

**Hybrid Diurnal including a printed Psalter (for the use of Augustinian Nuns)  
In Latin, with some rubrics in Dutch, decorated printed book and illustrated manuscript on  
paper  
Paris, 1536, and Low Countries (diocese of Liège), c. 1536-1550**

ii (paper endleaves, ii, fragmentary) + 12 [manuscript] + 132 [imprint] + 103 [manuscript] + ii (paper endleaves) on paper, at least three different paper lots used for the manuscript sections: unidentified watermark in the first manuscript section (calendar); second manuscript section, ff. 1-74, watermark, pot à une anse, accompagné d'un nom entier (TOGOL), Briquet 12833, Paris 1529 and 12834, Brussels 1540, and possibly another drinking vessel, ff. 75-103, unidentified letter 'p', manuscript leaves before and after the imprint with modern foliation in two series, top outer corner in pencil, imprint with printed foliation in the upper margin in arabic numerals, missing three leaves (collation manuscript: i<sup>10+2</sup> [quire of 10, with two leaves at the end, bound out of order, originally leaves 1 and 12 of a quire of 12]; imprint: ii-xvii<sup>8</sup> xviii<sup>4</sup>; manuscript: i-iii<sup>8</sup> iv<sup>6</sup> v-ix<sup>8</sup> x<sup>4</sup> [through f. 74] xi<sup>8</sup> [-5, 6, 7, following f. 78, stubs remain] xii-xiii<sup>8</sup> xiv<sup>6</sup> xv<sup>2</sup>), imprint signed with letters designating the quire, a-r, and Roman numerals the leaf in the first half of each quire, the first leaf signed with a letter only, catchwords on each page, printed in red and black in gothic type, red running titles with folio numbers in black, FOURTEEN WOODCUT-INITIALS; manuscript: no leaf or quire signatures, ruled in blind with full-length vertical bounding lines, (justification 126 x 90-85 mm.), written in a good hybrida script in twenty-one long lines, hufnagel musical notation on red four-line staves, ff. 75-93v (full page), with some lines of musical notation on ff. 94-97, 98v-99, red rubrics, two-line alternately red and blue initials, four- to three-line red or blue initials with decorative void spaces within the initials, infilled and with decoration in pen, infilling is usually abstract but initials on ff. 46 and 47v, infilled with faces, initial, f. 51v, infilled with the sun and clouds (?), see also f. 25v, seven-line PAINTED INITIAL on f. 1, initial in pink with acanthus-leaf extensions, on a deep blue ground, framed in pale yellow (possibly remains of brushed gold?) and brown, and decorated in pen, overall in excellent condition, apart from rust and holes from binding hardware on f. 103, and the back two endleaves, slight damage to outer margin f. lxxxviii, repair to lower outer corner f. xciii, calendar pages heavily trimmed. CONTEMPORARY BINDING of blind-tooled leather over wooden boards, with two sets of fillets (five and three respectively), forming a narrow outer border and an inner rectangular center panel within which a square center panel is decorated with fillets intersecting on the diagonal, fleur-de-lis within each diamond, and a narrow outer border with stamps of three couples and a figure, now difficult to discern, but cf. EBDB, r003096, Munich, c. 1518-1558, and r000802, Nuremberg, 1478-1524, three raised bands, edges may have been dyed green?, once fastened back to front, with two brass catches remaining upper board, re-backed, outer border of figurative stamps on both boards are very worn, worn along the raised bands, and especially at the top and bottom of the spine, with slight cracking in the middle, but in good overall condition. Dimensions 157 x 115 mm.

This is a very appealing example of a hybrid book, assembled in the Low Countries in the diocese of Liège for the use of Nuns following the Augustinian Rule, using a printed Psalter from Paris from the illustrious humanist publisher Claude Chevallon. It is apparently very rare and known in one other copy, with extensive manuscript sections to make up a Breviary for the Day Offices specific to their order and diocese. Carefully written in a clean, crisp hybrida script, the volume is still bound in a contemporary stamped binding and includes a painted initial, as well as musical notation.

## PROVENANCE

1. This hybrid Diurnal includes a Psalter printed in Paris by Claude Chevallon in October of 1536, with manuscript additions, including a calendar, and texts for the day Offices of the Divine Office, texts for anointing of the sick, extreme unction, and burial, with noted processions and other Offices (including three litanies); clearly made for use in a Dutch-speaking region (diocese of Liège), for Augustinian Nuns. The manuscript sections are roughly contemporary with the imprint; watermark evidence suggests the manuscript sections date c. 1540 (although two of the paper lots have not been identified).

Claude Chevallon (1479-1537) began his career as a modest publisher and bookseller in 1506, and produced a handful of titles each year contracted with the major printers in Paris. After his marriage to Charlotte Guillard (d. 1557), the widow of Bertold Rembolt, a printer, in 1520, he had access to a press, the famous Soleil d'Or, and his output increased significantly. His humanist interests are reflected in the titles he printed; his press was known especially for his editions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and he often worked with Erasmus. After his death, his widow Charlotte continued the business for another twenty years. Sometimes known as the first female printer in Paris, her role as woman who was active as a printer and publisher both with her two husbands, and independently, in her own right, has attracted the attention of a number of modern scholars (Beech, 1983, Jimenes, 2012, and Online Resources).

This core, printed text, was personalized with texts from a convent in the diocese of Liège.

There are numerous feasts in the calendar that point to this diocese, including St. Lambert, bishop of Maastricht and patron of Liège, his feast in red (17 September) and his translation (28 April), Hubert, bishop of Liège (3 November), in red, and Servatius, bishop of Tongeren, and the patron of Maastricht (13 May), also in red. Remaclus, bishop of Maastricht (3 September), graded *memoria*, is also included. The saints in the sanctorale, and in the litanies (in particular the third litany with noted prayers found on ff. 99v-102) are also tailored for use in this diocese, together with saints particularly honored in Utrecht (Pontinaus, Odulph, Willibrord and Lebuin), the diocese immediately to the north.

Copied for use in a Convent following the Rule of St. Augustine; the calendar includes his translation (28 February), and the feast of "our father" Augustine, in red, solemnity (28 August), as well as his translation, graded duplex, on 11 October. There was an Augustinian convent for canons dedicated to St. Leonard in Liège itself, and the feast of St. Leonard is included in the calendar on 5 November in red; this codex, however, was copied for nuns, or more properly, canonesses; numerous rubrics in Dutch speak of the sisters, and many of the prayers are for feminine use.

Numerous houses of women followed the Augustinian Rule, including those associated with the Windesheim (founded at the direction of Geert Groote, the religious reformer associated with the Brethren of the Common Life, and consecrated in 1387), the Augustinian Hermits (approved by Pope Alexander IV in 1256), and the Premonstratensians (founded in 1120 by Norbert of Xanten), as well as independent houses; similarities between the text for the *commendatio defunctorum* here and the Premonstratensian Breviary deserves further research (see discussion below). The

Monastic Matrix (Online Resources, below), lists numerous houses of Nuns following the Augustinian Rule in the diocese of Liège.

2. Late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century ownership note, preserved on the fragments of the second end leaf, records the use of this book by a nun, Sister Thresia Wageschot, "Suster thresia wageschot stelt v tot lijden wilt gij v met godt verblijden"; the second phrase rhymes, and can be translated, "apply yourself to suffering/hardship if you want to rejoice in/with the Lord." The last name, "Wageschot" was particularly common around Antwerp according to the databases of the Archives of Belgium (we thank Evelien Hauwaerts for this information).

## TEXT

[manuscript]

ff. 1-12, Graded calendar, in red and black, including: Pontianus, 14 January, three lessons; Scholastica, three lessons (10 February); translation of Augustine, 28 February, memoria; Gertrude of Nivelles, 17 March, memoria; Benedict, 21 March; translation of Lambert, 28 April, nine lessons; Walburga, 1 May, memoria; Monica, 4 May, duplex, memoria; Servatius, 13 May, in red, duplex; Basilidis, 12 June, memoria; Odulph, 12 June, memoria; Visitation, in red, duplex, 2 July; Mary Magdalene, in red, duplex, 22 July; Dominic, 5 August; Transfiguration, duplex, 6 August; Augustine "patris nostri," in red, solemnity, with octave, 28 August, Remaclus, memoria, 3 September; Theodardus, 10 September; Lambert, in red, solemnity, with octave, 17 September; Remigius, nine lessons, 1 October; Leodegar, missa, 2 October; Francis, nine psalms, 4 October; translation of Augustine, duplex, 11 October; Hubert, duplex, in red, 3 November; Leonard, in red, nine lessons, 5 November; and Elizabeth of Hungary, 19 November;

Now bound out of order; beginning in February on f. 1, and continuing through December, concluding on f. 9v; f. 10v-11v, are blank; f. 12rv, originally the first leaf, includes January and the beginning of February.

[imprint]

ff. i-cxxxi, followed by one unnumbered leaf, Psalter, with psalms 1-150 in biblical order [woodcut initials at psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109, 114, 121, 126, 131, 137, and 143], Old Testament and New Testament Canticles, hymn, "Te deum" (here ascribed to Saints Ambrose and Augustine), Creed, Litany and prayers; concludes with a table, listing psalms in alphabetical order with references to folios on ff. cxxxi verso and following unnumbered leaf, ending on verso with printer's colophon, "Parisiis ex officina Claudii Cheuallonii. Anno gratie Millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo sexto. Mense Octobri";

BP 16, 108293 (Online Resources); Pettegree and Walsby, 2012, FB 68788; Moreau, 1972-2004, vol. V, p. 127, no. 286; USTC 185756 (Online Resources); not in VD 16. Only one location listed, Moskva (Russie), Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaya biblioteka (anc. Biblioteka Lenina).

[manuscript; foliation begins again with f. 1]

ff. 1-20v, Temporale for the day Offices, from the first Sunday in Advent to the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost, incipit, "Sobrie et iuste et pie viviamus in hoc seculo ... [Titus 1:12-13]";

ff. 20v-51, Sanctorale for the day Offices from Andrew to the dedication of a church; including Pontianus, Agnes (full), Emerenciana, Walburga (full), Monica, Servatius, Odulph, Arnulph, Mary Magdalene (full with 3-line decorated initial), Anne, Pantaleon, Dominic, Transfiguration, Lawrence (full with 3-line decorated initial), Magnus, St. Augustine (full with 4-line decorated initial), Remaclus, Adrian, Lambert (full with 3-line decorated initial), Maternus, Leodegar, Francis (f. 46, 2-line initial with face), Willibrord, Elizabeth (3-line decorated initial), ff. 50rv, Katharine (full with 5-line decorated initial), and Lebuin;

ff. 51-57, Common of Saints for the day Offices from apostles to virgin, concluding with collects for one abbot, for confessors, and other general Offices, concluding with the holy Cross, Our Lady, Augustine, Lambert, All saints, our Lady, and Lebuin;

ff. 57-59v, Versus for major feasts of the temporale and sanctorale, concluding with Augustine, Lambert, Anne, and Monica;

ff. 59v- 63, *Alsmen den sicken dat .b. sacrement brenget soe seget die prest[er]*, incipit, "Pax huic domini," *Die susteren antworten*, incipit, "Et omnibus habitantibus in ea," ... *Oracio*, incipit, "Deus infirmitate humane singulare presidium auxilii tui ...," *Coll.*, "Exaudi nos domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus et mittere dignitate sanctum angelum tuum ..."; *Alsmen enige siecke suster olien sal soe sal die sacriste bereyde ...*, ... f. 60v, *Hier nae bidt die sicke de mater ende alle den susteren uirgiffenis ...*, *Hier na olut den priester den siecken, ...* [Anointing of the dead sister, followed by prayers], incipit, "Quesumus omnipotens deus ut sicut famulo tuo ezechie ..., Respice domine ancillam tuaum infirmitate sui coproris .., Deus qui future tue semper pio ..., Deus infirmitatis humane singula ..., [five additional prayers, ending with], Benedicat te deus pater qui in principio cuncta creavit ..."; *Deinde qui facit officium facias abosolucionem in fine sub hac formula, oracio*, incipit, "Dominus ihesus christus que dixi discipulis suis ...";

ff. 63- 65v, *Als boer enige suster bereyt totter doot, ... Die letanien uan den sternend[um] suster* [Litany for the dead], includes Augustine, Willibrord, and Benedict among the confessors, and Catherine and Elizabeth among the virgins and widows;

ff. 65v-74, incipit, *Als dan die letanien wt sum salmen lesen dem seuen psalm, Domine ne in fuore ...*, *Sequitur commendacio defunctorum*, incipit, "Subvenite sancti dei ...; f. 74, *Hier na soe gaet die processe ten choer lesende den psalmen*, incipit, "Miserere mei deus ...; Absolve quesumus. A porta inferi. Erue domine tuam famule tue .., *Collecta*, *Fideleium deus omnium conditor ...*"; [ends mid. f. 74; remainder and f. 74v, blank];

Liturgy for the funeral service; the form of the service is generally similar to the rite in the Praemonstratensian Breviary (*Breviarium Præmonstratense*, Verdun, 1741); feminine forms frequently used.

ff. 75-78v, *Ad processio <item?> quando egreditur ante prima*, incipit, "Exurge domine adiuua nos ...; R., Felix namque es sacra virgo ...; V., Ora pro populo interveni ...; R., Homo quidam fecit cenam ...; V., Venite comedite panem ...; R. Respexit hely ...; V. Si quis manducaue"//

Noted texts for the procession used when leaving the church before prime, ending imperfectly; followed by three missing leaves (stubs remain).

ff. 79-81, "///u in quo cristus ..."; *Temporale pascalis*, incipit, "Regina celi letare ..., V. Virgo mater resurgentis ...";

Noted texts for use in Paschal time.

ff. 81v-84v, *In dedicacione ecclesie*, incipit, *Terribilis est locus iste ...*, *Respon.*, incipit, *"Benedic domine domum istam et omnes habitantes ..."*;

Noted texts for the dedication of a church.

ff. 84v-85v, *Antiphona de beata virginis maria*, incipit, *"Aue sanctissima maria mater dei ..."*;

Noted antiphon for the Virgin.

ff. 86-89, incipit, *Thonus primus*, *"Dixit dominus domino meo ..."* [eight tones]; incipit, *Thonus primus*, incipit, *"Magnificat anima mea ..."* [eight tones];

Tonary, giving the eight musical settings for two texts.

ff. 89-93v, *Laudes gloriose virginis Katharine*, incipit, *"Virgo flagellantur crucianda ..."*;

Noted texts for the Office of St. Catherine of Alexandria.

ff. 93v-103, Three litanies, with noted prayers (the first including Augustine, Benedict, and Bernard among the confessors; the second, much longer litany, includes Augustine, Remigius, Willibrord, Benedict and Anthony among the confessors; the third, and longest litany, includes Pontianus, Theodardus, and Lambert among the martyrs, and Augustine, Remigius, Servatius, Willibrord, Remailus, Hubert, Benedict, Bernard, Leonard, Francis, Dominic, Anthony, Lebuin and Odulph among the confessors, and Walpurgis, Gertrude, Ursula, Anne, and Monica among the Virgins).

f. 103 [Added hymns and prayers, not noted] incipit, *"Iam lucis orto syderis ..."*; incipit, *"Nunc sancte nobis spiritus ..."*; [following endleaf used for the text of an Office in Dutch; note the mention of the prior; verso blank].

## ILLUSTRATION

The imprint is illustrated with a series of fourteen woodcut initials marking the traditional divisions of the Psalter according to the readings at Matins and Vespers (following the Roman Breviary).

Psalm 1, six-line historiated initial showing David, kneeling, with his harp, an angel above with drawn sword (partially colored);

The remaining initials are smaller (five-line), and decorative rather than historiated, with stippling within the body of the letter to resembling nail holes, and dark backgrounds: psalm 26, five-line initial of an insect (a butterfly?) and flowers; psalm 38 (flowers), psalm 52 (flowers), psalm 68 (foliage), psalm 80 (flowers and a hare), psalm 97 (a wildman?), Psalm 109 (acanthus and a log), Psalm 114 (repeats initial used for Psalm 26), psalm 121 (a bear with a hat), psalm 126 (acanthus and a bird), psalm 131 (flowers and foliage), psalm 137 (repeating initial used for psalm 97), and psalm 143 (flowers).

The daily prayer of the Church or the Divine Office was celebrated by members of the secular clergy and religious orders throughout the day and night at the offices of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. This book includes the texts for the day Offices only and therefore can be called a Diurnal. This division of the Office texts between day and night services was a practical choice, since the texts for the night Offices were much more extensive.

The psalms were central to the medieval liturgy, and constituted the core of the Divine Office. In manuscripts, and in this printed psalter, the psalms were divided into groups, each beginning with a major decorated initial. The simplest division was an eight-part division, with major initials for psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109. These divisions correspond to the groupings of psalms in the Divine Office on successive days of the week in non-monastic churches: psalm 1 was the first psalm of Matins on Sunday, psalm 26 on Monday, and psalm 38 on Tuesday, and so on through Saturday. Psalm 109 was the first psalm sung at Sunday vespers. Here, initials at psalms 114, 121, 126, 131, 137, and 143 also mark the readings at Vespers, Monday-Saturday. The nuns assembling this book began with a printed Psalter, and then customized it for their own needs by adding a calendar at the beginning, and then the remaining Office prayers, organized according to the temporale (Sundays and the feasts celebrating the life of Christ, organized around the moveable feast of Easter), and the Sanctorale, which includes the feasts of Saints, followed by special Offices for the sick and dying, death and funerals. The concluding section of texts for various liturgical occasions all include music using the distinctive notation especially common in Germanic countries known as *hufnagel*-notation, since each note resembles a horse-shoe nail in shape.

The continued importance of manuscripts in the century after the discovery of printing is eloquently expressed in books such as this one that include both manuscript and printed sections. Long neglected by both historians of manuscripts and historians interested in early printing, recent scholarship has underlined their importance for our understanding of the era when both print and manuscript production flourished as different options for the making of books (see Hindman, 1977, 2009, and McKitterick, 2003). This volume is a perfect example of how both technologies were used in the early sixteenth century, using a printed section for the standard text of the Psalms, but supplementing it with the more specialized liturgical texts tailored for the use of a particular convent and diocese. It would be interesting to know how many hybrid liturgical volumes survive. David McKitterick mentions that Fust and Schoeffer printed the Canon of the Mass in 1457/8 as a separate fascicule so that it could be inserted into other books, and at least one manuscript Missal for Salzburg survives with this printed Canon. McKitterick he also notes the existence of a Breviary for the Nazareth community in Brussels with a printed Psalter, use of Tournai, completed by texts in manuscript (McKitterick, 2003, pp. 42-3, 51). TM 148 and TM 172, described on this site, are both hybrid liturgical books with printed Psalters, contemporary with the volume described here; TM 148 is particularly interesting, since it is also from the diocese of Liège.

This appealing example of a hybrid book – still in a contemporary blind-stamped binding, carefully written in a clean, crisp hybrida script, with a painted initial, as well as musical notation – demonstrates how both print and manuscript media coexisted and complemented each other in the first century of printing, in order to provide its owner with a unique, more personalized book. The fact that it was made for a female convent adds to its interest.

## LITERATURE

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## ONLINE RESOURCES

Briquet Online

[http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/\\_scripts/php/BR.php](http://www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php)

Einbanddatenbank (EBDB - Database of Book Bindings)

<http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/index.php?id=177&type=0&L=3>

Monastic Matrix

<http://www.monasticmatrix.org/search/node/augustinian%20liege>

Database of the Archives of Belgium (Wageschot)

[http://search.arch.be/nl/zoeken-naar-persoonen/zoekresultaat/q/persoon\\_achternaam\\_t\\_0/wageschot/q/zoekwijze/p?M=0&V=0&O=0&persoon\\_0\\_periode\\_soort=geboorte&persoon\\_0\\_periode\\_geen=1](http://search.arch.be/nl/zoeken-naar-persoonen/zoekresultaat/q/persoon_achternaam_t_0/wageschot/q/zoekwijze/p?M=0&V=0&O=0&persoon_0_periode_soort=geboorte&persoon_0_periode_geen=1)

BP 16: Bibliographie des éditions parisiennes du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle

<http://bp16.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41881306s/>

USTC (Universal Short Title Catalogue)

<http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php>

Jimenes, Rémi. "Charlotte Guillard," SIEFAR

[http://www.siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Charlotte\\_Guillard](http://www.siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Charlotte_Guillard)

Jean-Baptiste Lebigue. "Livres de l'office Les propres de l'office," in *Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques*, Ædilis, Publications pédagogiques, 6, Paris-Orléans, IRHT, 2007

<http://aedilis.irht.cnrs.fr/initiation-liturgie/propres-office.htm>

Introduction to liturgical manuscripts: "Celebrating the Liturgy's Books":

[www.columbia.edu/itc/music/manuscripts](http://www.columbia.edu/itc/music/manuscripts)

TM 759