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The Liber ordinarius of Nivelles

(Houghton Library, MS Lat 422)

Liturgy as Interdisciplinary Intersection

Edited by

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Introduction to the Edition

Editio princeps of the documents dating from the second half of the thirteenth century from the *Liber Ordinarius* of Nivelles

Edited by EVA SCHLOTHEUBER and JEFFREY F. HAMBURGER,
with the assistance of HANNAH WEAVER, SHANE BOBRYCKI,
WALTER SIMONS and PHILIPP STENZIG
on the basis of the transcription by THOMAS FORREST KELLY

The current edition presents the texts that were entered into the *Liber ordinarius* of Nivelles following both the Temporale (ff. 54va–56vb) and the Common of Saints (ff. 93va–103va). Of great consequence for understanding the history of Nivelles in the thirteenth century, the texts, with few exceptions, are previously unknown and unpublished unica that were written from the internal perspective of the General Chapter of Nivelles. The context in which the texts, which were composed in Old French as well as Latin, originated is discussed in the introduction to this volume as well as in the essays by Beach, Dorin, Fassler, Schlotheuber, and Simons.¹ In order to assist readers in comprehending the precise meaning of the documents, an English translation, to which Shane Bobrycki, who carefully checked and offered corrections to the translation, Philipp Stenzig and Hannah Weaver made substantial contributions, has been placed in parallel with the originals. The documents were apparently copied together with the text of the *Liber ordinarius* by a single hand in the middle of the fourteenth century.² The manuscript, which received a new binding in the fifteenth century, is utilitarian in nature; its decoration in the form of multi-line initials embellished with fleuronée decoration remains, on the whole, relatively modest.³ On the basis of the transcription of the text, which generously made available to us by Thomas Kelly, Eva Schlotheuber and Jeffrey F. Hamburger prepared a critical edition. The edition reproduces the text as faithfully as possible and has only been emended in brackets in so far as sense or sentence structure would otherwise not be comprehensible. In the Latin sections, the spelling of u/v and c/t have been normalized. The beginnings of sentences, proper names, Roman numerals and *nomina sacra* have

been capitalized throughout. The texts have been given modern punctuation and have been divided according to the original into paragraphs that are designated successively by capital letters (A–OO).

For the sake of improved coherence, Document A [*Statutes and revenues of the sacristy of Nivelles, c. 1286*], which in the manuscript is interrupted by Documents B–E, is presented as a unity. Documents B–E follow. In those instances in which the manuscript does not provide a given document with a title, a modern English title set off in brackets has been provided for the sake of comprehension. A critical apparatus notes erasures, corrections, and uncertain readings, etc.; a separate set of notes comments on the content of the documents in the context of the period during which they were written, provides definitions of certain terms, and provides references to other immediately relevant sources. The same set of notes also provides cross-references to the various essays in this volume in which the documents are discussed and analyzed in greater historical depth. The edition of the Latin and French texts provided here forms the basis for the corresponding section within Thomas Forrest Kelly's complete edition of the *Liber ordinarius* of Nivelles (without critical commentary and apparatus), which is forthcoming in the series *Scrinium Friburgense*.

¹ See the note on the French language texts by Hannah Weaver.

² See the contributions by Derolez and Fassler.

³ See the description of the manuscript by Hamburger.

Documents dating from the second half of the thirteenth century from the *Liber ordinarius* of Nivelles

A. [Statutes and revenues of the sacristy of Nivelles, c. 1286]¹

- 1 /f. 54va/ Chi apres ensuant sont li statut et les debites de le cousterrie de le eglise me dame sainte Giertruth de Nivelle, si qu'ilh appert par autres escrits.

Promiers est assavoir que li moities del apport est le coustre fors mis lor qui est l'abbesse et le lingne drap sens bleuwe roie qui est ossi l'abbesse.

- 5 Item, dequant qu'ilh vient en cire en cierges de chire ou candeilles piesmains² et teis choses est le coustre.

Item, cascuns staus en corduwinerie ou le mierchenerrie, cascunne taule de canges, cascuns staus as maisiaus, et I staus de leis le cange doivent al abbessse et a coustre ensamble XII d. Nivellois. Li macheclier a le fieste saint Martin, et tout li
10 autre a le fieste me dame sainte Giertruth a mi march.

Item, li cens aussi com rechoit de chiaus qui sient ens es couvretis³ et devant chiaus qui vendent les solleirs de vache a le fieste saint Martin est l'abbessse et le coustre.

- 15 Item, cascunne retinne^a en le boulegerie doit III d. al abbessse et a coustre a pajier devens l'uiteime jour de le Nativiteit.

Item, li coustres at tous sens a tournial Biertremer et Goimart VII sous a le Nativiteit.

- 20 Item, cascuns staus de le maison Evrart Creche dechi a le maison Jehan le Feuire qui at XL pies en front doit a coustre I d., et qui at mains de pies e front une obole.⁴

Item, l'iglise doit a coustre XIIIII coupes de vin a pajier le moiet a le Nativiteit et le moiet a le Purification nostre dame.

Item, /f. 54vb/ l'iglise doit ossi a coustre LXXII sous a prendre a cries dou vin.

- 25 Item, Goys, Lingnis, et Wambeke doivent ausi deniers a coustre de couvretures qu'ilh paient li coursier.

¹ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 141; Kelly, 341, 351; and Green, 364–365.

² This term seems to modify the candle in question.

³ Perhaps a covered market.

⁴ Obulus (obole) – half a denarius.

^a cascunne retinne written over an erasure

A. [Statutes and revenues of the sacristy of Nivelles]

Here follow the statutes and the obligations of the sacristy of the church of my lady St Gertrude of Nivelles, as they are revealed in other writings.

First, let it be known that half of the revenue is the sacristan's, except the gold, which is the abbess's, and the linen cloth without blue stripes, which is also the abbess's.

Item, however much [revenue] comes in the form of beeswax, beeswax candles, candles *piesmains* and such things is the sacristan's.

Item, for each cobbler or haberdasher's stall, each stall in the market, each butcher's stall, and one stall near the market, they owe twelve Nivellois deniers altogether to the abbess and the sacristan. The butchers [should pay] at the feast of St Martin, and all the others at the feast of my lady, St Gertrude, in mid-March.

Item, also the tax as it follows from those who are at the Couvretis and in front of those who sell cow-leather shoes [is owed to] the abbess and the sacristan at the feast of St Martin.

Item, each one employed at the bakery owes three deniers to the abbess and to the sacristan to be paid before the eighth day of the Nativity.

Item, the sacristan gets seven shillings from all those on the outskirts of Bier-tremer and Goimart at the Nativity.

Item, each stall which is forty feet wide from the house of Evrart Creche to the house of John le Feuire owes one denier to the sacristan, and those which are fewer feet wide [owe] an obole.

Item, the church owes the sacristan fourteen cups of wine, to be paid half at the Nativity and half at the Purification of Our Lady.

Item, the church also owes the sacristan seventy-two shillings to be taken from the wine tax.

Item Gooik, Ligny and Wambeek also owe [some] deniers to the sacristan for the roofs that they paid the Coursier.

Item, Simons Weris, Boidins et me sires Jehans de Goy, li cens de Savetinnas com paiet a le Pasque pour le Cierge est le coustre, et vaut entour VI sous.

Item, li deime qui fut monsieur Watier Hardehol, chevalier de Savetines, est le coustre.

30 Item, li capitles ossi de sainte Guidele doit a coustre demi muid.⁵ de soile et II stiers d'orge a paiier a le Toussains.

Item, de toutes les crois at li coustres et li abbesse le moiet, fours mis les crois de Lingui, de Goy et de Wambeke, mais cestes at li communs.

35 Item, toutes les fois que li canonne cantent viespres en le grandeglise ou matines, doit li coustres IX candelles provendals⁶ a le grant messe leu li cannone sont, IIII a le Nativiteit ossi, ou li canonne sont, doit VI candelles qui contiennent le cire de VI roelles II as dames et IIII as signeurs.

Item, li coustres doit ausi al abbesse a le feste saint Remi dechi a grant quarreme cascunne samainne une grande lievre de cire.

40 Et le doit ausi a li VIII grandes heures a le Purification.

Si doit as canonnes qui vont sur le Rin II grandes lievres de cire.

Si doit ausi a veir les vaissiaus dou vin dou cellier candelles de cire.

Si doit ossi toutes petites candelles de cire as matines des dames et des signeurs en le

[continued after documents B-E on f. 56ra]

45 grande eglise.

Si doit ausi cire a saieleir les besoingnes de le glise.

Si doit ausi les chanestias et les flans al anniversaire le bonne euwireuse Yduberge en may.⁷

50 Si doit ausi cascunne nuit une candelle de sieu en le capelle l'abbesse, une en se chambre. Ou dortoir des dames une toutes ueiles, et doivent ardoir en l'esteit dou viespre dechi al ajournee. En l'ivier de complie dechi al ajournee.

Si doit ausi a coustre aucuns hons deleis hui XXXII d. blans.

55 Si doit li abbes de Lobbes a coustre III sous de blans pour le cens de le dime de Morlanweis ki doit iestre le coustre. Al ouvre⁸ de l'eglise pertient li moities dou staul de le queile moiet li suer Servais Goidin at en l'aloir viers les tournias.⁹

On doit II sous Lovignois al ouvre de le glise, et II sous a le lampe entre le cibore et le petit tresorier.

⁵ The unit of measure is a half hogshead.

⁶ The word *provendal*, related to the modern words provender and prebend, appears to refer to a weight or size of candle.

⁷ May 8, Iduberga's date of death; on the organization of feast days, see the essay in this volume by Fassler, 196–197.

⁸ *Ouvre*, equivalent to *opus*, refers to the business side of the church's management, here translated as "church fund."

⁹ It remains unclear to what part of the church this term refers.

Item, Simon Weris, Boidins, and my Lord John of Gooik [owe] the tax of Savetines paid at Easter for the candle, which belongs to the sacristan. And it's worth about sixteen shillings.

Item the tithe that my Lord Walter the Stubborn, knight of Savetines, made [belongs to] the sacristan.

Item, also the Chapter of St Guidele owes the sacristan a half hogshead of rye and two measures of barley, to be paid on All Saints's Day.

Item, the sacristan and the abbess each hold half of the crosses, except the crosses of Ligny, Gooik, and Wambeek, which are held by the commune.

Item, every time that the canons sing vespers or matins in the big church, the sacristan owes nine prebendal candles for the great Mass when the canons are present, also four at the Nativity, when the canons are present. He owes six candles that contain six rolls (*roelles*) worth of beeswax, two for the ladies and four for the lords.

Item the sacristan owes the abbess a large pound of beeswax each week from the feast of St Rémy until Great Lent.

And he also owes this at the Grandes Heures at the Purification.

Item he owes two great pounds of beeswax to the canons that go beyond the Rhine.

Item the wine barrels in the cellar should also have beeswax candles.

Item he also owes all the very little beeswax candles for the matins of the ladies and lords in the

[continued after documents B-E on f. 56r]

great church.

He also owes beeswax for the seals of the church. He also owes the pies and cakes for the anniversary of blessed Yduberga's death in May.

He also owes one tallow candle every night in the abbess's chapel, another in her room. In the women's dormitory, [he owes] one candle for each vigil, and they should burn in summer from vespers until dawn; in winter from compline until dawn.

Some man from around here also owes the sacristan thirty-two white deniers.

The abbot of Lobbes owes the sacristan three white shillings for the revenue of the tithe of Morlanwelz which should be the sacristan's. Half of the stall in the corridor towards the tournias of which sir Servais Goidin has half belongs to the church fund.

We owe two shillings of Louvain to the church fund, and two shillings for the lamp between the ciborium and the small treasury.

Li mars com doit envoyer de Duffle, li batial, les cordes des gordines et des clokes, li aube et li lavations de tous les ornements, li encens li cene com fait al
 60 autel del aignial a le Pasque, li bonssire a le florie Pasque, flours et nieles et les coulons a le Pentecouste. En le fieste me dame sainte Giertruth en mi march XII d. a prestre, dyakene et soudyakene veille servent^b a le grant messe. A le grant ducasse en teil maniere. Le nuit de le /f. 56rb/ Pentecouste en siauvant maniere. Le jour saint Michiel l'archangele tant seulement en siauvant maniere. Toutes ces
 65 choses doivent iestre prises a commun. Les avainnes doivent conviertir a retenir le glise, et as clokes a refaire.¹⁰

Li coustres doit retenir dou sien toute le couverture del enclostre et dou dortoir et des apendiches.¹¹

B. [Candle levies of the sacristy]¹²

/f. 55ra/ A le pasque doit li coustres I cirge de XL lievres et III roelles pour les
 70 III Maries,¹³ chascunne dou pois d'une prouvendaus. Et XV chandeilles sour le treille¹⁴ as tenebreuses matines chascunne d'un quartron, et I tortinet¹⁵ pour le novial feu. Et ossi emporte li chantres les II chandeilles sour les chandeileirs a le Pasque et a le Pentecouste qu'a Noweil.

Et doit encor li coustres II ardans toudis de jour et de nuit devant le cors saint,
 75 et une autre al autel saint Piere quant on I dist grant messe.

Et si doit ancor chandeille pour lumeir quant li vin sont venu. Et si doit a le ducasse en may VI chandeilles pour metre a VI pileirs, dont les VIII font le lievre.

Et est assavoir que toutes les chandeilles que li coustres doit en l'eglise que li
 80 III glisier les doivent faire feir et lievreir forche et li coustres doit lievreir toute le mateire et les despens, et les coustenges com ifait.

C. [Duties at matins and eucharist]¹⁶

Est autem sciendum, quod, quando ma- /f. 55rb/ tutine dicuntur in maiori ecclesia, habet domina legens sextam lectionem unam rotulam¹⁷ et canonicus legens

¹⁰ For the destroyed bells, see Document EE, f. 98ra: *Li seconde pais des Abbesses*, 1287, 418.

¹¹ See also the regulations regarding the maintenance of the buildings in Document EE, f. 98rb: *Li seconde pais des Abbesses*, 1287, 418.

¹² See the essay in this volume by Kelly, 350–351.

¹³ For the organization of Easter ceremonies at Nivelles, see the essay in this volume by Kelly, 341, 354, and Greene, 364.

¹⁴ The generic word *treille* (screen) here apparently refers to the choir screen.

¹⁵ *Tortinus*: a candle of a certain weight. DuCange, *Glossarium* (1883–1887), vol. 8, col. 135b.

¹⁶ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 139 and 141.

¹⁷ *Rotula*: panis ad sacrificium, DuCange, *Glossarium* (1883–1887), vol. 7, col. 223b.

^b reading unclear on account of an ink stain

In March, one should send from Duffel the clapper [for the bell], the ropes for the curtains, and the bells, the alb, and the ablutions with all the ornaments, the incense, and the censer that are used at the altar of the Lamb on Easter, the flowered cup for Easter, [the one with] the flowers and enamel, and doves for Pentecost. On the feast of my lady, St Gertrude, in mid-March, [give] twelve deniers to the priest, deacon, and subdeacon who serve at the great Mass; at the great dedication, in such a manner; the night of Pentecost, in the following manner. St Michael the Archangel's day, so much in the following manner. All these things must be taken in common. The revenue should serve to keep up the church and to remake the bells.

The sacristan should keep all the roofs of the cloister and of the dormitory and of the annexes out of his portion.

B. [Candle levies of the sacristy]

At Easter the sacristan owes one candle weighing forty pounds, and three rolls for the Three Marys, each one of the prebendal weight. And [he owes] fifteen candles on the choir screen on dark mornings, each one a quarter-pound, and one *tortinus* [a candle of a certain weight] for the new fire. And the chanter brings two candles on candlesticks at Easter and at Pentecost, just as at Christmas.

And the sacristan also owes two burning [candles] every day and night before the holy body, and another at the altar of St Peter when Mass is said there.

And he also owes another candle to light the wine delivery. And at the dedication in May he owes six candles to put on six pillars, of which eight make a pound.

And let it be known that the three churchwardens should have all the candles that the sacristan owes to the church made and supplied in quantity, and the sacristan should supply all the material and the expenses, and the associated costs.

C. [Duties at matins and eucharist]

Let it also be known that when matins shall be said in the great church, the canoness reading the sixth lesson has one roll, and the canon reading the last less-

ultimam lectionem similiter unam rotulam. Et si sint tria ewangelia, habebunt canonici tres rotulas.

D. [Obligation of the abbess to provide the canonesses and canons of Nivelles with a small banquet on certain days, April 28, 1273]¹⁸

85 Anno domini M° CC° LXX° tercio, feria sexta post *Misericordia domini* recordatum fuit per capitulum Nivellense iudicando, quod domina abbatissa Nivellensis que fuerit pro tempore debet scutellam diebus statutis dominis et dominabus capituli predicti. Debet etiam placentas et canistellos. Et hoc isto modo, quod omnibus volentibus predictas scutellas, placentas et canistellos predictos dari debent, nec possunt denegari petenti canonico seu canonicè singulari.

90 Scutella autem que datur terminis statutis dominis et dominabus predictis debet esse de porco valente decem et octo solidos Lovanienses vel ad minus sedecim solidos monete predictæ, et debet esse talis quantitatis in longitudine, quod porco diviso in duas partes per medium, fustum carnis debet scindi a dorso porci superius usque ad fundum spina deposita.

95 Latitudinem habere debet fustum /f. 55va/ carnis predictæ, cum bene coctum erit, prout signatum est hic de incausto signata est etiam latitudine (!) in assere sinistra huiusmodi libri.¹⁹

E. [Width of a piece of cooked pork]²⁰

[Two red brackets, separated by the word *Latitudo*]

F. [Additional indications concerning the extent and content of the abbess's banquet]²¹

100 Li scuelle de char est de porc ensi que dit est deseure, et le doivent faire cuire les abbesses et metre avoech et envoier en un platial neuf ki demeure a ceaus ki ont les provendes et maisons de le sausse c'om dist Lieurisolles, et envoier par le message me dame. Et doit avoir en largeche quatre pols d'omme bien corporeil. Et doit avoir avoech deus russolles. Et doivent iestre de boin farsin de char de ous,

¹⁸ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 79; Dorin, 141 and 141, n. 24; and Kelly, 354.

¹⁹ The measures for the fish and probably the meat dishes most likely were indicated at the cellar door of the abbess at her court; see Document L, f. 94ra, p. 396. For the binding of the LON, see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber in this volume p. 79.

²⁰ See the essay in this volume by Kelly, 354.

²¹ See the essay in this volume by Greene, 375. This banquet thus formed part of the traditional prebends of Nivelles, independent of any prayer service.

on likewise [has] one roll. And if there should be three Gospel lessons, the canons shall have three rolls.

D. [Obligation of the abbess to provide the canonesses and canons of Nivelles with a small banquet on certain days, April 28, 1273]

In the year of our Lord 1273, on the Saturday after *Misericordia domini*, it was recorded by the Chapter of Nivelles and judged legally binding that the lady abbess of Nivelles, whoever she may be at the time, owes the lords and ladies of the aforesaid Chapter a portion on the established days. She also owes pies and cakes and in such a way that everyone who wants the aforementioned portions, pies, or the said cakes should get them, and so that no individual canon or canoness who asks for them can be denied.

And the portion which is given to these lords and ladies at the established times should consist of pork worth eighteen Louvain-sous or at the least seventeen sous of that currency, and should be of a sufficient size in length so that, when the pork is divided in two parts down the center, with the backbone set aside, the piece of meat should be split from the pig's upper back down to the haunch.

This is the width which the piece of that meat ought to have, after it has been well cooked, as this width is specified in ink in the left-hand margin of this book.

E. [Width of a piece of cooked pork]

[Two red brackets, separated by the word "Width"]

F. [Additional indications concerning the extent and content of the abbess's banquet]

The portion of meat dish is the [amount] of pork specified above, and the abbess should cook it and send with it some sauce, called 'Lieurisolles', as an accompaniment in a new platter that stays with those that have prebends and houses, and send it with her messenger. And in width it should be equivalent to four thumbs of a stout man. And it should have two pieces of fried bread with it. And they

froumages et speises. Et doit tenir li laieche ensi que li mains dun home entours
 105 IIII pols et en longeche entours VIII pols. Et idoit avoir encor deus petites saus-
 siches de teil farsin que les russolles. Et doivent tenir en^c longhece entours VIII
 pols, et doivent iestre cuites en saien de porc.

Et doit on les scuelles quant on chantet et quant on cesset,²² et s'elles eret hors
 de le ville pour queil cas que ce soit. Et ont le scuelle cilh et celles ki ont osteil et
 110 quant ilh quatre mannent en un osteil ilh vont tout ensamble. Et n'at point li affo-
 rains ki nest emancipeis, car ilh doit manoir avoech le scolastre. /f. 55vb/ Et en at
 chis ki tenroit le provende le duch s'ilh avoit osteil a Nivelles. Car ilh at provende
 de dame. Et n'en at nuls s'ilh n'est canonnes ou canonnesse.

G. [*The liturgical feasts when especially favored foods, including sausages, should be distributed*]

Li premiere scuelle est le dimenche devant *Invocavit me*.

115 Li seconde scuelle est le jour de le Pasque a teile porchon que celle deseivre.

Li tierce scuelle est le jour de le Penthecouste ensi que celles deseivre, sauf
 chou que pour les deus pieches de saussiches doit elle une vinee de le piacelle
 de le friture d'un mouton dous de persin, de fie, et de speisses, et le doit on bien
 cuire et rostir. Et doit iestre grosse ensi que li bras dune dame deleis le poing et
 120 longhe entours IIII pols. S'en at une en chascune scuelle, car en celles scuelles
 n'at nulle saussiche.

Li quarte scuelle doit on le jour dou Noweil auteile come li premiere. Et cilh
 ou celles ki ont les scuelles doivent iestre en le ville a eure de grant messe et s'ilh
 ni sont ilh n'en ont nient.

125 Requereis chou ke me dame li abbesse doit le jour dou Blanc d'Ioes devant
 mangier. Vous le trovereis escript III fuelles devant le fin de cest lievre^{d, 23}

/f. 56rb/ H. *Che sont les debites com doit a le glise pour le cousterie.*²⁴

Promiers as deerainnes vigiles doit as signeurs une prouvendaus et demie prou-
 vendaus, et tout autreteil doit as dames. Si doit tenir li prouvendaus quartron et

²² The *cessatio a divinis* was a form of local excommunication prohibiting the celebration of the Divine Office at a specified place, imposed primarily for offences against church property. For the *cessatio a divinis* see most recently Jaser, *Ecclesia maledicens* (2013), 80; Clarke, *Interdict* (2007); and for the specific context in Nivelles, the essay in this volume by Schlottheuber, 68.

²³ The reference is literally to f. 94r, in fact, f. 93v.

²⁴ See the essay in this volume by Kelly, 351 and 354.

^c Ms en en

^d Heading is underlined in red.

should be stuffed with a good stuffing of goose, cheeses, and spices. And they should have the width of the hand of a man, around four inches, and in length around eight inches. And there should be two little sausages with the same stuffing as the fried bread. And they should be about eight inches long. And they should be cooked in pork's blood.

And the dishes are owed whether one sings or whether one abstains, even if one were out of town for whatever reason. Those men and women who have a room get the dish. And when four stay in a single room, they all go together. And those schoolgirls who are not yet emancipated [from school] and still are lodging with the schoolmaster do not receive any. And the one who holds the ducal prebend [receives] it if he is in residence at Nivelles. For he has the prebend of the lady [abbess]. And no one receives any unless they are canons or canonesses.

G. [*The liturgical feasts when especially favored foods, including sausages, should be distributed*]

The first dish is [supplied] on the Sunday before *Invocavit me*.

The second dish is supplied on Easter Sunday with such a portion as it deserves.

The third dish is supplied the day of Pentecost, just as it deserves. Except that instead of the two pieces of sausage, she owes a round piece of mutton prepared with parsley, liver and spices. And it must be cooked and roasted well. And it should be as fat as the arm of a woman near her fist and about four inches long. One [piece of mutton] is [supplied] in every dish, for in these dishes there is no sausage.

The fourth dish, on Christmas Day, should be the same as the first. And those men and women who get the dishes should be in the town at the time of the great Mass and if they are not there, they will not get any.

You should require that my lady the abbess supply the following food on Maundy Thursday. You will find it written three pages before the end of this book.

H. These are the obligations owed to the church for the sacristy.

First, for the last vigils, one and a half prebendal [candles] are owed to the lords, and another to the ladies. The prebendal candle should hold a fourth of a pound

130 demi de cire, et li demie prouvédaus doit tenir le moiet de quartron et demi de cire.

Encor doit li coustres a Noweil les chandeilles de saint Estievene. Si doivent tenir les II une prouvédaus. Et doit on ces chandeilles de saint Stievene don-neir le jour dou Noweil a tous les dyakenes qui sont present a tout leur souplis a viespres en le glise me dame sainte Giertrut, et si n'en doit on don-neir a /f. 56va/ autrui.

135 Et tout ensi doit on don-neir lendemain a tous les prestres qui seront a tout leur souplis as viespres en le ditte eglise: a chascun une de ces meismes chan-deilles com at don-neit le nuit devant as dyakenes. Et n'en doit ou don-neir a au-trui.

140 Et doit encor li coustres le nuit des Innocens, a tous les escoliers qui sont pre-sent a tout leur souplis as viespres en le ditte glise, a chascun I copon fait al ais-selle sans pois.

Et si doit pour le *Liber generationis* I tortisial dou pois dune prouvédaus.

145 Encor doit li coustres as canonnes qui font le semaine toutes les fies qu'ilh I at IX lechons, une roelle dont les VIII font le lievre. Et quant ilh I at III ewangiles, si en ont ilh III.

Et doit li coustres encor a chantere del eglise les II chandeilles c'om met sour les II chandeileirs devant lui, ou cuer apres les deerainnes viespres des fiestas quant elles ont ars par tous les IIII jours.

150 Encor doit li coustres VII chandeilles c'on met sour le lettrin enmi le cuer toutes les fies que li canonne doivent matines et viespres en le glise.

Et quant li canonne doivent lendemain dire matines en le glise si doit li coustres a ces matines et /fol. 56vb/ as premieres et as secondes viespres IIII chan-deilles sour les mures dou cuer, II dun costeil et II dautre et II ou cuer des dames 155 si doivent avoir les VIII une lievre.

Et doit encor I tortisial dont on dist le jour dou Noweil les II premieres messes.

Et si doit encor li coustres toute le chandeille qu'ilh convient as dames pour les eures dire, et le rechoit li doyen et le depart ensi que raisons est.

I. [Obligations of the sacristan of Nivelles to donate candles]²⁵

A le chandeileir doit li coustres une chandeille prouvédaus a le prouvende.

160 Encor doit li coustres as eskevins de le ville de Nivelles a chascun une chan-deille prouvédaus et un stievenine²⁶ pour leur femes. Et ossi doit ilh a maeur une prouvédaus et une stievenine. Et autreteis chandeilles doivent avoir li ius et li

²⁵ See the essay in this volume by Green, 364 and 375; Kelly, 354.

²⁶ Probably *stievenine* stands for a candle worth an Estevenant. See for Estevenant: Gode-froy, dictionnaire (1881–1902), 174.

and a half of beeswax, and the half prebendal should hold half of a fourth of a pound and a half of beeswax.

The sacristan should also provide the candles of St Stephen at Christmas. Each of the two should hold a prebendal. And on Christmas Day one should give the candles of St Stephen to all the deacons who are present in their sur-plices at vespers in the church of my lady, St Gertrude, and they should not be given to anyone else.

And just so, on the next day, one should give all the priests who will be in their surplices at vespers in the aforementioned church one of these same candles that had been given the night before to the deacons. And they should be not be given to anyone else.

And on the night of the Holy Innocents the sacristan also owes the school-boys who are present in their surplices at vespers one little piece made for the plank without pitch.

And he owes a torch weighing one prebendal amount for the *Liber genera-tionis*.

The sacristan also owes the canons who perform the liturgy during the week a roll [of wax], of which eight make a pound, every time that there are nine less-ons. And when there are three Gospels, let them have three.

And the sacristan also owes the chanter of the church the two candles that go on the two candelabra in front of him or the choir after the last vespers of feasts when they have burned for all four days.

The sacristan also owes seven candles that one puts on the lectern among the choir every time that the canons must say matins and vespers in the church.

And when the canons must say matins in the church the next day, then the sacristan owes four candles on the walls of the choir for these matins and for the first and second vespers, two on one side and two on the other and two in the choir of the ladies; they should be eight to the pound.

And he also owes one torch with which one says the two first Masses on Christmas Day.

And the sacristan also owes all the candles necessary for the women to say hours, and the female dean should receive them and distribute them as is logical.

I. [Obligations of the sacristan of Nivelles to donate candles]

The sacristan should give one prebendal candle to the prebend on Candlemas.

The sacristan also owes the aldermen of the town of Nivelles one prebendal candle apiece and a coin stamped with an image of St Stephen for their wives.

forestiers, l'eist assavoir chascuns une prouvendaus et une stievenine que li coustres leur doit.²⁷

165 Et doit encor li coustres le chandeille me dame le jour de le Chandeileir.

J. /f. 93va/ Cest chou que me dame li abbesse doit le jour dou Blanc d'Ioes devant mangier.²⁸

A chascune canonniessse soit en scolle ou defors, l'an de grasce des mors,²⁹ les provendes le roi et le duch, et les III glisiers soient ces persones devens le ville ou dehours, et li cannone n'i ont nient. A chascune un wastial ki doit peseir V lievres en paste faite de blance fleur de froment. Et doit a chascunne une coupe de vin
170 de le glise s'ilh i at vin, et s'ilh n'i at vin coupe et demie a le mesure de la ville de Nivelles ne ne doit dou pieur ne dou milleur ki vat le jour a broke. Et le doivent aleir querre li message des damiselles canonniesses et apporter. Et le doivent avoir quant on chantet et quant on cesset³⁰ soient en la ville ou dehors.

Et apres mangier le jour dou Blanc d'Ioes doivent les abbesses le cene en leur
175 salle^e en wastiaus et en vin et chascunne I d.^f as mains laver. Et li sameliers,³¹ li dyakenes et li subdyakenes ki font le benichon doivent les abbesses donner XII d.^g quant elles levent leur mains. Et ont dou pain e dou vin. Et doivent envoyer as malades leur capellainne pour laver les mains, et le doiienne ou le plus anchienne, /f. 93vb/ apres leivent les pies l'abbesse apres le cene. Et li sameliers, li
180 dyakenes, et li subdiakenes vont laver les auteis ou moustier.

Item, li coustres doit le nuit de le grande Pasche I siermon ou hour des dames. Et doit li coustres II pieces de myrre et III d'encens pour mettre ou ciege.

Et doivent les abbesses le jour de le Pasche I chevroit et oes pelleis et pieceletes de lart et de bacon que on benist, et li dyakenes les depert as dames.

185 Et doivent les abbesses le scuelle de char ensi que dit est deseure.

²⁷ All official persons of the city of Nivelles to whom the monastery had obligations and who apparently received gifts of candles in return for their service are listed here. In the thirteenth century, the Chapter struggled to have these officers placed under the jurisdiction of the abbess; see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, n. 290.

²⁸ For the washing of feet at Nivelles, see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, p. 89; Fassler, 208–209; van Tongeren, 245–246; Kelly, 344, 350, 354; and Odenthal, 328.

²⁹ The *annus gratie* is the custom of the year's grace according to which the heirs of the holder of a prebend receive its income for a year after the holder's death. Pope Nicolas IV had granted Nivelles the *annus gratie* prebends in 1290; cf. see the essay in this volume by Simons, p. 119 who is correcting Hoebanx, L' Abbaye de Nivelles (1952), 320. See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, and van Tongeren, 245, n. 34.

³⁰ For the *cessatio a divinis*, see n. 22.

³¹ *Sameliers* is a unusual word, used in the LON obviously in the meaning of priest.

^e Erasure of ca. eight words extending over 1 line (of which the correction *salle* is the first word) and 1/4 of the following line

^f Erasure of c. 3 words

^g Erasure of 1.5 lines

And he also owes the mayor a prebendal candle and an 'stievenine.' And the lawmen and the foresters should also have such candles, that is to say, one prebendal candle and an 'stievenine' that the sacristan owes them.

And the sacristan also owes my lady's candle on Candlemas.

J. My lady the abbess owes the following foods on Maundy Thursday.

On the anniversary (year of grace) for the dead, [she owes] the prebends of the king and the duke to each canoness, whether in residence or elsewhere, and to the three churchwardens, if these persons should be in town or out of town, and the canons get none. To each [canoness], [she owes] a cake weighing five pounds, made of batter of white wheat flour. And she owes each one a cup of church wine if there is any, and if there is no [church] wine, [she owes] a cup and a half in the measurements of the town of Nivelles, not of the worst nor of the best on tap that day. And the messengers of the young canonesses should go find it and bring it back. And they should have it whether one sings or whether one abstains, whether they be in town or out of it.

And after eating on Maundy Thursday, the abbesses owe a supper in their hall in cakes and in wine and each one one denier, when they wash their hands. And to the priests, the deacons and subdeacons who do the benediction, the abbesses should give twelve deniers, when they wash their hands. And they have bread and wine. And they should send to the sick their helper to wash their hands, and the female dean or the eldest should next wash the feet of the abbess after the supper. And the priests, the deacon and the subdeacon will wash the altars in the chapel.

Item, on the night of great Easter the sacristan owes one sermon in the ladies's choir. And the sacristan owes two bits of myrrh and three of incense to put at the seat.

And on Easter day the abbesses owe one kid and peeled eggs and little bits of lard and bacon that are blessed, and the deacons should bring them to the ladies.

And the abbesses owe the meat dish as is said above.

Et doivent les canonniesses enlire leur doyenue, et li abbesse doit tant faire qu'elle l'entreprenet et maintiengnet.

Item, doit li abbesse I cierge d'entours XL lievres c'om portet as fons le nuit de Pasches a benir les fons, et le jour as viespres et les III jours apres suans a viespres.

190 Et a le Penthecouste le porte on a benir les fons ausi. Si le doit porteur li basteniers en se persone ki quons soit basteniers pour le tens.

Item, doit me dame li abbesse ou li coustres trois roelles de cire toutes les fois qu'ilh i at trois Evangiles, et quant ilh I at IX lechons. Et doit elle a samelier une roelle dont les VIII font une lievre Nivelloise. Et le doivent s'on cesset³² ou on
195 chantet ensi que dit est deseure.

Item, doit li abbesse les deus /f. 94ra/ glisiers dou tresorier et des clokes a chascun V sous par an pour une plice. Et si doivent mangier li dit glisier al hosteil l'abbesse les jours qu'ilh I at IX lechons. Et quant IX lechons i doit avoir en Pasches et Penthecouste a le court l'abbesse.

K. Hoc est latitudo fustri salmonis³³

[The measure – a red horizontal line – has been erased]

L. [The abbess's banquet for the canons on Maundy Thursday]

200 Va.^h

Teile doit iestre li scuelle que me dame li abbesse de Nivelles doit a ses dames canonniesses le jour dou Blanc d'Ioes. Si l'oist a savoir une scuelle de blans pois pileis, bien loiges sens noirs et sens breges.

Item, une scuelle d'oingnons pileis bien atourneis a vin.

205 Item, IIII herens crus.

Item, une pieche de Samon dont li longechie et li laieche estⁱ nee de^j enche dont li exemples fut pris en l'us dou cellier me dame l'abbesse en le court. Et se puet paijer ceste pieche dou jour dou mi quareme dechi a jour dou blanc dioes a se volenteit, mais qu'elle les paiet toutes les dames a I jour. Se doit iestre cheste
210 pieche de samon taillie entre le boudinne et le tieste sens keuwe et sens tieste, et mise en une scuelle, et doit estre crue.

Item^k, une /f. 94rb/ scuelle de pisson de douche aiwe.

-cat³⁴

³² For the *cessatio a divinis*, see n. 22.

³³ See the essay in this volume by Greene, 365–366, and Kelly, 354.

³⁴ The entry removed here is repeated in greater detail in Document W, ff. 95ra–95rb, p. 402.

^h va-cat added at the beginning and end of the passage to indicate it should be eliminated

ⁱ Erasure follows

^j Erasure follows

^k the next six words, not crossed out, are marked va- cat above the line

And the canonesses shall elect their female dean, and the abbess shall do all she can so that the dean-elect takes up and maintains the position.

Item, the abbess owes one candle of around forty pounds that one can take to the font, the eve of Easter, to bless the font, and the day at vespers, and the following three days at vespers. And at Pentecost one can take it to bless the font also. Whoever is chosen as baton-bearer at the time should carry it on his person.

Item, my lady the abbess or the sacristan owes three rolls of beeswax every time there are three Gospel lessons, and one when there are nine lessons. And she owes one roll, of which eight make a Nivellois pound, to the priest. And they owe this whether they sing or whether they abstain, as is said above.

Item, the abbess owes the two churchwardens, of the treasury and of the bells, each five shillings per year for a surplice. And the aforementioned churchwardens should eat at the abbess's guesthouse on the days when there are nine lessons. And when there are nine lessons on Easter and Pentecost, [they should eat] at the abbess's court.

K. This is the length of the piece of salmon.

[The measure – a red horizontal line – has been erased]

L. [The abbess's banquet for the canons on Maundy Thursday]

Re-

This is how the dishes that my lady the abbess of Nivelles owes to her lady canonesses on Maundy Thursday should be. This, namely, should be understood to be a dish of white mashed peas, well sorted without black spots or stains.

Item a dish of mashed onions well prepared in wine.

Item four raw herrings.

Item a piece of salmon, of which the length and width is [erasure] nor of [erasure] ounces for which the example was taken from my lady the abbess's cellar door in her court. And this piece can be paid from the day of mid-Lent until Maundy Thursday according to her wishes, but she should pay all the ladies on a single day. This piece of salmon must be split between the stomach and the head, without tail and without head, and put in a dish and it should be raw.

Also a dish of freshwater fish.

-move.

M. [*The payments that the abbess is obliged to make to the canonesses and the obligations regarding candles and their use*]³⁵

Me dame li abbessse doit as dames tous les dimanches del an VII sous de noirs
 215 Tournois, et le deerain dimanche dou mois en doit elle X sous VI d. noirs de
 Tournois. Et deerin dimanche dou mois en doit elle X sous VI d. de Tournois. Si
 que quant li mois at quatre dimenches elle doit XXI sous VI d. de^l Tournois. Et
 quant ilh at ou mois V^m dimenches elle doit XXXVIII sous VI d.ⁿ de Tournois.
 De chou paiet on a chascunne des dames ki sont fours de scolle IX Tournois.
 220 Item, a chascunne scolliere³⁶ ki list a prime VI Tournois. Item, a chascunne scol-
 liere ki ne list nient a prime IIII Tournois. Et chou ki crist deseure, che paiement
 est les dames s'en font chou qu'ilh leur plaist.

N. [*The obligations regarding candles and their use*]

Les nuis des quatre fiestes Notre Dame, assavoir est le nuit del Assumption, de le
 Nativiteit, de le Purification, et del Annunciation doit li oeuvre de le glise II chan-
 225 deilles de cire de demie lievre chascunne c'om doit mettre as premieres viespres
 et les doit on laijer ardoir toutes jours.

O. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: Consecration of
 St Gertrude, December 2nd*]³⁷

Item, le nuit de le Consecration me dame sainte Giertrut /f. 94va/ doit li oeuvre
 de le glise IIII chandeilles de demie lievre de chire chascunne, des queiles on doit
 mettre deus deleis le fietre me dame sainte Giertrut, a chascun costeil une chan-
 230 deille. Et les II autres chandeilles doit on mettre sour le treille.

Item, a celle meismes fieste doit li hospitaus dou Godal^o une chandeille de
 demie lievre de cire, ke on doit mettre sour le treille deleis les chandeilles ke li
 oeuvre de le glise doit. Et doivent les dittes chandeilles commenchie a ardoir as
 premieres viespres.

³⁵ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 141, n. 23, and Kelly, 354.

³⁶ In various places, the documents point to there having been a monastery school for future canonesses which obviously was also open to others from outside the community; see the essay in this volume by Kelly, 343; for the schools of the beguinages the essay in this volume by Simons, 127.

³⁷ On the liturgical organization of the three feasts, see the essay in this volume by Margot Fassler, p. 175.

^l d. de written over an erasure

^m written over an erasure

ⁿ written over an erasure

^o spelled Godal, with two letters corrected by having been crossed out

M. [*The payments that the abbess is obliged to make to the canonesses and the obligations regarding candles and their use*]

Every Sunday of the year, my lady the abbess owes the ladies seven black Touraine shillings, and on the last Sunday of the month, she owes them ten Touraine shillings, six deniers. So that when the month has four Sundays, she owes thirty-one Touraine shillings, six [deniers]. And when the month has five Sundays, she owes thirty-seven Touraine shillings, six deniers. From this, one pays each of the ladies that are out of the school nine Touraine shillings. Also, each schoolgirl who reads at prime [is paid] four Touraine shillings. And the ladies can do whatever they like with what is described above as payment.

N. [*The obligations regarding candles and their use*]

On the eves of the four feasts of Our Lady, that is to say, on the eve of the Assumption, of the Nativity, of the Purification, and of the Annunciation, the church fund owes two candles of beeswax, each of half a pound, which should be set out at the first vespers and should burn every day.

O. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: Consecration of
 St Gertrude, December 2nd*]

Item, on the eve of the Consecration of my lady, St Gertrude, the church fund owes four candles of half a pound of beeswax each, of which one should place two above the reliquary of my lady, St Gertrude, one on each side. And the other two candles should be put on the choir screen.

Item, at this same feast the hospital of Gouthal owes one candle of half a pound of beeswax that one should put on the choir screen under the candles that the church fund owes. And the aforementioned candles should begin to burn at the first vespers.

P. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: the Elevation of St Gertrude, February 10th*]

235 Item, le nuit de le Elevation me dame sainte Giertrut doit li oevre de le glise IIII chandeilles de cire ensi que dit est a le Consecration.

Item, a ceste meismes fieste doit li hospitaus dou Spuchre II chandeilles de cire de demie lievre chascunne chandaille. Et doient commenchier a ardre as promieres viespres ensi que dit est a le Consecration.

Q. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: Consecration of St Gertrude, March 17th*]

240 Item, a le fieste me dame sainte Giertrut en mi march, doit li oevre de le glise IIII chandeilles ensi que dit est chi deseure.

Item, a ceste meismes fieste doit li hospitaus de saint Nicholai II chandeilles de demie lievre de cire chascunne, et doient commenchier a ardoir as promieres viespres ensi que dit est.

R. [*The candle obligations for the Dedication of the church of St Gertrude in May, May 4th*]

245 Item, a le ducasse de le eglise en mai doit on^P metre VI chandeilles a VI⁹ pileirs a chascun pileir une chandaille a viespres et a matines.^r

S. [*Regarding the adventus of the duke in Nivelles*]³⁸

Item, quant li dus de Braibant vient premierement a Nivelle, si vat li procession des dames et des signeurs encontre li ossi lonch que dou moustier dechi a peron, dou queil costeit qu'ilh vient, et cante on ce respons *Honor virtus*^s.³⁹ Mais li capitiles ne li presente riens.

³⁸ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 140, discusses documents R, S, and T.

³⁹ CANTUS 006870 (De Trinitate): *Honor virtus et potestas et imperium sit trinitati in unitate unitati in trinitate in perenni saeculorum tempore.*

^P on corrected above the line

⁹ written over an erasure

^r a viespres and matines possibly written over erasures

^s added by a later hand over an erasure

P. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: the Elevation of St Gertrude, February 10th*]

Item, on the eve of the elevation of my lady, St Gertrude, the church fund owes four beeswax candles, as is explained for the Consecration.

Item at this same feast the Hospital of the Sepulcher owes two beeswax candles, half a pound each. And they should begin to burn at the first vespers, as is explained for the Consecration.

Q. [*The candle obligations for the feasts of St Gertrude: Consecration of St Gertrude, March 17th*]

Item, at the feast of my lady, St Gertrude, in mid-March, the church fund owes four candles as is said above.

Item, at this same feast, the hospital of St Nicholas owes two candles of a half-pound of wax each and they should begin to burn at the first vespers, as explained above.

R. [*The candle obligations for the Dedication of the church of St Gertrude in May, May 4th*]

Item, at the Dedication of the church in May, six candles should be placed on six pillars – one candle per pillar – at vespers and at matins.

S. [*Regarding the adventus of the duke in Nivelles*]

Item, when the Duke of Brabant first comes to Nivelles, the procession of ladies and lords should go the length of the chapel up to the rock to meet him, whatever side he comes from, and they should sing the response *Honor virtus*. But the Chapter should not present anything to him.

T. [*The ringing of the bells Gertrude and Celeste for the death and burial of the duke*]⁴⁰

Item, quant ilh trespasse une des persones de le glise assavoir est me dame li abbesse ou li provos ou li provoste ou canonnieuse ou canones, de queil estat qu'ilh soit, on sonnet tout premiers le clokete c'om appellet Scielete pour li I cop. Et apres, sonnet on le cloke c'om dist Giertrut pour li. Chascunne de ces deus
255 clokes trois fies sonnet on pour le mort. Et quant^t on porte le cors a moustier et quant^u on le met en terre, on sonnet toutes les clokes ensiamie.

U. [*The procession on the occasion of the abbess assuming her regalia*]

Item, quant me dame li abbesse at se regalle⁴¹ dou roi /f. 95ra/ d'Alemaingne a le revenue vat li processions des dames et des signeurs encontre li.

[red horizontal measure, about eight cm]

V Hec est latitudo fustri salmonis scutelle dominarum^v.⁴²

W. [*The banquet that the abbess is obliged to hold for the canonesses on Maundy Thursday, probably about 1286*]⁴³

Teile doit iestre li scuelle ke me dame li abbesse de Nivelles doit a ses dames le
260 jour dou Blanc d'Ioeus. Si l'oist a savoir une scuelle de blans pois pilleis bien loijes sens noirs et sens breges.⁴⁴ Item, une scuelle d'oingnons pilleis bien atourneis a vin. Item, quatre herens. Item, une pieche de samon dont li largece et li longece est chi signie de vermillon, dont li exemples fut pris en l'uis dou cellier me dame l'abbesse en se court. Et se puet paijer ceste pieche de samon dou jour
265 dou mi Quareme dechi a jour dou Blanc d'Ioeus a se volenteit, mais qu'elle les paiet toutes a I jour. Se doit iestre ceste pieche de samon taillie entre le boudinne et le tieste sens keuwe et sens tieste. Item, une scuelle de poisson de douche aiwe cuite en l'aiwe, se l'oist a savoir une piece de lucastr fendue, /f. 95rb/ une pieche

⁴⁰ See the essay in this volume by Greene, 376.

⁴¹ For issues related to the accepting of the regalia from the Roman-German king, see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 58–59, 66, 69, 75, 88, 90–91, and 95.

⁴² See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 140–141; Greene, 366.

⁴³ For the date, see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 82–83, 89, and Dorin, 146. For Document W, see also Dorin, 140–141, 143, and Greene, 366.

⁴⁴ The enigmatic word *loijes* seems to refer to the quality of the peas in some way.

^t Abbreviation added by a later hand in darker ink

^u Abbreviation added by a later hand in darker ink

^v Heading enclosed in a red box

T. [*The ringing of the bells Gertrude and Celeste for the death and burial of the duke*]

Item, when one of the people of the church passes away, such as my lady the abbess or the prior or the prioress or a canoness or a canon, from whatever estate, one first rings for him or her the little bell that is called 'Celeste', and afterwards, someone rings the bell called 'Gertrude'. One rings three times each of these two bells for the deceased. And when the body is brought to the chapel and put in the earth, one rings all the bells together.

U. [*The procession on the occasion of the abbess assuming her regalia*]

Item, when my lady the abbess gets her regalia from the king of Germany and returns, a procession of ladies and lords goes to meet her.

[Red horizontal mark, about eight cm]

V. This is the width of the piece of salmon for the ladies's portion.

W. [*The banquet that the abbess is obliged to hold for the canonesses on Maundy Thursday, probably about 1286*]

This is how the dishes that my lady the abbess of Nivelles owes to her ladies on Maundy Thursday should be. This should be understood to be a dish of white mashed peas, well washed [?] without black spots or stains. Item a dish of mashed onions well prepared in wine. Item, four herrings. Item, a piece of salmon, of which the length and width is here signaled in red, for which the example was taken from my lady the abbess's cellar door in her court. And this piece can be paid from the day of mid-Lent until Maundy Thursday according to her wishes, but let her pay all the ladies on a single day. This piece of salmon must be split between the stomach and the head, without tail and without head. Also a dish of freshwater fish cooked in water, that is to say a filet of lake fish, a piece of bream

de brame ki ne soit mies fendue, et une roche.⁴⁵ Se doit avoir en ceste scuelle des-
 270 ous ces pieches boin poivre fait de spesses et de vin. Et li pieche de samon doit
 iestre cruwe.

Et se les dames communement a me dame l'abbesse s'acordent et voellent
 venir^w mangier ensamble en refroitoir a jour dou Blanc d'Ioeus, faire le pueent,
 ne autrement me dame ne les puet destraindre, ne ne les puet deffendre s'elles
 275 aleir i voellent.⁴⁶ Et doivent iestre ces viandes en quatre scuelles les queiles de-
 meurent as dames. Item, elles doivent envoyer querre ces scuelles par leur mes-
 sages. Et doivent iestre les scuelles nueves.

X. Hec longitudo fustri salmonis scutelle dominarum a domina abbatissa
 Nivellensi.⁴⁷

[Written vertically in the right margin, under a vertical red measure]

Y. [Opening of the tomb of St Gertrude, July 8, 1292]⁴⁸

Feria quarta⁴⁹ ante Divisionem apostolorum, scilicet in die Kyliani et sociorum
 eius, respexerunt reliquias beate Gertrudis in feretro ad preceptum et ordina-
 280 tionem^x capituli Nivellensis domina Elyzabeth de Birbaco abbatissa⁵⁰, Iacobus
 de Sancto Syro⁵¹, Iohannes de Balerio, magister Theodricus de Ulmo, presbiteri,
 Walterus de Pois scolasticus, Sibilia de Iacea⁵², Emma de Latour preposita, ca-
 nonici et canonice Nivellenses, et invenerunt capud et maxil- /f. 95va/ las cum
 dentibus, tribus exceptis, et totum corpus per ossa virginis.⁵³

⁴⁵ The small fish *Rutilus rutilus*.

⁴⁶ On the washing of the feet and the indicated problematic relationship between the ab-
 bess and the Chapter of the women, see Schlotheuber, 86–88.

⁴⁷ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 88, and Greene, 365.

⁴⁸ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 141–142, 143, and 146–147; Effros, 160; Fass-
 ler, 182; and Greene, 366. On the transmission of the text, see also Schlotheuber, 93–95.

⁴⁹ The dating should be corrected to *Feria tertia* (see n. 53).

⁵⁰ Abbess Elizabeth de Bierbais.

⁵¹ The known canon Jacob de Saint Syr.

⁵² The canoness *Sibylla de Iacea*, i. e., Sibille de Jauches.

⁵³ According to Walter Simons, this note on the *Visio or Recognitio* of the relics of St Ger-
 trude in the “documents” section of MS Lat 422 presents a curious discrepancy in the date in
 that the dating formula is incorrect. In 1292, St Kylian’s feast (July 8) did not fall on a Wednes-
 day (*feria quarta*) but rather on a Tuesday (*feria tertia*). Robert Hanon de Louvet argued that
 the cause of the error which also occurs in the other sources is obvious: the correct date should
 be 1293 because St Kylian’s feast fell on Wednesday in that year (Hanon de Louvet, *L’inspec-
 tion*, 1952, 249–254). His main argument was based on a legend, recorded by Geldolphus van

^w unir over erasure

^x et ordinationem over an erasure

that is not at all filleted, and a roach. On this dish, on top of the fish, there should
 be a good seasoning made of spices and wine. And the piece of salmon should
 be raw.

And if the ladies and the abbess agree and wish to come to eat together in the
 refectory on Maundy Thursday, they can do that, but my lady cannot require
 them to do so, nor can she prohibit them from going if they want to. And these
 meats should be in four dishes, which stay with the ladies. Item, they should send
 their messengers for these dishes, and they should be new dishes.

X. This is the length of the piece of salmon for the small dish of the ladies
 [owed] by the lady the abbess of Nivelles.

[Written vertically in the right margin, under a red vertical measure]

Y. [Opening of the tomb of St Gertrude, July 8, 1292]

On the Wednesday before the Division of the Apostles, that is, on the day of Kil-
 lian and his companions, by the order and command of the Chapter of Nivelles,
 Lady Elizabeth of Bierbais, the abbess, Jacques de Saint-Syr, Johannes of Baulers
 [and] master Theodoric of Ulm, priests, Walter of Pois, the schoolmaster, Sibille
 des Jauches, Emma of Latour the female provost, [and] the canons and the ca-
 nonesses of Nivelles inspected the relics of Blessed Gertrude in their deathbed,
 and they discovered the whole of the virgin’s body in skeletal form and the head
 and jaw with the teeth, except for three.

285 Actum anno domini millesimo CC^{mo} nonagesimo secundo, feria quarta⁵⁴
ante Divisionem apostolorum. Et dictas reliquias viderunt multi de capitulo et
alie persone extranee dicta die et nocte.

Z. Recordatio capituli quando deficit prebenda Brebantie^y.⁵⁵
[General Chapter in Nivelles, 1284]⁵⁶

Anno domini millesimo CC^o LXXXIII^o, feria sexta ante Pentecosten recor-
datum fuit in pleno capitulo Nivellesi ab universis personis et singulis dicti ca-
pituli et specialiter per relationem personarum antiquarum eiusdem capituli,
290 quod, quando deficit prebenda in Brabantia et domina abbatissa requiritur a ca-
pitulo, quod faciat^z venire dictam prebendam, ipsa tenetur ipsa die qua requisita
fuerit exire villam Nivelensem et ire versus allodium in quo est dicta prebenda
Brabantie et, cum in illo allodio fuerit manere debet in illo, nec illud potest exire
295 aliqua de causa, donec fecerit prebendam predictam venire ante se, nisi de licen-
tia et voluntate dicti capituli processerit. Quod si predicta domina abbatissa exie-
rit predictum allodium absque licentia et voluntate dicti capituli vel absque eo,
quod predictam prebendam venire fecerit ante se, ipsa qualibet die quibus fue-
rit extra allodium post primam diem qua primo predictum allodium intraverit
300 /f. 95vb/ tenebitur dicto capitulo ad penam sex solidorum alborum. Et nichilo-
minus remanent contra eandem abbatissam alie pene et alia iura dicto capitulo
ab antiquo consueta.

Ryckel in 1637, according to which abbess Elizabeth de Bierbais died shortly after the event supposedly as punishment for opening the tomb of St Gertrude (*mors illius non multo post sequuta est*); cf. van Ryckel, *Historia S. Gertrudis* (1637), 407. Elizabeth is known to have died in August or September of 1293 (Hanon de Louvet, *L'inspection*, 1952, 253). Observing that July 8, 1292, did not fall on a Wednesday, the Bollandists suggested that *videlicet in* should be read as *postridie*, but that emendation seems improbable because the Visio was commemorated each year on St Kylian's day. However, all early sources including the LON indicate that the opening of Gertrude's tomb took place in 1292, and there is no reason to doubt that the Visio took place in the same year. Simons argues that a document recording the ritual opening, the procedure followed as well as the witnesses to it, seems to have been drawn up in the form of a brief *notitia* with an opening formula (*Noverint universis [...]*). In that *notitia* or in an early transcription of it, the scribe made an error in the day of the week (*feria III^a* became *feria IIII^a*). That text is preserved in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar., 2, 599–600.

⁵⁴ In accordance with the argument in n. 53, the day should be given as *feria tertia*.

⁵⁵ On the prebend of Lennick, called the prebend of Brabant, and the long-running dispute between the abbess and the Chapter, see Hoebanx, *L'Abbaye de Nivelles*, 274–276.

⁵⁶ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 82; Dorin, 142, 146; and Greene, 366.

^y *Heading in a red box*

^z *Ms facia in (later?) red ink; corrected to faciat*

This was done in the year of our Lord 1292, on the Wednesday before the Division of the Apostles. And many people from the Chapter and other persons from outside [the community] saw the said relics on the said day and night.

Z. The commemorative record of the Chapter when the prebend of Brabant did not arrive. [General Chapter in Nivelles, 1284]

In the year of our Lord 1284, on the Friday before Pentecost, it was put to memory in the full Chapter of Nivelles by each and every person of the said Chapter and notably according to the testimony of older persons of this Chapter that, when the prebend of Brabant does not arrive, and the lady abbess is asked by the Chapter to make the said prebend come. She is required to leave the town of Nivelles on the same day and to go to the freehold in which the said prebend of Brabant [is found]. And when she should be in this freehold, she ought to stay in it, nor should she go out of it for any reason until she has made the said prebend be sent before her, unless she should leave by the permission and will of the said Chapter. Because if the aforementioned lady abbess should go out of the said freehold without the permission and will of the said Chapter or without having sent the said prebend before her, from whatever day she should go out of the freehold after the first day in which she first entered the said freehold, she will be required by the said Chapter [to pay] a penalty of six white sous. Nevertheless, the other punishments and rights against the abbess, which the said chapter has held by ancient custom, remain.

AA.⁵⁷ Item alia recordatio capituli quando deficit prebenda Brabantie.^{aa}
[probably ca. 1284]⁵⁸

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis capitulum ecclesie Nivellensis salutem, et cognoscere veritatem. Noveritis, quod omnibus personis ecclesie nostre Nivel-
lensis nominatim et specialiter ad certam diem convocatis recognoverunt omnes
dicte persone que voluerunt et potuerunt interesse sub debito iuramenti fide-
litate prestiti ecclesie nostre Nivellensis, quod usus sive consuetudo ecclesie eius-
dem est, quod abbatissa Nivellensis que fuerit pro tempore, quando deficit pre-
benda de Brabantia in ecclesia Nivellensi et requiritur a capitulo Nivellensi, quod
faciat venire prebendam, ipsa tenetur eadem die qua fuerit requisita exire villam
Nivellensem ad faciendum suis sumptibus venire dictam prebendam vel veniat
dicta prebenda, nec ex tunc debet intrare Nivellam, donec fecerit prebendam ve-
nire ante se. Si autem dicta abbatissa, cum requisita fuerit, non exierit villam Ni-
vellensem vel forte redierit apud Nivellam antequam prebenda predicta /f. 96ra/
venerit, prout superius est expressum, ipsa tenetur capitulo Nivellensi ad penam
sex solidorum alborum qualibet die qua fuerit in mora exeundi vel qua redierit
apud Nivellam deficiente prebenda supradicta. Et nichilominus potest capitulum
contra ipsam cessare a divinis,⁵⁹ si voluerit.

Item, est usus sive ius sive consuetudo ecclesie Nivellensis, quod abbatissa Ni-
vellensis que fuerit pro tempore tenetur allodia predictae ecclesie alienata et dis-
tracta suis sumptibus ad ius et proprietatem ecclesie revocare.

BB.⁶⁰ Des Ridelous⁶¹ ki vont sur le Rin en vendenge^{ab}.

Item, tempore quo ecclesia Nivellensis debet mittere supra Renum ad vinde-
miandum vina eiusdem ecclesie, abbatissa Nivellensis que fuerit pro tempore
requisita a capitulo debet procurare suis sumptibus uno anno quatuor equos, et
altero quinque quos debent equitare nuntii ecclesie ituri ad vina vindemianda
supra Renum.

⁵⁷ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 57, 73–74, 82, and Dorin, 142 and 146.

⁵⁸ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 82.

⁵⁹ For the *cessatio de divinis*, see n. 22.

⁶⁰ See the essay in this volume by Dorin, 142, and Greene, 366.

⁶¹ Probably a substantive of the French, *ridelle* (basket), hence basket carrier; see Godefroy, *Dictionnaire* (1881–1902). For a “char à ridelles,” see http://ala.u-strasbg.fr/index3.php?page=winkel&menu=doc_ethno (accessed 14.12.2018).

^{aa} Heading in a red box

^{ab} Heading in a red box

AA. Item, another commemorative record of the Chapter when the pre-
bend of Brabant does not arrive [probably c. 1284]

For all those who shall inspect the present document, the Chapter of the church of Nivelles salvation and knowledge of the truth. Let it be known that with all the people of our church of Nivelles called together by name and individually on an appointed day, all these people that wanted and were able to be present recognized, under the duty to the oath of fidelity to our highly esteemed church of Nivelles, that the use and custom of this church is that whoever should be abbess of Nivelles at the time when the prebend of Brabant does not arrive at the church of Nivelles she is sought by the Chapter of Nivelles, to arrange for the prebend to arrive, and on the same day on which it is sought, she is supposed to go out of the town of Nivelles to make the said prebend come by her own expense or let the said prebend come, nor thence should she enter Nivelles until she has send the prebend before her. If the said abbess, when she is asked, should not leave the town of Nivelles or perhaps should return home to Nivelles before the aforementioned prebend comes as is explained above, she shall be held by the Chapter of Nivelles on the penalty of six white sous on whatever day on which there should be a delay in going forth or on which she should return home to Nivelles without the aforementioned prebend. And nevertheless the Chapter can abstain from divine offices against her if it wishes to do so.

Also, it is the use or law or the custom of the church of Nivelles that the abbess of Nivelles, whoever she should be at the time, is required to recover the alienated and dissolved properties of the aforesaid church to the law and ownership of the church at her own expense.

BB. On the slatted carts that travel on the Rhine during the grape harvest.

Item, when the church of Nivelles must send [messengers] over the Rhine for the harvest of the church's wine, the abbess of Nivelles, whoever she is at the time, is required by the Chapter to procure with her own funds four horses a year, plus another five which the messengers of the church going to harvest the wine should ride.

CC.⁶² [*The decree of the Chapter regarding the obligations of the abbess, the lay judges of the city of Nivelles, and granting alms to the female church servants, December 1, 1277*]

/f. 96rb/ Item, abbatissa Nivellensis que fuerit pro tempore tenetur solvere omnes procuratores episcoporum et legatorum sedis Apostolice et omnium prelatorum pro ecclesia Nivellensi.

330 Debet etiam dicta abbatissa synodum episcopalem et generalem tam pro se quam pro ecclesia Nivellensi et personis eiusdem [attendere]. Insuper debet eadem abbatissa custodem sufficientem ponere in ecclesia Nivellensi qui faciat ea que pertinent ad custodiam. Si autem dicta abbatissa esset in defectu faciendi premissa vel alia ad que tenetur ecclesia^{ac} Nivellensis, ecclesia potest cessare a divinis contra ipsam⁶³ quociens voluerit usque ad supplementum defectuum premissorum.

Debet etiam tam abbatissa quam capitulum consentire et proseguire, quod tantum modo sint septem scabini in Nivella annuales sive qui de anno in annum ammoveantur et hoc in expensis oppidanorum Nivellensium.

340 Item, quicumque fuerit custos ecclesie Nivellensis non dabit nec dare poterit matricularias eiusdem ecclesie preter quam de anno in annum.

Hec recordata fuerunt in capitulo predicto Nivellensi presentibus personis antedictis et firmata iuramento earundem. Anno domini millesimo CC^oLXX^o septimo feria VI^a post festum beate Lucie virginis.

DD.⁶⁴ /f. 96va/ Ch'est li pais des abbesses^{ad,65} [November 18 and 19, 1282]

345 In nomine domini. Amen. Cum controversia verteretur inter capitulum ecclesie Nivellensis ex una parte et venerabilem dominam Elizabeth de Birbaco, dei gratia ecclesie eiusdem abbatissam, ex altera super quibusdam querelis et articulis pro quibus dictum capitulum cessabat a divinis⁶⁶ contra eandem abbatissam, tandem dicte partes de consilio proborum pro bono pacis et concordie in nos, videlicet Erbal dum, Gerardum de Houdebierges, Iacobum de Montano Vico, Io-

⁶² See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 54, 80, 92, and Dorin, 143.

⁶³ Cf. n. 22.

⁶⁴ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 54, 80–81, 85, 89; Dorin, 145, 147; and Greene, 366.

⁶⁵ On this conflict, with reference to other documents, see Hoebanx, *L'Abbaye de Nivelles* (1952), p. 277.

⁶⁶ Cf. n. 22.

^{ac} Ms ecclesie

^{ad} Heading in a red box

CC. [*The decree of the Chapter regarding the obligations of the abbess, the lay judges of the city of Nivelles, and granting alms to the female church servants, December 1, 1277*]

Item, the abbess of Nivelles, whoever she should be at the time, should pay all agents of the bishops and of the legates of the Apostolic See and of the prelates for the church of Nivelles.

The said abbess also [must participate in] the synod, both episcopal and general, as much on her behalf as on behalf of the church of Nivelles and the people of this church. Moreover, this same abbess should appoint a sufficient warden for the church of Nivelles, who should do those things that are appropriate for a warden. If, moreover, the said abbess should be in default of executing the aforementioned things or others to which she is obliged by the church of Nivelles, the church can abstain from performing divine offices against her however often it should wish to do so until she makes up for her failure in these things.

The abbess as well as the Chapter ought to come to an agreement and see to it that there should be only seven aldermen in Nivelles each year or who are established in a post from year to year, and this at the expense of the townspeople of Nivelles.

Item, whoever should be the warden of the church of Nivelles, he shall not give nor shall he be able to give the female church servants except from year to year.

These things were put to memory in the said Chapter of Nivelles with the aforementioned people present and they were confirmed by their oath. In the year of the Lord 1277, on the Friday after the feast of the blessed virgin Lucy.

DD. This is the peace agreement of the abbess [November 18 and 19, 1282]

In the name of the Lord, amen. As a dispute has arisen between, on the one hand, the Chapter of the church of Nivelles and, on the other, the venerable Lady Elizabeth of Bierbais, by the grace of God abbess of this same church, about certain grievances and the disputed items because of which the said Chapter abstained from performing divine offices against the named abbess. At last, following the counsel of upright men, for the good of peace and harmony among us, the said parties submitted to the judgment [of] those chosen jointly by the said parties, namely Erbald, Gerard of Huldenberg, Jacques de Mons, Johanna the female

hannam prepositam, Yolendem decanam,⁶⁷ et Emmam de Turre, canonicos et canonicas ecclesie Nivelensis a dictis partibus communiter electos tanquam in arbitros, arbitratore, amiables compositores seu ordinatores de alto et basso compromiserunt prout in compromisso super hoc confecto plenius continetur.

355 Cuius compromisi tenor talis est:

Universis presentes litteras inspecturis capitulum ecclesie Nivelensis ex una parte et nos, Elyzabeth, dei [gratia] dicte ecclesie Nivelensis abbatissa, ex altera salutem et cognoscere veritatem. Noverint universi, quod nos proborum usi consilio pro bono pacis et concordie super quibusdam controversiis et articulis
360 inter nos habitis pro quibus dicta ecclesia cessabat a divinis,⁶⁸ nos partes predictae in vi- /f. 96vb/ ros discretos dominos Erbalum, Gerardum de Houdebierges, Iacobum de Montano Vico et in dominas Iohannam prepositam, Yolendem decanam, et Emmam de Turre, canonicos et canonicas nostros, a nobis communiter electos tanquam in arbitros, arbitratore seu amiables compositores seu
365 ordinatores de alto et basso compromittimus sub pena ducentarum librarum Lovaniensium parti stanti arbitrio a parte resiliente quod absit reddendarum, ita quod quidquid dicti arbitri, arbitratore seu amiables compositores omnes communiter dixerint inter nos partes predictas seu ordinauerint arbitrando, ordinando seu amicabilem componendo, nos partes predictae tenebimus sub pena
370 predicta inviolabiliter observare.

Actum est etiam et conductum inter nos partes predictas, quod statim dicto arbitrio prolato et nobis capitulo et abbatissa predicta dictum seu ordinationem predictorum [arbitratorum]^{ae} approbantibus et consensum adhibentibus pena in dicto compromisso comprehensa ex tunc cessabit nec postea committi poterit.

375 Actum est etiam inter nos partes predictas, quod sententiam dictorum arbitratorum nostris propriis sigillis sigillabimus, et sigillis venerabilis patris nostri I[ohannis] dei gratia Leodiensis episcopi,⁶⁹ capituli maioris ecclesie Leodiensis, viri religiosi abbatis Vilariensis Cisterciensis or- /f. 97ra/ dinis⁷⁰ et magistri Iacobi Castance archidiaconi Leodiensis procurabitur dictam sententiam cum sigillis dictorum arbitratorum sigillari.

380 Adictum est etiam inter nos partes predictas, quod non obstant illa iura quibus cavetur, 'quod in mulieres non potest compromitti',⁷¹ quibus iuribus communi consensu renunciaverunt dicte partes.

⁶⁷ Yolanda of Stein, later the abbess of Nivelles.

⁶⁸ Cf. n. 22.

⁶⁹ John of Flanders (1282–1292).

⁷⁰ Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Villers-la-Ville. Brouette, *Abbaye de Villers* (1968), 341–406, 374–375.

⁷¹ *In mulierem singularem tanquam in arbitratricem compromitti non potest*; CIC, X 1.43.4 (ed. Friedberg, p. 231); see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 80, n. 244.

^{ae} Ms has a blank, possibly an erasure, here; the word is supplied from AEB MS 1417, f. 80v

provost, Yolenda the female dean, and Emma of Turre, canons and canonesses of the church of Nivelles, collectively chosen by the aforementioned parties as arbiters, arbitrators or amiable compositors or executors, fully in all matters, they, that is, the parties, entered into an agreement whose terms are fully described in the document drawn up concerning that agreement. The tenor of this agreement is as follows.

For all those who shall see the following document, on one hand the Chapter of the church of Nivelles, and, on the other, we, Elizabeth, [by the grace] of God abbess of said church of Nivelles, salvation and knowledge of the truth. May everyone know that we, having used the counsel of upright men for the sake of peace and concord about certain disagreements and articles that were held among us, for which reason the said church abstained from performing divine offices, we, the abovementioned parties, submitted to the judgment of discreet men, the Lords Erbal, Gerard of Huldenberg, Jacques de Mons, and to the ladies Iohanna the female provost, Yolenda the female dean, and Emma of Turre, our canons and canonesses, chosen collectively by us as arbiters, arbitrators or amiable compositors or executors, fully in all matters, we promise – on pain of rendering 200 Louvain livres to the party that prevails in the judgment from the [other] party if it, god forbid, push back – [we promise] that whatever all the aforementioned arbiters, arbitrators or amiable compositors should collectively declare between our aforementioned parties, and [whatever] they should ordain in their arbitrating, commanding, and amiable composing, we the aforementioned parties will hold to observing [it] inviolably, on pain of the aforementioned penalty.

It is negotiated and proclaimed by us, the aforementioned parties, that as soon as the previously mentioned judgment is issued and we, the Chapter and the aforementioned abbess, have approved the decree and decision of the aforementioned arbitrators and given our consent, the penalty included in the abovementioned accord will thenceforth cease to be in effect and will not afterwards be able to be applied.

The aforementioned parties have also negotiated and proclaim that we shall seal the decision of the said arbitrators with our own seals and that the said judgment shall be secured with the seals of our venerable father, J[ohn], by the grace of God bishop of Liège, of the chapter of the cathedral of Liège, of the religious man, the abbot of Villers of the Cistercian order, and of master Jacques de Châtaine, archdeacon of Liège.

It is also submitted among us, the said parties, that the law by which it is prohibited that "a woman cannot be a party to a legal proceeding," which law the named parties have rejected by common consent, does not stand in opposition.

Actum est etiam de communi consensu partium, quod prolato arbitrio et sententia dictorum arbitratorum a partibus prolata^{af} a dicto capitulo organis^{ag} resumentur, dum tamen die presenti vel crastina sententia arbitralis proferatur. Et hoc universis sub sigillis nostris una cum sigillis virorum discretorum et religiosorum abbatis Visariensis^{ah} Cisterciensis ordinis, magistri Iacobi Castangne archidiaconi Leodiensis et arbitratorum supradictorum significamus.

Datum et actum anno domini M° CC° LXXX° II° in die octavarum beati Martini hyemalis.

Nos arbitri arbitratores, amiables compositores seu ordinatores predicti iuribus ecclesie nostre predictae, statutis, cartis, et consuetudinibus diligenter consideratis et inspectis, communicato proborum consilio, ac habita inter nos super eisdem collatione diligenti arbitrando, amicabiliter componendo seu ordinando, pronunciamus, quod dicta domina abbatissa tenetur ad reparationem claustrum et dormitorii cum appendiciis /f. 97rb/ eorum ratione custodie et matricularios^{ai} sufficientes ponere in ecclesia Nivellesi. Item, quod tenetur forestarium ponere sufficientem pro nemore Nivellesi custodiendo. Item, quod curabit adimplere per dominum ducem Brabantie suum advocatum seu per alios, quod usurarii alienigene ab actu fenerandi desistant in villa Nivellesi vel quod a dicta villa expellantur,⁷² et de aliis que in presenti ipsa domina abbatissa explere commode non potest, videlicet de allodiis distractis et alienatis per ipsam ad ius et proprietatem ecclesie Nivellesi reducendis, et de iusticiis Nivellesibus, cum sint ardua et contra magnates et magno indigeant labore, sumptu, consilio et auxilio, pronunciamus quod bona fide suis sumptibus procurabit ad ius et proprietatem ecclesie Nivellesi revocare.⁷³

Pronunciamus etiam arbitrando, amicabiliter componendo seu ordinando, quod, quando deficit prebenda Brabantie de Lyniaco in ecclesia Nivellesi et domina abbatissa Nivellesi requiritur a capitulo Nivellesi, quod faciat venire prebendam, ipsam tenetur eadem die qua fuerit requisita exire villam Nivellem ad faciendum suis sumptibus venire dictam prebendam, vel quod veniat dicta prebenda, nec ex tunc debet intrare Nivellem donec fecerit prebendam /f. 97va/ venire ante se vel si in fidelitate qua tenetur ecclesie sue se infirmitate proprii corporis vel alia causa legitima detentam (!) asseveraverit, dominam unam cum duobus canonicis et in sex equis ad requirendum dictam prebendam tenetur suis sumptibus transmittere.

⁷² See Dorin, *Banishing Usury* (2015).

⁷³ See the essay in this volume by Schlottheuber, 81, n. 249.

^{af} approbata AEB 1417, f. 81r

^{ag} organo AEB 1417, f. 81r

^{ah} instead of Vilariensis

^{ai} custodie et matricularios: custodie. Item quod tenetur custodem et matricularios AEB MS 1417, f. 81r

It is also negotiated by the common consent of the parties that when the judgment is promulgated and the decision of the aforementioned arbiters has been promulgated by the parties, [judgment and decision] shall be taken up into its records by the aforementioned Chapter so that at last on the same or next day the arbitrators's decision shall be promulgated. And we seal this under our seals, along with the seals of the wise and religious men, the Abbot Villers of the Cistercian Order, Master Jacques de Châtaine, archdeacon of Liège, and the above-mentioned judges.

This is given and negotiated in the year of the Lord 1282, on the eighth day after the feast of blessed Martin in the winter time.

We, arbiters, arbitrators or amiable compositors or executors, considering and having duly inspected the laws, statutes, charters, and customs, and having held a meeting among ourselves about the same for the sake of duly arbitrating, amiable composing or executing, declare that the said lady abbess is held responsible for the restoration of the cloister and dormitory with their annexes by reason of the custody and for supplying sufficient wardens and male church servants to the church of Nivelles. Item, that she is held to supply an adequate woodsman to watch out for the forest of Nivelles. Item, that she shall take care to ensure by the lord Duke of Brabant, her advocate, or by others, that either foreign usurers cease to lend against interest in the town of Nivelles or be expelled from that town; and about those other things which at the present time the lady abbess cannot easily satisfy, namely, that she should take care that the dispersed and alienated freeholds be returned to the right and property of the church of Nivelles, and about the rights of Nivelles, though they may be harsh and against the barons and require a lot of work, cost, counsel, and aid, we declare that she shall ensure in good faith and at her own cost that they return to the law and property of the church of Nivelles.

We also declare, for the sake of arbitrating or amiable composing or executing, that when the prebend of Brabant from Lennick for the church of Nivelles shall fail to arrive and the lady abbess of Nivelles shall be asked by the Nivelles Chapter to make the prebend come, she is required to leave Nivelles on the same day that it was asked, to make that same prebend come at her own expense, or that the said prebend should come; she should not re-enter Nivelles until she should send the prebend before her. Or, if in the troth with which she is held by her own church, she should declare that she is detained by an infirmity of her own body or by another legitimate cause, she is required to send one lady with two canons and six horses at her own expense for the purpose of seeking the said prebend.

Si autem dicta domina abbatissa, cum requisita fuerit, non exierit villam Nivelensem seu non miserit modo predicto, vel forte redierit apud Nivellam ipsa vel eius nuncii sic missi antequam dicta prebenda venerit, prout superius est expressum, ipsa tenetur capitulo Nivelensi ad penam sex solidorum alborum quolibet die qua fuerit in mora exeundi vel qua redierit apud Nivellam ipsa vel eius nuncii sic missi deficiente prebenda supradicta, et nichilominus potest dictum capitulum contra eam cessare a divinis⁷⁴ si voluerit.

Item, pronunciamus, quod, quando deficit prebenda Brabantie de Wambeke et de Goyaca in ecclesia Nivelensi, et domina abbatissa Nivelensis requiritur a capitulo Nivelensi, quod faciat venire dictam prebendam de dictis villis Wambecca et Goyaca, ipsa tenetur eadem die qua fuerit requisita exire villam Nivelensem ad faciendum suis sumptibus venire dictam prebendam, vel quod veniat dicta prebenda, nec ex tunc debet intrare Nivellam donec fecerit dictam prebendam venire ante se vel si in fidelitate qua tenetur ecclesie se infirmitate proprii corporis, vel alia causa legitima detentam (!) asseveraverit, /f. 97vb/ dominam unam cum duobus canonicis in sex equis ad requirendum dictam prebendam suis sumptibus tenetur transmittere.

Si autem dicta abbatissa, cum requisita fuerit, non exierit villam Nivelensem seu non miserit modo predicto vel forte redierit apud Nivellam ipsa vel eius nuncii sic missi antequam dicta prebenda venerit prout superius est expressum, potest ipsum capitulum contra ipsam abbatissam cessare^{aj} a divinis⁷⁵ si voluerit.

Item, pronunciamus dictam dominam abbatissam teneri dicto capitulo in triginta libras Lovanienses pro areragiis dicte prebende de Brabantia reddendis dicto capitulo ab ipsa abbatissa infra octavis Nativitatis domini proximo venturis, et de hoc fidem faciet capitulo antedicto salvis aliis areragiis dicte prebende de Brabantia ad que procuranda et prosequenda tenetur tam pro tempore predecessorum suorum quam suo.

Item, pronunciamus dictam dominam abbatissam penam sex solidos alborum predictam incurrisse, cum sit et fuerit in mora faciendi venire prebendam de Brabantia,^{ak} de qua pena predicta abbatissa persolvit dicto capitulo sexaginta et duodecim solidos alborum incontinenti id est die hodierna.

In omnibus premissis et singulis a nobis pronunciatis, amicabiliter compositis, seu ordinatis dictam dominam abbatissam predicto capitulo per nostram sententiam arbitralem, compositionem, seu ordinationem condemnamus.

Addimus insuper pronunciendo, quod presentem prolationem, compositionem seu /f. 98ra/ ordinationem predictae partes si eidem consenserint, suis propriis sigillis incontinenti sigillabunt in signum ratificationis et eam sigillari si-

⁷⁴ Cf. n. 22.

⁷⁵ Cf. n. 22.

^{aj} ipsam abbatissam cessare a *over an erasure*

^{ak} Brabantia: Liniaco AEB 1417

If the said lady abbess does not go forth from Nivelles when asked or did not send [others] in the aforementioned way, or perhaps she or her messengers return home to Nivelles before the said prebend should come as is said above, she is held by the Chapter of Nivelles on the penalty of six white sous per day that she or her messengers delayed in going or per day that they spent in Nivelles after returning without the said prebend, and nevertheless the said Chapter can withhold the divine office against her if it should wish.

Item, we declare that when the prebend of Brabant from Wambeek and Gooik is lacking in the church of Nivelles, and the lady the abbess of Nivelles should be asked by the Chapter of Nivelles to make the said prebend come, she is required to leave Nivelles on the same day that it was asked in order to make that same prebend come at her own expense, or that the said prebend should come; she should not re-enter Nivelles until she should send the prebend before her. Or, if in the faith with which she is held by her own church, she should declare that she is detained by an infirmity of her own body or by another legitimate cause, she is required to send one lady with two canons on six horses at her own expense for the purpose of seeking the said prebend.

If the said lady abbess did not go forth from Nivelles when asked or did not send [others] in the aforementioned way, or perhaps she or her messengers returned home to Nivelles before the said prebend should come as is said above, the said Chapter can suspend this abbess from the divine offices if it should wish.

Item, we declare that the said lady abbess is bound by the said Chapter at [penalty of] thirty Louvain pounds to return the arrears of the said prebend of Brabant to the said Chapter by that abbess within the next octave of the Lord's Nativity to come; about this, excepting the other arrears of the said prebend of Brabant, let her make an agreement with the aforementioned Chapter so that she is required to procure and pursue as much for the time of her predecessors as for her own.

Item, we declare that the said lady abbess should incur the said penalty of six white sous if she were and should be delayed in making the prebend come from Brabant, from which penalty the said abbess shall pay the said Chapter seventy-two white sous today.

In all matters, in general and in particular, said before, declared, amiably composed, or executed by us, with respect to the said Chapter in our arbitrated sentence, composition or execution, we find the said lady abbess guilty.

We also add that in declaring [this], the said parties, if they should agree, shall seal the present declaration, composition, and execution with their own seals on the exterior in sign of its ratification and that they together shall ensure that it be sealed with the seals of the reverend father John, by the grace of God bishop of

455 gillis reverendi patris I[ohannes] dei gratia Leodiensis episcopi, capituli maioris ecclesie Leodiensis, religiosi viri, abbatis Vilariensis Cysterciensi ordinis et magistri Jacobi Castangne archidiaconi Leodiensis communiter procurabunt.

In cuius rei testimonium nos, arbitri, arbitratores, amiables compositores seu ordinatores predicti, presenti ordinationi sigilla nostra una cum sigillis predictarum personarum duximus apponenda.

460 Datum anno domini M° CC° LXXX° secundo, in crastino octavarum beati Martini hyemalis.

EE. Li seconde pais des abbesses^{al,76} [October 5, 1287]⁷⁷

A tous chias ki ces lettres veront e oront, nous, Yzabias, par le grasce de dieu abbesse de Nivelles, et tous li capitles de Nivelles, salut et cognissance de veriteit. 465 Com ensi fust ke descors ewist esteit entre nous abbesse d'une part, et le dit capitle d'autre part, sour pluseurs articles des quels on avoit fait sour aucuns denonciation a nous l'abbesse devant ditte nous, pour bien de pais et par conseil de pseudommes, de /f. 98rb/ ches descors nous sommes acordeit par commun assent et par bouche parlant en teil maniere ke chi desous est contenu.

470 De le warde dou moustier, des aornemens, des demorans entours le glise defors, et des clokes brisies, nous abbesse enferons no devoir a no pooir. Nous referons le refroitoir tant qu'a or seulement, s'ilh ne chaoit dont par no deffaute, et retenrons bien et loialment le dortoir, le capitle, le refroitoir, tout l'enclostre et tous les appendisses par le raison de le cousterie. Et se mateire i avoit, si vies en 475 aucun lieu ke on ni peuwist retenir ne pourfis ne fust dou retenir, nous li capitles le devons refaire. Et nous, li abbesse, le devons retenir apres. Et nous, li abbesse, ferons tant ke li sewire⁷⁸ iert refaite a no pooir de chou ke nous idevons. Nous, li capitles, i devons le mateire, li cariteis, i doit l'ouvrage, et nous, li abbesse, oster le forche.⁷⁹

480 Et apres nous li abbesse ferons a no pooir ke li cours del aiwe venrat sour le moulin si com loiaus chierkemanages ensignerat, et chou ferons nous en bonne

⁷⁶ Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Nivelles f. 409r. See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 86, n. 278 etc. See Hoebanx, *L'Abbaye de Nivelles* (1952), pp. 277–278.

⁷⁷ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 86; Dorin, 145; and Greene, 366 and 371.

⁷⁸ *Sewiere: écluse ou décharge d'un étang*, Godefroy, *Dictionnaire* (1881–1902); the expression *sewire* for floodgate is limited to the regions of Flandern, Hainault and Valenciennes.

⁷⁹ This passages addresses the assignment of duties in keeping with the threefold allocation, already documented in the middle eleventh century (DH IV, No. 49 (Aachen, 1059 March 2), 61–65), of the “goods of the table” or the revenues of Nivelles into three separate parts: one part for the Chapter, one for the charitable institutions, i. e., the hospitals (*li Cariteis*), and one for the abbesse; see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 54 and 86.

^{al} *Heading in a red box*

Liège, of the Chapter of the cathedral of Liège, of the religious man, the abbot of Villers of the Cistercian Order, and of master Jacques de Châtaine, archdeacon of Liège.

In testimony of which thing we, the aforementioned arbiters, arbitrators or amiable compositors or executors, allow our seals, united with the seals of the said persons, to be affixed to the present order.

Dated in the year of our Lord 1282, on the day after the Octave of blessed Martin.

EE. The second peace agreement of the abbess [October 5, 1287]

For all those who shall see and hear these letters, we, Elizabeth, by the grace of God abbesse of Nivelles, and all of the Chapters of Nivelles, salvation and knowledge of the truth. Since it was the case that there was some disagreement between us, the abbess, on one hand, and the aforementioned Chapters on the other, on a number of articles about which had been made certain declarations by us, the aforementioned abbess, for the sake of peace and with the help of the counsel of competent men about this disagreement, we have agreed by common assent and verbally in such a manner as is recounted below.

In terms of the upkeep of the chapel, the ornaments, the little things surrounding the outside of the church, and the broken bells, we, the abbess, will do our duty by our own power. We will remake the refectory only to the extent of our current power, so that it should not fall down from our deficiency, and we shall keep up the dormitory, the Chapter house, the refectory, the whole cloister and all the annexes by reason of the custody well and loyally. And if there were material so damaged in some part that it could not be retained, or if there were no benefit in retaining it, we, the Chapter, should remake it. And we the abbess should keep it up afterwards. And we, the abbess, take responsibility for repairing the floodgates by our own power, out of that which we owe. We, the Chapter, owe the materials, the charity owes the work, and we, the abbess, should supply the force.

And also, we, the abbess, will by our own power ensure that the course of the water should come over the mill as the loyal surveyor showed, and we shall do

foit. Apres des alues alieneis, de le malletote, de le warde des bos et des justices nous li abbesse ferons no pooir bien et loialment, si ke nous et l'iglise revenrons a no droit a /f. 98va/ no pooir.

485 Apres, s'ilh avient ke nous, li abbesse, soions soumonse de par le capitle ensi con fait et suet faire soit dedens giste soit defors giste de faire venir prouvende de Braibant, assavoir est de Ligni, nous devons aleir gesir en alluet et tant demoreir ke nous aportons ou faisons venir devant nous prouvende, ne ke nous soions rappeleit dou capitle devant dit, ou ke nous revignons par le greit dou capitle. Et
490 apres celle heure ke nous serons entreit ens el alluet se nous en eissions sens apporter ou sens faire venir prouvende, ou sens le greit dou capitle, nous seriens cas-cun jour a sis sols de blans en nom de painne, tous les jours ke nous seriens fors del alluet dechi a jour ke nous revenriens el dit alluet.

Apres, pour defaute de le prouvende, nous li abbesse, meterons trentesis libres
495 a largetier dou capitle en descontant des arrierages ki sont de le prouvende, et les reprennerons a ches nommeis arrierages. Et de le painne en le queile nous li capitles disons ke li abbesse astoit encheve nous a le priere monsigneur, le doyen de Liege, monsigneur Alixandre de Brucsort⁸⁰ et signeur Rigart de Keneffe can-nones de Liege,⁸¹ avons laissie a le vo^{am}- /f. 98vb/ lenteit le dit doyen. Et parmi
500 ches choses, nous les parties deseure nommees renonchons a tous plais, a toutes demandes e a tous appials et a toutes denunciations ke li uns at fait encontre l'autre, de l'amende le doyen et doyen de Nivelles tant qu'a le denunciation tant ke le denunciation amonte iert, ensi ke li doyens de saint Lambier, mesires Alixan-dres et Rigars deseure dit ordeneront.

505 Et parmi ceste pais, nous les parties ne renonchons mie a nos autres droitures, ne a le pais faite entre nous autre fois, ne nous li capitles as arrierages de Braibant ke ne les puissions demandeir en teil point ke nous fiessiens devant le denoncia-tion, et ke nous avons fait as autres abbesses.

En tiesmoingnage des quels choses nous, li abbesses et li capitles, devant dit
510 avons pendus nos propres saials a ches presens lettres, Et avons priet a homes ho-nerables et discreis, le doyen de saint Lambiert, signeur Alixandre de Brunsore et Rigaut deseure dit, ki furent present a le ditte pais afaire et par les quels elle fut faite, qu'ilh voellent pendre leur saials a ches presens lettres en tiesmoingnage des choses deseure dittes.

515 Et nous, /f. 99ra/ maistres Jehans doyens, Alixandres et Rigars deseure dit a le requeste des dittes parties avons pendus nos saials. Et a plus grande fermeteit nous les parties devant dittes prions a nostre reverent peire et signeur Jehan, par le grasce de dieu evesque de Liege, et les homes honorables le provost, le doyen, les archedyakenes et le capitle de saint Lambiert qu'ilh i pendent leur saials, et

⁸⁰ The member of the Chapter of Liège Alexander of Brunsore.

⁸¹ The member of the Chapter of Liège Rigart of Keneffe.

^{am} laissie a le vo- corrected over an erasure

this in good faith. Afterwards, we the abbess shall do our best well and loyally towards the alienated property, taxes, and the upkeep of the woods and the terri-tories, so that we and the church shall return to our law by by our own power.

Also, if it should happen that we, the abbess, should be summoned by the Chapter as has been done and customarily done, whether she be in residence or out of residence, to bring the prebend from Brabant, that is to say, from Ligny; we should go stay in that freehold and remain long enough that we bring or send before us the prebend, unless we are called back by the aforementioned Chapter, or we come back at the pleasure of the Chapter. And after we enter the freehold, if we should leave without bringing or sending before us the prebend or without the permission of the Chapter, we will owe six white shillings per day for each day that we shall be outside of the freehold until the day that we return to the aforementioned freehold.

Also, in the case of a lack of prebends, we, the abbess, shall place thirty-six pounds in the treasury of the Chapter as a deduction from the arrears from the prebend, and we shall take them back from the said arrears. And about the pen-alty which we, the Chapter, say that the abbess had incurred, on the prayer of the dean of Liège, we have left [the decision about it] to my Lord Alexandre of Brunsore, and Lord Rigart of Keneffe, canons of Liège, according to the will of the aforementioned dean. And on this matter, my aforementioned Lords Alex-andre and Rigart, along with the dean of St Lambert, command [that] we, the aforementioned parties, renounce all pleas, all demands, and all appeals, and all denunciations that we have made against one another, from the fine of the male dean and the male dean of Nivelles to the denunciation, as much as the denun-ciation added up to.

And with this peace agreement, we the parties do not renounce our other rights nor other peace agreements made among us at other times. Nor do we, the Chapter, [say about] the arrears of Brabant that we cannot ask for them to the same point that we might have before the denunciation. And that we have done to other abbesses.

In witness of which things we, the aforementioned abbess and Chapter, have hung our own seals to the present document, and we have asked the dean of St Lambert, Lord Alexandre of Brunsore and the aforementioned Rigart, who were present to make said agreement and by whom it was made, to hang their seals to the present document in witness of the things said above.

And we, the aforementioned masters, John, the dean, Alexandre, and Rigart, at the request of said parties, have hung our seals. And for greater surety we, the aforementioned parties, pray that our revered father and Lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Liège, and the honorable men the provost, the dean, the archdeacons, and the Chapter of St Lambert, that they append their seals. And

520 nous Jehans, par le grasce de dieu evesques de Liege, notre saial; et nous li provost, doyens, archedyakenes, et nous li capitles de le glise saint Lambiert, le saial de nostre eglise a le proiere des dittes parties a nous pendut a ches presentes lettres. Che fut fait et donneit l'an de grasce^{an} M CC quatre vins et set, le dimenche apres le fieste saint Remi.

FF. Li lettre des pais de duc de Brabant^{ao} [January 15, 1290]⁸²

525 Nous Jehans, par le grasce de dieu dus de Lotheringhes de Brabant et de Lembourch,⁸³ faisons savoir a tous chiaus ki ches presens lettres vieront et oront ke comme debas et descors aist esteit entre nous et honorable dame l'abbesse de Nivelles de pluseurs /f. 99rb/ choses. Nous sommes acordeit en le maniere ki s'ensuit. Cest a savoir ke nous volons et otrions ke li ditte abbess puist chierkema-

530 neir et joir si avant ke li eskevin de Nivelles jugent et enseignent sens malvaie okison. Et quant li eskevins at enseigniet l'amende li bailhus ne le presse plus avant ke li eskevins leur ensignet.

Apres, quant li bourgeois at meffait et ilh souffre a loy ke on ne le presse plus avant ke loys ensigne. Apres, ke li bailhus ne se melle de faire avoir destes en le justice l'abbess, car c'est contre le loy de le ville.

535

Apres, nous rostons et faisons rosteir le prison et les fiers a le capelle a Nivelles et autre part en le justice l'abbess. Car c'est encontre le loy de le ville car iestre ni doient.

Apres, nous nos relaissons et volons ke on se relaist de commander les bourgeois d'aleir a Genappe et autre part, ke en faire ne doit.

540

Apres, nos bailhus, no maeur, et no ferestier, ne sont mies a le loy de le ville de Nivelles se on leur fourfait; mais pour leur destes les puet on arresteir. Et s'ilh meffont nous leur ferons amendeir. Et ches choses devant dittes prometons nous a tenir fermement a tous jours loialment, et bonne foyt.

545 Et avons encouvent loialment ke nous ferons greeir et loeir Jehan, nostre ameit filh,⁸⁴ ches choses devant dittes et metre son saial avoec le nostre et les saials de nos /f. 99va/ feables chi desous nommeis.

⁸² This peace agreement is also transmitted in the cartulary of Nivelles, in which the date missing here is provided; see Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Nivelles, f. 392. For this document, see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, and Dorin, 142 and 145.

⁸³ Having emerged victorious after the battle of Worringen in 1288, Duke John I (1252/1253–1294) of Brabant acquired the duchy of Limburg and protective lordship over the bishopric of Liège.

⁸⁴ Duke John II of Brabant (1294–1312).

^{an} a le proiere des dittes [...] l'an de grasce marked in the inner margin by a pair of *positura* connected by a wavy line

we, John by the grace of God bishop of Liège, [have hung] our seal; and we, the provost, dean, archdeacon, and Chapter of the church of St Lambert, have hung the seal of our church to the present document at the prayer of the said parties. This was done and given in the year of grace 1287, the Sunday after the feast of St Rémy.

FF. The document of peace with the Duke of Brabant [January 15, 1290]

We, John, by the grace of God duke of Lotharingia, Brabant, and Limburg, make known to all those who shall see and hear the present document that since debate and disagreement had existed between us and the honorable lady, the abbess of Nivelles, about many things, we have agreed in the manner that follows: to know that we want and grant that the said abbess can survey the boundaries and enjoy [this right] before the magistrates of Nivelles judge and confirm [this] without a bad motive. And when the magistrates have shown the fine, the bailiff should not press it further before the magistrate tells them to.

Also, when a townsperson has misbehaved and he suffers by law, let no one press him further than the law allows. Also, the bailiff should not get himself involved with making debts in the abbess's jurisdiction, for it is against town law.

Also, we take away and have taken away the prison and the irons from the chapel at Nivelles and elsewhere in the abbess's territory, for it is against town law, for they should not be there.

Also, we leave off and wish that one leave off commanding the townspeople to go to Genappe and elsewhere, for they should not do this.

Also, our bailiffs, our mayor, and our forester are not subject to the town law of Nivelles if someone commits a fault against them; but they can be arrested for their debts. And if they do harm, we shall make them make amends. And we promise to uphold these things said above firmly forever, loyally, and in good faith.

And we have loyally promised that we will make John, our beloved son, approve and allow the aforementioned things and place his seal with ours and the seals of our loyal retainers who are named below.

Et nous Jehans, fils monsieur le duc, devant dit a le priere nostre chier si-
gneur et peire monsieur le duc, otrions et loons ches choses devant dittes, et
550 les avons en couvent a tenir a tous jours loialment et en bonne foyt.

Et nous Godefrois de Braibant, sires d'Arcot et de Wierson,⁸⁵ et nous, sires
de Dystre,⁸⁶ et nous, syres de Wallehaing,^{ap.87} et^{aq} nous sires de Wezemalle⁸⁸ a le
priere et a le requeste nostre chier signeur le duc de Braibant avons mis nos saials
a ches presens lettres en nom de cognissance de veriteit.

555 Et pour chou ke che soit ferme chose e estable, nous Jehans dus de Lothe-
renghes, de Braibant et de Lembourch devant dis, et Jehans ses ainneis fils avons
ches lettres saillees de nos saials ki furent faites en l'an del Incarnation nostre
signeur deseure ditte.

GG.⁸⁹ Hec sunt onera ecclesiarum parrochialium Nivellensium que iurare
tenentur illi quibus ecclesie parrochiales ville Nivellensis conferuntur^{ar.90}

560 Rectores seu presbiteri parrochiales Nivellenses iurabunt fidelitatem ecclesie Ni-
vellensis. Item, quod in eisdem ecclesiis residentiam facient personalem. Item,
quod in legatis seu se- /f. 99vb/ pulturis eligendis preponent ecclesiam Nivellen-
sem. Item, quod si aliquis de parrochianis ecclesiarum Nivellensium in maiori
ecclesia sepulturam elegerit aut si amici^{as} eiusdem corpus ipsius ad ecclesiam
ipsam deferre voluerint hoc eis sine aliqua contradictione facere licebit. Et sacer-
565 dos parrochie ipsius corpus ipsum levabit, et presentabit ecclesie maiori, et vigi-
liis intererit et officium faciet tam in vigiliis antedictis quam in exequiis facien-
dis, post missam in sacris vestibus prout est consuetum.

⁸⁵ Godefroy of Brabant, the brother of Duke John I.

⁸⁶ Gerard, lord of Diest, a major nobleman in Brabant; see Van Ermen, *De familie* (1985), 47.

⁸⁷ The Walhain family belonged to the Ministerialen of Brabant; see Van Ermen, *De familie* (1985), 47.

⁸⁸ The lord of Wezemaal.

⁸⁹ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 68; Dorin, 142; Kelly, 352; and Greene, 367.

⁹⁰ In 1231 Oda of Leez introduced a new organization of the parishes and divided the old parish of Nivelles into eleven parishes, namely, Notre-Dame, formerly the main parish, St Jean-l'Évangéliste, St André, St Nicolas (Hospital), St Maurice, St Georges, St Cyr (Syr), St Sépulcre (hospital), St Jacques, au Fauborg de Mons, Gouthal and Thines. These provisions go back to the document, issued in May, 1231, which established the rights and obligations of the parishes. The document from 1231 is printed in Balau, *L'Organisation* (1902), 75–77. See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 56, n. 118, and 67, n. 176.

^{ao} *Heading in a red box*

^{ap} *written over erasure; two short wavy vertical lines in the outer margin (to indicate need for correction?)*

^{aq} *Ms et Et*

^{ar} *Heading in a red box*

^{as} *written over an erasure*

And we, John, the son of the aforementioned lord, the duke, upon the pray-
er of our dear lord and father, the duke, we grant and allow the aforementioned
things, and we have them as a promise to uphold forever, loyally, and in good
faith.

And we, Godefroy of Brabant, lord of Aarschot and Vierson, and we, lord of
Diest, and we, lord of Walhain, and we, lord of Wezemaal, upon the prayer and
request of our dear lord, the duke of Brabant, have put our seals on the present
document in the name of the recognition of truth.

And so that this deed may be firm and stable, we, John, the aforementioned
duke of Lotharingia, Brabant, and Limburg, and John his eldest son, have sealed
this document with our seals, which were made in the year of the Incarnation of
our Lord said above.

GG. These are the obligations of the parochial churches of Nivelles to
which they who are invested with the parochial churches of the town of
Nivelles must swear obedience.

The parish rectors or priests of Nivelles shall swear fidelity to the church of Ni-
velles. Item, they should make their personal residence in these same churches.
Item, when choosing bequests or burial places, they should prioritize the church
of Nivelles. Item, that if any of the parishioners of the churches of Nivelles should
choose a resting place in the great church or if this same person's relatives should
wish to bring his body to this same church, this shall be permitted without any
argument. And the priest of this parish shall, after the Mass, in sacred vestments,
as is the custom, raise the body, and shall present it to the great church, and he
shall take part in the vigils and shall perform the office, in the said vigils as well
as in the obsequies to be performed.

Item, omnes presbiteros et clericos decedentes habebit ecclesia maior Nivel-
lensis sine qualibet contradictione.

570 Item, convenient omnes sacerdotes in ecclesia maiori septem diebus in anno,
videlicet quarto die Pasche, quarto die Penthecostes, quarto die Natalis domini,
duabus festivitibus sancte Crucis, et quinta feria in Cena domini. Et hiis diebus
non debent celebrare in ecclesiis suis, nisi habuerint corpus presens in ecclesia
575 sua sive nuptias, exceptis diebus Cinerum et Cene, in quibus etiam negotium ecclesie
non proponitur. Et ibi in illis diebus in medio ecclesie matutinas et missam
cum nota celebrabunt, et negotium ipsius ecclesie cum annunciatione verbi dei
fideliter proponent et promovebunt.

Item, visitabunt dicti sacerdotes ecclesiam Nivellensem diebus sollempnibus
in vesperis, processione et missa, videlicet in Nativitate domini, in Ascensione
580 domini, /f. 100ra/ in Penthecoste, in Dedicatione ecclesie sancte Gertrudis, in
sollempnitatibus beate Gertrudis, Assumptionis, Nativitatis et Purificationis
beate Marie virginis, apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in Cathedra Petri nisi fuerit
post dominicam *Invocavit me*, et Petri ad vincula.

Item, in matutinis tenentur interesse diebus istis seq[ue]ntibus:^{at} die Pasche,
585 die Penthecostes, Dedicationis ecclesie, sollempnitatibus sancte Gertrudis, et in
die Natalis domini, ita quod istis diebus possunt recedere ad ecclesias suas post
terciam lectionem.

Item, presbiteri facientes annum⁹¹ debent in processionibus sollempnibus do-
mine abbatissae ministrare seu assistere, deducendo eam ad processionem. Item,
590 presbiteri facientes annum debent ad Rogationes sacerdotalibus vestibus induti
processioni interesse et officium facere.

Preterea dicti rectores seu presbiteri omnes libertates, consuetudines appro-
batas, privilegationes summarum ecclesie necnon et alia iura maioris ecclesie
Nivellensis iurabunt se servaturos.

595 Et si maior ecclesia cessabit a divinis, rectores predictarum ecclesiarum tan-
quam membra eiusdem cessabunt similiter, quando fuerint a maiori ecclesia re-
quisita.⁹² Cum hiis predictis et etiam omnibus et singulis ad que tenentur iam
dicte ecclesie Nivellenses seu rectores earundem tam de iure quam etiam de
consuetudine iurabunt se firmiter servatores et nunquam per se vel per alios
600 contraventuros.

⁹¹ The parish clergy take it in turns to perform these functions, serving on an annual basis; they are generally referred to as presbiteri *parrochiales facientes annum*. For further discussion, see the essay in this volume by Kelly, 352.

⁹² See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 68, n. 177.

^{at} *Ms abbreviation line is missing*

Item, that the great church of Nivelles will receive without any opposition all the
priests and clerics who die.

Item, let all priests come together in the great church seven days out of the
year, namely on the fourth day of Easter, on the fourth day of Pentecost, on the
fourth day of the birth of the Lord, on the two feasts of the Holy Cross, and on
the fifth day of the Lord's Supper. And on these days they should not celebrate
in their own churches, unless they should have a cadaver present in their church
or a wedding, except on Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, on which the
business of the church does not take precedence. And there on those days they
shall celebrate matins and Mass with polyphony in the middle of the church, and
they shall faithfully put forth and promote the business of this church with the
Annunciation of the word of God.

Item, the said priests shall visit the church of Nivelles on sacred days for
vespers, procession, and Mass, namely at the birth of the Lord, at the Ascension
of the Lord, at Pentecost, at the dedication of the church of St Gertrude, on the
sacred days of blessed Gertrude, Assumption, the Birth and Purification of the
blessed Virgin Mary, the apostles Peter and Paul, in the Cathedral of Peter unless
it were after the Sunday of *Invocavit me*, and Peter in Chains.

Item, they should be present for matins on the following days: Easter, Pente-
cost, the Dedication of the Church, the feast days of St Gertrude, and on Christ-
mas Day, in such a way that on these days, they can return to their own churches
after the third reading.

Item, the priests performing the services throughout the year at their parish
churches should administer or attend to the lady abbess in the sacred proces-
sions, by leading her out to the procession. Item, the priests performing the serv-
ices throughout the year should take part in the procession on Rogations Days in
sacerdotal vestments and perform the office.

Item, the said rectors and priests shall swear to adhere to all liberties, ap-
proved customs, and the totality of the privileges of the church and other laws of
the great church of Nivelles.

And if the major church shall abstain from performing divine offices, the rec-
tors of the said churches as well as members of the same shall abstain likewise
when asked by the great church. After these aforementioned things, in general
and in particular, to which they are held, the said churches of Nivelles and its
own rectors, as much by law as by custom, shall firmly swear that they are stead-
fast protectors and will never, either themselves or through other, be contrave-
nors [of what they have sworn to uphold].

HH. /f. 100rb/ Recognitio parrochianorum quod quando capitulum cessat a divinis cessare debent. [March 19, 1283]⁹³

Feria sexta ante Oculi anno domini M° CC° LXXX° secundo comparuit dominus Petrus investitus de Sepulchro in capitulo Nivellesi. Recognovit et proprio ore confessus fuit se errasse et deliquisse contra capitulum in hoc, quod cessante capitulo a divinis⁹⁴ et ipse requisitus fuisset a dicto capitulo, ut cum eo cessaret
605 tanquam membrum ipsius capituli, contra statutum et consuetudinem ipsius ecclesie celebravit. Et super hiis a dicto capitulo humiliter veniam postulavit promittens in verbo sacerdotii, quod super errore et delicto predictis stabit ordinationi capituli et quod de cetero, si contingat dictum capitulum cessare et ipse requisitus fuerit a dicto capitulo tanquam membrum ipsius^{au} capituli cessabit. Et
610 statuta ipsius ecclesie diligenter observabit.

Testes qui predictis interfuerunt dominus Johannes, investitus de Balerio, Adan capellanus sancti Blasii, Egidius de Samina; Henricus clericus sancti Pauli; et magister^{av} Andreas rector scholarum claustralium,⁹⁵ et Johannes de Traleir.⁹⁶ Et eodem modo recognoverunt et fecerunt domini Johannes investitus sancti
615 Nicholai, et Radulphus investitus sancti Jacobi in Nivelles, presentibus Egidio de Samina, et Egidio Largetier.

[March 1300, Chapterhouse of Nivelles]

Eodem modo recognovit et fecit dominus Johannes investitus de Goutallo, presentibus Egidio /f. 100va/ de Samina, Adan de Villario et Henrico sancti Pauli. Anno domini M° CC° nonagesimo nono, mense Martio iuraverunt in capitulo
620 Nivellesi, capitulo ad hoc congregato statuta, iura, fidelitatem, et onera secundum quod scripta sunt supra in secunda pagina Walterus de sancto Syro,⁹⁷ Johannes de Goutallo⁹⁸ et Johannes sancti Nicholai⁹⁹ dictarum ecclesiarum Nivellesium rectores quibus fuerat provisum auctoritate apostolica de beneficiis suis.

⁹³ Citing Graffart, Styles (1965), 285–291, Walter Simons in this volume points out that due to the style of determining the beginning of the year employed at Nivelles until 1333, the dates of March 1282 and 1299 given for the agreements, once translated into modern dates, are 19 March, 1283 and March, 1300. For this document, see the essay in this volume by Simons, 119; Schlotheuber, 68; Dorin, 142–143; and Kelly, 343, 353, and 358.

⁹⁴ Cf. n. 22.

⁹⁵ For the school Nivelles retained, see n. 36.

⁹⁶ Possibly Traulée in Hainault (thanks to Eric Némarch for this suggestion).

⁹⁷ Walter, parish priest of St Syr.

⁹⁸ John, parish priest of Gouthal.

⁹⁹ John, parish priest of St Nicolas.

^{au} the manuscript was subsequently corrected from ipsi using another ink

^{av} first two letters of magister written over an erasure

HH. The recognition of the parish churches that when the Chapter abstains from performing divine offices, they must abstain. [March 19, 1283]

On the Friday before *Oculi*, in the year of the Lord 1282, Lord Peter, parson of the Sepulcher, appeared before the Chapter of Nivelles. He recognized and it was confessed by his own mouth that he had erred and failed against the Chapter, when the Chapter was abstaining from performing divine offices and he was asked by the said Chapter to abstain along with it as a member of the same Chapter, he celebrated [divine offices] against the statute and custom of this church. And regarding this he asked humbly for pardon from the said Chapter, promising, in the word of the priest, that regarding the aforementioned error and fault, he shall adhere to the decision of the Chapter and that moreover if it should happen that the said Chapter should abstain, and he should be asked by the said Chapter [to do so] as a member of the same Chapter, he will abstain. And he will dutifully observe the statutes of this same church.

The witnesses who were present for the aforesaid [were] Lord John, parson of Gouthal; Adam, chaplain of St Blaise; Gilles of Samina; Henry, a cleric of St Paul; and master Andreas, rector of the cloister schools; and John of Traleir. And in the same way, the Lords John, parson of St Nicholas, Radulph, parson of St Jacques in Nivelles, recognized and did this in the presence of Gilles of Samina and Gilles Largetier.

[March 1300, Chapterhouse of Nivelles]

In the same way Lord John, parson of Gouthal, recognized and did this with Gilles of Samina, Adam of Villers and Henry of St Paul being present. In the year of the Lord 1299, in the month of March, Walter of St Syr, John of Gouthal, and John of St Nicholas, rectors of the aforementioned churches of Nivelles to which their benefices were transferred with apostolic authority, confirmed by oath in the chapterhouse of Nivelles to the Chapter that had been convoked for this purpose, the statutes, rights, fidelity, and obligations according to what is written on the second page.

II. [The chaplain of the canonesses]¹⁰⁰

Capellaniam dominarum dat domina abbatissa et ibi instituit presbiterium perpetuum, et illum, cui dat capellaniam domina abbatissa, recipiunt domine, si sufficiens est, sine contradictione, nec ab aliquo recipit curam dominarum^{aw}, [si] dicta abbatissa^{ax} nec illum presentat. Sed non audit confessiones dominarum nec absoluit nisi prius requisita licentia a domino episcopo, et debet impetrare per se vel per alium.

JJ. [The election of the abbess, written after the election of Yolanda of Stein, October 25, 1293, and the procedure for the enfeoffment of the abbess of Nivelles with regalia by the Germano-Roman King, including the banquet of Abbess Yolanda of Stein on January 25, 1294 in Nivelles on the occasion of her enfeoffment with the regalia, January 21, 1294]¹⁰¹

630 Vacante abbatia per mortem alicuius abbatisse habet, quicquid evenierit quousque fuerit sepulta ad altare, et ad foragia et iusticias, et potest quittare villicus, et executores forefacta, que non sunt iudicata, etiam et turpia, ut treugarum fractarum, furta, et aliorum, sicut fecit villicus domine abbatisse Elyza- /f. 100vb/ beth de Birbaco,¹⁰² tunc etiam corpore existente supra *standars*¹⁰³ et in missa¹⁰⁴ 635 sicut de filiis le Froit, et Channeboth, Chadee, Makaire et Malbaptiste et Colette de percutione cutellorum et Johannis Poullondor et fratri, et les fils Peisserial.

Et receperunt executores omnia bona que habebat in domo abbatisse sine contradictione. Et corpore tradito sepulture habuit capitulum theloneum et foragia, iusticias et alia que accidebant post mortem. Et positis villicis in suis villis 640 Merbeke, Iacelete et Niel Labbesse, et posuit custodes canonicos in domo abbatisse, et congr[eg]ato capitulo in capitulo fecerunt novum villicum in Nivella, sed non amoverunt scabinos, quia erant quatuordecim in perpetuum. Et prius as-

¹⁰⁰ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 73; Dorin, 142–143; and Kelly, 343 and 345.

¹⁰¹ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 75, 82, 90–91; Dorin, 141, 143–144; Beach, 168–173; Kelly, 345; and Greene, 367 and 373.

¹⁰² After her death, the *villicus* of the abbess can interestingly continue to exercise jurisdiction over criminal offenders for as long as the corpse is laid out, in the same manner as was done by the *villicus* of Abbess Elizabeth de Bierbas against the sons of the Le Froit family, Channeboth and the others persons mentioned here. Warm thanks to Philipp Stenzig (Düsseldorf) for clarification. A conflict between the Chapter and Abbess Elizabeth de Bierbais over the *villicus*'s jurisdiction had broken out between 1282 and 1286; see Schlotheuber, 81, n. 248.

¹⁰³ The reference is to the catafalque on which the abbess was carried, which, as usual, was surrounded by six candelabra (*estendars*). See for the death of an abbess Bodarwé, Tod (1999), 9–35.

¹⁰⁴ This phrase remains unclear.

^{aw} dominarum followed by an erased word

^{ax} Erasure equivalent to one letter following abbatissa

II. [The chaplain of the canonesses]

The lady abbess bestows the chaplaincy of the ladies and institutes a perpetual priest there, and the ladies shall receive the one to whom the lady abbess gives the chaplaincy, if he is satisfactory without objection, and he does not receive the pastoral care of the ladies from anyone if the said abbess does not present him. But he neither hears the confessions of the ladies nor absolves [them] unless he has first requested permission from the lord bishop, and he should procure permission by himself or through a third party.

JJ. [The election of the abbess, written after the election of Yolanda of Stein, October 25, 1293, and the procedure for the enfeoffment of the abbess of Nivelles with regalia by the Germano-Roman King, including the banquet of abbess Yolanda of Stein on January 25, 1294 in Nivelles on the occasion of her enfeoffment with the regalia, January 21, 1294]

With the abbacy being vacant after the death of a certain abbess until she is buried by the altar, the steward may have whatever might come to the altar as well as the forage as well as justice, and he can carry out sentences that have to be done that have not yet been judged, even those as crimes of truce-breaking, theft, etc., just as the steward did for abbess Elizabeth as long as the body is above the catafalque, and in Mass, as he [the steward, did with] the sons of Froit, and Channeboth, Chadee, Makaire, and Malbaptiste, and Colette the tanner, and Johannes Poullondor and his brothers, and the sons of Peisserial.

And the executors received all goods in the house of the abbess without objection. And after the body was brought to the grave, the Chapter had toll rights, the forage, the justice, and other things that happened after her death. And, having put stewards in their towns Meerbeke, Jauchette, and Nil Abesse, [the Chapter] placed guardian canons in the house of the abbess, and with the Chapter gathered in the Chapter, they named a new steward in Nivelles, but they did not remove the aldermen because there were fourteen in perpetuity.

And beforehand, they assigned a day in three weeks's time to ordain and elect an abbess, if it should be convenient. And the Chapter sent certain messengers with letters from the Chapter to all the canonesses and canons throughout the re-

signaverunt diem ad tres septimanas ad ordinandum et eligendum abbatissam, si commode fieri potest. Et mittit capitulum certos nuncios cum litteris capituli ad
 645 omnes canonicas et canonicos infra provinciam usque Aurelianum¹⁰⁵ et Traiectum¹⁰⁶ vel circiter, et ut reaportent litteras sigillatas et sub sigillo eorum.

Die assignata ad tres septimanas veniunt in capitulo omnes, et tunc appor-
 tantur littere canonicarum et canonicorum qui vocati fuerunt et leguntur in ca-
 pitulo, et si sint alique vel aliqui infirmi in villa, mittuntur ad eos due canonice
 650 et duo canonici, et dat cui voluerit vocem suam canonice sive canonico, et econ-
 verso.

Et sic facto proceditur ad electionem per viam /f. 101ra/ sancti spiritus vel compromissi, et ultimo scrutinii.¹⁰⁷ Abbatissa electa per unam viam, maior in ecclesia dicit "Vice mea et capituli sive compromissorum, nomino et eligo talem
 655 in abbatissam," et tunc incipitur *Te deum laudamus* et pulsantur campane magne insimul, et deportatur ad altare sancte Gertrudis et ibi flexis genibus dicit orationem suam et presbiter dicto *In iubilo* dicit versum cum collecta *Indulgentiam*¹⁰⁸ et tunc ducitur ad domum suam, et cum ea comedunt et canonice et canonici qui voluerint et sint rogati.

Et quando electa est abbatissa in crastino tenetur venire in capitulo antequam habeat decretum suum et iurare et ponere manum supra sancta ewangelia, et iuramentum recipit decana vel ebdomadaria in hunc modum: "De che jour en avant
 660 ensi ke abbessse de le glise de Nivelles, porterai foit et loialteit a le glise me dame sainte Gierdrut, a capitle et as persones de le ditte glise, et warderai les status, les
 665 privileges, les coustumes, les drois, les recors et les pais de le ditte glise et capitle et les persones, et rapproprerai les alous de le ditte glise alieneis et ferai venir les provendes de Braibant et tout chou dont les abbesses sont tenues, et warderai et
 670 maintenirai le princeit de Nivelles bien et loialment si m'ait Dieus, me dame sainte Gierdrus /f. 101rb/ ches saintes paroles et ewangiles et tout li saint de paradis."¹⁰⁹

Hoc facto, capitulum dat ei decretum sigillatum suo sigillo, et qualiter est electa et scribitur capitulo Leodiensi unum decretum et unum regi. Et postea vadit Leodium in capitulo Leodiensi et ostendit decretum et consulit capitulum et postea dicit electe: "Placet nobis electio et approbamus" et remittitur ad episcopum per litteras capituli Leodiensis; visis litteris et decretis,^{ay} episcopus inqui-

¹⁰⁵ Orléans.

¹⁰⁶ Utrecht.

¹⁰⁷ In the *Libra Extra*, Innocent III (1189–1216) had established these three forms of election – the *via scrutinii*, the *via compromissi*, and the *via inspirationis* – as the binding precondition for a valid election according to canon law; see CIC, ed. Friedberg (1879–1881) Liber Extra 1. VI. De electione, c. 42, col. 88–89.

¹⁰⁸ CANTUS 007237a (*De Judith*): *Indulgentiam eius fusis lacrimis postulemus et humilitemus illi animas nostras*. See the essay in this volume by Beach, 170.

¹⁰⁹ See the essay in this volume by Beach, 170.

^{ay} *Ms decreto, corrected from decretis?*

gion to Orléans and Utrecht or thereabouts, so that they might bring back letters sealed and under their seal.

On the day assigned in the three weeks's time, everyone comes to the Chapter, and then letters of the canonesses and canons who were called are brought forth and read in Chapter, and if there were anyone ill in town, two canonesses and two canons are sent to them, and [the ill person] gives his vote to whomever he will wish, either the canoness or the canon, and vice versa.

And after this, election occurs either via the Holy Spirit or via compromise, or as a last resort, via inquiry. When the abbess has been elected in one way, one says in the great church, "In place of me and the Chapter or the election deputies, I name and elect so-and-so as abbess," and then *Te deum laudamus* begins and the great bells are ringing all together, and she is brought to the altar of St Gertrude and there, kneeling, she says her prayer and the priest, having said *In iubilo*, says a verse with the collect *Indulgentiam*. And then she is led to her household and the canons and canonesses who wish to and have been asked to do so eat with her.

And when the abbess has been elected, on the next day before she will have her charter of ordination she is obliged to come to the Chapter both to swear and to place her hand on the Holy Gospels, and the female dean or the hebdomary canoness receives this oath in this manner: "From this day forward as abbess of the church of Nivelles, I will bear faith and loyalty to the church of my lady, St Gertrude, to the Chapter and to the persons of the said church, and I will keep the statutes, the privileges, the customs, the rights, the records and the agreements of the said church and Chapter and persons, and I will bring back the alienated freeholds of the said church and I will make the prebends of Brabant come and all those things to which the abbesses are held, and I will keep and maintain the dominion of Nivelles well and loyally if God, my lady, St Gertrude, the holy words and Gospels, and all the saints of paradise help me."

This being done, the Chapter gives her a charter of ordination sealed with its seal, [recounting] how she was elected, and one decree is written for the Chapter of Liège and another for the king. And afterwards she goes to Liège, to the Chapter of St Lambert in Liège, and shows the decree and the Chapter consults and afterwards it says to the abbess: "The election is pleasing to us and we have approved [it]" and the abbess is sent to the bishop for the letters from the Chapter of Liège;

675 rit cum canonicabus et canonicis cum electa existentibus qualiter est electa.¹¹⁰ Et
respondent "apparet per decretum." Et tunc episcopus confirmat electionem et
approbat, et dat electe curam et sollicitudinem et ecclesie et personarum et ponit
anulum in digito electe et dicit: *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.*
Et quod bene se habeat ut bona domina. Et supplicat canonicis sancti Lamberti,
680 ut comedant cum ea, et dat clerico capituli pro sigillo circiter quatuor lb.^{az} Lovanienses, et sigillifero episcopi circiter decem lb. pro omnibus officiariis domus et hostiario. Et postea electa revertitur apud Nivellam in domo sua^{ba}. Et veniunt qui volunt contra eam, sed villa nichil dat usque reddit de sumendo regalia.

Et post in crastinum venit in capitulo suo Nivellensi et ostendit suas confirmationes.¹¹¹

Et capitulum dicit: "Placet nobis." Dat prebendas, sed nichil recipit ad alia bona, nec vadit in domo (!) abbatisse /f. 101va/ nisi habeat regalia.

Et mittit nuncium ad regem cum decreto capituli et procuratorio et confirmationibus capituli Leodiensis et episcopi.¹¹² Et si non est episcopus confirmat
690 vices agens.

Sic factum fuit domine Yolendi de Steynes dominica ante festum Symonis et Iude anno domini M° CC° nonagesimo III°.

Sic facto vadit domina abbatissa ubi vult in villa sive extra, quousque habeat regalia.¹¹³ Dominus rex Allemanie¹¹⁴ mittat litteras sigillo suo sigillatas cuidam
695 principi suo vel militi homini vel episcopo homini, quod sibi det honorem et feodum et iuri[s]dictionem, ac si presens fuisset abbatissa coram rege et rex dedisset per sceptrum et tanta littera, domina venit coram illo, et petit sibi dari regalia et osculatur dominum^{bb}; et postea dat per anulum quem ponit in manu domine regalia in testimonium hominum regis, si ibi sunt, et si non in testimonium domine abbatisse canonicarum et canonicorum et scabinorum Nivellensium.¹¹⁵ Et
700 postea iurat fidelitatem regi, et custodire iura principatus pro posse, et recipit litteras datoris et mittit eas domina abbatissa ad capitulum. Et cum videt capitulum beneplacet ei. Et tunc potest venire ad ecclesiam et domum. Et quando venit, vadunt contra eam qui volunt honorare eam. Et potest reddere villam hiis
705 qui sunt banniti.^{bc}

¹¹⁰ See the essay in this volume by Beach, 170.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 170.

¹¹² Ibid., 170.

¹¹³ Ibid., 171.

¹¹⁴ In the case of the election of Yolanda von Steyn, the Roman king was Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298).

¹¹⁵ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, n. 295.

^{az} lb. over an erasure

^{ba} sua over an erasure

^{bb} reading uncertain

^{bc} Ms hanniti

having seen the letters and the decree, the bishop inquires, with the canons and canonesses present along with the abbess-elect, how she was chosen. And they respond: "this is shown in the decree." And then the bishop confirms and approves the election and gives the care and solicitude both of the church and of the people to the woman chosen, and he places a ring on the finger of the chosen woman and says *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.* And so that she should conduct herself properly as a leader. She beseeches the canons of St Lambert to dine with her, and gives to the cleric of the chapter about four Louvain pounds for the seal, and to the bishop's seal-bearer about ten pounds for all the officials of the household and for the doorman." And afterward the chosen woman returns home to Nivelles, to her household. And whoever wishes to can come to her, but the town gives nothing until she returns from obtaining her regalia.

And afterwards, on the next day, she comes to her Chapter in Nivelles and shows her confirmations.

And the Chapter says: "it is pleasing to us." She gives prebends, but receives nothing from the other goods, nor does she go into the home of the abbess unless she would have her regalia.

And she sends a messenger to the king with the decree of the Chapter and the procuration and confirmations of the Chapter of Liège and of the bishop. And if there is no bishop, the suffragan bishop confirms.

Thus it was done by our Lady Yolenda of Stein the Sunday before the feast of Simon and Judah in the year of the Lord 1293.

After this had been done in this way, the lady abbess goes where she wishes, whether in town or out of town, until she would have her regalia. The lord king of Germany shall send letters sealed with his seal to a certain prince of his, whether a liege knight or a liege bishop, that he may give the honor and fief and jurisdiction to her; and if the abbess is present before the king, and the king should allow it through his scepter and in writing, the lady comes before him, and she asks him to give her regalia and kisses his lordship; and afterwards he gives her the regalia with a ring that he places on the lady's hand, with men of the king as witnesses if there are any present, and if not, with canons and canonesses of the lady abbess and aldermen of Nivelles as witnesses. And afterwards she swears fealty to the king and to uphold the laws of the principality as far as she is able, and she receives a donor's letters and the lady abbess sends them to the Chapter. And when the Chapter sees [them], it is well pleased. And then she can go to the church and residence. And when she comes, those who wish to honor her go to meet her. And she can give back the town to those who are under the ban of the abbess.

Et processio canonicarum et canonicorum venit contra eam per hostium Coste et ibi remanent canonice et canonici, et clerici vadunt usque ad crucem vel lapidem. Et ibi est decanus vel ebdomadarius, dyaconus et subdya-/f. 101vb/ conus, canonici induti pontificalibus excepto quod presbiter habet cappam desuper syricam. Dyaconus et subdyaconus habent damatica (!), et portantur textus et crocha et due cruces per infantes indutos, aqua benedicta et incensarium pulchrum. Et tunc venit presbiter ante dominam et incensat et dat aquam benedictam, et subdyaconus dat osculari textum, et statim revertuntur ad ecclesiam. Et cantor et suus socius induti cappis syricis incipiunt R. *Deum time. Domine*¹¹⁶ 710 *Ÿ*. Et cum venit ante pilaria et ibi est pannus supra scannum, et ibi flexibus genibus dicit orationem suam. Et finito versu R. *Incipiunt domine Ant. In iubilo vocis*¹¹⁷ et presbiter dicit *Ÿ. Ora pro nobis*¹¹⁸ et collecta *Indulgentiam*.¹¹⁹ 715

Et statim ducitur domina superius ad altare beate Gertrudis, et ibi dicit orationem flexibus (!) genibus et offert pannum deauratum et dat pro casula vel ad fabricam eius.¹²⁰ Et statim ducitur ad campanas ante trinitatem in sede ibi parata, et iurat primo fidelitatem scabinis et burgensibus, et quod ducet villam per iudicium scabinorum et legem custodire. Et postea scabini et burgenses per duos vel tres nomine ville iurant fidelitatem domine abbatisse et quod iuvabunt eam ad iura et legem ville custodire, et hoc super sanctam tactis manibus coram 725 omnibus canonicabus et canonicis. Et postea dicit scabinis, quod dicant iura que habet in Nivelles, et quousque extendit iuri[s]dictio sua, et scabini dicunt, quod volunt habere iudicias (!). Et tunc domina vadit ad curiam in domo ab-/f. 102ra/ batie, et ibi dat ad comedendum capitulo et scabinis et aliis quibus vult. Sed non vadunt omnes communiter. Et dat villa xenia, si voluerit, dat dolium vini et duos 730 lussios vel circiter, sed capitulum nichil dat domine. Et domina facit villicum et recipit homagia a suis hominibus.

Ita fuit factum de abbatisa Yolende de Steynes que venit apud Nivelles et fecit convivium in die Conversionis beati Pauli in Ianuario anno domini M° CC° nonagesimo tertio, et habuit regalia feria quinta ante Conversionem sancti Pauli.¹²¹ 735

Item, tunc recordaverunt scabini Nivellesenses ius domine abbatisse et dixerunt, quod intellexerunt a suis predecessoribus scabinis, quod habet iuri[s]dictionem et est domina infra nemora Nivelles et tenetur conductus aquarum ape-

¹¹⁶ CANTUS 006416 (*De Trinitate*): *Deum time. Domine*.

¹¹⁷ CANTUS 202428 (*Gertrudis*): *In iubilo vocis pangamus domino cantica laudis qui te ditavit honore tanto o pia virgo alleluia*.

¹¹⁸ Employed for numerous saints employing the formula: *Ora pro nobis beate N. ut digni efficiamur promissione Christi*.

¹¹⁹ CANTUS 007237a (*De Judith*): *Indulgentiam eius fuis lacrimis postulemus et humilimus illi animas nostras*.

¹²⁰ See the essay in this volume by Beach, 171.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

And a procession of canons and canonesses comes to meet her through the gate of Coste and the canons and canonesses remain there, and the clerics go up to the cross or the stone. And the dean or hebdomary priest, deacon and subdeacon of the canons dressed in their pontifical robes are there, except the priest has copes over his silk robe. The deacon and subdeacon have dalmatics, and the Bible and crook and two crosses, holy water and beautiful incense, are borne by children in their vestments. And then the priest comes before the lady and uses incense and gives holy water, and the subdeacon presents the Bible to be kissed, and they immediately return to the church. And the singer and his companion, dressed in silk copes, begin the responsory *Deum time. Domine*. Versicle. And when she comes before the pillars and where there is cloth over the stall, and there, on bended knees, she says her prayer. And having finished the verse responsory, the ladies begin the antiphon *In iubilo vocis* and the priest says the versicle *Ora pro nobis* and the collect *Indulgentiam*.

And immediately the lady is led up to the altar of blessed Gertrude, and there, kneeling, she says a prayer and offers a golden cloth and gives it for a liturgical garment or for its making. And immediately she is led to the seat prepared near the bells before the Trinity altar, and first she swears fealty to the aldermen and burghers and that she shall lead the town by the judgment of the aldermen and will keep the law. And afterwards the aldermen and burghers, by twos or threes, swear fealty to the lady abbess in the name of the town and that they shall help her to keep the laws and order of the town, and [they do] this over the saint with hands touching in the presence of all the canonesses and canons. And then she says to the aldermen that they should recite the laws that she has in Nivelles, and how far her jurisdiction extends, and the aldermen say that they wish to have justice. And then the lady goes to the curia in the abbess's residence, and there she gives a meal to the Chapter and the aldermen and whomever else wants [one]. But they do not all go together. And if the town wants to, it gives presents, a cask of wine and two pikes or thereabouts, but the Chapter gives nothing to the lady. And the lady names a steward and receives homage from her men.

Thus it was done by Abbess Yolanda of Stein who came to Nivelles and held a celebration on the day of the conversion of St Paul, in January in the year of the Lord 1293, and she came into the possession of the regalia on the Friday before the conversion of St Paul.

Also, then the aldermen put to memory the laws to the lady abbess of Nivelles and they said that they understood from their predecessors as aldermen that she has jurisdiction and is the lady over the forests of Nivelles and is held to open the conduit of the waters, to survey the boundaries, and to keep the laws, and she

rire, chierkemanagia facere et legem^{bd} custodire, et habet iusticiam altam et
740 bassam et viridum et siccum infra nemora predicta.

KK. [Enfeoffment of abbess Elizabeth de Bierbais with the regalia, November 9, 1292]¹²²

Anno^{be} domini M° CC° nonagesimo II^a feria V ante festum Martini hymalis
misit rex Adulphus Allemanie¹²³ domine Elyzabeth de Birbaco abbatisse Nivel-
lensis homagium per unum militem hominem regis per litteram regis. Et ita fecit
745 domina abbatissa coram canonicabus et canonicis, scabinis, hominibus suis, feo-
dalibus et aliis /f. 102rb/ iunctis manibus, domina abbatissa osculatur militem,
et miles reddidit sibi omnia feoda et iura que tenet a rege per anulum in tes-
timonium astantium. Et postea recipit manum abbatisse et fecit iurare fidelita-
tem regi.^{bf} Et ponit manum versus ecclesiam et dixit abbatissa pro posse servabit.

Et fecit militi curiositatem, quia non tenetur ad regale abbatissa nisi in prima
750 creatione.¹²⁴ Tunc tenetur regi regale circiter sexaginta libras Turonenses, sed
alias non tenetur quocienscumque relevet nisi prima vice.

LL. [The election of the female and the male provost and the election of the female and male dean]

Vacante prepositura Nivellensi preposite, prepositi sive^{bg} abbatisse congrega-
tum capitulum domicellarum et dominorum, quia ad eos communiter spectat
755 predictorum electio, et habent tempus sex mensium ad eligendum prepositam
et prepositum, sed ad abbatissam in nostra ecclesia quadraginta dies de consue-
tudine ut dicitur, sed de iure tres menses. Et cum capitulum est congregatum de
canonicabus et canonicis tunc existentibus in Nivella qui volunt esse et venire in
capitulo, tunc querit decanus vel ebdomadarius a capitulo quem diem volunt as-
signare ad tractandum et eligendum si commode fieri potest predictos (!). Di-
760 cunt ei diem ad tres septimanas vel circiter. Et ita assignat domina abbatissa per
se si ibi est, vel mandat alicui de dictis domicellabus /f. 102va/ cui voluerit, quod

¹²² See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, n. 293.

¹²³ King Adolf of Nassau.

¹²⁴ The knight who officiated at Elizabeth de Bierbais's investiture was surprised that Nivelles made only one payment for the act of investiture, an amount of fifty *Livres tournois*, rather than the customary annual payment of this sum; see the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 89, n. 295.

^{bd} et lege over an erasure

^{be} corrected over red highlighting of letter A

^{bf} possibly corrected from regis

^{bg} prepositi sive over an erasure

has high and low justice as well as over the green and the dead wood in the afore-
mentioned forests.

KK. [Enfeoffment of abbess Elizabeth de Bierbais with the regalia, November 9, 1292]

In the year of the Lord 1292, on Thursday before the winter feast of Martin, King Adolf of Germany sent homage through a knight, one of the king's men, to Elizabeth of Bierbais via a charter of the king. And thus did the lady abbess [pay homage] with hands clasped in the presence of canonesses and canons, aldermen, her own men, holders of fiefs, and others; the lady abbess kissed the knight, and the knight returned all fiefs and laws that she holds from the king to her with a ring with those present bearing witness. And afterwards he received the hand of the abbess and made her swear fealty to the king. And she placed her hand towards the church, and the abbess said that she shall serve to her ability.

And she surprised the knight, because the abbess must not pay for the regalia except in the first instance. Then she owes the king around sixty Tournois pounds, but she does not owe at other times, however many times it is revoked, unless for the first time.

LL. [The election of the female and the male provost, and the election of the female and the male dean]

When the provostry of Nivelles lacks a female provost, a male provost, or an abbess, the Chapter of ladies and lords is gathered together because the election of the aforementioned people is monitored by them all together and they have the time of six months to elect the female and the male provost. But, as is said, in our church there are customarily forty days [to elect] the abbess, but by law three months. And when the Chapter has been gathered together, the canons and canonesses then living in Nivelles who want to be in and come to the Chapter, then the dean and hebdomary priest are asked by the Chapter which day they wish to designate for dealing with and electing the aforementioned [female and male provost or abbess] as conveniently as possible. They tell her a day in three weeks or so. And in this way the lady abbess designates it [the date] herself if she is there or she commands one of the said ladies that she wishes to choose that day for the

per se ponat domicellabus illam diem, et ita assignat maior vel decanus, vel ebdomadarius canonicis ad tractandum et eligendum si commode fieri potest.

765 Et hoc facto mandantur omnes canonici et canonice Parisius vel Aurelianus et infra existentes usque Traiectum per litteras capituli sigillatas et apertas et speciali nuncio ecclesie et cauda quam sigillare debent in signum receptionis litterarum.

770 Et cum venerit dies assignata congregatur capitulum et aperiuntur littere que misse fuerunt in capitulo et leguntur et respiciuntur sigilla, et si non remittant litteras seu nuncios vel alii dixerint eas recepisse vel ibi fuisse ubi morantur sufficit.

775 Et sic facto, si aliqui canonice vel canonici infirmantur in Nivelles, mittuntur ad eos due domicelle et duo canonici, et dicunt eis quod capitulum mandat per eos quod veniant si voluerint. Et tunc infirmi, si venire noluerint vel non possint, mittunt vocem suam cui volunt in testimonium missorum et illud reportant capitulo et ratum habet capitulum.

780 Et illis sic factis, dicit decanus, quod tractetur de electione, primo per inspirationem spiritus sancti si potest fieri communiter.¹²⁵ Et omnes si volunt debent consentire ac clamare, quod eis placet, et si noluerint postea per compromissum et ultimo per scrutinium. Et si non concordant, reassignent diem primo per abbatissam si sit ad presens domicellabus et per ebdomadarium canonicis vel per decanum.

785 Prepositus /f. 102vb/ iurat in manu abbatisse iura prepositure servare dum recipit ab abbatisse feodum. Et cum preposita est electa nichil facit erga capitulum nec aliquod iuramentum, sed prepositus iurat fidelitatem iura servare. Et vadunt prepositus et preposita ad altare beate Gertrudis et dicunt ibi orationem. Et postea revertuntur ad domum vel ubi voluerint. Et habet preposita ratione prepositure quolibet anno ad vina capituli vel in bursa capituli decem lb. Lovanienses post computationem vini solvendi.

790 Decanum eligunt canonici per se sine dominabus, et decanam eligunt domine per se sine canonicis.

MM. [The first adventus of the duke of Brabant, c. September 17, 1294]¹²⁶

795 Nota quando dux Brabantie venit noviter apud Nivellam primo, sive ante cybum sive post, pulsatur una magna campana appellando congregationem, quando est prope Nivellam ad dimidium miliare vel circiter, et cum intrat villam processio clericorum cum canonicabus et canonicis exit cum cappis syricis. Et decanus vel ebdomadarius indutus pontificalibus et desuper cappa syrica, dyaconus et subdyaconus induti dyamaticis (!), et ibi veniunt Fratres Minores¹²⁷ et Guillel-

¹²⁵ The canon law had established these three forms of election, by the *via inspirationis*, then by the *via compromissi*, and, if that was not successful, by the *via scrutinii*, see n. 106.

¹²⁶ See the essay in this volume by Schlottheuber, 91, n. 301.

¹²⁷ The convent of Franciscans in Nivelles (founded 1234).

ladies, and the mayor or the dean or the hebdomary priest thus assigns it to the canons to manage and elect, if it were to suit them.

And having done this, all canons and canonesses, from Paris and Orléans and places in between as far as Utrecht, are informed through letters sealed by the Chapter and opened and with a special messenger of the church and with a tail that they should seal as a sign of having received the letter.

And when the assigned day comes, the Chapter is brought together, and the letters that were sent to the Chapter are opened, and they are read and the seals are inspected, and if they do not send back letters or messengers, it suffices that others say either that they received them or that they were delayed in arriving.

And having done this, if some canonesses or canons should be sick in Nivelles, two ladies and two canons are sent to them, and they tell them that the Chapter sends for them; let them come if they wish. And then, if the sick do not wish to come or are not able to, they send their voice to the one that they choose with the messengers as witnesses, and they report this to the Chapter, and the Chapter agrees.

And with these things done in this way, the dean says that the election is negotiated, first, via the inspiration of the Holy Spirit if it can be done all together. And all, if they wish, should consent and shout that it is pleasing to them. And if they do not wish, afterwards via compromise, and lastly via inquiry. And if they do not agree, they choose another day, first, for the ladies through the abbess, if she is present, and for the canons through the hebdomary priest or the dean.

The male provost swears, in the hand of the abbess, that he will keep the laws of the priorate when he receives his fief from the abbess. And when the female provost has been elected, she does nothing regarding the Chapter nor makes any oath, but the male provost swears [an oath of] fidelity to keep the laws. And the male and the female provost come to the altar of the blessed Gertrude and say a prayer there. And afterwards they return to their household or wherever they wish. And the female provost possesses by virtue of her provosty each year the wine of the Chapter or from the funds of the Chapter ten Louvain pounds from the reckoning of the wine's sale.

The canons elect the male dean for themselves without the ladies. And the ladies elect the female dean for themselves without the canons.

MM. [The first adventus of the duke of Brabant, c. September 17, 1294]

Note that when the duke of Brabant comes for the first time to Nivelles, whether before the meal or after, a great bell is rung to call the congregation together when he is near Nivelles, half a mile or so away, and when he enters the town, a procession of clerics with canonesses and canons comes out with silk copes. And the dean or the hebdomary priest [comes] dressed in pontifical robes with silk copes above, the deacon and the subdeacon dressed in dalmatics, and then come

mini¹²⁸ cum crucibus, et exeunt Fratres Minores primo, Guillelmini post, clerici et canonici post, et vadunt usque crucem in introitu Montani vici, vel usque lapidem in medio fori. Et domine remanent subtus /f. 103ra/ costam. Et portantur
 800 per infantes indutos crocha, et domine cruces incensorium et aqua benedicta. Et portatur textus per subdiaconum, et cum venit dux iuxta crucem vici Montani, decanus vel ebdomadarius venit ante eum et incensat eum et dat aquam benedic-
 805 tam et osculatur textum. Et cum intrat ecclesiam, canonici cantores incipiunt R̃. *Honor virtus*¹²⁹ et domine dicunt Ṽ. *Et in medio ecclesie*,¹³⁰ ante pilaria est sedes parata et ibi flexis genibus stat quousque dictus sit Ṽ. Et domine cantant Ant. *In iubilo vocis*.¹³¹ Presbiter dicit Ṽ. et collecta. Et tunc vadit osculari altare beate Gertrudis et offert pannum et est abbatisse et custodis si nichil dividat. Villa dat sibi pisces et lutios et duo dolia vini vel circiter. Capitulum nichil dat, sed abbatissa dat, si vult. Sed nichil dedit duci Iohanni qui duxit filiam regis Angliae.¹³²
 810 Ista premissa fuerunt de eo facta anno domini M°CC° nonagesimo quarto circa festum Lamberti. Dux non mandat, quod veniet, sed sine mandato processio vadit contra eum. Et simili modo fit de ducissa.

NN. [The diocesan synod of Liège, February 16–18, 1288]

Nota quod dominus episcopus Leodiensis Johannes, filius comitis Flandrie,¹³³ instituit synodum apud Leodium feria II^a post dominicam qua cantatur *Invocavit* anno Domini M° CC° LXXX septimo et duravit synodus per tres dies.
 815

Feria II^a benedixit synodum abbas Lobienensis¹³⁴ indutus pontificalibus et desuper cappa syrica et mitra et baculo pastoralis, et multa dicuntur. Et legitur ewangelium *Cum sero*.¹³⁵ Et a dextris sedet abbas Hastiensis¹³⁶ indutus cum sedet abbas Lobienensis, et archidiaconi ex utraque parte induti cappis syricis, et
 820 domina abbatissa sedet iuxta archidiaconos in sinistra parte. Nec alie mulieres sedent superius nisi ipsa sola, et sue domicelle sedent ad pedes suos, et sui canonici induti tabardis vel wardecors, non in superpelliciis sicut alii canonici, quia canonici Nivellesenses non debent synodum, sed associantur dominam abbatissam. Non plus fit illa die.

¹²⁸ The convent of Guillemites of Nivelles.

¹²⁹ CANTUS 006870 (De Trinitate): *Honor virtus et potestas et imperium*.

¹³⁰ CANTUS 006182a (Iohannis Evang.): *In medio ecclesie aperuit dominus*.

¹³¹ CANTUS 202428 (Gertrudis): *In iubilo vocis pangamus domino cantica laudis qui te ditavit honore tanto o pia virgo alleluia*.

¹³² Duke John II of Brabant had married Margaret, the daughter of King Edward I of England, in 1290.

¹³³ John of Flanders, bishop of Liège (1282–1292).

¹³⁴ Abbot Philip of the monastery of Lobbes (1288–1290).

¹³⁵ Io 20:19–31.

¹³⁶ Abbot of St Pierre d'Hastière.

the Franciscans and the Guillemites with the crosses, and the Franciscans come out first, the Guillemites next, the clerics and canons next, and they go up to the cross at the entrance of quarter of Mons, or until the stone in the middle of the square. And the ladies remain on one side. And children in robes bring the crooks and crosses, a censor, and holy water to the lady. And the Bible is brought by the subdeacon, and when the duke comes next by the cross of the quarter of Mons the dean or hebdomary priest comes before him and uses incense on him and gives him holy water and he kisses the Bible.

And when he enters the church, the singing canons begin [the responsory] *Honor virtus* and the ladies say the versicle *Et in medio ecclesie* before the pillars, a seat is prepared, and there he stays kneeling until the versicle be said. And the ladies sing [the antiphon] *In iubilo vocis*. The priest says the versicle and Collect. And then he goes to kiss the altar of blessed Gertrude and offers cloth, and it belongs to the abbess and to the warden unless it is divided. The town gives fish and pikes and two casks of wine or thereabouts. The Chapter gives nothing, but the abbess gives if she wishes. But she gave nothing to Duke John, who brought with him the daughter of the king of England.

These aforementioned things were done for this [event] in the year of the Lord 1294 around the feast of Lambert. The duke does not order that the procession should come, but without being ordered, the procession goes to meet him. And it happens similarly with the duchess.

NN. [The diocesan synod of Liège, 1288, February 16–18]

Let it be known that the lord bishop of Liège, John, son of the count of Flanders, called a synod in Liège on the Monday after the Sunday when *Invocavit* is sung, in the year of the Lord 1287 [1288]. And the synod lasted three days.

On Monday the abbot of Lobbes, dressed in pontifical robes with silk copes and miter and crosier, blessed the synod, and many things were said. And the Gospel *Cum sero* was read. And the abbot of St Pierre d'Hastière, dressed [in pontifical robes], sat to the right of where the abbot of Lobbes sat, and the archdeacons from wherever dressed in silk copes, and the lady abbess sat next to the archdeacons on the left side. No other women sit on the high platform except she alone, and her ladies sat at her feet, and her canons, dressed in tabards or garde-corps, not in surplices like the other canons, because the canons of Nivelles are not bound to attend the synod, but are associated with the lady abbess. Nothing more was done that day.

825 Sed alia die primo venit episcopus ad synodum, et primo cantatur prima et missa mortualis et alie hore ad sanctum Lambertum, antequam incipiatur benedictio. Et portatur crux et incensorium et due candelae ante episcopum vel abbatem qui vadunt ad locum synodi. Item, secunda die venit episcopus et induit se sicut supra dicitur de abbate et benedicit synodum. Et legitur ewangelium *Designavit dominus septem*,¹³⁷ et multa ibi dicuntur. Et facit inquiri si sint aliqui qui velint aliqua referre ad synodum, quod dicant et aliqui dicunt. Et postea benedicit populum. Non plus fit illa die.

Item, tertia die dominus episcopus venit sicut dictum est ad synodum, et benedicit synodum et multa dicit, et legitur ewangelium. Et postea leguntur statuta coram omnibus.¹³⁸ Et illis lectis */f. 103va/* confirmat et benedicit populum. Et licentiat omnes, et ita recedunt omnes.

Et decani morantur^{bh} et recipiunt statuta. Hiis diebus^{bi} abbates induti sunt pontificalibus et desuper cappa syrica, et mitra et crocha, et sedent supra faudestuet¹³⁹ inferius omnes, et multi sunt qui non habent mitras,^{bj} sed omnes habent crochas. Et decani conciliorum sedent retro abbates induti albis et stola; et presbyteri alii induti superpelliciis et semper hiis tribus diebus domina abbatissa Nivelensis sedet superius iuxta archidiaconos in sinistro latere; non sedet supra faudestuet, sed super sedem qua sedent archidiaconi iuxta episcopum a latere quo sedet abbas Lobensis.

OO. [*The synodal duties of the church of Nivelles, 1288, February 16–18*]¹⁴⁰

845 Ecclesia Nivelensis non mittit aliquem alium, etiam si citarentur, ad synodum nisi dominam abbatissam que eos deliberare debet, quia canonici non debent synodum, sed ipsa ratione prelature et decanus ratione prelature nichil ad canonicos. Sic factum fuit ad supradictum synodum anno domini M° CC° LXXX° VII°, feria II^a, tertia et quarta post dominicam *Invocavit* apud Leodium in ecclesia sancti Lamberti. Fuerunt cum domina abbatissa. M. de Latour et A. de Wispla et magister W. de Wallenhanig, et Iacobus de Sancto Syro,¹⁴¹ canonice et canonici et plures alii.

¹³⁷ Lc 10:1. *Designavit dominus septuagintas duos.*

¹³⁸ Liège, StB, Cod. 77, ff. 1r–37r, a transcription of the end of thirteenth/beginning of fourteenth centuries, paper; edition: Les statuts synodaux, ed. Avril (1996).

¹³⁹ *Faudestuet*: French.

¹⁴⁰ See the essay in this volume by Schlotheuber, 92, n. 309.

¹⁴¹ The canon of Nivelles Jacques de Saint Syr.

^{bh} et decani morantur written over an erasure

^{bi} hiis diebus written over an erasure

^{bj} habent mitras over an erasure

But on the next day the bishop comes first to the synod, and prime is sung first and the Office of the Dead and the other hours of St Lambert, before the blessing was begun. And the cross and censer and two candles are borne before the bishop or abbot who come to the place of the synod. Also on this second day the bishop comes and clothed himself as is said above about the abbot and he blesses the synod. And the Gospel *Designavit deus septem* is read, and many things are said there. And he makes inquiry if there might be any people who wish to bring something before the synod, that they should speak, and some do speak. And afterwards he blesses the people. Nothing more is done on that day.

Item, on the third day the lord bishop comes as has been said before to the synod, and he blesses the synod and says many things, and the Gospel is read. And afterwards the statutes are read before all. And after they were read, he confirms them and blesses the people. And he permits them all and thus dismisses them all, and so they all go away.

And the deans remain and receive the statutes. On these days the abbots wore pontifical robes with silk copes, and miters and crosiers, and they sat on faldstools below all the rest, and there are many that do not have miters, but they all have crosiers. And the deans of the councils sit behind the abbots wearing white robes and stoles; and the other priests wore surplices. And at all times on these three days the lady abbess of Nivelles sits above, next to the archdeacons on the left side; she does not sit on a faldstool, but on the bench on which the archdeacons sit next to the bishop, on the side on which the abbot of Lobbes sits.

OO. [*The synodal duties of the church of Nivelles, 1288, February 16–18*]

The church of Nivelles does not send anyone, even if they are summoned to the synod, besides the lady abbess, who is supposed to deliberate with them (the canons), since the canons are not obligated [to attend] the synod, but she alone by virtue of her prelature and the male dean by virtue of his prelature [must attend], but [there is] no [obligation] for the canons. This is how it was done at the synod mentioned above in the year of the Lord 1287 [1288], on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after *Invocavit* Sunday, in Liège at the church of St Lambert. Present with the lady abbess were M. of Latour, A. of Wispla, Master W. of Wallenhanig, and Jacques de Saint Syr, canonesses and canons and many others.