

Notations in Carthusian liturgical books: preliminary remarks

Contrary to the usual approach towards music notation of the Middle Ages from a geographical point of view (the type of notation, its birth and its expansion in a specific area with several monastic orders), or a stylistic and historical one, notation will be approached here by considering the question from another point of view. Can the unity of a monastic order – a very strong reality for the Carthusians – determine a paleographical homogeneity in terms of notation and calligraphy, independently of geographical or stylistic area?

CARTHUSIAN CONTEXT

It is a common assertion to say that the Carthusians sang their melodies according to a local tradition from the Dauphiné (near Grenoble in French Alps), and that their manuscripts were written in Aquitanian notation whose expansion had reached the Rhone valley into Valence and Grenoble by the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the detailed picture is not so clear. In fact, Carthusian monks sang daily the totality of the choral Office, following specific melodies that the founders of the order borrowed from local rituals, to which contemporary Carthusians are still strongly connected, as often presumed. As I demonstrated in my electronic edition of the Premonstratensian Gradual of Bellelay¹ (middle of the twelfth century), the birth and the expansion of a new monastic order, such as those of the Premonstratensians and Carthusians, rests on loose liturgical and musical uses until an *ordo* organizes and stipulates what is part of its identity. Until that moment, however, a great diversity exists and many uses can cohabit together. Accordingly, Carthusian books, which monks took with them when they established their foundations, were not truly Carthusian until it had been corrected, like the Gradual of Bellelay for the Premonstratensians. This fact explains why and how Carthusian books became so complex,² but it is not the only one.

1. CULLIN 2005.

2. On this aspect, see DEVAUX 1995-1.

Another reason lies in the fact that the Carthusians follow an eremitic way of life in which the practice of the chant is not as developed as in other orders. In the silence of the monastic cell, many offices are and were read rather than sung. This aspect explains in part the liturgical specificities of the Carthusian ritual, especially in the establishment of a distinct Sanctoral.³ For this reason, Carthusians form a special part of Gregorian chant history as usually described for this time, as belonging to a period of decadence, on the model provided by histories of Latin Christian literature.⁴ Gregorian manuscripts always post-date the composition of their melodies. Despite the fact that melodies transmitted from mouth to ears can be transformed or corrupted, the eleventh century was a great time for Gregorian creativity, as seen in the Kyriale. Thus many original Carthusian compositions or specificities were not 'modernizations' that need to be replaced by more authentic Gregorian (Solesmian?) ones or by their Aquitanian counterparts.

The silence of the Carthusian cell, its highly symbolic square shape: have these influenced the development of the *nota quadrata*? This is the point of view maintained by John Haines in his recently published paper, 'Perspectives multiples sur la note carrée'.⁵ As Haines writes, 'ce sont les mêmes chartreux qui ont copié la *nota quadrata* dans leurs cellules au courant des XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Ils ont adapté le carré des vieux livres liturgiques aquitains, et l'ont ensuite transmis aux nouveaux ordres mendiants émergeant à l'aube du XIII^e siècle, les dominicains et les franciscains'. As Haines goes on to state, like the square note, a Carthusian monk's *cella* was designed as a small square within the larger one of the surrounding monastic walls, a space which had to be domesticated by the meditation of the monk in order for it to become his own *celum*. To argue this point, Haines relies on the texts of the priors Guigues I^{er}⁶ and Guigues II.⁷ Even if the symbolism of the square existed in the Middle Ages in a shape representing the rise of the soul towards the divine perfection during his human life⁸, however, can we admit from an anthropological point of view so strong, and perhaps so Manichean a determinism? It is true that Guigues insists in a chapter of the *Consuetudines* on the art of copying as a necessity for every Carthusian monk.⁹ However, as Haines himself observes, we do not know 'jusqu'à quel point le *notator* chartreux voyait la note carrée qu'il dessinait comme étant en miniature le carré de sa cellule qui, à son tour, était le microcosme du cloître, et ainsi de suite'. Finally, the reality of handwritten musical Carthusian sources sufficiently contradicts this idyllic vision.

3. DEVAUX 1995-2.

4. See for example, HILEY 1993, p. 613-614.

5. See HAINES 2011. My thanks to John Haines for letting me see this article before its publication.

6. The formula used by Guigues, *cella mea, claustro meo* (*Consuetudines*, 20.4) and pointed out by Haines does not necessarily imply that the first word is a metaphor of the second. Besides, Guigues specifies that on Sunday after None, the monks come together to the cloister and *in hoc spacio incaustum, pergamenum, pennas, cretam, libros, seu legendos seu transcribendos a sacrista poscimus et accipimus*. See GUIGUES I^{er} LE CHARTREUX, *Coutumes de Chartreuse* (Paris, Cerf, 2001). The 'solitude' of the monk in his cell must be moderated by the custom of the *recordatio*. On this point, see ANONYMOUS CARTHUSIAN MONK-1 1995.

7. *Habitator cellae es* is a formula often repeated by Guigues II. See GUIGUES II, *Liber de exercitio cellae*, PL 153, cols. 880C, 881B, 882C, 884 B & D, cited by Haines. On singing and its relationship with the monk's cell, see ANONYMOUS CARTHUSIAN MONK-2 1995.

8. LUBAC 1964, seconde partie, vol. 2, p. 41-84, and CARRUTHERS 2002, both cited in HAINES 2011.

9. GUIGUES I^{er}, *Consuetudines*, 28, 2-4. He describes with a lot of precision all the equipment used for the copy.

FIRST SOURCES

Even though the order appeared in the eleventh century, no books from this time have survived. In 1132, a large avalanche completely destroyed the first monastery of the Grande Chartreuse with all its books. Nevertheless, regarding the specific organization of the Carthusian *ordo*, some books written after the avalanche seem to have been copied on old models, so before 1132. To sketch out the history of the main Carthusian manuscripts in a critical way we can organize the main and oldest sources following important events to the Carthusian order: the avalanche of 1132, the apparition of several feasts (Saint Hugh, Trinity, the Solemnity of Marie Magdalene, etc.) as shown in table 1. By checking these events against the origins of each book and by scrupulously studying the liturgical and musical repertory of each, this can be accomplished. X 1, 2, and 3 in table 1 represent books or models lost in the avalanche of 1132 according to Dom Augustin Devaux who finalized this classification and presented it in the critical edition of the Carthusian gradual (see table 1).¹⁰

A brief introduction to each manuscript can help us understand their specific characteristics within the broader context of Carthusian book production.

The oldest source is Parkminster A. 33 as listed in table 1. This is a Carthusian gradual linked to a short treatise of music published in the first volume of Martin Gerbert's well-known collection of medieval writers,¹¹ and an incomplete tonary which is not Carthusian. Except fols. 9-16' with a later square notation and fols. 17-18 with another later (but less) square notation put on the initial and erased notation, its idiomatic notation on staff lines with a red F-line shows its origin to be near Lyon (fig. 1). In many places, the text was erased, but even this text originated in Lyon. Initially, the Sanctoral was mostly not Carthusian, with Carthusian compositions added as an annex by a second hand. This manuscript can be dated from before 1140, given the prescription included here for the unity of the liturgy by saint Anselm – assuming that prescriptions were adopted more or less immediately. The melodies of A. 33 so closely resemble those of the Portes 44 version that Portes can be considered the original exemplar of the former book.

Ségnac 23 is a whole Carthusian gradual. It was written around 1160 – unquestionably after the avalanche given the location of the Dedication mass – for a Provençal Carthusian monastery, known as the Abbey Basile, modelled on the Grande Chartreuse.¹² Except the first folios rewritten in a recent square notation on the erased origin al one, its beautiful Aquitanian notation is written on a three-line staff with a red line for F (fig. 2). Other hands, one of them clearly from the late twelfth century, added B flat and rhythmical strokes. We easily recognize all the neumes typical of the Aquitanian area – *pes*, *clivis*, *scandicus*, *quillisma*, etc. – and the specific left-to-right horizontal *ductus* for ascending neumes and vertical one for descending neumes. The manuscript was in Montrieux library during the seventeenth century. With relation to the twelfth century, we observe in the book an addition by a second hand of stereotyped cadences for many responsories similar to the version of the Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 150. Both it and Ségnac 23 likely came the same Provençal house, probably Montrieux.

10. DEVAUX 2005 and 2008.

11. Martin GERBERT, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (St Blasien, 1784; Hildesheim, Olms, 1967), 1, p. 251-264.

12. The place of the mass of the dedication is a good criterion. At the origin of the order, before the avalanche of 1132, this office was located between S. Luc and the feast of Nativity. Both manuscripts of Durbon, but also Grenoble 44, Marseille 150 and GC 801¹ have this model and then, should have been copied on a source before the great avalanche of 1132.

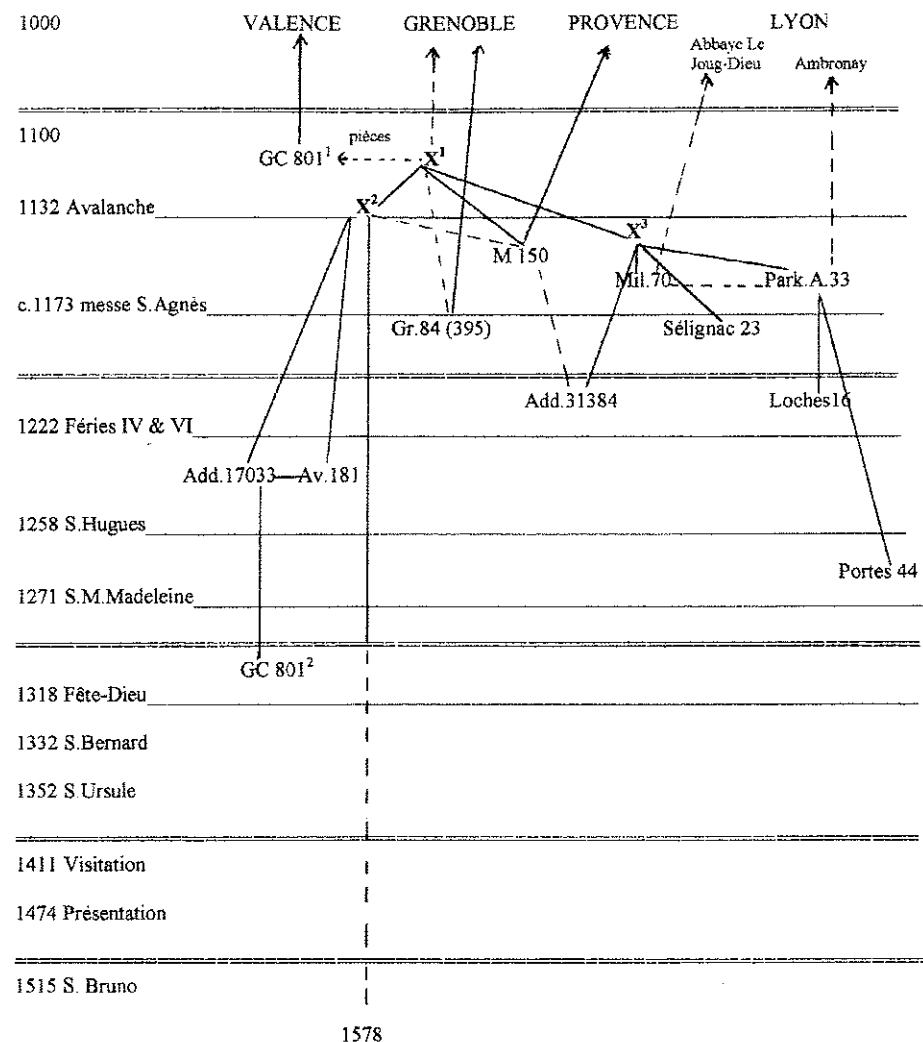


Table 1. Carthusian repertory and sources.

Grenoble 84 (395) is a whole gradual with a purer Aquitanian notation on three staff lines, a red-lead line for F, and the letters A or C for these pitches (fig. 3).¹³ Its Sanctoral gives complete masses for feasts which never were in the Carthusian ordo. Perhaps this book was used by an eremitic institution that combined local and Carthusian traditions in its choice of certain texts. The place of the Dedication mass further suggests that it was inspired by a book from before the avalanche of 1132. The revision of the Sanctoral ends with the feast of S. Ursula introduced in 1352. This probably points to the monastery of Les Écouges as the book's provenance, an eremitic institution linked to the Carthusian order in 1116 and suppressed in 1390.

13. CULLIN 2006, p. 96-97.

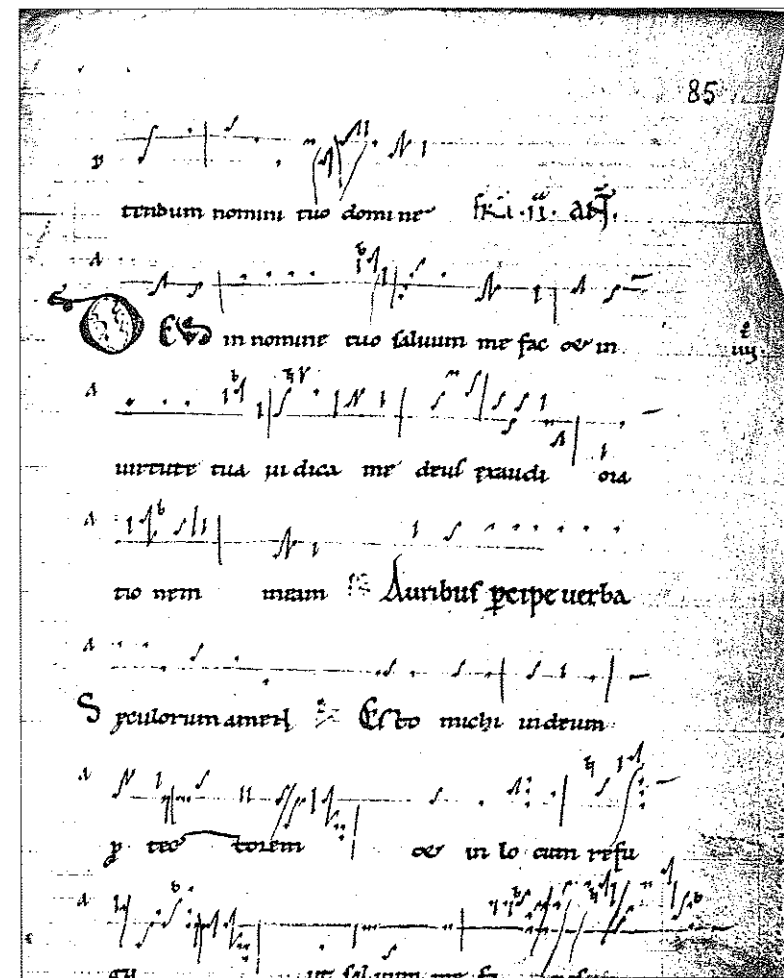


Figure 1. Parkminster A.33, fol. 85. Int. *Deus in nomine tuo.*

The last source in Aquitanian notation is Marseille 150, an incomplete gradual from the twelfth century (fig. 4). It is notated in Aquitanian neumes with a red-lead line for F or C and a yellow one for A, with added b flat. Its calligraphy for descending neumes, both compound and 'simple' ones, is especially elegant; witness the *clivis* and *climacus* and the *ductus* of the pen combining dot, lozenge and square forms in a rhythmical intention. Based on the location of the Dedication mass, it appears this manuscript followed an exemplar from the Grande Chartreuse predating 1132.

London, B.L. Add. 31384 is a Carthusian gradual originating in the Abbey of Le Reposoir. This book dates from before the introduction of both the votive mass of the Trinity and the two first *feriae* in 1222, and followed a Grande Chartreuse model posterior to 1132. Its notation on staff lines is rare in the Carthusian tradition, easily identifiable by its mostly rectangular writing. However, a second and later hand wrote over the first one with a clumsy square notation (compare in fig. 5 the end of communion *Fili quid fecisti* and the introit *Omnis terra*).

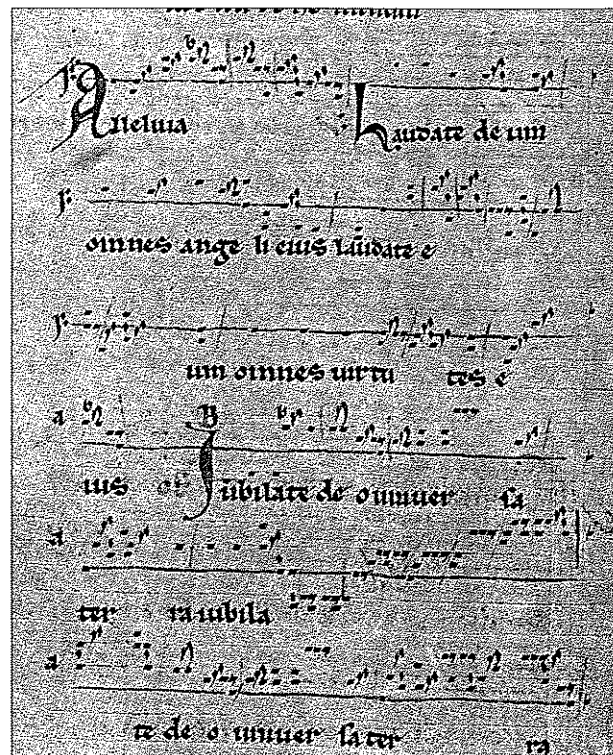


Figure 2. Sélignac 23. All. *Laudate Deum*.

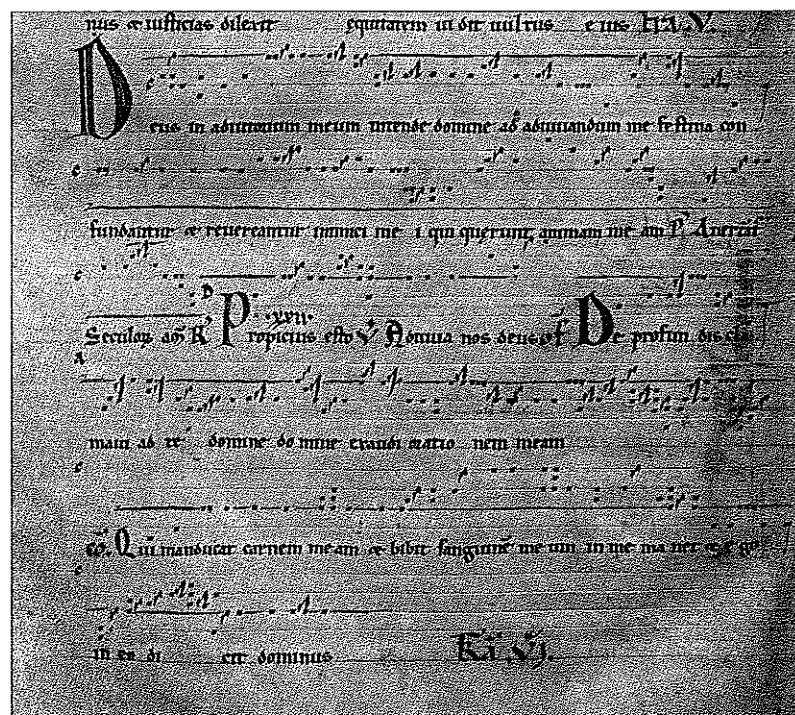


Figure 3. Grenoble 84 (395). Int. *Deus in adiutorium*.

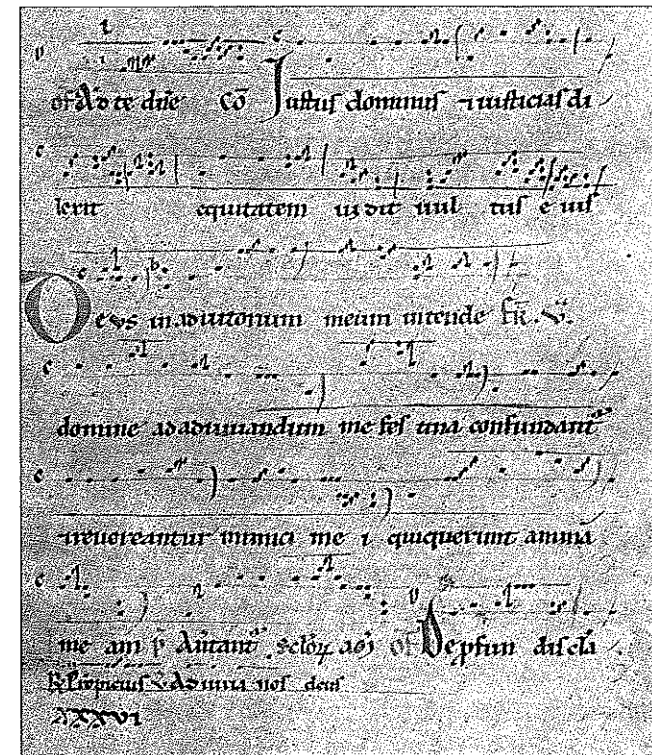


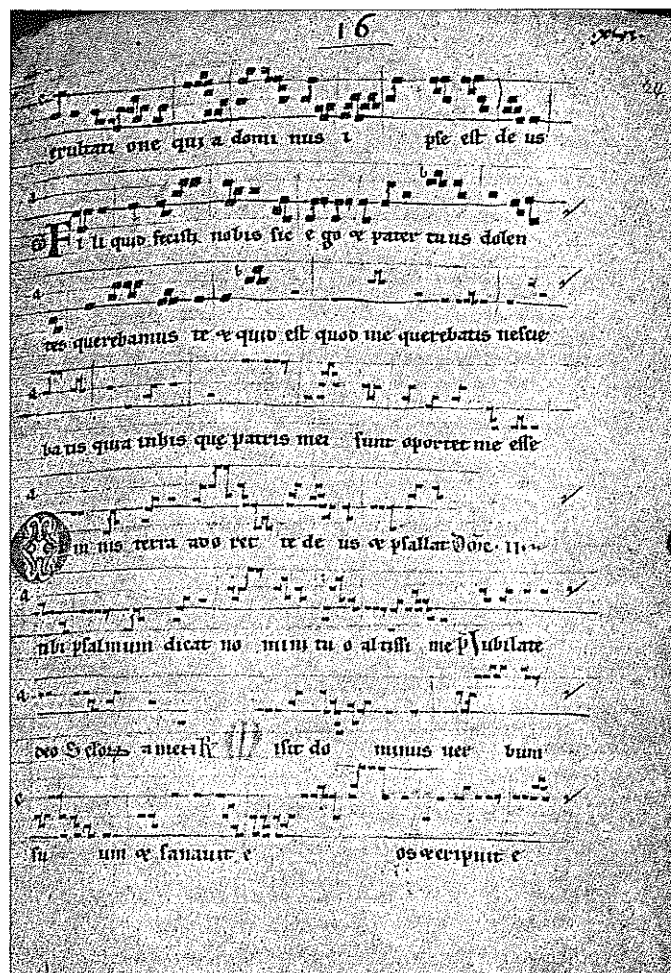
Figure 4. Marseille 150, fol. 24. Int. *Deus in adiutorium*.

Grande Chartreuse 801 is a complex source.¹⁴ Only one hand wrote the liturgical texts; the list of Alleluias after Pentecost is that of Valence. Two hands wrote the music. Up until the point of the *Triduum* in the book, there is only one notation derived from an Aquitanian typology of staff lines, with a red lead line for F and a yellow one for C. The manuscript preserves certain Aquitanian forms (the *quilisma* and *porrectus*, for example) but elsewhere offers a new style (the *pes*, for example). In the case of descending neumes, we notice that the first square has something new, an upper thin stroke, a feature increasingly common in later Carthusian sources (fig. 6). The second musical hand is later and has a more squared manner. The melodies from the first part of the manuscript are not Carthusian.

With Avignon 181 we come to one of an exceptional pair of manuscripts originating in the same monastery, Durbon, near Gap in the Haute-Provence. This gradual was copied between 1222 (as seen by the introduction of the mass of the Trinity) and 1258 (the introduction of the feast of S. Hugh) on a model itself from before the avalanche of 1132, as the place of the Dedication Mass makes clear. Its notation is made up of little squares on a staff, with a red lead line for F and a yellow one for C. The disposition of the squares clearly reveals either an Aquitanian influence or that of an Aquitanian model which our source revised. The stylization of the *pes* makes this obvious, while the descending neumes still retain the fluidity of their Aquitanian counterparts. Avignon 181 still has the Aquitanian *ductus* and *pes* and *clivis* are in Aquitanian forms.

London, B.L. Add. 17303 is the second of this pair of sources from Durbon, written at the same time as Avignon 181 and also copied from a source from before 1132. The

14. *Ibid.*, p. 98-99.

Figure 5. London B.L. Add. 31384, fol. 24. Int. *Omnis terra*.

notation is made up of little squares on coloured staff lines with F, C or A keys, and reveals its Aquitanian influence in both *ductus* and general appearance of neumatic forms. Here, however, they are very stylized: *pes* and *clivis* have their new forms and descending neumes have exchanged their flexible texture for a succession of little and uniform squares. Fine little vertical strokes written in the original hand indicate separations between melodic groups; later hands added heavier strokes.

With this exceptional pair, we can approach the question of the evolution of the Aquitanian model comparatively taking, for example, the incipit of the gradual *Ego dixi* (fig. 7a-b). Both Durbon sources were conceived at a time when the Aquitanian model of notation was being pared down to a more square and stylized writing. We easily recognize the stylization of the *pes* as two opposite squares (-go of *Ego*) with London 17303's marked tendency to be more vertical, as opposed to Avignon 181 which preserves some of the Aquitanian *ductus*. Both notations transform into compound neumes the small, uniform and disconnected Aquitanian squares. Both sources adopt a new *clivis* written in a left-right axis with two opposite squares (-xi of *dixi*). Both reveal the same tendency of gradually

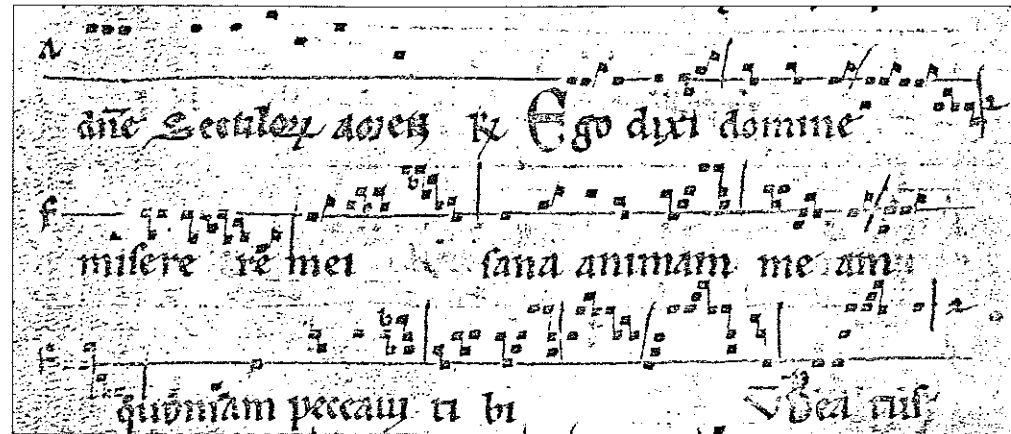
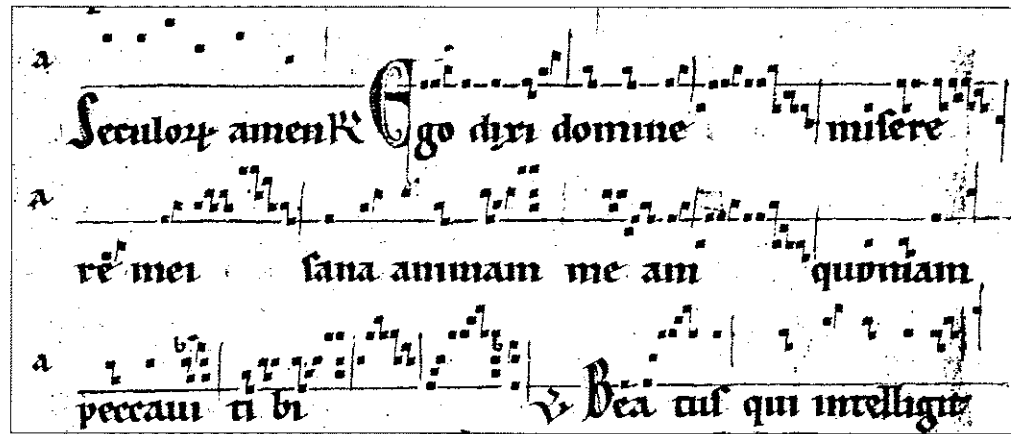
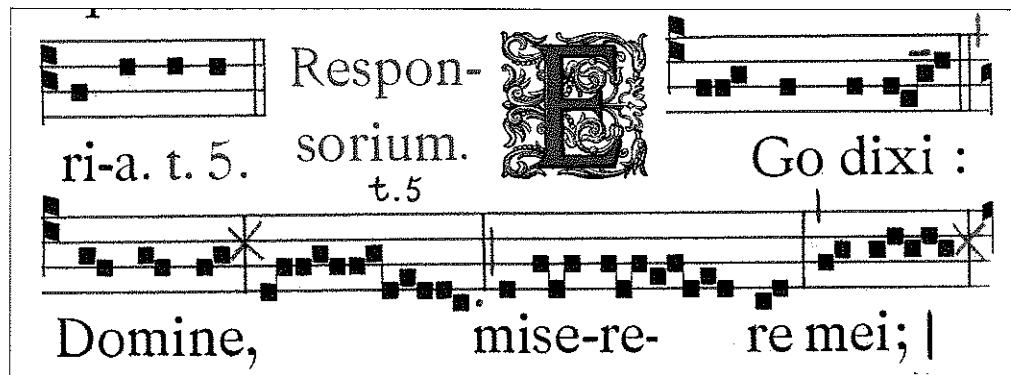
Figure 6. Grande Chartreuse 801, fol. 12. All. *Vidimus stellam*.

uniting disparate elements of a neumatic group into a single and long neume (*tibi* at the end of the gradual, or *-ne* in *Domine* at the beginning) separated by a stroke as it is today in the modern notation used in the Carthusian books (see fig. 8). Between strokes, the melodic movement is clear: combining neumes in larger neumatic groups than usual which would have helped singers retain the movement of the chant; strokes signify a pause and chant in between them must be fluid.

Portes 44 was written in the monastery of Portes between 1258 (the feast of S. Hugh) and 1271 (S. Marie Magdalene), using a Grande Chartreuse source posterior to 1132. Its notation is square on a staff with F and C keys.

Other manuscripts should at least be mentioned here: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. 70, a gradual from the end of the twelfth century originating in Seillon (near Bourgen-Bresse), with notation similar to Parkminster A.33¹⁵; Grande Chartreuse, ms. 751, a gradual from the Carthusian house of Moniales de Prébayon (in the Vaucluse), with little

15. A compromise between Aquitanian and Messine neumes, according to DEVAUX 1995, p. 230.

Figure 7a. Avignon 181. Gr. *Ego dixi*.Figure 7b. London B.L. Add. 17303. Gr. *Ego dixi*.Figure 8. Graduale Cartusiense (1897). Gr. *Ego dixi*.

Aquitanian squares; Loches 16 from the monastery of Le Liget (a royal foundation due to King Henry II Plantagenet in 1178, near Loches) with what Dom Devaux states are little 'French' squares; in my opinion, these are simply *notae quadratae* with no specific French influence.¹⁶ Table 1 summarizes the above information, in an attempt to show the age of a source independently from its geographical and notational features.

To finish this brief overview, these Carthusian sources seem to follow more general developments of musical notation in the Middle Ages. Independently of the three manuscripts in Aquitanian notation and of the Carthusian musical addenda in Parkminster A.33, we find at the beginning of the thirteenth century a book from Le Reposoir, London, B.L., ms. Add. 31384; it has a rectangular notation without the finer distinctions that neumatic notation provides especially for melismas. Twenty-five years later, in Durbon, one of the pair of manuscripts mentioned above (London, B.L., ms. Add. 17303), has lost in its notation the legacy of the accents of the Aquitanian notation. Twenty-five years later, Portes 44 and Loches 16 have both eliminated neumatic distinctions with their rendering in square notation the neumes from Lyon found in their exemplar, Parkminster A.33. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Durbon completes this process of squaring notes, as seen in the second part of Grande Chartreuse 801. Yet Carthusian notation cannot be summarized as a simplistic progression from Aquitanian to square notation¹⁷. If the Aquitanian model remains dominant, it is not the only one; the advent of square notation in Carthusian circles follows roads with more complex meanderings.

INSTABILITY OF NOTATION AS A COMMON TREND

Turning to the notation of the sources themselves, a major problem still remains for any study that attempts to discuss the nature of Carthusian music calligraphy. The fact is that, very often in any one given book, the same composition can be notated in several ways. To appreciate this point, we can take the first carthusian manuscripts and choose, for a clear comparison, compositions sung on a same melody. The second-mode Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* sung at Christmas, as well as at the Feasts of S. Stephen (Alleluia *Video caelos*), S. John the Evangelist (Alleluia *Hic est discipulus*) and Epiphany (Alleluia *Vidimus*) – to name just these four first versions – provides a clear example.¹⁸

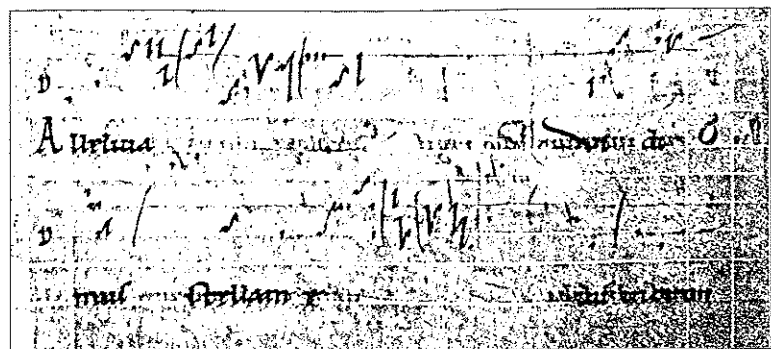
In the primitive Carthusian repertory, this melody is sung nine times in one year. For the ending melisma of the responsory, four different notational versions exist. For a short example, compare Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* and Alleluia *Vidimus*. The variants occur not only from one codex to the other but even within the same book, as Parkminster A.33 shows in a different way and not on the same neumes than Sélignac 23 (fig. 9 a-b: *pes* and *clivis* at the end of the melisma in Alleluia *Vidimus*¹⁹ instead of *torculus* in Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* and fig. 10 a-b, inside the ending neume). The award for the greatest melodic

16. *Ibid.*, p. 229. The Liget manuscript has as model the Portes manuscript.

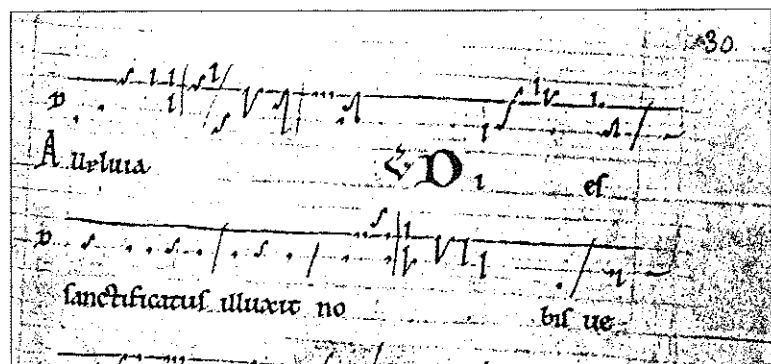
17. See in this book Huglo's chapter, *The earliest developments in square notation: twelfth-century Aquitaine*.

18. CULLIN 2004, p. 62-63: 'la mélodie de cet alleluia est réutilisée le 26 décembre pour saint Étienne, le premier martyr (alleluia *Video caelos apertos*), le 27 décembre pour saint Jean, le disciple bien-aimé du Christ (alleluia *Hic est discipulus*), à l'Épiphanie (alleluia *Vidimus stellam*), le 24 juin pour saint Jean-Baptiste, celui qui annonce le Christ et dont la fête est placée sur l'autre solstice (Alleluia *Tu puer*), puis pour saint Pierre et saint Paul, le 29 juin (alleluia *Tu es Petrus*), pour la conversion de saint Paul (alleluia *Magnus sanctus Paulus*) et, par extension, pour le commun des pasteurs (alleluia *Disposui testamentum*) et le commun des martyrs hors du temps pascal (alleluia *Inveni David*)'.

19. And for Alleluia *Video caelos* and *Hic est discipulus* too.

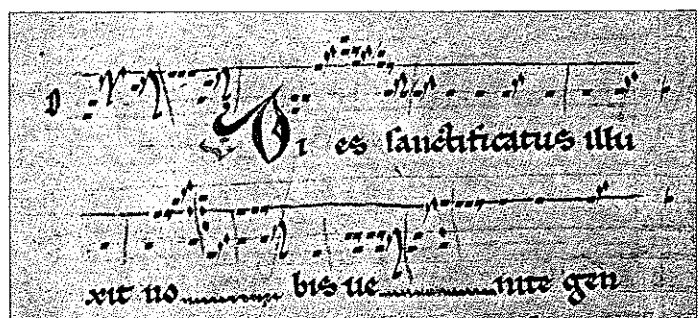


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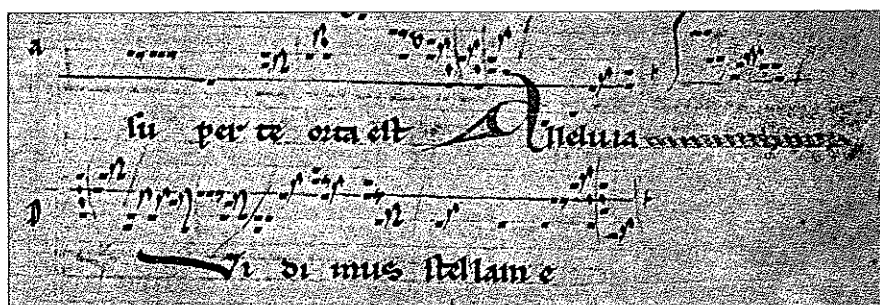


b

Figure 9. Parkminster A.33. a: fol. 36. All. *Vidimus stellam*; b: fol. 30. All. *Dies sanctificatus*.



a



b

Figure 10. Sélignac 23. a: All. *Dies sanctificatus*; b: All. *Vidimus stellam*.

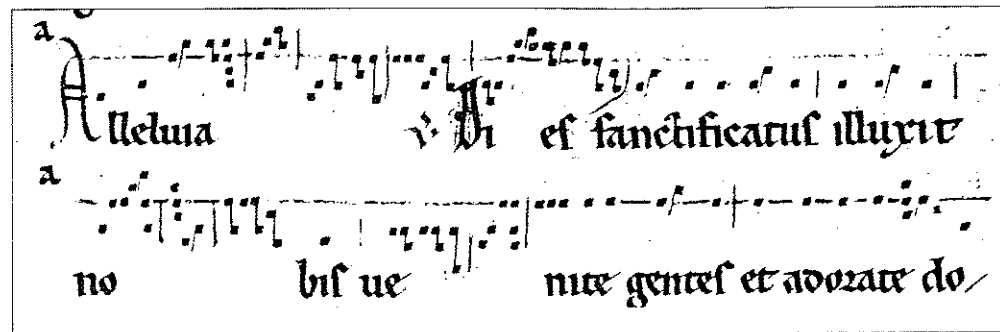


Figure 11a. London B.L. add. 17303, fol. 19. All. *Dies sanctificatus*.

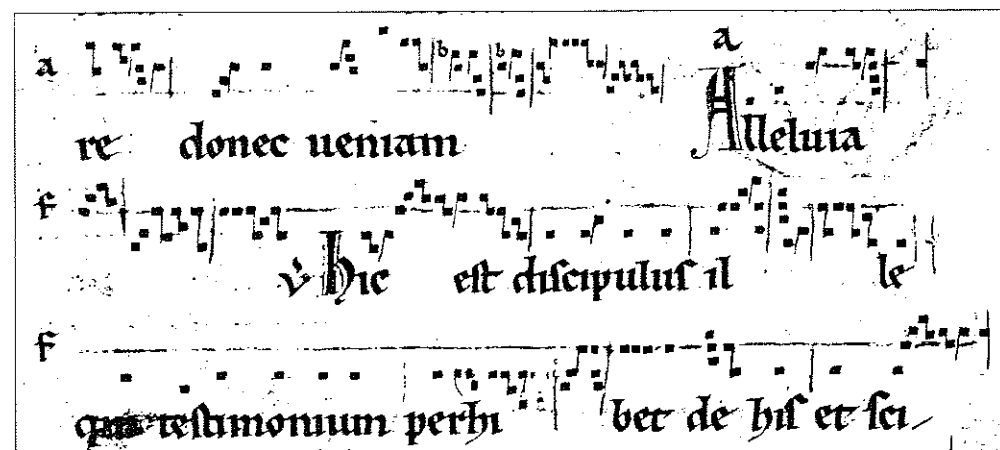


Figure 11b. London B.L. add. 17303, fol. 90. All. *Hic est discipulus*.

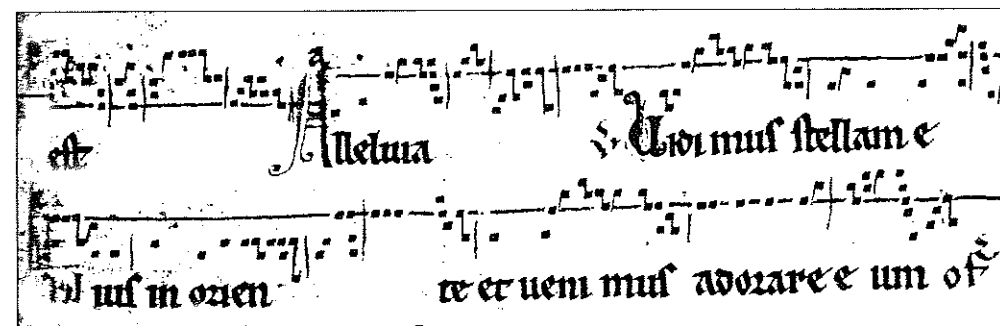


Figure 11c. London B.L. add. 17303, fol. 11. All. *Vidimus stellam*.

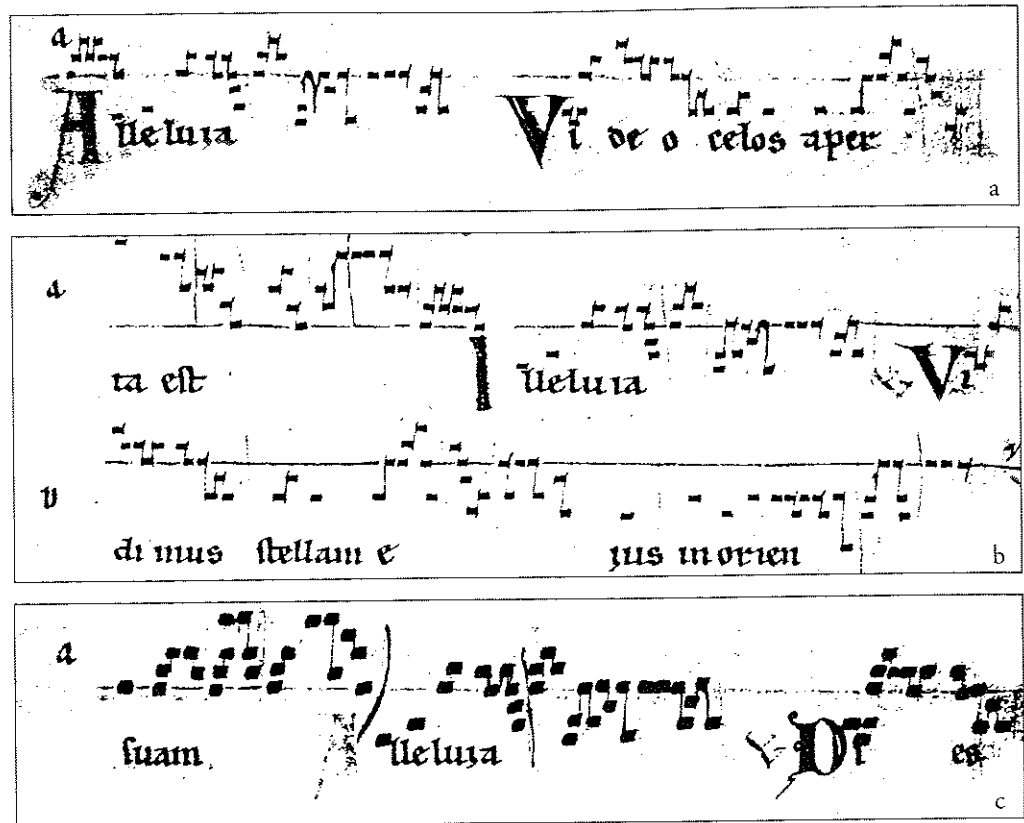


Figure 12. London B.L. add. 31384. a: fol. 18^r. All. *Video caelos*; b: fol. 22^v. All. *Vidimus stellam*; c: fol. 17^v. All. *Dies sanctificatus*.

digression goes to Marseille 150, which has for the five last compositions based on alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* five different notations! Only Grenoble 84 has a very coherent neumatic reading and with, Milan 70 too with only one exception. Continuing this investigation to other sources, more variants can be observed. For example, in the Durbon source, London, B.L., ms. Add. 17303, we see not only different writings for one neumatic group but also different notations for the same sign (fig. 11a-c). In the Le Reposoir source (London, B.L., ms. Add. 31384), the notator clearly hesitated to use unfamiliar differentiations for the same neume (fig. 12a-b -a of *Alleluia* before the cadence). The later notator who 'corrected' this passage with square notes apparently chose the second version, that of Alleluia *Vidimus stellam* (fig. 12c). Finally, the source Grande Chartreuse 801 (fig. 6) presents an interesting contrast and a remarkable fact: the same notator made two *clivis* in different notations and, most interestingly, two *scandicus* for the cadence – one in stylised format, the other with an improper old-fashioned Aquitanian *quilisma*, like a doubtful remorse (fig. 13a-b).

Apparently, Carthusian monks were not interested in a very precise and detailed notation. They did not need to notate for themselves whether to sing three *clivis*, or a *porrectus* and a *climacus*, or a *clivis* and a *torculus* followed by another *clivis* in one given passage. Does this mean that nothing can be understood from their notation and that one musical sign is equivalent to another? As I demonstrated in my edition of the Premonstratensian Gradual

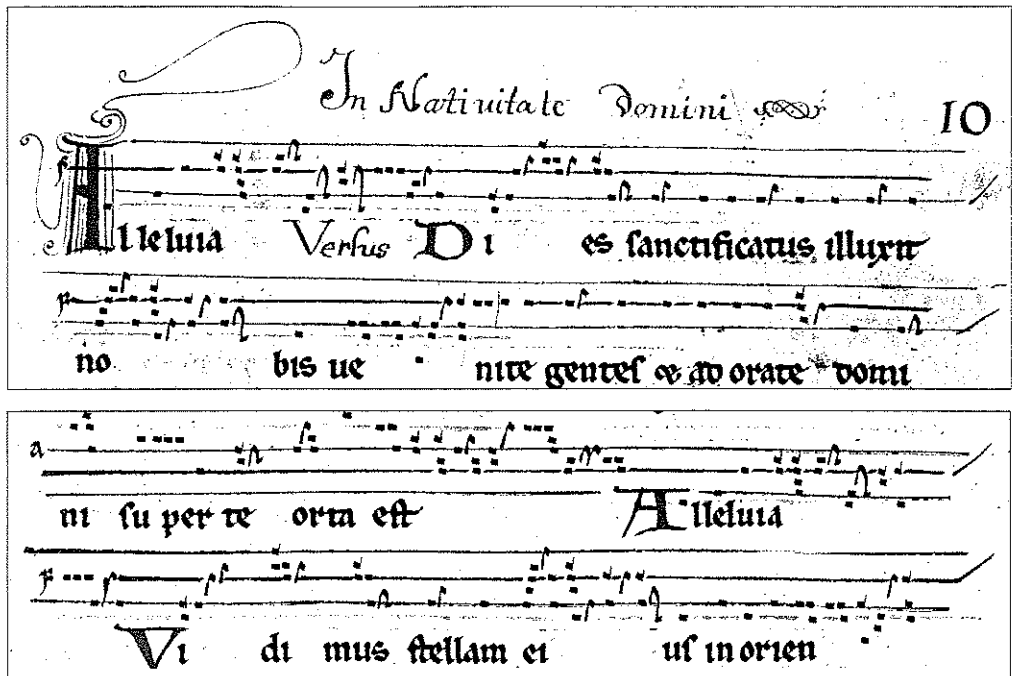


Figure 13. Grande Chartreuse 801¹. a: All. *Dies sanctificatus*; b: All. *Vidimus stellam*.

of Bellelay, one composition can be notated in several ways, a fact that can be chalked up to scribal whimsy rather than specific musical intention. Such notational details matter less than the more general idea of melodic mood and movement, captured by the eyes and held in musical memory, a potent memory trained by years of solid aural practice. Rather than in the specific shapes of neumes, the essence of Carthusian musical calligraphy lies in the specific way of indicating the movement of the melody – even though the story of Carthusian notation is that of a kind of stylisation. How this stylisation evolved is a question we need to ask.

FROM NEUMES TO SQUARE

Using notation is one thing, but having a grasp on the exact character of a melody and its calligraphy is quite another. This phenomena can be observed in sources with different notation that reveal another side of Carthusian calligraphy, running contrary to the both a tendency towards stylisation and a preoccupation with melodic movement. In the Gradual of Le Reposoir, London, B.L., ms. Add. 31384 (fig. 5), we can make the same observations as above for the Durbon manuscripts regarding the writing of the *pes* as two opposite ascending squares (l. 5, -*te* of *omnis terra*), the *clivis* as two opposite descending squares (l. 5, -*ret* of *adoret*), and neumatic groups linking compound elements between two strokes (l. 6, *altissime*). These tendencies are confirmed in the later revision of the manuscript with a thick square notation (fig. 5, l. 1, for example).

Although this notation is 'classical', like that of later Carthusian sources such as Portes 44, we can still identify its salient elements as seen in the books just mentioned.

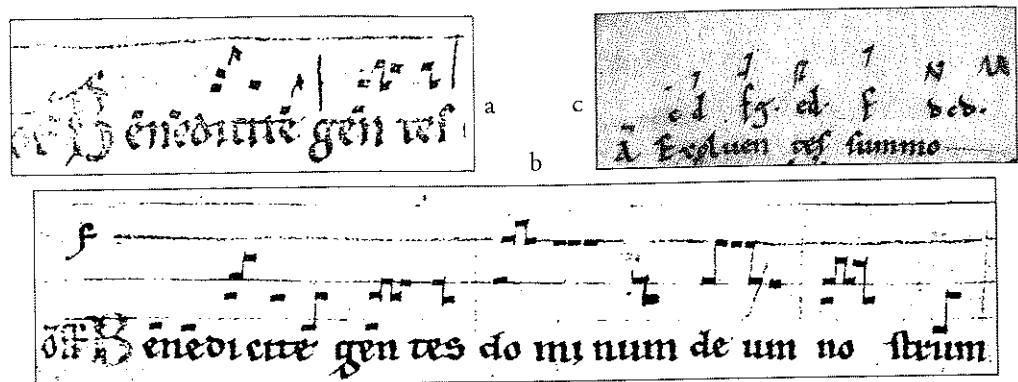


Figure 17. Writing *pes*: a. Avignon 181; b. London B.L. add. 31384; c. Rouen, B.M. 1386.

The specific forms of the Carthusian squares mark the Carthusian area as a special one in the history of square notation. The Carthusian *pes* and all the neumes derived from it are led with a square on left, followed by a stroke and an opposite square on right. This form in three gestures comes from the Aquitanian *pes* (however itself in two gestures) and presents a kind of abstraction of the Aquitanian sign. It is not the same shape as we encounter in other notations like Norman calligraphy (from Rouen²⁴), or like the signs explained by Anonymous IV in the thirteenth century (fig. 17).²⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Carthusian books have notational unity despite their predominantly Aquitanian origin but it is a long process. This is a fairly normal situation: monastic affiliations do not necessarily determine the identity of a notation. Moreover, what does it mean when we call a manuscript Carthusian? Among the oldest sources, Marseille 150 has corrected melodies, GC 801¹ has no Carthusian melodies and in GC 801² many texts do not come from the Carthusian rite. Grenoble 84 has a Sanctoral unrelated to that of the Grande Chartreuse, in the same way that Loches 16 relates to Le Liget. All these sources predate any liturgical unity or statement intended to be that of the Carthusian order. Rather, the actual situation was that the first true Carthusian houses (Portes, Les Écouges and probably Montrieux) were eremitic institutions that adopted Carthusian uses after having been independent. Only Durbon had monks from the Grande Chartreuse from its very beginning. Which is why both manuscripts of Durbon are exceptional, not only for notational reasons, but for historic-liturgical ones as well.

Another reason for the lack of unity is the independence of each source. The first general chapter in 1140 under s. Anselm went after a liturgical unity, which was pursued twenty years later under Dom Basile. These oldest manuscripts (M 150, 70, Add. 33384, Sélignac 23) were still in use until 1222 despite so-called corrections. To take another example, Grenoble 84 remained as a choir book until the suppression of Les Écouges at the end of the fourteenth century.

24. See Hiley in this volume.

25. HAINES 2006.

In itself, the word 'Carthusian' cannot explain the extremely complex and specific nature of these manuscripts, their liturgical and musical content and, most importantly for us, their specific calligraphy. How amazing, therefore, that, unrelated to the calligraphy of the notation itself, we can observe a given notational trend, at a given time and in different Carthusian books; namely, a trend towards a heavier and more vertical quadratic writing. In other contemporaneous notations, this presents itself as a more angular writing whose forms are still stylized and heavy. As Haines has written, the transition from neumes to squares was more of a slow and inexorable story than a sudden transformation.²⁶ Indeed, square notes do not entirely define Carthusian calligraphy. Its essence lies on the fact that Carthusian notators were scrupulous, preserving original gestures modelled on melodic movement. For this reason, it is false to claim that the *nota quadrata* put an end to a well-moulded and precise neumatic notation. The Grande Chartreuse 801 source is highly revealing in this regard. For in its second part, a Carthusian music copyist at the beginning of the fourteenth century completed the twelfth-century part (GC 801¹) using as his exemplar either London, B.L. Add. 17303, or an equivalent. He wrote in disconnected square notes where basic neumes were joined, as in the notation of the modern Carthusian antiphonary. He also cut out the longest melismas in rhythmical and melodic groups, as it is done in all modern Carthusian books of chant. This distinction is not the sign of a presumed decadence of Gregorian chant. Rather, it represents a specific calligraphy, itself reflecting a highly original way of singing chant. In their oldest books, Carthusians sought to express the melodic mood of their own chant by organizing their notation – be it Aquitanian, square or something else – into articulated groups. The strokes added later stressed a former practice. They were a later written expression of a rhythmical tradition formerly handed down by aural practice and already represented in notation as a specific musical identity. Still today, Carthusians are deeply linked to this identity of which their musical calligraphy is an obvious and clear testimony.

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26. HAINES 2008.