:7–8; and “... iunioribus precedentibus, secundum ordinem egredimur.” CCW, 206:42–43. The CM do not contain such instructions concerning headgear, because the canonesses had to wear their veil at all times. They do not mention that the oldest should enter first either, an omission which is most likely due to the fact that this prescription was obvious in such contexts. See R. van Dijk, CM, 461.

canonesses had to sit on the same side (left or right) of the refectory as they would in the choir, and they also had to sit in the same order. Hierarchy is underlined in the refectory, since the prior, the subprior, and two or three senior members of the community were seated at the main table, in front of the two lateral tables.⁴⁴² These regulations are a hint that discipline of the body had an essential function in shaping space in a Windesheim house.

Choir

Finally, the Windesheim constitutions designate the church, and especially the choir, as the “temple of God” (“templum Dei”).⁴⁴³ The church had to be accessible to everyone, but different spaces were arranged for different social groups: in male monasteries, the choir was reserved for canons while the nave was reserved for converses, then – at a distance – open to lay people. In female monasteries of Northern Germany, canonesses were usually separated from the lay people by having to use the nuns’ choir (see below). The constitutions emphasise that proper behaviour must be particularly respected in the choir.⁴⁴⁴ In the same paragraph, the constitutions insist on the need to control the eyes and the gaze (in order to maintain the proper discipline and avoid distractions) and they specify to do so “especially in the church and in the refectory”.⁴⁴⁵ Hence, as is customary but here clearly confirmed, the choir – that is, the space in which takes place the Divine Office and the Eucharist – is the most sacred place of the whole monastery.⁴⁴⁶

Within the enclosure, an even more restricted place is typical for female houses: the nuns’ choir.⁴⁴⁷ This is a special gallery built in stone or wood for the canonesses regular and was generally embedded in the nave.⁴⁴⁸ The location of the nuns’ choir was probably determined by practical

⁴⁴² “Infra collationem sedemus eodem ordine quo in choro stamus, excepto quod prior sedet in fronte mense et supprior cum duobus vel tribus senioribus de choro suo iuxta priorem.” CCW, 124:16–18. This stipulation is missing in the CM (as above, it was probably unnecessary to mention it), but the wording of the positions of the canonesses leaves no doubt that they also had to sit on the same side as in the choir: “Stantibus sororibus, choro scilicet contra chorum...” CM, 811:9. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 461.

⁴⁴³ This is based on much earlier conceptions. The Old Testament already considered the equivalent of the choir, the innermost sanctuary of the church where the altar is, in the Jewish Temple as “the Most Holy Place”: OT, 1 Kings, 8:6 (see above).

⁴⁴⁴ “Et quamvis insuper secundum regulam tales mores ubique servare debemus, ut nichil fiat in omnibus motibus nostris, quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, hoc tamen in templo Dei, ubi divina celebrantur officia, studiosius observandum est.” CCW, 178:40–43; and CM, 784:37–40.

⁴⁴⁵ “... maxime in ecclesia et in refectorio.” CCW, 178:44; and CM, 784:41–42. More on the movements of the eyes and of the meaning of such stipulations is given below.

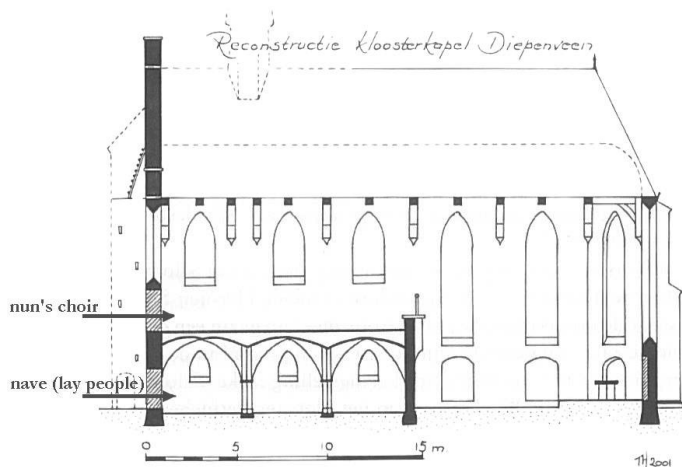
⁴⁴⁶ On the importance of the Eucharist in medieval society, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴⁴⁷ If a female house did not have a nuns’ choir above the nave, the sisters had to have a separate space in the main choir, in order to be able to hear the Mass without being seen by the priest. See Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur,” 199–200.

⁴⁴⁸ Uffmann, “Raum und Klausur,” 201.

reasons, an important aspect being to provide good visibility on the main altar of the church, allowing the canonesses to see the host during the Elevation without being seen. In Germany it was often built on the western side and on a higher level, above the nave for the lay people, but this location could change (see Figure 2.7).⁴⁴⁹

Figure 2.7: Reconstruction of the church of the female Windesheim house of Diepenveen, with the nuns' choir⁴⁵⁰



The upper gallery comprised pews built on each sides of the nun's choir so that two choirs were formed, each responding to the other.⁴⁵¹ The nuns' choir was completely closed, so that the canonesses could not look down into the church nor be seen by the celebrants or by the parishioners. Only small windows were built in so that the canonesses were able to see the elevation of the host during the Mass, the central focus of the celebration.⁴⁵² In some cases, however, separation was even stricter: for instance, in the Cistercian house of Wienhausen, paintings depicting the host in a monstrance on the altar of the nuns' choir substituted for such windows.⁴⁵³ The nuns' choir was a very restricted place in which the canonesses performed their liturgical duties:

⁴⁴⁹ In France, for instance, the nuns' choir was often located at the western end of the church, but at ground level. Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages," in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 121. The nuns' choir was sometimes also located north of the aisle. Uffmann, "Raum und Klausur," 201.

⁴⁵⁰ Figure 2.7 is adapted from R. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapittels over ontstaan, bloei en doorverking van de Moderne Devotie*, 206.

⁴⁵¹ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 52.

⁴⁵² Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. This was especially important, since contemplating the host was considered beneficial to the soul, efficient in chasing away evil and protecting oneself from illness. On this aspect and on the importance of this ceremony, see Agnese Pavanello, "The Elevation as Liturgical Climax in Gesture and Sound: Milanese Elevation Motets in Context," *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9, no. 1 (2017): esp. 34–37.

⁴⁵³ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Petra Marx, and Susan Marti, "The Time of the Orders, 1200-1500: An Introduction," in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 73–74.

not only were the canonesses enclosed, but they also performed their most important duty in a room in which no one else was permitted to enter or even to have a look. Hence, two elements defining the sanctity of a space (restrained access and specific actions) are characteristic of the nuns' choir, too, making it the holiest place of the whole female monastery.

However, the nuns' choir is not specifically mentioned in the constitutions. This suggests that it was not systematic as an architectural feature and that, in principle, Windesheim did not distinguish between the generic places of the (male) choir and the nuns' choir: both were transformed into equally sacred spaces by the liturgical actions regularly performed there.

Silence

Finally, another powerful marker of the sacredness of space is silence: the chapter of the constitutions dedicated to silence begins with the very clear and direct indication that “in the oratory, in the *dormitorium*, and in the refectory, we keep the silence at all times”.⁴⁵⁴ However, it is permissible to gather in the cloister or elsewhere to talk – though there is no detail given on what “elsewhere” (“ad alium locum”) means exactly. Conversations must be on topics related to *edificatio*, the inner development of the soul (and with permission of the prior/prioress).⁴⁵⁵ Furthermore, under certain conditions (between Prime and Compline but not during the Hours and only when permitted), the canons could talk with guests and people from the outside in authorised places.⁴⁵⁶ Once again, these “authorised places” (“locis licitis”) are not specified, but they can be deduced from the unauthorised places: those are the places where only the canons were gathered, including the choir and the refectory, the cloister of the canons, all the daily passageways of the canons, and of course, the *dormitorium*.⁴⁵⁷

Silence in the Middle Ages is a complex topic, which is still under discussion. As Paul Gehl writes in his study of silence in Latin Christendom from the sixth to the twelfth century, “silence is neither singular nor a defining feature of monasticism”, because of the variety of concepts and practices attached to it.⁴⁵⁸ In a recent book, Vincent Debiais investigated the meaning of silence in

⁴⁵⁴ “In oratorio, dormitorio et refectorio omni tempore silencium tenemus.” CCW, 198:3–4. The CM add three other locations: “In oratorio, refectorio, dormitorio suo et conversarum in parte claustrum designata, circa ignem et in loco privato sorores omni tempore silencium teneant.” CM, 801:2–3. This addition in the CM is discussed below.

⁴⁵⁵ “Quandoque tamen, cum priori visum fuerit ad conferendum de hiis, que ad edificacionem pertinent, in parte claustrum vel ad alium locum simul convenimus.” CCW, 198–200:10–12; and CM, 830–48:9.

⁴⁵⁶ “... per diem inter Primas et Completorium in locis licitis loqui possumus, sed non infra horas regulares.” CCW, 202:57–58.

⁴⁵⁷ It is specifically pointed out at different places in the CCW that no one but the canons can access the *dormitorium* (CCW, 155, 157, 200, 211).

⁴⁵⁸ Paul F. Gehl, “Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West,” *Viator* 18 (1987): 125.

relation to images in medieval contexts. He rightfully reminds us that the word “silence” in the Bible encompasses numerous definitions and connotations: absence of speech, absence of sound, absence of peace; silence is often associated with death and desolation, the sign of a distance between God and humans or, on the contrary, as the necessary condition to create a connection with God.⁴⁵⁹ What is clear for monastic contexts, in the light of recent scholarship, is that monastic Rules since the Late Antiquity imposed a restriction on speech, but this did not equal a complete absence of vocal sounds.⁴⁶⁰

The perception of silence was similar in the Windesheim circle. Hermina Joldersma and Ulrike Hascher-Burger demonstrate that silence was not understood as the prohibition of any kind of talk, but rather of chitchat about non-religious matter.⁴⁶¹ Moreover, Joldersma observes that permissions for conversation in the CM are often immediately followed by “sanctions for untoward behaviour”.⁴⁶² For instance:

<p><i>Quandoque eciam, cum priorisse visum fuerit, de hiis, que ad edificacionem pertinent, loqui poterunt modeste tamen et sine tumultu, tunc dicat priorissa vel suppriorissa in absentia priorisse: Benedicite. Si vero tumultus suboritur vel clamorose loquuntur, dicat priorissa vel suppriorissa: Pater noster; et tunc servabunt silencium.</i></p>	<p>Besides, when the prioress sees fitting, [the canonesses] will be allowed to speak of [topics] which concern edification, but in a restrained manner and without noisy disturbance; at that time the prioress, or the subprioress if the prioress is absent, is to say: <i>Benedicite</i>. If, however, noisy disturbance arises or if they speak with clamor, the prioress or the subprioress are to say: <i>Pater noster</i>; and then they will keep the silence.⁴⁶³</p>
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Joldersma explains that this frequent shift from permission to sanction reveals a fear of frivolous women’s speech and chitchatting.⁴⁶⁴ However, this did not only concern women, but also men, since the CCW proceed with the same shift from permission to limitation. For example:

<p><i>Cum aliqui ex fratribus emendandis vel ligandis libris, vel alicui operi tempore silencii mancipantur, ipsi quidem loquuntur</i></p>	<p>When some of the canons are tasked with repairing or binding books, or any other task during the time of silence, they can talk to each</p>
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⁴⁵⁹ Vincent Debiais, *Le silence dans l’art* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2019).

⁴⁶⁰ For an updated and detailed bibliography on the topic, see Debiais, *Le silence dans l’art*.

⁴⁶¹ Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Zwischen Apokalypse und Hohemlied. Brautmystik in Gesängen aus der Devotio Moderna”, *Ons Geestelijke Erf*, no. 72 (1998): 257; and Hermina Joldersma, “‘Alternative Spiritual Exercises for Weaker Minds?’ Vernacular Religious Song in the Lives of Women of the Devotio Moderna,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 88, no. 3 (2008): esp. 378-80.

⁴⁶² Joldersma, “‘Alternative Spiritual Exercises for Weaker Minds?’” 378–79.

⁴⁶³ CM, 830:48–53.

⁴⁶⁴ Joldersma, “‘Alternative Spiritual Exercises for Weaker Minds?’” 378–79.

*adinvicem et cum cooperantibus, sed non cum
supervenientibus, nisi licenciam habuerint.* other or to their co-workers, but not to those who
come by casually, unless they have permission.⁴⁶⁵

This concern for chitchatting was therefore inherent to the Chapter of Windesheim as a whole, and, in addition to the control of the mode of performance, it is also the content of the talk which influenced the definition of silence.⁴⁶⁶ Controlling the voice and especially fighting against idle conversations was a way to stir up devotion and to avoid distraction from the praise of God. When explaining the need for uniformity, the prologue of the Windesheim constitutions, common to other monastic Orders, refers to the strong connection between the outward behaviour and the interior state of the heart, describing how the former sharpens and displays the unity of the latter.⁴⁶⁷ Applied to silence, this prologue suggests that external silence sharpens and eventually reflects the internal silence, necessary to stir up devotion and to be closer to God. Indeed, as Debiais observes: “medieval authors frequently play with the metaphor of the *heart as a silent temple*, to [ensure] the prayers’ efficiency and the possibility to meet with God.”⁴⁶⁸ It is not surprising that Windesheim put special emphasis on it.

Monastic space was organised through different means: the *access* of people, or the lack thereof, to the monastery and to the monastery’s different rooms; the *gathering* spaces of the canons/canonesses; the spaces where *silence* must always be observed and others, where conversations may take place; and the spaces where specific *actions* (liturgical or practical) took place.⁴⁶⁹ In addition, depending on the purposes it served, a particular space was assigned a higher or a lesser degree of sacredness. In this regard, the *dormitorium*, the refectory, and the choir were places endowed with special levels of sacredness. Despite architectural differences, the spaces described in the CM are very similar to those in the CCW; if we consider the markers to characterise the degrees of sanctity, it appears that female and male monastic spaces worked very similarly. In

⁴⁶⁵ CCW, 200:38–41.

⁴⁶⁶ Interestingly, some other monastic constitutions felt the need to regulate the slightest noisy practices, which Windesheim did not, in spite of the great care for details. For instance, the customs for the Augustinian monastic community of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, proscribe “blowing noses in the hand-towels” (“ne cum manutergis aut nares mungant”); see Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, “Performing Silence and Regulating Sound: The Monastic Soundscape of Saint-Jean-Des-Vignes,” in *Resounding Images*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 58.

⁴⁶⁷ “Quoniam ex precepto regule iubemur habere cor unum et animam unam in Domino, iustum est ut, qui sub una regula et unius professionis voto vivimus, uniformes in observanciis canonice religionis inveniamur, quatinus unitatem, que interius servanda est in cordibus, foveat et representet uniformitas exterius servata in moribus.” CCW, 40:3–6; and CM, 726:4–11. For more on this prologue, see the general introduction to this dissertation.

⁴⁶⁸ “Les auteurs médiévaux joueront fréquemment sur la métaphore du *cœur comme temple*, silencieux pour l’efficacité de la prière et la possibilité de la rencontre avec Dieu.” Debiais, *Le silence dans l’art*, 172 (emphasis mine).

⁴⁶⁹ The liturgical actions include the various rules on movements and postures, as will be discussed below.

addition, movements and actions, which have been discussed at various times in the course of this section, are very important for characterising a specific place, especially when giving it a liturgical significance. These are the focus of the next section.

2. Disciplining the Body

In the Windesheim context, the presence and posture of the human body were particularly relevant, because, on the one hand, the body characterised a given space, and, on the other, the space determined the posture of the human body.⁴⁷⁰ The body, as a vehicle for the soul, was central in structuring and giving performative meaning to the spatial organisation. The Chapter of Windesheim issued many stipulations on the proper movements, positions, and behaviour to adopt within the monastic space on various occasions; these are similar in the CCW and in the CM. The movements concerned are those of the body and of the eyes. The attitudes are those of the emotions to show (e.g., devotion, humility, modesty) as well as the words to be spoken or the silence to be kept. All the parts of the constitutions contain more or less direct regulations on these aspects, thus indicating that the proper behaviour was considered to be of fundamental relevance.

a. On the Importance of the Proper Behaviour

Proper behaviour must not be underestimated, since it proved a belonging to the community. Once a novice enters the Congregation, s/he has to learn from a member (of good reputation) the attitude to adopt in all circumstances:

Commendetur autem uni e fratribus boni testimonii, qui diligenter instruat eum de inclinacionibus, de incessu, statu et omni gestu suo, quomodo debeat oculos demissos et custoditos habere, submisso et non festinanter loqui et in omnibus moribus signum humilitatis ostendere.

[The novice] shall be entrusted to a brother with a good reputation so that he may instruct him with care how to do the bows, to walk, to stand up and all gestures; how he must keep his eyes low and watch his gaze, how to speak in a low voice and without haste, and how to show in all his manners a sign of humility.⁴⁷¹

The control of the movements goes into the slightest details of daily life: while eating in the refectory, the canons and canonesses must hold their cup with both hands,⁴⁷² and they must wait for the sign of the prior or prioress before rolling up their napkins.⁴⁷³ Codifying movements to

⁴⁷⁰ On the transfer of a sacred charge of a place, person or object to another, see Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389*, 5–7.

⁴⁷¹ CCW, 168:102–6; and CM, 779-80:6–10.

⁴⁷² “Bibentes duabus manibus amphoram vel ciphum tenemus.” CCW, 206:33–34; and CM, 812:34.

⁴⁷³ “Mensalia non convolvimus, donec prior suum mensale convolvat.” CCW, 206:35–36; and CM, 812:36–37.

such levels of detail aimed at ensuring that everyone would move the same way and, therefore, that no one would be distracted by unusual or inappropriate movements. For instance, during the General Chapter meetings, the visiting priors must especially avoid useless walkabouts and inordinate speeches, in order not to disturb the peace, the inner calm and the discipline of the house that hosts the assembly.⁴⁷⁴ Therefore, it was not only about controlling people and submitting voluntarily one's own free will and freedom of behaviour, but also about creating the necessary conditions and environments for others so as to develop everyone's inner devotion.

The will of the Chapter of Windesheim to control, discipline, and regulate its members' bodies is confirmed in Johannes Busch's reports. Inculcating new physical behaviours and rooting out others was an integral and important part of his reforms. He often reports to have practiced the movements with the canons/canonesses. The following quotation, about the reform of the Augustinian female monastery of Wennigsen (diocese of Minden), illustrates very well how Busch used this somatic tool:

<p><i>Die sequenti cum eis in refectorio manducavimus, "Benedicite" et "Gratias" more nostro cantavimus, inclinationum et stationum ceremonialia in choro et in refectorio eis demonstravimus, capitulum culparum servavimus et de singulis Ordinis nostri observantiis regularibus oculata fide ipsas informavimus.</i></p>	<p>The following day, we ate with them in the refectory, we sang the <i>Benedicite</i> and <i>Gratias</i> in the manner that we are accustomed to, we showed them the proper ways of bowing and standing in the choir and in the refectory, we conducted a Chapter of faults and we informed them with an enlightened faith of every single thing pertaining to the regular observances of our Order.⁴⁷⁵</p>
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What Busch describes here appears frequently in his reports on his reforms. While he paid equal attention to these aspects in both male and female monasteries, his instructional strategy is especially clear in his reports on female houses: the sentence quoted above comes back regularly, with few variations (see Appendix 3).⁴⁷⁶ The movements Busch referred to in these occurrences (to bow, to stand up, to stand) are similar to those mentioned in the constitutions when accepting a novice. This underlines the fact that the inhabitants of to-be-reformed monasteries were at first considered novices, who must be taught the proper behaviour by a brother or a sister of good reputation (in this case, Busch himself). Only when their education was confirmed could they officially be "reformed monasteries", just like novices could officially become members of the Congregation only after they

⁴⁷⁴ "Caveant eciam priores et socii eorum, qui ad capitulum veniunt, ne circuicionibus ociosis aut sermonibus inordinatis quietem et disciplinam fratrum domus ubi capitulum celebratur inquietent..." CCW, 48:50–52.

⁴⁷⁵ Busch, *Liber*, 559–60.

⁴⁷⁶ Busch did pay equal attention to these aspects when reforming male monasteries, but he did not phrase his efforts in such a systematic way.

had fully internalised the rules of the community (with the nuance that most of the time, a reformed monastery did not automatically join the Windesheim Congregation).⁴⁷⁷

b. The Proper Behaviour in the Proper Space

Busch frequently discusses how he taught the proper actions to perform within the same three places: the Chapter hall (where the Chapter of faults takes place), the refectory, and the choir.⁴⁷⁸

On one occasion, Busch's description of the Chapter of faults is particularly significant regarding the proper behaviour desired by Windesheim. When teaching the canonesses of Maria Magdalena near Hildesheim (diocese of Hildesheim) how to hold the Chapter of faults, his companion Johannes Bodiker gave a series of faults: he admitted that he laughed in the refectory when he had to read the *Benedicite*, that he could not keep his eyes still in the choir and in the refectory, that he sometimes arrived late in the choir or stayed away without permission, and that he broke the silence.⁴⁷⁹ All of these faults infringe on typical monastic regulations of behaviour. Committing these faults was not insignificant, as the silence,⁴⁸⁰ the control of the gaze,⁴⁸¹ the punctuality,⁴⁸² and the permission to leave the choir⁴⁸³ were all regulated in the constitutions. Breaking these stipulations meant breaking with the community, since not only are these faults in conflict with what is prescribed in the constitutions, but they were also considered *levis culpa* – that is, the first degree of the faults that deserve a punishment.

⁴⁷⁷ A novice usually had to wait one year before being allowed to make his profession. On the reception and profession of novices, see Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 38–47.

⁴⁷⁸ The Chapter of faults has a very important role in monastic communities. It carries a spiritual importance: by recognising one's own faults or by pointing at a guilty brother or sister, it encourages canons and canonesses to be better. Obviously, it also serves to maintain order in the community. Therefore, the Chapter of faults is essential for maintaining the religious observance and for making sure, as much as possible, that everyone follow the regulations (CCW, 191–98; and CM, 790–94). In the constitutions as well as in Busch's reports, the specific room where the Chapter of faults takes place (the Chapter hall) is not discussed. These sources refer (extensively) to the proceedings of the Chapter of faults only: these proceedings seem to have been more important than the location itself. See also Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 56–61.

⁴⁷⁹ “Est culpa mea: ego risi in refectorio, quando legere debui “Benedicite”. Ego in mensa circumspexi hinc inde, male custodivi oculos in choro et in refectorio, veni aliquando tarde ad chorum, sine licentia ex choro permansi, silentium fregi locis et temporibus constitutis...” Busch, *Liber*, 580.

⁴⁸⁰ An entire chapter is dedicated to the silence in the constitutions: “De silencio et labore” (CCW, 199–203); and “De silencio” (CM, 801–3). An additional chapter (“Statuta monialium de silencio earundem”) is dedicated to this topic in the CM, 828–33:

⁴⁸¹ See below.

⁴⁸² The importance of punctuality is often underlined by expressions such as “immediately” (“statim”, CCW, 204:5; and CM, 811:5–6) or “hasten to” (“propero”, CCW, 176:12; and CM 783:11). It is also visible in the ways in which a canon/canonesse must behave if s/he arrives late: if s/he arrives in the refectory after the benediction, s/he must ask the permission to enter and sit down (CCW, 206:30–31; CM, 812:30–31). The same happens if s/he arrives after the first hymn or psalm of any of the liturgical hours (CCW, 178:33–36; CM, 784:30–33).

⁴⁸³ “... nullus de choro nisi prius accepta licencia exeat et expedito propter quod exiit statim redeat.” CCW, 176:14–15; and CM, 783:13–14.

The two other rooms Busch frequently refers to, the refectory and the choir, coincide with the two of the most important spaces of the monastery, as seen above. Interestingly, the refectory and the choir are given more detailed indications than any other locations in the constitutions, too, since they each have a specific chapter dedicated to them. Both contain indications not only on what to do (e.g., when to enter the room, what to read, what to sing) but also on how to perform the required movements. The fact that Busch paid special attention to these two locations confirms their centrality in Windesheim monastic life. This emphasis is linked with the nature of the actions to be performed in those two places. On the one hand, the refectory reading was very important in the late Middle Ages and aimed both at reinforcing the sense of community and at receiving spiritual nourishment.⁴⁸⁴ On the other, the Divine Office constituted the canons' and canonesses' most important duty. It is only to be expected that actions performed in those two locations played a central role in shaping the sacredness of these spaces.

c. Hierarchy in Space

Johannes Busch, following the Windesheim constitutions, strove to restore the practice of taking the meals together: when he (and sometimes his companion(s)) went into the refectory and ate with the canonesses, this was an opportunity to teach them the proper attitude and to control whether they complied with them.⁴⁸⁵ These moments were also an occasion to instruct the canons/canonesses to sing the *Benedicite* and the *Gratias*, with all the movements prescribed in the constitutions: when to sit down, when to stand up, when to bow.⁴⁸⁶ Going inside the monastery enabled Busch to (re-)organise the refectory according to Windesheim standards, with the main table at one end of the room and two other tables on each side of the room. This layout of the tables is customary in monastic refectories; however, according to Busch, it seems that in many monasteries canons or canonesses had become used to eating face to face at one table, instead of eating on one side only of the lateral tables.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ For more details on the refectory reading and its importance in Windesheim houses, see Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 70–76.

⁴⁸⁵ The sentence is usually built with the words “in refectorio cum eis comedimus”. See Appendix 3. According to Busch, canons and canonesses mostly ate separately before the Windesheim reform, hence diminishing the spiritual and communal importance of the refectory.

⁴⁸⁶ For instance, in the female house of Barsinghausen, near Hannover (diocese of Minden): “‘Benedicite’ et ‘Gratias’ cum eis cantavimus”, Busch, *Liber*, 566. This is the same in male monasteries, for example in Sülte (diocese of Hildesheim), (Busch, *Liber*, 412), or in St. Mauritius in Halle (diocese of Magdeburg), (Busch, *Liber*, 463). These two chants indicate, respectively, the beginning and the end of the meals. The constitutions provide all the required movements accompanying these chants in the chapter on the refectory: CCW, 204–7; and CM, 811–12.

⁴⁸⁷ This was the case, for instance, at the male monastery of Sülte: when writing on the breaks with the observances, Busch writes: “Ad unam mensam ante me coacti fuerant comedere ab utroque latere pariter considerentes...” (Busch, *Liber*, 412). The same happened in the female monastery of Maria Magdalena, near Hildesheim: “Nam tres mensas in refectorio posuimus unam in capite et duas a lateribus, quatenus non in una mensa omnes una contra aliam, ut consueverant, sederent, sed singulariter singule ex uno latere mense omnes sibi considerent.” (Busch, *Liber*, 578).

The seat of the other members is determined by the time at which they entered the community and always stays the same.⁴⁸⁸ The Windesheim constitutions make clear that the canons and canonesses must always sit in the same line-up when the disposition of the room implies a face-to-face position: in the choir, the refectory, and the chapter hall. Furthermore, Busch makes several references to this placement of the members of a house within space. When he ate with the canonesses, he sat at the main table, with the prioress at his right side, and he emphasises that the canonesses from the right-hand side of the choir must be placed on the right-hand side of the table (and the same for the left-hand side).⁴⁸⁹ Through the hierarchical seating order and the highly ritualised way of eating, the communal meal becomes almost like a prayer in choir.

In most monastic contexts, the placement of the religious people on the right-hand or on the left-hand side is important. Since the beginning of Christianity, the right-hand side is usually associated with superiority and the positive, while the left-hand side is associated with inferiority and the negative.⁴⁹⁰ Generally speaking, sitting on the left-hand side in a monastery did not mean to be inferior to a member of the right side. Nevertheless, some hierarchy had to be followed, especially in Windesheim. The most telling example is when a novice professes his or her faith – that is, when s/he formally enters the community, because s/he must pronounce the words in front of the right-hand corner of the altar.⁴⁹¹ Another example, and an important part of the behaviour of the daily life, is that the prior/prioress must sit on the right-hand side of the choir and the subprior/subprioress on the left-hand side: left and right are symbols of authority and hierarchy.⁴⁹²

And also at the female monastery of Heiligkreuz in Erfurt (diocese of Mainz): “Mensas in refectorio tres more reformationis, ut singulariter sederent non una contra aliam, tunc disposuimus.” (Busch, *Liber*, 610).

⁴⁸⁸ “Ordinem autem illum ubique in conventu cuncti tenemus, quem suus singulis dedit adventus...” CCW, 174:40–41.

⁴⁸⁹ “Priorissa cum alia sorore ad dexteram meam et alie due sorores ad sinistram meam ad mensam eandem se collocaverunt. Chorus dexter ad dexteram mensam et chorus sinister ad sinistram mensam se posuerunt.” Busch, *Liber*, 579.

⁴⁹⁰ This symbolic association, elaborated by human intention rather than naturally constructed according to Rodney Needham, can be traced back to Antiquity and appears in many cultures. See Rodney Needham, *Right & Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Otto Nussbaum, “Die Bewertung von rechts und links in der römischen Liturgie,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, no. 5 (1962): 158–71; and Tuan, *Space and Place*, esp. 43–44. For an analysis of gendered left and right positioning within medieval Christian imagery, see Corine Schleif, “Men on the Right – Women on the Left: (A)symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places,” in *Women’s Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, eds. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (New York: University of New York Press, 2005), 207–49.

⁴⁹¹ “Post hec, surgens novicius accedat ad dexterum cornu altaris et legat alta voce professionem...” CCW, 174:24–25. The chapter on the reception of the novices in the CM is much shorter because it asks to refer to the *manuale*. The Steterburg *Manuale* shows the exact same sentence (fol. 71v). A similar right-left hierarchy is also followed for the profession by the Victorines: once the novice says the profession, the brothers must welcome him in the Congregation with a kiss, starting with the brothers of the right-hand side of the choir and ending with the brothers of the left-hand side; see *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, 115.

⁴⁹² The CCW and CM both mention that once the subprior/subprioress is elected, s/he sits at the first place in the left choir: “... deinceps in sinistro choro primus erit.” CCW, 114:9–10; and CM, 754:10. Moreover, as Acquoy

d. Bodily Control and Liturgical Space

With regard to the movements during liturgical celebrations, two main types of bodily control can be distinguished: the movements that are necessary to accomplish the liturgy, and the movements (or the absence of them) or postures required to stay focused on the inner devotion and thus avoid inner or outer distractions.

The constitutions focus on general movements to be performed during the services. The chapter on the conventual Mass, for example, gives much information regarding the five main positions to adopt during each part of the Mass: to stand up, to kneel, to sit, to turn toward the altar, and to face the other choir.⁴⁹³ This choreography is exactly what Busch taught when he reformed monasteries. For instance, when reforming the female house of Barsinghausen, near Hannover (diocese of Minden), Busch recalled the following: “In choro, quomodo stare, sedere, inclinare et cantare deberent, ostendimus.” (“In the choir, we showed them how they had to stand, to sit, to bow, and to sing.”)⁴⁹⁴

Small gestures are also codified and detailed, especially in the chapter on the behaviour during canonical Hours. The hands of both the canons and canonesses must always be joined (unless something must be held).⁴⁹⁵ The legs of the canons must not be extended too far forward, nor too wide open, nor crossed.⁴⁹⁶ Both texts explain that generally, all parts of the body must be as still as possible, in order to avoid useless agitation which could create distraction from the celebration of the Office.⁴⁹⁷ This, for example, includes turning pages as few times as possible and entails asking for forgiveness when creating a disturbance (for instance, when dropping something on the floor).⁴⁹⁸ The absence of superfluous movements also includes the movements of the eyes. For example:

Itaque oculos nostros ita tenere et custodire nos convenit, maxime in ecclesia et in Therefore, it is proper for us to keep and restrain our eyes in such a manner, especially in church and

notices, the OW mentions a “chorus prioris” and a “chorus supprioris” (Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fols. 16^v and 55^v; and Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 20^v). Acquoy II, 156 and 223.

⁴⁹³ The numerous prescriptions of specific movements during the conventual Mass can be found in CCW, 187–91; and CM, 789–90.

⁴⁹⁴ Busch, *Liber*, 566. More examples can be found in Appendix 3.

⁴⁹⁵ “Manus nostras ... insimul habere congruit...” CCW, 178:46–47; and “Manus quoque suas simul tenere assuescant...” CM, 784:43.

⁴⁹⁶ “Tibias nimis extendere, divaricare vel cancellare cavendum est.” CCW, 178:49–50. This last specification is, however, only present in the CCW. It might have been considered superfluous to state in the CM, because this was evident in the case of female houses.

⁴⁹⁷ “Sed et cetera membra decet nos ab inquietudine et superfluis occupationibus refrenare, ne vel nos vel alios ab intentione psalmoreum et aliorum que in divino officio recitantur, distrahant vel advertant.” CCW, 178:50–53; and CM, 784:44–47.

⁴⁹⁸ “Insuper et folia vertere vel alia sine necessitate providere cavendum est...” CCW, 178:53–54; and CM 784:48–49.

refectorio, ne nobis distractionis materiam afferant vel murmuris. in the refectory, as to avoid bringing upon us grounds for distraction or mutter.⁴⁹⁹

Keeping and restraining the eyes does not simply mean keeping the eyes low, but it also means following the regulations of the constitutions regarding the orientation of the whole body: when the text indicates a turn toward the altar, the whole body, including the eyes, must do so. The constitutions emphasise uniformity of movement because avoiding heterogeneous movements led to a better celebration of the Office and improved inner devotion.

Establishing such physical discipline was equally important in Busch's reforms. When celebrating the Office together with the canons/canonesses undergoing reform, he frequently mentions negligence in their movements. The most obvious example is found when reforming the monastery of Sülte:

Sed infra "Gloria patri" gloriam hymnorum collectas et alia cantica unus sedebat, alius stabat, tercius ambulabat, unus ad orientem, alius ad occidentem, ad austrum sive aquilonem se vertebat, quia unusquisque, quod voluit, faciebat, nec deum nec homines reverebantur. But during the *Gloria patri*, the Gloria of the hymns, collects, and the other chants, one was sitting, another standing, a third was walking around, one was turned toward the East, another toward the West, the South or the North, because everyone was used to doing what he wanted and no one was in the habit of revering God or men.⁵⁰⁰

This testimony (whether true or not) reveals the concern for the proper posture and confirms that uniform movements served the personal as well as the community's spiritual development towards God. Uniformity of movements is important to avoid *curiositas*, which distracts from inner devotion: if everyone is doing the same thing at the same time, if everyone keeps and retracts the eyes, then no unexpected behaviour will be a source of distraction.

Connecting these bodily prescriptions to the choir, the sanctity of the space is conferred in two ways: on the one hand, the choir, because it is the most sacred space of the whole monastery, is the only appropriate place for the liturgical celebrations (with their precisely detailed and codified movements). On the other hand, the liturgical (including the bodily) actions themselves confer on the choir a great sanctity. The sanctity of the choir is therefore both intrinsic and extrinsic. Moreover, even if the location of the rooms in which the Windesheim canons celebrated the Office (the choir of the main church) was different from that of the canonesses (the nuns' choir), through

⁴⁹⁹ CCW, 178:43–45; and CM, 784:40–43.

⁵⁰⁰ Busch, *Liber*, 411–12.

the discipline of the bodies, space was constructed in a similar way. The absence of significant differences of movements between canons and canonesses points at a similar use of space, at least in the ideal desired by the Congregation. Beyond being “merely” a sacred space, through the codified actions and through the celebrations that took place, the choir, the sacred space *par excellence* of the monastery, became in this way a liturgical space.

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The rigour the Chapter of Windesheim showed in controlling its members through the organisation of the space and the physical control on the body stresses the desire for a stricter life, which is in absolute compliance with the ideas of the Modern Devotion. In order to do so, strict regulations regarding the separation of the various spaces, the enclosure, and the behaviour in the monastery were necessary. They contributed to a strict, austere, and simple monastic life.

In addition, control contributed to monastic devotion. The exterior control of movements implied the control of the inner self. Everything was made so that the canons and canonesses avoided distraction and agitation not only of themselves, but also of their brothers and sisters, as required by the constitutions:

<p><i>Et quamvis insuper secundum regulam tales mores ubique servare debemus, ut nichil fiat in omnibus motibus nostris, quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, hoc tamen in templo Dei, ubi divina celebrantur officia, studiosius observandum est.</i></p>	<p>And although according to the Rule above we must adopt everywhere a behaviour so as nothing in our movements may offend the glance of anyone, this must be respected all the more zealously in the temple of God, where the Divine Office take place.⁵⁰¹</p>
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The passage set in bold in the quotation above is a direct quotation of the Rule of St Augustine:

<p><i>In incessu, in statu, in omnibus motibus vestris nihil fiat quod cuiusquam offendat aspectum, sed quod vestram deceat sanctitatem.</i></p>	<p>In your walk, in your posture, in all of your movements/gestures, let nothing happen that could offend the glance of anyone, but [act in a manner] that is becoming to your holiness.⁵⁰²</p>
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This consideration from Augustine formed the basis of a more general understanding of monastic behaviour in the Middle Ages: movements of the bodies must be controlled and performed

⁵⁰¹ CCW, 178:40–43; and CM, 784:37–40 (emphasis mine).

⁵⁰² Verheijen, ed., *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 423, IV.3.

together, since they mirror the state of the heart. As Jean-Claude Schmitt writes, paraphrasing Augustine:

The common salvation, which is the aim of monastic life, is achieved through the alienation of one's own body, [through] the fusion of one's own gestures in the community's movements. Because each sister – and each monk – moves under the control of a double gaze: [the gaze] of the sisters (or brothers) of the community, that must not be offended; and [the gaze] of God, who sees everything.⁵⁰³

If the canons are quiet outwardly, then it helps them being quiet inwardly. This increases the inner devotion and the possibility to connect with the Divine: controlling spaces, movements, and bodies serves the greater purpose of elevating the mind. Consequently, the properly controlled sacred monastic space forced the canons and canonesses to properly behave. In turn, their proper behaviour stimulated and reinforced the sanctity of their hearts.

⁵⁰³ “... le salut individuel qui est la fin de la vie monastique passe par l'aliénation de son propre corps, la fusion de ses propres gestes dans les mouvements de la communauté. Car chaque sœur – et chaque moine – se meut sous le contrôle d'un double regard : celui des sœurs (ou des frères) de la communauté, qu'il ne faut pas offenser ; et celui de Dieu, qui voit tout.” Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 74.

Chapter 4

Processions: Ritualised Practices of Space

The previous chapter has shown how the Chapter of Windesheim transformed a given place into a liturgical space through control of bodies and movements. In addition, the liturgy was also deeply interconnected with shaping the space. This is best exemplified by processions.⁵⁰⁴

Processions in late medieval and early modern Europe were a very widespread phenomenon. Given the variety of sources and contexts, they have received great attention from scholars.⁵⁰⁵ Because they typically occurred in public space, processions were an important means of public expression.⁵⁰⁶ However, within the restricted monastic space, they served a different purpose, which has not been as well studied as public processions, especially in female monasteries where enclosure provided the most stringent of spatial limitations. The valuable sources related to processions in Windesheim-reformed monasteries and their contradiction with the official regulations of the CM offer a unique opportunity to investigate this phenomenon. In chapter 4, after an overview of liturgical and anthropological theories on processions, I will analyse and compare how liturgical space was shaped by processions in Windesheim male monasteries and in female reformed monasteries.

⁵⁰⁴ See especially Andreas Möhlig, *Kirchenraum und Liturgie: Der spätmittelalterliche Liber ordinarius des Aachener Marienstifts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016).

⁵⁰⁵ The bibliography on medieval processions is extensive. Therefore, here I name only three important studies covering both civic and religious processions: Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971); Andrea Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten: politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1999); and Kathleen Ashley, "Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Procession Performance," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 7–34. For further literature, see the bibliographies provided in these books, together with the updated bibliography in Pascal Collomb, "Écrire la performance processionnelle dans les villes de l'Occident médiéval," in *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la procession*, eds. Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 105–25.

⁵⁰⁶ Ashley, "The Moving Subjects of Procession Performance," 10.

1. Medieval Religious Processions

a. Liturgical Theories on Processions

Éric Palazzo describes in very explicit words the difficulty of defining medieval processions, because of a lack of interest of medieval commentators in describing their practical aspects and functions:

Despite all the specifications given by the medieval liturgists, we do not find in their writings any definition of the liturgical procession. For these authors, the most important thing consists in providing the explanatory material which allows to understand the symbolism – at once biblical and spiritual – of the procession.⁵⁰⁷

Indeed, medieval liturgists were more interested in the allegorical meanings of processions than in a pragmatic and concrete description or definition: processions were too common a phenomenon of medieval life and too diverse at the same time, making it hard (or nonsensical) to establish a precise typology from the perspective of contemporaneous authors.⁵⁰⁸ The main and most widely known texts dealing with processions during the Middle Ages are the anonymous *Liber quare* written between the ninth and the eleventh century,⁵⁰⁹ the *Liber de divinis officiis* of Rupert of Deutz (beginning of the twelfth century),⁵¹⁰ Jean Beleth's *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* written around 1160,⁵¹¹ and the *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* of Guillaume Durand (before 1286).⁵¹²

Although recent studies on processions shed some light on the medieval and allegorical definitions of processions, it is nevertheless useful for what follows to remind ourselves of the main trends of medieval thinking on processions, by comparing the similarities and differences between various authors.⁵¹³ First, processions are described as the “way to the heavenly home”. This comparison was first proposed in the *Liber Quare* (“via ad caelestem patriam”)⁵¹⁴ and again by

⁵⁰⁷ “En dépit de toutes ces précisions offertes par les liturgistes du Moyen Âge, on ne rencontre pas dans leurs récits de définition de la procession liturgique. Aux yeux de ces auteurs, l'essentiel consiste à fournir la matière explicative qui permette de comprendre le symbolisme – à la fois biblique et spirituel – de la procession.” Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Aubier, 2000), 62. For an overview of the historical and spiritual development of processions, especially in Western Europe, see Albert Gerhards, “Prozession,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, eds. Gerhard Müller, Horst Balz, and Gerhard Krause, vol. 27 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997), 591–97; and Bernhard Lang, “Processions,” in *Religion Past and Present*, ed. Hans-Dieter Betz (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 407–8.

⁵⁰⁸ See Collomb, “Écrire la performance processionnelle,” esp. 106.

⁵⁰⁹ Anonym, *Liber Quare*, ed. Georgius P. Götz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983).

⁵¹⁰ Rupert of Deutz, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, ed. Rhabanus Haacke, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 7 (Turnhout: Brepols 1967).

⁵¹¹ Johannes Beleth, *Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, ed. Heriberto Douteil, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 41 and 41A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

⁵¹² Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, eds. Anselme Davril and Timothy M. Thibodeau, Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

⁵¹³ On the above-mentioned treatises, see also Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, 43–49; Collomb, “Écrire la performance processionnelle,” 106–11; and Gisèle Clément, *Le Processionnel en Aquitaine, IXe-XIIIe siècle – Genèse d'un livre et d'un répertoire* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), 72–76.

⁵¹⁴ Anonym, *Liber Quare*, 198.

Durand (“ipsa vero processio est via ad caelestem patriam”).⁵¹⁵ This means that processions performed the road, the passage, which leads to God: people walking in processions were, symbolically speaking, people transiting from their earthly life to the heavenly home. Furthermore, a sort of typology of medieval processions is provided by Durand, when he refers to the processions of Candlemas, Palm Sunday, Easter, and Ascension as the four solemn processions (“sollemnes processiones”).⁵¹⁶ However, he does not develop this aspect further and immediately goes on to allegorical explanations. Nevertheless, the aforementioned liturgists all distinguish between the Palm Sunday procession and weekly Sunday processions, as a kind of very basic typology. For Rupert of Deutz, Sunday processions are a “transmigration”: they symbolise Christ walking through Galilee with his Apostles and incite people walking in the procession to move from a life without the knowledge of God, to a new and more spiritual life in the footsteps of Christ.⁵¹⁷ Moreover, Sunday processions are, for Rupert of Deutz as well as for Durand, a commemoration of the Resurrection. Finally, for Durand and Belet, Sunday processions also echo the preparation and gathering of Christ and his disciples on the Mount of Olives. These examples illustrate how liturgists explain and legitimate processions polysemically, using several Biblical texts. Commentators often associate liturgical processions of their times with processions or travels in the Bible – mainly Christ’s peregrinations – and Durand provides ample allegorical explanations for these rituals.⁵¹⁸ A clearer and more precise typology of processions only appeared from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onward.⁵¹⁹

To conclude this brief theoretical and liturgical review of the background of medieval processions, it is interesting to mention Denis the Carthusian (1402/3–1471). Denis was born in the village of Rijkel in the diocese of Liège and studied at the city school of Zwolle. There, he probably had contact with some Brothers of the Common Life. In 1425, after studying at the University of Cologne, he entered the charterhouse of Roermond (diocese of Liège), where he

⁵¹⁵ Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, IV, 6, 16.

⁵¹⁶ This distinction (implied in Durand’s text but not explicitly stated) between solemn processions and simple processions returns in later manuscripts dealing with processions. Gisèle Clément analyses a telling example found in a fifteenth-century processional-orational of the cathedral of Sainte-Cécile in Albi (Southern France). In this manuscript, the scribe associates solemn processions with processions during feasts of the sanctoral and the temporal, and simple processions with Sunday processions and processions to fountains. The scribe also indicates that specific vestments were required for both processions. Clément, *Le Processionnal en Aquitaine, IXe-XIIIe siècle*, 72–74.

⁵¹⁷ On this aspect, see Collomb, “Écrire la performance processionnelle,” 108.

⁵¹⁸ For instance, during Candlemas, which commemorates the presentation of Jesus at the Temple, the candles burning which are carried during the procession symbolise at once the divine, because God is a fire which burns (like the light of the candles), and the human, like Christ who became flesh in the womb of Mary (like the wax of the candles): Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, VII, 6. Durand discusses similar allegorical explanations for the following processions: Palm Sunday (VI, 67), Easter Sunday (VI, 88), Rogations (VI, 52), and Ascension (VI, 104).

⁵¹⁹ Collomb, “Écrire la performance processionnelle,” 106–7. Collomb lists different sources dealing with this question dating from 1584 to 1779.

spent most of his life. Therefore, he evolved in similar places and at a similar time as Windesheim canons. Denis wrote a treatise, *De modo agendi processiones sanctorumque veneratione*, which can shed light on the perception of processions by a contemporary with closely related ideas on spirituality.⁵²⁰ This treatise was addressed to an unknown city councillor and was written in the form of a dialogue between this councillor and Denis. Neither the name of the councillor, nor the date of the treatise are known.⁵²¹ No direct connection can therefore be established between this treatise and Windesheim. However, given Denis's background, he must have had in mind the same processions as those which Windesheim canons could have witnessed.⁵²²

In his treatise, Denis presents arguments against the processions, especially the Corpus Christi procession, which took place in the cities. He condemns the abuses during processions (laughter, drinking, useless actions), the denial of the veneration, and the immoderate worship of the relics. In contrast, he advocates moderation during processions. Even if he is consistent with his predecessors in tracing back the origins of processions to the Old Testament, he nevertheless considers processions to be human ceremonies. This is the reason why he recommends breaking with these habits whenever they became inappropriate.⁵²³ According to Denis, it is necessary to adopt the proper behaviour during processions, since it “would bring participants closer to the behaviour of God's chosen people”.⁵²⁴ This underlines the interest some theologians had in processions and how they perceived those rituals during their time – in Denis's case, as a corrupted, human, version of the original rite.⁵²⁵

b. Anthropology and Modern Typologies of Processions

While medieval liturgists did not provide a practical definition, processions are nowadays a very well-studied phenomenon and many scholars of many different fields have worked on defining processions from various points of view (e.g., practical, material, social, and ritual) and in various contexts (e.g., processions performed in contemporary or past cultures, in profane or sacred contexts). The work of ethnologists and anthropologists in particular has increased understanding

⁵²⁰ Denis the Carthusian, “De modo agendi processiones sanctorumque veneratione,” in *Doctoris Ecstatici Dionysii Cartusiani Opera Omnia*, vol. 36 (Tournai: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1908), 199–209.

⁵²¹ On this treatise, see Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, 47–49.

⁵²² For a biography of Denis the Carthusian, see Kent Emery Jr., “Denys the Carthusian: The World of Thought Comes to Roermond,” in *The Carthusians in the Low Countries: Studies in Monastic History and Heritage*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 255–304.

⁵²³ Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, 49.

⁵²⁴ As quoted by Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 90.

⁵²⁵ Denis' treatise is based on processions in the cities and the political reasons which led him to write it (commission from a city councillor) makes it difficult to extend it to a monastic context, or to reflect Denis' own opinion. As Löther remarks, this treatise especially shows the growing influence of the laity on the processions in the cities. Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten*, 49.

of the phenomenon from a contemporary perspective and gave it more depth through comparisons with its medieval development. One of the most pioneering works is Victor Turner's book *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, first published in 1969.⁵²⁶ Turner based his analysis of ritual on the idea of the liminal passage originally proposed by Arnold van Gennep.⁵²⁷ For Van Gennep, an important step of rituals (and especially rites of passage) is liminality: the individual is separated (first step) from his group and stands in an intermediary (second) step, a crucial position in which the individual does not belong to his former group any more, but does not belong to his new group yet either (which happens in the last step, the rite of incorporation or post-liminal rite). This concept of liminality is also present in processions, since people moving from one place to another are always confronted with thresholds at the entrance into a new space (or into a new place being about to be invested as a space). At first sight, this notion might not seem as relevant to monastic contexts as to civic processions, because the whole space of the monastery is sacred and therefore prevents a liminality in terms of very differently valued spaces. However, as I showed in chapter 3, there were gradations of sanctity within the monastic space: monastic processions also dealt with thresholds. In addition, this modern conceptualisation echoes medieval commentators' ideas of processions as a passage between the earthly life and the heavenly home.

Furthermore, Turner especially highlights the contradictory nature of liminal passages as a constant tension between the structure of the passage itself and the community. This can be applied to processions, since, on the one hand, they stage the hierarchical structure of the community and the participants must comply with the roles assigned to them. On the other hand, processions represent the community itself, because they enable the participants to be part of a single social body and to live a shared (extraordinary) experience of time and space.⁵²⁸

Besides, in her introduction to processional performances, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, lists certain characteristics often associated with the phenomenon that can be summarised as follows. First of all, the procession is a movement from one place to another organised in ways that have ceremonial and symbolic importance. Specific elements (costumes, music, objects) are used to distinguish this movement from everyday movements through space. Moreover, the procession is organised to underline an event of importance to the community. It combines motions forward with stops at certain locations for related events. The way the procession is

⁵²⁶ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1969; New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁵²⁷ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1909; New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁵²⁸ On this aspect, see Mårten Snickare, "De la procession à l'œuvre d'art total : Les transformations de la cérémonie funéraire royale dans la Suède du XVIIe siècle," in *Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle : Volume I : Le grand théâtre de la mort*, eds. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Mark Hengerer, and Gérard Sabatier (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2015), esp. 336–37.

structured (whether formally or informally) does not affect its definition: the route which the participants follow and the order in which they move may or may not be strictly directed.⁵²⁹ Processions have a cultural role in the sense that they are related to the customs of a given society, both in the event that the procession dramatises and in the proceedings involved in the procession itself. Whether the procession's meaning is political, social or religious (to the extent that these three elements can be separated from each other), it is always related to the participants (active participants as well as passive ones who observe the procession).⁵³⁰ Finally, the procession is not just a simple gathering: the ritual is organised in a way that gives meaning to important aspects of the community.

Medieval liturgical processions appear to have been no exception to these characteristics. Combined with the allegorical interpretation of medieval liturgists, scholars have tried to establish typologies of liturgical processions, in order to better understand the phenomenon. Before turning to three examples of modern typologies, it should be recalled that liturgical processions, as Aimé-Georges Martimort points out, are supplications: they are addressed to God, not to men, and therefore, they remind us of God's good deeds or implore Him for His help.⁵³¹

Martimort proposes a typology of processions: according to him, there are "ordinary" processions which aim at experiencing events of the life of Christ (e.g., the Candlemas or Palm Sunday processions); there are "functional" processions which aim at solemnising a movement which is required any way (e.g., at a burial); and there are pilgrimages and *lustratio* processions which aim at exorcising a place or at attracting God's blessing on that place. Finally, Martimort describes the Corpus Christi procession as a procession in its own right.⁵³² Michel Huglo distinguishes between liturgical processions (e.g., Candlemas or Palm Sunday processions), ritual processions (e.g., at a burial), and processions on Sundays and feast days that take place between Terce and Mass.⁵³³ Finally, Roger Reynolds classifies processions into two categories: cyclical or temporal processions – that is, processions that take place yearly (according to the calendrical cycle of the Christian liturgical year) and occasional processions – that is, processions that do not take place on

⁵²⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Brooks McNamara, "Processional Performance: An Introduction," *The Drama Review* 29, no. 3 (1985): 2–3.

⁵³⁰ According to evidence from the middle of the fourteenth century in Paris, three persons are sufficient to consider a movement forward from place to place as a procession. See Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les processions d'un collège universitaire parisien (vers 1346–1349)," in *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la procession*, eds. Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 130.

⁵³¹ Aimé-Georges Martimort, "Les diverses formes de procession dans la liturgie," *La Maison-Dieu*, no. 43 (1955): 44.

⁵³² Martimort, "Les diverses formes de procession dans la liturgie".

⁵³³ Michel Huglo, "Liturgische Gesangbücher," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd ed., Sachteil vol. 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter), col. 1421–36.

a regular basis. He also coins the expression “intramural ecclesiastical processions” for processions that take place inside a church or monastery and that can be either cyclical or occasional, as opposed to extramural procession, where the participants would move outside the monastery, for instance from church to church.⁵³⁴

These modern typologies reveal the ongoing difficulty, previously mentioned, of arranging processions in neat categories: the fundamentally changing nature of processions makes it hard to find typologies that fit every possible liturgical context.⁵³⁵

c. Working Definition

In spite of these challenges, it is necessary to have a working definition to refer to in the present study. In this regard, the one proposed by Schmitt in the conclusion of the collective essays composing the volume *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la procession*, seems particularly appropriate. Its interest lies not only in the fact that it sums up the characteristic elements mentioned above, but also because it combines them with tensions inherent to medieval processions:

A *procession* is a collective, orderly, public movement, which covers a space, lasts a certain time, mobilises specific objects, [and] aims at a symbolic action directed at the visible and invisible world.⁵³⁶

Schmitt then sums up the questions some of these terms raise, several of which are also relevant here. First, he recalls that processions are characterised by movement but also by its absence (e.g., stations at an altar). In the same way, the collective aspect of the procession is balanced by the persons who cannot be part of the procession. Another aspect Schmitt interrogates is time – the time the procession takes to be accomplished, which can be influenced by various factors.⁵³⁷ Finally, Schmitt underlines the possibility to speak of “space(s)” instead of – or together with – “place(s)” when characterising processions. From there, and coming back to Certeau, it is possible to define processions as “practices of space”.⁵³⁸

Therefore, how could processions as practices of space be concretely performed? And how did these characteristic features of procession define and shape the sacred, monastic space, in this case of Windesheim monasteries?

⁵³⁴ Roger E. Reynolds, “The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions,” *Revue de Musicologie* 86, no. 1 (2000): 134.

⁵³⁵ On typologies, see also the bibliography given in Collomb, “Écrire la performance processionnelle,” fn. 1.

⁵³⁶ “Une *procession* est un mouvement collectif, ordonné, public, qui parcourt un espace, dure un certain temps, mobilise des objets spécifiques, vise une action symbolique sur le monde visible et invisible.” Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Conclusion,” in *Medialität der Prozession/Médialité de la procession*, eds. Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2011), 359.

⁵³⁷ Schmitt, “Conclusion,” 359–60.

⁵³⁸ This expression is used throughout Certeau’s book. Certeau, *L’Invention du quotidien, I. Arts de faire*, 169.

2. Modelling Liturgical Space with Processions

Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrated that the main regulations (CCW and CM) are extremely similar regarding officially incorporated male and female Windesheim houses, which suggests that liturgical ceremonies were also very similar. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that spatial organisation and definition of spaces are the same in both regulations, despite architectural differences, especially related to the choir. However, the prohibition of processional movements in the CM suggests difference in the spatial construction of liturgical space through processions. The fact that processional movements continued to be performed in female monasteries even after the implementation (and apparent confirmation) of the Windesheim reform raises further questions about practices of space as shaped by processions in male and female houses, be they officially incorporated in the Congregation or only reformed.

This section investigates these questions by comparing processions in four different contexts: two officially incorporated Windesheim male houses and two female houses reformed by Windesheim, but not officially incorporated into the Congregation. I will focus on three main features of processions which play an important role in characterising space: the spaces processions cover, the participants of the processions, and the processional chants involved. I base my analysis on the sources listed in Table 2.1. For the sake of clarity, the Table is given here again:

Table 2.1: List of sources used in part II

abbreviation	type of sources	provenance	date
Agnietenberg Ordinarius	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	Windesheim male house of Agnietenberg	1456
Heiningen Ordinarius	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	reformed female house of Heiningen	c. 1460
OW 1521	<i>liber ordinarius</i>	printed edition of the OW	1521
Heiningen Processionale	<i>processionale</i>	reformed female house of Heiningen	after 1451
[Utrecht] Manuale	<i>manuale</i>	a Windesheim male house	after 1431
Steterburg Manuale	<i>manuale</i>	reformed female house of Steterburg	after 1451

a. Topographical Information

The two *libri ordinarii* in Table 2.1 (the Agnietenberg Ordinarius and the Heiningen Ordinarius) contain a chapter on processions which gives general indications for processions: they feature

almost exactly the same wordings, but some differences appear.⁵³⁹ For instance, each time the Agnietenberg Ordinarius refers to the sanctuary (i.e., the sacred space around the altar), the Heiningen Ordinarius refers to the altar. This is due to the fact that in the nuns' choir, no sanctuary was built around the altar, contrary to the main church where a sanctuary was clearly marked out (the altar is usually located on a slightly higher level than the rest of the church, and the Agnietenberg Ordinarius shows that this was also the case in Windesheim monastery churches, since it often refers to the "steps of the sanctuary" ("gradus sanctuarii")). Because it does not use the term "sanctuarium" and always replaces it by "the altar", the Heiningen Ordinarius takes into account some aspects of the specific architecture of female houses in its rewriting of the OW.

Another difference lies in the use of the words "ecclesia" and "chorus". The chapter "De processione" indicates that stations are made only for processions on Candlemas and Palm Sunday. Both the Agnietenberg Ordinarius and the Heiningen Ordinarius indicate that a station is made in front of the entrance of the church ("ante introitum ecclesie"). When the procession crosses the doorstep, the flag-bearer leads the procession inside the *church* in the Agnietenberg Ordinarius ("vexillifer intrans ecclesiam") or inside the *choir* in the Heiningen Ordinarius ("vexillifera intrans chorum"). In the two *ordinarii*, the procession then proceeds to the front of the sanctuary's steps or the altar and everyone goes to their seat in the choir. The word "ecclesia" as used here is rather ambiguous. Even though the exact location of the nuns' choir in Heiningen is not known, when the canonesses marked a station in front of the entrance of the church, this was most likely the entrance of the nuns' choir, not of the main church (to which enclosed canonesses did not have access).⁵⁴⁰ Using "ecclesia", instead of "chorus", points at a very general use of "ecclesia": it must be understood not only as the physical church building, but also as the sanctuary, the space which comprises the choir (and therefore, the altar), whether it is only the nuns' choir, or the whole church (the nave and the choir). The comparison of the Agnietenberg Ordinarius and of the Heiningen Ordinarius with other sources sheds further light on the meaning of "ecclesia" and "chorus" (see Table 2.2).

⁵³⁹ Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fols. 39^r–39^v; and Heiningen Ordinarius, fols. 34^r–34^v. See Appendix 4 for a modern edition of this chapter based on the Heiningen Ordinarius. See also the Appendix 5 for a comparison of the two sources. Gender-based differences (such as the use of "frater/soror", or differences in the clothes (the Agnietenberg Ordinarius mentions the cope ("cappa"), that only a priest could wear) are not discussed here.

⁵⁴⁰ On the difficulties to reconstruct the architecture of Heiningen, see Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 50–51.

Table 2.2: Comparison of the locations of Easter Sunday procession

Note: Emphases are mine. The [Utrecht] Manuale, being too vague in the location information, has not been taken into account here to differentiate between *eclesiaz* and *chorus*. The choice to explain these terms with the Easter procession is because of the importance of Easter in the liturgical calendar, and because Easter Sunday procession is the model for other processions of the year. For instance, during the procession for the Dedication of the Church, the Steterburg Manuale reads “sicut in paschali processione moris” (fol. 48r). The Heiningen Ordinarius makes similar references to the Easter Sunday procession in its description of the Corpus Christi and the Dedication processions (resp. fol. 28r and fol. 29v).

line	chant	Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fols. 24 ^{ab} –25 ^m	Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 24r	Steterburg Manuale, fols. 32r–37r	OW 1521, fol. 20r
1	<i>Cum rex glorie</i>	exit procession	exit processio	not mentioned	exit processio
2		antequam ecclesiam ingredimur stationem facimus	antequam ecclesiam ingredimur stationem facimus	antequam chorum ingredimur stationem facimus	ecclesiam ingressi stationem facimus
3		not mentioned	not mentioned	vexillifera stet ante ianuam chori	not mentioned
4	<i>Sedit angelus</i>	vexillo precedente processio ecclesiam ingreditur	vexillo precedente processio ecclesiam ingreditur	vexillo precedente processio chorum ingreditur	vexillo precedente processio chorum ingreditur
5		vexillifer vero super medium gradus sanctuarij se statuat	<i>not mentioned</i>	<i>not mentioned</i>	vexillifer vero super medium gradus sanctuarij se statuat
6		reliqui chorum ingressi	relique chorum ingresse	relique chorum ingresse	reliqui chorum ingressi
7		sacerdos autem et subdyaconus ad dextrum chorum et dyaconus ad sinistrum chorum post alios stant	<i>not mentioned, though it is likely that the canonses also sat on each side of the choir</i>		sacerdos autem et subdyaconus ad dextrum chorum et dyaconus ad sinistrum chorum post alios stant
8	<i>Crucifixum</i>	ante gradum (duo deputati)	ante altare (duo deputate)	ante gradum (duo presbiteri)	ante gradum (duo deputati)
9	<i>Nalite – Alleluia</i>	ad gradum inclinans	ad altare inclinans	ad altare inclinans	ad gradum inclinans
10		ad sedes suas revertitur	ad sedes suas revertuntur	ad sedes suas revertuntur	ad sedes suas revertitur
11	<i>In resurrectione tua</i>	ante gradum (<i>the prior is reciting it</i>)	ante altare (<i>the prioress is reciting it</i>)	not mentioned (<i>the rector is reciting it</i>)	ante gradum (<i>the prior is reciting it</i>)

During the Easter procession, at the beginning of the antiphon *Sedit angelus*, the flag-bearer in Agnietenberg and in Heiningen enters the “church”: *vexillo ... ecclesiam ingreditur* (Table 2.2, line 4). When these two *libri ordinarii* prescribe the rest of the community to enter after the flag-bearer, they do not refer again the “church”, but to the “choir”: *et relique chorum ingresse* (Table 2.2, line 6). The same proceedings for the Easter Sunday procession is described in the Steterburg Manuale, but, here, the word “chorus” is indicated each time: *vexillo ... chorum ingreditur ... et relique chorum ingresse*. As mentioned above, the Heiningen Ordinarius is a rewriting of the male OW for liturgical use in a female monastery. Could the reference to the “church” in the Heiningen Ordinarius be a mistake of the scribe, who would have copied the instructions from a male OW without changing “ecclesiam” for “chorum”? The comparison with the printed version of the OW gives the answer: it uses the same wording as the Steterburg Manuale – that is, it indicates that when *Sedit angelus* is sung, the flag-bearer enters the “choir”, and then, everyone also enters “the choir”. Therefore, it seems that “ecclesia” and “chorus” can be used interchangeably to designate the space where the choir is, and more specifically, where the altar is located. In what follows, “ecclesia” used in sources from female houses is translated as the nuns’ choir, while “ecclesia” in male sources is translated as the main church.

More generally, the chapter “De processione” of the *libri ordinarii* and Table 2.2 highlight that locations are given without many details. They also show the absence of indications regarding the exact route of the procession: only the starting and ending points, as well as the stops at stations are indicated, but the exact space crossed is never mentioned. As Lutz already demonstrated, the *libri ordinarii* only provide the general framework for the liturgy. The same goes for the *manualia* and their descriptions of space. Spatial information had to be general, since these standardised texts were used in different local material realities. These sources do not contain traces of local adjustments regarding processions – these were probably only oral.

Topographical information is, thus, general and ambiguous. It does not enable us to reconstruct the local situations in every detail, precisely because the sources were designed to be adaptable to any local arrangement of buildings. Therefore, these sources are not specific enough to grasp how processions actually modelled space, only that the choir was, not surprisingly, the main location around which procession were organised. However, the actors of processions are more revealing for the present purposes: they are the focus of the next section.

b. Actors of the Spatial Organisation

Actors of the rituals are at the centre of the practices of space, especially in processions. In the liturgical sources connected to Windesheim studied here, processional descriptions refer to “fratres” and “sorores”. The chapter “De processione” of the OW also informs us that the flag-bearer in the monastery of Sint-Agnietenberg was chosen among the converses or the clerics (“unum ex conversis vel clericis”), and in Heiningen, she was chosen among the converses or the junior ones among the canonesses (“unam de conversis vel iunioribus”).⁵⁴¹ This reveals that only people who took their vows, or were about to take them, participated in processions (canons, canonesses, novices, converses) – that is, the *conventus*.⁵⁴²

To investigate how the *conventus* shaped space during procession, a comparison of the sources is helpful. However, the comparison is not always easy, since the actors of the liturgy are not always described, especially in the Steterburg Manuale: because of its nature, it is less detailed than the Heiningen Ordinarius. This explains why Lutz, who underlines the differences in the distribution of roles between the liturgies of Steterburg and Heiningen, focuses on the Palm Sunday procession, especially from the chant *Ante sex dies* onward.⁵⁴³ Indeed, there, both sources contain sufficient information to enable a comparison. For instance, while the prioress begins all the chants and prayers in Heiningen, these tasks are reserved for the rector in Steterburg: at the end of the Palm Sunday procession, the Heiningen prioress begins the responsory *Ingrediēte domino*, while in Steterburg, the rector has this task.⁵⁴⁴ Similarly, the prioress reads the final prayer in Heiningen, whereas the rector reads it in Steterburg.⁵⁴⁵ Such differences are most likely due to the relative liberty each house had in organising its liturgical celebrations and in distributing the various roles.⁵⁴⁶

By extending the comparison to sources from male monasteries, some further discrepancies appear. The chant *Ave rex noster* for the Palm Sunday procession is particularly interesting (Table 2.3).

⁵⁴¹ Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 39^{ab}; and Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 34^r.

⁵⁴² See also the introduction to part I.

⁵⁴³ Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 65–68.

⁵⁴⁴ “... **priorissa** levata cruce incipit responsorium *Ingrediēte domino*” Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v; and “**Rector** incipit responsorium *Ingrediēte domino*” Steterburg Manuale, fol. 6^v (emphasis mine).

⁵⁴⁵ “Dictaque [**priorissa**] versiculo cum collecta...” Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v; and “Finito responsorio **rector** legit versiculum *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini* cum collectam...” Steterburg Manuale, fol. 7^r (emphasis mine). The same distribution of tasks between the prioress in Heiningen and the rector in Steterburg occurs, for example, at the procession for the dedication of the church (Heiningen Ordinarius, fols. 29^v–30^r; and Steterburg Manuale, fols. 47^v–50^r).

⁵⁴⁶ See also Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 65–68.

Table 2.3: Comparison of the singer beginning the antiphon *Ave rex noster* during the Palm Sunday procession⁵⁴⁷

Agnietenberg Ordinarius	Heiningen Ordinarius	Steterburg Manuale	[Utrecht] Manuale	OW 1521
<p>Prior vero in medio ante crucem procedens et genua flectens ter incipit antiphonam <i>Ave rex noster</i> vocem qualibet vice magis elevando quam conventus tercia vice inchoatam in genibus prosequitur. (fols. 17^{rb}–17^{va})</p>	<p>Priorissa vero in medio procedens ante crucem et genua flectens ter incipit anthifonam <i>Ave rex noster</i> vocem qualibet vice magis elevando quam conventus tercia vice inchoatam in genibus prosequitur. (fols. 16^r–16^v)</p>	<p>Rector vero ter incipit anthifonam <i>Ave rex noster</i> voce qualibet vice magis elevando quam conventus tercia vice inchoata in genibus prosequitur. (fol. 3^v)</p>	<p>Sacerdos vero veniens ante crucem genu flexo ter incipiat antiphonam sequentem qualibet vice magis elevando vocem. et tercia vice conventus prosequatur. (fol. 17^v)</p>	<p>Prior vero in medio ante crucem procedens et genua flectens ter incipit antiphonam <i>Ave rex noster</i> vocem qualibet vice magis elevando quam conventus tercia vice inchoatam in genibus prosequitur. (fols. 13^r–13^v)</p>

The actions are strictly the same: the incipit is sung three times, each time a little louder, by a single singer on his/her knees in the middle of the church and turned towards the cross.⁵⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that the prior was not specifically appointed for this task in the [Utrecht] Manuale. The manuscript nevertheless specifies a canon of higher rank, being an ordained priest (“sacerdos”). Steterburg once again stands out compared to the other sources by its emphasis on the rector.

The reason for this difference is unclear, but Steterburg seems to have followed an exceptional path. Indeed, the CM prescribe that for *duplex manus* feasts or above, the prioress leads the whole Office (except for Vespers, led by a priest).⁵⁴⁹ This would mean that Steterburg did not follow this stipulation, which reflects local adjustments and negotiations between the actors of the liturgy in spite of the official regulations (and in spite of otherwise rather uniform texts). On the contrary, Heiningen was in compliance with the statutes and its liturgical celebrations equated Windesheim liturgical celebrations: people of the same rank performed the same actions.

Adjustments of the liturgy in Steterburg are also visible in Table 2.2, line 8: all the sources indicate that the Easter versus *Crucifixum* has to be sung by “two persons designated for this task”

⁵⁴⁷ Emphasis mine.

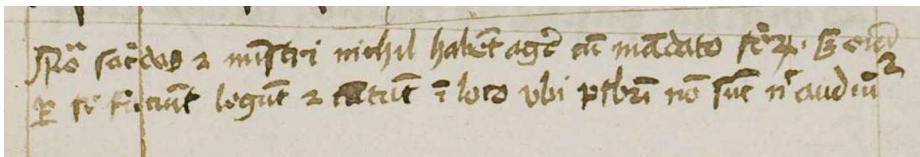
⁵⁴⁸ The Steterburg Manuale does not clarify the position of the rector, most likely because this manuscript was copied for canonesses: such information was unnecessary. The comparison with the other sources however suggests that he almost certainly took up the same posture.

⁵⁴⁹ “In maioribus duplicibus festis et supra totum officium facit [priorissa], exceptis vesperis quas sacerdos custodit.” CM, 750:26–27. See also Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 49.

(“duo deputati”). Only in Steterburg, it is specified that this versus has to be sung by two priests (“duo presbyteri”). In Steterburg, processional liturgy was then primarily led by canons, while canonesses were in charge of it in Heiningen. More importantly, this difference reveals that men and women interacted with each other in Steterburg. Indeed, when the rector began the Easter versus *Crucifixum*, the sisters were singing the versus in response. It means that the rector and the canonesses had to coordinate themselves. Similar situations happened during the Palm Sunday procession: the rector began two chants (*Ave rex noster* and *Ingrediēte domino*) and the canonesses continued with the verses. On the contrary, in Heiningen, the prioress began the chants.⁵⁵⁰ Interactions between men and women therefore occurred more frequently in Steterburg than in Heiningen.

Later scribal additions in the Heiningen Ordinarius prove that interactions between men and women could be an issue. For instance, as Lutz shows, the ceremony of the *mandatum* was greatly reworked in the Heiningen Ordinarius by a later hand. These corrections aimed at a stricter separation between men and women, as an addition in the margin demonstrates (Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8: Addition in the margin of the Heiningen Ordinarius (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 649 Helmst, fol. 20r [excerpt]; used under [CC BY-SA 3.0 DE](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/))



*Nota: sacerdos et ministri nichil habent agere cum mandato sororum, sed omnia per se faciunt legunt et cantant in loco ubi presbyteri non sunt nec audiuntur.*⁵⁵¹

Note: the priest and the ministers do not perform the *mandatum* of the sisters with them at all, but they all do it between themselves, [the canonesses] read and sing in a location where the priests are not [present] and cannot be heard.

This addition clarifies that not only seeing, but also hearing was problematic: interactions between men and women had to be reduced, or, in this case, indeed eliminated. Even if emendations in the Heiningen Ordinarius were only made for this ritual of the *mandatum*, it is likely that similar restrictions for other ceremonies had to be observed or introduced as well.

⁵⁵⁰ For Steterburg: “**Rector** vero ter incipit Anthifonam *Ave rex noster*” and “**Rector** incipit Responsorium *Ingrediēte domino*” (Steterburg Manuale, resp. fol. 3^v and fol. 6^v). For Heiningen: “**Priorissa** vero ... ter incipit anthifonam *Ave rex noster*” and “**Priorissa** ... incipit Responsorium *Ingrediēte domino*” (Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v) (emphasis mine).

⁵⁵¹ For the transcription of this passage, see also Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 201.

More generally, celebrations in Heiningen tend to go towards a strict separation between men and women from the outset. This might explain why the prioress was leading the procession in Heiningen, in contrast to Steterburg where this role was given to the rector. Heiningen seems to respect the observance of the strict enclosure imposed by the Chapter of Windesheim and by the reformer Johannes Busch. The seemingly exceptional character of Steterburg is difficult to explain and only hypotheses can be drawn. It may be due to the close relationship between Steterburg canonesses and their rector. It may also be related to differences in architecture: the enclosure indeed had to be built in such a way that it would prevent contact even with the rector, but the unusual situation where Steterburg women had important interactions with their rector during processions might point at an architecture which did not allow such strict separation.

c. Processional Chants, Movements, and Spaces

Finally, processional movements are closely interwoven with processional chants, since they both contribute to the representation of the events they depict. The *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Durand sheds light on the medieval understanding of this intertwining. For example, when the Palm Sunday procession leaves the church, it symbolises the children who left Jerusalem to meet Christ coming from Bethany, which is echoed by the text of the chant *Pueri Hebraeorum*.⁵⁵² Durand gives some explanations of the chant modes used: the responsory *Ingrescente domino* of the Palm Sunday procession uses the first mode because the text deals with the announcement of the resurrection of Christ made by the children, and children represent the first stage of life (“quod est primi toni, propter primam etatem”). It is also in the first mode because it must be sung in honour of God only (“quia soli Deo cantandum est”).⁵⁵³ This example illustrates that both movements and chants (by their textual and modal characteristics) participated in enacting the biblical events processions commemorate.⁵⁵⁴

However, this symbolic explanation is not very precise regarding the actual interaction of spaces, movements, and chants, especially in a monastic context. And yet, liturgical processions by their very nature “combine the symbolic dimension of the medieval church ritual and the more material dimension of the liturgy”.⁵⁵⁵ For instance, even though both the spaces and the chants are related to the celebration of a given procession and contribute to the symbolic enactment of the events they commemorate, it is not always clear whether the spaces determine the chants or the reverse.

⁵⁵² Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 67, 2.

⁵⁵³ Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 67, 7.

⁵⁵⁴ For more on these links, see Durand, *Rationale*, VII, 6. Durand discussed similar allegorical explanations for the following processions: Palm Sunday (VI, 67), Easter Sunday (VI, 88), Rogations (VI, 52), and the Ascension (VI, 104).

⁵⁵⁵ Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge*, 58.

Movements seem to be inherent to processions and thus seem to be more important than the chants in accomplishing the liturgy. Chants, then, become a means to reinforce or complete the general meaning of the procession. Following this perspective, the movements would first shape and give meaning to the place and transform it into a space, prior to the chants. The sources which are at the centre of this chapter attest to this hypothesis. A specific requirement for Rogations and Corpus Christi processions especially emphasises the assumption of processional movements being prior to processional chants, while also nuancing it (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Chants to be performed “if necessary”

	Agnietenberg Ordinarius / Heiningen Ordinarius	Heiningen Processionale	Steterburg Manuale	[Utrecht] Manuale
Rogations	... cantantes ... antiphonam <i>Regina celi</i> si necesse fuerit (fol. 26 ^{va} / fol. 26 ^r)	Si opus fuerit cantetur antiphona <i>Regina celi</i> (fol. 23 ^r)	Ista sequens antiphona [<i>Regina celi</i>] finitur ante introitum ecclesie (fol. 39 ^v)	Deinde si necesse fuerit cantetur antiphona <i>Regina celi</i> (fol. 52 ^v)
Corpus Christi	In hac processione non facimus stationem, nisi ante introitum ecclesie ut/ donec finiatur quod in processione cantatur (fol. 29 ^v / fol. 28 ^v)	Si opus fuerit cantatur sequens antiphona [<i>O quam suavis est</i>] (fol. 24 ^r)	Responsorio [<i>Homo quidam fecit</i>] ab inicio resumpto si necesse fuerit (fol. 44 ^r)	Deinde si necesse est cantetur antiphona <i>O quam suavis</i> (fol. 53 ^r)

Table 2.4 first of all indicates that the antiphon *Regina celi* is not necessary for the accomplishment of the Rogations liturgy according to the Heiningen sources as well as to the male Windesheim *manuale* and *liber ordinarius*. The same happens during the Corpus Christi processions with the antiphons *O quam suavis* and *Homo quidam fecit*: in those cases, people do not linger in the same location to sing a chant. The sentence of the Steterburg Manuale for the Corpus Christi procession is even more striking, as it does not provide a new chant but still anticipates the potential need for extra time by giving the possibility to repeat the last responsory. It also matches the prescription regarding processions in general:

Stationes vero in processionibus non habemus festo purificationis et dominica palmarum exceptis nisi ante introitum ecclesie. Quo cum ventum fuerit stet vexillifer in medio ambitus reliqui autem fratres collocant se chorus contra chorum in eadem parte ambitus eadem que supersunt decantantes.

We do not have stations in the processions, except for the feasts of Candlemas and Palm Sunday, in front of the entrance of the church. When everyone has arrived there, the flag-bearer stands in the middle of the *ambitus*, while the other brothers gather choir against choir in the same part of the *ambitus*, where they sing the remaining [chants].⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ Chapter “De processione”, Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 39^{va}; and Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 34^v. See also Appendices 4 and 5.

Three main reasons can justify the possible need of an optional chant before entering the church: first, differences in processing speed; secondly, a bigger monastery, which would involve a bigger space to cross; and finally, a bigger community, which would require more time for the last participants of the procession to arrive in front of the church.⁵⁵⁷ The sentence “si necesse fuerit” is very general and allows for the same text to be copied for different monasteries while affording the possibility for people to arrange the liturgy depending on the practical situation they face year to year. The fact that the Steterburg Manuale does not indicate the Rogations antiphon *Regina celi* as an optional chant during the processions emphasises the local negotiations that might have taken place, especially in comparison to the other sources in which this antiphon can be sung “if necessary”.

Therefore, while the main chants had to be performed as they are an integral part of the ritual, there was some flexibility in the detail of any given iteration of the relevant processions. From there, it seems possible to deduce that movements and the placement of bodies within the space determined the specifics of performing the chants.

The positions of the body prescribed in the constitutions and in the liturgical books do not only have a liturgical meaning, but they also have an impact on how sound filled the space. During the stations of the processions, the sisters and brothers were singing or reading in different positions of their bodies, namely choir against choir or turned toward the altar. During the processions themselves, the voices resonated differently according to the path which the processions took. These acoustic features varied depending on the architectural and decorative elements (such as the choir screen or tapestries, for which there is unfortunately no information in the monasteries studied). The number of singers also varied (choir against choir, two singers singing alone or in a responsorial form with the rest of the *conventus*). All these elements filled the space with different sounds which evolved during the processions.

An illuminating example emerges from the comparison of the chant *Gloria laus* during the Palm Sunday procession. The Heiningen Ordinarius and the [Utrecht] Manuale stipulate that two sisters or brothers enter the church, close the doors and sing the hymn *Gloria laus*.⁵⁵⁸ In Steterburg,

⁵⁵⁷ Lutz also underlines the general character of the OW. He especially mentions the ceremony of the *mandatum* copied in the Agnietenberg Ordinarius, which envisions the possibility to have a big or small community (“et si necesse fuerit sicuti in minoribus congregacionibus”, Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 20^v). He also quotes the Heiningen Ordinarius, whose compilers considered the possibility that the liturgical book could be used either in the church of the monastery or in a parish church (“Sed et si fuerit ecclesia parrochialis...”, Heiningen Ordinarius, fols. 22^v and 23^v). See Lutz, *Arbeiten an der Identität*, 67–68.

⁵⁵⁸ “Deinde duo ad hoc ordinati intrantes ecclesiam ianua clausa versi ad conventum cantant ymnum sequentem. *Gloria laus*.” ([Utrecht] Manuale; fol. 18^v); and “due ad hoc designate intrantes ecclesiam claudunt ianuam et verse ad crucem cantant hymnum *Gloria laus*.” (Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v). The priest or the prioress goes back into the church only during the responsory *Ingrediēte domino*: “sacerdos ... incipiat Responsorium sequens *Ingrediēte*

however, everyone was already in the choir when they begin the chant, since they already went back to their seats in the choir while singing the antiphon *Cum audisset populus* (prior to the singing of the *Gloria laus*).⁵⁵⁹ This created different aural environments, not to mention the different interactions between the two groups of singers.

Another interesting example illustrating the way in which chants filled the space differently occurs when singing *Gloria laus*: in Heiningen and Steterburg, the two singers had to face the cross (“verse ad crucem”), and they were, thus, turning their backs to the rest of the *conventus*.⁵⁶⁰ Conversely, the brothers using the [Utrecht] Manuale had to sing facing the rest of the community (“versi ad conventum”), who remained at the entrance of the church: they were turning their backs to the cross.⁵⁶¹ Therefore, in the first case, the sound is directed towards the interior of the church, while in the other case, the sound is directed towards the exterior of the church.

These different spatial organisations, while not changing the completion of the liturgy as such (since both the movements and the chants were performed), nevertheless demonstrate how sound could fill the liturgical space in very different ways: the positioning of the singers in the space, their orientation and the numbers of liturgical participants required to sing or read changed the acoustics of the choir spaces and filled it with various degrees of volume and intensity.

In summary, chant crosses and fills space, but it does not fully determine it. It therefore appears that processional chants have an ambivalent function in monasteries following the Windesheim constitutions: on the one hand, the way chants are incorporated into processions seems to indicate that space is the primary determinant for the chants that need to be sung. On the other, as stated at the very outset of this dissertation, the Windesheim prohibition for females applies only to processions and not to processional chants, which suggests that chants are more important for the accomplishment of the liturgy.

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domino et precedente processione intrat ecclesiam.” ([Utrecht] Manuale, fol. 19^v); and “priorissa ... incipit Responsorium *Ingrediente domino* et precedens eam conventus intrat ecclesiam.” (Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v). — This is another example of how generic the terminology was in such books in order to be used in different contexts: in the case of Heiningen, “ecclesia” probably was the nuns’ choir and the doors must have been the doors leading to the nuns’ choir from the cloister or the *dormitorium*.

⁵⁵⁹ “Cum ista sequenti Anthifona proceditur usque ad chorum et inclinantes ad altare revertuntur ad sedes suas.” Steterburg Manuale, fol. 2^r.

⁵⁶⁰ Heiningen Ordinarius, fol. 16^v; and Steterburg Manuale, fol. 4^v.

⁵⁶¹ [Utrecht] Manuale, fol. 18^v.

The study of these sources from four different contexts, two male Windesheim houses and two reformed female houses, has revealed a high level of similitude in the overall organisation of the processional space and in the creation of a liturgical space through the processional movements and chants. Even if this analysis must remain fragmentary due to the source situation – there seem to be no equivalent sources from female incorporated and male reformed houses – the case studies of Heiningen and Steterburg enabled me to give a fresh perspective on the acceptance of the reform in liturgical practice in two female houses from the diocese of Hildesheim.

Their comparison also revealed an interesting difference: Heiningen seems to have performed processions without the intervention of the rector, contrary to Steterburg, where the alternation in the liturgical chants must have required a fair amount of preparation and, therefore, of interactions between the canonesses and their rector. In this regard, it seems that Heiningen was more in line with the Windesheim constitutions: the fact that the prioress took the lead in the processions ensured the separation of the sexes, which was deemed so important according to the constitutions, as discussed previously. However, I showed above that Windesheim did not forbid any contact between the canonesses and the rector and, as explained in chapter 2, the rector and the prioress were intended to form a kind of a binary leadership pair. The organisation of processions in Steterburg reflects this leadership pairing in a liturgical setting. The discrepancies observed in these two reformed houses demonstrate the latitude that religious men and women could find in the performance of the liturgy while following the Windesheim constitutions. This latitude is also to be observed in the very organisation of processions in both Heiningen and Steterburg, while the CM explicitly forbade processional movements. Even if the state of sources does not allow further clarification, I assume that this apparent break with the Windesheim constitutions is linked (at least partly) to the looser affiliation of these two houses to the Congregation.

Consequently, chapter 4 stresses that reform is not a static event, but a process that was established over the years which was continuously adjusted and negotiated. Modifications of certain details were part of this process, but this does not mean that they betrayed the original ideas and objective of reform, and, therefore, the prized status of a reformed monastery. The comparison of the sources shows an important level of textual similarities which, in spite of the differences in the organisation of processions in details, seems to indicate an actual overall compliance of the reformed houses with the Windesheim constitutions. Finally, it is also necessary to take into account Johannes Busch's rhetoric and political agenda: claiming that the monasteries he reformed fully complied with the Windesheim constitutions was in his best interest, regardless of the actual practice.

Conclusion

Several elements organised the monastic *place* into several *spaces* with different levels of sanctity: the access granted (members of the monastic community as well as strangers) to the monastery complex and to the different rooms within it, the gathering spaces of the canons, the spaces where silence must always be observed and where conversations may take place, and the liturgical or practical actions. The same elements characterised both male and female Windesheim spaces. Therefore, the degrees of sanctity of the various rooms of the monasteries is the same in both cases, with the choir or the nuns' choir as the most sacred space of the whole monastic complex.

Additionally, liturgical celebrations have a double value, since they take place in the most sacred space of the monastery while at once giving more sanctity to this space. Among those, processions are a very specific kind of liturgical ceremony with high significance regarding the performance of space: processions take place within the space and processional movements redefine the space, giving it more meaning. Chapter 4 identified the elements of processions which characterise the physical place and which transform it into a symbolic space: the movements, the actors of the liturgy (especially those who were allowed to lead the processions), and the chants (in terms of their texts, their melodies, as well as their meaning). With their ambivalent position as supporting but also as structural elements, chants contribute in a highly significant manner to shaping the space during processions, especially by aurally occupying the space and by giving the space more layers of (symbolic) meaning.

Furthermore, the disciplining of bodies analysed in chapter 3 aimed at disciplining the inner self, since gestures were perceived as external indicators of the inner state of the souls as well as being external tools to shape the inner self. Connected to singing, however, disciplining the bodies had another function.

Canons and canonesses were the ones who enacted the chants, who enacted the power of the words. Their physical bodies were essential in the proper accomplishment of the texts they performed. This explains why the control of the bodies exerted by Windesheim was so important: it is only through the bodies that the liturgy could be properly achieved. The bodies are therefore the tools to produce this sound. This sound physically enacts devotion and the texts which are sung. Drawing on Paul Zumthor's theory, according to which the voice is an expansion of the body, in processions, the voice enacts the body through the texts, which themselves enact the processional movements.⁵⁶² Performing the movements was, therefore, not necessary to accomplish the power of the text – and, thus, to accomplish the liturgy. Defining the text-carrying singing voice as an expansion of the body could help explain why the Chapter of Windesheim forbade the movements of processions but not the processional chants in female houses: the voice was deemed sufficient to enact the spiritual power of the bodily movements. This reverses conventional perspectives on liturgical processions, and shows that, at least in Windesheim theology, singing chants was more important for the accomplishment of the processional liturgy than movements.

The sounds of the singing voices, through the use of the singers' bodies, gave an aural and, therefore, an earthly existence to the liturgy, which was central to canons' and canonesses' devotion. As Mary Carruthers writes: "In the discourse of ancient (and medieval) psychology, sensations are 'affects' (*affectus*), which only exist as, in Aristotle's definition, 'a change *within the body*', in English, a 'sensation'".⁵⁶³ In the case of chant, the physical act of singing entails this change "within the body", connecting the voice, the words, and the sound with the physical reality of the bodies. This can be represented as a cycle: singing the words of God stimulates devotion and makes devotion real in the physical space. The sound, the aural result of performing the chant, in turn stimulates the inner devotion: the sound is going back to the body through the ear.⁵⁶⁴ The simple act of singing therefore stirs up devotion of the heart. This brings us back to the prologue of the CCW which states that the outer behaviour stirs up the inner devotion. This is precisely why Johannes Busch praises canons and canonesses who sang with as much care for the heart as for the voice.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² Paul Zumthor, "Oralité," *Intermédialités* 12 (2008): esp. 187.

⁵⁶³ Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45.

⁵⁶⁴ Though for an earlier period, Andrew Hicks provides a stimulating discussion on the "journey" of the sound according to twelfth-century natural philosophers: Andrew Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), esp. chapter 4.

⁵⁶⁵ For instance, the canonesses of Fischbeck (now the town Hessisch Oldendorf), in the diocese of Minden sang "cum summa diligencia laudes dei reboantes, nec cordibus parcentes nec vocibus". Busch, *Liber*, 641.

Part III

The Singing Voice: Between Performance and Written Device

Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with space and movement through space. It concluded by suggesting that processional movements were less central in accomplishing processional liturgy than singing the chants themselves in Windesheim monasteries. This conclusion is supported by the prohibition of processions in Windesheim female houses: movements were prohibited (“moniales non faciunt processiones”) while processional chants were explicitly still allowed (“sed in choro cantant que proprie ad processionem cantanda ordinata sunt”).⁵⁶⁶ According to this, the canonesses did not walk in procession at all but processed with their voices from their stalls, which places a strong emphasis on chant and on the singing voices.

Chant in medieval monastic practices had a very strong value: the power of music (understood here as a function in the liturgy) to stir up devotion was acknowledged and recognised early in the Christian ritual. Augustine is the most famous and the most influential theologian to have written about it.⁵⁶⁷ In the well-known Book X, chapter 33 of the *Confessiones*, Augustine discusses the beneficial aspects of music in liturgical chant as opposed to its dangers. For instance, he writes:

<i>Aliquando enim plus mihi videor honoris eis tribuere, quam decet, dum ipsis sanctis dictis religiosius et ardentius sentio moveri animos nostros in flammam pietatis, cum ita cantantur, quam si non ita cantarentur.</i>	Sometimes, I seem to myself to give them [the words] more respect than is fitting, when I see that our minds are more devoutly and earnestly inflamed in piety by the holy words when they are sung than when they are not. ⁵⁶⁸
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⁵⁶⁶ CM, 828:92–93.

⁵⁶⁷ For an introduction on Augustine and music, see Michael von Albrecht, “Zu Augustins Musikverständnis in den *Confessiones*,” in *Philanthropia kai eusebeia: Festschrift für Albrecht Dible zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. Glenn W. Most, Hubert Petersmann, and Adolf Martin Ritter (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 1–16; and Frank Hentschel, “Augustinus Aurelius,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Personenteil vol. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 1169–75.

⁵⁶⁸ Latin version by Luc Verheijen, ed., *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri XIII*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 27 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), 181. Translation by Albert C. Outler, *Confessions and Enchiridion: Newly Translated and Edited*, Library of Christian Classics 7 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), 147.

Here, Augustine specifically emphasises the essential power of the sung voices in stirring up (even in creating) devotion and he explicitly places the vocal mode of performance over other modes of prayer. It is not the only passage in which Augustine distinguishes and isolates sung words over other oral performances. For instance, he considers it safer to perform psalms with “so little inflection of voice that it resembled speaking more than singing”.⁵⁶⁹

The practices of reciting psalms in the Middle Ages are well-studied in modern musicology. This research especially underlines the difficulty to define this “in-between” mode of performance, as is reflected in the terms used to qualify it (“liturgical recitative”,⁵⁷⁰ “melodious speech”,⁵⁷¹ or “speech-song”⁵⁷²).⁵⁷³ However, one thing seems to be clear: according to Augustine, singing had a higher spiritual value than reciting, because it stirred up devotion more efficiently, a value attached to music which was continuously repeated throughout the Middle Ages.⁵⁷⁴

Because it could contribute so efficiently to its function within the liturgy, several writers in the Middle Ages discussed the singing voice’s qualities. From Isidore of Seville (c. 559–636), for whom a perfect voice is “sweet” (“suavis”) and may “entice the souls of the listeners”,⁵⁷⁵ to John of Salisbury (c. 1115/25–1180) who criticised lascivious voices consumed in excess (“modum excesserint”) because they “more easily occasion arousal in the loins than devotion in the mind”,⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁶⁹ “... qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.” Here, Augustine refers to Athanasius of Alexandria. Verheijen, ed., *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri XIII*, 181–82.

⁵⁷⁰ This expression was used by Joseph Pothier, Peter Bohn, and Peter Wagner in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For a discussion of these terms and bibliographic references, see Eduardo Aubert, “Locating the Sound of the Medieval Voice: An Analytical Framework,” in *In Search of the Medieval Voice: Expressions of Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Lorna Bleach, Katariina Närä, and Sian Prosser (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 20 and fn. 3, p. 31.

⁵⁷¹ Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn, eds., *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 26.

⁵⁷² Aubert, “Locating the Sound of the Medieval Voice: An Analytical Framework,” 20.

⁵⁷³ For a discussion on reciting psalms in early Christianity and the Middle Ages, see the following publications by Joseph Dyer: “The Desert, the City and Psalmody in the Late Fourth Century,” in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*, eds. Sean Gallagher et al., rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2003); Dyer, “The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office,” *Speculum* 64, no. 3 (1989): 535–78; and Dyer, “Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages,” *Revue Bénédictine* 99, no. 1–2 (1989): 41–74.

⁵⁷⁴ James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), esp. 349–50. Based on texts by Augustine, Guido of Arezzo, and Jacobus [of Liège], Hentschel takes an interesting perspective by analysing how “medieval authors of music theory considered it a given that sensuous pleasure was the ultimate goal of music”: Frank Hentschel, “The Sensuous Music Aesthetics of the Middle Ages: The Cases of Augustine, Jacques de Liège and Guido of Arezzo,” *Plainsong & Medieval Music* 20, no. 1 (April 2011): 1–29.

⁵⁷⁵ “Perfecta autem vox est ... suavis, ut animos audientium blandiat.” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), 3.20.14. Translation by Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 20.

⁵⁷⁶ About “lascivious voices”: “Cum haec quidem modum excesserint, lumborum pruriginem quam devotionem mentis poterunt citius excitare.” John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*. Quoted from McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 179 (trans. p. 23).

through Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who recommended a chant which should “both enchant the ears and move the heart” and which “should never obscure the sense of the words but enhance them”,⁵⁷⁷ similar thoughts to Augustine’s clearly influenced conceptions of the singing voice. This essential role of the voice in the liturgy, combined with a growing scholarly interest in “historically informed” performance practices, has led scholars to give significant attention to the medieval voice.⁵⁷⁸

1. Singing Voices: State of Research

One of the most pioneering studies in this regard was put forward by Timothy J. McGee in 1998. He provides a comprehensive compilation of surviving theoretical evidence concerning the medieval singing voice, especially in liturgical music. McGee’s goal is to demonstrate that ornamentation of medieval song defined the medieval vocal style (he writes in the introduction that “the entire early vocal style *itself* is ornamental”⁵⁷⁹). In the context of the present study, however, this book is most valuable because of the wide variety of citations taken from theoretical treatises it contains, beginning with Isidore of Seville (seventh century) and ending with Bonaventura (end of the fifteenth century). Therefore, despite the lack of contextualisation of the numerous authors referred to and the influence their background had on their discussions, McGee offers a convenient collection of medieval discussions of the voice.

Two years after McGee’s book on the sound of medieval song, Joseph Dyer produced another stimulating synthetic overview of discussions on voices in the Middle Ages. Starting by reminding us of the pre-eminent role of the voice over instrumental music in Christian liturgical music, Dyer’s “modest goal” is “to gather up and interpret scattered references to the singing voice in medieval sources”, mainly those found in theoretical sources or writings of ecclesiastical authors.⁵⁸⁰ The main interest of their authors, Dyer states, was usually to denounce abuses that

⁵⁷⁷ “Cantus ipse ... sic mulceat aures, ut moveat corda ... sensum litterae non evacuet, sed fecundet.” in Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ad Guidonem abbatem et monachos Arremarenses*. Quoted from McGee, 165 (trans. p. 22).

⁵⁷⁸ See, for instance, the numerous editions (and re-editions) of “performance guides”, among which: Ross W. Duffin, ed., *A Performer’s Guide to Medieval Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Jeffery Kite-Powell, ed., *Performer’s Guide to Renaissance Music, Second Edition*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); and Timothy J. McGee, “Medieval Performance Practice,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, eds. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 582–608. Moreover, the voice was not only important for its role in the liturgy. As Philip Weller writes about the late medieval period, the “living utterance was the primary ontological – as well as social and psychological – locus of language”. The role of the voice in medieval societies therefore can hardly be overstated. Philip Weller, “Vox – Littera – Cantus: Aspects of Voice and Vocality in Medieval Song,” in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, eds. Terence Bailey and Alma Colk Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 240.

⁵⁷⁹ McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 1.

⁵⁸⁰ Joseph Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, eds. John Potter and Jonathan Cross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 165.

threatened the proper rendering of liturgical chant or to discuss practical chant theory and the “philosophical and historical-mythological background” of the art of music.⁵⁸¹ Medieval authors were rarely concerned with the training of the voice, as it was an entirely practical matter. Analogies were often made between the voice and instruments, for instance, the pipes of an organ, whose different sounds matched the three registers of the voice (voice of the chest, voice of the throat, and voice of the head).⁵⁸²

Particular aspects of the singing voice in specific contexts were also scrutinised by modern scholars. John Potter, for instance, investigated how languages and pronunciation of words impacted (and still impact) the quality of singing, while Eduardo Aubert analysed how various modulations of the voice highlighted and structured social relationships.⁵⁸³ More recently, Ángel Chirinos addressed the question of the sound of the voices in the codex *Las Huelgas*, by using theoretical sources discussing the good or bad quality of the singing voice to establish performative criteria of the codex’s pieces.⁵⁸⁴ The perspective of the listeners is also studied more and more, usually using the same theoretical sources.⁵⁸⁵ In this regard, the assertion of Carol Harrison that illiterate early Christians became “literate listeners” by hearing the word of God in their minds and in their souls is particularly enlightening.⁵⁸⁶

Studies of singing voices are naturally of special interest to performers. Recently, Katarina Livljanic and Benjamin Bagby wrote an article on this topic.⁵⁸⁷ They focus on the perspective of

⁵⁸¹ Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 166.

⁵⁸² Respectively, *vox pectoris*, *vox gutturis* and *vox capitis*. This nomenclature was a standard division of medieval authors who addressed this topic, one of the most famous being Jerome of Moravia [Moravia] in his *Tractatus des musica*. This treatise has recently been edited by Christian Meyer and Guy Lobrichon, eds., *Hieronymi de Moravia Tractatus de musica*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 250 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012). On this topic, see also Franz Müller-Heuser, *Vox humana: ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Stimmästhetik des Mittelalters* (Kassel: Gustav Bosse, 1997); and Emmanuela Kohlhaas, *Musik und Sprache im gregorianischen Gesang* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001).

⁵⁸³ John Potter, “Reconstructing Lost Voices,” in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, eds. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 311–16; and Eduardo Henrik Aubert, “Le son et ses sens: L’Ordo ad consecrandum et coronandum regem (v. 1250),” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 62, no. 2 (2007): 387–411.

⁵⁸⁴ Ángel Chirinos, “El sonido de la polifonía medieval Aspectos técnicos en las piezas polifónicas del Códice de Las Huelgas,” in *Musicología en el siglo XXI: nuevos retos, nuevos enfoques*, eds. Begoña Lolo and Adela Presas (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2019), 1313–48.

⁵⁸⁵ Here, I refer to people listening specifically and intentionally to a human voice. For a discussion on hearing sounds in general, I refer to Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk, eds., *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1991). See also the more specific study by Sarah Fuller, “‘Delectabatur in Hoc Auris’: Some Fourteenth-Century Perspectives on Aural Perception,” *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 466–81.

⁵⁸⁶ Carol Harrison, *The Art of Listening in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Another interesting perspective, though not relevant for the present study, is chapter 4 of Elizabeth Randell Upton, *Music and Performance in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 97–130, dedicated to the listeners’ experience.

⁵⁸⁷ Katarina Livljanic and Benjamin Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, eds. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 210–35. For an introduction of the performance of sacred monophonic chant, see David Hiley, “Performing Practice, I.2.ii,” in

performers who try to reconstruct the medieval performance practice of singing. They discuss the difficulty of studying the singing voice: because sounds are conveyed on paper and described by words, medieval singing voices, the authors remind us, are impossible to grasp. Moreover, Livljaniv and Bagby emphasise the fact that every authorial voice had its own reference points, its own cultural environment. This makes it even more difficult to relate their texts to precise vocal techniques.⁵⁸⁸ More recently, McGee also addressed the topic of performance practices by exploring the links between neumes and performance, instruments, improvisation and ornamentation. But he concludes that the history of performance is a “rewarding field of study, in that ... it assists us in obtaining a more accurate picture of musical practices”.⁵⁸⁹ And yet, McGee opens his article by reminding us that many of the details of medieval performance practices are forever lost.

This assertion is not new and was famously phrased by Isidore of Seville. He wrote, about the Muses, that their “sound is something perceived by the senses, and vanishes as the moment passes, and is therefore imprinted in memory”.⁵⁹⁰ The ephemeral aspect of sound has, of course, consequences in the current research on medieval voice. All studies of the medieval voice state how difficult it is to capture or even to define the qualities of those sounds.⁵⁹¹ More specifically, McGee deplores the ambiguous descriptions of medieval vocal sounds, especially when they refer to the sweetness of the voice.⁵⁹² Pieter Mannaerts shows that even within a relatively small area such as the Low Countries, a single ideal of proper chant performance did not exist, which makes it even more difficult to discuss “the medieval voice”.⁵⁹³ The material provided by iconography,

Grove Music Online, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40272> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁵⁸⁸ Livljaniv and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” 211. On this aspect, see also Max Haas, *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).

⁵⁸⁹ McGee, “Medieval Performance Practice,” 583.

⁵⁹⁰ “Quarum sonus, quia sensibilis res est, et praeterfluit in praeteritum tempus imprimiturque memoriae.” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, 3.15.2. Translation taken from Stephen A. Barney, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 95.

⁵⁹¹ Such issues have also been addressed for the spoken mode of performance. For a general introduction to it, see Aubert, “Locating the Sound of the Medieval Voice”. For a concrete example of spoken voices, especially in monastic contexts, see Dallas G. Denery II, “The Preacher and His Audience: Dominican Conceptions of the Self in the Thirteenth Century,” in *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Laurie Postlewait and Wim Husken (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2007), 17–34. In his article, Denery II discusses how a preacher needed to adapt the content, the form and the style of his sermon to his audience. The author puts special emphasis on how the inner nature of the preacher is revealed through his words.

⁵⁹² Sweetness of the voice is an old discussion, to which I will add Windesheim’s perspective below. Here, I already mention John the Deacon (ninth century) criticising Northern singers who, in his view, were not able to “bring forth the proper sweetness of the melody”, and Isidore of Seville who describes the perfect voice as “loud, sweet, and clear” McGee, “Medieval Performance Practice,” 583. On these quotations, see below.

⁵⁹³ Pieter Mannaerts, “Observations on the Performance of Plainchant in the Low Countries (10th-18th Centuries),” *Revista Transcultural de Musica. Transcultural Music Review*, no. 13 (2009), <https://www.sibetrans.com/trans/articulo>

where singers often appear with their chins raised high, is not entirely reliable, since paintings might reflect artistic conventions more than actual singing practices.⁵⁹⁴

In spite of this, Livljanic and Bagby rightfully write that studying the written traces of medieval singing could help us to “enter by various small doors into the huge realm resounding with the many voices of medieval authors, singers and scribes”.⁵⁹⁵ This is exactly what I propose to do here, hoping to contribute to a broader discussion on medieval voices by opening the door to the vocal aesthetics embraced by the Congregation of Windesheim. This final part of the present study explores the Windesheim uses and conceptualisations of the singing voice by posing the following questions: what were the attributes of the ideal singing voice according to Windesheim criteria? What do such attributes tell us about Windesheim’s conception of liturgical chant? I will eventually ask how the discourses on singing voices were incorporated in broader agendas.

I mentioned in the general introduction to this study how musicological research on Windesheim so far was mainly focussed on polyphonic practices. For this reason, only a few recent studies have discussed other examples concerning Windesheim singing voices, such as the comments about the Diepenveen canoness Trude van Beveren († 1428), who could not take part in the liturgical celebrations because of her bad voice,⁵⁹⁶ or her fellow sister Katharina van Naaldwijk (1395–1443), who was famous for her beautiful voice.⁵⁹⁷ However, these scattered bits

[/60/observations-on-the-performance-of-plainchant-in-the-low-countries-10th-18th-centuries](#) (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁵⁹⁴ McGee, “Medieval Performance Practice,” 582. On the links between iconography and performance practice, see Leslie Lassetter, “Music Iconography and Medieval Performance Practice,” *College Music Symposium* 31 (1991): 91–116.

⁵⁹⁵ Livljanic and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” 211. In addition, it should be noted that while the voice has received particular attention from musicologists, other disciplines have acknowledged its importance in medieval society as well. The most fundamental study in this regard can be found in the works of Paul Zumthor, especially his *La lettre et la voix. De la “littérature” médiévale* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1987). Recent studies have also given more attention to unsung vocal performance styles, for instance, the aforementioned article by Denery II, “The Preacher and His Audience: Dominican Conceptions of the Self in the Thirteenth Century”. Moreover, Marie Formarier analyses the rhetorical discourse of Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1166/7) who discusses the qualities of the voices which sang or delivered sermons; see Marie Formarier, “Combattre « la vaine volupté de l’oreille » dans la rhétorique cistercienne,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 233, no. 4 (2016): 533–55. In May 2019, the Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public organised its annual interdisciplinary conference around the theme “The Voice in the Middle Ages”, which further attests to a growing concern and awareness of the importance of this medium in medieval society among medievalists beyond the domain of musicology (see the forthcoming publication).

⁵⁹⁶ Cécile de Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences in the Late Medieval Urban Sonic Environment – Soundscaping the Functional Context of Oral Literature,” *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 86, no. 3 (2015): 159–77.

⁵⁹⁷ Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Ene suete eersame stemme: Katharina van Naaldwijk en de muziek in de Diepenveense zusterviten,” in *Door mensen gezongen; liturgische muziek in portretten*, eds. Martin Hoondert et al. (Kampen: Gooi en Sticht, 2005), 105–17.

of evidence have never been put into perspective in the broader context of the “sounding ideal” of Windesheim. Similarly, while Johannes Busch’s status and actions as a reformer have received a great deal of attention, his perspectives on liturgical chant and on voices have never been studied.⁵⁹⁸

Yet, as in the case of other monastic Orders, chant had a central place in Windesheim liturgy: the first and primary duty of canons and canonesses was to celebrate the Divine Office. Windesheim, moreover, relied on the Rule of St Augustine, whose perspective on singing during liturgical celebrations has been discussed above. The Windesheim Ordinarius includes a chapter on how to sing, which gives some quite specific instructions concerning performative aspects of chant. In addition, Johannes Busch repeatedly emphasises the importance of chant for his reforms in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*.

According to his writings, Busch did more than make sure that canons accepted Windesheim chants. In one instance, he describes how he went to the choir of the Cistercian female house of Mariensee, near Hannover (diocese of Minden) and, from there, led the choir of canonesses until they adopted a uniform way of performing:

<p>... accessi ad chorum monialium et precentor existens incepti ... donec per se eandem formam cantandi arriperent et sine tali clamore moderate et religiose de cetero cantarent.</p>	<p>I went into the choir of the canonesses and started acting as precentor ... until they absorbed on their own the same way of singing [<i>forma</i>] and sang the rest [of the chant] without such clamour, but moderately and reverently.⁵⁹⁹</p>
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The noun “forma” used by Busch in this quotation is unusual in late medieval discussions on music. The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources proposes several translations: it is a shape, a model or an example, an appearance or a form, or even a “shape of thing as essential to its function”. It seems that Busch used this term as an umbrella expression in relation to all external aspects of singing, and it might be a very close term to describe what we now understand by “way of performing”.

The passage, therefore, probably illustrates that Busch paid significant attention to the performative aspects of the chants when undertaking the reform of a community. He repeated the demonstration of the proper way of singing as many times as needed until it became “automatic” – that is, until the memory of the body had fully internalised the new way through multiple repetition. The fact that Busch *physically* went into the monasteries to instruct canons and canonesses to sing, reinforces this hypothesis: it indicates that there was much more to reform than simply adopting the same chants (i.e., more than homogenising notated pitch contents and

⁵⁹⁸ The most recent and fundamental study on Busch was conducted by Bertram Lesser, *Johannes Busch: Chronist der Devotio moderna: Werkstruktur, Überlieferung, Rezeption* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2005).

⁵⁹⁹ Busch, *Liber*, 565.

liturgical texts). Indeed, as the quotation above points out, a very high spiritual significance was assigned to performative aspects, which could not be transmitted in written form, but which had to be aurally and physically demonstrated – and learnt. Busch was implementing a specific way of singing by leading through example.

Therefore, both the chant repertoire (i.e., the pitch component of the melodies that were sung) and the way how these melodies were to be performed were equally important for Windesheim standards.⁶⁰⁰ Based on this recognition, the third part of my study focuses on the performative aspects of singing chant within Windesheim circles: I investigate the singing voices' characteristics, values, and functions in both male and female Windesheim houses. My aim is to uncover to the greatest extent possible what the terms used to qualify singing voices might have meant in our terms, especially by seeking parallels with other medieval sources discussing singing voices. I also analyse why the voices needed to be described in this specific way.

2. The Sources

My investigation is based on the Windesheim regulations, on Busch's testimony, and on the Diepenveen sisterbooks.

a. The Male Perspective: The Windesheim Regulations and Reforms

The official Windesheim books linked with liturgy (the OW and, to some extent, the chapters of the constitutions dealing with the Divine Office and the cantor/cantrix) contain some information on performative aspects of chant.⁶⁰¹ The reports by Johannes Busch complement the perspectives of Windesheim's regulations and further underline what was essential for the Congregation's liturgy. Indeed, as the chronicler of Windesheim and as one of its main reformers, his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* can be said to reflect Windesheim's ideal chant practices. All these sources are idealisations: the constitutions and the OW aimed at *prescribing* (rather than at *describing*) singing practices, while Busch's reports are necessarily a partial, male perspective. Nevertheless, they can tell us much about the *intended* way of performance – that is, the aesthetic yardstick by which performances were measured.

⁶⁰⁰ Hascher-Burger refers to these two aspects (respectively) as “liturgische[s] ‘Material’ (Texte, Gesänge, Melodien)” and “liturgische Ausführung (Bewegungen, Tonhöhe, Schreiten bei Prozessionen)”. See Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “In omnibus essent conformes? Windesheimer Reform und liturgische Erneuerung in niedersächsischen Frauenkonventen im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Church History and Religious Culture*, no. 93 (2013): 544.

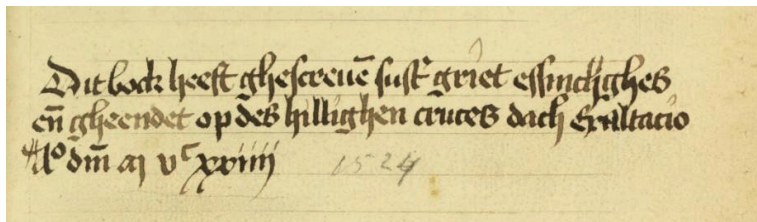
⁶⁰¹ In the following, the quotations of the OW will be based on the 1456 written version found in the Agnietenberg Ordinarius (see the introduction of part II for a discussion of this source).

b. The Female Perspective: The Diepenveen Sisterbooks

The Diepenveen sisterbooks provide reports on chant practices from another (here again, idealising, as will be shown) perspective: the female monastery of Diepenveen. Diepenveen was not just any house within the Windesheim Congregation, but the oldest and, indeed, the model monastery of Windesheim female houses. As such, it is a relevant parallel to the Windesheim sources studied here. Dyer rightfully underlines that most of the medieval evidence that has come down to us refers to the “mature male voice”, whereas women’s and children’s voices are rarely referred to because they generally served “as negative examples of weakness” and were thus “representative of qualities to be avoided”.⁶⁰² In this regard, the explicit mentions of canonesses’ voices in the Diepenveen sisterbooks prove to be particularly interesting.

Sisterbooks are usually collections of miracles and visions of sisters of a given house, as well as descriptions of their devotional practices and virtues.⁶⁰³ The earliest known sisterbooks were compiled in fourteenth-century Dominican convents in Southern Germany and Switzerland, and were copied in Latin or in German. Usually, copyists of sisterbooks relied on earlier writings for their compilations.⁶⁰⁴ Two sisterbooks narrating the lives of Diepenveen canonesses have survived and are used in this study. Canonesses’ biographies are contained in the manuscript Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 E 26 KL (hereafter, following common use: DV), copied by the canoness Griet Essinchghes in 1524, as is indicated by the colophon (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Colophon of DV (Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 101 E 26 KL, fol. II^r)



*Dit bock heeft ghescreuen suster griet essinchghes
ende gheendet op des hillighen cruces dach
Exaltacio Anno domini m v xxiiii*

This book was copied by sister Griet Essinchghes and finished on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [14 September] in the year of the Lord 1524.

⁶⁰² Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 166.

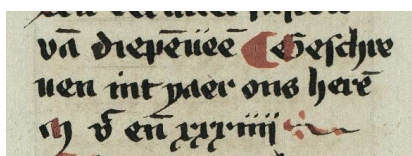
⁶⁰³ Claire Taylor Jones, *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 57 (see pp. 57–59 for a historiographical summary of sisterbooks in general).

⁶⁰⁴ Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 57.

This book was kept in the library of Diepenveen itself until the dissolution of the monastery in 1578.⁶⁰⁵ No modern edition of the manuscript has so far been made, but a digitised copy is available online, and parts of it have been translated into modern Dutch by Scheepsma.⁶⁰⁶

The second sisterbook from Diepenveen is preserved in Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Coll. van Rhemen, inv. no. 1 (hereafter, following common use: D). It was copied in 1534, as is also indicated by the colophon (Figure 3.2).⁶⁰⁷

Figure 3.2: Colophon of D (Zwolle, Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Coll. van Rhemen, inv. no. 1, fol. 192^{ra})



Geschreven int jaer ons heren m v ende xxxiiij

Copied in the year of our Lord 1534.

D belonged to the library of the Sisters of the Common Life of the Meester-Geertshuis.⁶⁰⁸ A modern edition has been made by Brinkerink in 1904.⁶⁰⁹ My comparison with the original manuscript reveals that Brinkerink's edition is reliable. However, for the sake of clarity and scholarly rigour, the present study will give the references to both Brinkerink's edition and the primary source.

⁶⁰⁵ Fol. 1^r indicates: "Liber monasterij beate marie in dyepeeven ordinis Regularissarum sancti Augustini." See also Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The "Modern Devotion", the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings*, trans. David F. Johnson (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 137. The history of the manuscript after 1578 is unclear, though it was part of two successive private collections at the beginning of the twentieth century, before it was bought by the Athenaeumbibliothek in Deventer in 1973. On this manuscript, see in particular Anne Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna. Volkssprachige Schwesternbücher in literarhistorischer Perspektiv" (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2004), 457–562. Bollmann provides a detailed codicological analysis of the manuscript on pp. 461–73. On the history of the monastery of Diepenveen, see *Monasticon* III, 592–614.

⁶⁰⁶ Manuscript DV is accessible on: <https://athenaeumcollecties.nl/collecties/topstukken/detail/0be4351e-3487-11e6-9603-b3eb7ac8b442/media/e0f6a70b-de61-4fa7-d219-19639b351f07> (last accessed 29 August 2019). Wybren Scheepsma, *Hemels Verlangen* (Amsterdam, 1993).

⁶⁰⁷ On this manuscript, see Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna," 563–92. For a detailed codicological description, see Bollmann, 566–73.

⁶⁰⁸ Scheepsma explains this by the close connection between the Meester-Geertshuis and Diepenveen. Indeed, the first Diepenveen canonesses were originally Sisters from the religious community at the Meester-Geertshuis. Johannes Brinkerink, the rector of the Meester-Geertshuis, helped with the foundation of the monastery of Diepenveen. Scheepsma adds that such connections were no exception, since a manuscript containing biographies of Brothers from the Heer-Florenshuis was, for instance, kept in the library of the monastery of Windesheim (the Heer-Florenshuis was the first community of Brothers of the Common Life and was founded in 1380/1; some of the first Windesheim canons came from there). Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 137. See also *Monasticon* II, 608–8. On Johannes Brinkerinck, the rector of the Meester-Geertshuis, see Gerrit H. Gerrits, "Johannes Brinkerinck – Life, Sermons and Thought," in *Spirituality Renewed: Studies on Significant Representatives of the Modern Devotion*, eds. Hein Blommestijn, Charles Caspers, and Rijcklof Hofman (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 57–120.

⁶⁰⁹ D. A. Brinkerink, ed., *Van den doechden der vuriger ende stichtiger susteren van Diepen Veen (Handschrift D). De tekst van het handschrift* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1904) (hereafter: Brinkerink). Similarly to what can be said of DV, Bollmann underlines the absence of information on the history of the manuscript D (Bollmann, "Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna," 566–67).

Even if DV and D were copied in the middle of the sixteenth century, they were most likely compiled from pre-existing biographies which recorded events that took place throughout the fifteenth century. Indeed, they describe the lives of canonesses who lived in Diepenveen from its foundation in 1400.⁶¹⁰ Considering the exemplary nature of the two sources in terms of their content, they can be said to be representative of the idealised spiritual life of Diepenveen.

Both manuscripts record the lives of the same canonesses in an almost literal manner and the two houses where they were kept and produced had very close historical and spiritual connections.⁶¹¹ Their overall purpose was to provide models for the living, based on the exemplary nature of deceased sisters. As the prologue of DV reads:

Ende want mi onmoghelick weer al die dogheden toe scriven soe heb ic opghesat een weynich toe vergaderen wt vollen op dat wy boer dogheden ende exempelen na mochten volghen. And because it would be impossible for me to record their [the canonesses'] every virtue, I have taken some pains to make selections from a great abundance, so that we may emulate their virtue and example.⁶¹²

One of the central virtues exemplified in DV is humility. Scheepsma writes that “the sisterbook [DV] illustrates strikingly how a successful spiritual community is built up by individual persons ... who succeed in rising above themselves.”⁶¹³ One of the means to help canonesses towards the achievement of virtue was to stimulate their sense of belonging, since progressing towards virtue individually helped the whole community being closer to God. The fact that the manuscript makes regular use of the pronouns “we” and “us” reinforces the sense of belonging for the readers.⁶¹⁴

None of these sources (the Windesheim regulations, the *Liber de reformatione*, and the sisterbooks) contain any musical notation, but they all include highly significant pieces of information linked to chant practice: either concerning performative aspects (speed, volume, pitch), or the quality of the sung voices (their supposed beauty or the supposedly mediocre skills of some of the houses’ members). Therefore, despite the absence of any notated melodies, these sources

⁶¹⁰ Bollmann, “Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna,” 476.

⁶¹¹ Bollmann, “Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna,” 457. For this reason, when a similar sentence is found in both manuscripts, I will quote the edition of manuscript D by Brinkerink and give the reference of manuscript DV. I will provide both versions only when variants change the meaning of the sentence. Scheepsma postulates that DV and D were copied from two earlier master copies, which gradually came into being from 1450s (Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 138–39) However, based on textual and structural differences, Bollmann assumes that different isolated versions of the canonesses’ lives were used to realise these two different books (Bollmann, “Frauenleben und Frauenliteratur in der Devotio moderna,” esp. 458.)

⁶¹² DV, fol 1^r. Translation by Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 146.

⁶¹³ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 170.

⁶¹⁴ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 139.

offer a valuable and previously unresearched window into the sung liturgical practices in Windesheim monasteries, and to some extent even beyond as an expression of fifteenth-century vocal aesthetics within a context of monastic reform.⁶¹⁵

However, it should be remarked that the descriptions of singing voices which can be extracted from these sources rest upon their rhetoric: the sources necessarily contain, and reflect, the various compilers' agendas, whether they be political and/or spiritual. Despite the numerous anecdotes recorded in the *Liber de reformatione* and in the sisterbooks, these sources cannot be taken to be "history". Rather, they are literary sources – idealised descriptions of reality. Therefore, none of the sources can be said to describe existing practices in a manner that modern scholars of performance practice would like to have. Nevertheless, the sources all betray their writers' contemporary concerns.⁶¹⁶ In this way, they also shed light on the place, on the status of the singing voices in the Windesheim context, and on how they made use of it in their rhetoric, in their own very special way.

c. A Comparative Perspective: Conrad von Zabern

Among the parallels with other sources I make to deepen the discussion and to situate Windesheim within a broader medieval context, one is particularly relevant and, in this regard, deserves more detailed treatment: the treatise *De modo bene cantandi choralem cantum in multitudine personarum* written by Conrad von Zabern and printed in 1474 in Mainz by Peter Schöffner.⁶¹⁷ Conrad von Zabern (*d.* before 1481) was a theologian from the Middle Rhine region.⁶¹⁸ Very little is known on Conrad's life because his precise identification remains uncertain. It seems that he studied at the University of Heidelberg around 1428 and was first known as a preacher. He then became an itinerant teacher,

⁶¹⁵ The OW remains the most useful source to reconstruct the (idealised) liturgy of Windesheim. However, the lack of Windesheim liturgical sources with musical notation makes it difficult to reconstruct the liturgy from a musical perspective. For a list of liturgical sources from Windesheim and from the circles of the Modern Devotion, see Ulrike Hascher-Burger, "Musica devota – Music in Manuscripts and Incunabula from the Ambience of the Devotio Moderna," Data Archiving and Networked Services, January 2019, <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-xxz-6gsy> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁶¹⁶ The mismatch between what modern researchers and performers would like to know about and what the sources contain is discussed below.

⁶¹⁷ A digital facsimile is available online: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Inc.s.a. 1280, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00041526/images> (last accessed 29 August 2019). The treatise was edited in Conrad von Zabern, "De modo bene cantandi," in *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern*, ed. Philipp Karl-Werner Gumpel (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1956), 260–82 (116–37). The subsequent quotations refer to this edition.

⁶¹⁸ For an overview of Conrad's possible biography, see the introduction of Philipp Karl-Werner Gumpel, *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1956), 149–158 (5–14); and Heinrich Hüschen and Joseph Dyer, "Conrad von Zabern," in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06305> (last accessed 29 August 2019). See also the following studies: Joseph Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement from 'De modo bene cantandi' (1474)," *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978): 207–27; and Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450," in *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 306. Both are largely based on Gumpel, *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern*.

whose goal was to improve choral singing in churches and monasteries. His treatise *De modo bene cantandi* is known to be “the first manual devoted to practical singing techniques”.⁶¹⁹

In the prologue, Conrad deplores the lack of instructions in singing well, despite the abundant knowledge of his teachers in music theory:

<i>Nec ego a quoquam magistrorum meorum de</i>	Nor was I ever instructed in this method of singing
<i>illo bene cantandi modo unquam sum</i>	well by any of my teachers, however much they
<i>instructus, scirent in musica quantumcumque.</i>	knew about [the quadrivial discipline of] <i>musica</i> . ⁶²⁰

Departing from this, his aim is very clear: he neither wanted to teach the basics of how to sing, nor to teach the fundamentals of music theory. Instead, he wanted to teach how to sing *well*, so that people “may contribute more usefully in choir” (“in choro utiliores reddantur”), which denotes the need of a special vocal performance to properly fulfil one’s liturgical duties.⁶²¹ In order to do this, Conrad proposes six essential qualities of choral singing: *concorditer* (in unison, as if with one voice), *mensuraliter* (with equal rhythmic values and consistent tempo), *mediocriter* (in the middle register, avoiding extreme pitch-ranges), *differentialiter* (adjusting the tempo according to the rank of the feast), *devotionaliter* (without embellishments) and *satis urbaniter* (with refinement, to which he opposes undesirable, “rustic” practices).⁶²² All of this ought to lead to the proper and best way of singing, which, according to Conrad, served three purposes: first, to please God; second, to increase the merits and reputation for piety of those singing; and third, to provide for the edification of those listening to or overhearing the chant outside the choir while in the nave.⁶²³

Dyer noticed that the information which this treatise provides is close to the *Instituta patrum de modo psallendi*.⁶²⁴ This anonymous text, composed around 1220 at St Gall, deals with Cistercian chant practices of the early thirteenth century.⁶²⁵ This shows an intermingling of traditions and suggests that concerns regarding chant overlapped over different institutional contexts and different centuries.

⁶¹⁹ Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 209.

⁶²⁰ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 261 (117). Translation by Sion M. Honea, 9.

⁶²¹ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 260 (116).

⁶²² On these aspects, see Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 211–12; Blackburn, “Music Theory and Musical Thinking after 1450,” 306; and Hüschen and Dyer, “Conrad von Zabern”.

⁶²³ “... ut sic fiat primo et principaliter omnipotenti Deo magis gratum ... et secundo ipsis cantantibus plus meritorium ... atque tertio etiam aliis fidelibus audientibus magis proficuum.” Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 261 (117).

⁶²⁴ Anonymous, “Instituta patrum,” in *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, ed. Martin Gerbert, vol. 1 (Sankt Blasien, 1784), 5–8. The subsequent quotations refer to this edition.

⁶²⁵ For more on the *Instituta patrum*’s connections with Cistercians and its content, see Steven J. P. Van Dijk, “Saint Bernard and the ‘Instituta Patrum’ of Saint Gall,” *Musica Disciplina* 4, no. 2 (1950): 99–109.

Conrad's requirements offer valuable parallels with Windesheim prescriptions. First, its printing date is contemporary to the composition of Busch's *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. Moreover, Conrad was active in the Middle and Upper Rhine regions and the church province of Mainz, which provides important context to complete Busch's perspective from the northern part of the Rhineland and the regions to the east thereof.⁶²⁶ Finally, this treatise is useful because it is directed to singers in religious communities (the treatise was compiled "to the favour of all the clergy", "in favorem totius cleri").⁶²⁷ Conrad, the Chapter of Windesheim, and Busch had shared concerns on the same kind of music, at the same time.

3. Singing and Reading

In part III, I focus essentially on items that are explicitly designated to be sung, by such words as the Latin "cantare" or the Middle Dutch/Low German "singhen", because of the importance of this mode of performance in Christian liturgy. This is relevant in the context of the present study, since Windesheim did make a distinction between "legere" and "cantare". For instance, the constitutions require the novice to know how to read *and* to sing.⁶²⁸ Moreover, Table 3.1, Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 present the occurrences of the verbs "cantare", "legere" and "dicere" when associated to a specific text that was to be voiced in the processional sources of the present study.

The three Tables show that the sources do make a difference: "legere" (and "dicere", only used in the Steterburg Manuale) are used for prayers (versiculum, oration), while "cantare" is used for chants (responsory, antiphon). In his edition of sisterbook D, Brinkerink points out that "to read" and "to sing" are often connected to each other.⁶²⁹ While this underlines the closeness of these terms, it also illustrates that they are distinct in meaning and therefore cannot be used interchangeably in the context of fifteenth-century chant and north-western Continental monasteries.

⁶²⁶ Conrad most likely went to cities like Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Speyer, Worms, and Würzburg: Gümpel, *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern*, 154–6 (10–11). Several male monasteries in, or around, these cities were connected to Windesheim, such as St. Leonardus in Basel, St. Christina in Ittenweiler (both in the diocese of Strasbourg), Beata Maria in Birklingen (diocese of Würzburg), or Kirschgarten in Worms (diocese of Worms). See also Appendix 1.

⁶²⁷ Conrad von Zabern, "De modo bene cantandi," 261 (117).

⁶²⁸ "... examinandus est, si **legere et cantare** noverit et possit, propter quod ad chori frequentacionem die noctuque admittendus est." CCW, 164:49–51; and CM, 777:59–61 (emphasis mine).

⁶²⁹ Brinkerink, 113, fn. 7.

Table 3.1: Occurrences of the verbs “dicere” and “(de)cantare” in the Agnietenberg and Heiningen Ordinarii

Agnietenberg Ordinarius/Heiningen Ordinarius	
<i>OW</i> from the male <i>Windsheim</i> house of <i>Sint-Agnietenberg</i> (1456) and from the reformed female house of <i>Heiningen</i> (c. 1460)	
dicente priorisse oracionem (fol. 16 ^v) dicta vero oracionem (fol. 16 ^v) dictaque versiculum cum collectam (fol. 16 ^v) dicit versiculum <i>In resurrectione tua</i> cum Collecta <i>Deus qui nos</i> (fol. 24 ^r)	decantatur antiphonam [<i>Lumen ad revelationem</i>] (fol. 11 ^v) ⁶³⁰ incipit antiphonam ad processionem <i>Ave gratia plena</i> cantataque per conventum (fol. 11 ^v) ⁶³¹ antiphona [<i>Cum appropriaret</i>] que cantatur terminata (fol. 17 ^{ra} / fol. 16 ^r) cantant hymnum <i>Gloria laus</i> (fol. 17 ^{va} / fol. 16 ^v) ymnum <i>Salve festa dies</i> coram vexillo decantant (fol. 24 ^{rb} / fol. 24 ^r) cumque cantatur <i>Tunc locutus est</i> (fol. 24 ^{rb} / fol. 24 ^r) cantant versum <i>Crucifixum</i> (fol. 24 ^{rb} / fol. 24 ^r) cantant versum <i>Reverentissimi</i> (fol. 25 ^{va} / fol. 24 ^r) quo cantato uterque chorus <i>Alleluia</i> decantans (fol. 25 ^{va} / fol. 24 ^r) cantatur antiphona <i>O sacrum unicum</i> (fol. 29 ^{vb} / fol. 28 ^v) et cantatur responorium <i>Terribilis</i> cum versu (fol. 31 ^{rb} / fol. 29 ^v) versum cum gloria ante altarem decantant [a section of the responory <i>Benedic domina</i>] (fol. 31 ^{rb} / fol. 29 ^v)

Table 3.2: Occurrences of the verbs “dicere” and “(de)cantare” in the [Utrecht] Manuale

[Utrecht] Manuale	
<i>Manuale from a Windsheim male house (after 1431)</i>	
deinde dicat sacerdos sequentem oracionem. [<i>Omnipotens sempiterna deus...</i>] (fol. 14 ^r) sacerdos dicat oracionem sequentem [<i>Omnipotens sempiterna deus...</i>] (fol. 18 ^r)	et cantore incipiente cantentur antiphonam sequentes [<i>Pueri hebreorum</i>] (fol. 14 ^v) cantabuntur antiphone sequentes [<i>Cum appropriaret dominus</i>] (fol. 15 ^r)

⁶³⁰ The folio indicated here corresponds to the Heiningen Ordinarius. Indeed, folios on the Feast of the Purification of Mary are missing in the Agnietenberg Ordinarius: fol. 13^{vb} ends with the beginning of this chapter (*In purificatione beate marie virginis de benedictione candelarum et processione*), while fol. 14^{ra} starts in the middle of a sentence, on what seems to be general indications on the liturgy for the time between the Purification of Mary and Easter Vigil. This codicological aspect has previously gone unnoticed and deserves future research into the history of the manuscript. This points at another relevant reason to compare sources from officially incorporated and reformed monasteries.

⁶³¹ See the previous fn.

	<p>cantando hanc antiphonam [<i>Cum audisset populus</i>] (fol. 16^v) cantant ymnium sequentem [<i>Gloria laus</i>] (fol. 18^v) cantent ymnium sequentem [<i>Salve festa dies</i>] (fol. 46^v) cantent antiphonam sequentem [<i>Surgite sancti dei</i>] (fol. 51^v) cantetur antiphona <i>Regina celi</i> (fol. 52^v) cantetur antiphona <i>O quam suavis</i> (fol. 53^r)</p>
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Table 3.3: Occurrences of the verbs “dicere”, “(de)cantare”, and “legere” in the Steterburg Manuale

Steterburg Manuale		
<i>Manuale from the reformed female house of Steterburg (after 1451)</i>		
<p>dicente sacerdote oracionem (fol. 4^v) rector dicit versiculum <i>In resurrectione cum collectam</i> <i>Dominus qui nos</i> (fol. 37^r) rector dicit versiculum (fol. 47^r)</p>	<p>cantant ymnium <i>Gloria laus</i> (fol. 4^v) cantent letanias (fol. 27^r) ymnum <i>Salve festa dies</i> ... decantat (fol. 33^v) cantant versum <i>Crucifixum in [carne]</i> (fol. 35^v) cantatur <i>Et vitam hominum</i> (fol. 35^v) cantant versum <i>Recondamini</i> (fol. 35^v) uterque chorus <i>alleluia</i> decantans (fol. 35^v) letaniam cantant (fol. 38^r) antiphona sequens cantatur <i>Lux perpetua lucebit</i> (fol. 40^r) cantant letanias <i>Rex sanctorum</i> (fol. 41^r) Ista clausula cantata [a section of the responsory <i>Homo quidam fecit</i>] (fol. 43^r) Ista clausula cantata [a section of the antiphon <i>Felix namque es sacra virgo</i>] (fol. 45^r) Ista clausula cantata [a section of the responsory <i>Terribilis locus iste</i>] (fol. 47^r) versum <i>Conserva domine cum Gloria patri</i> in medio chori decantant [in the chant <i>Benedic dominice</i>] (fol. 48^v)</p>	<p>rector legit versiculum <i>Benedictus</i> <i>dominus qui venit</i> (fol. 7^r) legitur lectionibus cum tractibus (fol. 27^r)</p>

The difficulty to precisely separate the medieval terms “cantare” and “legere” is due to their close meaning, to their relative flexibility in meaning, and because they both refer to oral actions, to *voicing* something within a specific mode of performance, as Paul Zumthor pointed out.⁶³² Moreover, these terms have different meanings depending on their contexts, not to mention the enormous temporal distances that encompass the period we now refer to as “the Middle Ages”. For instance, Ulrich Mehler demonstrated that “dicere” and “cantare” were interchangeable in medieval liturgical drama in Germany. Conversely, Ulrike Hascher-Burger shows that, in the context of the Modern Devotion, “dicere”, “legere”, and “cantare” have differentiated meanings, though they are sometimes difficult to distinguish with absolute certainty, especially in the case of “dicere” and “legere”.⁶³³ In other cases, “dicere”, “legere”, and “cantare” also designate different modes of oral performance aiming at illustrating and shaping social relationships, as in an *ordo* for the coronation of the French king from the thirteenth century analysed by Aubert.⁶³⁴ Even within a single context, these terms sometimes cover different functions: in the Windesheim processions, “legere” and “dicere” designate the oral performance of reading prayers aloud.⁶³⁵ In the stipulation of the constitutions concerning the reading skills of the novice, in addition to the oral performance, the verb “legere” most likely also includes the ability to read Latin, that is perceiving and understanding written matter.⁶³⁶

What is clear, is that in the Windesheim context all these terms referred to *specific* modes of oral performance. The differences between them were, “in so far as the voice was concerned ... only differences of degree – that is, of vocal intensity and intonation”.⁶³⁷ Therefore, in the following, “to read” will refer to the oral action of voicing prayers (in Latin: “legere” and “dicere”). Precisely because of the closeness of “cantare” and “legere”, however, I will also occasionally quote examples which refer to reading (aloud), when they offer a relevant parallel or when they can substantiate the discourse on Windesheim singing voices.

⁶³² Zumthor, *La Lettre et la voix*, esp. 41–44.

⁶³³ Ulrich Mehler, *Dicere und cantare: Zur musikalischen Terminologie und Aufführungspraxis des mittelalterlichen geistlichen Dramas* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1981), and Ulrike Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113) : mit einer Edition der Gesänge* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 141–46.

⁶³⁴ Aubert, “Le Son et ses sens.”

⁶³⁵ This reinforces the statement of Hascher-Burger regarding the ambiguity of “dicere” and “legere” in the context of the Modern Devotion.

⁶³⁶ It should be reminded here that every canons and canonesses had to “attentively read” (“diligenter perlegatur”) the constitutions annually (see part I, chapter 1). This suggests that the ability to read required from a novice included perceiving and understanding written texts.

⁶³⁷ Steven J. P. Van Dijk, “Medieval Terminology and Methods of Psalm Singing,” *Musica Disciplina* 6, no. 1 (1952): 8.

Chapter 5

The Proper Manner of Singing: Idealised Performative Aspects

Chapter 5 analyses the attributes of the ideal performative aspects of chant to Windesheim criteria. This analysis aims at revealing the liturgical uses of the singing voices and its conceptualisations by the Congregation of Windesheim.

1. Reviewing the *fractio vocis*

To start with the Windesheim regulations, which conditioned and influenced the discourses of all other sources produced by Windesheim canons and canonesses, a famous stipulation of the OW linked with chant practice reads as follow:

<i>Nullus fractis vocibus audeat curiositatem vel levitatem ostendere, sed plano et simplici modo qui gravitatem preferat omnis cantus est depromendus.</i>	No one should dare [to exhibit] curiosity or lightheartedness through the <i>fractio vocis</i> , but all chant must be produced in a plain and simple manner as might become its gravity/dignity. ⁶³⁸
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This complex passage raises question about mensurally notated monody, polyphony and *cantus fractus*.⁶³⁹ Several possibilities have been postulated by different scholars about its interpretation in this context. Here, I do not want to delve too deeply into those questions, since my focus is on the

⁶³⁸ OW 1521, fol. 41^v. The Heiningen Ordinarius, the OW from the reformed female house of Heiningen reads the same. The words “audeat curiositatem” are omitted in the Agnietenberg Ordinarius. But since OW 1521 and the Heiningen Ordinarius both contain them, this may well be a copying mistake.

⁶³⁹ For an introduction to *cantus fractus*, see Marco Gozzi, “Rhythmischer Choralgesang: Der cantus fractus,” *Musikleben des Spätmittelalters in der Region Österreich (Universität Wien)* (blog), n.d. <https://musical-life.net/kapitel/verbreitung-und-bedeutung-des-cantus-fractus> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

sound of the singing voices. But I nevertheless would like to give an overview of the existent literature on these questions within Windesheim circles, while adding relevant parallels to broaden the discussion. This will also enable me to show that *fractio vocis* was perhaps (also) concerned with inflections of voices and, therefore, performance practice.

First, *fractio vocis* could refer to mensural diminution, in which the note value of a single syllable is divided into smaller notes.⁶⁴⁰ *Plano et simplici modo* could refer either to monophonic plainchant or to simple polyphony (syllabic and simultaneous declamation of text). According to Hascher-Burger, the last possibility is the most likely.⁶⁴¹ It would mean that this plain and simple style of polyphony is opposed to the *fractio vocis* polyphony, that is, a polyphony with mensural diminution, complex voice-leading, and multiple texts.

Musicological research usually understands *fractio vocis* as polyphony.⁶⁴² Indeed, when dealing with Windesheim *fractio vocis*, modern literature often links it with Carthusian circles, because they use the same words: in the 1440s Denis the Carthusian (1402/3–1471) explicitly linked the *fractio vocis* with discantus (“discantus seu fractio vocis”).⁶⁴³ Following Denis’s definition, the Carthusian monk Johannes Gallicus (c. 1415–1473), active in Italy,⁶⁴⁴ made a similar distinction in the 1460s between simple counterpoint (note-against-note style) and the *fractio vocis*, which he also named *cantus mensuratus* or *figuratus*, speaking approvingly of the first and questioning the use of the second.⁶⁴⁵ The various synonyms proposed by Johannes Gallicus however suggest that *fractio vocis* designates a mensurally notated melody. For instance, in Johannes Tinctoris’s definition, *cantus*

⁶⁴⁰ Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 192.

⁶⁴¹ Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 201.

⁶⁴² For a discussion of the understanding in this term in musicological research on Denis the Carthusian, see Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 192–93. For the links between the Carthusian and music of the Modern Devotion, see Christian Meyer, “Devotio Moderna et pratiques musicales polyphoniques,” in *Rencontres de Colmar-Strasbourg (29 septembre au 2 octobre 1988) : La dévotion moderne dans les pays bourguignons et rhénans des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XV^e s.), 1989), 159–70.

⁶⁴³ Quoted by Rob C. Wegman, “Musical Understanding’ in the 15th Century,” *Early Music* 30, no. 1 (2002): 19–20, fn. 30. See also Denis the Carthusian, “De vita canonicorum,” in *Doctoris ecstatici D. Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, vol. 37 (Tournai: Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1909), 197. For a discussion of the terms “discantus” in relation to *fractio vocis* in such contexts, see Joachim F. Angerer, “Die Begriffe ‘Discantus, Organa’ und ‘Scolares’ in reformgeschichtlichen Urkunden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Pflege der Mehrstimmigkeit in den Benediktinerklöstern des österreichischen-süddeutschen Raumes,” *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, no. 109 (March 1972): 145–70; and Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, esp. 195–205.

⁶⁴⁴ Johannes Gallicus was born in Namur and studied at Mantua, where he later became a Carthusian monk. Cecil Adkins, “Gallicus [Carthusiensis, Legiensis, Mantuanus], Johannes,” in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16313> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁶⁴⁵ Rob C. Wegman, *The Crisis of Music in Early Modern Europe, 1470-1530* (London: Routledge, 2005), 18. Johannes Gallicus (c. 1415–1473) was a French humanist and theorist, active in Italy. He studied at Mantua, where he later became a Carthusian monk.

simplex figuratus means a monophonic melody notated in determined, relatively simple note values.⁶⁴⁶ So, as Richard Sherr points out, *cantus fractus* seems to have designated the technique of chant-like monophonic pieces sung mensurally, in particular for the Mass, and especially the technique of writing it in mensural notation.⁶⁴⁷ Such practices, common all over Europe at this time, could have been motivated by the need to have everyone singing together.⁶⁴⁸

Whether it refers to the mensural notation of a monophonic line or to a “simple polyphonic” setting of chant, the references to the “breaking” of voices date back earlier than the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For instance, the Carthusian *Statuta antiqua*, rarely mentioned in the modern literature associated with the Windesheim *fractio vocis* – though Denis and Gallicus probably knew them – prescribe:

<p><i>Quia boni monachi officium est plangere, potius quam cantare, sic cantemus voce, ut planctus, non cantus delectatio sit in corde. Quod gracia preveniente poterit fieri, si ea que cantando delectationem afferunt amputentur ut est fractio et inundatio vocis et geminatio puncti et similia, que potius ad curiositatem attinent, quam ad simplicem cantum.</i></p>	<p>Since it is the duty of a good monk to lament more than it is to sing, let us sing with our voice in such a way that lamentation and not delight in singing will be in our hearts. This might happen, if grace precedes this, if one omits everything which brings delight in singing, such as the <i>fractio</i> and <i>inundatio</i> of the voice, and the <i>geminatio puncti</i> and similar things which belong more to <i>curiositas</i> than to simple chant.⁶⁴⁹</p>
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The *Statuta antiqua* of the Carthusian statutes were collected in 1259: arguably *fractio vocis* had a different meaning at that time from the one discussed by Denis and Johannes Gallicus in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the thirteenth century the Carthusian *fractio vocis* might have

⁶⁴⁶ “Cantus simplex figuratus est qui figuris notarum certi valoris simpliciter efficitur.” (“The *cantus simplex figuratus* is this [kind of *cantus*] that is simply made of figures of notes of a determined value.”) Johannes Tinctoris, *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (Treviso: Gerardo de Lisa, c. 1473; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 3 a, <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0007/bsb00070089/images>; last accessed 29 August 2019), fol. a.iiii.

⁶⁴⁷ Richard Sherr, “Chant in the Renaissance and Interactions with Polyphony,” in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 179.

⁶⁴⁸ For example, the Carthusian Heinrich Eger of Kalkar, in the *Cantuagium* (1380), discusses how mensural notation was helpful “propter concordantiam servandam in cantibus et mensuras in discantibus”. Heinrich Eger von Kalkar, *Cantuagium*, ed. Heinrich Hüsch (Cologne: Staufener-Verlag, 1952), 45. For a discussion of this topic, see Karl Kügle, “Die Fragmente Oxford, All Souls 56 und die Mensural notierte Mehrstimmigkeit in Köln um 1400: Ein Zwischenbericht,” in *Musik der mittelalterlichen Metropole: Räume, Identitäten und Kontexte der Musik in Köln und Mainz, ca. 900–1400: Tagungsbericht Mainz/Köln Oktober 2014*, ed. Fabian Kolb, Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 179 (Kassel: Merseburger, 2016), esp. 319. On Heinrich Eger, see Mary Berry, “Eger von Kalkar, Heinrich,” in *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08604> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁶⁴⁹ *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis*, fols. 62^v–63^r. See also Steven J. P. Van Dijk, “Medieval Terminology and Methods of Psalm Singing,” 18. For further discussion of the complex and rather ambiguous terminology of this passage, see William Dalglish, “The Origin of the Hocket,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31, no. 1 (1978): 3–20; and Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme: Innerlichkeit, Affekt und Gesang im Mittelalter* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 219–20.

referred to the “breaking of voices” created by hockets.⁶⁵⁰ It was not the first criticism uttered against the “breaking” of notes. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux, in c. 1150, argued against “skipping over notes” and “lopping them off in the middle” (“non fractis et remissis vocibus”).⁶⁵¹ Furthermore, Wolfgang Fuhrmann rightfully underlines the ambiguity of *fractio vocis* in the *Statuta antiqua*: it could at once refer to the “break” of the voices, the change of vocal register or the use of the head voice, or the break of continuity when repeating the same pitch.⁶⁵²

Given the context of use of the Windesheim *fractio vocis* in the quotation which opened this section, it is difficult to establish with certainty to which of these practices the term refers. This requirement to avoid *fractio vocis* in the OW is surrounded by prescriptions on performative aspects of Windesheim chant: these instructions deal with pitches, style, or intonation, and do not seem to be concerned by the number of voices or the rhythm.⁶⁵³

Therefore, we need to be careful in understanding *fractio vocis* in Windesheim circles. Even though they were contemporaries, it is difficult to establish direct connections between Denis the Carthusian, Johannes Gallicus, and Windesheim. They came from different contexts and had different objectives. The Windesheim *fractio vocis* is referred to in the OW – that is, a book with a strong legislative value. Denis discussed it in a “para-legislative” source. Gallicus, in addition to being active in a different part of Europe, wrote about the *fractio vocis* in a treatise, that is, a text with very different objectives than liturgical regulations. The word came from the same intellectual environment, but its meaning was appropriated by various people with different objectives. For Windesheim, the objective was to codify chant practices which eventually aimed at implementing uniformity and stimulate devotion. Denis’s *De vita canonicorum* is a theological essay in which the author details how canons should live from a spiritual perspective (e.g., living in humility) as well as from a practical perspective (e.g., living in enclosure). It was aimed at describing and perhaps

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, “Singing the Hiccup – On Texting the Hocket,” *Early Music History* 32 (2013): 225–75; and Dalglish, “The Origin of the Hocket,” 8.

⁶⁵¹ Quoted from Dalglish, “The Origin of the Hocket,” 8. In a different context, the Franciscan friar David of Augsburg, in c. 1235, asked the singers, not to “divide up the notes when singing in the way they do at courts”. Quoted from Dalglish, 8. Dalglish’s article offers a discussion of these thirteenth-century quotations. Fuhrmann’s discussion is relevant here as well (Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*, 215–40). Ludovic Viallet also discusses the opposition of “cantus planus” and “cantus dissolutus et fractus” in Franciscan legislations of 1336 and 1499: Ludovic Viallet, “L’Observance sans les vicaires : enjeux et conceptions de la vie franciscaine,” in *Franciscan Observance between Italy and Central Europe. Proceedings of International Conference, 4–6 December 2014, Franciscan Monastery of Szeged-Alsóváros (Hungary) / L’Osservanza francescana fra Italia ed Europa Centrale. Atti del Convegno internazionale, 4–6 dicembre 2014, Convento Franciscano di Szeged-Alsóváros (Ungheria)*, ed. G. Galamb (Szeged, 2017), 99–101.

⁶⁵² “*Fractio* (Bruch) könnte sich auf das ‘Brechen’ der Stimme beziehen, also entweder auf Registerwechsel oder den Einsatz der Kopfstimme, oder auf die Brechung der Tonkontinuität durch Wiederholung derselben Tonhöhe...” Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*, 220–21.

⁶⁵³ Heinrich Rütthing, “Zum Einfluß der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Konstitutionen,” *Ons Geesteljk Erf*, no. 59 (1985): 197–210; and Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 192.

codifying Carthusian life, but it did not have an intrinsic regulative value. While it is possible that these terms did reflect the same practice, it is also possible that there was no simple and direct correlation between the vocabulary used and the object designated.

Moreover, it seems that the Carthusians influenced Windesheim more on the practical organisation of monastic life than on the musical level.⁶⁵⁴ As seen in the quotation above, the Carthusians advocated monks to lament rather than to sing. This was mainly advocating a simple style of chant expressing their asceticism and austerity, and was surely intended to avoid the pleasure of singing being given more attention than the prayer to God itself. Even if Windesheim probably strove for a similar style of singing, it is interesting that the Congregation did not take over such a prescription of mournfulness for its own chant performance, despite the strong influence of the Carthusians statutes on the Windesheim constitutions and despite the austerity generally attached to the Congregation. Stimulating devotion to God and being close to Him by singing seems to have been more important than expressing the lament of monks or canons being on earth instead of being with God, as the “plangere” of the Carthusian statutes implies. This is also found in the sisterbook: manuscript DV praises Katharina van Naaldwijk’s voice for being “sweet, full of reverence, cheerful” (“sueten, eerzamen, vrolicken”), which is also very different from the lament of the Carthusians.⁶⁵⁵

In Windesheim sources, *fractio vocis* appears in a context which is very much concerned with performative aspects. In addition, the OW opposes *fractio vocis* to a *planus et simplex modus*. Therefore, it is possible that this “simple chant” or “simple manner” may only refer to an even and simple manner of singing in terms of pitches, tone, and loudness, without referring to polyphonic practices. Moreover, *fractio vocis* could also refer to embellishments in smaller values than the notated ones. This would imply ornamental and improvised pitches which would undermine the Windesheim ideal of uniformity. Therefore, while it is plausible that the *fractio vocis* and the *planus et simplex modus* refer to a chant measured according to the length of syllables (*cantus fractus*) or to a prohibition of “art polyphony”, of a similar kind as that which Du Fay, Ockeghem, or Obrecht were composing in the same century (as opposed to a general interdiction of polyphony),⁶⁵⁶ it is

⁶⁵⁴ Rütting, “Zum Einfluß der Kartäuserstatuten auf die Windesheimer Konstitutionen”; and Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 196.

⁶⁵⁵ DV, fol. 248r. Katharina van Naaldwijk (1395–1443) entered the monastery of Diepenveen in 1412 and became supprioress of the monastery in 1420. For more information on Katharina, see Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*; and Dimphéna Groffen, “Naaldwijk, Katharina van (1395–1443),” *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, Instituut Voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, Den Haag (blog), 13 January 2014, <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/katharinavannaaldwijk> (last accessed 29 August 2019).

⁶⁵⁶ Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, esp. 194. Polyphonic music from Windesheim houses still needs to be researched in depth, especially taking into account the nature of polyphony and the regulations attached to

equally possible that it refers to a restrained style of singing, in terms of intention, tone, and simultaneous declamation. More generally, this stipulation could also be understood in a broader sense: it may not have aimed at forbidding specific musical practices, but rather at controlling or limiting the liberties taken by canons and canonesses when performing the liturgy.

Finally, given the fact that the stipulation on the *fractio vocis* is part of a chapter on uniformity of chant, it is possible that the term did not refer to the voices in relation to each other, but to the voices in relation to their sound over time. Canons or canonesses had to sing together – at the same pitch and at the same pace. But not only the beginning and the end of the chants had to start in a uniform manner: every syllable of the text should also be sung at the same time by everyone. *Fractio vocis* would then refer to the breaking up of syllables, not because of mensural diminution, but because of marking a break in the middle of a word or of a sentence. Such breaks would equally obscure the meaning of the text. Therefore, we should perhaps consider the *fractio vocis* not only in a vertical way but also in a horizontal way, in the flow of the voices over time, to express the gravity and the dignity required. In the end, the sources may include all the aforementioned possibilities regarding the *fractio vocis*. One should retain here that they are all underpinned, more or less directly, by the same concern: the intelligibility of the text while singing.

2. On the Importance of Intelligible Texts

The expression of devotion through the intelligibility of the texts was central for the Congregation of Windesheim. The intelligibility of texts was especially a concern when they had to be orally uttered in singing, since chant could easily obscure the utterance of the words. A good example of how the singing voice could reject linguistic constraints is given by Conrad von Zabern:

<i>Alia rusticitas in cantando est vocales non satis distincte sub proprio earum sono vociferare; hoc enim reddit cantum quoad verba minus intelligibilem audientibus, cum nimirum confusa et vix perceptibilis vocum differentia intelligentiam adiuvat non mediocriter.</i>	Another error in singing results from not articulating the syllables clearly enough and with the proper vowel sound. This makes the chant less intelligible to the listeners as far as its words are concerned, just like an overly confused and scarcely perceptible differentiation of the pitches is of little help towards intelligibility. ⁶⁵⁷
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polyphonic practices. In addition to Hascher-Burger's work on this topic, see also the two following studies: Meyer, "Devotio Moderna et pratiques musicales polyphoniques"; and Alexander Blachly, "Archaic Polyphony in Dutch Sources of the Renaissance," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging Voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 53, no. 1 (2003): 183–227.

⁶⁵⁷ Conrad von Zabern, "De modo bene cantandi," 274 (130). Translation adapted from Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement," 215.

In this passage, Conrad criticises people who did not voice the syllables in the proper way. The issue of such a lack of clarity in the pronunciation had an impact on what the listeners could understand (who had access to the sacred texts only by listening to them, not by reading them in a liturgical book).⁶⁵⁸

Such a concern appeared earlier in medieval monastic contexts. For instance, Bernard of Clairvaux mentions in his letter 398 how the melody “should never obscure the sense of the words but enhance them” (“cantus ipse ... sensum litterae non evacuet, sed fecundet”).⁶⁵⁹ It means that the voice should “properly convey the text, and efficiently pronounce and carry the vowels to make them understood and not randomly ‘sticking out’ if used in different vocal registers”.⁶⁶⁰ Consequently, it was necessary to adopt a simple way of singing, to prevent the sung voice from totally rejecting the linguistic constraints.

The emphasis on the intelligibility of sung texts is linked to proper devotion. A significant example of this is the Diepenveen canoness Trude van Beveren († 1428).⁶⁶¹ The sisterbook tells us that she used to carry a book with her, containing the Latin texts for each day. Because she did not know Latin, whenever she had the opportunity, she would ask her fellow canonesses for explanations of these Latin texts. Once, as she was drawing water from the well, an appropriate sentence that she recalled from Matins came to her mind. She became so inspired by these words, that she continued to draw water from the well in complete oblivion of her real environment, eventually making the water overflow.⁶⁶² In recent scholarship, this well-known example has been used to illustrate several aspects of the Diepenveen canonesses’ daily life: to show that canonesses’ daily lives were deeply interwoven with liturgical texts,⁶⁶³ or that aural experiences (here, the water of the well) enhanced devotion.⁶⁶⁴ Here, I especially subscribe to Katty de Bundel’s analysis, according to which this episode “indicates that a lot of interest was taken in (acquiring) knowledge of Latin”.⁶⁶⁵ The paraphrased Latin

⁶⁵⁸ As mentioned above, Conrad’s concern for proper singing practices in the choir was also directed towards the “listeners”, that is, the lay people outside the choir, who overheard the chant from the nave. Singing well was important to increase their devotion, because it ensured the intelligibility of texts, as the quotation illustrates.

⁶⁵⁹ Cited from McGee, “Medieval Performance Practice,” 165. Translation taken from McGee, 22.

⁶⁶⁰ Livljanic and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” 219.

⁶⁶¹ For more biographical information on Trude van Beveren, I refer to Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries* (see the index, p. 279 for the specific pages).

⁶⁶² Brinkerink, 193–94 (D, fols. 102^c–102^d). This episode was discussed by Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Vrouwenlied en mannenzang. Latijnse geestelijke gezangen in laatmiddeleeuwse liederenhandschriften,” in *De fiere nachtegaal: het Nederlandse lied in de middeleeuwen*, eds. Louis Peter Grijp and Frank Willaert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 153–54.

⁶⁶³ Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 54.

⁶⁶⁴ De Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences,” 2.

⁶⁶⁵ Katty de Bundel, “A Female Scribe Reveals Herself: The Making of Ms. Leuven, Theol. 842S,” in *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition: Tradition and Creative Recycling*, eds. Geert H. M. Claassens and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), 126.

knowledge (via a sister canoness who served as interpreter and explained the meaning to Trude) was important because it enabled canonesses (and canons) to better understand what they were singing. Understanding the liturgical text – that is, not simply knowing the meaning of the text from a literal point of view, but also experiencing the words in the body and in the mind – led to a deepened devotion. Therefore, it was crucial to properly utter the words when singing, because a clear utterance ensured a clear and proper understanding of the words for both the singers and the listeners and, consequently, enhanced proper devotion in the hearts of the singers and of the listeners.

3. Moderation as a Key Concern

Devotion, according to Windesheim, is especially expressed in the chant by gravity and dignity, which are in turn underlined by the idea of moderation. Moderation was an essential aesthetic and spiritual feature of liturgical chant for the Congregation of Windesheim, and both the Windesheim regulations and Johannes Busch put special emphasis on it. The Windesheim constitutions give the following stipulation for the cantor/cantrix:

<i>Cantores solliciti sint, ut semper mediocritas</i>	The cantors are to ensure that moderation always
<i>servetur in cantu nostro, ut et gravitatem</i>	be kept in our chant(ing) in order to evoke dignity
<i>redoleat et devocionem excitet.</i>	and to stir up devotion. ⁶⁶⁶

Here, moderation is referred to as “mediocritas”. This Latin term designates a middle ground, a middling state between two extremes.⁶⁶⁷ This idea is not specific to Windesheim. The very wording of the stipulation for the cantor/cantrix seems to have been taken from the Cistercians since their constitutions of c. 1220 introduce a very similar one:

<i>Mediocritas servetur in cantu. ut et</i>	Let <i>mediocritas</i> be kept in chanting, that it might diffuse
<i>gravitatem redoleat et devocio conservetur.</i>	dignity and that devotion might be preserved. ⁶⁶⁸

David Chadd remarks the difficulty to translate “mediocritas” in this Cistercian context and relates it to the “Ciceronian ideal of a mean between excessive jollity and lugubriousness”.⁶⁶⁹ Similarly,

⁶⁶⁶ CCW, 146:43–44; and CM, 772:33–36.

⁶⁶⁷ See the entry “mediocritas” of Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879); and Richard Ashdowne, David Robert Howlett, and Ronald Edward Latham, eds., *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2018).

⁶⁶⁸ Quoted from Bernard Lucet, *La codification cistercienne de 1202 et son évolution ultérieure* (Rome: Editiones cistercienses, 1964), 42. Translation by David F. L. Chadd, “Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity,” in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, eds. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 305.

⁶⁶⁹ Chadd, “Liturgy and Liturgical Music: The Limits of Uniformity,” 305.

Thomas Merton translates *mediocritas* as “modesty”, most likely referring to the obsolete meaning of this noun to indicate moderation.⁶⁷⁰

To help clarify what exactly is meant by *mediocritas*, to what exactly it refers, another Cistercian source is relevant: the thirteenth-century *Instituta patrum*, which also inspired Conrad von Zabern. When describing the vocal quality and style of singing suited to choral psalmody, the text states:

<i>Psalmodia semper pari voce, equa lance,</i>	Psalmody should be chanted always with an even
<i>non nimis protrahatur; sed mediocri voce,</i>	voice, at a steady tempo that is not excessively drawn
<i>non nimis velociter, sed rotunda, virili,</i>	out, but with a moderate voice, not too quickly, but
<i>viva et succincta voce psallatur.</i>	with a full, virile, lively, and precise voice. ⁶⁷¹

Dyer translates “*mediocri voce*” as “at a moderate pitch”, and I agree that these terms indeed include the need to choose a middle register pitch. This is, for instance, one of the meaning of “*mediocriter cantare*” given by Conrad von Zabern: “To sing moderately ... is to sing neither too high nor too low.” (“*Mediocriter cantare ... est non nimis alte nec nimis basse cantare.*”)⁶⁷² However, in the *Instituta patrum*, it seems to me that the term also concerns speed and character. From this perspective, *mediocritas* must apply to several aspects of chant performance, including speed and volume. These dimensions of sound are obviously fused in the mind of these medieval writers, and, therefore, also in their aesthetics.

The same kind of requirements is to be found in Conrad’s treatise. He does not only use *mediocriter* to designate the middle register in terms of pitches, but also uses it to express the need for moderation in the proper choice of singing style: while he recommends adapting the pace, volume, and style of singing depending on the solemnity of the feasts (aspects which will be discussed further below), he reminds his readers that this should be done without “notable departure from moderation” (“*absque tamen notabili excessu mediocritatis*”).⁶⁷³ Conrad concludes his discussion on *mediocritas* by a Middle-High German saying, which illustrates very clearly the reasons why it should be maintained:

⁶⁷⁰ Thomas Merton, *Charter, Customs, and constitutions of the Cistercians: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition* (London: Liturgical Press, 2015), 82, #79. The OED gives the following definition as obsolete: “Moderation, temperateness, self-control; freedom from excess or exaggeration; clemency, mildness of rule or government.” “modesty, n.”

⁶⁷¹ Anonymus, “*Instituta patrum*,” 5–6. (emphasis mine). Translation adapted from Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 171.

⁶⁷² Conrad von Zabern, “*De modo bene cantandi*,” 267 (123). Translation by Sion M. Honea. “*Altus*” can also mean “loud” and “bassus”, “soft”, but in this chapter of his treatise, Conrad explicitly discusses the pitches.

⁶⁷³ Conrad von Zabern, “*De modo bene cantandi*,” 269 (125). Translation by Sion M. Honea.

<p><i>Et sic verificetur proverbium antiquum: Zu lutzel und zu vil verderbt al spil. Medium autem tenere beati.</i></p>	<p>And so let the old adage be confirmed: “Either too little or too much ruins the game.” Happy are those who hew to the golden mean.⁶⁷⁴</p>
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Mediocritas was of course not limited to chant and was also used to characterise a specific way of speaking. This can be seen in the customary of the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons, which required the brothers to sit in the cloister after Chapter meeting, where “they shall speak in a moderate voice and not too loudly” (“et ibi mediocriter loquantur et non clamose”).⁶⁷⁵ More specifically, already in the middle of the twelfth century, the Dominican Humbert of Romans describes, in his *Liber de eruditione praedicatorum*, that the preacher’s enunciation “must be balanced too; that is to say, not too fast, and not too slow” (“item mediocritatem in pronuciando, ut non nimis celeriter, nec nimis morose pronuciet”).⁶⁷⁶ In this case, *mediocritas* is linked to the need to make the text intelligible for the preacher’s audience,⁶⁷⁷ which echoes the need to have an intelligible text performance in liturgical chant.

Therefore, *mediocritas* was a common term in late medieval societies to evoke the notion of modesty and of moderation or balance, regardless of the mode of performance. In monastic liturgical chant, *mediocritas* was always connected to the need of finding balance between extremes, which also reflected broader monastic ideals. It encompassed various aspects of chant performance: the pitches, the pace, and the volume of the voices. I will now discuss these aspects through the perspective of Windesheim.

a. Neither Too High, nor Too Low

Moderation must be present in the uniformity of the pitches and the proper choice of the pitch level. This means that in all chants, the uniformity of the melodic line must always be observed,

⁶⁷⁴ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 279 (135). Translation adapted from Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 221.

⁶⁷⁵ Quoted from and translated by Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, “Performing Silence and Regulating Sound: The Monastic Soundscape of Saint-Jean-Des-Vignes,” in *Resounding Images*, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 49.

⁶⁷⁶ Humbert of Romans (c. 1200–1277), the Fifth Master of the Dominican Order, composed this book on the formation of preachers after 1263. See Simon Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982). On thirteenth-century Dominican preachers, see Denery II, “The Preacher and His Audience: Dominican Conceptions of the Self in the Thirteenth Century”.

⁶⁷⁷ The quotation of Humbert appears in the chapter dedicated to the preacher’s speech and opens with the following words: “A preacher must have the appropriate ability to speak, sufficient to ensure that he is not rendered unintelligible by any deficiency in his way of speaking.” (“Circa loquelam eius notandum est, quod debet habere competentem eloquentiam; ne ex linguae impedimento fiat inintelligibilis.”). Quoted from Humbert of Romans. *De eruditione religiosorum praedicatorum*, ed. Giuseppe Catalani (Rome: Typis Antonii de Rubeis, 1739), 21. Translated by Tugwell, *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings*, 218.

and no one must sing higher or lower than the others.⁶⁷⁸ The OW informs us that the pitch of chant must be controlled as much as possible in order to suit everyone.⁶⁷⁹

Hascher-Burger points out that these prescriptions did not refer to polyphony, but to “ungeordnete ‘Vielstimmigkeit’”. To her, this chapter of the OW generally highlights the need to sing at the same pitch in order to ensure the uniformity of the sound of the choir (“Chorklang”).⁶⁸⁰ The concern for the proper choice of the pitch level, and sustaining it during the performance, was important enough for Johannes Busch to mention it, too: “I went with them in the choir day and night, to teach them our way of singing and the [church] tones.” (“... ego cum eis ivi ad chorum die noctuque, ut modum nostrum et thonos addiscerent.”)⁶⁸¹

Here, Busch refers directly to the learning process through rehearsing and performing that was characteristic for his style of church reform, which underlines that knowing which pitch to choose as well as sustaining it required a lot of practice. The sisterbooks illustrate this very well, too. During the investiture of the canoness Katharina van Naaldwijk (on 6 September 1412), the priest Otto Pooten started to sing the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus* so high, that the other clerics in attendance could not follow him and that he had to sing all the verses alone.⁶⁸² Most likely, this event is mentioned in the sisterbook to indicate the joy of Otto in this important moment, when Katharina became a full member of the community.⁶⁸³ But the description of the (wrong) choice of pitch level also suggests that this must have happened every so often in Windesheim houses and, therefore, that it was a real concern. It echoes the sentence of the OW, according to which choosing the proper pitch is supposed to ensure that everyone will be able to sing (i.e., taking into account the different vocal ranges and skills of each members of a house):

<i>Sic incipiente sunt antiphone ante psalmodiam ubi convenienter fieri potest ut thono psalmodie terminus inchoacionis congruat.</i>	Antiphons before psalmody are to be started in such a way that it can be convenient and so that the tones of the chant match the beginning of the next psalm. ⁶⁸⁴
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⁶⁷⁸ “In omni cantu uniformitas vocum est semper observanda ita ut nemo audeat cantare aliquo gradum supra vel infra quem conventus canit.” Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 41^{rb}.

⁶⁷⁹ “Idcirco quantum fieri potest moderandus est cantus ut omnibus conveniat.” Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 41^{rb}.

⁶⁸⁰ Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 190.

⁶⁸¹ Busch, *Liber*, 462. This was when reforming the canons of St. Mauritius, near Halle (diocese of Magdeburg).

⁶⁸² “Ende here otte ... began die mysse vanden hilligen geest soe hoechlick – ende sunderlinge die sequencie *Veny, santus spiritus!* – Dat hem die vaders niet wal volgen en conden, hij en moste die versse van der sequenciën alte samen mede singen.” Brinkerink, 96–97 (D, fol. 51^{ra}); and DV, fol. 235^v.

⁶⁸³ On the importance of the inner senses to stimulate an emotional intensity of the prayer’s experience, see Niklaus Largier, “Inner Senses – Outer Senses,” in *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter / Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages*, eds. Ingrid Kasten, Niklavs Largier, and Mireille Schnyder (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 3–15.

⁶⁸⁴ Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 41^{ra}. This passage also shows the concern for a smooth transition between every part of the liturgy, a concern shared by the contemporary Conrad von Zabern, which underlines that it was not always (or often) the case. In his treatise, Conrad advocates the need for chant pitches to correspond with one another.

This concern was not specific to Windesheim. The contemporary author Conrad von Zabern expresses the exact same idea:

Mediocriter cantare, quod est tertium, est non nimis alte nec nimis basse cantare, quod ideo valde convenit, quia mediocris cantus minus est onerosus personarum multitudini quam altior vel bassior, quia semper sunt aliqui in multitudine, qui non bene possunt sine gravamine multum alte vel basse cantare, quorum auxilio chorus utique fraudaretur, quando vel nimis alte vel nimis basse cantaretur.

To sing moderately, which is the third [point], is to sing neither too high nor too low, which is entirely fitting because a moderate song is less onerous for most people than a higher or lower, since there are always some in the group who are not able to sing high or low without much physical difficulty, in want of whose assistance the chorus is diminished when it would be sung either too high or too low.⁶⁸⁵

Considering the proper choice of the pitch level, one difference in the constitutions between the chapters on the cantor and the cantrix is worth mentioning. These two chapters open with the need for the cantor/cantrix to display in time on a board the necessary information, for instance regarding who must sing or read which chant or prayer. The CCW then stipulate that the cantor must not place a brother of a lesser rank above a brother of a higher rank, for instance a deacon above a priest or a subdeacon above a deacon.⁶⁸⁶ Because the CM were intended for canonesses only (who could not be ordained), this stipulation is not mentioned in the CM. The CCW continue by stipulating that when two brothers have to sing together, the cantor must pay attention to appoint two brothers of the same rank, to the extent possible. However, the CM stipulate that the cantrix must choose two sisters who are uniform in their abilities to perform chant, in psalmody:

CCW

Ad queque vero a duobus pariter decantanda, quantum convenienter potest, equalis gradus fratres studeat ordinare.

To organise what is to be sung by two [canons], [the cantor] should make sure to appoint two brothers of the same rank, as far as it is possible.⁶⁸⁷

CM

Ad quequam vero a duabus pariter decantanda, quantum convenienter potest, uniformes in psallendo sorores studeat ordinare.

To organise what is to be sung by two [canonesses], [the cantrix] should make sure to appoint two sisters uniform in psalmody, as far as it is possible.⁶⁸⁸

He takes the example of the Gloria which melody should correspond with that of the preceding Kyrie. He also mentions the first part of an antiphon, which should start in accordance with the rest of the preceding chant. See Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 278–79 (134–35). For a translation, see Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 221.

⁶⁸⁵ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 267 (123). Translation by Sion M. Honea.

⁶⁸⁶ “Observare autem debet in cantandis sive legendis, ne illum qui minoris est ordinis supra illum qui maioris est ordinis ponat, id est nec diaconum supra sacerdotem vel supra diaconum subdiaconum.” CCW, 144:4–7.

⁶⁸⁷ CCW, 144:7–8 (emphasis mine).

⁶⁸⁸ CM, 771:3–5 (emphasis mine).

Rudolf van Dijk already underlined this difference, without developing possible reasons for it.⁶⁸⁹ The main reason, though, is clear: canonesses could not become priests and they were consequently all of the same rank – contrary to canons, who could be at various stages of their Holy Orders, such as subdeacon, deacon, or priest. The fact that the compilers of the CM did not delete this passage here, is telling, since they could have simply done so, as they did for other parts not applicable to women.⁶⁹⁰ In the CCW, appointing two canons of the same rank is primary linked to hierarchy. But it might also be linked to the musical experience and/or proficiency of the brothers. Indeed, two equally experienced members of the community would be more likely to be uniform in singing psalms (in terms of speed, pitches, volume), contrary to, for instance, a novice compared to a professed canon.

However, behind these stipulations of choosing a proper pitch and a proper pair of singers, one can also see a practical concern that is legitimised by a spiritual aim. Indeed, the liturgy had to run smoothly from beginning to end, without interruption. If a solo singer started too high or too low, this prevented the rest of the community from joining for the rest of the chant. The regulations legitimised the need for a proper choice of pitch for spiritual reasons – achieving uniformity of voices to achieve uniformity of the hearts in God – but it was also a practical need to have everyone singing together. Both eventually needed to coincide to generate devotion.

b. Neither Too Fast, nor Too Slow

The moderation of the tempo and sustaining it during the performance had a particular importance in Windesheim singing practices, and, therefore, was given particular importance when reforming chant. The constitutions of Windesheim require the cantor/cantrix to admonish those who sing or read “too slowly or too fast” (“nimis lente vel nimis festinanter”).⁶⁹¹ The OW also insists on the pace: canons/canonesses must avoid to sing with “excessive lengthening and excessive haste” (“vitanda est etiam nimia protractio cantandi sicut et nimia festinancia”).⁶⁹² Busch uses almost the exact same words to describe how he instructed the canonesses of Maria Magdalena in Hildesheim to sing.⁶⁹³ In addition, he writes that the canonesses demonstrated their ability to sing with the correct, moderate speed, and with the expected devotion.⁶⁹⁴ This must have been very important

⁶⁸⁹ R. van Dijk, CM, 364.

⁶⁹⁰ See part I.

⁶⁹¹ The full quotation reads: “Cantoris est ammonere eos, qui nimis lente vel nimis festinanter dicunt cantum vel psalmodiam.” CCW, 146:44–46; and CM, 772:33–36.

⁶⁹² Agnietenberg Ordinarius, fol. 41^{rb}–41^{va}.

⁶⁹³ “... et ut nimiam protractionem sicut et nimiam festinantiam in cantu suo vitarent.” Busch, *Liber*, 580.

⁶⁹⁴ “... magis morose et religiose cantantes ... in cantu suo demonstrarent.” Busch, *Liber*, 580.

because the quality of the community’s performances of chant and of the liturgy was a key criterion for Busch to determine whether the monastery had properly adopted and spiritually internalised the reform.

A comparable example is found in Conrad von Zabern, who dedicated a chapter to “singing variably” (“differentialiter cantare”). Drawing on the authority of the Council of Basel (1431–1449) which prescribed the Divine Office to be recited with “a suitable distinction between solemn and ferial Offices” (“debitam faciendū inter solemne ac feriale officium differentiam”),⁶⁹⁵ Conrad prescribed three different paces (or tempi) according to the solemnity of the feast: the more solemn the feast, the slower the tempo.⁶⁹⁶ Moreover, for Conrad, to sing with variable speed also impacted the volume and the character of the chant – though always with keeping moderation:

<p><i>Item secundo etiam sic est differentialiter cantandum, ut in festivitatis pro amplioris alacritatis ostensione aliquantulum alius et incundius cantetur quam in diebus feriatis, absque tamen notabili excessu mediocritatis.</i></p>	<p>Second, it must be sung in such a varied way, that on festive days it may be sung a tad higher/more forcefully and more joyfully for the sake of displaying fuller liveliness than on ordinary days, but even so absent notable departure from moderation.⁶⁹⁷</p>
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The OW also mentions different styles of singing depending on the feasts: the chants on major feast days must be sung with just a little bit more solemnity, while a slightly simpler style must be maintained on ordinary week days.⁶⁹⁸ Busch also paid attention to these nuances: when reforming the female monastery of Maria Magdalena in Hildesheim, he taught the sisters to sing “forcefully and solemnly” on high-ranking feasts, “moderately” on feasts of the Apostles and “simply and softly” on simple days.⁶⁹⁹ Despite the difficulty to interpret these terms for us today, they must have been linked with the intended pace, character, and volume of the voices.

⁶⁹⁵ Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the ecumenical councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), 488 (trans. p. 489).

⁶⁹⁶ “Differentialiter cantare [est] in magnis festivitatis valde tractim cantetur, in dominicis vero simplicibus et parvis festis mediocris mensura et in feriis brevior servetur.” Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 268 (124). See also Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 211.

⁶⁹⁷ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 269 (125). Translation by Sion M. Honea.

⁶⁹⁸ “In maioribus tamen festis aliquantulum solempnius et ferialibus diebus simplicius est cantandum.” Agnietenberg Ordinarius, f. 41^{rb}.

⁶⁹⁹ “. . . quomodo in festis precipuis altius et solennius, in apostolicis festis moderatius et in ferialibus diebus simplicius et bassius cantare deberent informantes. . .” Busch, *Liber*, 580. The Du Cange lexicon defines “bassius” as “submissiori voce” (soft, low or humble voice) and lists only this passage from Busch’s *Liber* as example. It seems that “bassius” can be understood at once in terms of volume and of character.

c. Neither Too Loud, nor Too Soft

More explicitly linked with the volume of the voice is an event, described by Busch, which took place while he was reforming the Cistercian female house of Mariensee (diocese of Minden). There, Busch complained about the excessive volume of the voices of the priest and of the sisters. Consequently, he had to teach them to sing the chant “without such clamour, moderately and reverently”.⁷⁰⁰ “Clamor” means a loud noise, a shout: this shows that moderation must also be respected in the volume.

However, the choice of the word “clamor” by Busch to describe the voice of the canonesses of Mariensee is not incidental. In the liturgical context of the early Middle Ages, “clamor” designated special prayers for difficult times or prayers inserted into the Mass and performed to curse enemies. Clamours were primarily intended against violations of property rights.⁷⁰¹

Even though this tradition seems to have almost completely disappeared by the beginning of the thirteenth century,⁷⁰² this kind of ritual against enemies is exactly what Busch describes when he first visited Mariensee, with the prior of Wülfinghausen, near Wittenburg (diocese of Hildesheim) and the Duke Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Calenberg, who owned the land of the female house. During their first visit, the canonesses firmly opposed the reform and as a sign of resistance, they sang the antiphon *Media vita* with very loud voices (“altissimis vocibus”) in the choir. They continued doing so as they pursued Busch and the Duke through the church while throwing lit candles at them in a sort of apotropaic gesture.⁷⁰³ A similar situation took place in the female house of Wennigsen, near Hannover (diocese of Minden), which Busch also visited with the Duke and the prior of Wittenburg: again following the refusal of the canonesses to be reformed, Busch suggested that they leave the place to decide what to do. As they were leaving, all the canonesses, lying prostrate on the floor, again started to sing the antiphon *Media vita* with loud voices (“altissimis vocibus”).⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁰ “... profecto nimis alte missas cum capellanis cantabant, capellanis alte inchoantibus et ipsis in eadem voce monialibus respondentibus, ego abusum istum ferre nolens ... donec per se eandem formam cantandi arriperent et sine tali clamore moderate et religiose de cetero cantarent.” Busch, *Liber*, 565.

⁷⁰¹ See the entry “clamor” of the *Blaise Medieval Latin Dictionary*. For liturgical curses, see Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁷⁰² L. Little shows that in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, property transfers were less and less ambiguous, making the clamours less necessary, since laws could more effectively deal with property issues. See Little’s conclusion in *Benedictine Maledictions*, 230–39.

⁷⁰³ “... quando ab eis recessimus, in choro incipientes antiphonam *Media vita* super nos altissimis vocibus decantaverunt et per ecclesiam cum tali cantu nos prosequentes, etiam candelas de cera ardentis super nos et contra nos in terram proiecerunt.” Busch, *Liber*, 565.

⁷⁰⁴ “... ad pavimentum chori super ventres suos se posuerunt et altissimis vocibus antiphonam: *Media vita in mortuis* per totum exclamaverunt.” Busch, *Liber*, 556.

The liturgical formula of *Media vita* was clearly connected with the clamour and symbolised the resistance to reform. Lester Little traces back its use for such purposes in several dioceses of the thirteenth century (including Cologne, Liège, Minden, and Osnabrück) but also in two manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from Cambrai.⁷⁰⁵ Therefore, there can be no doubt that, according to Busch’s account, the canonesses were cursing him and the Duke, the owner of the land.⁷⁰⁶

According to Busch’s descriptions, the canonesses of both Mariensee and Wennigsen sang the antiphon “altissimis vocibus”. Hascher-Burger already underlined the difficulty to understand the meaning of these voices: were they singing particularly high or particularly loud?⁷⁰⁷ Both are equally plausible: their voices were perhaps at once high and loud – shrieking. More importantly in this context, Busch uses the superlative form of “altus”. On the one hand, this choice of words mirrors the agitation and emotion of the canonesses, characteristic of such cursing chants, as Hascher-Burger suggests.⁷⁰⁸ On the other hand, this is the perspective of Johannes Busch, and he might have emphasised the canonesses’ reaction to justify the need for his reforms. As he was discussing this event with the Duke, who lamented that this chant was a curse against his land, Busch told him:

<i>Si ego dux essem huius patrie, libentius cantum illum haberem quam centum florenos, quia non est super nos et terram vestram maledictio sed benedictio et ros celestis, sed super moniales istas dura increpatio et signum reformationis earum.</i>	If I were the Duke of this land, I would rather have this chant than hundred florins, since it is not a curse against us and your land, but a blessing and a heavenly dew, but a strong reprimand against these canonesses and a sign of their [need of a] reform. ⁷⁰⁹
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Therefore, given the fact that Busch himself describes these fights, it might be that it had nothing to do with the actual sound of the voices. In the *Liber*, Busch taught the canonesses how to “sing without such clamour” before the canonesses cursed him and the Duke by singing the antiphon *Media vita*. This choice of words seems to denote that Busch could already hear that canonesses were recalcitrant at being reformed. More generally, this episode suggests that the volume of the voice had a real importance in the efficiency of a chant.

⁷⁰⁵ L. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 238.

⁷⁰⁶ For more on these episodes and on the use of cursing formulas in those contexts, see Ulrike Hascher-Burger, “Zwischen Liturgie und Magie: Apotropäischer Zaubergesang in niedersächsischen Frauenklöstern im späten Mittelalter,” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 1 (2011): 127–43.

⁷⁰⁷ Hascher-Burger, “Zwischen Liturgie und Magie,” 133.

⁷⁰⁸ Hascher-Burger, “Zwischen Liturgie und Magie,” 133.

⁷⁰⁹ Busch, *Liber*, 556. Translation adapted from Hascher-Burger, “Zwischen Liturgie und Magie,” 131.

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From all this emerges the fact that Windesheim did not try to implement an entirely new way of singing. Rather, it reflects broader concerns of fifteenth-century monastic chant performance, and of a larger medieval trend which understood the power of the singing voice to efficiently stimulate devotion, but which warned against obscure renderings of sacred texts.

All in all, these performative aspects of singing chant remain rather vague and they do not enable us to attempt a reconstruction of Windesheim chant. There is a simple reason for this: the Windesheim documentation and the other sources used for comparison in this chapter “cannot be expected to provide a full understanding of performing practice”, as David Hiley underlines about medieval sources.⁷¹⁰ Hiley continues with a reminder that “chant is a changing, living tradition, and was (and still is) subject to regional variation as well as to changes that happen over time”.⁷¹¹ Applied to this context, this demonstrates three things. First, the fact that books are unable to describe performative aspects justifies the need for Johannes Busch to go into the houses undergoing reform in person to implement the correct style of singing. Second, a specific style of singing was indeed aimed for by the Chapter of Windesheim. Finally, the performative aspects of chant advocated by Windesheim were very much in line with other monastic traditions, either prescribed by predecessors, such as the Cistercians, but also by contemporaries, such as Conrad von Zabern. Even though chant was indeed subject to regional variations and changes over time, Windesheim shared singing ideals that were part of broader geographical and temporal concerns about chant performance.

⁷¹⁰ Hiley, “Performing Practice, I.2.ii”.

⁷¹¹ Hiley, “Performing Practice, I.2.ii”.

Chapter 6

From Sweetness to Rhetoric

In chapter 5, I laid out the characteristic features of Windesheim’s ideal performative aspects of the singing voice. While it may not be surprising to find such prescriptions in normative sources like the constitutions or the OW, it might seem more intriguing to find details on performance practices in the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* and in the sisterbooks. This indicates that the actual performance of chant played such a central role in Windesheim houses that it was deemed necessary to discuss it when reporting on reforming activities or when providing models of virtues for the canons. This is reminiscent of the importance given to singing in the prohibition of processional movements which still authorised processional chants in Windesheim female monasteries. Therefore, based on these sources, this final chapter explores why Johannes Busch and the writers of the Diepenveen canons’ biographies felt the need to include descriptions of singing voices in their writings. More generally, this chapter investigates how having a good singing voice influenced and shaped canons’ and canonses’ life and, in turn, influenced and shaped the rhetoric of the authors.

1. Voicing Devotion

a. The Virtue of Singing Well

It was a prerequisite to be able to read and to sing in order to be accepted as a novice (and, therefore, to be able to become a professed member) of a Windesheim house.⁷¹² These abilities were essential to taking part in the Divine Office, the core of canons and canonses’ daily lives.

⁷¹² “... examinandus est, si legere et cantare noverit et possit; propter quod ad chori frequentacionem die noctuque admittendus est.” CCW, 164:49–51; and CM, 777:59–61. See also the introduction to part III.

It also seems that, in addition to being able to sing, being able to sing *well* could influence the acceptance of a novice as a professed member. Johannes Busch alludes to this in his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*: when he was a prospective member of the monastery of Windesheim, Dirk van Herxen (c. 1381–1457), the chief of a community of Brothers of the Common Life in Zwolle, wrote to the Prior Superior of Windesheim to support Busch’s official acceptance within the community.⁷¹³ He said to Busch: “What shall I write on your behalf [to them]? He reads well and he sings well?” (“Quid scribam pro vobis? Bene legit et bene cantat?”).⁷¹⁴ This suggests that the qualities of reading and singing *well* were appreciated and could become an important element in the trajectory towards becoming a professed member of the community.

Besides, the skill of singing well is regularly quoted among other appreciated qualities in Windesheim monasteries, especially next to the ability of reading and writing. Reading and writing were central skills of Windesheim canons and canonesses and were crucial for their devotion.⁷¹⁵ Mentioning the ability of singing well next to the ability to read and to write is, therefore, highly significant. For example, Peter van Gouda, a canon of Windesheim since 1394, is extolled by Busch as a “good scribe” (“bonus scriptor”), as sweet-natured, as an “agreeable singer” (“suavis cantor”), and as a skilful reader in the refectory, to mention but some of his qualities.⁷¹⁶ Moreover, several Windesheim canons were praised for being equally good at singing, reading, and writing skills: Godfried van Kempen (canon of Agnietenberg, † 1449) could sing, read, and write well.⁷¹⁷ Johan Broekhuizen (canon of Windesheim, professed in 1392) received special mention as a good singer with a clear elocution, who copied several religious books on parchment.⁷¹⁸ Similar skills are

⁷¹³ On Dirk van Herxen, see D. A. Brinkerink, “Herxen (Dirk van),” in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, eds. P. C. Molhuysen, P. J. Blok, and Fr. K. H. Kossmann, vol. 6 (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1924), 770–71.

⁷¹⁴ Busch, *Liber*, 395.

⁷¹⁵ Reading and copying books indeed had a central place in the spirituality of Windesheim and, more broadly, in Modern Devotion circles. On the book culture in the movement of the Modern Devotion, see Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio moderna: Handschriftenproduktion, Literaturversorgung und Bibliotheksaufbau im Zeitalter des Medienwechsels* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002). In the context of Windesheim canonesses, see Scheepma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*.

⁷¹⁶ “Fuit autem dulcis in natura bonus scriptor suavis cantor lector mense expeditus deo devotus fratribus dilectus omnibus graciosus moribus compositus discipline zelator infirmis et debilibus valde compassivus pro fratrum commoditatibus in cibis et potibus vestibus et dormicionibus sepe valde sollicitus.” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 120. Also quoted in Acquoy I, 223.

⁷¹⁷ “... sciens bene scribere, legere et cantare.” in *Chron. Mont. S. Agnetis*, 26, quoted by Acquoy II, 246. On Godfried van Kempen, see *Monasticon* III, 31 and 33.

⁷¹⁸ “bene vociferatus et cantor clarissimus ... plures in pergamento et textura divine pagine scribens libros.” Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 113. On the *textura* script (also named *fractura*) used in Windesheim sources, see Bonaventura Kruitwagen, *Laat-middeleeuwse paleografica, paleotypica, liturgica, kalendalia, grammaticalia* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1942), 62–69. On Johan Broekhuizen, see Acquoy II, 241.

sources of praise for canonesses: Katharina van Naaldwijk (1395–1443), subprioress at Diepenveen, could “read Latin well and had a good singing voice”.⁷¹⁹ Gertrud Monnickes († 1426), the first cantrix of Diepenveen, had such a beautiful voice that her skills were said to be renowned even at the papal court.⁷²⁰

These examples attest to the fact that being able to sing well, was undoubtedly a quality that was appreciated in canons and canonesses. In addition, they suggest that singing well did not only mean to respect the performative aspects of the chants described in chapter 5, but also to have a voice that was in itself beautiful.

Interestingly, one of the most telling examples showing the importance of a beautiful voice in Windesheim monasteries is the canoness Trude van Beveren († 1428), who did *not* have a beautiful voice. Trude entered the monastery of Diepeveen in 1401 and stayed there until her death in 1428. According to the Diepenveen sisterbook, she had no good choir voice because it did not blend well with the voices of the other sisters.⁷²¹ This probably meant that she sang out of tune or with an unpleasant timbre. This jeopardised the unity of the sound and, therefore, the devotion that came from the harmony of the choir (the “Chorklang” referred to by Hascher-Burger).⁷²² This is exactly what Conrad von Zabern remarks about those who could not sing the proper intervals: “it brings into disorder everything that is sung well by others” (“totum enim, quod ab aliis cantando bene agitur, confundit...”).⁷²³ Trude’s voice exemplified to the readers of the sisterbook the necessity to sing well to contribute efficiently to the liturgy.

In addition, her disturbing voice had serious consequences for her own participation in the Divine Office as the sisterbook goes on to inform us that “during the day, she was not allowed to read aloud, but it was permitted her at night” (“... moste sie des daghes niet buten mondes lesen, mer des nachtes wast hoer geoerloft”).⁷²⁴ “Buten mondes lesen” (literally “to read out of the mouth”) designates reading aloud and/or “reading softly, whispering”.⁷²⁵ So, the sentence suggests that Trude was allowed to read aloud, to whisper, during the night Office, but not during daytime,

⁷¹⁹ “Want sie conde wal latijn lesen ende sie hadde ene guede stemme te singen.” Brinkerink, 96 (D, fol. 50^{vb}); and DV, fols. 234^v–235^r.

⁷²⁰ “... want sie hadde ene schone stemme Soe datmen int hof van romen daer van wiste te seggen ende dier gebruyckte sie wal.” Brinkerink, 245 (D, fol. 127^{rb}). See also Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur: ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 762.

⁷²¹ “Sie en hadde gene guede choer stemme, als dat sie niet over een en droech mytten anderen susteren.” Brinkerink, 191 (D, fol. 101^{va}).

⁷²² Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit*, 190. See also above.

⁷²³ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 275 (131). Translation adapted from Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 216.

⁷²⁴ Brinkerink, 191–92 (D, fol. 101^{va}).

⁷²⁵ Brinkerink, 191, fn. c.

therefore preserving the harmony of the choir.⁷²⁶ However, as Brinkerink points out, the spiritual value of the sisterbook and the quality of Trude van Beveren as a *vera monialis* makes it unlikely that she was completely forbidden to read aloud during day Offices. Therefore, contrary to previous readings of the source, I assume that Trude was not entirely forbidden to actively take part in the Divine Office: she still was allowed to voice the words, simply using a different, low-key mode of performance during day time. Only at the night Office was she allowed to perform more clearly.

The sisterbook does not specify whether the night Office (“des nachtes”) refers to Matins or to Lauds. However, Matins was generally the longest and most important service in the daily cycle of prayers performed in monastic Orders. Susan Boynton underlines that Matins was “the centre of gravity of the monastic liturgy” because of the texts and melodies, which were often specific to a given church, therefore reflecting “a community’s corporate identity”.⁷²⁷ Thus, it seems safe to assume that “des nachtes” refers to Matins. Based on this, it can be assumed that the night Office in Diepenveen, which must have followed specific Windesheim customs, played the central role in creating a sense of belonging to the Windesheim community, in addition to being central to the Divine Office. For these reasons, Trude could most likely not be prohibited to take part in this Office.⁷²⁸ Furthermore, during the night, only the canonesses woke to celebrate the Office and therefore, no lay people could hear her disturbing voice.⁷²⁹ The importance of the night Office and this very practical reason are two concomitant explanations for the exception made for Trude.

Interestingly, several medieval texts recommend that those who are not able to sing well should stay silent, unless they practice sufficiently to bring their skills to a level that was acceptable to their community. For example, the Chrodegang Rule (c. 755) prescribed: “As for those who are less skilled in these arts, it is better that they should keep silent until they are better trained.”⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ This is the understanding put forth in De Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences,” esp. 1–2. The sisterbook reads “lesen”, which, as discussed above, refers to the mode of performance of reciting prayers aloud.

⁷²⁷ Susan Boynton, “The Devil Made Me Do It: Demonic Intervention in the Medieval Monastic Liturgy,” in *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Miri Rubin (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2008), 89–90. See also Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy & History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

⁷²⁸ On the other hand, the constitutions are not very clear on the time for Lauds: in the chapter dedicated to the sacristan, Matins are discussed (CCW, 140–41:57–62; and CM, 770:74–77), then the constitutions immediately move to Prime. R. van Dijk and Scheepmsa suggest that Lauds took place immediately after Matins, around midnight (R. van Dijk, CM, 358; and Scheepmsa, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*, 49). It is therefore possible that “des nachtes” referred to both Matins and Lauds.

⁷²⁹ Lay people also heard the canonesses singing, as the description of Katharina van Naaldwijk indicates when it is mentioned that “lay as well as religious people enjoyed hearing her voice” (“... so dat sij geestelick ende werlick gerne hoerden.”) Brinkerink, 114 (D, fol. 59^{rb}); and DV, fol. 248^r. However, it is not clear who exactly were these “lay people” and which Offices they heard.

⁷³⁰ The full sentence reads: “Hi vero qui huius artis minus capaces sunt, donec erudiantur melius, convenit ut sileant, quam cantare volendo quod nesciunt, aliorum voces dissonare compellant.” Quoted and translated from Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Critical Texts with Translations and Commentary* (London: Routledge, 2017), 209 and 260. The Rule of Chrodegang

About those who are not able to sing the correct intervals, Conrad von Zabern recommends in his 1474 treatise: “Whoever has this conspicuous defect ought considerably to remain silent rather than sing – at least while he tries to remedy it.”⁷³¹ Similar advice could be linked to the quality of the voice, not only to the singing skills: the anonymous author of the Cistercian *Instituta patrum* (c. 1220) recommends to “abjure and forbid in our choirs” those who have an unpleasant voice.⁷³²

These examples are not actual prohibitions of singing. Rather, they are prescriptions, and as such, they emphasise that singers should pay extra attention to the quality of their singing. The fact that similar prescriptions for the Divine Office were formulated over centuries could explain why the Diepenveen sisterbook described this kind of sanction for the Windesheim canoness Trude: it might be an echo of a broader, common understanding, that readers would have immediately identified, without actually questioning the truthfulness of it.

In the end, Trude’s case confirms that in addition to performative aspects of chant, the intrinsic quality of the voice was important, if not essential, in the canonesses’ daily life. Trude’s voice which did not blend well with the voices of her fellow sisters is in opposition to the voice of the subprioress Katharina van Naaldwijk, who had “a skilled and a good voice to sing” (“ene bequame guede stemme toe sijnghe.”)⁷³³ What, then, are the intrinsic qualities of a beautiful voice?

b. Sweetness of the Voice, Sweetness of the Heart

Among the qualities of the singing voice, a noun regularly used to praise voices is the “sweetness”. For example, Peter van Gouda is described by Busch as a “suavis cantor”.⁷³⁴ Likewise, Katharina’s voice is described in the sisterbook as “sute” (sweet, pleasant to listen to).⁷³⁵

The need for a sweet voice is a medieval *topos* to designate the desired quality of the singing voice. For instance, Isidore of Seville, speaking about solo singing practices, describes the perfect

(originally named *Regula Canonicorum*) was written around 755 by St Chrodegang, based on the Rule of St Benedict and the Rule of St Augustine. In 816 it was incorporated into the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* established by the Council of Aachen. Bertram’s critical edition and translation offers a good and recent introduction to this text.

⁷³¹ “Et qui hunc defectum habuerit notabilem, consultius totaliter sileret quam cantaret, quousque hunc remediari procuraret...” Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 275 (131). Translation by Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 216–17.

⁷³² The *Instituta Patrum* gives a relatively long list of examples of “unpleasant voices”: “Histrionicas voces, garrulas, alpinas, sive montanas, tonitruantes, vel sibilantes, hinnientes vel vocalis asina, mugientes, seu balantes quasi pecora; sive foemineas, omnemque vocum falsitatem, iactantiam seu novitatem detestemur et prohibeamus in choris nostris.” Anonymous, “Instituta patrum,” quoted from McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 160. For a discussion of these, see McGee, 18–20.

⁷³³ DV, fols. 234^v–235^r.

⁷³⁴ Busch, *Chron. Wind.*, 120. See above.

⁷³⁵ Acquoy I, 223. Busch, *Chron. Wind.* 120.

voice as “high, **sweet** and clear” (“perfecta autem vox est alta, **suavis** et clara”),⁷³⁶ while Bernard of Clairvaux advocates a chant “**sweet** but not light” (“cantus ipse . . . sic **suavis**, ut non sit levis”).⁷³⁷ In another monastic context, the eighth-century Rule of Chrodegang, quoting Isidore, explicitly links the pleasures of sweetness in the voice with the power of **sweetness** (“**dulcedinis**”, translated by Bertram as “attractiveness”) to entice the souls of the listeners:⁷³⁸

<p><i>Cantorem autem, sicut traditum est a sanctis patribus, et voce et arte praeclarum illustremque esse oportet, ita ut oblectamenta dulcedinis animas incitent audientium, et caetera.</i></p>	<p>We have learnt from the Holy Fathers that a cantor should be distinguished for his voice and skill, so that he may inspire the minds of those who hear him through the attractiveness of his music, etc.⁷³⁹</p>
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The spiritual power of a beautiful voice over listeners seems to have also been acknowledged by Windesheim. Two examples illustrate this, the first from Busch’s *Liber de reformatione* and the second from the sisterbooks:

<p><i>Dum enim versum responsorium aut versiculum ad boras novicius decantarem, intra me tunc cogitavi: “Laici nostri retro in ecclesia in genibus iam iacentes cogitant et mirantur, quam bonam et sinceram vocem habet frater noster Iohannes.”</i></p>	<p>As a novice, when I sang the verse of the responsory or the <i>versiculum</i> during the Hours, I thought within myself: “Now, our lay people on their knees at the back of the church think and admire, how our brother Johannes has such a good and honest voice.”⁷⁴⁰</p>
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<p><i>[sie hadde] ene suete eersame stemme so dat sij geestelick ende werlick geerne boerden.</i></p>	<p>She had a sweet, virtuous voice, so that religious and lay people enjoyed listening to her.⁷⁴¹</p>
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⁷³⁶ Quoted from and translated by Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 167 and 255 (emphasis mine). Dyer notes that secular literature (especially of the twelfth century) also describes the perfect voice as high and clear, from which he concludes that “no profound gap in the evaluation of the (solo) singing voice existed between the sacred and the secular world” (p. 167).

⁷³⁷ Quoted from McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 165 (emphasis mine).

⁷³⁸ In the following, I consider “dulcis” and “suavis” as equivalent, based on Mary Carruthers’s research, according to which: “despite the efforts of historical linguists to rationalise their various uses, *dulcis* and *suavis* evidently overlapped to a large extent, and distinctions between them in medieval writers are more a matter of preference and the literary conventions within which someone composed than of any demonstrably consistent distinctions.” Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 81. Other scholars have demonstrated the likeness of these terms in the Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, especially with regard to the sweetness of the taste. See, for instance, Bohdan Chernyukh, “*Suavis* und *dulcis* bei Aurelius Augustinus,” *Graeco-Latina Brunnenia* 23, no. 2 (2018): 25–42.

⁷³⁹ Quoted and translated from Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, 122 and 164. The passage set in bold is a quotation from Isidore of Seville, *On Ecclesiastical Offices*, book II, chapter 12 (see Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, 164, fn. 67). Other examples of sweet singing voices can be found in Chirinos, “El sonido de la polifonía medieval,” 1317–18; and in the very well-documented book by Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*.

⁷⁴⁰ Busch, *Liber*, 396.

⁷⁴¹ Brinkerink, 114 (D, fol. 59th); and DV, fol. 248^r.

These examples also stress that the beauty of the voice was important for people listening in prayer (here lay people): the quality of the monastic community's performance was assessed aesthetically and therefore also morally.⁷⁴²

None of the texts mentioned so far define what sweetness meant in practice, but it seems that performative aspects of chants contributed to sweetness; not only the performative aspects underlined in chapter 5 (the choice of the proper pitch-level, of the proper speed, and of the proper volume), but also the diction and even the voice placement. In his 1474 treatise Conrad von Zabern mentions twice the sweetness that a melody ought to have. He explains how "an aspirate sound and its asperity" when mispronouncing the consonant "h" and "excessive forcing" prevent the sweetness of the chant.⁷⁴³ Relatively exceptional for his time, these are two very concrete examples of what a sweet voice is *not*. Similarly, when Johannes Busch criticised the monks of Bursfelde (diocese of Mainz) who were coughing, belching, gasping, and sighing whenever they were singing in the choir, one can easily imagine that such behaviours had a negative effect on the sweetness of the chant, which was Busch's ideal.⁷⁴⁴ Thus, despite the often very general descriptions, sweetness seems to have implied some very practical do's and don'ts of performing.

However, the sweetness of the voice was not only a matter evident through performative aspects, but it was also a matter of the inner state of the mind and of the heart.

Mary Carruthers analysed sweetness in the Middle Ages. Based on the numerous and diverse uses of "dulcis" and "suavis", she observes that "'sweet' is both pleasing and beneficial".⁷⁴⁵ It can be beneficial because sweetness is a sensory phenomenon and, "like any sensory experience, [it] is a way to knowledge of the sort that can be articulated, shared with others, and determined to be true or not".⁷⁴⁶ She also observes that the phrase "voces dulces/suaves", which can refer to voices singing or speaking, have the power to persuade, to "invigorate the will, enabling to act".⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴² Fuhrmann also stresses that even though the quality of the singing voice probably played a role in stimulating listeners' devotion, the devotion was primarily stirred up by the sacred words pronounced by the singers, whence the importance of the intelligibility of the texts for Windesheim. Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*, esp. 141–56.

⁷⁴³ Resp. "Probatur autem hoc sic, nam h est aspirationis nota et ipsa asperitas contrariatur suavitati, quam cantus habere debet"; and "Alia rusticitas est cum impetu sive violentia vocem emittere vel extorquere; hoc enim ideo satis est rusticum, quia suavitati cantus non parum est contrarium." Conrad von Zabern, "De modo bene cantandi," resp. 273 (129) and 275 (131); translation by Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement," resp. 125 and 216–17.

⁷⁴⁴ "Hic etenim modus multo videtur convenientior propter tussim, eructationes, anhelitus diversas, qualitates et suspiria." Busch, *Liber*, 524.

⁷⁴⁵ Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 89.

⁷⁴⁶ Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 98.

⁷⁴⁷ Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 103 and 99–100. For another perspective, see Rachel Fulton who discusses the power of "sweet food" in experiencing God's wisdom: "Taste and See That the Lord Is Sweet" (Ps. 33:9): The Flavor of God in the Monastic West," *The Journal of Religion* 86, no. 2 (2006): 169–204.

She exemplifies that in medieval Latin, “dulcis” and “suavis” designated experiences of God and, therefore, sweetness could be used as “the vehicle of meditation and of ascent to the divine”.⁷⁴⁸ In the context which interests me here, the sweetness of the singing voices seems to have been essential to entice the singers and the listeners to a devote attitude, in order to experience God, like Augustine was attracted by the words sung “cum suavi et artificiosa voce” (“with sweet and well-trained voice”).⁷⁴⁹

Consequently, the sweetness in singing also concerned the inner dispositions with which a chant was sung. This, in the end, was the core underlying all discussions of singing voices in monastic contexts. Indeed, the link between the sweetness of the voice and the inner spiritual attitude actually reflected the link between the voice and the heart. A good and well-developed vocal technique would therefore be an additional tool allowing singers to express the text with the utmost spiritual content.

Carruthers explains that “surviving medieval explanations often moralise the aesthetic”.⁷⁵⁰ However, she also warns against making a strict distinction between the medieval “experiences distinctive to art” and the explanations and justifications of such experiences. She remarks that medieval people were “capable of creating a work of art in order to evoke and shape distinctively aesthetic experiences, not solely to teach moral and theological lessons”.⁷⁵¹ Rather, Carruthers suggests that aesthetics could be a goal in itself as well and, surely, in medieval monasteries, canons and canonesses were also looking for the beauty of the things that they created.

Monastic artefacts always contain a transcendent nature and value behind their liturgical function. Material culture studies have shown this in some of the houses discussed here: a tapestry surviving from the female monastery of Heiningen, for example, is a human-made artefact, which has an intrinsic aesthetic value.⁷⁵² This intrinsic value is, in turn, transcended, because it was also designed to (spiritually) produce a good moral effect and to move the crafter and the canonesses who looked at the artefacts towards a more virtuous life. I argue that this was not only the case for material objects, but also for vocal productions: the intrinsic beauty of the voice was designed to stimulate proper devotion in the singers’ and in the listeners’ hearts.

⁷⁴⁸ Carruthers demonstrates this in Dante, *Purgatorio*, 8.8-18. It also worked in other contexts (*The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 81 and 93).

⁷⁴⁹ Verheijen, ed., *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri XIII*, 181.

⁷⁵⁰ Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 10.

⁷⁵¹ Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, 12.

⁷⁵² Stefanie Seeberg, “Women as Makers of Church Decoration: Illustrated Textiles at the Monasteries of Altenberg/Lahn, Rupertsberg, and Heiningen (13th-14th Centuries),” in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as ‘Makers’ of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 355–91.

Fuhrmann discusses and illustrates how numerous authors of late Antiquity and the Middle Ages frequently write that the heart and the voice must act as one.⁷⁵³ Augustine is, again, the main reference for medieval authors, especially when he recommended that “when you pray to God in Psalms and songs, the words spoken by your lips should also be alive in your hearts.”⁷⁵⁴ The unity of the voice and the heart was essential in properly accomplishing the liturgy.⁷⁵⁵

This is exactly what the Windesheim sources studied here exemplify. The sisterbooks praise Katharina, because she had “a skilled and a good voice to sing” (“ene bequame guede stemme toe sijnghe”).⁷⁵⁶ This wording explicitly connects the possession of a good voice to the act of singing. But it also shows that having a “good” voice was important because it conveyed the proper emotion and the proper spiritual feeling when singing the Divine Office. Having a good voice also reflected the moral and spiritual goodness of the singer. It was, therefore, essential to enhance the efficiency of liturgical chant.

Because of this connection between the heart and the voice, the proper inner dispositions can help overcome the issues of outer dispositions, here of a bad singing voice. As discussed above, because she had no good choir voice, Trude was only allowed to softly voice the words during day time Offices, while at the night Office she was allowed to perform clearly. Then, she read the texts so loudly, that it rang above the whole choir. This was seen as a default to be avoided, as mentioned in chapter 5. However, Trude’s participation in the night Office was endured by her fellow sisters primarily because in her was a great devotion (“goddiensticheit”).⁷⁵⁷ This might be a hint pointing at devotion as the most important feature of the voice, and at sweetness as a matter of the inner state of the mind and of the heart. As Fuhrmann writes: “the affect-inducing power of chant comes from the heart and shall go back to the heart ... The feedback (‘Rückkopplung’) not only occurs between human beings, rather, it moves their souls to Him, who carries their being.”⁷⁵⁸

Everything should contribute to this devotion and unity described in the prologue of the Windesheim constitutions: the outward behaviour creates the unity of heart and mind with the

⁷⁵³ Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*.

⁷⁵⁴ “Psalmis et hymnis cum oratis Deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in voce.” Luc Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), 421. Translation in the main text by Bonde and Maines, “Performing Silence and Regulating Sound,” 56. For the influence of Augustine on this aspect, see Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*, 14–15 and the bibliography he provides.

⁷⁵⁵ This, of course, was not restricted to the singing voices. For example, Denery II discusses how “a preacher’s words and actions reveal much about his inner nature”: Denery II, “The Preacher and His Audience: Dominican Conceptions of the Self in the Thirteenth Century,” 22.

⁷⁵⁶ DV, fols. 234^v–235^r.

⁷⁵⁷ “Ende die susteren leden hem daer guetlick in om hore goddiensticheit willen.” Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{va}).

⁷⁵⁸ “Die affektstiftende Macht des Gesangs kommt aus dem Herzen und soll wieder zu Herzen gehen ... Die Rückkopplung geschieht nicht nur zwischen den Menschen, sondern bewegt ihre Seelen hin zu dem, der ihr Dasein trägt.” Fuhrmann, *Herz und Stimme*, 156.

Lord, ensuring proper devotion. Because sound comes from the body (it is produced by it), it then comes back to the body (through the ear).⁷⁵⁹

2. Exploiting Voice

This analysis of the singing voices presented here does not enable us to reconstruct the specific mode of performance desired by Windesheim, which is why there was never any consideration of this aspect in the present study. However, what nowadays seems to be “vague” or “imprecise” in the terminology was probably very clear for medieval authors. This is where musicological research on performance practice of chant, especially “historically informed” performance practice, finds its limits.

When trying to reconstruct such vocal practices, scholars often admit to be confronted with “gaps in the historical record”,⁷⁶⁰ or “many problems and questions”.⁷⁶¹ “Impossible to know” is also a recurring sentence in such literature: it is a necessary limitation for any studies aiming at reconstructing performance practice.⁷⁶² However, the quest for authentic performance practices should not make us forget the aim of medieval authors dealing with music in their texts, which, in all cases, was not to provide tools for scholars to reconstruct them hundreds of years later in concert halls.⁷⁶³ Therefore, instead of talking about “vagueness”, “gaps”, or “problems”, in this final section, I want to go beyond issues of historically informed performance practice to fundamentally question *why* the voices were described the way they are in the Windesheim sources studied here.

This perspective is especially evident in sources such as the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* and the sisterbooks which primary focus was not on prescribing or regulating singing voices, but on reporting on reforms, on placing oneself among the illustrious canons of Windesheim, or on providing models of virtue. What does the description of the voices, whether to describe canonesses’ vocal capabilities or to describe the teaching of the “proper voice”, tell us about the people who wrote about this and about the use of the sung voice itself in Windesheim monasteries?

⁷⁵⁹ See the conclusion of part II; and Andrew Hicks, *Composing the World: Harmony in the Medieval Platonic Cosmos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), esp. chapter 4.

⁷⁶⁰ Anna Maria Friman, “Modern Performance of Sacred Medieval Music with Particular Reference to Women’s Voices” (PhD diss., New York University, 2008), 5.

⁷⁶¹ Mannaerts, “Observations on the Performance of Plainchant in the Low Countries (10th-18th Centuries).”

⁷⁶² See, for instance, Livljanic and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” esp. 233.

⁷⁶³ For a discussion on the difficulty to discuss performance practices based on sources with musical notation, see the useful following article and its bibliography: Stanley Boorman, “The Sources,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Music*, eds. Mark Everist and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 527–60.

With the “clamour” mentioned above, the *Liber* already showed that Johannes Busch was using specific words with a purpose different from merely describing performance practices. Based on the analysis of the content of the sources carried out above, I propose to deal with the following question: to what end was the sung voice used by Johannes Busch and the sisterbooks? The analysis of these sources reveals three rhetorical patterns associated to singing voices: the first concerns the development of virtues; the second uses singing voices to illustrate the importance of humility; and the third pattern deals with singing voices to justify politico-theological agendas.

a. Developing Virtues

One main function of discussing the voice in these sources is linked to edification – that is, the progress towards virtues. This is especially visible in descriptions of canonesses with poor vocal qualities.

Liesbeth van Arden (professed in 1416 – † 1485), the second cantrix of Diepenveen, was famous for the poor quality of her singing voice: the rector had to leave the church in haste each time Liesbeth started to sing, because she “bellowed like a cow” (“ludde als een vaer”).⁷⁶⁴ A relevant parallel can be found in Conrad von Zabern’s treatise. When condemning the excessive forcing of the voice, Conrad condemned those who sang “high notes with an unstintingly full and powerful voice”.⁷⁶⁵ When such things happened, Conrad stated that “it confuses the singing of the entire choir, as if the voices of cattle were heard among the singers”.⁷⁶⁶ In order to make such singers aware of their fault, Conrad used to say the two following verses: “in choir you bellow, like cows in the meadow” (“ut boves in pratis, sic vox in choro boatis”).⁷⁶⁷ This cannot but remind us of Liesbeth, whose voice was also compared to that of a cow bellowing.

Several authors throughout the Middle Ages exemplify bad singing voices through sounds produced by animals, especially noises of quadrupeds.⁷⁶⁸ For instance, the thirteenth-century *Instituta patrum* criticises theatrical voices which bray like a talking donkey, bellow or bleat like cattle.⁷⁶⁹ This is not specific to monastic singing practices: Elizabeth Eva Leach discusses how non-

⁷⁶⁴ DV, fol. 369^v. On Liesbeth van Arden, I refer to Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries*.

⁷⁶⁵ “Alia rusticitas prae ceteris notabilior est in acutis sive altioribus notis cantus plena arteria sive forti et valida voce cantare...” Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 276 (132). Translation by Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 217.

⁷⁶⁶ “... nimium perturbat et confundit totius chori cantum, sicut si quaedam bovinæ voces inter cantantium voces audirentur.” Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 276 (132). Translation by Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 217.

⁷⁶⁷ Conrad von Zabern, “De modo bene cantandi,” 276 (132). Translation by Dyer, “Singing with Proper Refinement,” 216–17.

⁷⁶⁸ Similarly, comparisons with sounds of animals were also made to describe beautiful voices. In such cases, comparisons with birds were generally used. On this topic, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

⁷⁶⁹ “Histrionæ voces ... hinnientes velut vocalis asina, mugientes, seu balantes quasi pecora ... prohibeamus in choris nostris.” Anonymous, “Instituta patrum,” 8. See also Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 175. Dyer mentions Alred of Rielvaux, an important English Cistercian monk of the twelfth century, who describes singers of

musical sounds used in songs of the fourteenth century, especially barking and shouting, “were used to criticise singing”.⁷⁷⁰ This kind of comparison was therefore common and, probably, the readers of the sisterbook would have not had any difficulties in understanding the issue with Liesbeth’s voice.

Furthermore, in the field of iconography, Martine Clouzot has shown how animal musicians depicted in manuscripts “played an important sensory and mnemonic role for readers” and that their “purpose was fundamentally moral in nature” since animal musicians were “mnemonic symbols of vices and virtues”.⁷⁷¹ In texts like the sisterbooks, the comparison of Liesbeth’s voice with a well-known animal of the immediate environment was a common way to describe a bad, loud voice. It was also a way to stress the difference between humans and animals and, therefore, to make the readers more “concerned for the salvation of their soul”, like the readers who saw animal musicians in their psalters and Book of Hours.⁷⁷²

Moreover, as Andrew Hughes writes about descriptions of medieval voices: “since medieval writers must have found it as difficult as we do to describe musical sounds, it is possible that they resorted to natural and well-known noises without satirical intent.”⁷⁷³ This is most likely the case of the description of Liesbeth’s voice: given the nature of the sisterbook, this parallel did not have the bemusing character it might have for us today, but it more likely had an edifying virtue. The sisterbook concludes about her voice:

<p><i>Dit leet sie al verduldick ende volharde daer in bent totten eynde hoers levens sie was die oldeste suster vandem huus ende was nal rijf of sesent tachtentich iaer oelt ende ghenck noch nacht ende dach stedelic toe choer ende was noch cantrix doe sie starf.</i></p>	<p>She endured this [the rector leaving the church in haste each time she started to sing] in a patient and resolute manner until the end of her life, she was the oldest sister of the house and she was already eighty-five or eighty-six years old and she went still regularly to the choir, day and night, and she was still cantrix when she died.⁷⁷⁴</p>
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polyphonic music sounding “like the whinnying of horses” (“equinos hinnitus”), in the *Speculum charitatis*, book 2, chapter 23 (quoted by Dyer, 175 and 258, fn. 49).

⁷⁷⁰ Leach, *Sung Birds*, esp. 175–87. For a broader perspective on animal sounds in songs, see Stoessel’s discussion on how late medieval authors associated animal sounds with socio-linguistic groups: Jason Stoessel, “Howling like Wolves, Bleating like Lambs: Singers and the Discourse of Animality in the Late Middle Ages,” *Viator* 45, no. 2 (2014): 201–35. In a different context, the *Bestiaire d’Amour* is a good example of how animals were used to allegorise various kinds of male and female lovers. For how their vocal productions contributed to these allegories, see Elizabeth Eva Leach and Jonathan Morton, “Intertextual and Intersonic Resonances in Richard de Fournival’s *Bestiaire d’amour*: Combining Perspectives from Literary Studies and Musicology,” *Romania* 135 (2017): 313–51.

⁷⁷¹ Martine Clouzot, “Animal Musicians in Illuminated Manuscripts (1300–1450)” (paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America / Session “Music in Art”, New York, March 2014).

⁷⁷² Clouzot remarks that animal musicians were mostly featured in books of hours, especially those produced between 1300 and 1450. See Clouzot, “Animal Musicians in Illuminated Manuscripts (1300–1450),” 8.

⁷⁷³ Andrew Hughes, “Charlemagne’s Chant, or the Great Vocal Shift,” *Speculum* 77, no. 4 (2002): 1074.

⁷⁷⁴ DV, fol. 369^v.

Through the example of the cantrix Liesbeth, the sisterbook ingeniously reminds its readers that singing's primary function was devotion and that the inner dispositions of the singers were, ultimately, more important than the beauty of their voices.

b. Illustrating Humility

A key virtue in Windesheim monasteries was humility, and both Johannes Busch and the Diepenveen sisterbooks illustrate it with singing voices.

For instance, Johannes Busch warns against a lack of humility in a chapter of his *Liber* entitled “De susceptione eius ad habitum et de eius tentationibus et bonis exercitiis”.⁷⁷⁵ In this chapter, he recalls the story of how he, as a novice, thought lay people would enjoy his voice emanating from the choir.⁷⁷⁶ Busch pictures himself in the position of a distracted novice particularly proud of his voice's quality, to show his readers that every man is subject to human vices (here pride). Much earlier sources also warn against the danger of arrogance that a beautiful voice could create. The Rule of Chrodegang reads:

<i>Si vero cantores superbi extiterint, et artem, quam divinitus adiuti didicerint, aliis insinuare rennuerint, graviter ac severe indicentur, ut emendati atque correcti, talentum sibi a Deo conlatum aliis erogare procurent.</i>	But if the cantors become proud, and refuse to pass on to others the skill which God has enabled them to acquire, they should be seriously disciplined, so that they may learn from their own correction to pass on to others the talent which they have received from God. ⁷⁷⁷
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Eventually, Johannes Busch managed to overcome his pride, showing his readers that he was pious enough to grow beyond it and, therefore, that he is an example to follow. This example showcases the humility one must observe at all times to become part of the Congregation of Windesheim.

On the other end of the spectrum, the sisterbooks warn against an excess of humility – here we again find the essential notion of moderation. Katharina van Naaldwijk was praised for her beautiful voice and was always full of fervour when she was singing with the other canonesses, but she found it difficult to sing alone or with just another sister.⁷⁷⁸ This contrasts with her first days in the community, when her voice was so loud that it could be heard above the choir. This stresses

⁷⁷⁵ Busch, *Liber*, 395–98.

⁷⁷⁶ “Dum enim versum responsorium aut versiculum ad horas novicius decantarem, intra me tunc cogitavi: ‘Laici nostri retro in ecclesia in genibus iam iacentes cogitant et mirantur, quam bonam et sinceram vocem habet frater noster Iohannes?’” Busch, *Liber*, 396. See also above.

⁷⁷⁷ Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, 261 and 209.

⁷⁷⁸ “Mitten convente las sie of sanck sij alte geerne, mer myt enen allene was hoer alte swear...” Brinkerink, 113–14 (D, fol. 59^{ab}); and DV, fol. 248^r.

the humility Katharina learnt to follow at Diepenveen, and the sisterbook, through mentioning this shift from having a loud voice to the difficulty of singing alone, emphasises her new-found, virtuous attitude. However, this excess of humility was also problematic: because she found it difficult to sing alone, she was often reprimanded.⁷⁷⁹ Two main reasons can account for this reprimand: first, singing what the prioress asked her to do was part of her most important duties, and she should have obeyed, especially given her important place in the choir (as subprioress she occupied the first place in the left choir). Obedience is one of the three vows Katharina took with her profession: by refusing to do what the prioress asked her, she came in trouble with her vows. Moreover, as demonstrated above, singing beautifully was important for conveying the proper devotional emotions in the liturgical celebrations, and the canonesses probably did not want to renounce having someone contributing so efficiently to their prayers for their souls.

Such concerns were frequent and not specific to the fifteenth century. For example, as Livljanic and Bagby show, “Chrodegang’s concept of humility is not about withdrawing the voice, but on the contrary, about using that talent as an inspiration for others”.⁷⁸⁰ Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux recommends the Office to be sung “without sparing the voice” (“non parcentes vocibus”).⁷⁸¹ The way in which the sisterbooks use the example of Katharina illustrates in a very concrete situation that this issue needed to be addressed in Windesheim houses as well.

Furthermore, the example of the aforementioned Trude van Beveren shows that the vocal skills are used as a device to symbolise humility in yet another way. Trude, because of her bad choir voice, could not be of much help in the choir. Consequently, she did not receive paper to copy her own liturgical book with songs and prayers, contrary to the other sisters.⁷⁸² This decision was most likely motivated by financial concerns, too: in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, Diepenveen was very poor and therefore could not afford to provide every canoness with paper.⁷⁸³ Since Trude was not allowed to use her voice clearly and articulated at the daytime Offices, the prioress and the procuratrix must have concluded that it was not an absolute necessity that Trude copied her own book on paper. Instead, she was copying the texts she had to read or sing in the choir on a slate,

⁷⁷⁹ “... soe dat sie daer vaeke om gerispet waert.” Brinkerink, 114 (D, fol. 59^{rb}); and DV, fol. 248^r.

⁷⁸⁰ Livljanic and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” 218.

⁷⁸¹ Quoted from: Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 274. See also Livljanic and Bagby, “The Silence of Medieval Singers,” 218.

⁷⁸² “Ende ock want sie gene guede stemme en hadde den choer te helpen, soe en waert hoer niet gegeven als den anderen.” Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{va-b}).

⁷⁸³ Trude was not the only one who did not receive the proper material to copy her own book. The problematic financial situation of Diepenveen in its early years is referred to several times in the sisterbook: Brinkerink, 15–16, 65, 192. See also *Monasticon III*, 610.

which means that for every Office, she had to erase her previous words and write the new ones.⁷⁸⁴ As the sisterbook emphasises, “that was a very painful thing [to do]” (“dat was een seer pijnlick dinck”).⁷⁸⁵

Given the spiritual nature of sisterbooks, one should not draw the conclusion too soon that a canoness could be prevented from performing her core duties, especially given the emphasis of the constitutions on the need to be able to sing and read.⁷⁸⁶ Therefore, it is not possible to retain the notion that having a bad voice resulted in an actual adjustment of the monastic regulations and the reduction of monastic obligations.

Rather, the relevant aspect of this example is that despite her poor vocal skills and the ensuing restriction on using paper, she stayed humble and did not complain. On the contrary: even though she was not granted the same possibilities as her fellow sisters, she worked hard to be like them by painstakingly copying the texts on a slate. This was a proof of great piety and humility, essential monastic virtues which she developed in all her manners and in all aspects of her life.⁷⁸⁷ She is described by the sisterbook as one of the most virtuous sisters of the whole house through her embracing of material poverty and spiritual humility.⁷⁸⁸ Because of this, she was eventually able to receive paper and, therefore, to contribute in the fullest to the salvation of her soul and to her fellow sisters’ devotion. The lack of vocal skills presented in the sisterbook might underline how important it was to have good vocal capabilities, but the case of Trude equally serves to demonstrate that even if the sound of someone’s voice was not as beautiful or as nice in practice as ideally desired, true devotion of the heart was the most important ingredient needed to praise the glory of God and to accomplish one’s duty in the monastery.

c. Behind the Words

Finally, the sisterbooks had a politico-theological agenda. For instance, the already mentioned Diepenveen canoness Gertrud Monnickes had such a beautiful voice that her skills were said to be renowned even at the papal court.⁷⁸⁹ This passage symbolises that her voice satisfied the highest

⁷⁸⁴ “Soe nam die oetmodige ziele leyen, daer sie hoer dinghe op schref, dat sie inden choer lesen solde.” Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{vb}).

⁷⁸⁵ Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{vb}).

⁷⁸⁶ This is the conclusion drawn by De Morrée, “Devout Sisters’ Aural Experiences,” 159; Hascher-Burger, “Ene suete eersame stemme,” 111; and Martina B. Klug, *Armut und Arbeit in der Devotio moderna. Studien zum Leben der Schwestern in niederrheinischen Gemeinschaften* (Münster: Waxmann, 2005), 128. However, in my opinion, the relevance of this example lies more in the way how the sisterbook used Trude and her (possibly) poor vocal skills to demonstrate the spiritual importance of canonesses’ behaviour, rather than in the mere factual truth of this punishment.

⁷⁸⁷ “Ende sie hadde hoer hijr ock soe goddiestelic ende oetmodelic in als al hoer manieren weren ende als al hoer leven was in allen dingen.” Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{va}).

⁷⁸⁸ “Want sie was ene mynvester der armoeden ende der oetmodicheit.” Brinkerink, 192 (D, fol. 101^{vb}).

⁷⁸⁹ “... want sie hadde ene schone stemme Soe datmen int hof van romen daer van wiste te seggen ende dier gebruyckte sie wal.” Brinkerink, 245 (D, fol. 127^{rb}). See also above.

standards, which is especially relevant here, since she was the *first* cantrix of the house.⁷⁹⁰ Even though this office involved significant managerial tasks, the example demonstrates that having a beautiful voice also had a particular, spiritual importance. The canonesses collecting the stories of their fellow sisters, therefore, would probably have found it very difficult to describe their first cantrix having bad singing skills, if indeed that had been the case.

The quasi-hagiographical element of the sisterbooks needs to be considered when assessing such sources as potential descriptions of reality: these examples confirm that the features detailed in the present study are an ideal version of reality, which is, in the final analysis, more important than capturing the mundane reality of the canonesses. This points to the political and theological agenda of the compilers of the sisterbooks when describing her voice as such.

Tweaks of this kind were not specific to Windesheim, of course. Here we might recall John the Deacon, for whom the Alpine people had “thunderous voices” or Elias Salomonis, who compares the Lombards’ singing to wolves howling.⁷⁹¹ Four centuries apart, these two testimonies probably do not describe actual practices, nor do they wish to define a proper way of singing. Rather, they indicate the use of “the vocal style as a vehicle for comment on regional disputes”.⁷⁹² Both in these cases and in the several examples from the sisterbooks referred to so far, one should not forget what Dyer rightfully deplores: that medieval authors’ “colourful language tends to be quoted frequently, thus acquiring an authority that more objective, dispassionate reports might have supplemented or corrected”.⁷⁹³ And indeed, this colourful and partial language that is also present in the sources of this study should not cause us to overlook the reasons for such vocabulary.

Even if he did not use such colourful vocabulary, the way in which Johannes Busch details how he reformed chant is equally partial. It was not only a question of showing how to *properly reform* a monastic institution for future reformers, but also a question of showing that a monastery had in fact been *successfully reformed*. Chant, like physical behaviours, are (visible or audible) sensory elements, which could very quickly put in evidence the success or failure of the reforms to external evaluators (for instance, dukes and bishops). In his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, Busch

⁷⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that her surname “Monnicks” (or “monnik”) means “monk” or “nun”: this aptonym also contributes to identifying Gertrud as particularly suitable as first cantrix of Diepenveen.

⁷⁹¹ John the Deacon (Rome, ninth century, in *Vita Gregorii*): “Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altisone...” (cited from McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*, 179). Elias Salomonis (Rome, 1274, in *Scientia artis musicae*): “... non tamen cantus Lombardorum, qui ululant ad modum luporum.” (cited from McGee, 167.)

⁷⁹² Such links between descriptions of voices and political agenda(s) need further research. Here, see the review of *The Sound of Medieval Song* of McGee by Emma Dillon, “Review: The Imagined Middle Ages,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124, no. 2 (1999): 279.

⁷⁹³ Dyer, “The Voice in the Middle Ages,” 165.

emphasises many such visible and audible aspects of his reforms: the reformed monasteries adopted the books, the chants, the ceremonies, the statutes, the clothes of the Congregation. Underlying was the belief that a good external formation would help produce the right internal posture, and vice versa. Only the external features could be examined, but it was assumed that dissimulation would be detected through the external performance if it were present. Therefore, when describing the physical attributes of his reform of chant, Busch could also indirectly convince his readers that he properly reformed the inner, devotional posture of the monasteries' inhabitants. Similarly, the descriptions of the loud voices of the sisters from Mariensee and Wennigsen as they sang the cursing antiphon *Media vita* are not so much a description of bad vocal habits. Rather, they emphasise the virulence with which the sisters fought against the reformer. In turn, it emphasises the dangers Busch faced when reforming monasteries and how far he went to defend his just and holy cause.⁷⁹⁴



Chapter 6 has shown that the beauty of the voice was deemed essential in the accomplishment of the liturgy. However, the references to this beauty, or lack thereof, were part of idealising agendas aimed, in the case of the Diepenveen sisterbooks, at leading the readers on the path toward maximising their virtuous behaviour, or, in the case of the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*, at showing the success of Busch's reforms and justifying their need. Through this chapter, it has become clear that the virtuous inner state of canons and canonesses was, eventually, the most central aspect of Busch's reforms: in this case, it seems that descriptions of singing voices were sometimes used to emphasise the merits of his reforming efforts. Therefore, this chapter invites us to consider carefully descriptions of singing voices, especially when looking at sources with a perspective of reconstructing vocal practices. Moreover, this chapter also revealed that singing voices were so central in Windesheim monasteries that they could be used to demonstrate monastic values as essential as humility and to support the political and theological agendas embedded in these values.

⁷⁹⁴ On violent opposition to reforms and on the way reformers shaped these to "highlight the justice of their cause", see Anne Huijbers, "'Observance' as a Paradigm in Mendicant and Monastic Chronicles," in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, eds. James Mixson and Bert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2015), esp. 131.

Conclusion

To conclude, the material analysed in part III offers a characterisation of the ideal medieval voice and its status in a monastic context, with specific emphasis on the views expressed by Johannes Busch and the sisterbooks of Diepenveen around 1450 in the Windesheim Congregation. Busch's *Liber de reformatione* proves that the sonic environment in reformed monasteries was central to being properly reformed according to Windesheim customs and expectations. It shows that sound – from the keeping of the appropriate silence to the aesthetically and spiritually pleasing performance of the services – was a defining feature of the Congregation, contributing to the devotion of its members.

The quality of the voice and the moderation of the aesthetic features of the chant contributed to the unity of the Divine Office and of the hearts, and ultimately allowed the members of the community to come closer to God. This, as seen earlier, was at the core of the Windesheim monastic life, since the outward uniformity of the behaviour had to sharpen and display the unity which must be preserved within the heart.⁷⁹⁵ Sound, and its beauty, played an important role in stirring up such unity.

Consequently, being in compliance with Windesheim did not only mean having the same chants and melodies, but also using similar vocal features. The specific features reflected in the Windesheim regulations, in the *Liber de reformatione*, and in the sisterbooks, were necessary to give voice to the required devotion as much as to actualise the liturgical texts. This suggests that the

⁷⁹⁵ It is useful to here quote again in full this first prescription of the prologue: “Seeing that, according to the command of the Rule, it is required of us to have one heart and one soul in the Lord, it is right that, [since] we live under a single Rule and the promise of the same profession, we are uniform in the canonical regular observances, so that the outward uniformity of behaviour may sharpen and display the unity which must be preserved internally in the hearts.” (“Quoniam ex precepto regule iubemur habere cor unum et animam unam in Domino, iustum est ut, qui sub una regula et unius professionis voto vivimus, uniformes in observanciis canonice religionis inveniamur, quatinus unitatem, que interius servanda est in cordibus, foveat et representet uniformitas exterius servata in moribus.”) CCW, 40:3–6; and CM, 726:4–11.

singing voice contained and conveyed a meaning by and beyond itself. In turn, because the singing voice was especially suitable for expressing and stimulating the proper religious feelings, it could be used as an efficient and powerful edificatory device, and even a device to use to defend a political agenda.

Through the examples of Johannes Busch, Liesbeth van Aarden, Trude van Beveren, Gertrud Monnickes, and Katharina van Naaldwijk, I hope to have demonstrated that the voice was used as a device to illustrate how one can achieve proper devotion and proper monastic behaviour in the monasteries associated with Windesheim. When presented as a deficiency, the Windesheim sources show that it can be overcome through humility. When presented as a quality, the good voice is part of being a morally good canon or canoness. If the voice is a tool to reach devotion in the first instance, in the discourses of the sisterbooks and of the *Liber de reformatione*, the voice in the final analysis becomes a supreme vehicle to demonstrate the necessity and the salutary effects of monastic virtues.

Conclusion

This study has shed light on the way in which a highly centralised organisation in the fifteenth century endeavoured to implement its ideals concerning liturgical and spiritual practices.

I have shown that, in the very hierarchical structure set up by the Congregation of Windesheim, canonesses had no equal say in the governance of the Chapter and of their own houses compared to their male counterparts. In particular, the various prohibitions towards female houses issued in the 1430s indicate a concern from these years onwards to deal more strictly with female houses. However, the differences between canons and canonesses seem not to have been established only in order to lessen canonesses' authorities in their own house (for instance, through the interventions of the rector): the differences observed in part I were also meant to accommodate the perceived weaker nature of women at that time. The ultimate purpose was to enable them to maximise their virtue and reach salvation on behalf of everyone on Earth.

In part II, I have used the distinction between "place" and "space" as a key concept to scrutinise Windesheim official texts. This enabled me to show that the control of access to the different rooms, the discipline of bodies down to their smallest gestures, and the production or suppression of sound were essential practices that shaped the spiritual space of the monastery. The choir was the most sacred liturgical space and, as such, particularly privileged. In that regard, it is not surprising that the nuns' choir, as the spatial centre of the liturgy in female houses, was chosen as the place to sing processional chants, as opposed to singing them in other parts of the monastic complex, as in male monasteries. In addition, a comparative analysis of processional practices in reformed houses not only nuanced claims to a reformed status, but also revealed the lesser importance of processional movements in Windesheim spirituality as opposed to the pre-eminence of processional chants in actualising processional liturgy. The demonstration that movements are

essential for shaping space but less central in the accomplishment of processional liturgy in the Windesheim setting is a crucial step in our understanding of liturgical, monastic processions and challenges established views according to which space is inevitably the most central element in processing.

Prohibiting movements was part of a broader spiritual agenda of controlling bodies which aimed at regulating the hearts of members of the Congregation. The perceived weaker nature of women accentuated the need for control: processions, which particularly used bodies, might have been considered as too great a risk for the disruption of the canonesses' inner devotion while performing their most important duties – the celebration of the Divine Office. Since movements in Windesheim monasteries appear to have played a lesser role in the actual performance of processional liturgy compared to other monastic congregations, Windesheim might have decided to prohibit them altogether. Allowing processional chants ensured the liturgy would still be fully performed, which was the primordial objective. That this strictness was less effective in reformed houses, which after all enjoyed a certain autonomy, could be demonstrated through the case study of the Heiningen and Steterburg liturgies following successful reform by Johannes Busch in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The findings on Windesheim perceptions and constructions of the singing voice are consistent with previous research, according to which the two main influences on Windesheim material organisation, the Carthusians and the Victorines, played little role in the spirituality assigned to liturgical chant by the Windesheim Congregation. My investigations on the singing voice conversely revealed some similarities with other sources, in particular the contemporary treatise *De modo bene cantandi choralem cantum* by Conrad von Zabern, printed in 1474. This treatise, influenced by Cistercian singing practices, opens new research directions concerning Windesheim liturgical practices. Moreover, my study has demonstrated that, because singing was so central in Windesheim liturgy, descriptions of singing voices in various contexts could be used by Windesheim canons and canonesses as a tool to illustrate a member's path to virtue. This re-evaluates the importance of the quality of singing practices in the Congregation, and their verbal descriptions, not just in a Windesheim context but for scholars researching "historically informed" performance practices in general.

In addition, my investigation leads to two general conclusions. Firstly, in spite of significant differences between canons and canonesses' daily life, the Chapter of Windesheim sought to ensure equal liturgy and inner devotion for all its religious members. Secondly, the discipline of the bodies in space, whether in gestures or in sound, reveals an explicit desire to stimulate devotion to the

highest extent possible through somatic training. This served the key purpose of Augustinian monastic discipline: the elevation of the heart.

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By focussing on Windesheim, my investigation also contributes to a broader and deeper understanding of fifteenth-century musical practices in general. The moderate musical style favoured by Windesheim is diametrically opposed to the customary descriptions of fifteenth-century liturgical music in music historiography, with its main focus on highly elaborate polyphonic genres like the motet or polyphonic settings of the liturgy for the Mass. Nevertheless, the consulted sources do reveal a concern for specific and codified musical practices, especially for sweet and moderate singing voices: like all other aspects of monastic life, the unity of the voices was intended to preserve and stimulate the unity of the hearts.

Finally, by demonstrating the centrality of singing voices at a material (shaping physical space), a symbolic (enacting processions), and a devotional (illustrating humility) level, this study supports the value of a musicological perspective when dealing with sources which are not explicitly devoted to musical practices, but which nevertheless mention them. Given the importance of sound in shaping social relationships and communities, another component of current research is also indispensable to achieve a fuller understanding of medieval societies: musicologists' voices.

Appendices

Appendix 1 List of Officially Incorporated Windesheim Monasteries

Appendix 1 provides a list of officially incorporated monasteries.⁷⁹⁶ The names given are based on the *Monastion windeshemense*. The monasteries are ordered by their date of incorporation into the Congregation of Windesheim, with information on their location, on the diocese they were situated in at the time of the monastery's incorporation into the Congregation, the date of their foundation and the date of their incorporation.⁷⁹⁷ Female houses are set in bold. Monasteries which were reformed by Johannes Busch are underlined (see Appendix 2).

⁷⁹⁶ This list is based on the list of affiliated monasteries found in the CCW of 1538 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 10881, fols. 138^v–142^v); on the *Monastion Windeshemense*; and on R. Th. M. van Dijk and A. J. Hendrikman, “Tabellarium Chronologicum Windeshemense. De Windeshemse kloosters in chronologisch perspectief,” in *Windesheim 1395 – 1995: kloosters, teksten, invloeden ; voordrachten gehouden tijdens het Internationale Congres ‘600. Jaar Kapittel van Windesheim’*, 27 mei 1995 te Zwolle, eds. Anton J. Hendrikman et al. (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1996), 186–212.

⁷⁹⁷ The *Monastion windeshemense* includes the female monasteries of Dorstadt (II, 478–89) and of Hemingen (II, 490–99). However, they have not been included here because their official incorporation into the Congregation is doubtful. Indeed, they are not listed in the 1538 copy of the CCW and even the *Monastion* does not mention a date of incorporation. Dorstadt and Hemingen were however reformed according to Windesheim standards and are, therefore, listed in Appendix 2. See also R. van Dijk, CM, 38; and part II, introduction.

	(name and) place	diocese	date of foundation	date of incorporation
1.	(Domus superior; Beata Maria) in Windesheim, near Zwolle	Utrecht	1387	1395
2.	(Mariënborn or Mariëndaal) near Arnhem	Utrecht	1392	1395
3.	(Nieuwlicht) near Hoorn	Utrecht	1392	1395
4.	(St. Salvator) in Eemstein, Grote Waard	Utrecht	1392	1395
5.	(Agnietenberg) near Zwolle	Utrecht	1384	1398
6.	(Marienwald) in Frenswegen, near Nordhorn	Münster	1394	1400
7.	(St. Johannes Evangelista) near Amsterdam	Utrecht	1396	1400
8.	(Engelendaal) in Leiderdorp	Utrecht	1396	1400
9.	(Sint-Pieterswiel) near Zaltbommel	Utrecht	beginning of the 15th century	c. 1405
10.	(St. Elisabeth) in Brielle	Utrecht	1403	1406
11.	(Maria Visitatie) near Haarlem	Utrecht	1405	1407
12.	(St. Salvator) in Thabor, near Sneek	Utrecht	1406	1407
13.	(Beata Maria et Sancta Agnes) in Diepenveen, near Deventer	Utrecht	1400	1412
14.	(Groendaal) near Hoeilaart	Cambrai	1343	1413
15.	(Rooklooster) in Oudergem	Cambrai	1369	1413
16.	(Barberendaal) in Tienen	Liège	1388	1413
17.	(Zevenborren) in Sint-Genesius-Rode	Cambrai	1389	1413
18.	(Beata Maria) in Corsendonk near Turnhout	Cambrai	1398	1413
19.	(Beata Maria Bethlehem) in Herent near Leeuwarden	Cambrai	1407	1413
20.	(Beata Maria) in Renkum	Utrecht	1405	1414
21.	(Mariënveld) in Amsterdam	Utrecht	1398	c. 1415
22.	(St. Johannes Baptista Brunnepe) near Kampen	Utrecht	1399	c. 1415
23.	(Mariënhof) in Amersfoort	Utrecht	1395	1417
24.	(Vredendaal) near Utrecht	Utrecht	c. 1400	1419
25.	(Ten Troon) near Grobbendonk	Cambrai	1417	1419
26.	(Ter Walle) in Elsegem	Tournai	1417	1420
27.	(Marienkamp) near Essens	Bremen	1420	1422
28.	(Beata Maria) in Wittenburg	Hildesheim	1316	1423
29.	(Mariënhag) in Eindhoven-Woensel	Liège	1420	1423
30.	(Jeruzalem) in Utrecht	Utrecht	c. 1418	1424

	(name and) place	diocese	date of foundation	date of incorporation
31.	(St. Martinus) in <u>Ludingakerk-Achlum</u>	Utrecht	1157	1429
32.	(Beata Maria) near Neuss	Cologne	c. 1181	1430
33.	(Regulieren) near Utrecht	Utrecht	1248-67	1430
34.	(Beata Maria Bethlehem) in Zwolle	Utrecht	1309	1430
35.	(Engelendaal) in Bonn	Cologne	1324	1430
36.	(St. Agnes) in Dordrecht	Utrecht	1326	1430
37.	(Sint-Catharina) in Nijmegen	Cologne	1393	1430
38.	(Beata Maria) in Gaesdonck, near Goch	Cologne	1400	1430
39.	(Maria Paradis) near Reimerswaal	Utrecht	1405	1430
40.	(St. Meynulpheus) in Böödeken	Paderborn	1409	1430
41.	(Mariënburg) in Nijmegen	Cologne	1412	1430
42.	(St. Johannes Baptista) in Aachen	Liège	1419	1430
43.	(St. Salvator) in Ewig, near Attendorn	Cologne	1420	1430
44.	(Beata Maria Bethanië) near Mechelen	Cambrai	before 1421	1430
45.	(Marienberg) in Bödingen	Cologne	1424	1430
46.	(Ter Nood Gods) in Tongeren	Liège	1424	1431
47.	(Beata Maria) in Sion, near Beverwijk	Utrecht	1426	1431
48.	(Beata Maria) in <u>Riechenberg</u>	Hildesheim	1117	1433
49.	(Beata Maria Bethanië) in Arnhem	Utrecht	1404	1433
50.	(Sint-Elisabethsdal) in Nunhem near Roermond	Liège	1240	1436
51.	(Beata Maria) in Hirzenhain	Mainz	c. 1430	1438
52.	(Mons beate Marie) in Anjum	Utrecht	1256	1439
53.	(Beata Maria in Facons) in Antwerpen	Cambrai	1421	1439
54.	(Beata Maria in Nazareth) near Bredevoort	Münster	1429	1439
55.	(Ten Hole) in Melle	Cambrai	1428	1441
56.	(St. Dionysius) in Möllenbeck	Minden	896	1442
57.	(Bois-Seigneur-Isaac) in Ophain near Nivelles	Cambrai	1418	1442
58.	(Kirschgarten) in Worms	Worms	beginning of the 13 th century	1443
59.	(St. Bartholomae) in Stille, near Hildesheim	Hildesheim	1116	1445
60.	(Beata Maria et Johannes Evangelista) near Sezeberg	Lübeck	1134	1445

	(name and) place	diocese	date of foundation	date of incorporation
61.	(St. Jeronimus) in Roermond	Liège	1438	1445
62.	(St. Petrus) in Höningen	Worms	1120	1447
63.	(Beatus Martinus) in Siloe, near Sielmönken	Münster	before 1255	1447
64.	(Beata Maria) near Niederwerth	Trier	1432-37	1447
65.	(St. Anthonus) in Albergen	Utrecht	1406	1448
66.	(Beata Maria de Galilea) in Ghent	Tournai	1431	1448
67.	(St. Nicolaus) in Bergum, near Leeuwarden	Utrecht	second half of the 12th century	1450
68.	(St. Petrus) in Dalheim	Paderborn	1429	1452
69.	(Corpus Domini) in Cologne	Cologne	1404	1453
70.	(St. Vitus) near Naarden	Utrecht	c. 1420	c. 1453
71.	(St. Nicolaus) in Truttenhausen	Strasbourg	1180	1454
72.	(St. Pancratius) in Hamersleben	Halberstadt	1107	1456
73.	(Sanctus Spiritus) in Uedem	Cologne	1451	1456
74.	(St. Johannes Baptista) in Rebdorf	Eichstätt	c. 1156	1458
75.	(Sint-Hieronymusdal) near Leiden	Utrecht	before 1404	1461
76.	(Beata Maria Virginis) in Eberhardklausen	Trier	1459	1461
77.	(St. Irene) in Marbach	Basel	1090	1462
78.	(Sint-Maartensdal) in Leuven	Liège	1433	1462
79.	(Beata Maria) in Birklingen	Würzburg	1459	1463
80.	(St. Leonardus) in Basel	Basel	before 1082	1464
81.	(Maria Roos) in Haskerdijken	Utrecht	1225	1464
82.	(St. Christina) in Ittenweiler	Strasbourg	1115	1467
83.	(St. Johannes Baptista) in Volkhardinghausen	Paderborn	1130	1467
84.	(Beata Maria Magdalena in Mariori Franckendael), in Frankenthal	Worms	1119	1468
85.	(Beata Maria Virginis) in Pfaffen-Schwabenheim	Mainz	c. 1050	1472
86.	(St. Christophorus) in Ravengersburg	Mainz	1072	1472
87.	(Beata Maria) in Zandt	Cologne	1450	1472
88.	(St. Martinus) on Zürichberg	Constance	1126	1474
89.	(St. Martinus) in Sindelfingen	Constance	1065	1477
90.	(Venerabilis Corpus Christi) in Blomberg	Paderborn	1486	1477

	(name and) place	diocese	date of foundation	date of incorporation
91.	(St. Laurentius) in Hessen, near Saarburg	Metz	10 th century	1483
92.	(Beata Maria Montis Fragorum) in Beerenberg	Constance	1355	1484
93.	(Beata Maria) in Bordesholm	Bremen	second half of the 12th century	1491
94.	(St. Georgius) in Schamhaupten	Regensburg	1136	1494
95.	(St. Johannes Baptista) in Merxhausen	Mainz	973	1495
96.	(Mons sancte Marie) in Jasiénica	Cammin	1260	1511
97.	(Beata Maria) in Oostmalle/Antwerpen	Cambrai	1489	1623
98.	(Georgenberg) in Goslar	Hildesheim	1025	1643
99.	(St. Johannes) in Halberstadt	Halberstadt	1023–1036	1658

Appendix 2

Reformed Monasteries Listed by Johannes Busch

Appendix 2 provides a list of reformed monasteries listed by Johannes Busch in his *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. It gives information on the diocese where they were situated in at the time, date of reform, obedience at the time of their reform, (when appropriate) the date of incorporation into the Congregation of Windesheim, and the date of foundation.⁷⁹⁸ The date of foundation indicated in this table corresponds to the date when the house adopted the obedience specified. In some cases, the monastery was founded earlier, but the religious communities were living under different regulations over the house's history.

The monasteries are ordered taking into account first by the date of their reform, then the date of incorporation (if they were incorporated), then the date of foundation. Female monasteries are set in bold.

	(name and) place	diocese	date of reform	obedience when reformed	date of incorporation	date of foundation
1.	(St. Meynulpheus) in Böttdelen	Paderborn	1409	Canons regular	1430	836
2.	(Beata Maria) in Riechenberg	Hildesheim	1414	Canons regular	1433	1117
3.	(Beata Maria) in Wittenburg	Hildesheim	1423	Canons regular	1423	1316
4.	(St. Martinus) in Luidigakerk-Achlum	Utrecht	1428	Canons regular	1429	1157
5.	(Beata Maria) in Beverwijk, near Sion	Utrecht	1429	Canons regular	1431	1426
6.	(St. Dyonisius) in Mollenbeck	Minden	c. 1439	Canons regular	1442	896
7.	(St. Bartholomaei) in Sülte, near Hildesheim	Hildesheim	1439	Canons regular	1445	1116
8.	(Maria Magdalena) near Hildesheim	Hildesheim	1440	Beata Maria Magdalena de Penitentia		unknown
9.	Derneburg	Hildesheim	1440	Canonesses regular		1143

⁷⁹⁸ Information is taken from the Monasticon, from Busch, *Liber*, and from the annotations of the editor of Busch's *Liber* (Grube).

(name and) place	diocese	date of reform	obedience when reformed	date of incorporation	date of foundation
10. (Beata Maria et Johannes Evangelista) near Segeberg	Lübeck	c. 1441	Canons regular	1445	1134
11. (St. Mauritius/Montzkkloster) in Halle	Magdeburg	1442	Canons regular		1180
12. (Beate Maria) in Magdeburg	Magdeburg	1446	Premonstratensians		1016
13. Bursfelde	Mainz	before 1446 ⁷⁹⁹	Benedictines		1093
14. (Gracie Dei) near Calbe	Magdeburg	c. 1446	Premonstratensians		1130
15. Escherde	Hildesheim	1446	Benedictines		1203
16. (St. Cyriacus) in Erfurt	Mainz	1450	Benedictines		before 1123
17. (Maria Magdalena) in Magdeburg	Magdeburg	c. 1450	Beata Maria Magdalena de Penitentia		1220–1222
18. (Albas Dominas) in Erfurt	Mainz	c. 1450	Beata Maria Magdalena de Penitentia		before 1235
19. (St. Martinus) in Erfurt	Mainz	c. 1450	Cistercians		before 1291
20. Heiningen	Hildesheim	1451	Canonesses regular		end of the 10 th century
21. Steterburg	Hildesheim	1451	Canonesses regular		end of the 10 th century
22. Fischbeck	Minden	c. 1451	Canonesses regular		954
23. (St. Michaelis) in Hildesheim	Hildesheim	1451	Benedictines		1015
24. (St. Johannes) near Halberstadt	Halberstadt	1451	Canons regular		1030
25. (St. Justinus) in Ertersburg	Mainz	1451	Canons regular		c. 1096
26. (St. Mauritius) near Naumburg	Naumburg	1451	Canons regular		1119
27. (St. Petrus) in Halle	Magdeburg	1451	Canons regular		1124
28. (Martenwerder) in Weeder, near Hannover	Minden	c. 1451	Canonesses regular		1196
29. (St. Thomas) in Leipzig	Merseburg	1451	Canons regular		1213
30. (Frankenberg) in Goslar	Hildesheim	c. 1451	Beata Maria Magdalena de Penitentia		1225
31. (St. Georgius) near Halle	Magdeburg	1451	Cistercians		1231

⁷⁹⁹ In 1446 Bursfelde received authorisation to create its own Congregation. Several Benedictine houses reformed by Windesheim joined this Congregation.

(name and) place	diocese	date of reform	obedience when reformed	date of incorporation	date of foundation
32. (St. Augustinus) in Erfurt	Mainz	1451	Canons regular		c. 1117
33. (St. Petrus) in Dalheim	Paderborn	c. 1451	Canons regular	1452	1429
34. Goslar	Hildesheim	1451	Canons regular		1025
35. (St. Pancratius) in Hamersleben	Halberstadt	1452	Canons regular	1456	1108
36. Barsinghausen, near Hannover	Minden	1455	Canonesses regular		end of the 12th century
37. Mariensee, near Hannover	Minden	1455	Cistercians		1215
38. Wennigsen, near Hannover	Minden	1455	Canonesses regular		before 1224
39. Wülfinghausen, near Wittenburg	Hildesheim	1460	Canonesses regular		13 th century
40. (Marienberg) near Helmstedt	Halberstadt	1462	Canonesses regular		1181
41. (Marienborn) near Helmstedt	Halberstadt	c. 1465	Canonesses regular		1191
42. (St. Johannes Baptistae) in Volkhardinghausen	Paderborn	1465	Canons regular	1467	1130
43. (St. Alexander) in Wienhausen	Hildesheim	1469	Cistercians		1231
44. (St. Spiritus) in Salzwedel	Verden	1470	Canons regular		unknown
45. (Heiligkreuz) in Erfurt	Mainz	before 1470	Canonesses regular		mid. 12th century
46. Lüneburg	Verden	before 1470	Benedictines		971
47. (St. Trinitatis) in Dorstadt	Hildesheim	1479 ⁸⁰⁰	Canonesses regular		1189
48. (St. Wibertus) near Quedlinburg	Halberstadt	<i>unknown</i>	Premonstratensians		841
49. Wittenburg	Hildesheim	<i>unknown</i>	Benedictines		1124

⁸⁰⁰ The reform was initiated by Johannes Busch but was only efficient in 1479. See *Monasticism II*, 487.

Appendix 3

Johannes Busch's Archetypal Sentence When Reforming Female Monasteries

Appendix 3 gives Johannes Busch's archetypal sentence concerning his reforms of physical behaviour in the refectory, in the choir, and during the Chapter of faults in female houses. Busch paid equal attention to these aspects when reforming male monasteries, but he did not phrase his efforts in such a systematic way. The table below illustrates the striking way in which Busch used almost identical phrasing (set in bold) for all of these different houses. It demonstrates his persistent attention to reforming these aspects.

The last column indicates the page numbers of the quotations from the *Liber de reformatione monasteriorum* of Johannes Busch edited by Grube.

monastery – obedience – date of reform	quotation	page
Derneburg – Augustinian – 1440	Chorum cum eis visitavi in inclinationibus, stationibus, sessionibus, cantibus et ceremoniis ceteris eas informavi. Capitulum culparum plures eis cum fratre meo tenui...	589
(Maria Magdalena), near Hildesheim – Augustinian – 1440	Divinis etiam cum eis interfuimus, quomodo in inclinationibus, stationibus sessionibus et in ceteris cerimonialibus se habere deberent in choro, eas instruentes ... Capitulum culparum quomodo servare deberent, eas informavimus.	580
Escherde – Benedictine – 1446	Capitulum culparum cum eis tenui, in choro et refectorio inclinaciones, stationes et cetera cerimonialia eis demonstravi et, que ad veram reformationem pertinent, oculata fide intus et foras eis ostendi.	599
(Maria Magdalena) in Magdeburg – Augustinian – c. 1450	Que etiam eis, quomodo in choro, in divinis, in refectorio, clauastro et dormitorio et ubique nocte et die se habere et regere deberent, vividis suis demonstraverunt exemplis et piis informatiõibus.	635–36
Heinigen – Augustinian – 1451	Frequenter eas cum collega ordinis nostri reformato visitavi, aliquando capitulum culparum tenui, in refectorio cum eis bis vel ter comedi, in choro cum eis steti et cantavi...	603
Steterburg – Augustinian – 1451	In choro stationes, inclinaciones, genuflexiones demonstravi, in refectorio cum eis comedi et cetera, que ad veram reformationem pertinent, in cunctis locis et rebus necessariis ostendi.	606

monastery – obedience – date of reform	quotation	page
(Marienwerder) in Weerder, near Hannover Augustinian – c. 1451	Habitō igitur consensu permanentium chorum cum ipsis intravimus, inclinaciones, stationes et cetera ordinis nostri ceremonialia regularemque observantiam ex toto eas informavimus . Mensas in earum refectorio more nostro composuimus, capitulum culparum ipsis tenuimus , cum ipsis cantavimus et more nostro cantare docuimus .	568
Wennigsen, near Hannover – Augustinian – 1455	Die sequenti cum eis in refectorio manducavimus , “Benedicite” et “Gratias” more nostro cantavimus, inclinationum et stationum ceremonialia in choro et in refectorio eis demonstravimus, capitulum culparum servavimus et de singulis ordinis nostri observantis regularibus oculata fide ipsas informavimus .	559–60
Mariensee, near Hannover – Cistercian – 1455	In choro cum eis intravimus, in refectorio cum eis comedimus, capitulum culparum eis servavimus et de singulis, que ad reformationem earum pertinent , prout ipsi novimus, quia alterius ordinis erant, eas informavimus .	564
Barsingenhausen, near Hannover – Augustinian – 1455	In choro , quomodo stare, sedere, inclinare et cantare deberent, ostendimus. In refectorio mensas duas vel tres, ut singulariter comederent , disposuimus. “Benedicite” et “Gratias” cum eis cantavimus. Capitulum culparum cum eis servavimus et cetera ordinis nostri ceremonialia eis deservientia, prout opus habebant, verbis et rebus declaravimus.	566–67
Wülfinghausen, near Wittenburg – Augustinian – 1460	Fui etiam cum eis in choro in divinis sub summa missa pro earum informatione ... Et ego in Wittenborch tunc habitans capitulum tenui culparum .	639–40
(Marienberg) near Helmstedt – Augustinian – 1462	Quamvis cum patribus eas prius visitavi, in refectorio cum eis comedi, capitulum culparum eis tenuimus et similia plura ipsis demonstravimus , hec tamen omnia ad perfectam reformationem eis non sufficiebant.	619
(Heiligkreuz) in Erfurt – Augustinian – before 1470	Et ita cum eis in refectorio comedimus ... Chorum cum eis intravimus, inclinationes, stationes et ceremonialia nostra ipsis demonstrates .	610–11

Appendix 4

Chapter “De processione” of the Heiningen Ordinarius: Edition and Translation

Appendix 4 gives an edition and a translation of the chapter “De processione” from the *liber ordinarius* (c. 1460) of the female house of Heiningen (diocese of Hildesheim), reformed in 1451 by Johannes Busch (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 649 Helmst.).⁸⁰¹

^{34c} De processione

Cum processiones fieri debent sacrista providet unam de conversis vel iunioribus que vexillum delatura presciat quando assumat. quando et qualiter procedat quando et ubi stabit quando intrabit. et quando reponet. Providere etiam debet sacrista ne quid indecens inveniatur vel immundum in ambitu. Igitur post oracionem ad aspersionem dictam vexilliferam sumpto vexillo stat ante altare donec prima clausula responsorii vel antiphone ab omnibus cantata inclinans vertat se ad procedendum. quam omnes per finalem exitum successive inter sedes et formam transseunt. et in medio ante altare convenientes bine et bine pariter inclinantes cum modestia subsequuntur. |^{34c} Debent autem sorores distincte et ordinate procedere ita ut spacium unius passus vel circiter inter binas et binas relinquatur. Vexillifera autem sic moderare debet gressus suos ut neque festinancia sua neque tarditate molestiam generet aliis vel tedium in eundo. Staciones vero in processionibus non habemus festo purificationis et dominica palmarum exceptis nisi ante introitum ecclesie. quo cum ventum fuerit stet vexillifera in medio ambitus. relique autem sorores collocant se chorus contra chorum in eadem parte ambitus ea que

On processions.

When processions must take place, the sacristan assigns one of the converses or one of the junior [anonesses] to get the flag. She must know in advance when to take it, when and how to walk, when and how to stand, when to enter and when to put it back. The sacristan must also ensure that during the procession, nothing improper or impure is encountered. Therefore, after the aspersion prayer was said, and after the flag-bearer took the flag, she stands in front of the altar until the first strophe of the responsory or the antiphon has been sung by everyone, then she bends. She [then] is to turn and start the procession. Everyone comes after her, passing successively through the back entrance while passing between the seats and the prie-dieu. Then they assemble in the middle in front of the altar, they bow with modesty two by two, together. The sisters must process with precision (*distincte*) and in order (*ordinate*), so as to respect a distance of one step approximately between the groups of two [sisters]. The standard-bearer, however, must moderate her pace so that she does not create, by her haste or by a too slow pace, any inconvenience or tedium while walking. We do not have stations in the processions, except for the feasts of Candlemas and Palm Sunday, in front of the entrance of the church. When everyone has arrived there, the flag-bearer stands in the middle of the *ambitus*, the other sisters gather choir against choir in the same part of

⁸⁰¹ The transcription of this chapter is based on previous work by Ulrike Hascher-Burger. I wish to thank her for sharing this material with me.

supersunt decantantes. Quibus finitis cantrix Responsonium vel antiphonam ad introitum incipit et vexillifera intrans chorum stet ante altarem. Cetero quoque sorores post ipsam intrantes et ad altarem inclinantes ad sedes suas revertuntur. Priorissa autem aut ebdomadaria tempore rogacionum ante altare subsisit et vexillum reponitur dictaque oracione ad locum suum revertitur.

the *ambitus*, where they sing the remaining [chants]. When they are done, the cantrix begins the responsory or the antiphon of the Introit and the flag-bearer enters the choir and is to stand in front of the altar. The rest of the sisters enter after her, bow in front of the altar [and] go back to their seats. The prioress or the *ebdomadaria*, during Rogations time, stands in front of the altar and puts the flag back; after having said the prayer, she reverts to her place.

Appendix 5

Comparison of the Chapter “De processione” of the Agnietenberg and the Heiningen Ordinarii

Appendix 5 gives an edition of the chapter “De processione” from the *liber ordinarius* of the Windesheim male house of Agnietenberg (diocese of Utrecht), copied in 1456 (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 1448). This edition also offers a comparison with the same chapter taken from the *liber ordinarius* of the reformed female house of Heiningen (diocese of Hildesheim), copied c. 1460 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 649 Helmst.). When the words of the Agnietenberg Ordinarius are different in the Heiningen Ordinarius, they are underlined. The variants found in the Heiningen Ordinarius are added in brackets and are referred to with an “H”. Gender differences or words inversion have not been marked out.

|^{39b} De processione.

Cum processiones fieri debent sacrista providet unum ex (H: de) conversis vel clericis (H: iunioribus) qui vexillum delaturus presciat quando assumat. quando et qualiter procedat. quando et ubi stabit quando intrabit et quando reponet. Providere debet eciam sacrista ne quid indecens inveniatur in ambitu vel inmundum. Igitur dum sacerdos (H: absent) post aspersionis orationem in sede presbiterii consistens |^{39va} cappam choralem per sacristam ibidem collocatam induit vexillifer (H: dictam vexilliferam) sumpto vexillo stat supra gradum sanctuarii (H: ante altare) donec prima clausula responsorii vel antiphone ab omnibus cantata inclinans vertat se ad procedendum. Que omnes per finalem exitum successive inter sedes et formam transeunt. et in medio ante gradum (H: ante altare) convenientes bini et bini pariter inclinantes cum modestia subsequuntur. Debent autem fratres distincte et ordinate procedere ita ut spacium unius passus vel circiter inter binos et binos relinquatur. Vexillifer autem sic moderari debet gressus suos ut neque festinancia sua neque tarditate molestiam generet aliis vel tedium in eundo. Staciones vero in processionibus non habemus festo purificationis et dominica palmarum exceptis nisi ante introitum ecclesie. Quo cum ventum fuerit stet vexillifer in medio ambitus reliqui autem fratres collocant se chorus contra |^{39b} chorus in eadem parte ambitus eadem que supersunt decantantes. Quibus finitis cantor Responsorium vel antiphonam ad introitum incipit et vexillifer intrans ecclesiam (H: chorus) stat super gradum sanctuarii (H: ante altarem). Ceteri quoque fratres post ipsam intrantes et ante gradum (H: ad altarem) inclinantes ad sedes suas revertuntur. Sacerdos autem dicta oracione cum ministris ad sacristiam revertitur et interim vexillum in locum suum reponitur (H: Priorissa autem aut ebdomadaria tempore rogacionum ante altare subsistit et vexillum reponitur dictaque oracione ad locum suum revertitur).

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

In dit proefschrift bestudeer ik hoe de congregatie van Windesheim, een zeer gecentraliseerde monastieke gemeenschap en een belangrijk voorbeeld van kerkhervorming in de vijftiende eeuw, haar idealen rondom liturgische en spirituele praktijken probeerde te implementeren.

Door de analyse van verschillende typen verboden, uitgevaardigd in de jaren 1430 en gericht aan de vrouwelijke huizen van Windesheim, alsmede door een comparatieve analyse van de rollen van kanunniken en kanunnikessen, laat ik zien dat de religieuze vrouwen van Windesheim geen gelijke stem hadden in het bestuur van het kapittel en in dat van hun eigen huizen vergeleken met de mannelijke leden van de congregatie. Echter, de door mij aangetoonde verschillen in autonomie onthullen niet zozeer een tendens om de kanunnikessen in hun eigen huis te begrenzen in hun autoriteit, maar laten voornamelijk een verlangen zien om de zwakkere vrouwelijke natuur te ondervangen, zoals men die in die tijd waarnam. Het uiteindelijke doel van de verboden was de vrouwen in staat te stellen hun deugden ten volle te ontwikkelen en redding te bereiken uit naam van eenieder.

In de tweede fase gebruik ik het onderscheid tussen 'plaats' en 'ruimte' als een sleutelconcept om de officiële teksten van Windesheim te bestuderen. Ik laat zien dat de beheersing van de toegang tot de verschillende ruimtes, de disciplineren van het lichaam tot in de kleinste details, alsook de productie of onderdrukking van iedere vorm van geluid essentiële praktijken waren die ingezet werden om de spirituele ruimte van het klooster vorm te geven. Nog algemener kan ik stellen dat de controlering van de ruimte deel uitmaakte van een bredere spirituele agenda betreffende de disciplineren van het lichaam van de leden van de congregatie om zo een volledige eenheid van het hart te bereiken. Uit een comparatieve analyse van de processionele praktijken in verschillende vrouwelijke hervormde huizen blijkt ten eerste dat de hervormde status van deze huizen genuanceerd dient te worden. Daarnaast blijkt dat het belang van verplaatsing in de ruimte tijdens processies niet centraal stond in het spiritueel gedachtegoed van Windesheim, in tegenstelling tot de processionele melodieën, die juist voorrang kregen bij de uitvoering van de liturgie. Dit is een cruciale stap in het beter begrijpen van liturgische, monastieke processies en gaat

in tegen bestaande denkbeelden, waarin ruimte onvermijdelijk als het meest kenmerkende element in de uitvoering van een processie naar voren komt.

De analyse van de manieren waarop de zangstem werd waargenomen en werd geconstrueerd op grond van de officiële reguleringen van Windesheim illustreert dat de congregatie geenszins een compleet nieuwe manier van zingen probeerde te implementeren. Het laat eerder zien hoe er in de vijftiende eeuw in monastieke kringen een brede belangstelling bestond voor de zangstem. Het bevestigt ook een bredere middeleeuwse trend die in de kracht van de zangstem een efficiënt middel zag om devotie aan te moedigen, maar die tegelijkertijd waarschuwde tegen obscure muzikale operationalisering van de heilige Schriften. Omdat zingen een zo prominente plaats innam in de Windesheimer liturgie, werden beschrijvingen van zangstemmen ook gebruikt om iemands weg naar deugdzaamheid te illustreren. De beschrijvingen benadrukken opnieuw het belang van zingen en van de kwaliteit van de zangstem in de congregatie, niet alleen in de context van Windesheim, maar ook voor onderzoekers die zich richten op de historische uitvoeringspraktijk.

Twee conclusies zijn tekenend voor mijn onderzoek. In de eerste plaats zocht het kapittel van Windesheim naar manieren om een gelijkwaardige liturgie en een innerlijke devotie te waarborgen voor al haar religieuze leden, ondanks de niet te onderschatten verschillen in het dagelijks leven van kanunniken en kanunnikessen. In de tweede plaats schuilt er in de disciplinerende van het lichaam, zowel in bewegingen als in geluid, het verlangen om devotie tot in de hoogste mate te stimuleren door lichamelijke training. Dit diende het belangrijkste doel van de augustijner monastieke discipline: de verheffing van het hart.

About the Author

Manon Louviot (1992) is a musicologist with a special interest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. She studied at the Université de Bourgogne in Dijon, where she obtained a Bachelor of Music degree with honours (*mention bien*) in 2013. She then started a Research Master programme at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours and spent one year as an Erasmus student at the Universität Regensburg. She graduated in 2015 with the highest honours (*mention très bien*). Between 2016 and 2019, she worked at Utrecht University on her doctoral dissertation within the international research project “Sound Memories: The Musical Past in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe”. This project was led by Karl Kügle and funded by HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area). During these three years, she presented her research output at local and international conferences, such as the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (Prague 2017 and Basel 2019) and the Annual Congress of the *Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public* (Frankfurt, 2019). Working in international collaboration with the SoundMe teams, she also used digital tools to design research output in form of posters, for which she was awarded a prize (HERA Early Career Researchers, Slovakia 2018).

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