

THREE UNKNOWN CARTHUSIAN LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS
WITH MUSIC OF THE 14TH TO THE 16TH CENTURIES IN THE GREY
COLLECTION, SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY, CAPE TOWN

by

FRANCES CAROLINE STEYN

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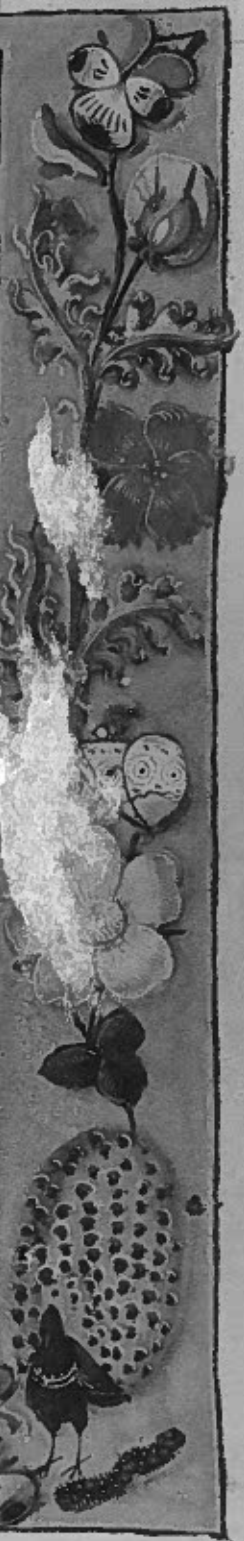


Vra ergo p[ro]p[ri]e p[er]
tes celu[m] et exte[ri]us

capillis suis et domus impleta est
ex odore unguenti p[er]. Enonac. &

fulente. **I**n diebus illis mu-
lier que erat in civitate peccatrix ut

reconnat q[uod] ihesus accubuit in domo



Fol. 144 of MS 3c23 showing a Carthusian monk kneeling at the feet of St. Mary Magdalene, who wears a garment with fleur-de-lis and carries a sceptre. The border is in the style of the Bening School.

Volume 1

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Summary

Of the three manuscripts that form the basis of this thesis, *MS Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 4c7* is, in musicological terms the most important of the three manuscripts. It is a complete Carthusian Antiphonary, of the late 14th century, written for the Charterhouse of Champmol, near Dijon, the mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy. It also contains an extensive Tonary, a Hymnary and a Kyriale. The two didactic verses which form part of the Tonary are of particular importance, since *MS 4c7* is one of the few manuscripts in the world intended for musical performance to contain the *Ter terni* by William of Hirsau; furthermore it is apparently the only Carthusian manuscript of any kind to contain the *Dyapente et dyatessaron* by Hucbald. The manuscript is placed in the context of the Carthusian liturgy of the 12th to the 16th centuries and is compared with 33 manuscripts of this period. It is shown that, although a marked textual similarity exists between the manuscripts, there are variant melodies. The conclusion is therefore drawn that the Carthusians did not have a single exemplar for the melodies in their liturgical books. It is shown that *MS 4c7* and *MS Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 118*, also written for Champmol, were copied from the same exemplar and that they are closely related to *MSS Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale 27, 34 and 41*, of the neighbouring Charterhouse of Fontenay.

The second manuscript, *MS Grey 3c23*, an Antiphonary for nuns, for Lauds and Vespers, written for the Charterhouse of *Mont-Sainte-Marie*, at Gosnay, near Arras, has been dated 1538 by the original scribe. This manuscript is almost identical to *MS AGC C II 817*. The presence of a Sequence, foreign to the Carthusian tradition, is however unique to *MS 3c23*.

The third manuscript, *MS Grey 6b3*, is an Evangeliary, signed by the scribe, Amelontius de Ercklems, in 1520. Its provenance is the Charterhouse of *Our Lady of the Twelve Apostles* at Mont-Cornillon near Liège. Musicological features of the manuscript which are discussed are the Hymn 'Te decet laus', and the accent neumes at the ends of pericopes.

Key Terms: Carthusian; Liturgical; Musicological significance; Antiphonary; Evangeliary; Tonary; Hymnary; Kyriale, Textual similarity; Variant melodies.

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The following libraries for providing microfilm, microfiche and photocopy material:

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek

Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I

Cape Town, South African Library

Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale

Charterhouse of Sélignac

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek
Grande Chartreuse
Graz Universitätsbibliothek
Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale
London, British Library
Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale
Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Solesmes, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes
St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster
Trier, Stadtbibliothek

Acknowledgement

The South African Library, Cape Town, is gratefully acknowledged for permission to reproduce the photographs in this thesis.

List of Plates

Frontispiece

Fol. 144r of *MS 3c23* showing a Carthusian monk kneeling at the feet of St. Mary Magdalene, who wears a garment with fleur-de-lis and carries a sceptre. The border is in the style of the Bening school.

Plate 1

p. 238

Fol. 1r of *MS 4c7* showing the owner's inscription in the lower margin and the first verse of the combined Venites 1 and 2.

Plate 2

p. 239

Fol. 210r of *MS 4c7* showing two of the foliations, the end of the Antiphons 'de Thobia' and the beginning of the Antiphons 'de Machabeis'.

Plate 3

p. 240

Fol. 1r of *MS 3c23* showing the name 'Soeur Marie Utens' in the lower margin. The illumination (for Advent Sunday) seems to illustrate the Annunciation. The border resembles those of the Grimani Breviary.

Plate 4

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Fol. 1r (the pagination of Amelontius) of *MS 6b3* showing the Tree of Jesse, four medallions with figures symbolizing the four Evangelists, Mary with the Child at the top of the tree and the Deesis illumination.

Plate 5

p. 242

Fol. 3v of *MS 6b3* showing the reading for the Masses of Christmas. The accent neumes can be clearly seen at the ends of the pericopes. The medallion shows the Nativity.

Abbreviations

Printed sources

- AC** *Analecta Cartusiana*, ed. J. Hogg. 129 Vols. Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1973 — 1994. For individual volumes, see Bibliography.
- AH** *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, eds. G. M. Dreves, C. Blume, and H. M. Bannister. 55 Vols. Leipzig: Reisland, 1886 — 1922. Register, ed. M. Lütolf, 3 Vols. Berne: Francke, 1978. For individual volumes, see Bibliography.
- CAO** *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert. 6 Vols. (*Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior.*) Rome: Herder, 1963 — 79.
- DACL** *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, eds. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq and H. Marrou. 15 Vols. Paris: Letouzey, 1907 — 1953.
- DSAM** *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique. Doctrine et histoire*, eds. M. Viller et al. 17 Vols. Paris: Beauchesne, 1937 — 1994.
- EG** *Études grégoriennes*
- LthK** *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, eds. J. Hofer and K. Rahner. 13 Vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1959 — 65.
- MGG** *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. F. Blume. 15 Vols. with 2 supplementary volumes. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949 — 1986.
- MMMA** *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956 — . For individual volumes, see Bibliography.
- NCE** *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Staff at the Catholic University of America. 15 Vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. Supplementary volumes, 1974, 1979.
- NG** *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie. 20 Vols. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- PalMus** *Paléographie musicale. Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican* [premier série, deuxième série]. For individual volumes, see Bibliography.
- RBM** *Revue Belge de Musicologie*
- RISM** *Répertoire international des sources musicales*. Munich: Henle, 1960 — . For individual volumes, see Bibliography.

Manuscripts

- MS 4c7** Manuscript Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 3c23 (ZA- CTs 3c23)
- MS 3c23** Manuscript Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 4c7 (ZA-CTs 4c7)
- MS 6b3** Manuscript Cape Town, South African Library, Grey 6b3 (ZA-CTs 6b3)
- MS A-Gu 7** Manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 7, olim 37/6
- MS A-Gu 18** Manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 18, olim 37/15
- MS A-Gu 21** Manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 21, olim 34/4
- MS A-Gu 273** Manuscript Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 273, olim 39/3
- MS B-Br 15072** Manuscript Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I 15092

<i>MS D-W lat. 702</i>	Manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz lat 702
<i>MS F-Bea 27</i>	Manuscript Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale 27
<i>MS F-Bea 34</i>	Manuscript Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale 34
<i>MS F-Bea 41</i>	Manuscript Beaune, Bibliothèque municipale 41
<i>MS F-Dm 116</i>	Manuscript Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 116
<i>MS F-Dm 118</i>	Manuscript Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale 118
<i>MS F-G 19</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 19 (94 of the catalogue printed in the <i>Collection des Catalogues des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques de France - Départements</i> , ed. P. Fournier, Paris, 1889.)
<i>MS F-G 200</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 200 (92 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 201</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 201 (96 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 394</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 394 (95 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 418</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 418 (93 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 467</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 467 (124 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 47</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 47 (98 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 866</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 866 (97 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS F-G 867</i>	Manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 867 (91 of the printed catalogue)
<i>MS US-NYpm 115</i>	Manuscript Pierpont Morgan Library 115

The system of the library sigla in this thesis follows that used in its publications by *RISM*. The key Cape Town manuscripts are referred to as *MSS 4c7*, *3c23* and *6b3* since the proposed sigla have not yet been recognised.

Pitch letters in the text

The following system is used



Introduction

MSS 4c7, 3c23 and 6b3 form part of the Collection of manuscripts and printed books donated to the South African Library in 1861 by Sir George Grey (1812 — 1898), Governor of the Cape Colony from 1854 to 1861. Before coming to the Cape, he had been Governor of New Zealand and had left for his second term of office there when he announced his gift in 1861.¹

The Collection includes circa 120 Western manuscripts and a fine collection of early printed books, most of them in excellent condition. Grey preferred complete illuminated manuscripts in good condition; as a result, they generally date from the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance.² There are thirteen complete manuscripts containing Western plainchant, of which eight have been investigated.

MS 4c7 is not only a complete Carthusian Antiphonary, but contains, in addition to all the chants for the Offices of the liturgical year, a Hymnary, Tonary (including two didactic verses) and Kyriale.

MS 3c23 is a Carthusian Antiphonary for nuns, containing the chants for Lauds and Vespers. It is an almost exact copy of *MS C II 817* of the Grande Chartreuse. It contains, however, a Sequence, not to be found in *MS C II 817*, a rare inclusion in a Carthusian Antiphonary.

MS 6b3 is a Carthusian Evangeliary, the main musical interest of which is in the accent neumes at the ends of the pericopes.

The three manuscripts are the only Carthusian manuscripts to be found in the Southern hemisphere. But today Carthusian Antiphonaries are rare anywhere. The most comprehensive (but inaccurate) list that has been published up to now mentions 46 manuscripts. These three manuscripts are therefore significant, not only within the Grey Collection, but also within the larger context of Carthusian manuscripts and even more generally in the history of late Mediaeval and Renaissance plainchant.

Although this study could refer to 33 other Carthusian manuscripts for comparison, all of which have been consulted on microfilm or microfiche from libraries in Europe and the United States of America, very little has been published on the musical aspects of

Carthusian chant until now. The main reason is that the Carthusian Order is one of the few existing monastic orders with an eremitical character. The Carthusians do not encourage publicity of any kind. The assistance of Dom Gabriel van Dijck, Dom Augustin Devaux and Dom Bernard Gaillard of the Charterhouse of Sélignac, Simandre, France, has therefore been of inestimable value. The information they supplied was conveyed over a period of four years in a series of letters which are available for reference.

The purpose of this study is:

- (i) to describe the physical properties of the manuscripts;
- (ii) to place the manuscripts in the context of the Carthusian liturgy from the 12th to the 16th century;
- (iii) to comment on the textual content;
- (iv) to comment on the musical content.

While a complete critical edition of the Carthusian Antiphonary and a comprehensive comparative study of all extant Carthusian manuscripts and later publications would be a particularly worthwhile project to be considered later, this is beyond the scope of the present study and must await further research.

MS 4c7 is discussed in the first four chapters. In the first chapter a description of the manuscript precedes a discussion of the provenance and date, as well as of the palaeography of text and notation. The provenance is recorded in the manuscript as the Charterhouse of Dijon. The date is determined as falling within the transition period of the 14th to the 15th century, more precisely 1398, after an assessment of the palaeographical details of the text and music and the liturgical content, as well as of the books of account of the scriptorium of the Charterhouse, now conserved in the Departmental Archives of the Côte d'Or. Discussions of the liturgical context of the manuscript, the text and the music follow in Chapters Two to Four. In Chapter Two the liturgical practice of the Carthusians and the identity and origin of the Carthusian liturgical tradition are discussed. In Chapter Three the particular aspects of the textual content of Carthusian Antiphonaries in general, and *MS 4c7* in particular, are investigated. An account of the music in Chapter Four includes a study of some variant melodies apparently peculiar to the Dijon region, and of the Tonary in *MS 4c7*. It is shown that *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118*, also written for the Charterhouse of Dijon, were copied from the same exemplar. The treatment of the B flat in this

Antiphonary in comparison with other Carthusian Antiphonaries is also discussed. It is shown that although the Carthusian manuscripts agree almost completely textually, no similar concordance is apparent with regard to the melodies. A list of extant Carthusian manuscripts of the Antiphonary, more complete than any published up to now, is provided in Volume 2 of this thesis.

MS 3c23 is discussed in Chapters Five and Six. The manuscript is dated 1538 at the end of the Temporale. The name 'Soeur Marie Utens', inscribed on the first folio, gave an indication of the provenance of the manuscript: the Charterhouse for nuns at Gosnay, in Picardy, France, where Marie and her two sisters were nuns during the early 17th century.

The third manuscript, *MS 6b3*, is considered in Chapters Seven and Eight. The manuscript, signed at the end by the scribe, Amelontius de Ercklems, is dated 1520. Features such as the liturgical content and the nature and style of the illuminations made it possible to determine as provenance the Charterhouse of *Our Lady of the Twelve Apostles* at Liège. In the eighth chapter the liturgical context and the text of the manuscript are briefly discussed. The enquiry into the music concerns mainly the accent neumes.

The nature of the manuscript determines the method of investigation. The description follows the suggestions made by W. Irtenskauf in his article 'Methodisches zur Arbeit an Choralhandschriften'³ and the rules issued by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.⁴

The aim of this investigation is to contribute to a better understanding of Mediaeval and Renaissance plainchant. For this purpose the study of the three rare and unknown Carthusian manuscripts in Cape Town is particularly appropriate.

In this study the following Carthusian manuscripts were compared:

- MS A-Gu 273*, Antiphonary, 12th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Seitz
- MS F-G 467*, Tonary and Antiphonary, 12th century
- MS Parkminster DD10* (olim A33), Gradual, 12th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Portes
- MS F-G 867*, Antiphonary, 13th century
- MS F-G 200*, Antiphonary, 13th century
- MS London British Library Add. 31384*, Gradual, 13th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Le Reposoir
- MS Lyon 509* (olim 427), Antiphonary, 13th century
- MS Sélignac 2*, Antiphonary, 13th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Sélignac

- MS F-Bea 34*, Antiphonary, 14th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Beaune - Fontenay
MS F-Bea 41, Antiphonary, 14th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Beaune - Fontenay
MS F-G 19, Antiphonary, 14th century
MS F-G 418, Antiphonary, 14th century
MS F-G 394, Antiphonary, 14th century
MS Basel BV 29, Tonary and Hymnary, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Erfurt
MS F-Bea 27, Antiphonary, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Beaune - Fontenay
MS Charleville 273, Gradual, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Mont - Dieu
MS F-Dm 116, Breviary, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Champmol
MS F-Dm 118, Antiphonary, 14th—15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Champmol
MS A-Gu 7, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS A-Gu 21, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS A-Gu 18, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS F-G 201, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS F-G 866, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS Solesmes 197, Tonary, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Villeneuve
MS D-W lat 702, Antiphonary, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Erfurt
MS US-NYpm 115, Gradual, 15th century, provenance the Charterhouse of Champmol
MS Trier 1924, treatises, 15th century
MS B-Br 15072, Antiphonary, 15th century
MS Erfurt CE 8^o20, Tonary, 15th century
MS Basel Universitätsbibliothek AN II 46, Tonary, 16th century
MS Parkminster CC15, Psalter, Hymnary, Antiphonary, 16th century
MS Grande Chartreuse C II 817, Antiphonary for Lauds and Vespers, 16th century, provenance the
Charterhouse of Gosnay
MS F-G 47, Antiphonary, 17th century

Other manuscripts compared are:

- MS Lucca 601, Biblioteca Capitolare*, Antiphonary, 12th century, Benedictine
Ms Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 784
Ms Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8882
MS Worcester, Chapter Library, F. 160, Antiphonary, 13th century, Augustinian

In this thesis texts from the manuscripts are in all instances quoted with the original spelling, except for the words 'Dominus', 'Deus', 'Ihesus', 'Christus' and 'Maria', where the initial minuscule letters were replaced by capital letters.

Chapter 1

MS 4c7: Description, Date and Provenance, Contents and Palaeography

1.1 Description

MS 4c7 in the South African Library, Cape Town, is a complete Carthusian Antiphonary written in *Littera gothica textualis quadrata media*¹ and notated in square neumes. It was written by several hands. The principle of the script is always the same, although more or less round, more or less angular. The scripts are typical of the transition from the 14th to the 15th century.² As mentioned, the manuscript also contains a Hymnary, a Kyriale and a Tonary.

It is a volume of 320 vellum folios, ruled in feint brown ink. The measurements are 284 x 199 mm.

Strong parchment (of a unified light yellow colour) was used. There are darns on folios 48, 114, 119, 130, 146, 162, 166, 181, 197, 199, 229, 230, 234, 238, 246 and 262.

There are eighteen long lines of text and notation. Horizontal lines are drawn for the text under each of nine staves. The staves have four red lines. (See Plate 2.) The ruling can be seen clearly on fol. 15r. It is a variant of type Leroy PC 18 01 D1 (Muzerelle 1—1/1—0/18/J)³ measuring:

horizontally: 19 + 132 + 48 mm.

vertically: 19 + 213 + 52 mm.

Pinholes to guide the ruling of the horizontal lines for the text appear at the top, bottom and fore-edge of folios.

The gatherings are composed in the following way: 1—40^s. They are marked by catchwords written horizontally in black by the original scribe in the lower margin of the last page of each. The gatherings are also numbered in a modern script. One catchword is written in red—that at the end of gathering 7 (fol. 56v). Black text follows on the red catchword, not a rubric.

The first and last words of each gathering are as follows:

- 1 Venite—vo(cabunt)
- 2 (vo)cabunt—alleluya
- 3 Magn.—ã
- 4 Querite—qua
- 5 dilexit—hec
- 6 Et—Ihesus
- 7 quod—Descendit
- 8 spiritus—Dñe.
- 9 ut—Dominum
- 10 quoniam—Magnific.
- 11 Euouae—mag(nam)
- 12 (mag)nam—temptaretur
- 13 a dyabolo—suos
- 14 cito—meum
- 15 ad terram—defensor
- 16 vite—inimici
- 17 mei—ex
- 18 probantes—R.
- 19 una sabbati—tuum
- 20 alleluya—ã
- 21 Nisi ego—ap(paruerunt)
- 22 (ap)paruerunt—adiutorium
- 23 alleluya—R.
- 24 Immolabit—pectus
- 25 suum—nich'
- 26 inquinatum—sperantes
- 27 in se—sed.
- 28 melius—fortitudine
- 29 veniet—glo(rifica)
- 30 (glo)rifica—in
- 31 crementum—mea
- 32 veni—mandato(rum)
- 33 (mandato)rum—fumus

- 34 aromatum—magñ
 35 opera—mag(na)
 36 (mag)na—me(o)
 37 (me)o—flo(rebit)
 38 (flo)rebit—quam
 39 dilecta—tribulacione
 40 animam—Amen (followed by a later entry: Office for St. Anne)

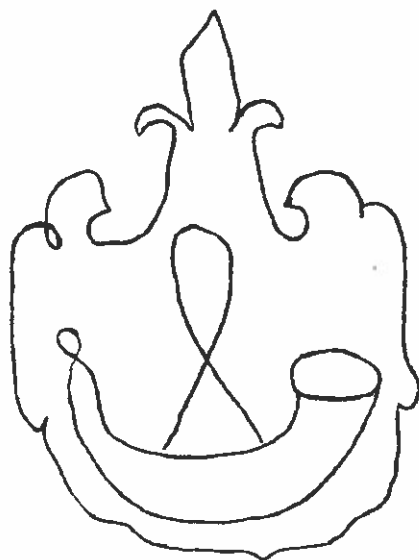
The manuscript has three foliations in the upper right hand corner of each recto page. The oldest of the three, in a 15th - century hand, begins on the page where the liturgical year commences, disregarding the six preceding folios on which the melodies of the Invitatory psalm (Psalm 94, in the Roman Catholic numeration) are notated. These folios are not a later addition, however: Vespers for Advent Sunday follows immediately on the doxology of the last 'Venite' melody in the lower half of the page. This foliation apparently ends on fol. 266, but the last numberings are largely illegible, being partly cut off. The second foliation, the most recent, will be quoted in this thesis, fol. 1 indicating the first folio of the manuscript and continuing to the end. The third numbering begins as a pagination on the upper fore-edge of each page, up to page 43. It then becomes a foliation in a different hand, folio 44r following on page 43. An error occurs after fol. 243 which is followed by fol. 246. This method of numbering, for instance, 'iic + xx' indicates a French hand.

The red and blue initials which occur alternately are written in capital Lombardic. The most ornate initials occur at the following places: fol. 7v, 'A' for the Responsory 'Aspiciebam' (Matins of Advent Sunday); fol. 144r, 'A' for the Responsory 'Angelus Domini descendit' (Matins of Easter Sunday); fol. 168v, 'D' for the Responsory 'Dum complerentur' (Matins of Pentecost Sunday); fol. 217r, 'N' for the Antiphon 'Nunc dimittis' (the beginning of the Sanctorale: Purification); and fol. 275r 'E' for the Responsory 'Ecce ego mitto vos' (Matins of the Common of Apostles). Red initials are painted on a blue background, blue initials on a red background. The initials are patterned with red or blue dots, curving scrolls and loops and tendrils. There is some yellow in the ordinary black calligraphic initials which are often decorated with human profiles.

All three edges are cut and gilt-edged. The volume is bound in marbled paper on cardboard, and is very well preserved. The word 'Missale' appears on the spine. The endleaves and the flyleaves are of paper. Watermarks are visible on both the front and

the end flyleaves. The front watermark is of the 'horn' type. It occurs in a shield with a fleur-de-lis on top.

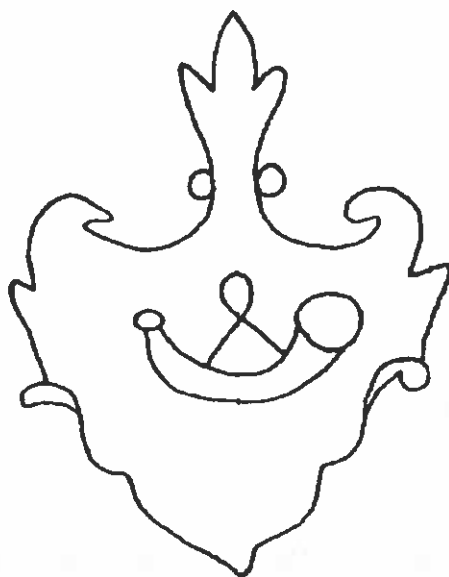
Fig. 1. 1 An exact tracing of the front watermark in *MS 4c7*



The mark resembles a number of tracings in Churchill's *Watermarks in Paper* but is identical to none, mainly because it lacks the crown which is present in most of them. It also resembles no. 62 of Piccard's *Wasserzeichen Horn*, dated 1680, 1681, provenance Celle.⁴

The horn watermark was used from the early part of the 14th century.⁵

Fig. 1. 2 The tracing which it most closely resembles.



The watermark on the end flyleaf is indistinct.

Fig. 1. 3 The most exact tracing which could be made of the end flyleaf in *MS 4c7*

P. NON TOUR

The words 'non tour' indicates a French provenance. The manuscript was therefore probably bound in its present form in France or Germany during the 17th century.

In a Sotheby's catalogue of January 11, 1847, this manuscript is said to contain 344 leaves (following the incorrect pagination-foliation). In Bohn's 1858 catalogue the number is correctly given as 320. The two advertisements undoubtedly refer to the same manuscript.⁶

Casson describes the manuscript as follows:

Antiphonary with music, Carthusian, in Latin, vellum, 15th century, French.

1. Sotheby & Wilkinson, Jan. 11, 1847, p. 29, Lot 471, sold to Bohn, £4/12/—.

2. Henry G. Bohn, General Cat. 1858, p. 662, £7/17/6.

A cutting taken from a copy of Bohn's Catalogue is still pasted in the front of the manuscript. It reads:

Antiphonarium secundum usum Cartusianum. Manuscript of the XVth century on 320 leaves of vellum, finely written in red and black, and musically notated throughout, with an immense number of well-executed initial letters. By a contemporary inscription on the front page it is seen that this volume once belonged to the Carthusian monastery of Dijon, small folio, half bound, £7/17/6d.

An inscription at the end of the manuscript, 'U...36...aeb' may refer to bookseller's prices.

Clues to the relevant catalogues are often pasted inside the front covers or on the fly-leaves of many Grey manuscripts. They are slips cut out from the catalogues by Grey

himself. Though it is now customary for this to be done in the bookshop, the present practice is not much older than this century; before 1900 it was for the buyer to cut out and paste in if he wished.⁷

These cuttings retain the descriptive details, the serial number of the volume and the price, but not the bookseller's name or the date of the catalogue. About forty-five manuscripts in the Grey Collection contain at least one of these cuttings (some contain two, from catalogues of different firms). All but two of the cuttings were taken from the catalogues of booksellers, as the price was included. Catalogues of book auctions, from which these two were taken, naturally excluded it. Of the forty-five, all but two could be identified, and the date of Grey's acquisition of the manuscript could be fixed within narrow limits, especially when, as usually happened, the manuscript was not readvertised in the following month's catalogue. If it was, the catalogue from which the cutting was taken could be identified by the serial number.⁸

The inscription referred to by Bohn is an ex-libris on fol. 1r in a hand different from the hands of the scribes, but contemporaneous with the manuscript itself. The note of ownership reads: 'Iste liber est dom(us) s(an)cte trinitatis ordi(ni)s cartusien(sis) p(ro)pe Divionem'. (See Plate 1.) This is a clear indication of the origin of *MS 4c7*: the prestigious Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon, founded by Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, in 1378, as a mausoleum for him and his family.

The ex-libris was apparently written by the same hand who entered the note of ownership in *MS Phillips 22366*, a 12th-century manuscript, entitled 'Lives of St. Martin of Tours and brief lives of the Eastern fathers'. According to Christopher de Hamel, director of the Department of Western and Oriental Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures of Sotheby's, *MS Phillips 22366* was sold by Sotheby's to Laurence Witten, bookseller in Connecticut for £900. The present whereabouts of this manuscript could not be ascertained.⁹

A second note of ownership in a 17th/18th-century hand appears in the lower margin of fol. 319v of *MS 4c7*: 'Ex libris Cartusie prope Divionem'.

In his index of the Grey Collection T.H. Hahn described *MS 4c7* in 1884 as follows:

Antiphonarium (Church Music) from Carthusian convent near Dijon. Venite exultemus domino iubilemus Deo salutari nostro preoccupemus faciem eius in confessione. Latin. 15th. Vellum. Folio. Illuminated initials. Musical notation. On first page 16th century inscription—Iste liber est dom(us) s(an)cte trinitatis ordi(ni)s cartusien p(ro)pe Divione(m). Other marginal inscriptions of different dates.¹⁰

Hahn numbered the individual texts, which can be anything from a complete Bible to a single name or bookplate. He entered his numbers in red ink in the manuscripts, usually twice, on the inside cover and at the beginning of each text. The shelfmark allocated by Hahn to *MS 4c7* and which appears on the inside cover, was 1/201. The numbers are however omitted from his printed *Index of the Grey Collection of the S.A. Library, Cape Town*, in which he also fails to show where a manuscript begins and ends. The *Index* is unreliable.

MS 4c7 commences with the words 'Venite exultemus Domino...' and ends with '...laus est et potestas per eterna secula. Amen'. This is, however, followed by a later entry, the Office for St. Anne, with the heading, 'Officium beate Anna matris gloriosissime virginis Maria'. The notation commences with seven melodies for the 'Venite' psalm. It ends with a Tonary followed by various incipits, including those for twenty-three Hymns and ten chants of the Ordinary of the Mass.

1.2 Date and provenance

MS 4c7 provides us with direct evidence regarding its origin, by means of the two notes of ownership mentioned above,¹¹ as well as the rubric 'ad usum cartusie' at the beginning of the Sanctorale on fol. 217v.

1.2.1 The Dukes of Burgundy

No monument is more intimately connected with the Dukes of Burgundy than the Charterhouse of Champmol. Philippe le Hardi (Philip the Bold), anticipating the huge fortune which the inheritance of his wife, Margaret of Flanders, was to bring him, resolved in 1378 to build a Charterhouse on the outskirts of Dijon as the family mausoleum. The means for its execution were only obtained by him in 1385, however, with the death of

his father-in-law. He ordered extensive construction and decorative schemes including his tomb, the portal statues of himself and Duchess Margaret and the well of Moses by Claus Sluter, the finest sculptor in Northern Europe. Much of the enduring fame of Dijon is due to Philip the Bold's political and artistic achievements. On the other hand, Claus Sluter and the painter, Melchior Broederlam, who decorated the church, contributed largely to the posthumous fame of Philip the Bold.¹² The Charterhouse of Champmol was the most important of all the constructions which Philip the Bold commissioned. It was also the most expensive. According to the accounts published by Monget the Duke spent 159,363 gold francs on the construction alone between 1377 and 1404.¹³

Champmol was the Valois counterpart to Orleans, where the Capetian Dukes of Burgundy were buried, to the Royal Abbey of St. Denis outside Paris and to Westminster Abbey in London, though on a more modest and practical scale. As the church was the symbol of their family's ever increasing fame and political power, Philippe le Hardi (1342 - 1363 - 1404), his son, Jean sans Peur (John the Fearless, 1371 - 1404 - 1419) and his grandson, Philippe le Bon (Philip the Good, 1396 - 1419 - 1467) endowed it with lavish financial and artistic gifts and continued to support the Charterhouse with financial grants and works of art. After the death of Charles le Téméraire (Charles the Bold, 1433 - 1467 - 1477), the active princely patronage of the monastery ceased¹⁴.

During the late 14th and 15th centuries until Charles the Bold's death at the Battle of Nancy in 1477, the Burgundian dukes were the richest, most powerful rulers in Northern Europe. The dukes shared an ever-expanding dream of glory. Through their marriage alliances, inheritances and military conquests, they expanded their domains until they included much of eastern and north-eastern France and most of the Netherlands and Belgium. The Charterhouse of Champmol was therefore the mausoleum of the dynastic head of a mighty political entity.¹⁵

The Holy Trinity was the patron of the Charterhouse and the church was consecrated on 24 May 1388.¹⁶

Among the religious orders which flourished at the time, the Carthusians had, more than any other, the reputation of continually leading a contemplative life, and to pray day and night for souls and for the prosperity of the State. They were held in great esteem for the erudite character of their life and noteworthy members of the French crown

had protected the Order. That a worldly man like Philip should give preference to this Order is a testimony of the high reputation for strict observance which the Carthusian monks enjoyed.¹⁷

From the 14th century onwards a number of Charterhouses were founded as princely foundations. Many of these foundations were, as the burial places of, and monuments to their founding families, sumptuously embellished with works of art. The most striking examples are the Charterhouse of Champmol and the Charterhouse of Pavia, built by the Visconti in 1390, and then even more highly favoured by their successors, the Sforzas. Several of these donors, particularly the Visconti, were amongst the cruellest and the most ruthless princes of their time. It leads to the impression that on the one hand they were setting up great powerhouses of prayer to outweigh their guilt, and on the other hand they wanted to make an extravagant artistic display of their desire for atonement—easily paid by fresh exactions from their subjects.¹⁸

The Charterhouse of Champmol, together with details of its appearance and furnishings, sheds further light on these associations. The Charter of Foundation reads, 'There is nothing more efficacious for the soul's salvation than the prayers of pious monks, who, out of the love of God, have voluntarily embraced poverty, and renounced the pleasures and vanities of the world.' Duke Philip the Bold was conscious of the fact that nothing but the best, in both art and prayers, would do for one of his rank. The document goes on: 'Since the Carthusians pray tirelessly night and day for the salvation of the souls and the prosperity of the commonwealth of princes' he was willing from his own means to found a Charterhouse in honour of the Holy Trinity.¹⁹

He planned a monastery for 24 monks, 5 lay brothers and their Prior, built around a large cloister (100 sq. metres) adjacent to the sanctuary. Charterhouses generally housed only 12 monks. Champmol was therefore particularly large. Each of the cells had a painting of the Crucifixion, painted by a team of Flemish and Dutch artists.²⁰

The Charterhouse of Champmol continued as the family mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy throughout the 15th and into the 16th century. Philip the Bold died at Halle on 27 April 1404 and was buried in a Carthusian monk's habit in a magnificent tomb, the work of Claus Sluter, now one of the most prized possessions of the museum of the Dijon Hotel de Ville. John the Fearless was assassinated on September 16, 1419. His

body was exhumed and his funeral was held at Champmol on 12 July 1420. Philip the Good died at Brugge on 15 June 1467. In 1473 Charles the Bold ordered that his body and that of his wife, Duchess Isabella, who had died on 17 December 1471, be transported to the Charterhouse of Champmol. They rested in the crypt until the French Revolution when their ashes were removed to St. Benigne.²¹

None of the buildings of Champmol survived the Revolution. They were destroyed in 1793 and the stones used as building material. It is now replaced by a lunatic asylum. The major statues carved by Claus Sluter are still on the site, however.²²

1.2.2 The Carthusians

The Carthusian Order was founded by St. Bruno of Cologne, master and chancellor of the Cathedral school of Reims. In c.1083 Bruno and two companions went to live as hermits at Sèche-Fontaine. His companions then chose the coenobitical rather than the eremitical life. Bruno, with six other hermits, sought a remote site in the French Alps, about fifty kilometres from Grenoble: the Chartreuse, where in 1084, assisted by St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, he established his colony. The cells were built around a cloister giving access to the oratory, an arrangement perhaps symbolic of the future order, which combines the life of a hermit with that of a coenobite.²³

The expansion of the Order continued throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, when 34 monasteries were founded. The 14th century marked the extensive development of the Order with 107 new foundations. During the first four centuries of the Order's history there were no less than 26 pontifical bulls exempting the Carthusians of all tithes because of their poverty.²⁴ Not all the Charterhouses were poor, however, as the Charterhouse of Champmol proves. J.P. Gumbert comments: 'The monks continued to lead an austere life, but the perception of austerity changed... views changed concerning architecture, art objects and precious metals... the acceptable in the fifteenth century in expensive crockery, painted and sculptured altarpieces and other objects, would have made the hair of the original Carthusians stand on end, although it—one should not doubt that—still seemed extremely modest to their contemporaries'. ('De monniken blijft sober leven maar het inzichten over wat sober is, veranderen... op het punt van architectuur, kunstvoorwerpen en edel metaal zijn de opvattingen verschoven... wat in de

vijftiende eeu aan kostbaar vaatwerk, geschilderde en gebeeldhouwde altaarstukken en dergelijke geaccepteerd wordt, zou de oorspronkelijke Kartuziers de haren te berge doen rijzen, hoewel het—daar hoeft niet aan getwijfelt te worden—de tijdgenoten nog steeds als uiterst bescheiden voorkwam').²⁵

Carthusians have no Abbots. At the head of their cloisters there is always a Prior, who wears the same clothes as the other monks.

The Carthusian Pories were centres of resistance in the Reformation, but even afterwards, the recluses were not to be left in peace. They produced an astonishingly large number of martyrs. They became victims of the Enlightenment; Joseph II of Austria ordered the dissolution of all their Pories; and almost all the remaining houses of the Order were suppressed during the Napoleonic era.²⁶ On 31 December 1992 there were nevertheless still 23 Charterhouses in the world; 18 for monks and 5 for nuns, with a total of 393 monks and 80 nuns, 35 novices and 14 postulants.²⁷

The Carthusians lead a solitary, contemplative life. The life of a Carthusian is almost that of a hermit. It is a mixture of the solitary and communal life. Each monk lives by himself in his own cell. The monks do not talk to each other except on Sundays and feast days during the communal weekly walk. There are each day about eight hours (of which the night hours last from 23h00 to ca. 2h00) which are dedicated to prayers and to religious exercises. Only the conventual Mass, Matins, Lauds and Vespers are sung together each day. On Sundays they sing together the entire Office of the day except Prime and Compline which are always prayed in the cell. Each day each monk prays the Marian Office in his cell, for which he may substitute another silent prayer. The monks eat together only at noon on Sundays and feast-days. Meat is always forbidden, while milk products are forbidden on all Fridays and on all days in Advent and in Lent. Once a week there is abstinence, that is fasting with bread and water.²⁸

From the beginning Carthusians have devoted themselves to the copying of manuscripts and the writing of books. They do not, however, encourage the publishing of original works. Their liturgical books can only be bought second-hand (and that rarely) as they are published privately and cannot be bought by the general public, and their rite is never performed in a public church. Works by Carthusian authors are usually published anonymously and the Carthusians submit voluntarily to the obscurity

which surrounds their works and their names. There are Carthusians who are authors of excellent works (some of them quoted in this thesis) which they refuse to publish.²⁹

1.2.3 Manuscripts of Champmol

Philip the Bold was one of the great bibliophiles of the late Middle Ages. His collection of books numbered more than two hundred and was exceeded in size only by the libraries of Charles V, King of France; John, Duke of Berry; and Giangeleazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan.³⁰

Beginning in 1384 the ducal treasury recorded disbursements for volumes necessary for Champmol, including manuscripts for the liturgy and the private devotion of the monks. At first, as was the case with his own collection, the Duke purchased the Champmol books mainly from booksellers in Paris. The sums involved for single purchases of Champmol manuscripts vary from a few to a hundred francs each, revealing that the volumes were generally medium priced and not luxury copies.³¹

Manuscripts were, however, also purchased by the Carthusians, some through the intermediary of their sister house in Paris, others directly from booksellers. The expenses for these are noted in the ducal accounts. By 1388 the Carthusians of Champmol had also begun to produce some of their own books. (Among the Carthusians copying and related tasks were carried out in isolation in a room of their individual hermitages; even among lay brothers labour in common was discouraged. It is impossible therefore to speak of a Carthusian scriptorium in the sense of a common workshop.)³²

With the assistance of the Duke the new Charterhouse collected a valuable library which was still intact when the Charterhouse was destroyed in 1793. The manuscripts and books were dispersed in a sale which lasted from 21 April to 30 May 1803. A few of these manuscripts of the Charterhouse are now in Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale; further volumes are scattered in other libraries and could be identified by the ex-libris of the Charterhouse.³³ *MS 4c7* is one of these volumes.

1.2.4 *MS 4c7*

One of the manuscripts referred to in the accounts of Thiébaud de Besançon, the member of the Charterhouse responsible for the direction of the library for the period from 20 March 1388 to the end of 1399, may refer to *MS 4c7*. Thiébaud drew up an account required by the Duke on 17 December 1398, giving a detailed specification of the books which had to be completed by that date. His accounts, conserved in the Departmental Archives of the Côte d'Or, have been published by Monget.³⁴

The accounts of Thiébaud include 55 volumes and the ducal mandate, a supplement to them, 17. The latter are exclusively liturgical books destined for the Carthusian rite. The same is true of 35 of the others. Among the remaining 20 we find a Missal of Langres, the diocese to which Dijon belonged, and still does, a book of Carthusian statutes in Latin and French, and three spiritual works composed by Carthusians. Thiébaud was therefore essentially occupied with supplying the Charterhouse with works which could not be found in the book trade. The Antiphonaries necessary for chanting the Offices naturally appeared in these accounts.³⁵

The accounts of Thiébaud mention firstly three Antiphonaries, then later, two large Antiphonaries, five small Antiphonaries and five Graduals.

According to Thiébaud's accounts the following amounts were paid:

To... Master Pierre for the notating and writing of three Antiphonaries...
60 francs

To... Jehan Quarré for illuminating the said Antiphonaries... 2 francs 7
gros

To... Jehan d'Arras, for binding the said Antiphonaries... 18 gros

Elsewhere in the mandate of 17 December 1398 provision is also made:

For the writing and notating of two large Antiphonaries at the price
agreed on with Master Pierre Dame Dieu, scribe... 60 francs

For the illuminating and floriating in blue and vermilion, for sewing,
treating and binding... 20 francs

For 5 small Antiphonaries and 5 Graduals at 20 francs each... 200 francs.³⁶

The Charterhouse in Paris gave the scribe, Pierre Damedieu, the exemplars, and therefore the liturgical books of Champmol, at least as regards the chant, followed the musical tradition of the Paris Charterhouse. According to the accounts of Thiébaud, manuscripts were returned from Champmol to the Prior of Paris. These were exemplars furnished by that house.³⁷ The fact that there are no custodes in *MS 4c7* seems to confirm this hypothesis. Michel Huglo points out that the custos was not used in the square notation of manuscripts copied north of the Loire before the middle of the 13th century because this sign was unknown to the copyists and cantors who transcribed liturgical chant into square notes on staves. A survey of the notated manuscripts of the dioceses of Sens and Paris showed that no custos by an original hand can be found in any Parisian manuscript from the end of the 12th century until the end of the 14th.³⁸ All the other manuscripts in square notation studied for the purposes of this thesis have custodes, with the exception of *MS F-Dm 118* (provenance the Charterhouse of Champmol, 15th century) and *MSS F-Bea 27, F-Bea 34 and F-Bea 41* (the provenance of which is the Charterhouse of Beaune - Fontenay, near to Dijon).

There are no extant Antiphonaries of the Charterhouse of Paris, except for the fragments of *MS Paris Arsenal 1233 (195 B.T.L)*, six folios with miniatures and decorated initials, 47,5 x 39 cm, which survives from an Antiphonary, dated 1684—1685, therefore 70 years later than the first edition of the Carthusian Antiphonary, that of Pavia, 1612.³⁹

Thiébaud de Besançon mentions two other Antiphonaries. According to the accounts one of these Antiphonaries was given to Jehan de Moulin to complete. For this copying he received 4 francs and for the illumination 3 gros:

Ordered through the late Master of Chant, who lived in Dijon... for writing and notating the Antiphonary... 25 francs

One notes that the price is higher than that of Pierre Damedieu, but there is no mention of illumination, which must have been executed by the scribe himself, therefore the augmentation in payment.⁴⁰

It might be speculated that the other entry concerns *MS 4c7*:

To... Jehan de Moulin for the completion of an Antiphonary... 4 francs

for illuminating an Antiphonary... 3 gros⁴¹

Jehan de Moulin was a Dijon bookseller, who worked in association with Jacques le Clerc and had been installed since 1391 at an address in the Rue de Forges. He was the most important scribe who was not a member of the Charterhouse to be asked to complete works left incomplete by the Carthusians. (Hiring scribes was common at most Charterhouses.⁴²) In the register of account of Thiébaud de Besançon the entry concerning Jehan de Moulin is in the first chapter: the expense concerning the Antiphonary was therefore incurred right at the beginning of the Charterhouse. This chapter starts with a rubric which states: 'Mission completed... at the time of Dom Nicolas', that is to say during the Priorate of Nicolas le Saintier, Prior of Dijon, from June 1385 to May 1389.⁴³

In *MS 4c7*, as is usual among the Carthusians, the illumination consists only of colouring the initials. Only very rare Carthusian manuscripts, always made for benefactors, have miniatures of persons. That is why, in Dijon, the illuminators were poorly paid.

A detail which seems to confirm the hypothesis that the Antiphonary finished by Jehan de Moulin was *MS 4c7*, is that he received 4 francs for completing the Antiphonary, which is a fifth of the salary paid to Damedieu for one of his complete manuscripts, that is, 20 francs, excluding the illumination at 15 gros 6 deniers (1/26 of the price, almost negligible).⁴⁴ However, it cannot be concluded from the palaeographical evidence that the last hand who worked on *MS 4c7* finished one fifth of the manuscript. On the other hand, the allocation of work need not have followed consecutive folios or gatherings.

Damedieu or Du Chat, who were professionals, could have obtained a scribe at their own expense to copy a part of the exemplar confided to their care, but in that case they would have ordered him to be responsible for a certain number of gatherings according to the manner of presentation which they required. A contemporaneous example may serve as an illustration: the scribe who directed the copying of the *Compendium Salutis* kept at the Grande Charterhouse (*MS Ancien 1041*), employed three scribes, each charged with more or less a third of the work. Because he knew his job, he gave the

beginning to one who possessed a 'modern', very legible script; the second had an equally legible script, although round and old-fashioned; the third scribe had an angular hand, in the fashion of the 15th century, but the writing was difficult to read.⁴⁵ In *MS 4c7*, however, the different hands stopped in the middle of the gatherings for no apparent reason. It seems likely, therefore, that the rest of the manuscript was copied by clerical scribes, and that *MS 4c7* was not written by Damedieu, but is one of the last two Antiphonaries mentioned by Thiébaud.

In the accounts presented to Duke Philip the Bold, there are Antiphonaries of two sizes: large and small. The manuscripts kept in the French public collections show that the Carthusians used folio-Antiphonaries, the dimensions of which are about 50 x 28 cm, and quarto-Antiphonaries, which measure around 30 x 21 cm. Both sizes have the same number of pages, a few more than 300 folios. One of these large Antiphonaries (of which *MS F Dm 118* is one, its dimensions being 37,5 x 27,5cm) were undoubtedly kept for the lectern. *MS 4c7* is one of the smaller Antiphonaries. The number of Graduals and Antiphonaries executed for Champmol shows that chanting of the musical pieces by heart was not envisaged for that Charterhouse.⁴⁶

As shown, the Charterhouse of Champmol was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. It is therefore surprising to find the Office of Trinity absent from the manuscript. Alcuin, minister of Charlemagne, composed a votive Mass in honour of the Holy Trinity towards the end of the 8th century. In 920 a feast of Holy Trinity was incorporated into the liturgy of the diocese Liège. St. Thomas of Canterbury incorporated the feast into the English liturgy in 1162. Pope John XXII made it obligatory in the Roman liturgy in 1330 but it was certainly celebrated much earlier in some places. The Mass of the Holy Trinity was prescribed for the Carthusians by the Customs of Jancelin of 1222 for the day of the Octave of Pentecost. Charles V of France (1364—1380) consecrated the *Chapelle des Rois* in the Grande Chartreuse under the title of the *Très Sainte Trinité* and wrote to Pope Gregory XI (1370—1378) to ask permission for the Carthusian order to celebrate the feast. The feast remained optional in the Order for a long time, however. One would have expected the Charterhouse of Dijon, consecrated to the Holy Trinity, to have been one of the first to celebrate the office. At the time the manuscript was written, the Office of Trinity did not exist in the Carthusian rite, but a patron never remained without special liturgical honours. However, in the accounts of Thiébaud the sum of 13 francs 3

gros is set down to the account of Jehan Brunec, 'scribe and Breton', and Pierre de la Place 'for writing, notating and illuminating' the Office of Trinity which was recently introduced in the Charterhouse of Champmol, and to place it in several Antiphonaries in the Church. As an addition to a book already bound, such a supplement was bound to be lost.⁴⁷

None of the Carthusian Antiphonaries studied for the purposes of this thesis has the Office of Trinity in its proper place during the liturgical year. The Office of Trinity is present in supplements to *MS A-GU 21* (15th century), *MS F-G 418* and *MS F-G 19* (14th century) and *MS F-G 866* (15th century). In the Grenoble manuscripts the supplements seem to be in the same hand, in a script later than the scripts of the rest of the manuscripts. *MS US-NYpm 115*, a Gradual of the 15th century, written for the Charterhouse of Champmol, has a particularly rich illumination and decorations for the feast of Trinity, which is in its correct liturgical place in the manuscript (fol. 132v).

1.3 Contents of the manuscript

MS 4c7 consists of the following parts:

- ◆ fol. 1r—fol. 7r, melodies for the Invitatory psalm.
- ◆ fol. 7r—fol. 313r, Antiphonary in divisions of the Proper of the Time (fol. 7r—196v), Proper of the Saints (fol. 217v—273r) and Common of the Saints (fol. 273—304r). The Proper of the Time is interrupted by the insertion of Saints Stephen, John Evangelist and Thomas (fol. 35v—46r, after Christmas) and the Common of One Martyr for Easter, Saints Hugo and Ambrose, Common of Many Martyrs for Easter, St. Mark, Saints Philip and James (fol. 174v—182v, after Pentecost Sunday). This is followed by chants under the headings, 'Antiphone de libris regum', 'Dominica prima post octavam pentecosten', 'Antiphone de libris salomonis', 'Ista responsoria sunt in iob', 'Antiphone de thobia', 'De machabeis', (fol. 196v—217r). Chants in the Common of Saints are given under the headings: 'In natali apostolorum', 'In natali plurimorum martirum', 'In natali unius martiris', 'In natali unius confessoris pontificis', 'De confessore non pontifice', 'In natali unius virginis'. There is only one office for each of the categories. This is usual in the Carthusian rite.

- ◆ fol. 313v—317r, Toney, interrupted by Antiphons 'In commemoracione sancte crucis' and 'De beata Maria'.
- ◆ fol. 317r—318r, Hymnary.
- ◆ fol. 318v—320r, Kyriale, interrupted by formulae used in the Mass: 'Ite Missa est' and 'Flectamus genua', and formulae used in the reading of the lessons. This is followed by 'Te decet laus', 'Te deum laudamus' (in that order), two more Antiphons for Vespers, 'In commemoracione beate Marie virginis' and the Hymn 'Cruz fidelis' which is the last chant in the manuscript. The manuscript concludes with the verse: 'Flecte ramos arbor... laus est et potestas per eterna secula. Amen', followed by a later entry, the Office for the feast of St. Anne.

There are no cross-references. Every chant is referred to by at least a textual incipit whenever it appears, and much more often by a notated incipit. Two notated incipits may appear for the same chant on the same page (see on fol. 50r, the Antiphons 'Stephanus autem', and 'Hic est discipulus', and on fol. 50v, 'Herodus iratus'). The same Antiphon melody may appear successively, for instance, on fol. 166v the Antiphon, 'Cum venerit'. *Responsoria brevia* and *media* are treated in the same way as the Antiphons. Chants are often repeated in full.⁴⁸

1.4 Palaeography

1.4.1 The script of the text

As mentioned, the text in *MS 4c7* is written in a 15th century *Littera gothica textualis quadrata media* (according to the terminology of Brown).⁴⁹ Although the script is of a unified character, there are indications of several hands in the manuscript. It is, however, very difficult to determine how many scribes worked on the manuscript and exactly where the cutting off points are, because the scribes obviously tried to keep the script as uniform as possible. As discussed on p. 20, the changes do not coincide with the gatherings and there is no difference in the colour of the ink. Some of the hands show *bastarda* influence. See, for instance, 'y' on fol. 175r; 'x' and round 'r' (both with tails) on fol. 222r. The scripts are typical of the transition between the 14th and 15th

centuries.⁵⁰ The rubrics in the manuscript are written in the same hands as the rest of the text.

Both kinds of 'a' as discussed by Oeser⁵¹ are used: the 'a' in a closed, double-storeyed rectangular shape, with a drawn through vertical front column ('rectangular "a"'), and the 'a' in a closed double-storeyed shape, the upper part drawn back and the lower part protruding ('small head "a"' or 'Köpfchen "a"'). It is noticeable that 'rectangular "a"' (according to Oeser the 'a' of *textus rotundus*) is used more often than 'small-head "a"' (which is the 'a' of *textus quadratus*), 'small-head "a"' appearing mostly at the beginning of words. This would classify the script of *MS 4c7* as in general belonging to Oeser's 'Variant II'. The two forms of 'a' are used by all the scribes. There are many inconsistencies, however, which may vary from scribe to scribe.

It is a feature of the manuscript that different variants of letters are used even on the same page (e.g. fol. 304v: 'u', 'm', 'i'); and in the same line (e.g. fol. 10r, 'r' in line 3). The two forms of 'a' appear on occasion in the same line: e.g. the top line on fol. 8r. Letters may differ even in the same word: the two forms of 'a' are used in 'gracia', fol. 19r, line 1.

In spite of variations the principle of the script stays the same. One also has to take into consideration the fact that this long manuscript was written over a period of time and that there must have been variations due to a change of quill. Variations may occur even in the hand of a single scribe.

It may be accepted that Scribe A wrote the portion from fol. 1r to fol. 10v. On fol. 11r minuscule 'b' changes, becoming more angular and acquiring a fork at the top; minuscule 'g' becomes more square; 'o' and 'e' become more angular; minuscule 't' has a vertical wedge to the cross-stroke. It is also significant that 'rectangular "a"' is used up to line 6, 'small-head "a"' thereafter. It is possible that Scribe B wrote the following portions: fol. 11r—fol. 18v, fol. 28r—fol. 33r, fol. 60r—fol. 76r, fol. 176r—fol. 207r, fol. 223v—fol. 262r, fol. 275r—fol. 288v, fol. 305r—fol. 312v. In general, the letters in these portions are taller and more angular than elsewhere. In this way, up to fourteen scribes may be identified, yet without any degree of certainty. Brown points out that only a very detailed analysis, much of which has still to be researched, may assist in the identification of scribal characteristics.⁵²

As has been mentioned on p. 10 of this thesis, the first of the two owner's inscriptions in the manuscript (fol. 1r) is in a hand strange to those of the different scribes, but contemporaneous with the manuscript itself. This inscription is probably in the same hand as that found in *MS Phillipps 22366*, listed, with a facsimile of its fol. 1r, in a Sotheby's Catalogue of 1967. *MS 4c7* has a second owner's inscription, in a different and possibly later script, in the margin of fol. 319v.

The first inscription in *MS 4c7* and the inscription in *MS Phillipps 22366* may be compared to Thomson, *Latin Bookhands*, plates 24 and 25. The 'a' and the 'b' agree with those in pl. 25 of 1443, the long 's' with that in pl. 24 of 1429, providing a dating of the first half of the 15th century.⁵³

The general script of the text in *MS 4c7* is closely related to that in *MS F-G 201*, although the Grenoble manuscript is somewhat more meticulously written. In the Grenoble manuscript the 'b', 'l' and 'q' differ somewhat from the Grey manuscript ('b' and 'l' are forked at the top of their ascenders, 'q' is forked at the end of its descender). The script of fol. 1r of *MS F-G 201* is nevertheless so closely related to that of fol. 1r of *MS 4c7*, that they might have been written by the same hand. On fol. 3r of the Grenoble manuscript the handwriting changes somewhat, possibly indicating a change of scribe. The manuscript is approximately the same size as *MS 4c7*. According to a note in *MS F-G 201*, an Antiphonary, it was probably written before 1413, in which year the feasts of St Thomas Aquinas and St Anne were prescribed. Both feasts were added in a later hand.

The script of *MS F-G 394* is also closely related to that of *MS 4c7*. One may see this in the treatment of the 'r' and the 'e'. The 'm' of which the last minim is curved at the baseline, is also the same as the 'm' in *MS 4c7* (e.g. fol. 107v, first line: 'quem'). Again, *MS F-G 394* is more carefully written than *MS 4c7*. *MS F-G 394* is dated the 14th century by Becker.⁵⁴

The script of *MS F-G 19*, dated the 15th century by Becker,⁵⁵ is much more elaborate than that of *MS 4c7*. According to a note at the beginning of the manuscript, it was probably written between 1393 and 1454. Invention of the Cross, which was admitted in 1454, is an addition in a later hand. The feast of The Visitation, prescribed in 1468, is

in the original hand, however. According to the note decisions about this feast could be made by the schismatic cloisters after the schism in 1393.

The script in *MS 4c7* also shows an affinity to facsimiles in Kirchner.⁵⁶ The rectangular 'a' in *MS 4c7* may be compared to the 'a' in Kirchner, Tab. 33, 1405, provenance probably Paris; the 'b' with the 'b' in Kirchner, Tab. 32a, 1402, provenance Germany; 'c' and 'o' with those in Kirchner, Tab. 32a, 1402; uncial 'd', 'do', 'de' with Kirchner, Tab. 29; 'e' with Kirchner, Tab. 35a, 1450; and 'g' with Kirchner, Tab. 33, 1405. According to these palaeographical similarities *MS 4c7* may be dated the end of the 14th or the first half of the 15th century.

It is therefore possible, on palaeographical evidence, that this is a liturgical volume written for the Charterhouse of Champmol during the lifetime of Philip the Bold. This agrees with the deduction from the accounts of Thiébaud.

It is clear that the text was first written, then the notation. On several occasions the key is inserted over a letter, partially obliterating it. See, for instance, fol. 56r, first line, 'gentes'; fol. 137v, third line, 'pulum'.

Notes in 16th- to 18th-century hands that appear in many of the margins of the manuscript indicate that it was in use until the dissolution of the Charterhouse. The notes all refer to the contents of the particular page in order to facilitate easy reference. The entry of the Office for St. Anne on the last folio was probably entered in the 15th century, after the admittance of the feast in the entire Carthusian Order.

1.4.2 The musical notation

MS 4c7 is notated in a typical 14th-century square notation on a staff of four lines. It appears possible that the musical notation, too, was written by more than one hand. In comparing, for instance, fol. 28r with fol. 228v, there are subtle differences.

Single notes are almost always puncta. There is no indication of rhythm. The notes fill the spaces between the lines almost completely.

The Pes and the Clivis are in their normal square form. In both cases the notes have the same shape and thickness. The Clivis generally has a tail on the left side. They are

only seldom written as *conjuncturae*, the Clivis more often than the Pes; in these instances, the Clivis sometimes has a tail to the left, the Pes to the right. See, for instance, fol. 244r, lines 2, 3, 4. The variations may occur with a change of scribe. In the Climacus, the first note mostly has no tail (e.g. fol. 10r). When it does have a tail, the tail is on the right side. The descending notes are rhomboid shaped. These are the only notes of this kind in the manuscript. There are no Plicae. As in all Carthusian manuscripts and printed books one finds no trace of the liquescent neumes, the Quilisma etc. The ornamental neumes were never admitted in the Order.⁵⁷

The staves are drawn in red and are neatly blocked on both sides of the page.

Lines drawn vertically through the stave indicate intonations which are repeated where the entire melody is not rewritten. They have a practical, not a musical function: to facilitate reference to the complete melody. In this, too, *MS 4c7* agrees with *MS F-G 394*.

On occasion, however, lines are used to indicate on which note (or notes) a particular syllable should be sung (see fol. 6r). Huglo points out that these divisive strokes were regularly used in Parisian Missals and Breviaries beginning in the 14th century. By the 16th century printed chant books place them on the staff between words of the text. They have no more significant function than to facilitate the simultaneous reading of text and notation.⁵⁸

It is difficult to determine whether the scribe left space for the B flat, i.e. whether it was inserted simultaneously with the rest of the notation. It would seem to be the case. Although it is sometimes written near to the preceding or the following note, there is always sufficient space, which is not the case in manuscripts where the B flat was obviously added later. See, for instance, *MS F-G 394*. In *MS 4c7* the colour of the ink of the B flat is a somewhat lighter brown colour than the neumes. The lines of the B flat are very slight, however, and it is to be expected that the scribe would have had very little ink on his quill to prevent smudging. It is written as \lfloor .

The notation in *MS 4c7* may be compared to Stäblein, 1975, Abbildung 48, 14th century, Northern France. The B flat, too, is similar. The notation also shows some similarity to Stäblein, Abbildungen 49a and b.⁵⁹

As mentioned, there are no custodes in *MS 4c7* (except for single ones on various isolated pages which were obviously inserted later and on the pages containing the melodies for the Invitatory psalm).

1.4.3 Irregularities in the manuscript

It is a feature of *MS 4c7* that there are errors of transcription in the text as well as in the notation. This is to be expected in a manuscript of this length written in haste for the new Charterhouse of Champmol.

1.4.3.1 Text

Many of these errors involve incidents of dittography,⁶⁰ easily discernible from this list.

fol. 28r	Sanctificamini...estote parati ti...
fol. 51v	Omnis terra adoret te adoret te et psallat.
fol. 52r	Celi aperti sunt...filius meus meus dilectus.
fol. 82v	Benedicique...ab omni opere suo o.
fol. 138v	Et inclinato capite te...
fol. 166r	Dominus quidem...asumptus est est...
fol. 166v	Nunc autem...in mundo do.
fol. 170r	Facta autem...convenit multitudo do...
fol. 184r	Memor sit...holocaustum nostrum pingue pingue fiat. (Corrected)
fol. 191r	Nolite iudicare...et et non condempnabimini. (Corrected)
fol. 200r	Cumque pergegerent...
fol. 216r	Omnes amici amici...
fol. 227r	Beatam me me dicent omnes...
fol. 259r	Michi autem...crucifixus est est et ego mundo.
fol. 259r	Tradidit semet...et hostiam et hostiam...
fol. 292r	Qui me confessus...coram coram patre meo. (Corrected)
fol. 319v	Te decetet hymnus...

In three instances the repetition was corrected (by a line drawn through the word). In nine of these instances the repetition is not notated—an indication that the notation was added after the text.

Spelling errors are

fol. 21v	'ambulabitmus' for 'ambulabimus'
fol. 44v	'nome' for 'nomen'

fol. 81r	'transquilibus' for 'tranquilibus'
fol. 128r	'istum' for 'iustum'
fol. 147r	'enum' for 'enim'
fol. 154v	'oni' for 'omni'
fol. 244v	'Proter veritatem' for 'Propter veritatem'
fol. 282v	'prohati' for 'probasti'

An extended form of haplography occurs on fol. 106v which has both the verse 'Dixit ruben fratribus' and the Responsory 'Dixit ruben fratribus'. The melody of the verse continues up to 'no(bis)' but from there has the melody of the Responsory which has the same words. The scribe, finding the same words twice within a short space, copied the verse up to this point, but then, on looking back at the exemplar, inadvertently fixed his eye on the second occurrence of the word and proceeded with the notation from that point. As a result the intervening melodic lines are omitted from the copy.

Words and notation are often omitted and inserted later, e.g. fol. 135r, where a whole line of text and music was omitted and inserted in the lower margin; fol. 135v, where the words 'ut auferant eam' and their notation were omitted and inserted in the lower margin; fol. 167v, where the rubrics 'In oct ad vs' and the incipits 'R. Ascendens V. Ascendo ad pa.' and their notation were added in the margin. On fol. 140r the word 'Vineam' was deleted and the (correct) word 'Animam' (for the Responsory 'Animam meam dilectam') with its notation, added in the margin. On fol. 224v the 'die' in 'In illa (die) stillabunt' was added later.

Like many manuscripts⁶¹ *MS 4c7* shows orthographic variants, for example:

- fol. 10v, 154v, 189v, and many others: iherusalem, fol. 54r, 90v: iherosolimam
- fol. 28r: 'konstantes', fol. 29v: 'constantes'
- fol. 83v: 'paradysum', fol. 83v: 'in paradiso' (on the same page)
- fol. 72v, 73v: hymnum. fol. 158r: hypnum
- fol. 247r, 63v, 218r, 244r: pulchra es, fol. 247r, 248v, 266v: pulchra est

In some instances *MS 4c7* differs from the other Carthusian Antiphonaries because of a *lapsus memoriae* on the part of the scribe: he remembered a word or an expression from another biblical source, and automatically inserted it: fol. 26v: 'Letamini cum iherusalem et exultate *iusti* in ea omnes qui diligitis eam alleluya'; 'Confitebor tibi pater... ita pater quoniam sic *benep*lacitum est ante te'.

1.4.3.2 Notation

An error of notation occurs on fol. 258v, line 8 (the Responsory 'Curramus propositum' for Matins of Exaltation of the Cross): three notes on 'aspicientes', A-B-B, are notated an octave lower (obviously in the incorrect register) than in all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries studied.

Another instance of haplography occurs on fol. 207r where the Antiphon 'Omni tempore' apparently appears with two different melodies. In Ex. 1.2 the scribe started to notate the Responsory. On 'tuas' his eyes went back to the Antiphon. The original error was, however, that of the scribe of the text, who repeated the Antiphon.

Ex. 1.1 'Omni tempore'

A. Om - ni tem - po - re be - ne - dic De - o et pe -

te ab e - o ut vi - as tu - as di - ri - gat

Ps. Magn. E u o u a e

Ex. 1.2

A. Om - ni tem - po - re be - ne - dic De - o

et pe - te ab e - o ut vi - as tu - as di - ri - gat

Ps. Mag - ni - fic. E u o u a e

Ex. 1. 3

R. Om-ni tem - po - re be - ne - dic De - o

et pe - te ab e - o ut vi - as tu - as

di - ri - gat. Et

om - ni tem - po - re con - si -

li - a

These are all typical scribal errors which are found in most manuscripts and not significant in the context. *MS 4c7* can therefore nevertheless be regarded as a reliable source.

Chapter 2

The Liturgical Context of *MS 4c7*

2.1 Introduction

Of all the Catholic liturgical traditions, that of the Carthusians is the one of which the least is known.¹ This is attributable to the eremitical character of their lifestyle. In contrast to the Benedictines, the Carthusians never left the monastery. They did not go out to work in the fields, visited no brother-foundations, did not meet in synods and never preached in public. Missionary activity was as foreign to them as it was to the Cistercians. They maintained no schools. Save within their walled gardens, they never went out in the open.²

They kept the form of their religious ritual through the centuries. Amongst all the orders they are the only monks who, even today, celebrate the communal Office in its complete form, that is, 'cum nota'. There is no Western order which through the years maintained the choral chant at the communal liturgical services so extensively as the Carthusian Order. In other monasteries the daily Office, especially the night Office, is no longer sung, but simply recited. Although the Tonary, *MS F-G 467* of Grenoble, and the first Antiphonary fragments, *MSS AGC C II 824* and *AGC C II 828* of the Grande Chartreuse, originated in the 12th century, they agree almost exactly with the tradition up to modern times.³ Asceticism plays an important part in the Order. Solitude, silence and fasting confine the physical needs to a minimum. One would not have been surprised if, in the quest for simplicity, there were no place for chant. The fact that chant occupied an important place shows that singing was highly regarded as a means for praising God and as a means for evoking spiritual power in the members of the Order.⁴

Particular problems arise in the research of the liturgy and the chant. The Order provides for extensive training of its novices in liturgical and musical matters (see Note 24). Consequently, a number of theoreticians and scholars is known, but the Order

does not encourage publishing. This is understandable considering the constitution of the Order and its strictness. The essence of the Charterhouse is not to write, but to pray. Writing should therefore only be a special task, mainly connected to the education of the novices. The Carthusian writers submit voluntarily to the obscurity which surrounds their work and their names. There are Carthusians who are authors of works which they refuse to publish. If one argues with them that they are depriving the public of works which may be of use to them, they reply that they as hermits edify their neighbours more by the sanctity of their lives than by informing them of their doctrine.⁵ Therefore the great majority of their texts has remained in manuscript or typescript. Published texts are mostly by scholars who were not members of the Order. Even the Carthusian liturgical books which have been published are encountered only second-hand (and that rarely) as they are published privately and cannot be bought by the general public.

Their chants are never performed in a public church. There are few works about the history of the Carthusian liturgy and there are very few critical editions of texts and melodies, so that one has to rely mainly on the manuscripts.⁶

The first documents from which we can learn about the way of life of the Carthusians and their liturgy, are the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, which were written about forty years after the founding of the Order. These *Consuetudines*, compiled by Guigo of Chastel, the fifth Prior of the Chartreuse, date from between 1121 and 1128. This was the first codification of the statutes which set out the rule of the Carthusians.⁷

A. Degand's article in *DACL* in 1914 represents the first modern research into the Carthusian liturgy.⁸ B. Lambres published a number of articles during the 1960s⁹ which were followed by his articles, 'L'antiphonaire des Chartreux'¹⁰ and 'Le chant des Chartreux'¹¹ in the 1970s, both of which contain valuable research. Also, HJ. Becker published articles, mainly on the Carthusian liturgy,¹² which were followed by his two authoritative books: *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers*,¹³ and *Das Tonale Guigos*,¹⁴ the latter based on two Carthusian Tonaries, *MS F-G 467* and the Tonary in *MS Parkminster DD10*.

Apart from these publications, an unpublished study by E. Cluzet, *Particularités du Missel cartusien* (Portes/Sélignac, 1967/1968), needs to be mentioned, as well as the study by A. Devaux, *Antiennes et Psaumes festifs aux Matines du Rite cartusien* (Sélignac, 1968, typescript). *Les Origines du Missel des Chartreux* (Sélignac, 1973, typescript) by Devaux contains a chapter on the melodies of the Gradual.

During the sixties the priest R. Étaix and Becker almost completely solved the difficult problems of the Carthusian Lectionary and the Responsories.¹⁵

Francescantonio Pollice completed a doctoral thesis (unpublished) at the University of Bologna in 1992, entitled *Il Canto Certosino dalle origini fino ai nostri giorni*. The dissertation of his brother, Paolo Pollice, completed the same year at the University of Bologna (unpublished), has the title *Le origini del canto Certosino*.

A topic which is central to all these investigations is the question of the unity of the Carthusian liturgical tradition. The Order had to maintain its liturgical unity according to the measures taken by the first General Chapter held in about 1142. It was decreed that all the books of the Order should be corrected according to an exemplar which was recognized as being irreproachable. It is because of this principle that one finds an agreement between many Carthusian manuscripts which does not exist elsewhere. The year 1271 marks the end of the principal evolution of the Carthusian liturgy.¹⁶ This is the year when a new compilation of Carthusian customs was approved by the General Chapter. The texts and the rites were by then fixed and no important modifications were made for more than three centuries, apart from additions to the Calendar.

Towards the end of the 12th century, as a consequence of the decisions of the first two General Chapters (c. 1142, c. 1155), many manuscripts show a certain number of corrections suggesting a unification of the Carthusian liturgy. A manuscript which served as prototype for the *textus receptus* has, however, not been recovered, although according to Lambres an exemplar has been copied with a faithfulness 'perhaps without parallel'. He wrote that this was confirmed at Solesmes where it was said that 'if you knew one manuscript of Carthusian chant, you knew them all'.¹⁷

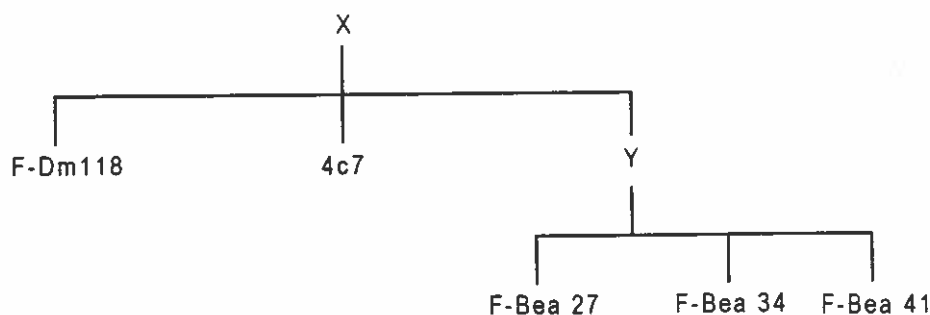
Devaux's research for a critical edition of the Carthusian Gradual has shown, however, that the Carthusians did not revise their melodies systematically.¹⁸ He observed that in

a number of instances an early manuscript was used as exemplar and copied repeatedly, though it does not preserve the general Carthusian version of the melodies. An example is a very early Gradual which remained in use at Portes, and which was copied for affiliated houses in the Franche-Comté, as well as for the Charterhouse of Liget near Tours. A Gradual kept at the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno, of the 13th century, provenance one of the Charterhouses of Franche-Comté, Bonlieu or Vaucluse, may be added to this family.¹⁹

Though no single authoritative Antiphonary manuscript is extant, Becker, who wrote only about the text, has shown that *MS AGC C II 828* and *MS Serra San Bruno* are approximate to what has to be considered the original Carthusian version of the early stage (c.1151). These two manuscripts consist of some pages from an Antiphonary from the Charterhouse of Le Reposoir (Savoy). According to him, these pages, as well as the more complete 13th century manuscript, *MS Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare 44.3*, and *MS LBM 17302* agree almost exactly with the Carthusian tradition up to the present.²⁰

The research on the Antiphonary by the present writer led to the same conclusion. The text was exactly copied; the music was almost exactly copied, but with certain variants. *MS F-Dm 118*, also written for Champmol, resembles *MS 4c7* particularly closely. A comparison between the manuscripts shows that, in regard to text, *MS F-Dm 118* differs from *MS 4c7* in 33 Antiphons and 20 Responsories, that is, a divergence of 3.3%. All these differences might be the result of scribal error in one or the other of the manuscripts. In four cases *MS F-Dm 118* was corrected from the *MS 4c7* version (that is, the version of the common exemplar) to agree with *MS F-G 92* and the sources in Herbert's *CAO*. Regarding the melodies, there are significant differences between *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118* on the one hand, and most other Carthusian Antiphonaries on the other. Three Antiphonaries, written for the nearby Charterhouse of Beaune-Fontenay, belong to the same family as the Dijon manuscripts.

The genealogy may be illustrated as follows:

Fig. 2. 1²¹

2.2 Manuscripts of the Carthusian Antiphonary

As mentioned, Carthusian Antiphonaries are rare today. The most complete published list, that of Becker²², comprises 46 manuscripts. Five of these belong to the 12th century, (not all of them complete Antiphonaries), eight to the 13th century, thirteen to the 14th century, sixteen to the 15th century, three to the 16th century and one to the 17th century. The extant manuscripts give a poor idea of the Carthusian libraries of the Middle Ages. The manuscripts are those which have not been lost or mutilated and which belong today to the Carthusian Order or to public collections, and the manuscripts used at the Grande Chartreuse after the fires of 1300 to 1676, most of which are kept in the municipal library of Grenoble.²³

Apart from the destruction caused by time and man, the rarity of Antiphonaries is explained by the fact that the monks had to learn their repertory by heart. This tradition was preserved by the Carthusian Order more strictly and longer than elsewhere.²⁴ In terms of numbers the Carthusians were insignificant in the context of the monastic movement of the High Middle Ages. In the 15th century the number of Charterhouses grew to 195, while the Premonstratensians, for instance, had 1800 abbeys at the beginning of the 13th century.²⁵ Generally, each Charterhouse housed only twelve monks, with the Prior as thirteenth. Each house possessed only one or two Antiphonaries.²⁶ The Antiphonaries served for the learning of the chant by heart and also as a memory aid during the Office for those who needed it. The Antiphonary was exhibited on a lectern, lighted by a candle.²⁷ Because the Order had its own repertory, it had to produce its own liturgical books. The Order preferred simple manuscripts but there are some which are richly illuminated.

The reasons which caused the rarity of the Antiphonaries do not apply equally to the Gradual, of which the number of existing manuscripts has always been larger than of the Antiphonary. The melodies of the Gradual are more varied and generally more difficult to remember and perform than those of the Antiphonary, the chants of which are generally more syllabic, with more conjunct intervals. The offices of the Mass have more complicated melodic formulas and the long melodies constitute a special difficulty. It is therefore natural that the singers would feel for the Gradual, more than for the Antiphonary, the need to have the notation available.²⁸ According to Devaux²⁹ the number of chants in the Carthusian Gradual is just under 500; *MS 4c7* has 606 Responsories and 953 Antiphons.³⁰ However, the nature of the melodies has to be kept in mind. Also, *Responsoria Brevia* and Antiphons are often one line or less in length and the longest of the *Responsoria Prolixa* in *MS 4c7* is 7 lines in length. The chants in the Gradual are generally longer.

From the period before Guigo of Chastel, who was Prior of the Chartreuse from 1109 till 1136, there remain only a few manuscripts which may furnish information about chant among the Carthusians. One of the earliest Carthusian manuscripts of musical interest is the Tonary, *MS F-G 467*, of the second half of the 12th century to the first half of the 13th, which was used at the Chartreuse. Others are the Sacramentary, *MS Grande Chartreuse 751*, which contains the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass, *MS AGC C II 824*, which contains the first part of the Offices for the Dead and De Beata, and the two leaves of the Antiphonary *MS AGC C II 828*, the only ones that have survived of the Carthusian Antiphonary of the 12th century. Two other leaves of a Carthusian Antiphonary of the 12th century were discovered at the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno, Calabria, during the 1970's. These have been identified as belonging to the same Antiphonary as *MS AGC C II 824*. They were discovered as flyleaves in a 16th-century edition of the work of Denis the Carthusian.³¹

2.3 Identity of the Carthusian liturgical tradition

The Order established its own liturgical tradition. Hesbert said in 1963 that the Carthusian Antiphonary represented a tradition 'sui generis'. Carthusian texts deviated by well over 50% from the 'common tradition' that Hesbert had sampled. The discrepancy in the arrangement of the texts was even higher.³²

Becker demonstrated, however, that the unique features of the Carthusian Office were explainable, and its alien character largely illusory. He showed that the singular character of the Carthusian Office derived primarily from the application of a few simple principles to all traditional Office texts. The most important of these was the 'principle of Scripture' (*Schriftprinzip*): all Office texts had to be scriptural in content. The second was the 'systematic principle' (*Ordnungsprinzip*): all related Office texts had to be presented in the order of their appearance in Scripture. Using these principles, Becker compared the texts of the Carthusian Responsories for Vigils with those of Hesbert's 'common tradition'. He showed that all but 20% of the discrepancies between the Carthusian usage and that tradition resulted from the application of these two principles. Regional traditions provided another 15% of the discrepancies. Becker argued that two other principles also determined the choice of texts: the *Einfachheitsprinzip* (principle of simplicity): texts requiring difficult musical performance were excluded, for instance, Responsories with long melismas; and the *Traditionsprinzip* (principle of tradition): all Antiphons were taken from the tradition, that is from the existing Antiphonaries or from the Bible itself.³³

The systematic principle is unique to the Carthusians. In comparing, for instance, the Responsories for Matins of Advent Sunday in *MS 4c7* with manuscripts of other liturgies, one finds:³⁴

MS 4c7, fol.7r—10r

- R. Aspicebam (Dan. 7,13—14)³⁵
- R. Orietur stella (Num. 24,17—18)
- R. Dominus dabit benignitatem (Ps. 84,13)
- R. Ecce virgo concipiet (Is. 7,14; 9,6)
- R. Confortamini (Is. 35,4)
- R. Ecce apparebit (Hab. 2,3, an exception)
- R. Ecce dies veniunt (Jer. 33,14—16)
- R. Egredietur Dominus (Zach. 13,3—4)
- R. Ingressus angelus (Lk. 1,28)
- R. Ave Maria gracia plena (Lk. 1,28,35)
- R. Dixit angelus ad Mariam (Lk. 1,30)
- R. Salvatorem expectamus (Phil. 13,20—21).

For the same Office the 12th-century Benedictine Antiphonary, *MS Lucca 601*³⁶ shows the list as:

- R. Aspiciens a longe (Hebr. 11,13)
- R. Aspiciebam (Dan. 7,13—14)
- R. Missus est Gabriel (Lk. 1,26)
- R. Ave Maria gracia plena (Lk. 1,28,35)
- R. Salvatorem expectamus (Phil. 3,20—21)
- R. Confortamini manus (Is. 35,3—4)
- R. Audite verbum Domini gentes (Jer. 31,10)
- R. Alieni non transibunt per Ierusalem (Joel 3,17)
- R. Ecce virgo concipiet (Is. 7,14;9,6)
- R. Obsecro (Gen. 18,32)
- R. Letentur (I Chron.16,31)
- R. Montes Israel (Ezek. 6,3)

The *Breviarium Romanum* of 1876³⁷ has:

- R. Aspiciens a longe (Hebr. 11,13)
- R. Aspiciebam (Dan. 7,13—14)
- R. Missus est Gabriel (Lk.1.26)
- R. Ave Maria gracia plena (Lk. 1, 28,35)
- R. Salvatorem expectamus (Phil. 13, 20—21)
- R. Obsecro (Gen. 18,32)
- R. Ecce virgo concipiet (Is. 7.14;9,6)
- R. Audite verbum Domini gentes (Jer. 31,10)
- R. Ecce dies veniunt (Jer. 33.14—16)

The sequence in *MS 4c7* for the same Office for the First Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany is:

- R. Domine ne in ira tua (Ps. 6,2—3)
- R. Deus qui sedes (Ps. 9,5)
- R. A dextris est mihi (Ps. 15,8—9)
- R. Nota mihi fecisti (Ps. 15,11)
- R. Intende deprecationem (Ps. 16,1,6,8)
- R. Diligam te Domine (Ps. 17,2)
- R. Firmamentum meum (Ps. 17,3)
- R. Domini est terra (Ps. 23,1)
- R. Ad te Domine levavi (Ps.24.1—2)
- R. Vias tuas Domine demonstra (Ps. 24,4—5)
- R. Aspice in me Domine (Ps. 24,16—18)
- R. Audiam Domine vocem laudis (Ps. 25,7)

MS Lucca 601 has for this office:

- R. Domine ne in ira tua (Ps. 6,2—3)
- R. Deus qui sedes (Ps. 9,5)
- R. A dextris est mihi (Ps. 15,8—9)
- R. Nota michi fecisti (Ps. 15,11)
- R. Diligam te Domine (Ps.17, 2—3)
- R. Dominus firmamentum meum (Ps. 70,3)
- R. Firmamentum meum et refugium meum (Ps. 17,3)
- R. Domini est terra (Ps. 23,1)
- R. Servite Domino (Ps. 99)
- R. Ad te Domine levavi (Ps. 24,1—2)
- R. Audiam Domine vocem (Ps. 25,7)
- R. Afflicti pro peccatis (Eccle. 2,26)
- R. Peccata mea (Dan. 9,20)
- R. Abscondite tanquam aurum (Eccle.29,15)

The 14th-century Benedictine Breviary from Hyde Abbey, Winchester, England, *MS Rawlinson Liturg. e I*, Bodleian Library, Oxford³⁸ has for this office:

- R. Domine ne in ira (Ps.6,2—3)
- R. Deus qui sedes (Ps. 9,5)
- R. A dextris est michi (Ps. 15, 8—9)
- R. Nota michi fecisti (Ps. 15,11)
- R. Diligam te (Ps. 17, 2—3)
- R. Domini est terra (Ps. 23,1)
- R. Ad te Domini levavi (Ps. 24, 1—2)
- R. Audiam Domine vocem (Ps. 25,7)
- R. Abscondite tanquam aurum (Eccle. 29,15)
- R. Peccata mea Domine (Dan. 9,20)
- R. Ne perdidit me (Ps. 26,12)
- R. Afflicti pro peccatis (Eccle. 2,26)

According to Lambres³⁹ there is never more than one formulary in the Common of Saints. One has to keep in mind, however, that the Common of Saints for Easter differs in some respects from the Common used during the rest of the year.⁴⁰

2.4 Origins of Carthusian chant

Unlike the Cistercians, the Carthusians did not systematically alter existing chant melodies; but they tried to preserve the melodies which they found in other sources exactly in their original form. The Carthusian Antiphonary is unique because of the selection of

texts. The text was compiled almost completely from already existing sources. It is, however, not clear which sources these are. The source of the Carthusian heritage is still unknown⁴¹ although a wide variety of opinions have been expressed by different authors.

The first remarks about the origin of the Carthusian liturgy were made by Sutor in 1609, who said it had Lyon as its source.⁴²

Influenced by Sutor, Degand⁴³ tried to prove the origin of the Carthusian Mass liturgy in Lyon without ruling out influence from other neighbouring churches. According to him the Carthusians were monks from the beginning and could therefore not have adopted the Lyon Antiphonary unchanged. He referred to Guigo's Prologue to the Antiphonary (see p. 48 of Vol. 1 of this thesis) from which he deduced that Guigo compiled the Carthusian Antiphonary. He believed that the source of the Antiphonary was Roman with certain Gallican peculiarities. A comparative study with the Antiphonary of Hartker, (*MS St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 390—391*), the oldest notated Antiphonary, made him reject completely the idea of parentage between the Carthusian liturgy and that of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall.

Degand wrote further that it was natural to turn to the books of Lyon, because of its proximity to the Chartreuse. Also, the Carthusians used only chants with scriptural texts as was the practice at Lyon. He consulted two Lyon manuscripts, the one contemporary to, the other a bit later than the centonisation practised by Guigo: an Antiphonary, *MS Lyon 457*, and a notated Breviary, written between 1320 and 1325 for the Cathedral Saint-Jean. In his view the similarities were not very characteristic and the differences too numerous to permit a conclusion that either was parent to the Carthusian Antiphonary. However, 'It is mainly from the church of Lyon that the Carthusians received their liturgical books and most of their rites, at least those which have no monastic provenance', he concluded.⁴⁴

In 1910 J. B. Klein wrote: 'Three sources of the Carthusian liturgy are named: the Ritus Monasticus, the Church of Lyon and that of Grenoble', and 'The Carthusians took the Antiphonary of the Lyon church as the basis for their liturgy'.⁴⁵ And even in 1967 L.C. Sheppard wrote: 'It seems certain that the predominant and exclusive influence in the formation of the Carthusian liturgy was the rite of the primatial see of Lyon of which

Grenoble was a suffragan (sic).⁴⁶ This is true of the Mass and very largely of the Office. For the latter the order of psalmody (which governs the form of the hours) laid down by the rule of St. Benedict was adopted; for the other variable parts of the Office, the Antiphonary of Lyon was drawn upon'.⁴⁷

While Lambres named Grenoble as the main source for the Gradual, he is more reserved regarding the Antiphonary. He wrote in 1970 that a comparison of the Carthusian Antiphonary with the principal Antiphonaries of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, those of Hartker (*PalMus*, 2nd series, Vol.1), of Mont-Renaud, (*PalMus*, 2nd series, Vol. 16), of Lucca, (*PalMus*, 2nd series, Vol. 9) and *MS Lyon 537*, did not reveal a true parent.' All that one can say is that the origin of the Antiphonary of the Carthusians, from the time of Guigo, is certainly Roman, with certain Gallican peculiarities'.⁴⁸

His research regarding the Antiphonary pointed in the same direction as his research regarding the Gradual, he wrote. 'One is clearly in the Aquitanian tradition, also called 'Provençale'. We constantly find as the nearest relatives of the Carthusian manuscripts: Vienne and its neighbours: Grenoble, Lyon (chiefly the Abbaye de St.Claude), Cluny and Saint-Ruf. With the latter the differences are many and important'. Only if more documents were discovered relating to the text and especially to the Grenoble melodies of the 11th to the 12th century would we be able to furnish a definitive solution of the problems of the origins of the chant (and the whole liturgy?) of the Carthusians, he said. The remarkable homogeneity of the Carthusian version of the chant suggested to him a true principal source. Many reasons led him to believe that this was Grenoble, but no manuscripts of Grenoble chant of the 11th to the 12th century (or even of the 13th and 14th centuries) are extant.⁴⁹

Saint Bruno came from Reims; two of his companions were canons of Saint-Ruf; a third, Hughes le Chapelain, was a priest. Before coming to the Chartreuse, Saint Bruno lived as a hermit at Sèche-Fontaine, under the protection of Saint Robert de Molesmes; and his ultimate institution in the region of the Chartreuse had connections with the Benedictine Abbey of Chaise-Dieu (Haute-Loire) and with its Priory of Mont-Cornillon. It is very possible that this was the origin of their first liturgical books. Possibly their new protector, the Bishop Saint Hugh of Grenoble, could have supplied them. If one cannot be more specific, it means at least that the musical tradition of the Carthusians lies in the Aquitanian branch of the Gregorian tradition—according to Lambres.⁵⁰

Becker remarked in 1970 that there has been no historical-critical investigation into the sources of the Carthusian Antiphonary.⁵¹ The Carthusian Gradual, if not taken from Grenoble, was at least influenced by it. Grenoble may not, however, be taken as the source for the completely differently structured Antiphonary. According to him it was also unlikely that a Lyon Antiphonary constituted a source of the Carthusian Antiphonary, since there were many sources from the region which had fewer differences from the Carthusian Breviary. An indirect influence from Lyon was more likely than a direct one. He pointed out that according to the research at the time even the question of whether there was one principal source still remained open.⁵²

Becker also ruled out Hartker, Mont-Renaud, Lucca, Molesme and Saint-Ruf. Although the Carthusians had a considerable number of melody variants in common with Lyon, they had even more in common with Vienne. Many of the Responsories of the Carthusian Breviary could not be found in Lyon and vice versa. The verses also differed to a large extent. Thus the version of Vienne influenced the chant of the Carthusians more than the Lyonnese version and it did so chiefly through Grenoble, the episcopal see closest to the Chartreuse. All that could be said with certainty, according to Becker, was that the Carthusian manuscripts of chant were placed in the Aquitanian tradition.⁵³

Becker came to the conclusion that of all the Breviaries and Antiphonaries he investigated *MS Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, 44.1* (11th century), was the nearest related to the Carthusian because of a minimum of differences and also a maximum of characteristic agreements. Unluckily, the origin of this Aquitanian Antiphonary, which is also remarkable because of its Office structure, has not been established.⁵⁴

As shown, Devaux and Van Dijck of the Charterhouse of Sélignac have been working on a critical edition of the Carthusian Gradual, and the result of their research was submitted to the General Chapter of the Carthusian Order in May 1993. They came to the conclusion that the Gradual is derived from the tradition of Grenoble.⁵⁵

In a letter dated 16 March 1991, Van Dijck wrote: 'Our Gradual is a compilation of texts which are essentially from Grenoble, complemented by the other Dauphinois rites of Valence, Vienne and Saint-Ruf. The melodies are also essentially Dauphinois. For the Antiphonary, there is no evidence from Grenoble. It would seem as if it comes from

Vienne, Valence and Saint-Ruf because the Carthusian Gradual belongs to the same family. They should therefore be near to each other.¹

The fact that the single elements of the Carthusian liturgy were compiled from various sources gave to the Carthusian liturgy a somewhat eclectic appearance. Almost all the texts and ceremonies as they appear in the Carthusian liturgical books can be found in non-Carthusian sources. The many sections were, however, put together in a well considered harmonious whole.⁵⁶ (See the table of contents of *MS 4c7* in Vol. 2 of this thesis.)

2.5 Two stages in the development of the Carthusian chant

Antiphonaries may be divided into two main classes: secular or canonical, and monastic. The two are distinguished by the number of chants they contain for Matins, the Little Hours (Prime, Terce, Sext and None) and Vespers. Canonical Antiphonaries are used by ordinary clergy, canons and friars of the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans). They contain nine Antiphons and nine Responsories, in groups of three for each of the three Nocturns of Matins, a short Responsory for the Little Hours, and five Psalms for Vespers.⁵⁷ Monastic Antiphonaries contain twelve Antiphons and twelve Responsories in groups of four for Matins, as well as another Antiphon from the Old Testament canticles in the third Nocturn of Matins. They contain no short Responsories for the Little Hours, and only four Psalms for Vespers.⁵⁸

Although the Carthusian rite agrees in general with the monastic rule, a careful comparison of the Offices of St. Benedict and Guigo shows certain differences which initially seem unimportant, but which on careful study prove to be characteristic of the Carthusian liturgy. These differences include the calculation of summer and winter. According to Guigo summer stretches from Pentecost to 31 October; the Benedictine rule calculates summer from Easter to 31 October.⁵⁹ During the last three days of Holy Week the Monastic rite is abandoned and the Roman rite adopted. From the first Vespers of Easter, the Monastic rite is used again.⁶⁰

The authors who wrote about the Carthusian liturgy also disagree on the answer to the question whether the Carthusian Office was monastic from the start. As shown⁶¹, Degand tried in his article to find the origin of the Carthusian liturgy in Lyon. He did not

succeed in respect of the Antiphonary, because he assumed in his whole discussion that the Carthusian Office was monastic from the start and that therefore the Carthusians could not have taken the Antiphonary from a secular source such as the diocese of Lyon. It was his view that Guigo compiled the Carthusian Antiphonary according to the principle of Agobard.⁶² Lambres, too, believed that there were many indications that the first Carthusian fathers, Saint Bruno and his companions, envisaged from the start to give a monastic-eremitic expression to their liturgy and customs, even though they initially created a Responsorial of the canonical type. He pointed out that the generation of Saint Bruno should not be considered purely eremitic. They should be regarded as monk-hermits, not only because of the liturgy but also because of their way of life.⁶³ The Antiphonary of the canonical type seems to have been used until about the year 1100. Guigo's *Customs* neither reflects nor mentions a liturgy of the canonical type; he mentions an Antiphonary of the monastic type with twelve lessons and as many Responsories.⁶⁴

Becker comes to the conclusion that the Carthusians had a canonical office at the beginning of the Order. Only the second generation undertook the monasticizing.⁶⁵ In the different series the Responsories appear in the Carthusian Antiphonary in sequences which differ completely from those of other liturgies like those of Cluny and Cîteaux but which did not evolve fortuitously. In most cases the sequence includes only nine of the twelve Responsories: three Responsories often disturb the arrangement of nine. However, some series follow an arrangement which encompasses all twelve Responsories.⁶⁶ Because in most of the Offices the arrangement includes only nine Responsories, while the remaining three disturbs the order, two sections become apparent: a primary, canonical section, which consists of nine texts, and a second, monastic section, which includes the three Responsories added during the transition to the monastic rule. In many cases a reconstruction cannot be done with complete certainty.⁶⁷

If the Carthusian liturgy is compared with the coenobitic liturgies, e.g. the monastic liturgy of Cluny or the canonical liturgy of St. Ruf, the Carthusian liturgy is distinguished by its simplicity. The first Carthusian hermits chose a canonical office, not a monastic one, because of the less strict choral obligations, the more moderate 'cantandi studii' and also because it left more time for the exercise of the solitary life. This is in

accordance with the usages of that century where many eremitic institutions made similar choices. According to Becker, the first Carthusians were hermits living in colonies, and not monk-hermits, as they became during the years which separated St. Bruno from Guigo, probably around 1100.⁶⁸

2.6 Liturgical practice

Members of the Carthusian Order devote themselves to an eremitic life, tempered by certain coenobitic observances, one of which is the choral Office. Their communal Offices are entirely sung, although they have sometimes a 'recto tono' recitation of the Office for the Dead. The other Offices (like the small hours and the Office of the Virgin) are recited in private in the cell with the ceremonies of the choral Office, and on the signal given by the bell of the monastery.⁶⁹

The choral books of the Carthusians do not differ much in general lay-out and particular division from other works of this kind. Guigo adapted existing service-books to eremitic-monastic use. He reduced the repertory, eliminating non-scriptural texts, and the melodies were usually preserved intact.⁷⁰ According to Mary Berry lengthy melismas were removed from certain Matins Responsories⁷¹ but a comparison of *MS 4c7* with *MS Lucca 60*⁷² and *MS Worcester, Chapter Library, F. 160*⁷³, showed no instance of such a removal. Melismas were preserved, or the Responsory containing the long melisma does not appear in the Carthusian liturgy at all.⁷⁴ Examples of the latter are: 'In tempestate', 'Tradiderunt', 'O quantus erat', 'Hec est vera', 'Ecce vir'.

During the first centuries of the Order, the Carthusians, like the other orders, chanted the whole Night Office by heart. The Carthusian novices spent the year of their novitiate in studying the Psalter by heart, then the whole Antiphonary, proceeding progressively and beginning in both books with those parts which are easiest to sing.⁷⁵

Around 1310 Guillaume d'Ivrée wrote in his treatise *De origine et veritate perfectae religionis*, 'Almost everybody learns the chant of the day as well as the night by heart and sings the chant from memory in the church so that the devotions are not impeded by looking at books'. Nonetheless, there would always have been novices who, during the year of their novitiate, or at least until they had time to learn the chants by heart, would

want to make use of books. For these an Antiphonary from which certain parts of the Office would be chanted was put on a special lectern in the middle of the choir.⁷⁶

In the Ceremonial which was written for the Carthusians towards the end of the 14th century, the author explains in detail the order which the novice should follow to learn the Office easily by heart during his novitiate. He would have started with certain parts which recur most frequently, then he would have to learn the Office *de Beata Maria*. After this he would have to study the chants and Hymns of the rest of the Psalter, the Antiphons of the Common of Apostles, Martyrs etc., followed by the other Antiphons and Responsories. The reason for memorizing the chants was that the monks would sing better and with more tranquillity if they had the confidence of knowing the chants well: 'the more one has to rely on exterior support, the more one is exposed to the danger of being distracted' ('quia melius et securius facit quod se bene didicisse confidit'). This was written at a time when singing the chant by heart was disappearing in the other Orders.⁷⁷ According to Devaux, chanting from memory was still the custom at the Charterhouse of Val-Saint-Pierre, in Picardy, towards the end of the 16th century.⁷⁸

The style of performance was sober; it was a monk's duty 'to lament rather than to sing'.⁷⁹ Later prohibitions condemned all musical instruments, even organs and the monochord, as well as discant. The singers are separated from their neighbours by raised partitions and they almost always have their heads covered by the hoods of their cowls.⁸⁰

Many of the peculiarities of the Carthusian choral custom can be explained by the demands of the eremitic life, and by the small number of members required to form a community.⁸¹ The edition of the Statutes known under the name of 'Tertia Compilatio' (1507) prescribes that the Divine Office should be celebrated with communal chant where there are eight monks in the choir and the Prior, capable of singing. This small number explains why there are no two choirs alternating in the singing of antiphonal chants, why in general solos are rare and why unnecessary length is avoided. Before 1975 only the incipit of the Antiphon was sung before the psalm, the complete Antiphon after, but since that date the complete Antiphon is sung both before and after the psalm.⁸² The chant of these hermits is truly very communal; a schola for the singing of the more difficult parts is unknown and unthinkable.⁸³

Only at the end of the 13th century were 24 monks admitted to the Charterhouse of Paris. After the French Revolution, the number of monks at many Carthusian houses was augmented from 24 to 36. Modern economic circumstances have largely contributed to a concentration of personnel.⁸⁴

Chapter 3

The Text of *MS 4c7*

3.1 Introduction

Guigo, the fifth Prior of the Chartreuse, wrote a preface to the Carthusian Antiphonary in which he quoted almost verbally a passage from St. Jerome from the *Contra Vigilantium*. In this preface Guigo set forth the principles which guided the work on the Antiphonary which was compiled in accordance with the first Carthusian Customs. The preface may be dated 1128, the year in which Bishop Hugh of Grenoble obtained the official acceptance of the Customs by the community of Portes. The preface was probably also sent to the houses of the Order during this year.¹

The preface, which is found in *MS Loches, Bibliothèque municipale 3*, and *MS Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale 338*, reads: 'The gravity of the eremitical institution does not permit much time to be spent in the study of chant. For according to Saint Jerome, no monk, especially a hermit, has the office of a teacher, and much less of a singer, but that of one who laments, one who mourns for himself and the world, and in fear awaits the coming of the Lord. Wherefore we have considered that certain things should be removed from the Antiphonary, or shortened. Things, namely, which for the most part were either superfluous or unsuitably composed, inserted or added, or had but little or doubtful guarantee of their authenticity or none at all, or were guilty of levity, awkwardness or falsity'.²

One would be wrong to see in the beginning of the preface a condemnation of the use of chant. Guigo insisted on the preservation of the chant but held that it could be only of secondary importance for a monk. Earlier scholars believed that Guigo instituted, or at least approved, communal singing classes, but Gaillard has convincingly shown that these exercises, called *Recordationes*, were in fact communal rehearsals of reading the lessons while singing was taught individually in the cells.³ Given the extensiveness that

the repertory had attained in the 12th century, monks had to spend eight years and even more 'in cantandi studiis' before having memorized it sufficiently. It was this that Guigo judged to be excessive for a hermit and he sought a remedy for it by reducing and simplifying the repertory.⁴ For example, in comparison with the 12th-century Benedictine Antiphony, *MS Lucca 601*, which has 1788 Antiphons and 862 Responsories and *MS Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, 44.2*⁵ (end of the 11th-beginning of the 12th centuries) which has 2457 Antiphons and 1239 Responsories, *MS 4c7* has 996 Antiphons and 502 Responsories.⁶

Guigo abridged the Antiphony by denying a place to Antiphons and Responsories which were non-scriptural, and to the Tropes and Hymns; in fact to all those additions which had begun to be encrusted upon the primitive Office. In spite of the general rule of refusing a place to all that was not scriptural, an exception was made in the Antiphony for the 'O'-Antiphons of Advent, the 'Te Deum', and the Hymn 'Te decet laus' because, though not scriptural, they were considered traditional. The first Hymns, four in number, were introduced by the General Chapter of 1143: 'Aeterne rerum conditor', 'Splendor paternae gloriae', 'Deus creator omnium' and 'Christe qui lux es', for Matins, Lauds, Vespers, and Compline respectively.⁷

Of all the Antiphonaries the Carthusian Antiphony is the one which deviates the most from the general Antiphony tradition of the Roman or Monastic types, although the basis of the Carthusian Antiphony agrees with the general tradition, with influences of a regional nature.⁸ As mentioned, the Carthusians did not compose chants; their Antiphony differs from the others only in the placing of the chants. Thus, for example, the Responsories 'Letentur' and 'Montes israel' appear in *MS Lucca 601* for Advent Sunday, in *MS 4c7*, for the Second Sunday in Advent, the Antiphon 'Inter natos mulierum' appears for the feast of St. John the Baptist, but in *MS Lucca 601* it is sung at Lauds, in *MS 4c7*, at Matins.

3.2 Antiphons

The number of Antiphons in the Carthusian Antiphony is almost double that of the Responsories.⁹ This is not unusual: the number of Antiphons in *MS Lucca 601* is more than double the number of Responsories. Hiley points out that in contrast to the

enormous numbers of Antiphons in medieval sources, the Old Roman Antiphonaries contain about 600 Responsories, while later medieval sources may contain about 1200.¹⁰

All Antiphons in *MS 4c7* as well as the Offices where they occur, agree with Becker's list in *Das Tonale Guigos*, based on *MS F- G 467* and *MS AGC 2 Off Noct 27*.

Of the 997 Antiphons in *MS 4c7*¹¹ 909 appear in at least one of the twelve Antiphonary sources edited by Hesbert.¹² The rest of the Antiphons, thus 9% in *MS 4c7*, do not appear in the *CAO*. However, all of these Antiphons appear in the Carthusian manuscripts studied for purposes of comparison.

Becker's list is not completely reliable in this regard. The discrepancy is at least partly due to the fact that Becker's very short incipits create the incorrect impression. Five of the Antiphons which, according to Becker, cannot be found in any of Hesbert's sources are indeed to be found in the *CAO*. Some of these texts appear in all or almost all of the manuscripts and belong therefore to the general tradition:

'Absterget Deus' appears in *MS 4c7* (fol. 179r, Common of Many Martyrs, Lauds) as 'Absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum suorum alleluya alleluya'; and in the Antiphonaries of Ivree, Hartker, Rheinau, Saint-Maur-les Fossés and Saint-Loup de Bénévent as 'Absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum, et jam non erit amplius neque luctus, neque clamor, sed nec ullus dolor, quoniam priora transierunt':

'Beatus venter' appears in *MS 4c7* (fol. 30v, Vigil of Christmas, Matins) as 'Beatus venter qui te portavit Christe et ubera que suxisti' and in the Antiphonaries of Ivree, Saint-Denis and Saint-Maur-les-Fossés as 'Beatus venter qui te portavi Christe et beata ubera quae te lactaverunt, Dominum et Salvatorem mundi, alleluia';

'Ego sum panis vivus' appears in *MS 4c7* (fol. 173r, Wednesday in Pentecost week, Vespers) as 'Ego sum panis vivus dicit Dominus qui de celo descendi alleluia' and in the Antiphonary of Rheinau as 'Ego

sum panis vivus qui de coelo descendi, dicit Dominus, si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum, alleluia':

'Erit in novissimis' appears in *MS 4c7* (fol. 223v, Annunciation, Matins) as 'Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons domus Domini in vertice montium et fluent ad eum omnis gloria alleluya' and in the Antiphonary of Ivree as 'Erit in novissimis diebus praeparatus mons domus Domini in vertice montium';

'Non vos relinquam' appears in *MS 4c7* (fol. 174r, Octave of Pentecost, Vespers) only as incipit while the Antiphonaries of Monza and Saint-Loup de Bénévent has 'Non vos relinquam orphanos, alleluia, veniam ad vos iterum, alleluia.¹³

One of these Antiphons, 'Ego sum panis', seem to have been adapted from the longer Antiphon according to the 'principle of simplicity' (*Einfachheitsprinzip*), while in two instances, the adaptation was apparently made according to the 'scriptural principle':

Vulgate as well as *Vetus Italica*¹⁴ Rev. 7,17: 'Absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum.'

Vulgate as well as *Vetus Italica* Lk. 11, 27: 'Beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti.'

The authentic repertory of the Office and the Mass, is derived from the *Vetus Italica* and not from the *Vulgate*. The *Vetus Italica* was, however, replaced by the *Vulgate* in the 7th century.¹⁵

There is a remarkable textual agreement between the Carthusian manuscripts. The differences which do exist can generally be ascribed to scribal error in one or the other of the manuscripts. In one of these cases *MS 4c7* agrees with *MS F-Dm 118* and two of the Beaune manuscripts but not with the other sources; the reading could therefore have occurred in the common exemplar from which the manuscripts were probably copied:

MS 4c7, fol. 90v, (Sunday before Lent, Lauds): Lk 18,31: Ecce ascendimus Iherosolimam et consummabuntur omnia que *dicta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

MS F-Dm 118, MS F-Bea 41: Ecce ascendimus Iherosolimam et consummabuntur omnia que *dicta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

MS F-Bea 27: Ecce ascendimus Iherosolimam et consummabuntur omnia que *scripta* (obviously inserted in a slightly different script over an erasure) sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

MS F-G 200, MS F-Bea 34: Ecce ascendimus Iherosolimam et consummabuntur omnia que *scripta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

CAO: Ecce ascendimus Jerosolymam, et consummabuntur omnia quae *scripta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

Vulgate: Ecce ascendimus Ierosolymam et consummabuntur omnia quae *scripta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

Vetus Italica: Ecce ascendimus Ierosolymis et consummabuntur omnia, quae *scripta* sunt per prophetas de Filio hominis.

3.3 Responsories

The Carthusian Responsoriale is unique among all the monastic sources, and in spite of the 'traditional principle', paradoxically the furthest removed from the general tradition.¹⁶ Many Responsories which appear in most Breviaries and Antiphonaries of the general tradition are missing from the Carthusian Antiphonary. Only those texts were taken from the tradition which are scriptural. The extent of the Carthusian Responsoriale is therefore small. Becker found 508 Responsories in the Carthusian Antiphonary, *MS 4c7* has 502.¹⁷ The 12th-century Benedictine Antiphonary of Lucca, *MS Lucca 601*, contains 756 Responsories¹⁸. *MS Toledo, Bibliotheca Capitular*, 44.2, contains 1239 Responsories.¹⁹

Of the 502 Responsories in *MS 4c7*, 411 appear in the general tradition, that is, they appear in at least one of the twelve Antiphonaries edited by Hesbert. Many of these texts appear in all or almost all of the manuscripts and thus belong to the tradition. The rest of the Responsories, therefore 18.17% of the Responsories in *MS 4c7*, do not

appear in the *CAO*. Twenty-seven of these are Responsories for later feasts. If one takes into account that the Carthusians, in the compilation of their Antiphonary, did not make use of an archetype, but of various liturgical books of their time and region, one has to look for the missing Responsories in the regional tradition.

Becker counted only 24 Responsories which could be found in no other sources.²⁰ It has to be noted, however, that 13 Responsories which he indicated as appearing in the *CAO*, do not in fact appear there.

Four of the Responsories which he indicates as not appearing in the *CAO*, do in fact appear, but with significant changes. In all these instances the Responsory is combined with the verse given in the Hesbert sources for that Responsory, or with another verse and/or Responsory, to conform more exactly to the scriptural version. It would seem that these are changes which represent the scriptural principle of the Carthusian Antiphonary.

MS 4c7, fol. 95v, (First Sunday in Lent, Matins), Ps. 78, 9, old version:
 Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster et propter honorem nominis tui
 Domine libera nos et propicius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen
 tuum. (Then follows the verse 'Intret in conspectu')

CAO, Antiphonary of Hartker: Adiuva nos, Deus, salutaris noster. V.
 Propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos.

Vulgate: Adiuva nos, Deus, salutaris noster; Et propter gloriam nominis
 tui, Domine, libera nos; Et propitius esto peccatis nostris, propter no-
 men tuum.

Vetus Italica: Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster: propter honorem nomi-
 nis tui Domine libera nos: et propitius esto peccatis nostris, propter no-
 men tuum.

MS 4c7, fol.55r, (First Sunday after Epiphany, Matins), Matt. 3, 16-17:
 Hodie celis aperti sunt et vox de celo intonuit dicens hic est filius dilec-
 tus in quo michi conplacuit.

CAO, the Antiphonaries of Compiègne, Ivrée and Saint-Loup de Benevent: Hodie coeli aperti sunt et mare dulce factum est terra exultat, montes et colles laetantur. quia a Joanne in Jordane Christus baptizatus est.

CAO, all twelve sources: Hodie, in Jordane baptizato Domino, aperti sunt coeli, et sicut columba super eum spiritus mansit, et vox Patris intonuit. Hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi complacuit.

Vulgate: Baptizatus autem Iesus...et ecce aperti sunt ei caeli;...Et ecce vox de caelis dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui.

Vetus Italica: Et baptizato Jesu...et ecce aperti sunt ei coeli; et vidit spiritum descendentem de coelo sicut columbam...Et ecce vox de coelis dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene complacui.

MS 4c7, fol. 240v, (Conversion of St. Paul, Matins), Gal. 6, 14: Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini mei Iesu Christi. Per quem michi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.

(Then follows the verse 'Vivo autem iam'.)

CAO, Antiphonary of Rheinau: Mihi autem absit gloriari alleluia alleluia. V. Nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi. (R. Mihi vivere Christus... Antiphonaries of Saint-Denis, Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, Silos) V. Per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.

Vulgate: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo.

Vetus Italica: Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi: per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.

MS 4c7, fol. 33v, (Christmas Day, Matins) Ps. 47, 10-11, old version: Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui secundum

nomen tuum Deus sic et laus tua in fines terre. Iusticia plena est dextera tua. (Then follows the verse 'Letentur'.)

CAO, Antiphonary of Rheinau: Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam. V. In medio templi tui secundum nomen tuum.

Vulgate: Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui. Secundum nomen tuum, Deus, sic et laus tua in fines terre. Iusticia plena est dextera tua.

Vetus Italica: Suscepimus Deus misericordiam tuam, in medio plebis tuae. Secundum nomen tuum Deus, ita et laus tua in fines terrae, iusticia plena est dextera tua.

On the other hand, Becker indicates that the Responsoy 'Michael et angeli', appears in five Hesbert sources.²¹ The Responsoy in the *CAO* reads: 'Michael et angeli eius pugnabant cum diabolo; et ille hostis antiquus victus est ab eo'; the Responsoy in *MS 4c7* and in all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries used for purposes of comparison, reads: 'Michael et angeli eius pugnabant cum drachone et dracho pugnabat et angeli eius et non prevalerunt, neque locus inventus est amplius eorum in celo'. This is obviously again an instance of a Carthusian correction according to the scriptural principle. The *Vulgate* version reads: Revelation 12,7: 'Michael et angeli eius praeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat, et angeli eius; et non praevaluerunt neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo', and the *Vetus Italica*: 'Michael et angeli ejus praeliabantur cum dracone, et draco pugnabat, et angeli ejus; neque praevaluerunt, neque locus eorum amplius in coelo inventus est.'

Of the Responsoy, which, according to Becker, could not be traced in any source, Devaux succeeded in tracing two:

Apparuit abrahe
Non erunt ultra

Reims
Grenoble

He also pointed out that the Offices of the Holy Cross were not original to the Carthusians, but were introduced under Dom Basile (1151—1174). One should therefore look

for the origin in the rites of Bourgogne or Franche-Comté, where he came from.²² The Responsories for these Offices which Becker could not find in the general tradition are 'Christus factus', 'Christus legem', 'Christus passus', 'Cum exaltaveritis', 'Cum mortui essetis', 'Curramus propositum', 'Ipse est caput', 'Michi autem absit gloriari', 'Nunc iudicium'. 'Quicumque volunt', 'Sicut moyses exaltavit', 'Vetus homo noster'.

Eighteen Responsories are the same as Communions in the Gradual. This phenomenon also occurs in other liturgies, but Devaux pointed out that five of these are unique to the Carthusian rite. They are: 'Beatus servus', 'Benedicite omnes', 'Dominus dabit', 'Erubescant' and 'Potum meum'. Five more show slight variants between Antiphonary and Gradual, so that they might have originated from different sources.

Becker argued that since almost all the Responsories could be found in the general and regional traditions, it is not impossible that the remaining few were not composed by Carthusians, but were taken from sources which are as yet unknown or represent Carthusian adaptations of traditional texts, which, because the text often changed drastically after the incipit, could not be recognized as corrections.²³ Devaux agrees with him.²⁴ This is illustrated by the Carthusian adaptations discussed above. The fact that the text often changes after the incipit leads to many misconceptions. As shown above, Becker, although obviously aware of the inherent dangers, was also misled on occasion.

Extensive research into the sources of the Carthusian Responsories falls outside the scope of the present study, however.

There is again a remarkable textual agreement between the Carthusian Antiphonaries in regard to the Responsories. Only one case could be found in which the difference between *MS 4c7* and the other Antiphonaries was not obviously the result of scribal error.

MS 4c7, fol. 158v. (Third Sunday after Octave of Easter, Matins): Ps. 143,9, both versions: (The melody for the missing words is also omitted.) Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi alleluya.

MS F-Dm 118, MSS F-Bea 27, F-Bea 34, F-Bea 41; MS F-G 92. Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi alleluya. *In psalterio decem cordarum psallam tibi alleluya, alleluya.*

CAO. Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi alleluia. *In psalterio decem chordarum psallam tibi, alleluia, alleluia.*

Vulgate. Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi. *In psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.*

Vetus Italica. Deus cantionem novum cantabo tibi *in psalterio decachordo psallam tibi.*

As has been shown, the sequence of Responsories in the Carthusian liturgy is biblical in almost all instances. The Responsories might be arranged according to the different books of Scripture from which they were derived, or in one book between chapters and verses.²⁵ The Office of All Saints is the only one with a thematic arrangement²⁶ which disregards the 'principle of order'.

The Responsories for the feast of All Saints are:

1	In propria	Jo. 1,11-13	Christmas and Circumcision ²⁷
2	Beatam me dicent	Lk. 1,48-49	Purification, Annunciation, Assumption
3	In conspectu	Ps. 137,1-2	St. Michael
4	Iustorum anime	Sap. 3,1-3	Holy Innocents, Common of Many Martyrs
5	Inter natos	Matt. 11, 11	St. John the Baptist, Decollation of St. John the Baptist
6	Tu es Petrus	Matt. 16,18-19	St. Peter
7	Non sunt loquelae	Ps. 18,4-5	Common of Apostles
8	Letamini	Ps. 31,11	Common of Many Martyrs
9	Centum quadraginta	Rev. 14,3-4	Holy Innocents
10	Corpora sanctorum	Eccl. 44,14	Common of Many Martyrs, Holy Innocents
11	Offerentur	Ps. 44,15-16	Assumption, Common of One Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene
12	Mirabilis	Ps. 67, 36	Common of Many Martyrs

The sequence of Responsories in *MS 4c7* agrees in all instances, except one, with the general Carthusian tradition as outlined by Becker.²⁸ The one exception occurs on fol. 158r, Third Sunday after Octave of Easter, where one Responsory and its verse are

omitted. The Responsory 'Christus resurgens' and the verse 'Mortuus' are missing between the seventh Responsory 'In toto corde', verse 'In corde' and the ninth Responsory, 'Hymnum cantate', verse 'Illic'. The sequence in *MS 4c7* therefore consists of only eleven Responsories. The omission might be explained by the fact that the missing Responsory and verse are derived from the New Testament and disturb a sequence of texts derived from the Old Testament. In none of the other cases where the sequence of Responsories is disturbed was any attempt made to change the order in *MS 4c7*, however. The omission might also be explained as a scribal error in the exemplar from which *MS 4c7* was copied. This explanation is strengthened by the fact that in *MS F-Dm 118* the Responsory 'Christus resurgens' and its verse 'Mortuus' are also missing in the text, although the words 'Christus resurgens' with an arrow pointing to the place where the missing Responsory should have appeared, were added in a different (later?) script. This similarity furnishes further strong evidence that *MS F-Dm 118* and *MS 4c7* were copied from the same exemplar (see pp. 34 and 35 of Vol. 1 of this thesis). The Responsory appears as a textual incipit in *MS F-Bea 41*, and as a notated incipit in *MS F-G 92*.

According to Lambres, until the 15th century the Carthusian Antiphonary also contained the chants of the Office of the Dead, but they were used only for exceptional ceremonies, such as funerals of the clergy or of benefactors.²⁹ It is therefore to be expected that the Office should appear in full in *MS 4c7*, an Antiphonary written for the mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy. The Office appears in *MS F-Bea 41* (provenance the Charterhouse of Beaune-Fontenay, near Dijon) in the same form as in *MS 4c7* (fol. 310r—313v). It does not appear in *MS F-Dm 118*, but the manuscript is incomplete at the end. It does not appear in *MS F-G 200* (a complete manuscript) nor, apparently, does it appear in *MS AGC 2 Off Noct 27* (1346), the manuscript from which Becker compiled his list of Responsories. For this Office he used *MS AGC C II 824*, 11th century. The Office contains only nine *Responsoria prolixa* in *MS 4c7*, like everywhere else. The first Carthusians ordered the Responsories for this Office according to their sequence in the book of Job.

Like the order of Alleluias for the Sundays after Pentecost, the sequence of Responsories for Matins of the Office of the Dead can assist in the localisation of manuscripts. The arrangement of these chants differs from one place to another, and may

sometimes suggest a region or even a particular house or place of use of a manuscript. While the information thus gained about the history of a manuscript is not always conclusive, the ordering of Responsories does vary enough, particularly in the High Middle Ages, to delineate broad geographical patterns of usage.³¹

A comparison of the manuscripts of the Antiphonary showed that the Carthusian Office of the Dead is the same in all the manuscripts in which it occurs, regardless of regional provenance.

3.4 Hymns

The Carthusians originally did not admit Hymns. This practice was also a feature of the Church of Lyon, a neighbour of the Grande Chartreuse, and Vienne, from where the Carthusians took their 'scriptural principle'.³²

Hymns had already been prescribed by the rule of St. Benedict and that might have been a reason for the Carthusians to adopt them, although they were not taken from Scripture. The first Hymns, four in number, were introduced by the General Chapter of 1143. During the 12th century the number increased to 21, to which four were later added for the Feasts of *Corpus Christi* and *Sancte Crucis*. These were increased to 58 when the first printed Hymnary appeared in 1588.³³ The majority of Hymnaries of other orders contain between 80 and 100 pieces; those which make provision for local and lesser saints may add up to twice this number.³⁴

In *MS 4c7* only three incipits of Hymns are given in their correct place in the Antiphonary. The others appear in a separate section at the end of the manuscript. This agrees with the practice in most manuscripts of the period.³⁵

The Hymn 'Christe redemptor' appears on fol. 242r, for St. Mary Magdalene, first Vespers, and again on fol. 266v, for first Vespers of the feast of Eleven thousand Virgins. The Hymn 'Ihesu salvator' appears on fol. 267r for Lauds of the latter feast. In all three instances only the textual incipits are given. The Hymn 'Crux fidelis' appears in incipit as the last Hymn in the Hymnary as well as notated in full on fol. 320r as the last chant in the manuscript.

The textual and notational incipits for 23 Hymns are given on fol. 317r and 317v:

Conditor alme syderum * ³⁶	<i>Ad vespervas. Per totum adventum</i>
Veni redemptor gencium *	<i>In nativitate Domini</i>
Audi benigne conditor *	<i>In quadragesima</i>
Vexilla regis prodeunt *	<i>Dominica in passione</i>
Hic est dies verus *	<i>In resurreccione usque ad ascensionem Domini (MS F-G 394: In die sancto pasche)</i>
Optatus votis omnium *	<i>In ascensione Domini</i>
Iam Christus astra ascenderat	<i>Ad matutinas</i>
Veni creator spiritus *	<i>Pentecostes</i>
Misterium ecclesie	<i>In omnibus sollempnitate beate Marie virginis ad nocturnum</i>
Vere gracia plena es et gloriosa	
Eterne rerum conditor *	<i>Dominicis et feriis diebus ad nocturnum</i>
Splendor paterne glorie *	<i>(MS F-G 394: In laudibus)</i>
Iam lucis orto sidere *	<i>Ad primam horam in festis solemnibus</i>
Nunc sancte nobis *	
Rector potens verax deus *	<i>Hymnus quando dicenda est VI et missa et in vigiliis sollempniter (MS F-G 394: Privatis diebus)</i>
Rerum deus tenax vigor *	<i>Similiter istud dicitur post missam quando dicenda est (MS F-G 394: Ad IX Privatis diebus)</i>
Deus creator omnium *	<i>Dominicis et feriis dicitur (MS F-G 394: Ad vespervas)</i>
Christe redemptor omnium *	<i>In festis XII lectionum et festis capituli</i>
Christe redemptor omnium*	<i>In sollempnitatibus</i>
Ihesu salvator seculi *	<i>In festis XII lectionum. Ad laudes</i>
Ihesu salvator seculi *	<i>In sollempnitatibus ad laudes</i>
Ut queant laxis *	<i>S. Iohannis baptiste</i>
Crux fidelis inter omnis *	<i>Sancte crucis</i>

Of these, two are absent from *CAO*:

Misterium ecclesie
Vere gracia plena es et gloriosa

The text of 'Vere gracia plena es et gloriosa' is the only one which does not appear in Stäblein's *Hymner*³⁷ although the melody, which is the same as that of 'Mysterium ecclesie', does appear there.

The Hymn 'Te decet laus' appears on fol.319v. (See Chapter 4.4.3 for discussion.)

In *MS F-Dm 118* the textual incipit of 'Christe redemptor' appears for the first Vespers of St. Mary Magdalene and 'Ihesu salvator' appears for Lauds of Eleven thousand Virgins. No other Hymns appear in *MS F-Dm 118*. The manuscript is incomplete at the end, ending during the Common of Confessors. It is therefore possible that it had contained a Hymnary or a list of Hymn incipits.

MSS F-Bea 27, F-Bea 34, F-Bea 41 and *F-G 200* have no Hymns in the text and no Hymnary at the end. *MS F-G 394* has a Hymnary consisting of 22 Hymns. Each Hymn is followed by one or more orations. In this manuscript the Hymnary forms part of an appendix obviously added later, while in *MS 4c7* the Hymnary was copied as part of the original manuscript. It would seem that the inclusion of a Hymnary like the one in *MS 4c7* was unusual in Carthusian Antiphonaries. The Hymnary in *MS F-G 394* does not show a complete concordance with the Hymns in *MS 4c7*. As mentioned, Hymns which appear in both Hymnaries are indicated by asterisks in the above list. Additional Hymns in *MS F-G 394* are:

Pange lingua
 Sacris sollemnis
 Verbum imperium
 Ave maris stella

Instances where the rubric preceding the Hymn differs from that in *MS 4c7* are indicated in the above list.

Other Carthusian Hymnaries are included in Tonaries and Sequentiaries, for instance *MS Basel BV 29*, 15th century, and *MS Siena, Biblioteca Comunale Degl'intronati, G III 2*, 14th century, both intended for private use.³⁸ *MS Basel BV 29* contains 262 Hymns, which include the texts of all those in *MS 4c7*. *MS Parkminster DD 10*, which also contains a Tonary, a musical treatise and a Gradual, has a Hymnary consisting of six Hymns.

3.5 Sanctoriale

The liturgy of the Carthusian Order is characterized by the fact that, in comparison with that of, for example, the Augustinians and Benedictines, it has a small number of its own feasts. Everywhere, even in Cîteaux, the number of saints is at least twice as large as one would find in the Carthusian Order. The lack of widespread feasts, the rejection

of almost all feasts of regional saints and the very small number of saints of the Order who were canonized, give the Carthusian Calendar its characteristic appearance.³⁹

The Carthusians adopted a form of the Sanctorale as it was used at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century; only in the 13th century and especially in the later centuries did the local calendars incorporate local saints. According to Devaux and Van Dijck the Carthusians refused to adopt 'new forms of devotion which in the end somewhat obscured the liturgy and Christ himself in a cloud of saints who were often almost completely unknown'.⁴⁰

It was said, 'The Chartreuse makes saints but do not make them known' ('Cartusia sanctos facit, sed non patefacit').⁴¹ This is established by the fact that the founder of the Order, St. Bruno, who died in 1101, was canonized only in 1514 and his feast extended to the universal church in 1623.⁴² His feast is therefore not in *MS 4c7*.

When the Carthusians did admit new feasts, they generally gave them the Office corresponding to the Common. An exceptionally great use is therefore made of the Common. The most striking example is the feast of St. Bruno. He was canonized in a period noted for composition and invention, yet every word and every note of both Office and Mass are from the Common of Confessors not Popes.⁴³ The latest feast in *MS 4c7* is that of Eleven thousand Virgins, admitted in the whole Order in 1352. The chants are given in incipit and the whole repertory is derived from existing Offices.

The Mother Mary is accorded the highest veneration by the Carthusian Order. She is venerated on 8 September (Nativity), 8 December (Conception), 2 February (Purification), 25 March (Annunciation), 2 July (Visitation), 15 August (Assumption) and 21 November (Presentation).⁴⁴ *MS 4c7* does not have the feasts of Visitation (admitted 1468) Presentation (admitted 1470), or of Conception. The latter feast was admitted in 1332, but the name was changed to Sanctification in 1341; in 1470 it was Conception again. It is not to be found in *MS 4c7* under either name.

MS 4c7 has no Calendar. (A list of feasts of the Sanctorale is given in Vol. 2 of this thesis, p. 229.) The feasts agree with those in the Calendar published by Becker⁴⁵, as well as with the Calendar published by Lambres,⁴⁶ although *MS 4c7* lists much fewer feasts because it is representative of an earlier period. The latter Calendar was criticized by

Hogg. Until the Acts of the General Chapter of the Order is published, it is not possible to make a thorough study of this subject, because it is unknown on which dates new feasts were introduced into the Carthusian Calendar, he said.⁴⁷ However, Lambres does give the dates when many of the new feasts were introduced.

The feasts of saints in *MS 4c7* appear in three groups: fol. 35v—51v, following Advent; fol. 174v—182v, following Octave of Pentecost and preceding *Corpus Christi*, and fol. 217r—316v, following the last Sunday of Pentecost. The arrangement of the Sanctorale in three sections, each at the end of a liturgical period of the Temporale, is the primitive arrangement of the Roman Antiphonaries and Graduals. The Carthusian Graduals followed this arrangement until the 13th century. The arrangement was preserved in the Antiphonary until a later period because it was more convenient to find the Antiphons of the Commemorations, which are not needed for the Mass. The arrangement in *MS F-Dm 118* agrees with the arrangement in *MS 4c7*. In both manuscripts the Sanctorale, following the last Sunday of Pentecost, begins with Purification (2 February). In *MS F-G 200*, however, Conversion of St. Paul, Purification, and Cathedral of St. Peter appear on fol. 83r, (after Epiphany); SS. Hugh and Ambrose appear on fol. 169v (after Easter), and the Sanctorale begins on fol. 202v with Vigil of St. John the Baptist (23 June). One section of the Common of Saints deals especially with the feasts during Easter time, *Tempore Paschali*, giving the alternative common items for that period. This part of the Common is usually inserted into the middle of the Sanctorale, at the end of the Spring feasts.⁴⁸ In *MS 4c7* the alternative Common of Martyrs appears with the Offices of SS. Hugh and Ambrose in the Temporale, following Octave of Pentecost, folios 174—182v, as indicated above.

The feasts in the Sanctorale of *MS 4c7* confirm the dating of the manuscript (end of the 14th century) as the feasts of Invention of the Cross (May 3, admitted 1454) as well as the Visitation are lacking.

There are no feasts of regional importance in the Sanctorale of *MS 4c7*. The feast of Eleven thousand Virgins (21 October) is also to be found in *MS F-Dm 118* but is lacking in *MSS F-Bea 34* and *41*. It appears in *MS F-Bea 27* in a much later script on a folio apparently pasted in after the feast of St. Michael (September 29).

As mentioned earlier, the most surprising feature of the feasts in *MS 4c7* is the absence of the feast of the Holy Trinity. The Charterhouse of Champmol was dedicated to the Trinity on 24 May 1388 and given the name of 'Chartreuse de la Sainte Trinité'. Already in 1419 an image of the Holy Trinity was placed in the centre of a church window.⁴⁹ (See, however, p. 20 , Vol. 1 of this thesis.) It seems as if the Charterhouse of Dijon was one of the first Charterhouses to use the Office. When in 1467, the Carthusians of Rouen wished to use the Office, they were told to obtain the Office from the Carthusians of Dijon.⁵⁰

3.6 Conclusion

A marked textual similarity exists between all the Carthusian manuscripts. The relationship between *MSS 4c7* and *F-Dm118*, both written for the Charterhouse of Champmol, proves to be so close that they were probably copied from the same exemplar.

Chapter 4

The Music of *MS 4c7*

4.1 Introduction

Very little research has been done on the melodies of the Carthusian Antiphonary. The deficiency in large works on Antiphonaries, like those of Hesbert and Becker, lies in the fact that they deal only with the text. Becker admitted that the research into the chants of the Mass and the Office from a purely textual angle is only half a case, one which often leads to wrong conclusions. It is especially the melodic variants, different melodies for the same text and variations of a melismatic and melodic nature, which supply the best information on the parentage of liturgical books.¹

In discussing the question of the source of the Carthusian Antiphonary, Becker remarked that from the beginning the Carthusian repertory was, musically speaking, astonishingly homogeneous. There must have been musical editing already at the beginning, by which the different elements were unified, or it had all come from a single source, he commented.²

Huglo seems to differ, however. According to him, the oldest Carthusian manuscripts are Aquitanian manuscripts adapted and corrected to conform to the use in the new Order. In his opinion the unity of the chant was not achieved until the manuscripts were consolidated in 1271 (as required by the so-called *Statuta antiqua*) by reference to a corrected exemplar.³

In discussing the Carthusian Gradual, Devaux has suggested that in the earliest manuscripts the melodies were not Carthusian, but belonged to the traditions of the local dioceses. A survey of 13th-century sources showed that in Provence 30% of the melodies presented significant divergences from the Carthusian version. From the end of the 12th

century the differences (for example in *MS Durbon 801*) were resolved by accepting the version of the Grande Chartreuse in almost the whole Order. From the 14th century on, the Carthusian Graduals did therefore form 'a compact group' differentiated only by scribal error. The version of the Grande Chartreuse was consistently adopted for the printed choir books.⁴

There is no doubt that the compiler of the Carthusian Antiphonary did not extend to the melodies the solicitude which he manifested in the choice of texts. If we compare the oldest manuscripts of the period with those of the Carthusians, we find that the melodies are generally the same. The only melodic alteration which can be attributed to the author of the Antiphonary is the avoidance of long vocalizings (sometimes two or three times longer than those of the Alleluia or Gradual), which some monasteries had added to certain Responsories.⁵

The Carthusians, therefore, in contrast to the Cistercians and Dominicans, did not change the transmitted melodies. The Cistercians in their choral reform simplified the melodies. This is not the case with the Carthusians. They took over without changes the melodies as they found them in the traditional sources. With regard to the melodies, Guigo was concerned only about the removal of pieces which were too difficult to sing and the confinement of the repertory to what was necessary. The Carthusian chant is therefore nothing but Gregorian chant as it was used in the Aquitanian region.⁶

By means of preserving as far as possible compositions on scriptural texts, the oldest and generally the simplest melodies were preserved, because the later melodies were generally not distinguished by simplicity and facility of execution.⁷

The comparison of *MS 4c7* with other Carthusian Antiphonaries revealed few marked musical variations. Variant melodies are discussed in detail below. However, small variations, involving differences in pitch of only a note or two, with no modal or other significance, occur in most chants.

Examples are:

Table 4.1

Thursday during Lent, 'Pater meus usque modo' on 'meus':

<i>MSS 4c7</i> ,fol.116r	<i>3c23</i>	<i>FDm 118</i>	<i>FBea 41</i>
f-d-f-f-e-d	f-d-e-f-e-c	f-d-f-f-e-d	f-d-e-f-e-d
<i>FBea 34</i>	<i>FBea 27</i>	<i>FG 866</i>	<i>FG 394</i>
f-d-f-e-c	f-d-f-e-c	f-d-e-f-e-c	f-d-e-f-e-c

Thursday after Easter Sunday, 'Dixit autem Ihesus ad mulierum' on 'Ihesus':

<i>MSS 4c7</i> ,fol.122r	<i>3c23</i>	<i>FDm 118</i>	<i>FBea 41</i>
b-c-c	g-a-a	b-c-c	b-c-c
<i>FBea 34</i>	<i>FBea 27</i>	<i>FG 866</i>	<i>FG 394</i>
b-c-c	b-c-c	b-c-c	b-c-c

Holy Saturday, 'Videbunt' on 'videbunt',

<i>MSS 4c7</i> ,fol.143r	<i>3c23</i>	<i>FDm 118</i>	<i>FBea 41</i>
a-c-b-g	a-c-b-a	a-c-b-g	d-f-e-d ⁸
<i>FBea 34</i>	<i>FBea 27</i>	<i>FG 866</i>	<i>FG 394</i>
a-c-b-a	a-c-b-a	a-c-b-a	a-c-b-a

Tuesday of the week before Easter, 'Obtulerunt discipuli domino' on 'partem':

<i>MSS 4c7</i> ,fol. 149v	<i>3c23</i>	<i>FDm 118</i>	<i>FBea 41</i>
g-g	a-g	g-g	a-g
<i>FBea 34</i>	<i>FBea 27</i>	<i>FG 866</i>	<i>FG 394</i>
a-g	a-g	a-g	a-g

Here again, the agreement between *MSS 4c7* and *F-Dm118* is clearly evident.

4.2 Antiphons

In the general tradition, the text of an Antiphon appears most of the time in all manuscripts with the same melody. But it does happen that pieces which are identical in terms of text, can appear in manuscripts with different melodies. For example, German chant manuscripts often have melodies which differ from those of French and Aquitanian manuscripts.⁹ This is not the case with the Carthusian manuscripts. In general, in the Carthusian manuscripts where the same texts are used the same melodies are employed. The manuscript from Erfurt, *MS D-W lat 702*, and the *Graz* manuscripts, for example, are

in general in accordance with the manuscripts from Grenoble and Dijon. As will be shown, there are some regional variants.

4.2.1 Simple melodies

As mentioned above, the melodies in the Carthusian manuscripts are usually the same as those used in the general tradition for the same texts, although sometimes, as in the case of the two Antiphons 'Sapientia aedificavit' and 'Pinguis est' the Carthusian manuscripts show a preference for simpler chants.¹⁰

Ex. 4. 1 'Sapientia aedificavit'

4c7

Sa-pi-en - ci-a e-di-fi-ca-vit si-bi do-mum

Antiphonale¹¹
Monasticum

Sa-pi-en - ti-a ae-di-fi-ca - vit si-bi do-mum, mis -

4c7

mis - cu - it vi - num et po - su - it men - sam al - le - lu - ya.

Antiphonale
Monasticum

cu - it vi - num, et po - su - it men - sam al - le - lu - ia.

Ex. 4.2 'Pinguis est'

The image shows two musical examples of the antiphon 'Pinguis est'. Each example consists of two staves: the top staff is labeled '4c7' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Antiphonale Monasticum'. Both staves use a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, stepwise fashion with some phrasing slurs. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Example 1:

4c7: Pin - guis est pa - nis Chris-ti et pre-be-bit de -

Antiphonale Monasticum: Pin-guis est pa - nis Chris-ti et prae - be - bit de -

Example 2:

4c7: li - ci - as re - gi - bus al - le - lu - ya.

Antiphonale Monasticum: li - ci - as re - gi - bus, al - le - lu - ja.

4.2.2 Variant melodies

The melodies of three Antiphons in *MS 4c7* differ from the melodies which appear for these Antiphons in the general Carthusian tradition:

- Amen amen dico vobis Ps. Benedictus (fol. 173r) Tuesday in the week after Pentecost, Lauds;
- Qui non accipit crucem Ps. Deus, Deus (fol. 259r) Exaltation of the Cross, Lauds;
- Christus peccata nostra pertulit Ps. Benedictus (fol. 259r) Exaltation of the Cross, Lauds.

The Antiphon 'Amen amen dico vobis' appears in the general Carthusian tradition in the sixth mode. The finalis is *f*, the dominant *a*, the ambitus *c-b flat*. It appears in this form in *MS 3c23*, *MSS F-Bea 27, 34 and 41*; *MSS F-G 867, 200, 418, 19, 394, 201, 866 and 47*; *MSS A-Gu 7, 18, 21 and 273*; *MS B-Br 15072*; *MS Lyon 509*; *MS D-W lat 702*.

In the two manuscripts from Dijon, *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118*, however, the Antiphon is transposed to the upper fifth. The finalis is *c'*, the dominant *e'*, the ambitus *g—f'*. It is in the sixth mode transposed. The reason for the transposition might have been the presence of

4.9, the Carthusians did not regard the B flat with disfavour. There had been, among the Carthusians, a very 'modern' use of the B flat, even in manuscripts of the first period,¹² and there are 438 B flats notated in *MS 4c7* and 551 in *MS F-Dm 118*. Bomm mentions that a simple transposition was on occasion used completely arbitrarily.¹³

Ex. 4.3 'Amen, amen dico vobis'

Dijon

A-men a-men di-co vo-bis qui non

General Carthusian tradition

A-men a-men di-co vo-bis qui non

Dijon

in - trat per os - ti - um in o - vi - le

General Carthusian tradition

in - trat per os - ti - um in o - vi - le

Dijon

o - vi - um sed as - cen - dit a - li - un - de

General Carthusian tradition

o - vi - um sed as - cen - dit a - li - un - de

Dijon

il - le fur est et la - tro al -

General Carthusian tradition

il - le fur est et la - tro al -

Dijon
le - lu - ya. Ps. Be - ne - dic - tus. Euouae.

General Carthusian tradition
le - lu - ia. Ps. Be - ne - dic - tus. Euouae.

Once again the agreement between the two Dijon manuscripts points to the likelihood of a common exemplar. It is clear that here the exemplar from which the Dijon manuscripts were copied was an exception to the general Carthusian rule. This exemplar either conformed to the usage in the Dijon region, or was from Paris and conformed to a Parisian usage¹⁴.

There is no extant Antiphonary from the Charterhouse of Paris, apart from the fragments of *MS Paris, Arsenal 1233 (195 B.T.L.)* This consists of 6 folios with miniatures and ornamented letters, 47,5 x 39 cm. and dated 1684—1685, 70 years after the first printed edition of the Carthusian Antiphonary, namely that of Pavia, 1612.¹⁵ The possible concordance of the Dijon Antiphonaries with a Parisian Antiphonary could therefore not be ascertained.

This Antiphon appears in *MS Bibl. Nat. lat. 8882* (12th century, Paris, Cistercian) and *MS Bibl. Nat. lat. 784* (13th century, Paris, non-Carthusian) with a completely different melody.

The two Antiphons for the feast of Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), 'Qui non accipit' and 'Christus peccata' appear in *MS 4c7*, *MS 3c23*, *MS F-Dm 118* and *MSS F-Bea 27*, 34 and 41 with melodies which differ from the general Carthusian tradition, as represented by *MSS F-G 867*, 200, 418, 394, 201, 866, 47, *MSS A-Gu 7*, 18 and 21, and *MS B-Br 15072*. These two Antiphons are among the 88 Carthusian Antiphons which do not appear in the general Roman or monastic traditions.¹⁶ They might have been obtained from an unknown source.¹⁷ Devaux has suggested that the chant of the canons of St. Ruf was a possible source since he has discovered that the Carthusian Alleluia for the Mass

of that feast has St. Ruf as its source.¹⁸ The probable source is, however, the Dijon-Beaune region, since in this case the three Beaune manuscripts agree with the Dijon manuscripts. The manuscripts from Beaune, a neighbouring town of Dijon, were written for the Charterhouse of Fontenay, near Beaune, founded in 1328, sixty years before Champmol.

The Antiphon 'Qui non accipit' appears in the general Carthusian tradition in the third mode. The Dijon version appears in the first mode.

Ex. 4. 4 'Qui non accipit'

Dijon

Qui non ac - ci - pit cru - cem su - am et se - qui-tur

General Carthusian tradition

Qui non ac - ci - pit cru - cem su-am et se - qui-tur .

Dijon

me non est me dig - nus di - cit Do - mi - nus

General Carthusian tradition

me non est me dig - nus di - cit Do - mi - nus

Dijon

Ps. De - us De - us. Euouae.

General Carthusian tradition

Ps. De - us Euouae.

The melody of 'Christus peccata' as it appears in *MS 4c7* is in the first mode; that in the general Carthusian tradition is in the eighth mode.

Ex. 4. 5 'Christus peccata'

Dijon

Chris - tus pec - ca - ta nos - tra per - tu - lit

General Carthusian tradition

Chris - tus pec - ca - ta nos - tra per - tu - lit

Dijon

cor - po - re su - o su - per lig - num.

General Carthusian tradition

cor - po - re su - o su - per lig - num.

Dijon

Ps. Be - ne - dic - tus. Euouae.

General Carthusian tradition

Ps. Be - ne - dic - tus. Euouae.

As can be seen from the examples, the two chants are related in the two versions. The Sélignac Carthusians, Devaux, Van Dijck and Gaillard, pointed out that the termination of the Dijon version is the ninth termination of the first mode of the Carthusian Antiphony. This termination occurs only twice during the year: in the Antiphon 'Speciosus' of Matins of Circumcision and of Matins of Transfiguration.

The evidence of these variant Antiphons seems to prove that even in the late 14th century there was no single exemplar for the Antiphony, and that melodies showing significant variants from the general Carthusian version were derived from other traditions. The Dijon and Beaune manuscripts certainly represent a group of manuscripts copied from a variant source.

4.2.3 Antiphons of the eighth mode

In *MS 4c7*, as in most of the Carthusian manuscripts compared with it, the psalmody of Antiphons of the eighth mode begins with the g - a - c' of that mode. They agree in this with the printed Antiphonaries and with the 'Franco-Italian' version of Cluny. In *MS F-G 200*, however, the psalmody of these Antiphons begins with the f - a - c' of the fifth mode. The manuscript agrees in this with the early Antiphonaries, *AGC C // 828* (11th century) and *MS Sélignac 2* (13th century) as well as with *AGC C // 831* (15th century), where the original f - a - c' was corrected to g - a - c'.¹⁹

4.3 Reponsories

There are four Responsories in *MS 4c7* of which the melodies differ from the general Carthusian tradition:

R. Scindite corda vestra (fol. 95r)²⁰ First Sunday of Lent, Matins

R. Oravit iacob et dixit V. Deus in cuius conspectu (fol. 101r) Saturday after Second Sunday of Lent, Matins

R. Esto nobis V. A facie inimici (fol. 114r) Fourth Sunday of Lent, Lauds

R. Cum mortui (fol. 258r)²¹ Exaltation of the Cross, Matins

The Responsory 'Scindite corda vestra' as it appears in *MS 4c7* agrees with the version in the other Carthusian manuscripts up to '(ves)timenta'. From this point on the version in *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118* appears a third higher than the version in the other Carthusian manuscripts. The other Carthusian manuscripts consulted in this regard are *MSS F-Bea 27, 34, 41; MSS F-G 867, 200, 418, 19, 394, 201, 866, 47; MSS A-Gu 7, 18, 21, 273; MS B-Br 15072, MS Lyon 509 and MS D-W lat 702*. This variant is probably due to an error in the exemplar from which *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118* were copied, providing particularly strong evidence that the same exemplar was used for both manuscripts.

Ex. 4.6 'Scindite corda vestra'

The image displays a musical score for the chant 'Scindite corda vestra' in two parts: 'Dijon' and 'General Carthusian tradition'. The score is presented in three systems, each with two staves. The top staff of each system is labeled 'Dijon' and the bottom staff is labeled 'General Carthusian tradition'. Both staves use a treble clef with a one-line staff (C-clef on the first line) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes, often grouped with slurs. The lyrics for the first system are 'Scin-di - te cor-da ves - tra et non'. The lyrics for the second system are 'ves - ti - men - ta ves - tra con -'. The lyrics for the third system are 'ver - ti - mi - ni'.

Dijon
Scin-di - te cor-da ves - tra et non

General Carthusian tradition
Scin-di - te cor-da ves - tra et non

Dijon
ves - ti - men - ta ves - tra con -

General Carthusian tradition
ves - ti - men - ta ves - tra con -

Dijon
ver - ti - mi - ni

General Carthusian tradition
ver - ti - mi - ni

The Responsory 'Oravit iacob et dixit', with its verse 'Deus in cuius conspectu' appears in *MS 4c7*, *MS F-Dm 118*, and *MS B-Br* transposed a fourth higher than the version in the other Carthusian manuscripts studied: *MSS F-Bea 27, 34, 41*; *MSS F-G 867, 200, 418, 19, 394, 201, 866, 47*; *MSS A-Gu 7, 18, 21, 273*; *MS Lyon 509, MS D-W lat 702*. There are some minor variations. The version in the 'general' Carthusian tradition is in the eighth mode, that in *MSS 4c7, F-Dm 118* and *B-Br 15072* in the transposed eighth mode. There is no apparent reason for the transposition. The transposition places the chant in a higher register in these three manuscripts, but all three contain many chants at the lower pitch.

Ex. 4.7 'Oravit iacob et dixit'

Dijon

O - ra - vit ia - cob et

General Carthusian tradition

O - ra - vit la - cob et

Dijon

di - xit Do - mi - ne qui

General Carthusian tradition

di - xit Do - mi - ne qui

Dijon

di - xis - ti mi - chi re - ver - te - re in ter -

General Carthusian tradition

di - xis - ti mi - chi re - ver - te - re in ter -

Dijon

ram na - ti - vi - ta - tis

General Carthusian tradition

ram na - ti - vi - ta - tis

Dijon

tu - e. E - ru -

General Carthusian tradition

tu - e. E - ru -

Dijon

e me de ma - nu

General Carthusian tradition

e me de ma - nu

Dijon

fra - tris me - i qui - a val -

General Carthusian tradition

fra - tris me - i qui - a val -

Dijon

de e - um

General Carthusian tradition

de e - um

Dijon

ti - me o

General Carthusian tradition

ti - me o

Dijon

V. De - us in cu - ius con - spec - tu

General Carthusian tradition

V. De - us in cu - ius con - spec - tu

Dijon

am-bu-la-ve-runt pa-tres me-i Do-mi-ne

General Carthusian tradition

am-bu-la-ve-runt pa-tres me-i Do-mi-ne

Dijon

qui pas-cis me a-ni-ven-tu-te

General Carthusian tradition

qui pas-cis me a-ni-ven-tu-te

Dijon

me a. E-ru-e

General Carthusian tradition

me a. E-ru-e

The Responsory 'Esto nobis', with its verse 'A facie inimici' appears in *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm118*, transposed a fifth higher than in *MS 3c23*, *MSS F-Bea 27, 34, 41*; *MSS A-Gu 7, 21*; *MSS F-G 867, 200, 418, 19, 394, 201, 866, 47*; *MS Lyon 509*, *MS D-W lat 702*. The reason for the transposition is not clear, since b flats are notated in both versions.

The transposition does not alter the mode. The general Carthusian version is in the sixth mode, the Dijon version in the transposed sixth mode. Becker points out that this is a chant with 'irregular psalmody in the verse'.²² The verse of the general Carthusian version is in the fifth mode and that of the Dijon version is in the transposed fifth mode.

Ex. 4. 8 'Esto nobis'

Dijon

Es - to no - bis Do - mi - ne tur -

General Carthusian tradition

Es - to no - bis Do - mi - ne Tur -

Dijon

ris for - ti - tu - di - nis.

General Carthusian tradition

ris for - ti - tu - di - nis.

Dijon

V. A fa - ci - e in - i - mi - ci

General Carthusian tradition

V. A fa - ci - e in - i - mi - ci

Dijon

tur - ris glo - ri - a Pa - tri

General Carthusian tradition

Tur - ris glo - ri - a Pa - tri

Dijon

et Fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to

General Carthusian tradition

et Fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i sanc - to

The Responsory 'Cum mortui' appears in *MS 4c7*, *MS F-Dm 118* and the three Beaune manuscripts with a melody which is a variant of the melody in *MSS F-G 867*, 418, 19, 394, 201, 866; *MS B-Br 15072*, and *MSS A-Gu 7*, 18, 21. Both are in the seventh mode. Like the two Antiphons mentioned on p. 71 this Responsory is not part of the general Roman or monastic tradition. Here, again, the correspondence with the three Beaune manuscripts has to be noted. The origin is probably in the Dijon-Beaune region.

Ex. 4. 9 'Cum mortui'

Dijon	
General Carthusian tradition	
Dijon	
General Carthusian tradition	
Dijon	
General Carthusian tradition	
Dijon	
General Carthusian tradition	

Dijon

vos cum il - lo.

General Carthusian tradition

vos cum il - lo.

Dijon

Do - nans vo - bis om - ni - a de - lic - ta

General Carthusian tradition

Do - nans vo - bis om - ni - a de -

Dijon

de - lens quod ad - ver - sum

General Carthusian tradition

lic - ta de - lens quod ad - ver - sum

Dijon

vos e - rat cy - ro - gra - phum

General Carthusian tradition

vos e - rat cy - ro - gra - phum

Dijon

de - cre - ti quod e - rat

General Carthusian tradition

de - cre - ti quod e - rat.

Dijon

con - tra - ri - um vo - bis et

General Carthusian tradition

con - tra - ri - um vo - bis et

Dijon

ip - sum tu - lit de me - di -

General Carthusian tradition

ip - sum tu - lit me - di - o

Dijon

o - af - fi -

General Carthusian tradition

af - fi - gens

Dijon

gens il - lud cru - ci

General Carthusian tradition

il - lud cru - ci

4.4 Hymns

The repertory of Hymns has always remained very restricted in the Carthusian Order. There are today only 27 melodies of which some serve more than one text.²³

According to Becker the melodies of the Hymns in the Carthusian chantbooks agree in general with the traditional melodies.²⁴ The melodies of all the Hymns in *MS 4c7*, with the exception of those for 'Crux fidelis' and 'Te decet laus' could be found in Stäblein's *Hymnen*²⁵, but in the versions of *MS Basel BV 29*, not those of *MS 4c7*. Stäblein remarks²⁶ that the texts of Hymns like 'Crux fidelis' which 'were set to music like Antiphons', are not included. The 'Te decet' melody will be discussed in Chapter 4.4.3. As mentioned, the text of 'Vere gracia plena es et gloriosa' does not appear in Stäblein's *Hymnen*, although the melody, which is that of 'Mysterium ecclesie', does appear there²⁷. All the Hymns in *MS 4c7*, with the exception of 'Crux fidelis' and 'Te decet laus', appear only in incipit. There are 18 melodies for the 23 Hymns. Two of the Hymns appear with two melodies each.

4.4.1 Transposed Hymns

When compared with the Hymnary of *MS Basel BV 29*, it was found that the melodies of four hymns in *MS 4c7* appeared at a different pitch from those in the Basel Hymnary: 'Conditor alme'; 'Iam lucis orto sidere'; 'Crux fidelis' and 'Ut queant laxis'. *MS Basel BV 29* was a collection for private use. According to Devaux, the authority of this manuscript 'as a witness for detail' is 'very mediocre'.²⁸ Nevertheless, as pointed out, the melodies in the Basel Hymnary show a greater concordance with those in Stäblein's collection than with those in *MS 4c7*. There are 262 Hymns in *MS Basel BV 29* on 24 melodies.

Of the six Hymns in *MS Parkminster DD 10* one, 'Iam lucis orto sidere', appears at a different pitch from the version in *MS 4c7*.

Only one other Carthusian Antiphonary compared with *MS 4c7* contains a Hymnary: *MS F-G 394*. This manuscript contains 22 Hymns in an appendix, six of which appear with two melodies. Compared to the Hymnary of *MS 4c7* three of the melodies appear at a different pitch: 'Conditor alme', 'Iam lucis orto sidere' and 'Crux fidelis'.

Ex. 4. 10 'Conditor alme'

The melody in *MS 4c7* is in the transposed fourth mode; the melody in *MS Basel BV 29* and *MS F-G 394* in the fourth mode (This is melody 23 in the Stäblein collection, from the Cistercian Hymnary, *MS Heiligenkreuz 20*, 12th to 13th century).

4c7
Con - di - tor al - me sy - de - rum.

Basel
Con - di - tor al - me Sy - de - rum e - ter - na lux cre - den - ti - um

F-G 394
Con - di - tor al - me Sy - de - rum e - ter - na lux cre - den - ti - um

Ex. 4. 11 'Iam lucis orto sidere'

The melody in *MS 4c7* is in the transposed eighth mode; the melody in *MSS Basel BV 29*, *Parkminster DD 10* and *F-G 394* in the eighth mode. (This is melody 134 in the Stäblein collection, from the Hymnary of Nevers, *MS Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1235*, 12th century.)

4c7
Iam lu - cis or - to si - de - re


Basel
F-G 394
Iam lu - cis or - to si - de - re De - um pre - ce - mur sup - pli - ces

Basel
F-G 394
ut in di - ur - nis ac - ti - bus nos ser - vet a no - cen - ti - bus.

Ex. 4. 12 'Ut queant laxis'


The melody in *MS 4c7* is in the transposed second mode; the melody in *MS Basel BV 29* in the second mode. (This is melody 151 in the Ståblein collection, from the Hymnary of Nevers, *MS Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1235*, 12th century.)

4c7



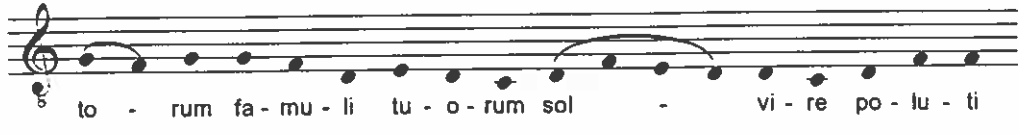
Ut que - ant la - xis.

Basel
Parkminster
F-G 394




Ut que-ant la - xis re - so - na - re fi - bris mi - ra ges -

Basel
Parkminster
F-G 394



to - rum fa - mu - li tu - o - rum sol - vi - re po - lu - ti

Basel
Parkminster
F-G 394

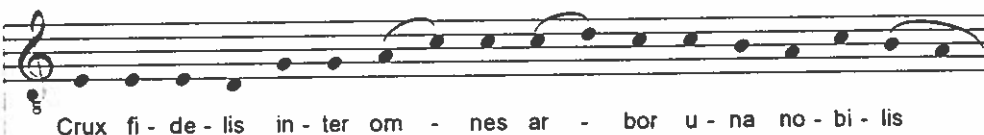


la - bi - i re - a - tum sanc - te lo - han - nes.

Ex. 4. 13 'Crux fidelis'

The melody in *MS 4c7* is in the third mode.²⁹ The melody in *MS Basel BV 29* and *MS F-G 394* in the transposed third mode.

4c7



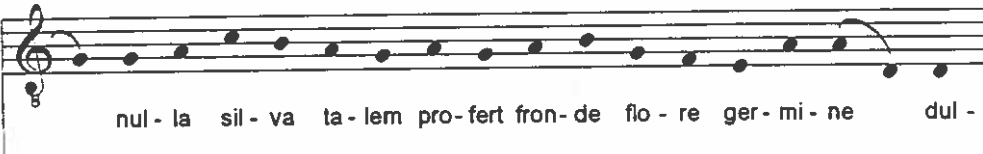
Crux fi - de - lis in - ter om - nes ar - bor u - na no - bi - lis

Basel
F-G 394




Crux fi - de - lis in - ter om - nes ar - bor u - na no - bi - lis

4c7



nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert fron - de flo - re ger - mi - ne dul -

Basel
F-G 394



nul - la sil - va ta - lem pro - fert fron - de flo - re ger - mi - ne. Dul -

4c7



ce li - gnum dul - ces cla - vos dul - ce pon - dus sus - ti - net.

Basel
F-G 394

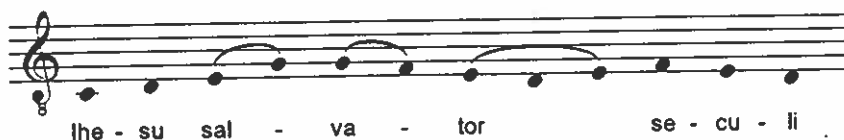


ce li - gnum dul - ces cla - vos dul - ce pon - dus sus - ti - net.

4.4.2 Hymns in *MS 4c7* with more than one melody

According to Klein most of the Hymns in the Carthusian chantbooks are composed twice, once in a simpler and once in a richer manner according to the use thereof on ordinary days and solemn feasts.³⁰ This is true of *MS Basel BV 29*. However, as mentioned, in the Hymnary in *MS 4c7*, only two Hymns appear with two different melodies: 'Ihesu salvator seculi' and 'Christe redemptor omnium'. They have the same melodies. For each of the Hymns the rubric for the first melody is 'In festis XII lectionum. Ad laudes'; and for the second 'In sollempnitatibus. Ad laudes'. The two melodies do not differ markedly in complexity. The Sélignac Carthusians commented that the two melodies for 'Ihesu salvator' were incorporated to introduce some variety since this Hymn is sung for all saints other than the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist³¹.

Ex. 4. 14 First melody



the - su sal - va - tor se - cu - li

Ex. 4. 15 Second melody (This is the melody of 'Mysterium ecclesiae'.)



4.4.3 The Hymn 'Te decet laus'

The Hymn 'Te decet laus' is often regarded as an Antiphon. According to Becker, this is incorrect.³² The Hymn appears in *MS 4c7*, not as part of the Hymnary, but separately on fol. 319v following the rubric 'Post evangelium hymnum ad matutinum'. The melody is the same as the melody which appears for this chant at the beginning of the Carthusian Evangelary from Liège, *MS 6b3*.

The 'Te decet laus' is one of the oldest Hymns of Christianity. It is already found in Greek in the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* of the late 4th century. The Latin version, too, is very old, because the *Regula monasteriorum* attributed to St. Benedict (c. 547) prescribed the singing of this Hymn after the Gospel reading at the end of Nocturnes on Sundays and feast days.³³

The melodies of this Hymn have been studied by Michel Huglo who was mainly interested in the Old-Roman melody. He also mentions a second special tradition, the melody of the Antiphonary of Silos (11th century), and the most widely transmitted Gregorian melody which is found in the Antiphonaries and other notated books of the different branches of the monastic orders (including the Carthusians) in France, Italy, and Germany. This Gregorian melody, however, branches out into different versions, of which there are five among the Carthusians only.

Version 1 (Ex. 4. 16)³⁴ is found in at least 22 manuscripts of the 12th to 16th centuries. It also appears in the Solesmes editions of the *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 1934, and the *Liber Hymnarius*, 1983.

Ex. 4. 16

Te de - cet laus

Te de - cet ym - nus ti - bi glo - ri - a De - o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o cum Sanc -

to Spi - ri - tu in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum

A - men.

An unusual feature of this version is its modal ambiguity. The main part of the melody from line 2 ('Te decet ymnus') to the end is in the transposed first mode on a (corresponding to a first mode with B flat), but line 1 (i.e. the intonation) represents a well-known initial formula of the seventh mode.

Version 2 (Ex. 4. 17) is exactly the same melody, but written in the non-transposed first mode with B flat. This is found in some manuscripts and in the printed Carthusian Antiphonaries and Missals, beginning with the Antiphony of 1614 (called 'of Pavia' after the Charterhouse which accepted responsibility for it).³⁵

Ex. 4. 17

Te de - cet laus

Te de - cet hym - nus in sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum.

Version 3 (Ex. 4. 18)³⁶ removes the doubts which might have existed in respect of the attribution of the melody to the first mode, by changing two notes (the very first one, originally a c, and the original g at the words 'cum Sancto Spirito') to the finalis d and inserting a further d as the fourth last note. This version occurs in *MSS 4c7* and *6b3* (14th to 16th centuries) and at least three more Carthusian manuscripts of the same period.

Ex. 4. 18

Te de - cet laus

Te de - cet ym - nus ti - bi glo - ri - a De - o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o cum Sanc-

to Spi - ri - tu in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum.

A - men.

Version 4 (Ex. 4. 19)³⁷ in the transposed first mode is in all details a precise transposition of version 3, if one corrects an obvious scribal error of the unique source *MS Basel BV 29* (15th century). At the beginning of a new line the scribe placed the clef one line higher than what it should have been. The place is indicated by a bracket in Ex. 4.19 which gives the remainder of the melody as written. But the whole passage obviously must be read one third higher.

Ex. 4. 19

Te de - cet laus

Te de-cet ym-nus ti - bi glo - ri - a De - o Pa - tri et Fi - li - o cum Sanc-to

Spi - ri - tu in se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum.

A - men.

Version 5 (Ex. 4. 20) is for the most part identical to Version 3. But the first line (i.e. the intonation) has been transposed one step higher from the second note onwards. As a result the initial formula becomes d-a-b flat-a, one of the most widely used beginnings of a melody in the first mode. This version occurs in *MS Parkminster DD 10 (olim A33)*, a codex of the 12th century, which was used by the Carthusians, but contains a repertory derived from earlier non-Carthusian sources, as well as in its exact copy, the 13th century Gradual of the Charterhouse of Serra San Bruno in Calabria.³⁸

Ex. 4. 20

The image shows two musical staves in G-clef with a sub-octave 5. The first staff shows a melodic line for the text "Te de - cet laus". The interval between "Te" and "de" is a fifth. The second staff shows a melodic line for the text "Te de - cet hym - nus". The interval between "Te" and "de" is a fourth. Both staves have a treble clef and a sub-octave 5.

When one tries to evaluate these different versions, it becomes clear that we are dealing with a process of adaptation in which an originally unusual melody is 'tamed'.

Devaux³⁹ pointed out that it is a rule of textual criticism that the more difficult reading usually is the better one. He therefore regards the interval of a fifth, as it occurs right at the beginning of Versions 1 and 2 (i.e. with the subfinalis as first note) as the one to be preferred. Intervals tend to become smaller in chants transmitted orally, he observed. It even happens that the precentor, tired at the end of a service, intones the beginning using a smaller interval.

Many scholars consider the 'lectio difficilior' an objective criterion which may override other evaluative considerations. Therefore, when textual variation is encountered, one of the readings is sometimes called the 'difficult' reading, and the other one(s) the 'easy' one(s), with the implication that the former reflects the original text. From a theoretical point of view, this rule is logical under certain conditions, as some difficult readings were indeed replaced by scribes with easier ones.⁴⁰

According to Tov, however, the rule is 'problematic and impractical'. It does not take into consideration simple scribal errors. After all, a scribal error may also create a 'lectio difficilior'. Moreover, the application of the rule is so subjective that it can hardly be called a textual rule. For what looks like a contextually difficult reading to one scholar is not difficult to another. Also, often two readings are equally difficult, or two others equally easy.⁴¹

When this rule is applied to a melody, the first requirement for identifying errors or evaluating variant readings is an intimate knowledge of the style of the repertory, as has been shown again in the article 'Scribal practices in the Aquitanian versaria' by J. Grier.⁴² In the case of the Carthusian 'Te decet' melodies this implies reference to the system of the church modes and the technique of transposition.

Among the five versions of the melody, Version 1 is certainly the most difficult because of its modal ambiguity and the fact that it appears in transposition. Jacobsthal⁴³ has shown that this does not necessarily mean that the melody was sung in a high register, but may merely represent an old notational practice of avoiding accidentals. The result is in the present case a melody ending on a and beginning with g - d - e - d, and one can understand that a singer, when he met such a melody, would find it difficult to attribute it to any one of the eight modes. It is preserved in a number of non-Carthusian manuscripts, as well as some early Carthusian ones and thus represents the early stage in which the order borrowed existing melodies.

Devaux⁴⁴ considers the best to be Version 2 in the non-transposed first mode, beginning with the notes c - g - a - g. It is less difficult than Version 1, because it is easily identified with the first mode with B flat, even though the intonation is unusual. Devaux believes that this is the earliest specifically Carthusian version, which reflects the early tradition of the Grande Chartreuse.

Version 3 is a re-interpretation of the melody in the light of a more regular concept of the mode. Though it has been found only in manuscripts of the 15th and 16th centuries, it may have been introduced much earlier, i.e. before Version 5, which occurs already in a manuscript of the 12th century, one used by the Carthusians, but not originally written for the Order. Obviously Version 5 represents the most regular, least difficult form of the melody; one may well assume that Version 3 preceded it.

As Version 4 occurs only in one late, and not entirely reliable source, it would appear to be a later transposition of Version 3. We are not here primarily concerned with 'correct' or 'incorrect' versions, however. What does emerge is that the differences in the Carthusian sources of the 'Te decet' constitute an instance of the interplay of oral and written

tradition, as well as of the historical development which led to stricter conditions for the definition of a mode.

The diversity in the 'Te decet' again shows that the Carthusians did not have a single exemplar for the melodies in their liturgical books like the Cistercians, or—to a lesser extent—the Premonstratensians.

4.5 Tonary

As has been discussed, in the Middle Ages the choir sang the chant from memory, a tradition which lasted for the longest time among the Carthusians. To help the singer to remember the diverse formulae of the psalmodic *differentiae*, it was necessary to classify the Antiphons not only by tone, but also by *differentiae*. Complete or abridged, the Tonary occupied an important place. It is therefore not surprising that until the end of the 15th century a whole series of Tonaries was used by the Carthusian Order, of which two belonged to the earliest time. The Tonary of *MS Parkminster DD10*, dated the first half of the 12th century is possibly the oldest. Becker dates *MS F-G 467* also as 12th century.⁴⁵

Uniformity was less rigorously applied in the Carthusian books of musical theory than in the notated liturgical books.⁴⁶

No other Carthusian Antiphonary studied incorporates such a comprehensive Tonary as *MS 4c7*. The Tonary appears at the end of the manuscript (fol. 313v—318v).

4.5.1 The model Antiphons, modes and *differentiae*

The Tonary begins with the model Antiphons 'Primum quaerite regnum Dei' (Matthew 6, 33); 'Secundum autem simile est huic' (Matthew 22, 39); 'Tertia dies est quod haec facta sunt' (Luke 24, 21); 'Quarta vigilia venit ad eos' (Matthew 14, 25); 'Quinque prudentes intraverunt ad nuptias' (Matthew 25, 10); 'Sexta hora sedit super putum' (John 4, 6), 'Septem sunt spiritus ante thronum Dei' (Revelation 4, 5); 'Octo sunt beatitudines' (Matthew 5, 3—11).⁴⁷

These texts agree with those in *MS F-G 467*, a manuscript of the Grande Chartreuse. In both Tonaries the model Antiphon for the sixth mode is the general version, not the Aquitanian version 'Sexta hora ascendit in crucem' (Mark 15, 25 or Matthew 26, 45). The Carthusians did not know the Aquitanian version of the sixth mode. They used the general version and agree in this with the tradition of Limoges.⁴⁸

The Tonary in *MS F-G 467* is generally recognized as the authentic version of Carthusian chant.⁴⁹ At the beginning of each mode, the number of *differentiae* are mentioned: 'Primus tonus novem differentiae habet. Primum querite...'. The list of Antiphons follows after the *differentia*.

In *MS 4c7* the rubric reads 'Primum differentia primi toni'. The model Antiphons follow. Each of the model Antiphons is followed by the *differentiae* of the particular mode. Each *differentia* is followed by the incipits of a number of Antiphons.

The Tonary in *MS F-G 467* has 941 and the Tonary in *MS 4c7* 104 Antiphons listed as examples. Three of the Antiphons and five examples of the 'Benedictus' and 'Magnificat' in *MS 4c7* do not appear in *MS F-G 467*.

Examples which appear in the Tonary of *MS 4c7* but not in *MS F-G 467* are:

Table 4.2

First mode	
Similabo eum	Diff. 4
Maiorem	Diff. 8
In paciencia	Diff. 8
 Second mode	
Magnificat	
Benedictus	
 Eighth mode	
Benedictus	Diff. 1
Magnificat	Diff. 3
Benedictus	Diff. 3 ⁵⁰

In general the two Tonaries agree.

The Tonary of *MS Parkminster DD10* has 294 Antiphons the text of one of which occurs twice. Although this (fragmentary) Tonary is an appendix to a Carthusian Gradual, now at St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster, it is possible that it originated in the Benedictine abbey of Ambronay in the diocese of Lyon. When the Tonary of Parkminster and that of *MS F-G 467* are compared the variation in the description of *differentiae* is noticeable. Neither of the Tonaries identifies the *tonus peregrinus*, but they differ widely in the allocation of Antiphons of this tone. In *MS Parkminster DD10* they are allocated to the eighth *differentia* of the seventh mode, but in *MS F-G 467* they appear in the large group of Antiphons of the first *differentia*. It often happens that an Antiphon in *MS Parkminster DD10* belongs not only to another *differentia* but to a completely different mode from that in *MS F-G 467*.⁵¹ The Tonary of *MS Parkminster DD10* contains only the seventh and the eighth modes. Judging from the two, one may conclude, according to Huglo, that the Tonary of Parkminster originated prior to the unification of Carthusian chant. The Tonary used by the first Charterhouses was soon replaced by a simpler Tonary with fewer *differentiae*.⁵²

MS F-G 394, an Antiphonary from the 14th century, has two Tonaries. The first Tonary is in the original script on fol. 274v—277r and agrees with the Tonary in *MS 4c7*, except that it has fewer examples and one Antiphon is allocated to another *differentia*. This is indicated in Table 4.4. A second Tonary appears with the Hymnary in an appendix in a different and later script. This Tonary, on fol. 298v and 299r and v, also agrees with the Tonary in *MS 4c7*, except in the sequence of *differentiae* under each mode (showed in Table 4.3) and in the number of Antiphons quoted. There are eight *differentiae* for the first mode instead of the nine in *MS 4c7* and four for the seventh mode instead of the five in *MS 4c7*. The discrepancy is due to the fact that the missing *differentiae* have become illegible in *MS F-G 394*, because of incorrect binding. This Tonary has only eight examples, using the Antiphons 'Benedictus Dominus', 'Deus israel', 'Salutis nobis', 'Laudate Dominum de celis' for illustration.

The Tonary in *MS Basel BV 29* is identical with the second Tonary in *MS F-G 394*, except for the addition of three Antiphons as examples. The Tonary in *MS Solesmes 197* lacks

the model Antiphons 'Primum quaerite...' etc. The Antiphons 'Laudate dominum de celis', 'Deus israel', 'Benedictus Dominus' and 'Magnificat anima mea' are quoted as examples.⁵³

The *differentiae* listed under each mode are the same in all the Carthusian manuscripts compared, but the order in which they appear in *MS 4c7* differs from those of the other manuscripts.

Table 4.3

	<i>MS4c7</i>	<i>MS467</i>	<i>MS394(2)</i>	<i>MSBasel</i>	<i>MS197</i>	<i>MSDD10</i> ⁵⁴
Mode 1:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	
	2	3	3	3	4	
	3	5	5	5	2	
	4	2	2	2	8	
	5	8	8	8	3	
	6	7	7	7	7	
	7	6	6	6	6	
	8	4	4	4	5	
	9	9	-	9	9	
Mode 2:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	
Mode 3:						
Diff.	1	5	5	5	4	
	2	3	3	3	3	
	3	2	2	2	2	
	4	1	1	1	5	
	5	4	4	4	1	
Mode 4:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	
	2	4	4	4	4	
	3	3	3	3	3	
	4	2	2	2	2	
	5	5	5	5	5	
Mode 5:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	
Mode 6:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	
Mode 7:						
Diff.	1	3	3	3	3	6
	2	2	2	2	2	
	3	1	1	1	1	7
	4	4	4	4	4	5
	5	5	-	5	5	5
						8
Mode 8:						
Diff.	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	2	2	2	5
	3	3	3	3	3	2
	4	4	4	4	4	3
						4

Ex. 4. 21 The modes and the *differentiae* in MS 4c7⁶⁵

Mode 1

Differentia 1

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Differentia 4

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a slur from E to A, and a second slur from U to A.

Differentia 7

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Mode 2

Differentia 1

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Differentia 2

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Differentia 5

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a slur from E to A, and a second slur from U to A.

Differentia 8

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Differentia 3

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a slur from E to A, and a second slur from U to A.

Differentia 6

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a single slur from E to A.

Differentia 9

A musical staff in treble clef with a C-clef on the first line. The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The notes are connected by a slur from E to A, and a second slur from U to A.

Mode 3

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 3 Differentia 1. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes. A sharp sign (#) is placed above the final note (E).

Differentia 4

Musical notation for Mode 3 Differentia 4. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Mode 4

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 4 Differentia 1. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 4

Musical notation for Mode 4 Differentia 4. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Mode 5

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 5 Differentia 1. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 2

Musical notation for Differentia 2. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 5

Musical notation for Differentia 5. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 2

Musical notation for Differentia 2. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 5

Musical notation for Differentia 5. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 3

Musical notation for Differentia 3. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Differentia 3

Musical notation for Differentia 3. The staff shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are E, U, O, U, A, E. The first four notes (E, U, O, U) are quarter notes, and the last two (A, E) are beamed eighth notes. A slur covers the last two notes.

Mode 6

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 6 Differentia 1 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

Mode 7

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 7 Differentia 1 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

Differentia 4

Musical notation for Differentia 4 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

Mode 8

Differentia 1

Musical notation for Mode 8 Differentia 1 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line).

Differentia 4

Musical notation for Differentia 4 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line).

Differentia 3

Musical notation for Differentia 3 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

Differentia 2

Musical notation for Differentia 2 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line).

Differentia 5

Musical notation for Differentia 5 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

Differentia 3

Musical notation for Differentia 3 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line).

Differentia 2

Musical notation for Differentia 2 on a five-line staff. The notes are E (first line), u (second line), o (second space), u (third line), a (third space), and e (fourth line). A slur is placed over the u, o, and u notes.

As is shown in the table below, the Tonary in the Benedictine *MS Lucca 601* differs substantially from those in the Carthusian manuscripts.⁵⁶

Table 4.4

<i>MS 4c7:</i>	<i>MS F-G 467</i>	<i>MS FG394(1)</i>	<i>MS Lucca 601</i>
Mode 1			
<u>Diff.1 (Lucca 2)</u>			
Vos amici	*	*	1,3
Quod uni	*	*	1,1
<u>Diff.2 (Lucca—)</u>			
Ecce nomen	*	*	1,1
Nupcie facte	*	*	1,2
Qui me confessus	*	*	1,1
Tradent enim	*	*	1,1
Antequam	*	*	1,1
<u>Diff.3 (Lucca 1)</u>			
Ihesus hec dicens	*	*	*
Dixit Dominus...villico	*	—	*
Dixit Dominus..paralitico	*	—	*
<u>Diff.4 (Lucca 6)</u>			
Dum steteritis	*	*	2
Euge serve	*	*	*
Similabo eum	—	—	*
In lege	*	—	2
<u>Diff.5 (Lucca 4)</u>			
Reges tharsis	*	—	1,8
Ductus es Ihesus	*	—	1,6
Pater...manifestavi	*	1,4	*
Vidimus...stellam	*	—	1,8
Reges terre	*	*	*
Ecce vere	*	—	1,8
<u>Diff.6 (Lucca 8)</u>			
Laudate nomen	*	*	1,3
Sol et luna	*	*	1,9
Speret israel	*	*	1,4
Et omnis mansuetudinis	*	—	1,4
Ecce quam bonum	*	—	1,4
<u>Diff.7 (Lucca 9)</u>			
Domine puer	*	*	1,5

Domine non sum	*	—	
Inclinavit Dominus	*	*	*
Domine salva nos perimus	*	—	—
Dominus defensor	*	—	—
<u>Diff.8 (Lucca—)</u>			
Maiorem	—	*	2
In paciencia	—	—	2
Ecce in nubibus	*	—	2
Lex per moysen	*	—	2
Levavit...Dominus	*	—	2
<u>Diff.9 (Lucca 7)</u>			
Speciosus	*	*	*
Mode 2			
O sapiencia	*	*	*
De syon exhibit lex	*	*	*
Dominus Deus auxiliator	*	*	*
Domine Deus in adiutorium	*	*	*
Dominus tanquam ovis	*	—	*
Magnificat	—	*	*
Benedictus	—	*	*
Dominus regnavit	*	—	*
Sicut liliun	*	*	*
In universa terra	*	—	*
Mode 3			
<u>Diff.1 (Lucca 1)</u>			
Orietur diebus	*	*	*
Et intrantes	*	*	—
<u>Diff.2 (Lucca 3)</u>			
Fidelis servus	*	*	3,1
Hic est discipulus	*	*	3,1
<u>Diff.3 (Lucca 5)</u>			
Tu bethleem	*	*	*
Cunctis diebus	*	*	*
<u>Diff.4 (Lucca 4)</u>			
Qui de terra	*	*	*
Dum complerentur	*	*	*
<u>Diff. 5 (Lucca 2)</u>			
Laudate Dominum Deum	*	*	—

Quoniam	*	*	*
Domine probasti	*	*	*
Mode 4			
<u>Diff.1 (Lucca 5)</u>			
Ambulabunt	*	*	*
Innuebant	*	—	*
Requiretur	*	*	—
Iherusalem	*	*	3,1
<u>Diff.2 (Lucca 2)</u>			
Benedicta tu	*	*	4,1
Leva eius	*	—	4,1
<u>Diff.3 (Lucca—)</u>			
Custodiebant	*	*	—
Quibus non est	*	—	—
<u>Diff.4 (Lucca 3)</u>			
Ante me	*	*	1,1
In domum	*	—	*
A viro	*	*	*
<u>Diff.5 (Lucca ?)</u>			
O mors ero mors	*	*	4,4
Factus sum sicut homo	*	—	4,4
Mode 5			
Intret oracio	*	*	*
In sole	*	*	*
Ne in ira	*	*	*
Ponent Domino	*	*	*
Mode 6			
Eructavit cor meum	*	*	*
Mode 7			
<u>Diff.1 (Lucca 2)</u>			
Iustorum anime	*	*	*
Homo	*	—	*
Adiuvabit	*	—	*
<u>Diff.2 (Lucca 4)</u>			
Cantate Domino	*	—	*
Afferte Domino	*	—	*

<u>Diff.3 (Lucca 1)</u>			
Iugum enim	*	*	*
Beatus ille servus	*	*	*
<u>Diff.4 (Lucca 5)</u>			
Clamaverunt	*	*	7,6
Confortatus est	*	—	7,6
<u>Diff.5 (Lucca 3)</u>			
Urbs fortitudinis	*	*	*
Angelus ad pastores	*	—	*
Surge aquilo	7,4	—	8,2
 Mode 8			
<u>Diff.1 (Lucca 1)</u>			
Benedictus	—	*	—
Magnificat	*	*	—
Dominus regnavit (Ps.)	*	—	—
In illa die	*	*	*
Iocundare	*	*	*
Spiritus sanctus	*	*	*
<u>Diff.2 (Lucca—)</u>			
Dominus dixit	*	*	8,2
Veritas de terra	*	*	8,2
<u>Diff.3 (Lucca 3)</u>			
Magnificat	—	—	—
Benedictus	—	—	—
Suscepit israel	*	*	—
Veniet...fortior	*	*	8,2
Hodie scietis	*	*	8,2
<u>Diff.4 (Lucca—)</u>			
Hoc est preceptum	*	*	8,2
Per singulos	*	*	8,2

All the Antiphons cited in the Tonary of *MS 4c7* appear in the Antiphony in the mode and with the *differentia* indicated. Of particular importance is 'Surge aquila', which appears in the Antiphony with the fifth *differentia* of the seventh mode, as indicated in the Tonary and not the fourth *differentia*, as indicated in *MS F-G 467*. The Tonary was

therefore compiled for *MS 4c7* and not just incorporated from an exemplar, as was often the case.

Table 4.5

MS 4c7	Antiphonary
Tonary	
Mode 1	
<u>Diff.1</u>	
Vos amici	fol. 272r
Quod uni	fol. 97v
<u>Diff.2</u>	
Ecce nomen	fol. 7r
Nupcie facte	fol. 63v
Qui me confessus	fol. 292r
Tradent enim	fol. 274r
Antequam	fol. 29v
<u>Diff.3</u>	
Ihesus hec dicens	fol. 86v
Dixit Dominus...villico	fol. 192r
Dixit Dominus...paralitico	fol. 195r
<u>Diff.4</u>	
Dum steteritis	fol. 273r
Euge serve	fol. 298r
Similabo eum	fol. 293r
In lege	fol. 293r
<u>Diff.5</u>	
Reges tharsis	fol. 51v
Ductus est Ihesus	fol. 313v
Pater...manifestavi	fol. 160r
Vidimus...stellam	fol. 52r
Reges terre	fol. 114r
Ecce vere	fol. 299v
<u>Diff.6</u>	
Laudate nomen	fol. 72v
Sol et luna	fol. 108v
Speret israel	fol. 70r
Et omnis mansuetudinis	fol. 70r
Ecce quam bonum	fol. 70r
<u>Diff.7</u>	

Domine puer	fol. 80v
Domine non sum	fol. 80v
Inclinavit Dominus	fol. 67r
Domine salva nos perimus	fol. 81r
Dominus defensor	fol. 81v
<u>Diff.8</u>	
Maiorem	fol. 279r
In paciencia	fol. 279r
Ecce in nubibus	fol. 15v
Lex per moysen	fol. 25v
Levavit...Dominus	fol. 19r
<u>Diff.9</u>	
Speciosus	fol. 48r
Mode 2	
O sapientia	fol. 24r
De syon exhibit lex	fol. 223v
Dominus Deus auxiliator	fol. 126r
Domine Deus in adiutorium	fol. 71v
Dominus tanquam ovis	fol. 133r
Magnificat	fol. 91r
Benedictus	fol. 96r
Dominus regnavit	fol. 28v (Ps.)
Sicut lilium	fol. 300v
In universa terra	fol. 287v
Mode 3	
<u>Diff.1</u>	
Orietur diebus	fol. 30r
Et intrantes	fol. 56r
<u>Diff.2</u>	
Fidelis servus	fol. 297v
Hic est discipulus	fol. 42r
<u>Diff.3</u>	
Tu bethleem	fol. 25v
Cunctis diebus	fol. 69r
<u>Diff.4</u>	
Qui de terra	fol. 49r
Dum complerentur	fol. 171r
<u>Diff. 5</u>	

Laudate Dominum	fol. 63r
Quoniam	fol. 72v
Domine probasti	fol. 75r

Mode 4Diff.1

Ambulabunt	fol. 45v
Innuebant	fol. 64r
Requiretur	fol. 38v
Iherusalem	fol. 39r

Diff.2

Benedicta tu	fol. 217v
Leva eius	fol. 218r

Diff.3

Custodiebant	fol. 274v
Quibus non est	fol. 20v

Diff.4

Ante me	fol. 11v
In domum	fol. 75r
A viro	fol. 75r

Diff.5

O mors ero mors	fol. 142v
Factus sum sicut homo	fol. 140r

Mode 5

Intret oracio	fol. 74v
In sole	fol. 48r
Ne in ira	fol. 65r
Ponent Domino	fol. 16r

Mode 6

Eructavit cor meum	fol. 66r
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Mode 7Diff.1

Iustorum anime	fol. 272v
Homo	fol. 30r
Adiuvabit	fol. 217v

Diff.2

Cantate Domino	fol. 9r
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Afferte Domino	fol. 51v
<u>Diff.3</u>	
Iugum enim	fol. 81v
Beatus ille servus	fol. 297v
<u>Diff.4</u>	
Clamaverunt	fol. 273v
Confortatus est	fol. 289r
<u>Diff.5</u>	
Urbs fortitudinis	fol. 15r
Angelus ad pastores	fol. 34r
Surge aquilo	fol. 218r
Mode 8	
<u>Diff.1</u>	
Benedictus	fol. 63r
Magnificat	fol. 105r
Dominus regnavit	fol. 30v (Ps.)
In illa die	fol. 10r
Iocundare	fol. 10v
Spiritus sanctus	fol. 12r
<u>Diff.2</u>	
Dominus dixit	fol.29v
Veritas de terra	fol.30r
<u>Diff.3</u>	
Magnificat	fol.12r
Benedictus	fol.12r
Suscepit israel	fol.78r
Veniet (fortior)	fol.16v
Hodie scietis	fol.28v
<u>Diff.4</u>	
Hoc est preceptum	fol. 279r
Per singulos	fol. 77v

4.5.2 Responsorial verses

In *MS 4c7* the model Antiphons and formulae are followed by examples for the responsorial verses arranged according to the eight modes. The verses of the nocturnal Reponsories have a proper melody for each tone. These melodies are notated on the 'Gloria Patri...' in the Antiphonaries and Tonaries.⁵⁷

While of the Antiphonaries studied only *MS F-G 394* contained the model Antiphons on the different tones, and a classification under each of the *differentiae*, most of the Antiphonaries studied included the melodies on the 'Gloria Patri'. The melodies are generally exactly the same as those of *MS 4c7*, with some variation in the notation of the B flat. In most Antiphonaries a B flat is notated for mode five and/or mode six, but not in *MS 4c7*. *MS F-G 200* and *MS F-G 418* each has a B flat in both modes five and six: *MS F-G 867*, *MS F-G 866*, *MS F-G 47* and *MS 3c23* have B flats for mode six: *MS F-Bea 41* has a B flat for mode five. Some manuscripts have a B flat in the first mode: *MS F-G 867*, *MS F-G 866*, *MS F-G 47*. *MS D-W lat 702* is exactly the same as *MS 4c7*. So is *MS A-Gu 21*, except that, in this manuscript, the melody is notated a third lower from 'Filio'. This is, however, apparently due to an error in the placing of the clef on the staff. In *MS F-G 418* the melody given for mode one, is that which appears in *MS 4c7* for mode two; the melody for mode two appears in *MS 4c7* for mode three; the melody for mode three is the melody which appears in *MS 4c7* for mode one. *MS F-Dm 118* (the 'companion' Antiphonary of *MS 4c7*) is incomplete at the end and does not contain a Tonary. *MS Solesmes 197* has two sets of eight melodies on the 'Gloria Patri', the first of which differs completely from those in *MS 4c7*. The second set shows an exact concordance with the melodies in *MS 4c7*, except that *MS Solesmes* shows a B flat for the fifth mode. *MS Basel BV 29* has the same set of melodies for the 'Gloria Patri' as *MS 4c7* but has a B flat for the sixth mode, which may have been added later.

4.5.3 The didactic verse 'Ter terni sunt modi'

In *MS 4c7* the melodies on the 'Gloria Patri' are followed (fol. 318r) by the didactic verse 'Ter terni'. Of all the Carthusian Antiphonaries examined, this was the only Antiphonary which contained the 'Ter terni'. The 'Ter terni' is included, however, in the Tonaries of *MSS Parkminster DD 10*, *Basel BV 29*, *Erfurt CE 8^o20*, and *Basel AN II 46*.⁵⁸

MS 4c7 is one of the few extant manuscripts intended to be used in musical performance in the world which contains the verse, and it is the only Carthusian manuscript intended to be used in musical performance to contain it: all the others are manuscripts of musical theory.

The translation of the text is as follows: 'Three times three are the modes (intervals) of which all chant is woven, that is: unison, semitone, tone, semiditone, ditone, diatessaron, diapente, semitone with diapente, tone with diapente. The diapason sound (is added) to these. If this delights someone, he recognizes it to be this interval (modus). Since all music (harmonia) is formed out of so few intervals (clausulis), it is most useful to commit them profoundly to memory, not stopping studies of this sort, until, by means of recognizing the intervals of pitches, you are able to comprehend all music easily'.⁵⁹

While earlier authors of treatises of music theory had employed didactic verses to teach the fundamental melodic characteristics of the modes or of their corresponding psalm tones (for instance the 'Primum quaerite regnum Dei, Secundum autem simile est' formulae discussed above), theorists of the mid- to late-11th century began to compose didactic verses to teach other, more complicated structures. In the 'Ter terni sunt modi', which appears in *MS 4c7*, the number of intervals, nine, and even their designation, 'modi', are taken from the treatise of Hucbald, *De harmonica institutione*, written around 900. In this treatise, Hucbald presents a group of nine intervals or 'modi', proceeding from the semitone up to the major sixth, illustrating each by an example taken from plainchant. However, in the 'Ter terni', one of Hucbald's intervals, the tritone, is omitted in favour of a new interval for singing—the diapason, the most perfect of the harmonic intervals.⁶⁰ Hucbald had illustrated each of his nine 'modi' by quoting passages from the practical repertoire of plainchant. The author of the 'Ter terni' (probably William of Hirsau, 1068—1091)⁶¹ constructed his own artificial melody for the same purpose. After introducing the first line—'Three times three are the intervals of which all chant is woven'—he catalogues the nine intervals, illustrating each with appropriate movements in the melody. He starts with Hucbald's 'unisonum', then presents nine intervals: semitonium, tonus, semiditonus, ditonus, diatesseron, diapente, semitonium cum diapente, tonus cum diapente, and finishes with the diapason. He concludes the piece with an admonition to the singer to learn these intervals carefully, since all music is shaped from them.⁶²

Given such a direct and easily comprehensible method of learning the intervals, one might have expected that henceforth singing and the teaching of singing would be a simple matter. There is, however, manuscript evidence to suggest that this was not the case. 'Ter terni sunt modi' apparently did not penetrate the practical tradition. It is consistently

copied in manuscripts containing music theory, rather than those intended for use in musical performance.⁶³ One can assume that the reason for its inclusion in *MS 4c7* was that it was important that the monks of the new and prestigious Charterhouse of Champmol should be taught the chants as quickly and as well as possible.

A comparison of the 'Ter terni' as it appears in six manuscripts shows variants, most of them unimportant. The variants become important, however, when the melodic illustration of the interval named in the text is incorrect. These instances are indicated by an 'x' in the example below. In *MS 4c7* such errors occur on the words 'ad hec sonus dyapason' where the interval is a fifth instead of the (correct) octave which appears in the other manuscripts. Again, 'tota armonia' is indicated by a tritone (although the b would probably have been flattened in performance⁶⁴) instead of the octave found in the Sibley manuscript. *MS 4c7* and *MS Erfurt CE 8^o20* were the only Carthusian manuscripts examined which contained a complete and legible version of the verse.

Atkinson pointed out that this was an artificial melody, quoted as an example of the 'turpis gradus' of musical composition by Jerome of Moravia in the late 13th century because it exceeded the limits of the church modes and used all the intervals indifferently.⁶⁵ Variants which consist of short melismas might have been inserted in an effort to render the melody somewhat less abrasive.

Ex. 4. 22 ⁶⁶

4c7

Parkminster

Erfurt

Basel

Sibley

Hugo

4c7

Parkminster

Erfurt

Basel

Sibley

Hugo

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

Ter ter - ni sunt mo - di qui - bus om - nis can - ti - le - na

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - nus se - mi - to - ni - um

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - nus se - mi - to - num

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - nus se - mi - to - ni - um

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - num se - mi - to - num

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - num se - mi - to - ni - um

con - te - xi - tur sci - li - cet u - ni - so - nus se - mi - to - ni - um

* Manuscript is illegible here.

4c7
to - nus se - mi - di - to - nus di - to - nus di - a - tes - sa - ron

Parkminster
to - nus se - mi - di - to - nus di - to - nus di - a - tes - sae - ron

Erfurt
to - nus se - mi - di - to - nus dy - to - nus di - a - tes - sae - ron

Basel
*
to - nus semi - di - to - nus di - to - nus dy - a - tes - se - ron

Sibley
to - nus se - mi - di - to - nus di - to - nus di - a - tes - sa - ron

Hugo
to - nus se - mi - di - to - nus di - to - nus di - a - tes - sa - ron

4c7
dy - a - pen - te se - mi - to - ni - um cum dy - a - pen - te to - nus

Parkminster
di - a - pen - te se - mi - to - ni - um cum di - a - pen - te to - nus

Erfurt
di - a - pen - te se - mi - to - num cum di - a - pen - te to - nus

Basel
dy - a - pen - te se - mi - to - num cum dy - a - pen - te to - nus

Sibley
di - a - pen - te se - mi - to - ni - um cum di - a - pen - te to - nus cum

Hugo
**
dy - a - pen - te se - mi - to - ni - um cum dy - a - pen - te to - nus

* Manuscript illegible.

** Left open in edition.

x

4c7
cum dy - a - pen - te ad hec so - nus di - a - pa - son. Si quem

Parkminster
cum dy - a - pen - te ad hec so - nus di - a - pa - son. Si quem

Erfurt
cum di - a - pen - te ad hec so - nus di - a - pa - son. Si quem

Basel
cum illegible

Sibley
cum di - a - pen - te ad hec so - nus di - a - pa - son. Si quem

Hugo
cum dy - a - pen - te ad hec so - nus dy - a - pa - son. Si quem

4c7
de - lec - tat e - ius hunc mo - dum es - se ag - nos - cat. *

Parkminster
de - lec - tat e - ius hunc mo - dum es - se ag - nos - cat.

Erfurt
de - lec - tat e - ius hunc mo - dum es - se ag - nos - cat.

Basel

Sibley
de - lec - tat e - ius hunc mo - dum es - se ag - nos - cel.

Hugo
de - lec - tat e - ius hunc mo - dum es - se ag - nos - cent.

* The verse ends here in *Parkminster DD10*

4c7

 Cum-que tam pau-cis clau-su-lis to-ta ar-mo-ni-a

Parkminster


Erfurt

 Cum-que tam pau-cis clau-su-lis to-ta ar-mo-ni-a

Basel


Sibley

 Cum-que tam pau-cis clau-su-lis to-ta ar-mo-ni-a

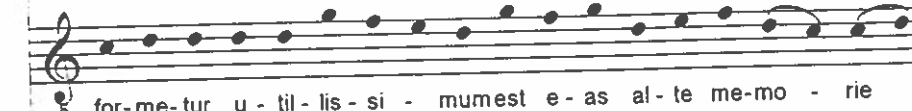
Hugo


 Cumque tam pau-cis clau-su-lis to-ta ar-mo-ni-a


4c7


 for-me-tur u-til-li-mum est e-as al-te me-mo-rie

Parkminster


Erfurt

 for-me-tur u-til-lis-si-mum est e-as al-te me-mo-rie

Basel


Sibley

 for-me-tur u-til-lis-si-mum est e-as al-te me-mo-rie

Hugo

 for-me-tur u-til-lis-si-mus est e-as sci-re et me-mo-rie

4c7
 com - men - da - re nec pri - us ab hu - ius mo - di

Parkminster

Erfurt
 com - men - da - re nec pri - us ab hu - ius mo - di

Basel

Sibley
 com - men - da - re nec pri - us ab hu - ius mo - di

Hugo
 commen - da - re nec pri - us ab hu - ius mo - di

4c7
 stu - di - o qui - es - ce - re do - nec vo - cum in - ter - val - lis

Parkminster

Erfurt
 stu - di - o qui - es - ce - re do - nec vo - cum in - ter - val - lis

Basel

Sibley
 stu - di - is qui - es - ce - re do - nec vo - cum in - ter - val - lis

Hugo
 stu - di - is qui - es - ce - re do - nec vo - cum in - ter - val - lis

4c7

ag - ni - tis ar - mo - ni - is to - ci - us fa - cil - li - me que - as

Parkminster

Erfurt

ag - ni - tis ar - mo - ni - ie to - ti - us fa - cil - li - me que - at

Basel

Sibley

ag - ni - tis ar - mo - ni - is to - ti - us fac - cil - li - me que - as

Hugo

ag - ni - tis ar - mo - ni - is to - ti - us fa - cil - li - me que - at

4c7

com - pre - hen - de - re no - ti - ci - am.

Parkminster

Erfurt

com - pre - hen - de - re no - ti - ci - am.

Basel

Sibley

com - pre - hen - de - re no - ti - ci - am.

Hugo

com - pre - hen - de - re no - ti - ci - am.

4.5.4 The didactic verse 'Dyapente et dyatessaron symphonie'

Another verse designed for teaching intervals, follows the 'Ter terni' on fol. 317r of *MS 4c7*: 'Dyapente et dyatessaron symphonie'.

This piece reads, in translation: 'The symphonies diapente and diatessaron together, both ascending and descending, render the harmonious modulation of the diapason consonance'. The melody to which these words are set illustrates the intervals—ascending, descending, and combined—in the simplest way possible. 'At the same time, because of—or perhaps in spite of—the direct correspondence of text to music that it displays, it is actually fun to sing', Atkinson points out.⁶⁷

This verse became very popular during the Middle Ages. Michael Bernhard has found it in at least thirty manuscripts, dating from the 11th through to the 15th centuries. Fourteen of these manuscripts, the largest number, are from the 12th century.⁶⁸ There are many variants in melody and text.

As a verse for teaching the intervals of the *ars musica*, 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' clearly has its roots in the theoretical tradition. However, in contrast to the 'Ter terni sunt modi', 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' circulated in practical sources as well. According to Atkinson, it had 'become a fixed part of both the sacred and secular realms of the *ars cantica* by the late-11th and early-12th centuries.' He regards the popularity of the piece to be symptomatic of a more general interest on the part of singers in aspects of ancient Greek harmonic theory that might earlier have been regarded as arcane or belonging strictly in the province of the music theorist. Perhaps the earliest source for the piece is the *MS Montecassino 318*, a collection of theoretical works dating from the 11th century. Yet another occurrence is in *Biblioteca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 577*, a manuscript containing the writings and Tonary of Odorannus of Sens, dating from the mid-11th century. Perhaps the best index of all for its popularity is that the verse appears in a collection of Latin poems in the late 11th-century manuscript, *MS Cambridge University Library, Gg. V. 35 (Cat. 1567)*, a collection known as the 'Cambridge Songs'. Although there is no musical notation for the text, space was left for the melismas illustrating each of the three intervals.⁶⁹

Since the 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' was more popular than the 'Ter terni' and since it appeared in manuscripts intended for musical performance, it is surprising that the 'Ter terni' does appear in other Carthusian theoretical works, but that the 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' could not be found in any other Carthusian source compared with *MS 4c7*.

In comparing the verse as it appears in *MS 4c7* with other versions, there are marked variants, in particular the fact that in *MS 4c7* the words 'consonantie diapason' with the accompanying notation, are omitted, and that the other versions end with the words 'consonam reddunt', while the version in *MS 4c7* continues up to 'distinguens carmina'. Most of the sources quoted in *RISM* as well as in M. Bernhard's *Clavis Gerberti*⁷⁰ agree with the four quoted versions in this respect:

Wien, Nationalbibliothek Cpv 787. 'Diapente Diatessaron Symphonie et intense ac remisse pariter consonantiam Diapason modulatione consona reddunt';

Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek 328. 'Diapente...consona reddunt';

Leiden, Bibliotheca Publica Lugdunensis 194. 'Dyapente diatessaron... consona semper canunt';

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Conv. Soppr. F. III. 565. 'Diapente, diatessaron, Symphonie... modulatione consonat cantus (sic)';

Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. XXIX. 48. 'Diapente et diatessaron... consonam canunt';

Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Pal. lat. 563. 'Diapente et diatessaron simphonia... consonam reddunt';

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14836. 'Diapente et diatessaron symphonie et intense et remisse pariter consonantiam diapason, in modulatione consona reddunt';

Two variant sources are:

Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek 70. 'Dyapente et diatessaron simphonie... et diatessaron in descensu'.

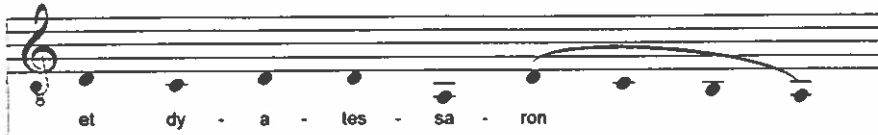
Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana Reg. lat. 1424. 'Diapente et diatessaron simphonie... modulationem consonam reddunt. Diapente remissa continue intenditur... nete hyperboleon. Adquistus principalis'.⁷¹

Ex. 4. 23⁷²

The image displays five musical staves, each representing a different manuscript tradition. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are as follows:

- 4c7:** Dy - a - pen - te. Notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4.
- Rome:** Di - a - pen - te. Notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4.
- Ripoll:** Di - a - pen - te. Notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4.
- De Muris:** Dy - a - pen - te. Notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4.
- Leodiensis:** Dy - a - pen - te. Notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4.

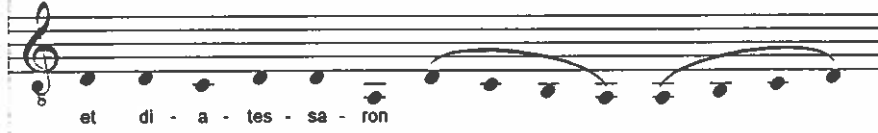
4c7



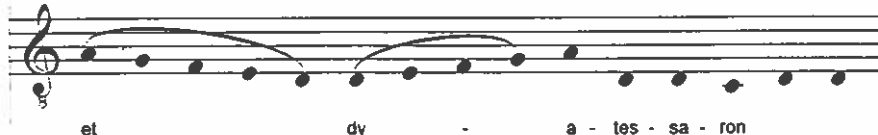
Rome



Ripoll



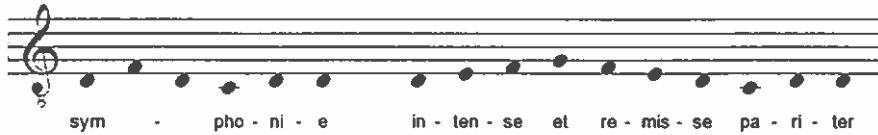
De Muris



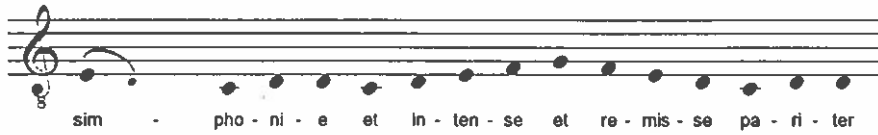
Leodiensis



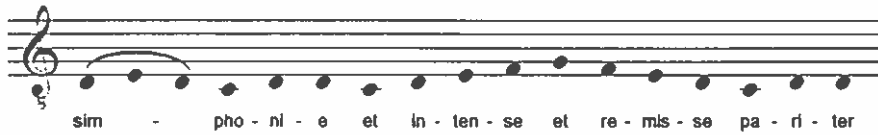
4c7



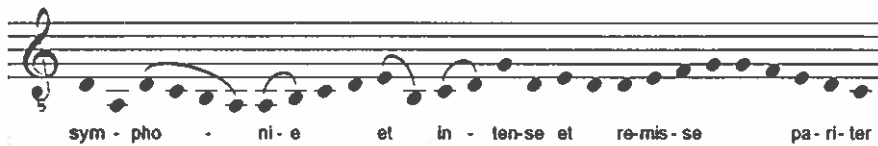
Rome



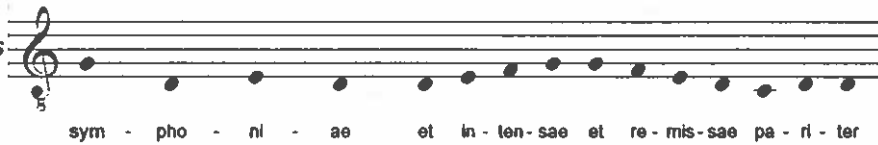
Ripoll



De Muris



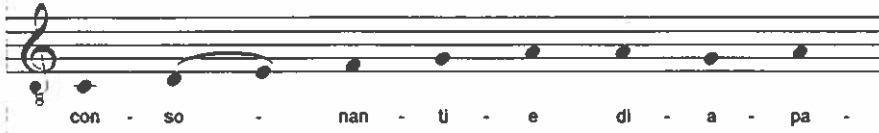
Leodiensis



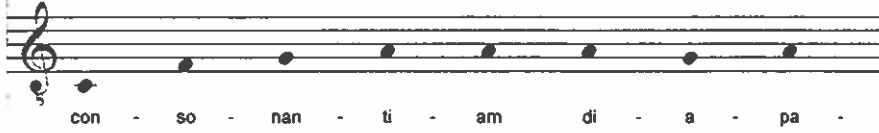
4c7



Rome



Ripoll



De Muris



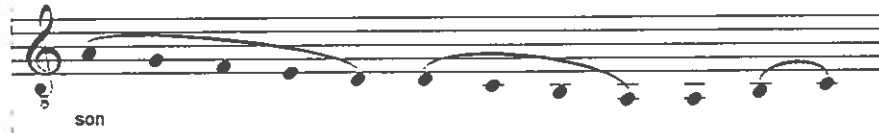
Leodiensis



4c7



Rome



Ripoll



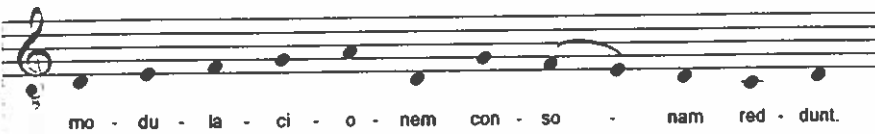
De Muris



Leodiensis




4c7



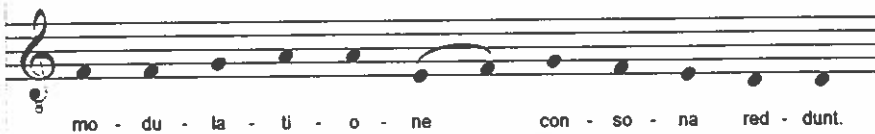
mo - du - la - ci - o - nem con - so - nam red - dunt.

Rome




mo - du - la - ti - o - nem con - so - nam red - dunt.

Ripoll



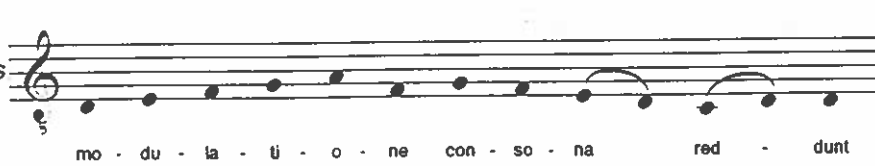
mo - du - la - ti - o - ne con - so - na red - dunt.

De Muris



mo - du - la - ti - o - nem con - so - nam red - dunt.

Leodiensis



mo - du - la - ti - o - ne con - so - na red - dunt.

According to Bernhard the 'appendix' to the 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' as it appears in *MS 4c7* shows a concordance with only four other sources: Pr: *Prag, Státní Knihovna XIX C 26*, fol. 39v - 40r; Ps: *Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 7211*, fol. 123v-124r; C: *Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana S. XXVI. 1*, fol. 197v; and Pa: *Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 10275*, fol. 1r (in adiastematic neumes).⁷³

Ex. 4. 24

4c7

 Con - so - nan - ci - a dic - ta

Pr

 Con - so - nan - ti - a dic - ta

Ps

 Con - so - nan - ti - a dic - taē

C

 Con - so - nan - ti - a dic - ta

Pa
 Consonantia dicta

4c7

 sex - qual - te - ra dy - a - pen - te to - nus con - stat du - o - bus cum

Pr

 ses - qual - te - ra dy - a - pen - te pri - ma spe - ci - es to - no con stat to - no - que

Ps

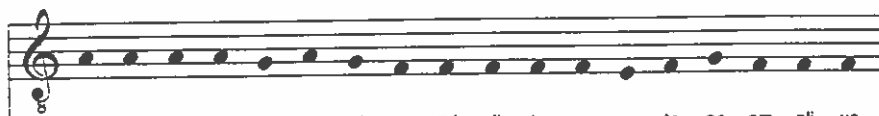
 ses - qual - te - ra dy - a - pen - te pri - ma spe - ci - es to - no con - stat to - no - que

C

 ses - qual - te - ra di - a - pen - te Pri - ma spe - ci - es to - no con - stat to - no - que

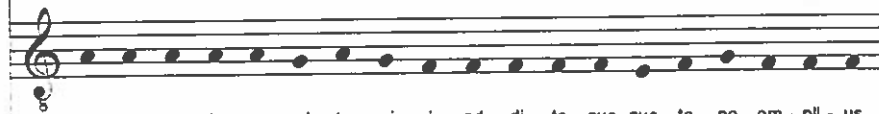
Pa
 sesqualtera diapente prima species tono constat tonoque

4c7



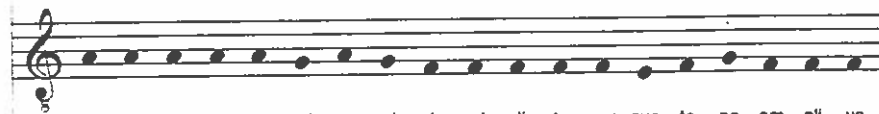
co - pu - la se - mi - to - ni ad - di - to quo - que to - no am - pli - us

Pr



cum co - pu - la se - mi - to - ni - i ad - di - to quo - que to - no am - pli - us

Ps



con co - pu - la se - mi - to - ni - i ad - di - to quo - que to - no am - pli - us

C



cum co - pu - la se - mi - to - ni - i ad - di - to quo - que to - no am - pli - us

Pa

cum copula semitonii addito quoque tono amplius

4c7



to - ta dy - a - tes - sa - ron pul - chre dis - tin - guens, car - mi - na.

Pr



to - ta dy - a - tes - sa - ron pul - cre dis - tin - guens car - mi - na.

Ps



to - ta di - a - tes - sa - ron pul - chre dis - tin - guens car - mi - na.

C



to - ta di - a - tes - sa - ron pul - cre dis - tin - gu - ens car - mi - na.

Pa

tota diatessaron pulchre distinguens carmina.

It is remarkable that in *MS 4c7*, an Antiphonary intended for practical liturgical use, didactic verses appear three times in succession: the didactic verses of the early treatises, which are practical verses teaching the characteristic sounds of the church modes: *Primum quaerite regnum Dei, Secundum autem simile est*, etc.; the theoretical verse teaching the characteristic sounds of the Pythagorean consonances, 'Dyapente et dyatesaron symphonie'; and most remarkable of all, the 'Ter terni sunt modi', which is generally confined to theoretical treatises.

4.6 Invitatory

The Invitatory is the introductory chant of Matins. It consists of the singing of Psalm 94 in the *Vulgate* numbering, Psalm 95 in the Hebrew numbering: 'Venite exsultemus Domino...' and an accompanying Antiphon. Just as the 'Venite' was sung to tones independent of the eight simple psalm tones, so the Antiphons form a musical class of their own. In some respects they have more in common musically with the great Responsories of the Night Office than with other Antiphons.⁷⁴ The melody of Psalm 94 was notated with the Invitatory Antiphon only in exceptional cases. Almost always the Antiphon appears with the incipit 'Venite', while the Psalm melody itself is given in an appendix at the end or beginning of the Antiphonary or Breviary.⁷⁵

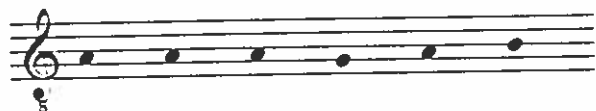
Twenty-nine Invitatory Antiphons belonged to the earliest layer of the repertory. A typical Antiphonary may contain seventy or eighty. There is enormous variety in mediaeval sources as to the choice of Antiphons and the 'Venite' tone they command, and no comprehensive study of the Invitatory tones and Antiphons has yet been published.⁷⁶ *MS 4c7* contains thirty-six Invitatory Antiphons. It agrees in this with the other Carthusian Antiphonaries studied.

The manuscript begins with seven melodies for the Invitatory Psalm, fol. 1r—7v. The beginning of the Antiphonary follows the Invitatory melodies directly in the middle of a page with the Responsory 'Orietur stella' for Vespers of the Saturday before Advent Sunday. The section containing these melodies seems to have been an appendix in the exemplar, because these melodies are the only chants notated with custodes in an original hand.⁷⁷ *MSS 4c7* and *F-Dm 118* are apparently again the same, but different from the general

Carthusian tradition. In both manuscripts seven melodies are given at the beginning of the manuscript and the same seven melodies appear in each manuscript. The beginning of the first 'Venite' melody is however, missing in *MS F-Dm 118*, because the manuscript is damaged at the beginning. In *MS 4c7* the first verse of the first 'Venite' melody has the termination of 'Venite' 1 in the printed Carthusian edition (with a portion of the termination of 'Venite' 2 in the margin in a later hand); the other verses have the termination of 'Venite' 2. (See Plate 1.) Printed 'Venite' 1 is the same as 'Venite' 2, except that the terminations of the verses differ. 'Venite' 2 is intended to be sung at Easter. *MS F-Dm 118* begins on fol. 2r with the 'Gloria patri' of printed 'Venite' 2. It seems unlikely that it could have been preceded by a complete 'Venite'. The error probably occurred in the common exemplar from which the two Dijon manuscripts were copied. It is significant that in *MS F-Bea 27* the sequence of 'Venite' melodies begins with the complete first verse of printed version 3, so that 'Venite' 1 is definitely omitted. This manuscript seems to be complete.

The pitch of both the examples of the terminations is that of *MS 4c7*, a half-tone higher than that of the printed version. The incipits in the manuscript appear, however, at the pitch of the printed version. This is in agreement with *MS F-Dm 118* and is again proof that the 'Venites' were copied from a separate exemplar.

Ex. 4. 25 The terminations of 'Venite' 1.



Ex. 4. 26 The terminations of 'Venite' 2.



The melodies for Psalm 94 also appear at the beginning of *MS F-G 200*. In *MS F-G 867* the melodies for the Invitatory Psalm appear towards the end of the manuscript, from fol.

189v onwards. The concordance of the five manuscripts with the printed Carthusian edition is as follows:

Table 4.6

Printed ed.	<i>4c7</i>	<i>F-Dm118</i>	<i>F-Bea27</i>	<i>F-G200</i>	<i>F-G867</i>
1	1/2	1/2		1	1
2			2	8 ⁸⁰	8
3	2	2	1	2	2
4	3	3	3	3	3
5	4	4	4	4	4
6	5	5	5	5	5
7	7	7	7	7	7
8	6	6	6	6	6

In *MS A-Gu 18* the melodies for the Invitatory Psalm appear at the end. The collection is incomplete, containing only a portion of 'Venite' 6, 'Venite' 7 and 'Venite' 8 of the printed edition. Both manuscripts *F-Bea 41* and *F-Bea 34* are incomplete at the beginning and might have contained collections of 'Venite' melodies originally. *MSS F-G 19* and *F-G 201* neither contain collections of 'Venite' melodies nor seem to be incomplete at the beginning, although in these two Antiphonaries the 'Venite' melodies are also allotted only an incipit following the Antiphon. It has to be remembered that a collection of melodies at the beginning or end of a manuscript can be lost or damaged very easily, and might also have been lost in the exemplar. The 'Venite' melodies might also have been contained in a separate volume, as is the case today.

In performance, the eleven verses of the Psalm are grouped into five sections. The Antiphon was repeated after each section, the complete Antiphon after sections 1, 3 and 5 and the second half of the Antiphon after sections 2, 4 and the doxology.⁸¹

Because of the differences in the repertoires of Invitatories these repertoires may be liturgical and musical features that can help to establish the provenance and date of a particular manuscript. Earlier manuscripts which contain 'Venites' often assign Antiphons of different modes to one and the same 'Venite' while later books tend to organize the 'Venite' and its Antiphons like a Tonary without mixing modes.⁸²

Invitatory Antiphons were reckoned to belong only to modes two—seven, and consequently only six 'Venite' tones were required. Psalm formulae of Invitatories which can be assigned to the first and eighth tones, the authentic D- and the plagal G- modes, are lacking although they were added in isolated cases, for instance, the Cistercians had an authentic D- formula and matching Invitatories. Most of the Psalm formulae and Invitatories belong to the fourth tone, the plagal E- mode, and the sixth tone, the plagal F- mode.⁸³

An Antiphon appears on occasion with the incipits of different 'Venites'. 'Regem martirum' has 'Venite' 5 for the larger feasts. The melody is more plain for lesser feasts and appears with 'Venite' 4. 'Christus natus est' appears on Christmas Day with 'Venite' 4, on the Octave of Christmas with 'Venite' 1. 'Venite' 3 is used only on Monday. 'Ave Maria gracia plena' appears with different 'Venites' according to the solemnity of the feast.

A list of the Invitatory Antiphons in *MS 4c7* appears in Vol. 2 of this thesis, pp. 185 - 186.

4.7 Kyriale

The contents of the Kyriale are of course the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass. So it is unusual to find a Kyriale (even though containing mostly incipits) as part of an Antiphonary. None of the other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared with *MS 4c7* includes the Ordinary of the Mass, with the exception of *MS F-G 394*, which contains one Kyrie, the Kyrie 'pro defuncto'.

The oldest Kyriale of the Carthusians (12th century) had only three Kyrie, the oldest and simplest, one Gloria (a variant of Gloria XV of the Vatican edition), one Sanctus (Vatican XVIII) and one Agnus Dei (Vatican XVIII). Towards the end of the 12th century another Gloria (Vatican XI), Sanctus (Vatican XV) and Agnus Dei (Vatican XV) were added.⁸⁴

The Kyriale in *MS 4c7* conforms to this tradition. It has three Kyrie following the 'Ite missa est' on fol. 318v. None of these Kyrie appear in the Vatican Gradual.⁸⁵ The Credo is Credo XVIII (11th century) of the Vatican edition. The Gloria 'Dominicis et festis capituli et festis XII lectionum et sabbato' is Gloria XV (10th century) of the Vatican edition. The Gloria 'In omnibus sollempnitatibus' is Gloria XI (10th century) of the Vatican edition. The two

Agnus Dei appear on fol. 319r, separated from the rest of the Kyriale by accent formulae for readings of the Gospel and the Epistle. Of these the Agnus 'In sollempnitatibus' is that of Vatican XV (12th century), while the Agnus 'Dominicis festis capituli et festis XII lectionum' is that of Vatican XVIII (12th century). The two Sanctus melodies appear before the rest of the Kyriale, on fol. 318r, and are separated from it by formulae for deacons and priests. The Sanctus 'Dominicis et festis IX lectionum' is that of Vatican XVIII (13th century) while the Sanctus 'Aliud in omnibus sollempnitatibus' is that of Vatican XV (10th century).

Landwehr-Melnicki refers to only three Carthusian manuscripts, all of the 13th to the 15th century. Only one of these, *Neapol. Bibl. Naz.*, a Carthusian Gradual from Padua (13th century) (Ex. 7E, M20), contains a Kyrie similar to one of those in *MS 4c7*, with incipit c'- b flat-a-a-g-a. This Kyrie occurs in many manuscripts.⁸⁶

No other examples cited by her are similar to the incipits in *MS 4c7*.

Ex. 4. 27 The Kyrie in *MS 4c7* used for solemn feasts.

Three staves of musical notation for the Kyrie in *MS 4c7*. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff has a common time signature (C) and the lyrics "Ky - ri - e le - y - son Christe le - y - son". The second staff has a common time signature (C) and the lyrics "Ky - ri - e le - y - son". The third staff has a common time signature (C) and the lyrics "Ky - ri - e le - y - son.".

Ex. 4. 28 The Kyrie used for ordinary days.

Ky - ri - e le - y - son Chris - te le - y - son Ky - ri - e le - y - son (2 x)

Ky - ri - e le - y - son

Ex. 4. 29 The Kyrie used for Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons.

Ky - ri - e le - y - son Chris - te le - y - son Ky - ri - e le - y - son

The Kyriale in *MS US-NYpm 115*, a Carthusian Gradual from Dijon, 15th century, agrees with the Kyriale in *MS 4c7*, except in that one of the Agnus Dei melodies appears at a different pitch.

Ex. 4. 30 Agnus Dei

4c7 Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di mi - se - re - re

PM 115 Ag-nus De - i qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di mi - se - re - re no - bis do - na no - bis pa - cem

4.8 Canticles

The Canticles in the Carthusian liturgy accord in general with those in the monastic Breviary. The number is, however, limited to the original main body of Canticles.⁶⁷

A list of the Canticles in *MS 4c7* appears in Vol. 2, pp. 187 - 188.

4.9 The use of the B flat

It has been shown in this chapter that, with regard to the melodies, the Carthusian Antiphonaries have much in common. There are exceptions, but they are rare. There is, however, one aspect of the melodies in which the Carthusian manuscripts show no concordance at all: the use of the B flat.

There are mainly three principles which the mediaeval theoreticians of music and the Cistercians under the direction of Saint Bernard applied to the early melodies of the 12th century. The first is the principle of modal unity. They qualified any modulating melody as 'bastard' and consequently rejected all psalmodic terminations not ending on the finalis of the Antiphon.

According to Devaux's research of the melodies of the Gradual, this principle was not strictly followed by the Carthusians.⁸⁸ The early Carthusians also ignored the second principle according to which the range of a melody may not exceed a tenth. In this respect they could follow their sources from the Dauphiné.⁸⁹ Nor did they conform strictly to the third principle of musical reform: the application of the B flat.

Guido of Arezzo (c. 991—after 1033) harboured an aversion to the notation of the B flat, but did admit it to remove the tritone. John of Namur (Johannes Gallicus), a Carthusian from Mantua, in his *Ritus Canendi Vetissimus et Novus* (15th century), agreed with him.⁹⁰ Another Carthusian monk, Jean de Rickel (Anonymous I of Coussemaker), tried to react against the arbitrary introduction of the B flat by establishing certain rules. He absolutely prohibited the use of the B flat in the 3rd, 7th and 8th modes.⁹¹ Heinrich Eger von Kalkar (1328—1408), a Carthusian monk who studied in Cologne and Paris, wrote a compendium called *Cantuagium*, which Hüschen characterises as a schoolbook text for practical use, probably by members of the Carthusian Order.⁹² Eger gives as a reason for ending chants on alternative finals that singing at the higher location is 'often more appropriate or sweeter'. He later specifically links the sweetness with the B flat.⁹³ It would seem that Eger would not only keep a chant at a pitch which included the B flat, but would even transpose a chant in order to obtain the 'sweetness' of the B flat.

For some theorists chromaticism is an integral and original feature of chant, an inheritance which has to be adhered to. These theorists include Hucbald (d. 930), Aurelian (9th century), Regino (d. 915), Berno (d. 1048) and in modern times Jacobsthal. For others it is an error which has to be corrected. These theorists include Guido of Arezzo, John of Afflighem, Guido of Cherlieu, and in modern times, P. Wagner. Among the Mediaeval traditions, the Roman, Cistercian and Dominican chant follow this group.⁹⁴ The position of the Carthusian chant is equivocal.

Devaux investigated the position of the B flat in the early manuscripts of the Carthusian Gradual, and came to the conclusion that the manuscripts may be divided into three groups:

- ◆ some manuscripts have practically no B flats;
- ◆ others flatten the B wherever there is even the faintest suggestion of a tritone, although this may be attenuated by a rest, the doubling of an intermediate note or the upwards or downwards extension of the melody;
- ◆ the Graduals of the third type flatten the B's only in a direct tritone relation, retaining the B natural wherever the tritone is weakened by one of the above mentioned phenomena.

He pointed out that, unfortunately, the notation does not indicate where the B flat is cancelled, leaving some doubt in the interpretation of these manuscripts.⁹⁵

An examination of the Carthusian Antiphonaries showed that they, too, may be roughly divided into three groups. The B flats in the Temporale⁹⁶ of five Carthusian Antiphonaries were counted with the following results:

<i>MSS 4c7</i>	<i>F-Dm 118</i>	<i>F-Bea 27</i>	<i>F-G 200</i>	<i>A-Gu 7</i>
438	551	583	836	143

MS A-Gu 7 therefore, has few B flats, *MS F-G 200* a great many, with *MSS 4c7*, *F-Dm 118* and *F-Bea 27* in the middle. However, in the case of the Antiphonaries, it seems too simplistic to link the presence or absence of a B flat throughout a manuscript to the directness of the tritone relation. This will be apparent from the example below (Ex. 4.31). It is

obvious too, that in the manuscripts, the B flats are not all in the original hand. In *MS F-Bea 27*, 503 B flats may be in the original hand, or entered at an early date, while 81 were entered in a much later hand; in *MS F-G 200* the B flats are in many different hands at different periods, while in *MS A-Gu 7* the B flats all seem to have been entered in a much later hand.

In the following example *MS A-Gu 7* has no B flat; *MSS 4c7* and *F-Bea 27* have three each and *MSS F-Dm 118* and *F-G 200* have four each. While *MS A-Gu 7* has fewer B flats throughout than the other manuscripts, *MS F-G 200* has in its *Temporale 285* more B flats than *MS F-Dm 118*. It has to be noted that although *MS A-Gu 7* has fewer B flats than the other manuscripts compared, the B's are not all flattened as a result of a direct tritone relation—there, too, there may be doubling of intermediate notes, etc.

Ex. 4. 31 The Responsory 'Misit Dominus' as it appears in four of the five manuscripts.

MS A-Gu 7 is not shown, because it has no B flat in this chant. In the example the positions where the B flats are indicated agree with those of the manuscripts.

4c7
Mi - sit Do - mi - nus

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

* The asterisks indicate an added B flat to avoid the tritone.

4c7
an - ge - lum su - um et

F-Dm 118
*

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
con - clu - sit o - ra le -

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
o - num Et non

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
me con - ta - mi - na - ve - runt *

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
qui - a co - ram e + o ius - ti

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
ci - a in - ven - ta

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

+ The + sign indicates an A - B flat - A progression.

4c7
est in me.

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
V. Mi - sit De - us mi - se - ri - cor - di - am su - am

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
et ve - ri - ta - tem su - am a - ni - mam

F-Dm 118

F-Bea 27

F-G 200

4c7
 me - am e - ri - pu - it de me - di - o ca - tu - lo - rum
 F-Dm 118
 F-Bea 27
 F-G 200

4c7
 le - o - num. Et non
 F-Dm 118
 F-Bea 27
 F-G 200

It is apparent from this example that the B flat is not always placed immediately before the note it affects. This practice was common in the music of early times. Andrew Hughes mentions three positions: (a) immediately before the note affected or before the ligature of which that note forms a part; (b) directly above or below a note; (c) preplaced and followed by intervening notes or symbols. The first instance needs no explanation; (b) may be a chance result of placing the notes so close together that the symbol falls directly above or below another note before the one it affects: this may be so whether the symbol is directly before, or, as in (c) preplaced. The position regarding (c) is complex. Preplacing accidentals is a common feature of all manuscripts of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, including plainchant sources. Common though it is, no theorist describes the practice. A scribe may have remedied an omission, or a later user may have made an addition, in the nearest available space before a note. But omission and replacement may

be discounted as serious factors in a careful manuscript, the more so because there are sufficient examples of preplacing where space is available immediately before a note, or at least closer to it.⁹⁷

One factor which requires the accidentals necessarily to be preplaced stems from the nature of the solmizing systems. If the accidental is to serve as a hexachord signature it must necessarily be preplaced.⁹⁸ However, this still does not explain why the different Carthusian sources of the same melody differ widely in the notation of the B flat, as indicated in Ex. 4.30. This example supports Apel's observation that 'a detailed investigation of the B flat in the medieval manuscripts of Gregorian chant still remains to be undertaken, but there can be little doubt that it would reveal hundreds of cases in which a manuscript shows a B flat at a certain place where it is absent in another source of equal authority'.⁹⁹

It has to be remembered, however, that during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance it was not necessary to write down all accidentals. Since some accidental inflections were conventionally implied by the musical context, performers made them whether or not they were notated. The practice of implied accidentals can be understood only in a wider context of compositional, notational and performing practices of the period.¹⁰⁰

Huglo remarked in 1992, 'The problem of the B flat allows us to see the great distance that separates the surviving notated text from the chant as it was performed in the thirteenth century. There is no unanimity in the notation of the B flat, but it goes without saying that, though a notator may fail to mark it, the singer who has performed this piece for a lifetime will sing the B flat without even looking at the notated book'.¹⁰¹

The practice of implied accidentals stretched over several centuries and over all parts of Europe with a written music tradition. The practice must have evolved in time and differed from place to place.¹⁰²

Although Apel warned, 'we cannot expect to solve the problem of the accidentals by a few rules which can be equally applied to every source',¹⁰³ he does later formulate some rules, including the following: the b is natural in the combination a-b-c' or c'-b-a, flat in combinations such as g-b-c', d'-b-a, a-b-a.¹⁰⁴ Apel is concerned with polyphonic music. He says,

however, 'No rules can be considered as satisfactorily solving the problem unless they are of a strictly horizontal character and enable the singer (as well as the modern transcriber) to judge 'a parte ante', that is, from the consideration of the voice in question exclusively, where a flat (or a sharp) is needed'.¹⁰⁵ These rules have to be kept in mind as well in considering the Responsory 'Misit Dominus' in the Carthusian manuscripts.

4.10 Conclusion

Although the melodies of the Carthusian Antiphonary are indeed of a homogeneous nature, there are variants. *MS 4c7* illustrates these variants particularly clearly.

A feature which emerges from the music is the common parentage of *MS 4c7* and the contemporaneous *MS F-Dm 118*, also written for the Charterhouse of Champmol. The existence of a common exemplar is proved by the melodic variants which the two manuscripts have in common, in contrast to the general Carthusian tradition. The two instances where irregularities in the common exemplar were repeated in both manuscripts (the transposition a third higher from a certain point in the Responsory 'Scindite corda vestra', and the combination of the first two 'Venite' melodies), supply particularly strong evidence.

The concordance between the two Dijon manuscripts and those of the neighbouring Charterhouse of Beaune-Fontenay, indicates that the variant melodies for the feast of Exaltation of the Cross are of a regional nature, having the Dijon-Beaune region as their source.

Chants discussed to illustrate these aspects were:

- ◆ The Responsory 'Scindite corda vestra'. First Sunday of Lent, Matins: a portion appears a third higher in the Dijon manuscripts than in all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared
- ◆ The Antiphon 'Amen amen dico vobis', Tuesday in the week after Pentecost, Lauds, is transposed to the upper fifth in the two Dijon manuscripts. In all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared it appears a fifth lower.

- ◆ The Responsory 'Esto nobis' and its verse 'A facie inimici', Fourth Sunday of Lent, Lauds, appears a fifth higher in the Dijon manuscripts than in all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared.
- ◆ The Responsory 'Oravit iacob et dixit', with its verse 'Deus Deus', Second week of Lent, Matins, appears a fourth higher in the Dijon manuscripts and *MS B-Br 15072*, than in all the other Carthusian manuscripts compared.
- ◆ The melodies in *MSS 4c7* and *F-Dm 118* are exactly the same in small details (See Table 4.1, p. 67)
- ◆ The Responsory 'Christus resurgens' and the verse 'Mortuus' are missing between the seventh and the ninth Responsories, Fourth Sunday of Easter, in both manuscripts, although in *MS F-Dm 118* the missing Responsory was added in a later script.
- ◆ The Responsory 'Cum mortui', Exaltation of the Cross, Matins, appears in the Dijon and Beaune manuscripts with a variant melody, differing from all other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared.
- ◆ The Antiphons 'Christus peccata' and 'Qui non accipit', Exaltation of the Cross, appear in the Dijon and Beaune manuscripts as well as in *MS 3c23* with variant melodies, differing from all the other Carthusian Antiphonaries compared.

MS 4c7 is unusual because of the inclusion of the particularly comprehensive Hymnary, Tonary and Kyriale in the Antiphonary. The Tonary again shows variants from the general Carthusian tradition.

This manuscript is one of the few manuscripts in the world intended for musical performance to contain the 'Ter terni' didactic verse. If it is not the only Carthusian manuscript intended for performance to include it, there are certainly very few others. The presence of the didactic verse 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' also seems to be unique in the Carthusian Order.

Chapter 5

MS 3c23: Description, Date and Provenance, Contents and Palaeography

5.1 Description

MS 3c23 in the South African Library, Cape Town, is a Carthusian Antiphonary for nuns containing the chants for Lauds and Vespers and written in *Littera gothica textualis quadrata media*.¹

It is a volume of 179 vellum folios, ruled in feint brown ink. The measurements are 132 x 201 mm.

The parchment (of a unified yellowish colour) is rather rough and thick, and some pages are illegible or almost illegible because of fatty residue. In one instance a piece of paper and in another a vellum folio had been inserted as substitutes.² There are seven long lines of text and notation. The staves have four red lines and horizontal lines are drawn for the text under each of the staves. The ruling can clearly be seen on fol. 8r. It is a variant of type Leroy P3d 00D1 (Muzerelle 1—1 / 0 / 1—2 / J)³ measuring:

horizontally : 10 + 84 + 38 mm.

vertically: 17 + 133 + 6 + 45 mm.

The upper horizontal lines are extraordinarily long. The upper horizontal line is a little above the staff and serves as the basis of the folio number.

There are pinholes at the top and bottom and sometimes at the fore-edge of folios, e. g. on folios 18—23 and 51—56.

The gatherings are composed in the following way: 1—15⁸, 16⁶, 17⁸, 18^{8.4}, 19^{8+1.5}, 20—22⁸, 23⁴.

The first and last words of each gathering are as follows:

- 1 Orietur—Deus
- 2 veniet—desideratus ea(rum)
- 3 (ea)rum—civitate
- 4 david—posi(tus)
- 5 (posi)tus—alleluya
- 6 alleluya—Bnd. ã.
- 7 Laudate—Dñe
- 8 bonum—adversum
- 9 me—mise(ricordia)
- 10 (mise)ricordia—sci(ens)
- 11 (sci)ens—alleluya
- 12 alleluya—ipse
- 13 enim—alleluya
- 14 alleluya—qui
- 15 in celis—bel(lo)
- 16 (bel)lo—qui
- 17 reminiscimini—episcopi
- 18 alleluya—tu
- 19 es petrus—Ant.
- 20 [illegible] (nos?)—permisit
- 21 In omnem—per vi(as)
- 22 (vi)as—anxia(tur)
- 23 (anxia)tur—Intende

The foliation, in the upper right hand corner, is red and in Roman figures. It is contemporaneous with the manuscript and might have been done by the original scribe. There is an error in the foliation: the number cxlvii is omitted.⁶

Catchwords are visible at the ends of gatherings 4, 14, 15, 16. Portions of catchwords are visible at the ends of gatherings 6, 7 and 8.

The rubrics in the manuscript are not by the scribes of the text. Antiphons and Responsories are numbered by a later hand. The name 'Soeur Marie Utens' is written on fol. 1r in a later script. (See Plate 3.) The date 1538 appears on fol. 126v at the end of the Temporale and before the Dedication in the hand of the original scribe.

There are eight illuminations in the manuscript:

- | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| fol. 1r: | Dominica prima adventus |
| fol. 23r: | Ad primas vespas in nativitate Domini |
| fol. 32r: | In circumcissione Domini |

fol. 85v:	In vigilia sancte pasche
fol. 100r:	In vigilia penthecostes
fol. 105r:	Sancti sacramenti (Corporis Christi)
fol. 144r:	Marie magdalene
fol. 145r:	In assumptione beate Marie

The pages containing illuminations also have marginal decorations in the style of the Bening-school of Gent. These borders are very similar to those found in the well-known Grimani Breviary⁷ but are poorly executed. The background is gold, but not burnished and of a poor quality. The trompe-l'oeil borders take the form of regularly shaped bands. They include foliage motifs, mainly acanthus leaves, entwining or interspersed with flowers, strawberries, butterflies, snails, caterpillars and birds. The pansies are in the same colours as those in the Grimani Breviary, but without subtlety. There are some very awkward peacocks. The colours are flat, hard and somewhat gaudy, distinct from the bright and subtly coloured floral borders of the Grimani Breviary.

This style of decoration represents a change from the stylized borders of the Gothic period, with their sprays of leaves and flowers springing into the margins, to a carefully realistic rendering of natural objects contained within precisely defined bounds. This new approach is attributed to the illuminator and painter Alexander Bening of Gent.⁸

It was particularly the Flemish artists at the courts of the Dukes of Burgundy who excelled in this art form. The Grimani Breviary, which has been called 'the summit of early 16th-century Flemish miniature-painting', is one of the most valuable treasures of the art of book illustration. The Breviary, now in the Marciana Library in Venice, belonged to the Cardinal Grimani, who bought it in 1520 from an Italian dealer.⁹ It is dated 1510 to 1520. The three major illuminators of the manuscript were Gerard Horenbout (also known as Gerard Hogenhout), Alexander Bening, and Simon Bening, the son of Alexander.¹⁰

Another famous manuscript of the same period which shows decorations in the same style as *MS 3c23* is the Book of Hours of James IV, King of the Scots, dated 1502/ 1503, now in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The decorations in this Book of Hours are also attributed to the school of Gent and Brugge and the artists have been identified as Gerard Hogenhout and Simon Bening.¹¹ Like the Grimani Breviary, this Book of Hours is regarded as one of the supreme examples of late mediaeval manuscript illumination, whereas the decorations in *MS 3c23* are artistically poor.

The main initials have filigree simulating engraved metal. Lesser initials are inhabited by grotesques. The initials are alternately grey and black with gold filigree on orange and on blue. This again shows a marked similarity to the Grimani Breviary. From fol. 172r red and blue initials in a different and simpler style are found.

Relatively few illuminated manuscripts can be assigned on firm grounds to religious houses or monastic orders that were producing manuscripts during the 15th and 16th centuries, and even in the case of most manuscripts known to have been written by monks or nuns, we usually do not know if the decoration or illustration was done by monastic or lay artisans.¹²

Binder's signatures appear in the lower margins on several pages: fol. 4r: c1111 (partially cut off); fol. 12r: illegible and partially cut off; fol. 20r: 8 (partially cut off); fol. 113r: illegible and partially cut off.

The size of the 19th-century binding is 135mm x 205 mm. It is of tooled brown leather and in a very good condition. The words 'Ancient M.S. Music' appear on the spine. It has a medallion-shaped bookplate on the front endpaper with the motto 'Spe otii laboro' and the name Edward Vernon Utterson.

Edward Vernon Utterson, a literary antiquary, born in 1775 or 1776, was the eldest son of John Utterson of Foreham, Hampshire. He was educated at Eton and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He entered the latter in 1794, was admitted pensioner on 17 February 1798, and graduated LL.B in 1801. On 31 October 1794 he was entered at Lincoln's Inn and on 1 February 1802 he was called to the bar. He practised in the Court of Chancery. In 1815 he was appointed one of the six clerks in Chancery, and he held the office until its abolition in 1842. He employed his leisure in collecting and editing rare early English works and in 1807 he was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He died at Brighton, aged 80, on July 1856.¹³ His library was sold at Sotheby's for £4800 in April 1852.¹⁴

MS 3c23 found its way from the collection of Utterson into the possession of Sir George Grey via the saleroom and the bookseller. Casson describes the manuscript as an 'Antiphonary with music, Carthusian, in Latin, vellum, 16th century, French.

1. Sotheby & Wilkinson, April 25, 1852, p. 99. Lot 1387. Sold to Pickering, £6 / 12 / 6. (This is from the catalogue of the sale of E. V. Utterson.)

2. Sotheby & Wilkinson, December 12, 1854, p. 13, Lot 127. Sold to Bohn, £3 / 1 /— . (From the catalogue of the sale of William Pickering.)

3. Henry G. Bohn, General Catalogue 1858, p. 662, £5 / 5 /— .¹⁵

A cutting taken from a copy of the last catalogue is still pasted in the front of the manuscript. It reads:

Antiphonale Romanum: Hymns and Psalms to be sung at the various offices, Festivals and Saints days in the Roman church. MS. of French art of the XVIth century, on 179 leaves of vellum, musically notated, with many elegant borders, composed of Fruit, Flowers and Insects, on gold grounds, and numerous initials, of which the large ones enclose miniatures in gold and colours, small 4to dark morocco, sides richly blind-tooled, gilt edges, from E.V.Utterson's collection. £5 5s

The words 'This volume contains several initial letters, beautifully illuminated and also numerous borders', appear in handwriting on the flyleaf. The handwriting might possibly be that of Sir George Grey.

T.H. Hahn described *MS 3c23* as follows: 'Antiphonale (Romanum). MS written in France. Do(mini)ca pr(i)ma adve(n)tus etc. Latin. 16th century. Vellum. Quarto. Eight miniatures and musical notation.'¹⁶

The manuscript commences with the rubric 'Dominica prima adventus' followed by the Responsory 'Orietur' for Advent Sunday. It ends with the Responsory 'Specia tua', in a much later and very unattractive and rough script and notation.

5.2 Date and provenance

As mentioned, *MS 3c23* provides us with direct evidence regarding its date, 1538. This date is consistent with the script and the notation as well as with the illuminations and border decorations. The date is also consistent with the development of the Calendar—earlier than the *Ordinarium Cartusiense* of 1582.¹⁷

Although the manuscript does not provide us with direct evidence regarding its origin, it has an indication: the signature of Sister Marie Utens on fol. 1r.¹⁸

Sister Marie Utens was born, probably in Béthune, Artois, France, in 1599. Since she was fifteen, she wanted to enter the Charterhouse for nuns, Mont-Sainte-Marie, at Gosnay, near Arras, and she took her vows at sixteen. Her two sisters, Augustine and Constance, joined her at the Charterhouse some years later. Marie died on 25 January, 1643.¹⁹ Augustine and Constance died in 1682.²⁰

The father of the three nuns, Jaspard Utens, was a son of one of the first families of Louvain, but left that city for Béthune in 1570. He married Elizabeth Macron of Béthune.²¹ In 1636 he added a codicil to his will in which he left '60 florins to my three daughters who are Carthusian nuns in Gosnay, for a Responsory and other necessities'.²² This 'Responsory' could not be traced, but it probably contained Responsories for Matins to supplement the two Antiphonaries belonging to Marie and Augustine.

In the Archives of the Grande Chartreuse there is a small manuscript, *MS C // 812*, with the title *Antiphons of the Third Nocturne*, copied in 1628. It has the inscription 'Property of Sister Augustine Utens of Gosnay' ('Appartient à Soeur Augustine Utens de Gosnay') and was probably copied when Augustine took her vows.²³ The other Antiphonary is the Antiphonary for Lauds and Vespers, *MS 3c23*, which was in the possession of the nuns of Gosnay during the first half of the 17th century and was probably given to Sister Marie Utens when she took her vows in 1614.

In this Antiphonary, the first page of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene is particularly lavishly decorated. (See Frontispiece to Vol. 1.) The illuminated letter 'M' shows a royal figure wearing a crown and ermine and carrying a sceptre as well as a shield decorated with fleur-de-lis. At its feet kneels a Carthusian monk in a white habit. The border is also lavish, containing amongst its other inhabitants, a peacock in royal blue. The only other peacock in the manuscript appears on fol. 1r. This accentuation of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene seemed to indicate the saint as patroness of the Charterhouse of origin, and for this reason the Charterhouse of St. Mary Magdalene under the Cross, at Louvain, was first considered as provenance of the manuscript. In this case, one would have expected her presence at Calvary to be illustrated, however. Also, the presence of this illumination in an Antiphonary consisting only of Offices for Vespers and Lauds, and with an

incomplete Sanctorale, would be surprising in a house of monks, where the Antiphonary would be of little use. It is to be noted that the Charterhouses were situated in different Carthusian provinces: Brabant for Louvain and Picardy for Gosnay. The Artois was the domain of the Kings of France, as indicated by the fleur-de-lis on the shield of St. Mary Magdalene.

There have always been much fewer Charterhouses for nuns than for men: only 22 through the ages as compared to 271 for monks. There are today only five Charterhouses for nuns with a total of 80 nuns in the world.²⁴ Their rule is similar to that of the monks, but their lives are less solitary.²⁵ In the 16th century the nuns of Gosnay did not chant the entire office 'with notes' ('cum notis'). In 1677 in an Ordinance, 'for the direction of nuns' Dom Le Masson (Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, 1675—1703) allowed the nuns to recite the nocturnal Psalms and Antiphons of Matins without notes, 'recto tono', except on solemn feasts such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Assumption, St. Bruno and All Saints. The vicar of a Charterhouse for nuns could, however, permit them to sing Matins with notes at his discretion, provided that this would not tire them unduly.²⁶ It is therefore understandable that the nuns would have separate books for the different Offices.

It is possible that Jaspard Utens, a librarian, could have procured *MS 3c23* from the Charterhouse of his native town, or through his work at a sale of books, but there is no proof of that. It can be proved, however, that *MS 3c23* was written for the nuns of Gosnay, and probably at Gosnay itself, because of the extremely close relationship between the manuscript and *MS C II 817*, of the Archives of the Grande Chartreuse: the Antiphonary of Sister Anne de Monchy (died 1568). This manuscript is, like *MS 3c23*, fully notated, and an Antiphonary for the Offices of Lauds and Vespers. On the flyleaf at the end of the manuscript is written in the same Gothic hand as the rest of the manuscript: 'The book belongs to Sister Anne de Monchy, nun of the cloister of St. Mary at Gosnay, written by Brother Loys de Villebecq, humble vicar of the monastery mentioned above, 1537' ('Le livre appartient à Soeur Anne de Monchy Religieuse au monastere au mont sainte marie lez gosnay. escript par frere Loys de Villebecq humble vicaire Dudit monastere. 1537'). A comparison of the script of the two manuscripts shows that Brother Loys was also the scribe of *MS 3c23*.

The contents of the manuscripts show the close relationship:

MS C II 817

fol. 1r	First Sunday of Advent
fol. 24r	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 28r	Feast of St. Stephen
fol. 36r	Vigil of Epiphany
fol. 43r	Septuagesima
fol. 88r	Vigil of Easter
fol. 102r	Vigil of Pentecost
fol. 129v	Dedication
fol. 132r	Purification
fol. 146v	St. Mary Magdalene
fol. 147v	Assumption
fol. 150v	Decollation
fol. 157v	All Saints
fol. 163r	Commons of Saints
fol. 174v	Gloria Patri in 8 tones with 2 small Responsories
fol. 175r	St. Genevieve
fol. 176r	Presentation
fol. 180r	Diverse verses

MS 3c23

fol. 1r	First Sunday of Advent
fol. 23r	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 26r	Feast of St. Stephen
fol. 33r	Vigil of Epiphany
fol. 42v	Septuagesima
fol. 85v	Vigil of Easter
fol. 100r	Vigil of Pentecost
fol. 127r	Dedication
fol. 130r	Purification
fol. 144v	St. Mary Magdalene
fol. 147r	Assumption
fol. 149v	Decollation
fol. 156v	All Saints
fol. 159r	Commons of Saints
fol. 170r	Gloria Patri in 8 tones with 2 small Responsories ²⁷
fol. 171v	St. Genevieve
fol. 177v	Presentation
fol. 178r	Diverse verses

There is no Sequence in *MS C II 817*, although the Sequence 'Virgo templum trinitatis' appears on fol. 172r—177r of *MS 3c23*.

The decoration of the manuscripts also show a close similarity. Both have numerous ornamented letters (2x2cms for both *MS AGC C II 817* and *MS 3c23*) painted in gold on a background of blue or brown-violet (*MS AGC C II 817*), blue or orange (*MS 3c23*).

MS AGC C II 817 contains one full page illustration and three large illuminated letters. *MS 3c23* contains no full page illustrations and eight large illuminated letters. Two of the miniatures in the manuscripts show a remarkable similarity:

- ♦ The illumination on fol. 87r (Vigil of Easter) of *MS AGC C II 817* and on fol. 85v in *MS 3c23*. The 'A' of 'Alleluia' shows Christ with a hat and a spade, appearing before St. Mary Magdalene in the garden.²⁸
- ♦ The illumination on fol. 107v of *MS AGC C II 817* (Vigil of the Holy Sacrament) on fol. 105r of *MS 3c23*. The letter 'C' of 'Cenantibus autem' shows two kneeling

angels, face to face, adoring the Holy Sacrament on a monstrance. The background in *MS AGC C II 817* is red, blue in *MS 3c23*.²⁹

The general style of all the illuminations indicate the same artist: all the figures have round faces with long noses. The border decorations in the two manuscripts differ, however, those of *MS AGC C II 817* not being of the Bening-school, but showing simple leafy foliage.

In *MS 3c23* St. Mary Magdalene is the only saint (except for the Holy Virgin) whose feast is accentuated by a historiated letter; in *MS AGC C II 817* (as well as in *MS 3c23*) she is represented in the scene of the appearance of Jesus on the morning of Easter. The cult of St. Mary Magdalene has always been popular. She was the only female saint who, since 1271, had a solemnity throughout the Carthusian Order; in contrast to the feasts of other female saints, her entire Office is taken from the Temporale and not from the Common of Saints. It is natural that she should be particularly venerated in a Charterhouse for nuns. The presence of a commemoration for St. Genevieve in both manuscripts indicates a special devotion at Gosnay for the patroness of Paris and France.

St. Genevieve is best known as patroness of Paris. When the Franks under Childeric besieged Paris, Genevieve is said to have personally made a sortie with an armed band to obtain provisions by river from Arcis and Troyes. Through her prayers Attila the Hun suddenly changed his devastating course through Gaul and turned aside his army, when still south of Paris.³⁰ The feast of St. Genevieve is not mandatory in the Carthusian Order. It is not mentioned in Carthusian Calendars.³¹ There might have been a special concession in favour of Gosnay, however. One may speculate about political problems of the time.

To sum up: the two Antiphonaries are from the same period: 1537 and 1538. They were copied for the same house by the same scribe and are closely related concerning content and decoration. *MS 3c23* was almost certainly copied from *MS AGC C II 817*.

5.3 Contents of the manuscript

The manuscript consists of the following parts:

- ◆ fol. 1r—fol. 26v, Temporale, followed by the date, 1538.
- ◆ fol. 27r—fol. 159r, Sanctorale.

- ◆ fol. 159r—fol. 170r, Common of Saints.
- ◆ fol. 170r—fol. 170v, 'Gloria Patri' in eight tones with two small Responsories.
- ◆ fol. 170v—fol. 171r, six chants for Matins and Vespers.
- ◆ fol. 171v—fol. 178r, the Commemoration for St. Genevieve, followed by the Sequence 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' and a Commemoration 'De presentatione beate Marie'.
- ◆ fol. 178r—fol. 179r, verses for Matins.
- ◆ fol. 179v, an appendix, the Responsory 'Specie tua' in a later, very unattractive script.

MS 3c23 is complete. There are some cross-references. Chants are written out in full at the first appearance, and thereafter given in either notated or textual incipit.

5.4 Palaeography

5.4.1 The script of the text

In contrast to *MS 4c7*, this manuscript was probably written by one scribe, at least up to f. 171r. The type is *Littera gothica textualis quadrata media*.³²

It is characteristic of this hand that headlines are decorated with serifs and there is a slight forking at the heads of ascenders. The hand has a trembling aspect, seeming to indicate an old man's handwriting. This trembling is worse on some pages than on others, and is worse in *MS 3c23* than in *MS AGC C II 817*. *MS 3c23* was, of course, written a year later than the other manuscript. As in *MS 4c7* there are often variations of a letter on one page and in one line. Minuscule 'e' and long 's', especially, have a variety of forms, often in the same line. There is a very characteristic minuscule 'a' distinguished by a serif on the headline and a pronounced upper right corner. This is Oeser's 'small-head "a"', the 'a' of the *textus quadratus*³³ and is used consistently. See, for instance, fol. 49r. The folio is in one hand, but the script changes from the 4th line. The variation is especially obvious in line 6, where there might have been a change of pen. Note, too, the changes in 'e' and long 's' in lines 3 and 4. It is noticeable that the 't' is sometimes more rounded, showing *bastarda* influence.

The rubrics are in a different script which is characterised by the bastarda 's' and 'p' tapering towards the lower end. This is not 'pure' bastarda, but that which Brown terms 'hybrida'. According to Brown, 'hybrida' is reserved to denote a specific script which is basically a *textualis* with the introduction of a few cursive letter-forms without linking of letters, and thereby distinguished from *hybrida cursiva*, with links.³⁴

There might have been a change of scribe on fol. 171v. The letters are formed in a similar manner, but it might be a new scribe, trying to adapt his script to the original hand. The 'o' is not the same, the left side now being formed by an upright stroke culminating in a serif, whereas previously the impression of a single stroke was lacking. The 't' is more rounded and the ductus more slanted to the right. The script changes again somewhat on f. 177v, becoming simpler. A comparison with *MS AGC C II 817* shows, however, that it is probably the same hand with a different pen.

From the last portion of fol. 178r up to fol. 179r there is no notation and the text is in the script of the rubrics. It was probably written at approximately the same time as the rest of the manuscript.

5.4.2 The musical notation

MS 3c23 is notated in the square notation which was common at the time. The script again agrees with that of *MS AGC C II 817*, although on occasion chants are notated with different clefs. For instance, the Antiphon 'Sacerdos in eternum', *MS 3c23*, fol. 107r, is notated with a C-clef, in *MS AGC C II 817*, fol. 109v, with an F-clef.

Short lines indicating the intonations had been inserted, apparently by the original notator. See for instance, fol. 18r. *MS 3c23* agrees in this with the other Carthusian Antiphonaries studied.

The B flat, which is seldom used, is similar to the notation of *MS 4c7*. (See, for instance, fol. 26v, line 3). There are 153 B flats in *MS 3c23*. The B flats in *MS AGC C II 817* were not counted because of the poor quality of the microfilm.

There are few conjunctions, and only for the Clivis (downwards) not the Pes. Regarding the history of notation in the Carthusian choir books a change in the ligatures came about

towards the end of the 15th century. The Podatus, Scalicus and Scandicus were divided into their components and the single notes simply lined up. The sign which lasted the longest time was the Climacus.³⁵

As in *MS 4c7* neither liquescents nor Quilismas are notated. Lambres pointed out that the Carthusian notation ignored from the beginning the liquescent neumes like the Epiphanius, Cephalicus, Salicus and Ancus. This is an example of the Carthusian tendency to simplify the monastical and liturgical elements which they incorporated, he said. Although the Quilisma appears in the Tonary, *MS F-G 467*, as well as in *MS Parkminster DD10*, it became rare and disappeared in certain regions as early as the 11th century. It has been absent from Carthusian chant ever since.³⁶

Custodes are used throughout *MS 3c23*, though not at the end of every staff.

5.4.3 Irregularities in the manuscript

Most of the errors of transcription in *MS 3c23* concern omissions of words from the text, which were added later. In all these cases, with the exception of one, the notation was entered complete, without omissions, although on one occasion the notator had to squeeze in the notes because of the lack of available space on the staff. It seems likely that the missing words were added by the notator.

The errors of omission (the word in italics is the word omitted in the original text):

fol. 37v:	Regnum tuum Domine regnum <i>omnium</i> seculorum.
fol. 45v:	Semen <i>cecidit</i> in terram...
fol. 68r:	Cum sublevasset...maximam <i>multitudinem</i> venientem.
fol. 71r:	Lazarus amicus noster <i>dormit</i> sed vado...
fol. 72v:	Iudicasti Domine causam anime <i>mee</i> defensor...
fol. 94r:	Modicum et <i>non</i> videbitis...
fol. 99v:	Nunc autem ad te venio et <i>hec</i> loquor...
fol. 103v:	Convocatis Iesus...dedit illis <i>virtutem et</i> ³⁷ potestatem...
fol. 109r:	Exi cito in plateas <i>et vicus</i> civitatis...
fol. 109v:	Congratulamini <i>michi</i> quia...
fol. 111v:	Non omnis qui...intrabit in regnum <i>celorum</i> sed qui facit...
fol. 113v:	Exiens Iesus de finibus...adducunt ei <i>turbe</i> surdum...

An instance where the notation was also added later, is:

fol. 112v: *Scriptum est...erat quotidie docens...* (The word 'quotidie' occurs at the turn of a page.)

Other errors are:

- fol. 31v: 'Mag.' instead of 'Benedictus' after the Antiphon 'Erat ioseph' for Lauds.
- fol. 38v: The word 'gratia' is scratched out and the (correct) word 'sapientia' is written above it in the Antiphon 'Puer Iesus'.
- fol. 66r: The Antiphon 'Non lotis', apparently originally accidentally omitted on the page, is added in the lower margin in a much later and very unattractive script.
- fol. 81r: The word 'Mag.' after the Antiphon is scratched out. It should have been 'Benedictus', for Lauds.
- fol. 84v: *Posuerunt super caput eius—causam...*, where a word was inserted between 'eius' and 'causam' but scratched out without being notated.³⁸

Portions of the manuscript are illegible or almost illegible because of fatty residue. These are:

- fol. 48v: lower two staves
- fol. 63r: upper two staves
- fol. 84r: upper three staves
- fol. 84v: first staff
- fol. 88r: last staff
- fol. 88v: last staff
- fol. 138r: upper three staves
- fol. 151: entire folio

A piece of paper, numbered 137a in a modern script, was inserted into the manuscript to substitute for the upper three staves of fol. 138r. A vellum folio, numbered 150a, was inserted to substitute for fol. 151. This inserted folio contains only one of the illegible chants, the Responsory 'Michi autem', for Exaltation of the Cross. In the Carthusian liturgy this Responsory is preceded by the Antiphon 'Nos autem gloriari'. The Antiphon on the inserted folio is 'Pre timore autem', however.

There is an error in the numbering of the manuscript: number cxlvii is missing. No chants are lost, however. Errors also occur in the texts of the Antiphon 'Nove laudis adest festiuitas' (see p. 163) and the Sequence 'Virgo templum Trinitatis'. (see pp. 167 - 170.)

Chapter 6

The Liturgical Context, Text and Music of MS 3c23

6.1 Liturgy

As mentioned, *MS 3c23* is an Antiphonary for Vespers and Lauds written for nuns. The Antiphonary as such contains none of the services for Matins. It does, however, contain most of the Antiphons and Responsories for Lauds, the Little Hours and Vespers. The table of contents in Vol. 2 of this thesis¹ shows that *MS 3c23* agrees almost completely with *MS 4c7* in the daily offices.

The arrangement of the manuscript is on the pattern of:

Sundays and major feasts:	Vespers
	Lauds
	Hours
	Vespers
Weekdays: Succession of Magnificat and Benedictus Antiphons.	

The only references to Matins are on fol. 170v and 171r at the end after the 'Gloria patri' formulae. Van Dijck pointed out, however, that the references to 'ad matutinas' on fol. 170v and 171r refers to 'Ad Laudes matutinas', not the Nocturns.² On fol. 170v and fol. 171r textual incipits are given for:

Commemoracio de cruce 'ad matutinas et vespervas':

Antiphon 'Nos autem' (notated) and verse 'Omnis terra' (textual);

De beata Maria 'ad matutinas':

Antiphon 'Tota pulchra es' (notated) and verse 'Ave Maria gracia plena' (textual);

'ad vespervas':

Antiphon 'Salve regina' (notated);

De sancto iohannis baptiste 'ad matutinas et vesperas':

Antiphon 'Inter natos' (notated) and verse 'Fuit homo missus a Deo' (textual);

De sancto brunone.

Antiphon 'Similabo' (notated) and verse 'Iustum deduxit Dominus' (textual);

De omnibus sanctis.

'Fulgunt' (notated) and the verse 'Letamini in Domino et exultate iusti' (textual).

On fol. 178r to 179r textual incipits are given for some verses for Lauds on Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, Epiphany, Lent, Easter Sunday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, St. John Baptist, Exaltation of the Cross, St. Michael, Commons of Apostles, Many Martyrs, One Martyr, One Confessor, and Virgins. These incipits form part of the 'supplement' (which also includes the Commemoration of St. Genevieve and the Sequence) which is extraneous to the main body of the Antiphonary.

The manuscript closes with the notated Responsory 'Specie tua'. This Responsory appears in other Carthusian manuscripts for Matins on Assumption.

6.2 Text

6.2.1 Textual variants

The concordance of the text of *MS 3c23* with that of *MS 4c7* and the other Carthusian Antiphonaries listed on pp. 3-4 of Vol. 1 of this thesis, again strengthens the theory that the texts of the Antiphonaries were exactly copied.

The only small variants to be found are:

MS 4c7

Nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost

Ant. Dixit Dominus

fol. 195r ...remittuntur

MS 3c23

fol. 117r dimittuntur

Twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost

Ant. Reddite ergo

fol. 195v... quod est cesaris

fol. 119r que sunt cesaris

In *MS 3c23* the Alleluiaic Antiphons, i.e. the Antiphons for the lesser hours of Easter on weekdays, sung solely to the word 'alleluia',³ do not indicate the proper text of the Antiphon. This is in contrast to *MS 4c7* where the repeated 'alleluias' are preceded by the textual incipit of the Antiphon.

6.2.2 Sanctorale

MS 3c23 has no Calendar. A list of feasts of the Sanctorale are given in Vol. 2 of this thesis, p. 230. As in *MS 4c7* the feasts agree with the Calendar published by Becker⁴ as well as with the Calendar published by Lambres⁵, with the exceptions of St. Genevieve, who does not appear in the general Carthusian Calendar, and Conception, which does appear in the general Carthusian Calendar, but is omitted in *MS 3c23*.

In *MS 3c23* feasts of the saints appear consecutively in the Sanctorale, from Conversion of St. Paul (January 25) on fol. 129r up to St. Hugh of Lincoln (November 17) on fol. 158v. Exceptions are, as usual, St. Stephen (December 26) on fol. 26r, St. John evangelist (December 27) on fol. 27v and Holy Innocents (December 28) on fol. 29r, after Christmas. Devaux has pointed out⁶ that the Sanctorale is arranged archaically. When the manuscript was copied in the middle of the 16th century, Conception should have been at the beginning of the Sanctorale.

6.2.2.1 St. Bruno

The feast of St. Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order, appears on its correct date of October 6. Although the Holy See never formally canonized Bruno, Leo X approved his cult and granted his feast for the Carthusians in 1514. Gregory XV extended it to the Latin Church in 1623.⁷

6.2.2.2 St. Genevieve

A short liturgy in honour of St. Genevieve appears on fol. 171v—172r. The liturgy consists of two Antiphons, each followed by one versicle. They are followed by a prayer. This is the scheme of a commemoration of Lauds and Vespers. The same prayer is used for both

Offices. The absence of an intonation or termination for the psalmody respectively of the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* at the ends of the Antiphons indicates that these are not the pieces of a proper Office.⁸

The two versicles pose no problem; they have been taken from the Common of Virgins of the Carthusian rite for Vespers and for Lauds respectively. However, the prayer, 'Beate Genovefae natalitia veneranda. Domine quis ecclesia tua devota suscipiat; et fiat magne glorificationis amore devotiorum et tante fidei proficiat exemplo Per Dominum', is not the prayer ('Beatae Genovefae virginis tue, Domine Deus, gloriosis meritis...') which is found in the Carthusian Missal printed in Paris in 1541 and in the subsequent editions. The prayer in *MS 3c23* appears in two (non-Carthusian) Breviaries of Amiens and of Troye, both very conservative in contrast to their contemporaries, and is therefore the traditional prayer for the feast of St. Genevieve on 3 January, in use since the Merovingian period. The prayer also appears in the Breviary of Moulin (that is, of Autun, since the diocese seceded from Autun). It is the traditional prayer for the feast of the miracle of the saint of 26 November: it insists therefore on her role as thaumaturge, protectress or healer. In the diocese of Paris the prayer for the feast of 3 January was replaced by a new prayer in 1738.⁹

The two Antiphons 'Sponsa Dei Genovefa' and 'Gloriosam Christi sponsa' are quoted 'ad magnificat' for first and second Vespers for the feast of St. Genevieve in *AH*.¹⁰ Five sources are quoted, four from the 15th and one from the 16th century. The sources are: *Brev. MS S. Genovefae, Cod. Sangenovifian. BB1 IV 15A; Brev. MS Parisiense, Cod. Parisin. 751B; Brev. MS Meldense, Cod. Parisin. 1054 C; Brev. MS Laudunense, Cod. Pisanorem M91 D; Brev. Roschildense imp. Parisiis 1517 E.*

6.2.2.3 The Seven Joys of Mary

The devotion of the Seven Joys of Mary is the subject of a Sequence on folios 172r to 177r, following the Office for St. Genevieve. This feast was gradually introduced into the different liturgies since a Cistercian, Arnoult de Villiers (died 1228), composed a poem on the Seven Joys. There are five, seven, nine, ten and fifteen joys and more according to the period and the country. That the devotion is not foreign to the Carthusians is proved by the Charterhouse of Pierre-Châtel (Ain), also called the 'Chartreuse de Notre Dame', founded in 1383, where the fathers were fifteen to honour the fifteen joys of Mary¹¹.

Devotion to the sorrows of the Virgin Mary dates from the 12th century, when it made its appearance in monastic circles under the influence of St. Anselm and St. Bernard. The Cistercians and then the Servites undertook to propagate it. It became widespread in the 14th and especially the 15th centuries, particularly in the Rhineland and Flanders. In 1494 the feast appeared in Brugge and later on it made its way into France.¹²

Devotion to the suffering of Mary initially took the form of contemplation of Mary beneath the Cross (*Stabat Mater dolorosa*), but was then extended to embrace all of the sufferings which the Mother of Jesus experienced. The sorrows were matched by joys.¹³

The Feast of the Seven Joys of Mary, 22 August, is proper to the Franciscans¹⁴ but is not celebrated by the Carthusians. As mentioned, however, the Virgin Mary enjoys the highest veneration by the Carthusian Order.¹⁵

6.2.2.4 Presentation of Mary

The last feast in the manuscript is that of the Presentation of Mary, consisting of the rhymed Antiphon 'Nove laudis adest festivitas', a verse 'Presentatio est hodie sancte Marie virginis', and an oration 'Deus qui sanctam Dei genitricem templum'. The Antiphon appears in *AH*⁶ for Prime of the Feast of the Presentation. In *MS 3c23* 'sanctitas' has been substituted for 'virginibus', and two lines have been added:

Nove laudis adest festivitas
 Grata mundo ac celi civibus
 Qua beate Marie sanctitas
 Templo data est a parentibus
 ut olive punguis suavitas
 uberius redundet fructibus
 alleluya alleluya.

It is not clear why the Devotion of Presentation occurs here. The oration does not appear in the Antiphonary of Sister Anne de Monchy¹⁷.

6.3 Music

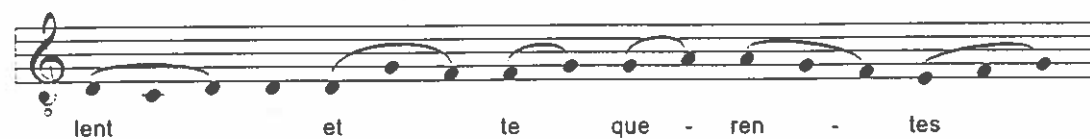
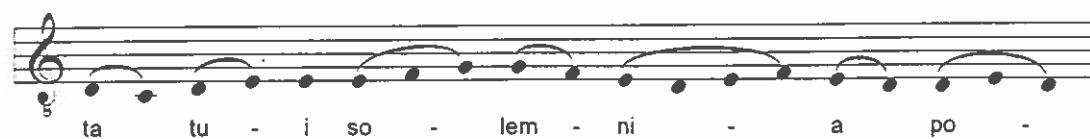
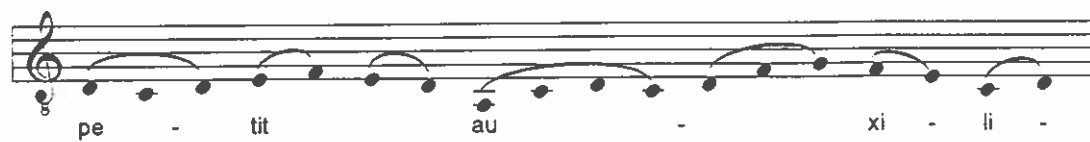
In comparing the music in *MS 3c23* with other Carthusian Antiphonaries, there are no great divergences. Numerous small differences exist, however. These differences are not the result of error, but proves once again that no general exemplar existed for the music of the Carthusian Antiphonaries.

6.3.1 Antiphons

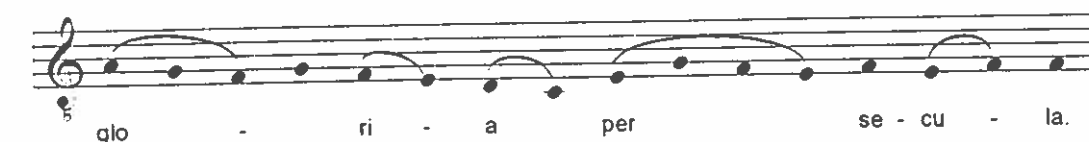
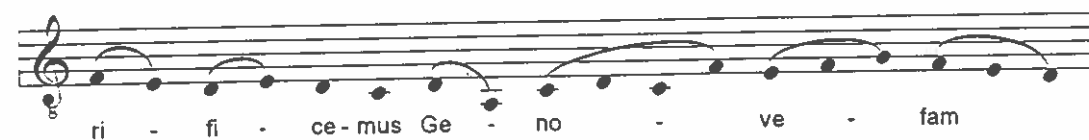
The most important feature of the Antiphons in *MS 3c23* is the existence of the two Antiphons for the Office of St. Genevieve as well as the Antiphon for Presentation. As mentioned, the text of these Antiphons appear in *AH*⁸. The Antiphons could, however, not be found in any other Carthusian Antiphonary studied, except for the 'sister' volume of *MS 3c23*, *MS AGC C II 817*. The two Antiphons for the Office of St. Genevieve have a particularly low register, especially when one considers that the manuscript was written for a Charterhouse for nuns.

Ex. 6. 1 The Antiphon 'Sponsa Dei Genovefa', fol. 171v.

The image displays four staves of musical notation for the antiphon 'Sponsa Dei Genovefa'. Each staff begins with a treble clef (G-clef) and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The lyrics are: Spon - sa De - i Ge - no - ve - fa tu - e me - mor es - to ca - ter - ve que tu - a ges - ta ca - nens a te.



Ex. 6. 2 The Antiphon 'Gloriosam Christi sponsa', fol. 171v.



* MS AGC C II 817 has 'devotis', not 'debitis'. MS 3c23 agrees with the AH version.

Ex. 6.3 The Antiphon 'Nove laudis adest festivitas' for Presentation, fol. 177v.

No - ve lau - dis a - dest fes -
ti - vi - tas gra - ta nu - do(sic) ac -
ce - li ci - vi - bus qua be - a - te Ma -
ri - e sanc - ti - tas temp -
lo da - ta est a pa - ren - ti - bus
ut o - li - ve pin - gu - is
su - a - vi - tas u - be - ri - us re -
dun - det fruc - ti - bus al - le - lu - ya
al - le - lu - ya.

* Manuscript error. This should read 'mundo'.

6.3.2 The Sequence, 'Virgo templum Trinitatis'

This Sequence is a particularly conspicuous component of *MS 3c23*. The Sequence, the text of which deals with the Seven Joys of Mary, follows the liturgy for St. Genevieve, and appears before the Antiphon and Oration for Presentation near the end of the manuscript.

The appearance of this Sequence in this manuscript is noteworthy for a number of reasons:

- ◆ The Carthusian liturgy does not include Sequences.
- ◆ The Sequence, if used in the liturgy, generally follows the Alleluia during the Mass, though there are some instances where Sequences substitute the Hymns in Vespers and Lauds.
- ◆ It is extremely long, with an unusual arrangement of couplets.

Devaux has pointed out that although he was unaware of the presence of a Sequence in any Carthusian Antiphonary, they occur quite often in the manuscripts of Carthusian Graduals, where the manuscripts are complete, that is, where they still contain their first and last pages. These pages, he pointed out, are the refuge of liturgical or non-liturgical pieces, foreign to the original content of the manuscript. The presence of the Sequence in *MS 3c23* could mean that it was sung in the Charterhouse during a local paraliturgical ceremony.¹⁹

Klein mentioned in 1910 that a Carthusian monk from Erfurt added 25 of the most popular Sequences to a Gradual as an appendix (*Berlin K. Bibl. M Mus pract Z50, 15th century*). A Carthusian manuscript from the Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, 15th century, contains a collection of polyphony (discantus) including two-part Antiphons, Tropes and Sequences.²⁰

RISM mentions two further Carthusian manuscripts containing Sequences:

MS Siena Biblioteca Comunale Degl' intronati, G III 2 (described as a Sequentiary and Hymnary, consisting of Proses with Antiphons and Hymns inserted in between); *MS Basel AN II 46*.²¹

Klein pointed out that there must have been many Carthusians, especially those who came to the cloister cell late in life, who missed the wealth of Hymns from their earlier years; after the simple, slow-moving psalmody these songs with their poetic texts, with their rhythm and rhyme, could offer the spirit welcome change and new inspiration. This thought is expressed in the prologue to *MS Basel AN II 46*. The Carthusian Thomas Kress collected here Hymns and Sequences for private use.²² This manuscript is described in *RISM* as showing a singular construction, which distinguishes it sharply from regular Troparies and Prosaries. While Tropes and Proses were parts of the Mass and connected to other sections of the Mass liturgy, *MS Basel AN II 46* connects Tropes and Proses with parts of the Office liturgy. The manuscript is called a Sequentiary by Handschin and Labhart.²³ Despite a study of the Basel manuscript itself—no easy task, since the Hufnagel notation as well as the cursive script is extremely coarse and almost illegible—the Sequence 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' could not be found.

The author of the text 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' is Philip the Chancellor (Philippus de Grevia, who died in 1236). It should therefore have been composed at about the same time as the poem by Arnoult de Villiers. Philip de Grevia was chancellor of Notre Dame in 1217. He is named as author of 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' in *MS Laurentiana, Pl. 25,3*, a Franciscan prayerbook of 1293. Although the Sequence is mentioned in *AH*, the text is not given²⁴. The melody of the Sequence is that of 'Lauda Sion salvatorem'. The Sequence 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' is, however, much longer than 'Lauda Sion salvatorem'.

The structures of the texts are as follows:

Lauda Sion salvatorem

aa
bb
cd
cd
e
f
g
hh
ii
kk
ll
mm

Virgo templum Trinitatis

aa
bb
cc
dd
ee
ff
gg
hh
ii
kk
ll
mm

nn
 oo
 pp
 qq
 rr
 ss
 tt
 uu
 xx
 Amen. Alleluia

The structures of the melodies are:

Lauda Sion salvatorem

1 2 3 4
 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14

Virgo templum Trinitatis

1 2 3 4
 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 + Amen. Alleluia

This Sequence is an example of the Sequences of the last and final stage of the composition of Sequences which became definitely established in the late 11th century. The words are in regular verse form: there is a marked tendency to alternate accented and unaccented syllables, as well as to equalize the length of the lines, and the ends of the lines are distinguished by rhyme. Like 'Laudes Crucis attollamus', another Sequence on the same melody, it represents the most important tendencies of its time.²⁵

The text and the music of 'Virgo templum Trinitatis', as it appears in *MS 3c23*.

Ex. 6. 4

1

Vir-go tem-plum tri-ni-ta-tis De-us sum-me bo-ni-ta-tis et mi-se-ri-cor-di-e
Qu-i tu-e hu-mi-li-ta-tis dul-co-rem su-a-vi-ta-tis vi-dit et fra-gra-ti-e

2

De-te nas-ci nun-ci-a-tur cum per an-ge-lum man-da-tur ti-bi sa-lus gra-ti-e
Mo-dum que-ris et mon-stra-tur dum con-sen-tis in-car-na-tur co-fes-tim rex glo-ri-e

3

Per hoc gau-di-um pre-ca-mur ut hunc re-gem me-re-a-mur ha-be-re pro-pi-ti-um
Et ab e-o pro-te-ga-mur pro-tec-ti re-ci-pi-a-mur in-ter-ra vi-ven-ti-um

4

De-se-cun-do gra-tu-la-ris cum tu so-lem stel-la pa-ris ve-lut lu-na ra-di-um
Pa-ri-en-do non gra-va-ris vir-go ma-nens nec mu-la-ris prop-ter pu-er pe-ri-um

5

Si-cut flos prop-ter o-dorem su-um non per-dit can-do-rem cum o-dor e-mit-ti-tur
Sic tu prop-ter cre-a-to-rem vir-gi-ni-ta-tis can-do-rem non per-dis cum nas-ci-tur

6

Er-go ma-ter sal-va-to-ris fun-de pre-ces cunc-tis ho-ris ut per-is-tud gau-di-um.
Be-a-tis iun-ga-mur cho-ris post-cur-sum huius la-bo-ris su-per-no-rum ci-vi-um.

7

De-ter-ti-o gra-tu-la-ri mo-net stel-la quam mo-ra-ri vi-des su-per fi-li-o
Cum a-ma-gis a-do-ra-ri ip-sum ter-nis et do-ta-ri mu-ne-re tam Ca-ri-o

8

Stel-la no-tat u-ni-ta-tem tees-que ma-gi tri-ni-ta-tem in pre-dic-to fi-li-o
Au-rum men-tis pu-ri-ta-tem myr-rha car-nis cas-ti-ta-tem et thus est o-ra-ti-o

9

Per hoc gra-vi-um* ro-ga-mus ne su-bi-ci va-le-a-mus de-mo-nis im-pe-ri-o
Sed ad ce-los a-scen-da-mus u-bi sem-per gau-de-a-mus te-cum et cum fi-li-o

10

Quar-tum Vir-go ti-bi da-tur cum a mor-te su-sci-ta-tur Chris-tus di-e ter-ti-a
Per hoc fi-des ro-bo-ra-tur spes re-dit et mors fu-ga-tur vi-te da-tur gra-ti-a

11

Ho-mo cap-tus li-be-ra-tur et ab ul-nis sub-le-va-tur sur-sum ad ce-les-ti-a
Hos-tis vic-tus cap-ti-va-tur do-let ge-mit an-xi-a-tur a mis-sa po-ten-ti-a

12

O Ma-ri-a stel-la mun-di a pec-ca-tis si-mus mun-di per hec tu-a gau-di-a
Et vir-tu-ti-bus se-cun-di te-cum le-ti et lo-cun-di le-te-mur in pa-tri-a

13

Quin-tum Vir-go con-cep-is-ti a-scen-den-tem cum vi-dis-ti na-tum ad ce-les-ti-a
Tunc a-per-te cog-no-vis-ti quid tu ma-ter ex-ti-tis-ti cu-ius e-ras fi-li-a

14

In a-scen-sum de-mon-sta-tur vi-am per quam a-scen-da-tur ad reg-na ce-les-ti-a
Sur-gat vir-go et se-qua-tur is-tam vi-am qui mo-ra-tur in mun-di mi-se-ri-a

* Manuscript error. This should read 'bravium'.

15

O Ma - ri - a to - ta mun - da a pec - ca - tis nos e - mun - da per hec tu - a gau - di - a
Et gra - ti - a nos fe - cun - da et duc te - cum ad io - cun - da pa - ra - di - si gau - di - a

16

Sex - tum gau - di - um os - ten - dit de su - per - nis qui de - scen - dit in ling - uis pa - rac - li - tus
Dum con - fir - mat et de - scen - dit re - plet mun - dat et as - cen - dit a - pos - to - los pe - ni - tus

17

In lin - gu - is ig - ne - is da - tus ut per lin - guas sit sa - na - tus ho - mo ling - uis per - di - tus
Et per ig - nem sit mun - da - tus qui fu - e - rat ma - cu - la - tus per pec - ca - tum pri - mi - tus

18

Per hoc gau - di - um be - a - tum o - ra Vir - go tu - um na - tum ut in hoc e - xi - li - o
De - le - at nos - trum re - a - tum ut ha - be - a - mus pla - ca - tum ip - sum in iu - di - ci - o

19

Ad sep - tu - mum in - vi - ta - vit cum de mun - do te vo - ca - vit Chris - tus ad ce - les - ti - a
Su - per cho - ros e - xal - ta - vit e - xal - ta - tam ho - no - ra - vit spe - ti - a - li gra - ti - a.

20

Sic ho - nor ti - bi pres - ta - tur qui ne - mi - ni re - fe - ra - tur ni - si per te cu - ri - a
Nec vir - tu - bus di - ta - tur ni - si per te cu - i da - tur vir - tu - tum cus - to - di - a.

21

Vir - go ma - ter pi - e - ta - tis sen - ti - a - mus bo - ni - ta - tis tu - e be - ne - fi - ci - um
Et nos ser - ves a pec - ca - tis et duc te - cum cum be - a - tis ad e - ter - num gau - di - um



6.4 Conclusion

MS 3c23 is a Carthusian manuscript which conforms to the general Carthusian tradition. It is one of the few Antiphonaries for Lauds and Vespers written for nuns. The three Antiphons for St. Genevieve and Presentation are apparently characteristic of the Charterhouse of origin, Mont-Sainte-Marie at Gosnay, because they also appear in the sister volume of *MS 3c23*, *MS AGC C II 817*. The Sequence at the end of the manuscript, which is extraneous to the contents of the Antiphonary, is unique to this manuscript and the reason for its inclusion remains unknown.

Chapter 7

MS 6b3. Description, Date and Provenance, Contents and Palaeography

7.1 Description

MS 6b3 in the South African Library, Cape Town, is a complete Carthusian Evangeliary written in *Littera gothica textualis quadrata formata*.

It is a volume of 78 vellum folios ruled in feint brown ink. The measurements are 243mm x 348mm. There are accent neumes at the ends of pericopes, above the text, in red ink. (See Plate 5.)

The parchment is fine, of a unified yellowish colour. Although the first three folios are not part of the main text and form a separate gathering, the parchment is not noticeably different from the rest. The upper line of ruling is above the text. The ruling, which can be clearly seen on fol. 8r, is of the regular type Leroy P4 00 E2; (in the Muzerelle measurement 1—1—11/0/2/JJ)¹ measuring

horizontally: $18 + 76 + 13.5 + 80 + 55.5 = 243\text{mm}$.

vertically: $25 + 9 + 234 + 9 + 71 = 348\text{mm}$.

There are pinholes at the top and bottom of pages and sometimes on the fore-edge, for example on folios 52—59.

The gatherings are composed in the following way: 1^4-1 (fol. 1—3, wants one, conjugate stub remains), $4-9^8$ (fol. 4—67), 10^8-1 (fol. 68—74, wants one. The conjugate which exists between folios 73—74 would have been the bifolio with fol. 69; there is no lacuna in the text), 11^4 (fol. 75—78).²

The first and last words of each gathering are as follows:

- 1 In matutinis—Per eūd. d.
- 2 Incipiunt—me
- 3 dicans—in
- 4 monte—des
- 5 nos—ut
- 6 osculator—in
- 7 viam—ut
- 8 dimittas—pu(erum)
- 9 (pu)erum—concede
- 10 tpe—videt
- 11 vos—magdalene

There are no catchwords visible.

There is a modern foliation in pencil in the recto top right hand corner and Roman numerals in red ink in the recto top centre in the hand of the scribe, Amelontius de Ercklems: old Roman I = modern 4. The pagination continues to LXXI = 74. Thereafter the modern foliation is incorrect because the right hand margins of three folios are cut off and as a result those folios were omitted by the foliator. Other errors occur as well: fol. 37 was mistakenly numbered 33 by the original scribe, while fol. 39 was numbered 29 and fol. 47 was numbered 46.

The first three folios containing music notation and text are not part of the main text of the manuscript. These pages were not copied by Amelontius de Ercklems, but are in different hands of about the end of the 16th century.³ The lines of the staves are in red ink. The rubrics on these pages are by the same scribes as for the text. The illumination of the 'T' initial at the beginning of the manuscript seems to be by the artist who was responsible for the illuminations in the rest of the manuscript.

The endpapers, containing a text on Roman law by Ulpianus, glossed, are pasted on to the covers and are made of vellum.

The binding is old and dark brown, and consists of leather over wooden boards, bevelled on three edges. It is blind-tooled with fillets which form two frames around an inner field with lozenges. Both covers have the same decorations. The boards are roughly flush with the text block at the fore-edge, exceeding it by 5 mm. at head and tail. The size of the binding is 370 x 256 x 43 mm. The spine is also old and half of it has become detached. It

has seven compartments with sturdy double ridges. The remains of two brass clasps are attached to the fore-edge, catching on the lower area.

There are 24 illuminations in the manuscript:

fol. (modern) 1r	Te decet laus
fol. (original) 1r	Dominica prima adventus
fol. 3v	In nativitate Domini
fol. 17v	Dom. IV post epiphaniam
fol. 23v	Dominica palmarum
fol. 24r	Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi
fol. 37r	In die sancto pasche
fol. 42v	In die sancto pentecosten
fol. 54r	In dedicatione ecclesie
fol. 54v	S. Andreas (beginning of the Sanctorale)
fol. 56v	In purificatione beate Marie virginis
fol. 58r	In annuntiatione beate Marie
fol. 60r	In nativitate Iohannis baptiste
fol. 61v	In visitatione beate Marie
fol. 62r	S. Marie Magdalene
fol. 63r	In assumptione beate Marie
fol. 64r	In nativitates beate Marie
fol. 65v	De sancto Hieronimo
fol. 66r	In festo S. Brunonis
fol. 67v	In festo S. Hugonis
fol. 68r	De sancta cruce
fol. 68v	De beatissima Virgine Maria
fol. 69r	In festo compassionis beate Virginis Marie
fol. 72v	In cena Domini

All these illuminations are historiated with landscape infill. The colours are mostly gold, dusty pink and blue. They show a similarity to those of the Cologne region.⁴

- ◆ The first illumination in *MS 6b3* is the Deesis (Christ on a rainbow, 'Maiestas Domini') in the 'T' of the 'Te decet laus'. This occurs on the first, notated page.
- ◆ On fol. 1r of the actual Evangeliary is another Deesis, much more elaborate. (See Plate 4.) The entire page is bordered by a 'Radix Jesse'. The genealogical tree springs from a reclining Jesse at the bottom of the page ending with Mary and the Child at the top of the page. A crowned David, playing a harp, appears on the right hand side of Jesse. The tree includes fifteen figures, excluding David, Jesse, and

the Virgin and Child. There are four medallions, each depicting an evangelist in the traditional manner: St. Mark as a lion, St. Luke as a steer, St. Matthew as a man and St. John as an eagle.

The symbols of the four Gospels have a particular meaning: the human form or the angel indicates Matthew and the idea of incarnation; the lion, Mark and the idea of resurrection; the young steer, Luke and the idea of sacrifice and the eagle, John and the idea of the ascension of Christ. They have their origin in Ezekiel 1, 5—14 and Revelation 4, 6—8. There are, however, different interpretations and applications of these texts.⁵ The 'Radix Jesse', based on Isaiah's vision of Jesse, the father of David (Is. 11, 1—3) had its origin in the beginning of the Roman period, but was widespread until the late Middle Ages. Almost none of the representations of the 'Radix Jesse' since the 14th century has Christ at its highest point any more, but Mary, who has the child on her arm.⁶

- ♦ Fol. 3v has at the bottom of the page a centrally placed historiated gold-framed medallion with landscape infill showing the Nativity. Sprays of leaves and flowers radiate from either side of the medallion. (See Plate 5.)
- ♦ Fol. 54v, the beginning of the Sanctorale, has a very elaborate illumination showing Zacchaeus in the figtree, with a border of gold interlace with rustcoloured and blue Acanthus leaves.
- ♦ Fol. 64r shows the same Virgin and Child illumination which appears at the top of the genealogical tree on fol. 1r.
- ♦ Fol. 66r shows St. Bruno in a white Carthusian robe.
- ♦ The illumination on fol. 72v shows the Last Supper followed by a very long reading. The rubric is: 'Incipit Evangelium secundum Johannem. In cena Domini. Ad mandatum. Et legitur sine Titulo'.

There are also five very elaborate non-historiated initials. Other, calligraphic, initials are red or blue with white tracery and brown tendrils. Descenders, alternating in red and blue, terminate in fine blue and brown tendrils forming partial borders. The very elaborate 'I' of 'In illo tempore' which is often bent around the corner of a column, is distinctive.

As mentioned, the accent neumes at the end of each pericope are in red. The words 'Ihesus', 'Maria' and 'Ave Maria gracia plena' are always underlined in red and all small

initials are touched up in red. These features, together with the other decorations and the neat script, give the manuscript a very attractive appearance. Less attractive is, however, a crude, orange-coloured motif, which appears on folios 58v and 68r to fill up empty space.

The manuscript begins with a rubric written across fol. 1v and fol. 2r. The rubric reads 'In matutinis post Te Deum pron(un)ciatur evangelium. Dum respondetur amen ebdomadarius osculato libro, incipit: Te decet.' The Evangeliary itself begins on fol. 1r: 'Incipiunt evangelia D(o)m(ini)ca p(ri)ma adventus D(omi)ni ... It ends on fol. 78v with the signature of the scribe 'Amelontius de Ercklems' and the date '1520. In profesto beate Marie magdalene.'

7.2 Date and provenance

As mentioned, *MS 6b3* is dated 1520, Vigil of St. Mary Magdalene, 22 July, by the scribe.

The manuscript is identified as Carthusian because the sequence of Gospel readings agrees in all respects with the Carthusian sequence.

A certain Amelontius Eercklems matricled at the University of Cologne in 1481.⁷ The manuscript cannot be attributed to the Charterhouse of St. Barbara of Cologne, however, because the Mass of St. Barbara, patroness of the Cologne Charterhouse, is not indicated in the text by a miniature like those of Advent Sunday, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Andrew, St. John the Baptist, and others. It is abnormal that the local patron should not be more honoured than St. John the Baptist, patron of the whole Order.⁸ It is to be noted that Erkelenz belonged to the diocese of Liège until 1558.⁹

There are in the Sanctorale two feasts which are not part of the Carthusian rite: those of St. Lambert on 11 September and St. Hubert on 3 November. During the first quarter of the 8th century both were Bishops of the diocese of which the centre was fixed successively at Tongres, Maastricht and Liège. Saint Hubert had the body of Saint Lambert returned to Liège, where he had died. It would seem, therefore, that these were feasts proper to the house for which the manuscript was destined and that *MS 6b3* originated in a Charterhouse in the diocese of Liège.¹⁰

There are two possible Charterhouses in this diocese that existed from the 14th century to the Revolution, that of St. John the Baptist at Zeelhem near Diest, and that of Our Lady of the Twelve Apostles at Mont-Cornillon near Liège.¹¹

At the Charterhouse of Diest Herman van Eynatten, of Utrecht, was Prior from 8 March 1502 until his death on 7 August 1521. He would not have given the Evangelary to Amelontius de Ercklems to copy, because his house had an excellent copyist of liturgical manuscripts, Daniel de Terra Nova, who succeeded him to the Priorate.¹² At the Charterhouse of Liège, Thierry de Sittard became Prior in January 1519, and was discharged from his functions at the General Chapter of 1520.¹³ In spite of its brevity, Thierry de Sittard substantially enlarged the library of the Charterhouse of Liège during his Priorate. *MS 6b3* might well have been one of his acquisitions.¹⁴

The founder of the Charterhouse of Liège, the wealthy official Jean de Brabant, left all his possessions to the Benedictines of Saint-Jacques in 1355, but his condition that they would have to accept ten monks more than before was not acceptable to them. Because the deceased had been very fond of the Carthusian Order, the money was used to establish a Carthusian convent on Mont Cornillon, at the city gates, dedicated to the twelve apostles. The church and a portion of the convent was destroyed in 1799.¹⁵ Very little is known of the history of the Charterhouse, because few documents survive.¹⁶

MS 6b3 was sold by Sotheby and Wilkinson to Quaritch for £4/ 11/- on June 26, 1856. According to the Catalogue it formed part of the sale of 'a collector in Flanders'. It is described as 'Evangelistarium. Gospel passages for liturgical use, in Latin, vellum, 15th century, German'. It then appears in a Quaritch Catalogue of a sale dated December 1856, price £5/ 15/- and again in a Quaritch catalogue of a sale dated November 15, 1857, price £5/ 5/-¹⁷ This must have been the sale at which Sir George Grey bought the manuscript, because a cutting taken from a copy of the Catalogue is still pasted in the front of the manuscript. The cutting reads,

Evangelia Quatuor. Manuscript on vellum. Written in the beginning of the XVth century, by a German scribe, folio, 154pp. with 21 Miniatures and Borders, illuminated in gold and colours, old calf, original binding, £5 5s.

7.3 Contents of the manuscript

The manuscript consists of the following parts:

- ◆ fol. 1v—fol. 3v (modern foliation). This section is separate from the Evangeliary. Fol. 1v—2r contains the rubric: 'At Matins after the Te Deum the Gospel is read. The reading is answered by "amen". The priest of the week begins after kissing the Book'. ('In matutinis ...', see p. 175) This is followed by the Hymn 'Te decet laus', formulae for the reading of the Gospels, and readings for *In festo S. Joachim*, *In festo S. Dominici*, *In festo S. Francisci*, *In festo sancti Thome apostoli*, *Dominica quinta post octavas Epiphanie*, *In festis Gregorii, Ambrosii, Augustini, Hieronimi et Thome Aquinati*, *in festo S. Trinitatis*, and *In solemnitate Nominis Iesu*.
- ◆ fol. 1r—fol. 53v (original foliation, 4r—56v modern foliation) Evangeliary, Temporale.
- ◆ fol. 54r—75v (original foliation, 57r—78v modern foliation) Evangeliary, Sanctorale.

7.4 Palaeography

7.4.1 The script of the text

As mentioned, *MS 6b3* is written in *Littera gothica textualis quadrata formata* (according to Brown's terminology). The entire manuscript, including the rubrics, was written by one scribe.

There are elements of 'precissa' in the script. This grade of script is determined by the treatment of the bottoms of minims, which terminate horizontally on the base-line in artificial imitation of a straight pen script. The additional effort required to achieve this degree of formality made it suitable for use only in the more luxurious of manuscripts and for items intended for display. Long 's' and 'f' are thickened on the left side, and ascenders and descenders are comparatively short. It is very easy to differentiate between 'm', 'n' and 'u'. Oeser's 'small-head "a"', the 'a' of the *textus quadratus*, is consistently used¹⁸. The Tironian 'et', written as 'ꝛ', is somewhat singular, having two cross-strokes. Also characteristic is the old-fashioned custom of failing to indicate the end of a word at the end of a line: no hyphens are used.

The script is similar to that of Brown, pl. 29, dated before 1316, although that script has additional faint lines and more angles.¹⁹

7.4.1.1 Erasures and Additions

The first three folios of the manuscript contain additions in later scripts. The scribe of the first, notated, folio tried to adapt to Amelontius' hand, the other folios are noticeably different. The script of three other scribes can be distinguished on the following four pages: Scribe A: fol. 2r; Scribe B: fol. 2v and 3r (first column and first half of the second column); Scribe A: fol. 3r (second half of the second column); Scribe C: fol. 3v. These are all instances of 16th century *Hybrida*²⁰ and might be dated slightly later than the rest of the manuscript.

One has to note the need of the scribes to keep the style uniform. An incipit for the reading and the Collect *De S. Ambrosio* was added on fol. 55r. A reference to *Simonis et Iude* was inserted on fol. 55v and incipits of the reading and Collect of *Thome Apostoli* and *In festo nominis Iesu* added in the lower margin of the same page. The titular in charge in 1580 used the Gothic script, which had already fallen into disuse, on fol. 55r for the new rubric, and his successor in charge in 1592 used the same to note in the margin (on fol. 55v) the indications for the new solemnity of the 'Holy Name of Jesus' adopted by the General Chapter in that year.

A later entry, not by Amelontius, but still 16th century, was added on fol. 59v in two later, rather crude hands: 'Exact homo ex phariseis Nicodemi nomine fol. 44' and 'Catherine senes. Evang. simile est reg. cel. decem virginibus. Liiii.' This hand continued on fol. 60r: 'De signavit 66 tempore paschali. Ego sum vitis vera.' Portion of the Gospel on fol. 59v had been crudely scratched out.

An insertion in two hands, the earlier of which is possibly the same as that on fol. 59v, occurs in the second column of fol. 74v to the end of fol. 75r. The Collect for *S. Joseph nutritii Christi*, was entered in a later hand than the rest. This latter scribe had difficulty, in the large script he used, to fit the Collect into the space left. See p. 182 for a discussion of the probable dates of these late entries.

An obvious erasure occurs on fol. 67v, where a piece of parchment containing a new text for the Gospel of the feast of Trinity was pasted over half a column. The initial 'I' of the 'In illo tempore' is the original, however. The rubric, 'Secundum Matthaeum' has taken the place of the rubric referring to St. John.

Although this script is much more decorated than that of Amelontius, containing many more hairlines and a more pronounced emphasizing of bows, the scribe obviously tried to adapt to Amelontius's hand. The substitution is followed on the next folio by the orange-coloured line-filler over four lines, which also occurs on fol. 58v.

7.4.2 Notation

The music notation in *MS 6b3* is confined to one page and two lines of formulae at the beginning of the manuscript in square notation on four red lines. The notated page is the verso of the first of the three folios at the beginning of the manuscript which are not included in the original foliation.

In the rest of the manuscript there are adiastrumatic red Hufnagel accent neumes at the end of each pericope (with one exception on fol. 14r). The care and regularity with which these neumes were entered and the agreement between the red neumes and the red underlining of words mentioned on pp. 174 and 175 prove that the entry of the neumes was contemporaneous with the copying of the manuscript.

Chapter 8

The Liturgy, Text and Music of *MS 6b3*

8.1 Liturgy and text

According to Devaux¹ the first Carthusians abandoned the Evangeliary of Grenoble and adopted that of St. Ruf as the basis of their work in order to make it easier to find Antiphons for Communion, and especially for Lauds and Vespers, which corresponded to the pericopes. A wish for internal coherence regulated the formation of the Carthusian rite: the disposition of the future Antiphonary determined the composition of the Evangeliary.

The meagre primitive Sanctorale of the Carthusians confirms the importance of the affinity between the Evangeliary and the Antiphonary when the corrections made to the Evangeliary of St. Ruf by the Carthusians are considered. Thus the Gospel for St. Agatha, (February 5) 'Simile est...thesauro', Matthew 13,44—52, (*MS 6b3*, fol. 57r) does not indicate St. Ruf as a source. The Office of the saint is usually non-scriptural. The Carthusians replaced the Benedictus Antiphon with a scriptural Antiphon, taken from the Common of Virgins, and therefore also changed the reading in the Evangeliary.²

The same importance of the Antiphonary is apparent in the choice of the Gospels for St. Bartholomew (August 24) on the one hand, and Saints Simon and Jude (October 28)³ on the other. St. Ruf has for the first feast a text from Matthew 10, 'Misit Jesus duodecim' for which no Antiphon is available, and for the second a text from John 15, 17, 'Haec mando vobis...', also with no Antiphon available. To replace them, the Carthusians adopted for Saints Simon and Jude the pericopes of the books of Grenoble and Vienne, 'Designavit Jesus alios' (Luke 10, 1—7) which has the advantage of agreeing with the Antiphon of Benedictus of the Common of Apostles, 'Ecce mitto vos sicut oves'. For St. Bartholomew (fol. 63v) the Carthusians took the pericope of St. John immediately preceding that rejected for the other feast, 'Hoc est preceptum meum', on which three Antiphons for Lauds and the Communion 'Non vos me elegistis' is based. It is abnormal that such a rich

liturgical text (John 15, 12—16) should be absent from the Evangeliary, but no rite from the Dauphine region employed it.⁴ In *MS 6b3* the text 'Misit Jesus duodecim' is given for Saints Simon and Jude, however. It is to be noted that this is an entry over an erasure (fol. 55v and 63v).

In *MS 6b3* the readings begin on fol. 1r (original numbering) with Luke 21, 25—33, for Advent Sunday. The reading is preceded by the words 'Incipiunt evangelia. In illo tempore'. The Temporale ends on fol. 53v with the reading for Twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost, John 6, 5—14. This is followed (fol. 53r) by Dedication, Luke 19, 1—10. The Sanctorale commences with St. Andrew (Nov. 30), Matthew 4, 18—22. The last feast in the Evangeliary is Transfiguration (August 6), Matthew 17, 1—9⁵.

The Gospel readings in *MS 6b3* are the same as those assigned to the corresponding days by Becker in *Die Kartause. Liturgisches Erbe und Konziliare Reform. Untersuchungen und Dokumente*.⁶ Becker's tables follow the sequence of a manuscript of the Grande Chartreuse, AGC 2 Off. Noct. 27 (1346) (olim C II 808). The Offices for the Dead and the Virgin Mary were taken from another manuscript of the Chartreuse, AGC C II 824, 11th century.

8.1.1 Sanctorale

The clerics in the Middle Ages and Renaissance took pains to keep the text up to date by corrections or additions or to adapt it to the particular needs of their locality.⁷ *MS 6b3* begins with three added folios on which the following feasts are added:

- In festo S. Joachim* (20 March)
- In festo S. Dominici* (4 August)
- In festo S. Francisci* (4 October)
- In festo sancti Thome* (29 December)
- Dominica quinta post octavas Epiphanie*
- In festis Gregorii* (12 March)
- Ambrosii* (7 December)
- Augustini* (28 August)
- Hieronimi* (30 September)
- Thome Aquinatis* (28 January)
- In festo S. Trinitatis*

In Solemnitate Nominis Iesu (14 January. This feast was introduced into the Carthusian order in 1592. The entry was probably made shortly after.)

Other additions in the manuscript are:

De S. Ambrosio, fol. 55r (7 December since the *Ordinarium* of 1582.)

Simonis et Iude, fol. 55v (Although they always had the date of 28 October, the Gospel was changed in the Missal of 1580 or 1603.)

Thome Apostoli, fol. 55v (Thomas, as well, always had the date of 21 December, but the Gospel was changed in the Missal of 1580 or 1603.)

In festo Nominis Iesu, fol. 55v (4 January. The situation is the same as for the two previous feasts.)

In cathedra sancti Petri, fol. 56r (The date was changed to 18 January in 1587.)

Thomas Aquinas, fol. 57v (28 January. This feast received a Mass in 1569.)

Ioseph confessoris, fol. 58r with a reference 'quere in fine libri'⁸ (March 19. This feast received a Mass in 1567.)

Franciscus Pauli, fol. 58v (2 April, received a Mass in 1586.)

Petri (martyris), fol. 59r (29 April, admitted with 12 lessons in 1586.)

Catherine Senensis, fol. 59v (6 May, obligatory since 1582.)

Bonaventura, fol. 62r (15 July, admitted in 1589.)

S. Dominici confessoris, fol. 62v (4 August, admitted with Mass in 1591.)

De sancta Anna, fol. 62 (26 July. Her Mass was admitted in the whole Order in 1412. It is therefore strange that she should appear only in a later entry.)

Januarii et sociorum eius, fol. 64v (19 September, admitted with 12 lessons in 1592.)

Francisci confessoris, fol. 65v (4 October, admitted with Mass in 1591.)

Dionisii et sociorum eius, fol. 66r (9 October, given proper chants in Missal of 1603 or 1580, before from Common of Martyrs.)

S. Nicolai Tollentini, fol. 77v with a reference 'quere in fine libre' on fol. 64v (September 10, admitted in 1586.)

In inventione S. Crucis, fol. 44v, where the rubric is squeezed in over an erasure. A reference also occurs on fol. 59v, in a later script over an erasure after *Philippi et Iacobi apostolorum*. (May 3). The reading in both cases is 'Erat homo ex pharseis John 3. 1—15. (Although the Mass existed since the 13th century, it was only incorporated as a feast in 1577.)

It is clear that all these additions were made towards the end of the 16th century, when these feasts were admitted.

MS 6b3 has a particularly comprehensive Sanctorale. There are 91 entries in the Sanctorale compared to 30 in *MS 4c7* and 28 in *MS 3c23*. Complete lists of the saints in the Sanctorales of all three manuscripts appear on pages 229 - 233 of Vol. 2 of this thesis.

Additional readings following the Sanctorale in *MS 6b3* are:

fol. 67v	De beatissima Trinitate
fol. 68r	De Spiritu sancto
fol. 68v	De Sancta cruce De beatissima virgine Maria In adventu Domini: De beatissima virgines Maria
fol. 69r	Evangelium pro peccatis Evangelium pro familiaribus amicis Evangelium contra tribulationes Evangelium pro pace In festo compassionis beate virginis Marie
fol. 69v	Evangelium pro defunctis
fol. 70v	In cena Domini

8.2 Music

8.2.1 Formulae in square notation

The rubric at the beginning of *MS 6b3* is followed by the Hymn 'Te decet laus' and 11 lines of accent formulae in square notation.

Another rubric, 'Thus do we read the Gospel' ('Hoc modo pronunciantur Evangelia nobiscum') is followed by reading tones on four staves with the text: 'Dominus vobiscum. Initium sancti evangelii, Sequentia sancti evangelii. Secundum iohannem, Secundum mattheum, Secundum lucam. Secundum marcum'. It is not clear why St. John is named first. The first reading in the manuscript (Advent Sunday) is from St. Luke.

A further rubric reads that the way in which the Epistles and Gospels should be read was according to the 'accentum circumflexum and elevatum' and also with 'interrogationes' when these occur. Examples from St. Mark: 16 are given in square notation on four lines: 'orto iam solo' (verse 2), 'stola candida' (verse 5), 'surrexit non est hic' (verse 6). Portions of the reading for the Third Sunday in Advent are cited as further examples in square notation: St. John 1, 21—25. This pericope was probably chosen as an example because it consists of short phrases.

8.2.2 Formulae in Hufnagel notation

As mentioned, it is a feature of *MS 6b3* that there are adiaSTEMATIC neumes in red above the text at the end of every pericope. Similar lines of neumes appear indistinctly in the middle of pericopes on fol. 3r, fol. 29v, fol. 31r, fol. 35r and v, fol. 36r and v, and fol. 37r. A comparison with the *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsche Handwörterbuch* (ed.) K. E. Georges,⁹ confirmed that all these neumes agreed with the accents of Latin speech, not with the long and short syllables.

The accent is the principal element of prose rhythm. Because the accent had the melodic effect of a higher tone, the pronunciation of the Latin words had, in the ascending and descending of the speaking voice, a kind of melody. Until late in the Middle Ages the accented syllable was given a higher tone, and the liturgical notation indicated this relatively higher tone with an 'Accentus acutus'.¹⁰ In *MS 6b3* this higher tone is indicated by the *Virga*.

The juxtaposition of the terms 'accentus' and 'concentus' were unknown to the mediaeval theoreticians. They were thoroughly discussed by Ornithoparcus (1517) for the first time. He introduced the term 'accentus' for the simple recitation forms in which the musical contour follows the text. The term 'accentus' occurs in the Orations, Lessons, readings from the Gospel, etc. Here the performance follows the speech accents of the text. 'Concentus' refers to the chants having distinctive melodic contours, such as Antiphons, Responsories, Hymns. In these genres the melodic form is the decisive element. The name 'accentus' therefore means that the reading-tones are regulated according to the verbal accents. The chanted performance of prayers and readings made the text more intelligible, it made words and voice more audible in large gatherings, and it helped readers by providing simple melodies that would serve for many texts.¹¹

The formulae of the readings and the orations usually consisted only of a recitation on one tone, but acknowledged in the cadences the power of the accents. The accents, and in particular the accents of the last words before the interpunction sign, play the most important part in building the cadence.¹² The end of the sentence is the rhythmically most conspicuous portion, since a pause follows the end of the sentence before the beginning of a new sentence. During this pause the end of the sentence sounds in the acoustic memory of the listener, while in the beginning of the sentence the rhythm which has just

been spoken is followed by the immediately following rhythm, so that the influence is always lost again.¹³ This, of course, applies even more at the end of a pericope.

The word accent should not be regarded as the same as the musical extension. 'Accent' meaning melodic figures which appear at places of interpunction has to be differentiated from 'accent' in a palaeographical sense where it means signs with a meaning purely of speech, even though both are related. The melodic accents are figures which explain musically the articulation of the text at places of interpunction.¹⁴

The books which contained the readings and prayers were especially the Lectionaries, Evangelaries and Sacramentaries.¹⁵ The system used varies between the manuscripts, but each manuscript normally contains three or four (sometimes more) signs containing dots and neumes illustrating the inflection of the voice. Single words and passages within texts may sometimes carry neumes in the usual sense (that is full music notation rather than ephonic notation) over each syllable. This may occur in the title of a lesson or in the last few words of a reading or lesson.¹⁶ In *MS 6b3* adiaستمatic neumes occur over the last few words of each reading.

Klein remarked that the Carthusians have their own tradition. They use a *Lektions - Epistel - Evangelien - und Orationston* in which four *genera punctorum* can be distinguished: *Punctum Circumflexum*: 7, *Elevatum*: •, *Interrogationum*: ? and *Finale*: •.¹⁷ In *MS 6b3* the Virga: †, Punctum: •, Pes: †, and Bistropa: †) are used.

The two basic signs of the Classical grammarians were the Acutus, /, indicating a raising ('elevatis') of the voice, and the Gravis, \, indicating a lowering. These two signs became the basic signs of Gregorian neume notation. The Acutus retained its original shape, and was called the Virga ('rod'); the Gravis was modified to the shape of a dot, called the Punctum. Combinations of these signs led to neumes of two or more notes, such as the Pes or Podatus. The Acutus or Virga indicates a relatively higher tone, the Gravis or Punctum a relatively lower tone. The Pes indicates a lower tone, ascending to a higher. A comparison with other Carthusian manuscripts, in which the accents are notated diastematically, shows that the sign indicates the notes g - a. The Bistropa indicates repeated sounds.¹⁸ There is no interrogation neume, nor a final neume in *MS 6b3*, these signs are indicated by the script. Series of accent neumes at the ends of pericopes end with a Virga, or on a few occasions, with a Bistropa. The use of the Hufnagel neumes is in

keeping with the date of the manuscript, 1520, when these neumes were generally used. According to Klein in the *Missal Fauratii*, 1679, used in the Cologne Charterhouse, the Evangelary is marked in red with signs and music notes. In this, as well as the approximate shape of the neumes given by him, the Missal agrees with *MS 6b3*.

The Virga is the normal sign and up to nine Virgas can occur consecutively. The Punctum prepares the Virga or the Pes: it occurs before one of the two neumes. The Pes always indicates a strong accent. The neumes agree in all instances with the normal accent of the words. An error occurs, however, on fol. 4v on the word 'priusquam', where one redundant syllable is indicated.

Ex. 8. 1 fol. 17v

Latin syllables:

U — U — UU — — — U — — — —

Accent neumes:

↑ ◆ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ◆ ↑ ↑

Text: ipsi enim audivimus et scimus quia hic est vere salvator mundi

Latin accents:

x x x / x / x / / / x x / x / x

Ex. 8. 2 fol. 2v

Latin syllables:

UU — — UU — — UU —

Accent neumes:

↑ ◆ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ◆ ↑ ↑

Text: Et videbit omnis caro salutare dei

Latin accents:

/ x / x xx / x / x

Ex. 8. 3 fol. 3r

Latin syllables:

U UU — U — U — — U

Accent neumes:

↑ ◆ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ◆ ↑ ↑
















Text: et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis

Latin accents:

/ x / x x / x x x / x

Ex. 8. 4

The patterns in which the accent neumes appear are:

		(1 - 9)		85 times
		(1 - 9)		25 times
		(1 - 9)		9 times
		(1 - 9)		6 times
		(2 - 7)		7 times
Irregular				38 times

No comprehensive systematic collection of Latin or other mediaeval reading tones has ever been attempted. Many manuscripts transmit and explain the lesson and prayer practice of the Carthusians, however, e.g. *MSS Trier 579* and *1924* (15th century) and *MS BV 29* (15th century). The Carthusian manuscript from Basel (*BV 29*) illustrates in detail the treatment of the cadences of the Gospel, in that the last word accent occurs on the second or third last syllable.¹⁹

The narrow ambitus of most Gregorian recitation tones prevents their being assigned to any of the church modes, although they are characterized by an important modal feature, the positioning of the reciting tone a tone or a semitone above its lower neighbour. The more ancient of the tones for Collects and Lessons seem to have favoured a reciting tone on a or g, a tone above the inflections on g or f, respectively. Later Mediaeval practice favoured recitation on c or f with the result that inflections occurred using the semitone and minor third below the reciting tone.²⁰ In *MS Basel BV 29* the reciting tones for the conclusion of the Gospel are on a.

The examples in *MS Basel BV 29*, given after the heading *Evangeliorum conclusio*, agree with some examples from *MS 6b3*. In *MS Basel BV 29* the syllable before the last accented syllable is indicated by an inflection on g, in *MS 6b3* by a *Punctum*. The examples in *MS Basel BV 29* are given in square notation on four lines.

Ex. 8. 5

Basel, fol. 33v

re - mi - nis - ca - mi - ni qui - a e - go di - xi vo - bis.

MS 6b3, fol. 42v: reminiscamini quia ego dixi vobis.

Ex. 8. 6

Basel, fol. 33v

mi - chi Pa - ter sic fa - ci - o

MS 6b3, fol. 43r: mihi Pater sic facio.

Ex. 8. 7

Basel, fol. 33v

o - pe - ra e - ius qui - a in De - o sunt fac - ta

MS 6b3, fol. 43r: opera eius quia in Deo sunt facta.

Ex. 8. 8

Basel, fol. 33v

vi - tam ha - be - ant et ha - bun - dan - ti - us ha - be - ant

MS 6b3, fol. 43v: vitam habeant et habundantius habeant.

Ex. 8. 9

Basel, fol. 33v

pe - ten - ti - bus se

MS 6b3, fol. 41v: petentibus se
but on fol. 69r:

The Bistropa is not indicated in the Basel manuscript. See also Ex. 8. 12.

The section *Apotheca regularum Accentualis discipline* of MS Solesmes 197, provenance the Charterhouse of Villeneuve, 14th—15th century, contains examples under the heading *Conclusio evangeliorum* which agree with some of the endings in *MS 6b3*. *MS F-G 394*, 14th century, also contains some examples at the end of the Antiphony.

Ex. 8. 10

Solesmes, fol. 47r
F-G, fol. 297v

ver - ba au - tem me - a non tran - si - bunt.

MS 6b3: Verba autem mea non transibunt.

(rest illegible)

Ex. 8. 11 ²¹

Solesmes, fol. 47r
F-G, fol. 297v

be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni

MS 6b3, fol. 4r: benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini

Ex. 8. 12

Solesmes, fol. 47r

re - sur - rex - e - rint cre - dent



MS 6b3, fol. 13v: resurrexerit credent.

Ex. 8. 13

Solesmes, fol. 47r
F-G, fol. 297v

et glo - ri - am ple - bis tu - e is - ra - el.



MS 6b3, fol. 57r: et gloria plebis tue israel.

8.3 Conclusion

MS 6b3 agrees with the general Carthusian tradition. It is a particularly attractive and complete Carthusian Evangeliary. The comparisons with the reading tones notated in square notation in *MSS Basel BV 29*, *Solesmes 197* and *F-G 394* clearly illustrate the meaning of the accent neumes at the ends of the pericopes.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This thesis clearly shows that the presence of the three Carthusian manuscripts, *MSS Cape Town Grey 4c7, 3c23 and 6b3*, in a South African library is significant in both a historical and a musicological context. The manuscripts are of importance in a world context because they are three of the few extant Carthusian sources, a not negligible proportion. Even in the High Middle Ages, the number of monks belonging to the Carthusian Order were few, the number of nuns even more insignificant, largely because of the strictness of the Order. Furthermore, the oral tradition was preserved in the Carthusian Order longer than elsewhere. The paucity of extant material relating to music is therefore not surprising. To compound the problems of subsequent research, the library of the Grande Chartreuse, the main Charterhouse of the Order, was destroyed by nine fires between 1300 and 1676. Also, the Order suffered even more than the other monastic orders, for the Charterhouses were subject to destruction during the crucial periods of the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the reign of Joseph II and particularly the Napoleonic era. All these factors make the fact particularly significant, that out of a total of manuscripts which necessarily are much fewer than those of the other orders, three should have remained in Cape Town unknown or ignored up till now.

9.1 The most important discoveries

Four important discoveries resulted from this research. The first is the presence of the didactic verse, 'Ter terni sunt modi' in a book intended for musical performance, even more surprisingly, in an Antiphony. *MS 4c7* is one of the few extant manuscripts intended to be used in musical performance in the world which contains this verse, and it is the only Carthusian manuscript intended to be used in musical performance to contain it. One can only surmise that the reason for its inclusion was the need to teach the novices of the new

and very important Charterhouse founded by Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy the intervals of the chants as quickly and efficiently as possible. One can never know, of course, if the desired result was obtained. Evidence exists that elsewhere the verse was not altogether a success. It never penetrated the practical tradition.

The other didactic verse, 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' is of equal importance; the reason for its inclusion is probably the same as that of the 'Ter terni sunt modi'. In contrast to the 'Ter terni sunt modi', 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' circulated in practical sources as well. Yet, 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' does not appear in any other Carthusian source of any kind, while 'Ter terni sunt modi' does appear in a number of Carthusian theoretical works. Even more surprising is the proven fact that the version of the 'Dyapente et dyatessaron' which appears in *MS 4c7*, is very rare, showing a concordance with only four other sources in the world.

The fortuitous coupling of *MS 3c23*, housed in the South African Library, Cape Town, with *MS C II 817*, housed in the Archives of the Grande Chartreuse, Isere, France, was specially fortunate. It could be established that *MS 3c23*, dated 1538, was copied from *MS AGC C II 817*, dated 1537, by the same scribe and illuminator, and that both manuscripts were the property of nuns at the Charterhouse of Mont-Sainte-Marie, at Gosnay. Yet there were never more than 22 Charterhouses for nuns in the world.

Analogous with *MS 3c23* it was also possible to establish that *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118* were copied from the same exemplar, at approximately the same time. Variant melodies in these manuscripts belong to the Dijon-Beaune region, since *MS 4c7* and *MS F-Dm 118* provide evidence of a close relationship also with *MSS F-Bea 27, 34* and *41*, copied for the neighbouring Charterhouse of Fontenay near Beaune.

9.2 *MS 4c7*

MS 4c7 is of historical importance because it is one of the first manuscripts written for the Charterhouse of Champmol, the mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy. Its dating as the transition between the centuries, meaning that it was written during the lifetime of Duke Philip the Bold, makes it of particular interest. Philip the Bold was one of the great

bibliophiles of the late Middle Ages. His collection of books was exceeded in size only by the libraries of Charles V, King of France; John, Duke of Berry; and Giangeleazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan. It is therefore to be expected that he would have provided the means and encouragement for his newly founded Charterhouse to obtain manuscripts. Although the oral tradition was preserved in other Charterhouses for a long time, the number of books copied and purchased for the Charterhouse of Champmol shows that chanting from memory was not envisaged for this Charterhouse.

9.3 *MS 3c23*

Of lesser significance but still of importance is the fact that the identity and biography of Sister Marie Utens, who signed her name in the front of *MS 3c23*, could be established. Also, the appearance of the Sequence 'Virgo templum Trinitatis' which appears as an appendix to *MS 3c23*, contributes to the musicological importance of the manuscript because the Carthusian liturgy does not include Sequences; the appearance of a Sequence in an Antiphonary is most unusual, and the Sequence itself is rare.

9.4 *MS 6b3*

The third manuscript under consideration, the beautifully illuminated Evangeliary, *MS 6b3*, is historically significant because the provenance could be determined as the Charterhouse of Our Lady of the Twelve Apostles in Liège. The clearest evidence of the provenance was the signature of the copyist, Amelontius from the town of Erckelens, near Liège, who matriculated from the University of Cologne in 1481. Musicologically, *MS 6b3* contributes to our understanding of the use of accent neumes in the reading of the Gospels.

9.5 Variant melodies

Apart from these aspects, the manuscripts must of course be seen in the wider context. The manuscripts, though obviously unique, have formed part and continue to form part of the Carthusian liturgical tradition. They are, however, representative of different aspects of the Carthusian liturgy and liturgical music. The variants discussed are significant, since

they contradict the previously held view, expressed by Lambres and generally accepted, that Carthusian manuscripts showed a uniformity 'perhaps without parallel'. Devaux has shown that the Carthusians did not revise the melodies of the Gradual systematically. This study demonstrates that while for the Carthusian Antiphonary the text was copied exactly, the melodies reveal notable variants.

9.6 Final comments

In a South African context the three manuscripts are meaningful since they are the only known Carthusian manuscripts in the Southern hemisphere. There has never been a Charterhouse in Africa. The only Charterhouse in the Southern hemisphere is a recently established house in Brazil.

The three Carthusian manuscripts therefore help to fill the *lacunae* in our knowledge of Carthusian chant, a field that has up to now been little researched. In the wider context the manuscripts contribute significantly to our knowledge of Western plainchant.

Glossary of Selected terms

Bevelled: Cut to an oblique angle, sloped.

Blind-tooled: Without the use of colour or gold-leaf

Coenobite: A monk who lives along with others of the same persuasion, in contradistinction to anchorites or hermits.

Ciborium: A vessel nearly resembling a chalice on which the Host is deposited.

Crosier: The pastoral staff of a Bishop.

Dittography: The mechanical repetition of letters or words in copying a manuscript.

Fillets: Plain lines impressed on the cover of a book.

Haplography: The inadvertent writing of a letter or word, or series of letters or words, once, when it should be written twice.

Historiated initial: Initial containing a scene or figure germane to the text.

Lombardic: The 15th - 16th century style of painting of Northern Italy.

Minim: The single down-stroke of the pen.

Monstrance: The utensil employed for representing the concentrated Host for the adoration of the people, consisting of a stand and repository.

Radix Jesse: The genealogical tree of Jesse.

Recto tono: With notes, i.e. sung.

Tromp l'oeil: Art designed to make spectators think the objects represented are real.