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# Mary Magdalene, the Apostola of the Easter Morning: Changes in the Late Medieval Carthusian Office of St Mary Magdalene 

Marija Magdalena, apostola velikonočnega jutra: Spremembe v poznosrednjeveškem kartuzijanskem oficiju Marije Magdalene

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IZVLEČEK

V kartuzijanski liturgiji je Oficij Marije Magdalene doživel večje spremembe še potem, ko je bil že uveljavljen kot slovesni praznik z dvanajstimi berili. V matutinu so bili nekateri spevi premeščeni ali celo nadomeščeni z novimi spevi. Razprava se posveča podobi Marije Magdalene v novem in starem oficiju, tudi v primerjavi z liturgijo nekaterih drugih tradicij. S posebno obravnavo v nekaterih rokopisih korigirane prve antifone lavd, Maria stabat ad monumentum, odpira nova vprašanja, povezana $z$ enotnostjo kartuzijanske liturgične tradicije in z odnosom med posameznimi rokopisi.

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## ABSTRACT

The Office of Mary Magdalene is one of the rare offices of the Carthusian liturgy that was changed after it had been established as a solemn feast with twelve lessons. In Matins, several chants changed their position or were even replaced by new ones. This article examines the relationship between the earlier and the later Office of St Mary Magdalene. Later corrections in the Lauds first antiphon, Maria stabat ad monumentum receive some special attention since they open new questions concerning the unity of the Carthusian liturgical tradition, and a possible connection between individual Carthusian manuscripts.

## Introduction: Mary Magdalene as a saint

Mary Magdalene is one of the rare saints for whom there is a source as authoritative as possible: she is a woman from the Bible, where she played an important role in the crucial event of the Christian faith - the resurrection of Christ. On the other hand, her biblical image was blurred, and from as early as the sixth century she was represented as a composite saint of three very probably different persons mentioned in the New Testament. The first was Mary, the sister of Lazarus and Martha of Bethany. The second was an unnamed sinner who washed the feet of Christ with her tears and dried them with her hair. ${ }^{1}$ And the third was Mary Magdalene, the woman from whom Jesus had driven seven demons and who was among his followers. She was present at the crucifixion and burial of Christ, and she was also one of the first witnesses of the events on Easter morning. All three images merged into one Mary Magdalene who was venerated as a single saint.

In the West, her cult expanded largely in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and flourished especially in the thirteenth century. Until the sixteenth century her feast again became more obsolete. ${ }^{2}$ Later on, especially in Italy from the thirteenth century onward, it was the image of the repentant sinner, which was particularly emphasized in her cult. This may be connected with the representation of Mary Magdalene as an example of a penitent and pardoned person in the teaching of the mendicant orders. ${ }^{3}$

According to a ninth-century legend in the West, Mary Magdalene accompanied her brother Lazarus and sister Martha to Provence, where they preached the Gospel; it was also in Provence, where she lived in a cave as a repentant hermit. It is therefore not surprising that her cult was especially important in Marseilles, where Lazarus (the first bishop of Marseille, where he was martyred) and Martha were also celebrated. ${ }^{4}$ Despite her legend, Mary Magdalene did not receive special attention in Provence until the discovery of her relics in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume (near Aix-en-Provence) in 1279 , where she was supposedly buried. ${ }^{5}$ However, there was an earlier rival cult at the monastery in Vézelay in Burgundy. Only the papal bull in 1295 declared that the "true" relics were in St Maximin. There the cult was strongly promoted for political reasons (as the first witness of the resurrection, Mary Magdalene was a powerful saint,

[^0]who attracted many pilgrims), and the relics played a large role in it. In the thirteenth century, there was yet another competitor for the relics of St Mary Magdalene: the monastery of St Lazaros in Constantinople. ${ }^{6}$

Mary Magdalene, venerated on July 22, was represented as a sinful woman justified by her love and faith, a picture of the Church and at the same time of the soul in its desire to detach from sin, as the opposition to the vain and self-important Pharisee Simon. ${ }^{7}$ As the first witness of the Easter event, she was also an apostola, a messenger to other apostles, and this is the role that she has regained again in the Roman Catholic Church less than a year ago. ${ }^{8}$

## The Office of Mary Magdalene

In their preface to the book The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages, Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer stressed the importance of the Office sources, "the centrality of Office sources to the study of medieval hagiography." Even if they have in mind mostly newly composed offices, connected to the developments of individual saints' cults, one could claim the same importance for the earlier, more traditional offices, which could also be subjected to certain changes, thereby presenting an altered or completely different image of an individual saint. Such cases stand out especially in the more stable and conservative liturgies which did not change easily or quickly. This is also the case in the Office of Mary Magdalene in the Carthusian liturgy of the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century.

The Office of Mary Magdalene presumably appears first in the Aquitanian antiphoner Paris 1085 (F-Pn lat. 1085), ${ }^{10}$ and thus predates the sources that were given by Saxer in his chapter on the Magdalenian cult in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. ${ }^{11}$ In Paris 1085, the saint did not have a proper office and the chants were borrowed mostly from the Common of Virgins and from the feast of the Assumption. There was a single nocturn for Matins. ${ }^{12}$ The case of the Mass for July 22 was similar: in many cases the

[^1]chants from the common masses for the Virgins and Holy Women were used. ${ }^{13}$ The Carthusians also adopted - and kept - this tradition, in which chants from common offices were used for Mary Magdalene, in spite of new liturgical developments and regional influences regarding her cult.

In the Middle Ages, many different offices for the feast of Mary Magdalene existed, and traditions were often mixed. Because of its Paschal connection, the feast sometimes received almost the same grade of festivity as Easter. ${ }^{14}$ Proper chants for Mary Magdalene's office, however, are a relatively late development. As Lila Collamore writes of the manuscripts in Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, ${ }^{15}$ Mary Magdalene's office only appears in manuscript B (D-Bas lit. 23, from Bamberg, twelfth century, antiphon Fidelis sermo et omni), manuscript L (I-BV V. 21, from San Lupo, Benevento, twelfth century; a full office), added at the end of manuscript R (CH-Zz Rh. 28, from Rheinau, thirteenth century), in manuscript D (F-Pn lat. 17296, from Saint-Denis, twelfth century), and manuscript S (GB-LBl add. 30850, from Silos, eleventh century). ${ }^{16}$ The main traditions of the newly composed offices for St Mary Magdalene from the eleventh and twelfth centuries were discussed by David Hiley, who stressed the richness of the repertory of Mary Magdalene's proper chants. ${ }^{17}$ It is understandable that none of the six large series of chants for Mary Magdalene defined by Hiley correspond to the Carthusian tradition where the chants from the common offices are used. Mary, the sister of Martha from Bethany, also plays a large role in the texts of the chant series researched by Hiley.

The Aquitanian chant tradition (in a broader sense) is locally connected to the Carthusian tradition. As is the case with the Carthusians, some Aquitanian antiphoners drew their chants for Mary Magdalene from the Common of Virgins. There is the above-mentioned antiphoner Paris 1085, but Silos 9 (E-SI 9) draws Magdalene's Office primarily from the Common of Virgins as well. In Toledo 33.5 (E-Tc 33.5), the first series of Matins and Lauds antiphons is from the Common of Virgins; the second is proper to Mary Magdalene. ${ }^{18}$ Of the other Aquitanian manuscripts, Albi 44 (F-AI 44) ${ }^{19}$ and Toledo 44.1 (E-Tc 44.1) ${ }^{20}$ do not contain any reference to Mary Magdalene. ${ }^{21}$ For most of the Aquitanian sources, the Matins responsories as well as the Matins and the Lauds antiphons for Mary Magdalene ${ }^{22}$ do not correspond to the Carthusian sources, because several include proper chants for Mary Magdalene, many of which are not included in the Corpus Antiphonalium Officii. ${ }^{23}$ There is a small exception in Toledo

[^2]44.1 and $44.2,{ }^{24}$ which have Maria ergo unxit pedes as the fifth antiphon of Lauds: the same antiphon appears in the Vespers of the Carthusian office. In general, the majority of the Aquitanian sources give a set typical for the canons' cursus, which also appears in the Cluniac sources, in the Carmelite and the Dominican sources, as well as in the Spanish sources. ${ }^{25}$ The chant texts are dedicated mostly to the sinful woman who washed the feet of Jesus, and to the sisters Martha and Mary Magdalene, as could be expected from the sources of Provence where the cult of the three sibling saints (Mary, Martha, and Lazarus) was strong. Especially the latter subject does not correspond to the Carthusian use.

Another tradition of possible comparison with the Carthusians is the tradition of Grandmont, where the feast was a part of the earliest calendar, but the office of the saint seems to be later because of the choice of the majority of the non-biblical texts (in all great responsories); ${ }^{26}$ as such, it is not comparable to the Carthusian tradition, which chose foremostly - if not only - biblical texts for the offices.

Many similarities with the Carthusians, however, can be found in the earlier developments of the Cistercian tradition, which has also adopted the chants from the Paschal season and from the Common of Virgins; this tradition also shares with the Carthusians the not very common use of two Easter responsories for Mary Magdalene. ${ }^{27}$

## The Office of St Mary Magdalene in the Medieval Carthusian liturgy

Mary Magdalene might have been an important saint elsewhere and still she would not receive a proper office in the Carthusian liturgy, but it is more important that the Carthusians did celebrate her feast even if their Sanctorale was very small. Next to her being an example of the solitary eremitic life, which could inspire the Carthusians, one could find two main reasons for her feast being included in the Carthusian liturgy. Firstly, she was one of the rare biblical saints. Even if the Bible did not tell much about her, and even if there were several different images of her in the tradition, she was undoubtedly the most important witness of the Easter morning. Because the Carthusians used almost exclusively biblical texts in their liturgy, an immediate connection to the source of her office could be found in the Bible. Secondly, she was an important saint of the region. Provence was one of the main centres of her cult since it was believed that she had been living there, and especially one Carthusian monastery had its own reasons to celebrate Mary Magdalene with utmost devotion.

The charterhouse Montrieux was located directly near Sainte-Baume, the place of Mary Magdalene's dwelling. The monastery possessed her relics (her bones, her hair,

[^3]and her rod), together with the relics of St Lazarus and St Anne. Mary Magdalene's connection with Sainte-Baume was first mentioned in a twelfth-century manuscript from Bern (Municipal Library, Ms. 133, fol. 1ro), containing Vita eremitica beatae Mariae Magdalenae, where her hermit's dwelling was described as being located "not far from Montrieux": "Explicit vita vel transitus beate Marie Magdalene. Spelunca ejus, in qua vixit solitaria xxx annis, dicitur esse episcopatu Massiliensi non longe ab heremo Montis Rivi." ${ }^{28}$ Saxer further retells a legend connected to the foundation of the charterhouse Montrieux in $1117 .{ }^{29}$ The founder of the charterhouse, an Italian nobleman, had made a pilgrimage to Sainte-Baume where he had made a vow to found a charterhouse in the region if he would get well. After that he founded Montrieux and became a monk himself. ${ }^{30}$ The time of the foundation of the monastery seems probable regarding the existing documents, but the story of an Italian nobleman might have been made up; the pilgrimages to Sainte-Baume were not yet popular in that time. However, for Saxer the legend could be "an echo of the Carthusian tradition,"31 but probably it was not only a result of the Carthusian endeavours. Because of Montrieux's connection to Marseilles and the saints of Marseilles, the story might have come from there, before it was exploited by the hermits of Montrieux. ${ }^{32}$ But even with such important relics in possession, there seemed to be no special liturgy for the feast of St Mary Magdalene in Montrieux.

Vita eremitica had a large literary and even more general influence. Not only was Mary Magdalene represented as a model of eremitical life, she was also becoming a patron saint of many parishes, monasteries, and churches. For Montrieux, the vicinity of her cave and tomb could mean even more. If Mary Magdalene had been under the cross with Christ, before seing him rise from the dead, there could be been an analogy between her tomb and Christ's. ${ }^{33}$

## The feast of three lessons

According to Victor Saxer, there were three types of monastic offices of St Mary Magdalene. Among those, the Carthusians represent the most severe and restrained

[^4]type, ${ }^{34}$ and - as was already seen above - they cannot be compared to most of the other monastic offices since in their office the feast never contained proper chants. The Cistercians were similarly severe at the beginning, but later they gave more festivity to the feast. ${ }^{35}$

Arthur A. King ${ }^{36}$ thought that the feast of Mary Magdalene was a later addition to the Carthusian calendar. However, Hansjakob Becker, ${ }^{37}$ Jacques Hourlier with Benoît Lambres, ${ }^{38}$ and Emmanuel Cluzet ${ }^{39}$ have assumed that it was a part of the original Carthusian liturgy, which would also be consistent with the study of John Wickstrom (who also stressed the fact that the Sanctorale offices for proper feasts originally borrowed their chants from the Common of Saints). ${ }^{40}$

In the calendar of the Great Charterhouse (Grande Chartreuse) from 1134, the feast had three lessons. ${ }^{41}$ Some time before 1174 it was celebrated with a Mass. Later - probably with the Customs of Dom Basile ca. 1170, but certainly after 1122 - it became a feast of twelve lessons with a convent Mass. After the compilation of the Carthusian customs Statuta Antiqua (1271) it became a solemn feast (festum candelarum, when two candles were lit at Vespers, Lauds, and at the convent Mass, in 1282); ${ }^{42}$ with Statuta nova (1368) it received a sermon. From 1917 the feast again had twelve lessons and a convent Mass, but it was not a solemnity. ${ }^{43}$

In the form with three lessons, the Office of Mary Magdalene did not have any proper psalmody in Matins and Vespers. It contained three responsories, (the second, the third and the fourth) from Easter Sunday: Dum transisset sabbatum (verse Et valde), Et valde mane (verse Mulieres), and Una sabbati (verse Et invenerunt), which were a part of the early Carthusian antiphoner; ${ }^{44}$ all of them recall the events of the morning of Christ's resurrection (see Table 1 below). According to Becker, such "double use" is rare, since these responsories, especially Una sabbati, are rarely found in the double role for Easter and Mary Magdalene. ${ }^{45}$ Even if it seems that all chosen responsories address the same topic, there is a subtle thematic progression

[^5]suitable to the unfolding of Matins (which, before the end of the Middle Ages, or at least until the very late Middle Ages, was not sung in the middle of the night, but directly before Lauds). All responsories concentrate on the early hour of women's arrival in front of the tomb, in their bringing oil and spices to anoint the body of Christ (in a way making a parallel event to the sinful woman's anointing of Jesus' feet), but nevertheless Matins ends dramatically with their entrance into the empty tomb. From here, the Lauds antiphons continue with the story already given in the Matins antiphons.

From the texts of these early office chants (see the texts of the selected chants from Table 1 below in Table 1 of the Appendix) we can see that the original Carthusian Night's Office for St Mary Magdalene was concerned primarily with Mary's role in the Easter events: with her coming to the tomb and searching for Christ, which ends with her mission to announce his resurrection to other disciples of Jesus, becoming the first apostola apostolorum. In both antiphons for the canticles Magnificat and Benedictus, which have very similar texts, she is shown as a sinful woman who washes Jesus' feet with her hair, but this does not seem to be a prevailing image of her.

| Matins | Lauds | Vespers |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| R Dum transisset | A Maria stabat |  |
| R Et valde mane | A Tulerunt dominum meum |  |
| R Una sabbati | A Scio quod Jesum qaeritis |  |
|  | A Surgens Jesus mane |  |
|  | A Ite nuntiate |  |
|  | EA Mulier quae erat | EA In diebus illis |

$\mathrm{R}=$ responsory; $\mathrm{A}=$ antiphon; $\mathrm{EA}=$ antiphon ad Magnificat or ad Benedictus
Table 1: Original chants of the Carthusian Mary Magdalene Office of three readings. ${ }^{46}$

## The solemn feast of twelve lessons

Carthusian liturgy is famous for its stability and its very slow and reluctant development and expansion in comparison to other traditions. Therefore, in the relatively stable period of the Carthusian liturgy, between the conclusion of the Statuta antiqua (1271) and the beginning of the sixteenth century, ${ }^{47}$ not many new feasts and offices were added into the Carthusian liturgy. During this time, there were several changes and emendations in the field of music and some textual variants. But there were only few real liturgical changes. The Office of Mary Magdalene was, according to its new rank of solemnity, expanded to twelve lessons soon after Statuta antiqua, and it also

[^6]47 Degand, "Chartreux," col. 1058.
received antiphons for Matins and Vespers. ${ }^{48}$ The original chants from the earliest layer of three lessons remained a part of the Office. The Easter responsories were given the important places at the end of the Nocturns. Other responsories were taken from the Common of Virgins (responsories 1-9) and were also used for the Assumption of Mary. (For the chants of the Office of Mary Magdalene in that time, with their texts, see Table 1 of the Appendix.) ${ }^{49}$

Application of the principle of Scripture (the biblical principle) and loyalty to the tradition - in spite of fashion and Carthusians' own connection to the powerful saint - were the main principles underlying the mode of expansion of the Office of Mary Magdalene. A newly composed office would have violated both principles, so use of the chants with biblical texts, possibly from the common offices, was a choice consistent with the spirit of the Carthusian Order. Thus, Mary Magdalene's story remains further connected to the Bible, especially to the Easter events.

The three key responsories conclude each Nocturn with the events of the Easter morning. The Lauds antiphons with the "quem quaeritis" story and its conclusion (the mission of announcing the joyful message) are still the same. The newly introduced antiphons of the first Nocturn connect the washing of Jesus' feet by the sinful woman's tears with preparing of his body to be buried, which leads to the scene when the women arrive to the tomb early in the morning to anoint Christ's dead body. The antiphons of the second Nocturn develop this theme further: they are dedicated to the scenes at the tomb, where the women meet the angel, who calms their fears and asks them whom they are looking for. Jesus is not there anymore; he is arisen. and they are sent forth to announce this to his disciples.

The antiphon of the third Nocturn has a text from the Song of Songs, which is also the main source of the non-Easter responsories of both first Nocturns, while the third Nocturn responsories mostly draw on the text from Psalm 44. The non-Easter responsories and short formulae are taken from the Common of Virgins; they were also used for the feasts of the Virgin Mary. Vespers then take the antiphons ad psalmos mostly from the first Nocturn of Matins (or vice versa). There is another antiphon ad Magnificat: Jesus comforts the sinful woman and tells her to go in peace.

The Carthusian image of Mary Magdalene seen from their office chants at this stage was a mixture of biblical elements, which - as was believed at the time - tell the story of this biblical person. However, for the Carthusians the aspect of a repentant sinner seemed much less important than the aspect of the witness of the risen Christ. Their Paschal Magdalene got her other, non-Easter chants from the Common of Virgins. Here we can see parallels with the early Aquitanian office (Paris 1085), but even more with the early Cistercian office, where the resurrection scenes represented a structural basis

[^7]of the Office of Mary Magdalene, while the subjects such as the bride (connected to the texts of Song of Songs and Psalm 44) and anointing were instered among the resurrection chants. ${ }^{50}$ The Cistercians saw Mary Magdalene as the bride of Christ, but, because of the image of Mary Magdalene, they have chosen such texts from the Common of Virgins, which would avoid any allusions to the virginity of the saint. ${ }^{51}$ Some texts of the Cistercian tradition were the same as the Carthusian texts. The Cistercians, however, had some Paschal responsories and more antiphons from the Song of Songs, while the Carthusians had three Paschal responsories and antiphons in the first Nocturn of the feast, and next to that they had several Song of Songs responsories. On the other hand, both orders avoided connecting Magdalene with Martha and Lazarus of Bethany in the texts of their office chants.

## The later changes in the solemn feast of twelve lessons

Even if the number of chants for the Carthusian Office for Mary Magdalene did not change later on, the sung items of the feast did. If we extend our timespan towards the end of the sixteenth century, we find a big change in the Office of Mary Magdalene. It is not a drastic change, but within the relatively stable context, where most of the other offices never changed, it is very significant. This change probably happened after the end of the fifteenth century or later; it could well have happened "after the Council of Trent, but very probably already earlier." ${ }^{22}$ The series of responsories for the Common of Virgins was replaced by the responsories for the Holy Women, although these two common offices share many chants. ${ }^{53}$ Additionally, the hymn for St Mary Magdalene was added - along with many others - in the breviary in $1593 .{ }^{54}$ Another date of orientation for this change was the introduction of the solemn feast of St Anne. Many manuscripts - such as Graz 7 - have "corrected" (or changed) the Office of St Mary Magdalene approximately at the time of the introduction of St Anne's Office. ${ }^{55}$

As a result of these changes, in Matins several responsories were moved to other positions, and four were even excluded from the office, replaced by new ones. The invitatory antiphon has been replaced by another. (See Table 2 below and columns 2 and 3 - "earlier" and "later chants" - in Table 2 of the Appendix.)

[^8]K. ŠTER • MARY MAGDALENE, THE APOSTOLA...

| Mary Magdalene - earlier chants | Mary Magdalene - later chants |
| :--- | :--- |
| Matins: invitatory antiphon | Laudemus Deum nostrum <br> [new chant] |
| Regem virginum | Diffusa est gratia - V Dilexisti justitiam <br> [changed position] |
| Matins: great responsories with verses (V) | Specie tua - V Diffusa est gratia <br> [changed position] |
| Vidi speciosam - V Viderunt illam | Dilexisti justitiam - V Propter veritatem <br> [changed position] |
| Fulcite me floribus - V Adjuro vos | Dum transisset sabbatum - V Et valde |
| Surge propera - V Vox turturis | Fallax est gratia - V Data ei <br> [new chant] |
| Dum transisset sabbatum - V Et valde | Accinxit fortitudine - V Lucerna pedibus <br> [new chant] |
| Vuam pulchra es - V Sicut vitta | Quam pulchra es - V Sicut vitta <br> [changed position] |
| Diffusa est gratia - V Dilexisti justitiam | Et valde mane - V Mulieres emerunt |
| Et valde mane - V Mulieres emerunt | Regnum mundi - V Eructavit cor meum <br> [new chant] |
| Specie tua - V Diffusa est gratia | Lauda filia - V Abstulit dominus |
| [new chant] |  |

Table 2: Earlier and later chants of the Carthusian Mary Magdalene Office.
When did this change appear in the sources? Earlier Carthusian manuscripts - until Graz 273 from the thirteenth century (Table 3 of the Appendix) - have only the original office of twelve lessons. The original office remains present in all checked Carthusian antiphoners from the fifteenth century. Unfortunately I was unable to see some manuscripts with responsories from the sixteenth century. The seventeenth-century sources, as would be expected, include only new versions of the office. But some manuscripts from as early as the end of the thirteenth century (such as Lyon 509, where the original invitatory antiphon had been deleted, yet without another one to replace it) were changed. ${ }^{56}$

[^9]Therefore, the earlier layer of chants is seen in many sources even if they contain the later office as a change or correction, and we find the new version being inserted into quite early manuscripts. New incipits could be written above the incipits of the invitatory and individual responsories by a later hand; the old ones could be erased or new folios might be inserted. In Graz 145, where the chants for the Office of Mary Magdalene come from the earlier layer, only the first two chants have been ruled out later, but the inscription by a later hand warns us about the change in the office: "Responsoria in Festo S: Mariæ Magdalenæ sunt alia qua hii notantur" (192r). By the invitatory Regem virginum in the same manuscript we find the inscription by a later hand: "Invitatorium sumitur ex hymnario, pagina 2 da , supplementi antiphonaria" (191v). ${ }^{57}$

In terms of time and date, it is sometimes very difficult to prove what is a later addition. In Graz 18, the invitatory was written down by a later hand into an empty place (but perhaps there was no empty place there, only the old invitatory had been scratched out very well); the same hand also wrote down the incipits of the new responsories. In this antiphoner and in Graz 21, later additions are intertwined with the original layer of the manuscripts in such a manner that it is sometimes impossible to say if the "later" hand is only a hand of another contemporary scribe who took turns with the first scribe. One hand wrote the majority of chant texts and another one the majority of rubrics and some offices, as well as some individual chants or even individual words (or their corrections?) within the earlier chants. There are also manuscripts, which contain only the new offices, but still this does not always mean that these manuscripts contained the new tradition from the beginning. Graz 7, for example, gives only the new Office for Mary Magdalene, followed by the Office of St Anne written by the same hand, but both offices are additions on later folios, so perhaps there was an original Office of Mary Magdalene, which was a part of the earlier tradition.

The new Office of St Mary Magdalene is a mixture of the traditional Carthusian office for this feast and of the Common of Holy Women, which is very much connected to the Common of Virgins, but has some special aspects to it. (See Table 2 of the Appendix.) The Paschal theme remains the firm basis of the office, with the same three Easter responsories at the end of each Nocturn. All the antiphons - excepting the invitatory antiphon - have also remained the same. There is the theme of the sinful woman washing Jesus' feet and thus preparing his body for the events of the Holy week, a strong parallel to the theme of the women coming to anoint Christ's dead body - only that here he is risen from the dead. Mary Magdalene is still never mentioned as Martha's or Lazarus' sister.

The next important aspect of remaining true to one's tradition is the great responsory of the first Vespers. There the examined sources still indicate Fulcite me floribus, as was the case in the earlier office. (The Carthusians usually use the second great responsory of Matins to be used in the first Vespers, so in the new office they should take Specie tua instead, since this is the new second responsory of the office, consistent with the Common of Holy Women; in the case of St Anne, Specie tua is used as the great responsory of the Vespers.) The responsory Fulcite me floribus changed place from the second position in the earlier office to the one before last in the later office, but instead of it Vidi

[^10]speciosam could have been used there to make a parallel with the Common of the Holy Women. (See Table 2 of the Appendix.) Vidi speciosam was the first responsory in the earlier Carthusian Office for St Mary Magdalene, so it seems that here the Carthusians had to choose between these two responsories and they have preserved Fulcite me floribus, perhaps because of its importance in the earlier office; the last responsories of each Nocturn were already defined, so this was the new position of the responsory.

The popular image of the penitent sinful woman is a little more present in the new office. There is a new invitatory which stresses Mary Magdalene's conversion. There are four new responsories, taken from the Common of Holy Women, which in general also dictates the ordering of responsories. Even the remaining responsories from the Common of Virgins changed their positions following the Office of Holy Women. The only exceptions are the Easter responsories, with their firm positions at the ends of the Nocturns, and Fulcite me floribus. (See the later Office of St Mary Magdalene and the Office of St Anne in Table 2 of the Appendix.)

One of the new responsories was not a part of the earlier Mary Magdalene's Office, even if it comes from the Common of Virgins: Lauda filia Sion, with the text taken from the Song of Songs, which can be found also in the Carthusian Office of Purification. Three other responsories, which do not appear in the Carthusian offices in earlier manuscripts, are Fallax est (Proverbs 31:30-31), Accinxit (Proverbs 31:17-18), and Regnum mundi. The first two of these responsories praise the qualities of a good woman. The third one discusses the contempt of the world, contemptus mundi, for the sake of Jesus Christ's love - here the themes of penitence and Christ's bride are tightly intertwined, and both themes are very much connected to the image of St Mary Magdalene, as well as to the eremitic (dis)regard for the world.

The responsories explicitly mentioning virgins were excluded from the new office (Offerentur regi). Some others from the Common of Virgins had never been a part of Mary Magdalene's Office (such is the case with Simile est regnum). Three other responsories with a bridal theme (Vidi speciosam, Surge propera, and Veni de Libano) were also excluded from the new office, but this does not seem to be specifically connected to Mary Magdalene. It was simply adjusting the new office to the Common of Holy Women. Even with this change, this does not seem to be a matter of utmost importance or a drastic change in the contents of the office. If one looks back in time towards the original office, and if one looks forward to the new office, the picture remains similar, only more details are intervowen into it. The main pillars of this office are the chants of the Paschal time.

With some new chants, the new office perhaps got a little closer (but still not much) to the majority of the sources containing the feast of Mary Magdalene (when they use chants from the common offices for her). It was already mentioned that the chants from the Common of Virgins were used for her feast in some tenth- and twelfth-century sources of other traditions. In the Cantus Database, the invitatory Regem virginum, for example, could be found only in Paris 1085 or Vatican B. 79 (I-Rvat SP B.79), ${ }^{58}$ as well

58 The manuscript Città del Vaticano (Roma), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, San Pietro B.79, is an antiphoner containing the Old Roman repertory (cathedral cursus) from St Peter, twelfth century. Cantus Database, accessed October 7, 2016, http:// cantusdatabase.org/source/374084/i-rvat-sp-b79.
as in the previously mentioned Carthusian source Notre Dame University lat. b. 4. ${ }^{59}$ The most stable layer of the Carthusian Mary Magdalene Office - the Easter responsories could be found in the Cantus Database in other traditions for her feast as well, with the exception of Una sabbati. ${ }^{60}$ Some responsories - such as Fulcite me, Surge propera, or Vidi speciosam (the two latter were excluded from the new Carthusian version of the office) - are rarely to be found in use for this feast. The responsories Quam pulchra, Offerentur regi, and Veni de Libano (the two latter were also excluded from the new Carthusian version of the office of Mary Magdalene) were not to be found anywhere. The responsories Dilexisti, Specie tua, and Diffusa could be found more often. However, according to the present situation in the Cantus Database, the Office of Mary Magdalene never made use of the responsories Fallax est (there is only one result for this responsory in the Cantus Database with the version Fallax gratia est), Accinxit, and Lauda filia, while Regnum mundi with its "typical" penitent Magdalene topic of contemptus mundi was found quite often.

## The antiphon Maria stabat ad monumentum

A much smaller place of correction in the Carthusian Office for Mary Magdalene coincidentally discovered in (for now at least) two Carthusian antiphoners - is the Lauds antiphon Maria stabat ad monumentum. There Mary Magdalene is presented standing in front of the tomb, weeping; then she sees two angels dressed in white, sitting at the place where Christ's body was laid. As the sources show, this antiphon was primarily used on Thursday (Feria $V$ ) after Easter in the Carthusian as well as in other traditions. (Even if we cannot find them in Mary Magdalene's feast in other traditions, antiphons for Mary Magdalene in the Carthusian office are not unique to this tradition; they have been carefully borrowed from other liturgical occasions, mostly from the Paschal time.) ${ }^{61}$

The antiphon Maria stabat was probably a part of the Carthusian liturgy from the very beginning. It is supposed that in the earliest times of their liturgy, the Carthusians had only one antiphon ad psalmos for Lauds (the first one), because this antiphon was treated with some privileges in the Carthusian Divine Office. ${ }^{62}$ Wickstrom points out that the first antiphons of Lauds seem to take into account the principle of Scripture, but are less consistent with the principle of Order (which means ordering the chants after their scriptural order, grouping together the chants with the texts from individual parts of the Bible or individual biblical books, even chapters), perhaps because of the important role of the "common tradition" of their order. ${ }^{63}$ The following Lauds

[^11]antiphons are usually more consistent with the principle of the biblical order, but not in all the cases. There are three exceptions in the Sanctorale (regardless of whether they have their own proper chants or chants taken from elsewhere). Mary Magdalene, Holy Innocents, and All Saints are three Carthusian Sanctorale propers which lack the characteristics of the principle of Order in the Lauds antiphons, but otherwise the Carthusian proprium sanctorum follows the pattern of the scriptural ordering: "At least four of the five antiphons ad psalmos for Lauds are drawn from consecutive or neighbouring scriptural passages, and in most cases are to be found in the Gospel pericopes of the day." ${ }^{64}$

The feast of Mary Magdalene contains three antiphons from John's Gospel, followed by two from Mark's, a sequence which violates the principle of Order. But this arrangement, as Wickstrom describes it, is necessary for thematic unity: "To tell the story of the risen Christ's appearance to the repentant sinner requires this precise sequence of material." ${ }^{65}$ Wickstrom's finding is important since it shows that the Carthusians (or the Carthusian author(s) who had been in charge for the compilation of the antiphoner) did not follow their principles blindly, for the principles' sake, but were flexible when some deeper connection or a better reason was at stake; such was also the case with the hierarchy of saints in the Lauds antiphons for All Saints. ${ }^{66}$ Mary Magdalene is another example. Her story had to be told as a whole, in the sequence of events evolving in "real" time in which they happened. This was achieved better through the eyes of different Evangelists, rather than using only one Gospel, which could be silent on certain events connected with the most important Christian event, Christ's resurrection. Here, precisely the strong connection of the saint with the biblical events enabled the Carthusians to violate (or adjust) the biblical order. The order of events from the Lauds antiphons was repeated throughout the day in Daily Hours. It is therefore not only in Matins where we can see a careful thematic ordering of chants at work; this applies also to other offices. The first antiphon of Lauds has another function in this thematic continuity of the office: it is directly connected to the last "Magdalene-connected" chant of Matins, the responsory Una sabbati, which tells us about the entrance of the women into the tomb (but does not tell what they saw inside). The Lauds focus further on one of them, Mary Magdalene, exactly at the moment of her entrance into the tomb where she sees the angels in white and, in a metaphorical sense, the dark tomb of death and night turning into light of life and day.

The Carthusian version of this seventh-mode antiphon text is as follows: "Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans et vidit duos angelos in albis sedentes ubi positum fuerat corpus Jesu alleluia." (Places of possible corrections in some manuscripts are marked bold.) In the case of the only Carthusian manuscript indexed in the Cantus Database, US-NDu lat. b. 4 , this antiphon is indexed with Cantus ID (CanID) 203019 and somehow imbedded under CanID 003705 , but we do not have an image of the

[^12]manuscript or a complete chant text. ${ }^{67}$ Two other studies, which mention this antiphon, number it with CanID 003705 (or CAO 3705). ${ }^{68}$ The differences between the texts may not be very large, but, as the Carthusian example will show, they are important.

The exact text of CanID 003705 is: "Maria stabat ad monumentum plorans vidit angelos in albis sedentes et sudarium quod fuerat super caput Jesu alleluia." Minor variants of this text include "duos angelos," some others have one "angelum"; occasionally "et" also appears before "vidit."

Another version of the text with the CanID 203019, which is used for the feast of Mary Magdalene, is as follows: "Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans dum ergo fleret inclinavit se et prospexit in monumentum et vidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus domini Jesu." (Parts of the text which appear in the Carthusian version are marked bold.) Both texts are very similar, but there is one major difference between them: the face-cloth which had been on Jesus' head (John 20:7) is not mentioned here, since CanID 203019 follows only the lines 11 and 12 from the same Gospel chapter. CanID 003705, on the other hand, makes a logical leap from Mary's seeing the open tomb, the angels and the cloth in which the head was wrapped, so we know that the body is not there anymore and that something must have happened.

However, Latin Vulgate (John 20:11-12), the origin of this antiphon's text, has the following words: "Maria autem stabat ad monumentum foris plorans dum ergo fleret inclinavit se et prospexit in monumentum et vidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus Jesu." ${ }^{" 99}$ The Carthusian version does not jump from lines 11-12 to line 7, as CanID 003705 does; instead, it follows the Vulgate, although it omits some words and some parts of this short text. The ordering of the words is also exact. We are informed about the detail that there are two angels (there is only one angel in some other traditions, which is a deviation from the Vulgate text), but we do not get specifical information concerning where they are seated - the important thing is that they are sitting in the place where Jesus' body was laid. Comparison of the Gospel text with various traditions shows that the Carthusian version despite omitting a large part of it - is more faithful to the Vulgate than either of the other versions. CanID 003705 mixes the texts from John 20:11-12 and 7, whereas CanID 203019 is much closer to the Vulgate; at the end, however, it adds the word "domini." In a manner characteristic to their own principles of compiling their antiphoner, the Carthusians chose the strictest Vulgate version, but in shortened form. ${ }^{70}$

From all the sources with available images listed in the Cantus Database, and from several other sources that I had at my disposal, the text identical to the Carthusian version appears in only one other source, in the Aquitanian antiphoner F-Pn lat. 1090 (end of the twelfth century, Marseilles), fol. 77 v (Feria V post Pascha), which also has CanID 003705 given for this antiphon. This manuscript also has a very similar melody,

[^13]different only at the end ("corpus Jesu alleluia"); otherwise the differences are minimal. (The Carthusian version has a punctum, where the other manuscript has a pes or clivis; see Music example 1 in the Appendix.)

Unfortunately, two other promising Aquitanian sources such as the antiphoner F-Pn lat. 1085 (the first one with the chants of the Office of St Mary Magdalene, as was mentioned above), and a compilation from St Martial, F-Pn lat. 1250, only have an incipit of this chant (Feria Vpost Pascha). All other non-Carthusian manuscripts that were checked for this antiphon, which they also have for Feria V post Pascha (E-Tc 44.2, fol. 95v, not very clearly readable; F-Pn lat. 12044, fol. 104r; CH-SGs 338, fol. 210; CH-SGs 391, 43; CH-E 611, fol. 94r; CH-Fco 2, fol. 111r; F-Pn lat. 15181, fol. 306r; F-Pn n. a. lat. 1411, fol. 101v; the antiphoner from Grandmont ${ }^{71}$ ) have CanID 003705 , although there is a small variant ("angelum sedentem" instead of "angelos sedentes") in the Saint-Gall sources.72

The antiphon Maria stabat appears with some corrections of text and melody of the original layer in the same places in at least two Carthusian antiphoners. Even if one isolated variant or correction could always mean a scribal error, two such corrections in the same place in different manuscripts make too much of a coincidence. In Graz 273, the corrections appear both in Feria V post Pascha (fol. 122v) and in the feast of Mary Magdalene (fol. 244v; see Plate 1), while in Grenoble 418 the correction is clearly visible only in the feast of Mary Magdalene (fol. 3B65r). Later, both manuscripts were corrected according to the official Carthusian variant. The original text, although carefully erased in all cases, is discernible up to some point, but the original music is not clear anymore. Perhaps more than two Carthusian antiphoners contained corrections in Maria stabat (see Table 4 of the Appendix); but even if there were some doubtful places, it was not always possible to distinguish the original version since in some cases only the incipit is given for this antiphon. (Such is, for example, the case in Toledo 44.3.)


Plate 1: Antiphon Maria stabat in Graz 273, Office of St Mary Magdalene, fol. $244 v$ (with permission).

[^14]The corrections in Graz 273 and in Grenoble 418 appear in the same places, on the words "ubi positum fuerat corpus Je[...]." Especially in Graz 273, it is possible to discern some words written under the corrected version, and because of some still-visible letters it is possible to say that these were "et sudarium quod" and "caput." Regarding the space for the words this could also be the case in Grenoble 418. Graz 273 gives us a further hint with the "wrong" beginning of the antiphon. This manuscript's version begins "Maria stabat ad monumentum plorans foris plorans." The first "plorans," however, is not notated, but it was not deleted or scratched out later. Maybe the version in the scribe's memory or in front of his eyes was the version which was more generally known or widely spread in the surrounding tradition: the CanID version 003705.

The same antiphon appears in the office of the Easter week. Here the beginning in Graz 273 is a "correct" Carthusian version: "Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans"; the continuation, however, is corrected. Since at least in Graz 273 the Office of Mary Magdalene was probably added at the last minute (it is written at the end of the manuscript), we could assume that the Office of Mary Magdalene was taken from some other source (or this chant at least), but this would not explain the correction in the Easter-week antiphon.

With this finding, many questions arise. Were there other Carthusian antiphoners that contained the CanID 003705 version of Maria stabat? And, if not, were the two manuscripts mentioned somehow connected, or did their scribes perhaps use the same exemplar? ${ }^{273}$ Why does the corrected antiphon appear twice in Graz 273 and only once in Grenoble 418 (it does not seem that there was another, first correction). Were their scribes in touch with other, non-Carthusian traditions? Could this correction say something about the time and location of where the manuscripts were written?

Whatever was the story behind these corrections, in the end it was the Bible and the famous Carthusian liturgical unity that united all manuscripts in one version. The use of the variants from other traditions that were not so strictly biblical was forbidden without the approval of the General Chapter: "Moreover, let no one presume to emend the books of the Old and New Testament and those with which the divine offices are celebrated, without the agreement of the same [general] chapter, except with exemplars emended in our Order, unless in the judgment of the prior and prudent monks some clear error should be apparent., ${ }^{74}$

Next to these corrections in two manuscripts, it seems that some other Carthusian antiphoners received musical corrections on "fuerat," either on the first (Graz 273), or on the last note of the melisma (which makes a five-note group instead of four-note group). This might not seem an important case, but it is interesting that, for example, the melody in F-Pn lat. 1090 on this word is identical to the Carthusian melody without the "added" note b.

[^15]This small and intriguing Maria stabat case must at this point remain a work in progress, but it definitely calls for further research. In addition to the variants in Maria stabat, there are some other textual variants between the antiphoners in the case of the Office of St Mary Magdalene. Such is the case of the antiphon Vespere autem sabbati, where Graz 273 and Graz 18 had a correction from "altera" Maria into "alia" Maria, which is the case in the majority of other Carthusian manuscripts (Lyon 509, Vienna 1791, Grenoble 19, and Graz 21). For a change, here we find a situation in which the Carthusian version differs from the Bible: in the text of Matthew 28:1 we find the word "altera." 75

The comparisons of melodies from the Mary Magdalene Office would show further differences among the Carthusian antiophoners, similar to the differences found in other offices (small variants, sensitive places of melodies around the notes b and c, and minor corrections), ${ }^{76}$ but this surpasses the limits of this study and will have to be discussed elsewhere. However, the Carthusians have always prioritized textual uniformity more than musical uniformity - which is not surprising at all, considering how thoughtfully, efficiently and logically their texts were chosen or written and then compiled together.

## Conclusion

Examining the changes in the Office of Mary Magdalene in the Carthusian liturgy turned out to be a different task than I have imagined previously. Instead of turning one's attention to the changeable things, it has brought in the foreground the things that do not change: the event of the resurrection and the important role that Mary Magdalene played in announcing it. In the Carthusian liturgy, there was but a slight thematic shift with the introduction of the chants from the Common of Holy Women, but - according to the sources examined - even these had no influence on the important chants such as the stable Easter responsories or the responsory Fulcite me floribus with its important position.

Carthusian silence on certain topics in this office is also very interesting. They never introduced the figure of Martha, even if in the regional tradition she was venerated as the sister of Mary. Mary of Bethany was, like the contemplative hermits, a woman who chose "the better part," and who could be a model saint also for the Carthusians. But since the Carthusians wanted to keep their Sanctorale small, thematically homogeneous, and connected to the Temporale, the figure of Mary of Bethany never appeared. In the Office of St Mary Magdalene, several aspects of the saint are united in the Paschalbridal connection. The events within one office unit unfold within time and space, and different office hours follow each other with some logical development, even if it is the custom in the Carthusian liturgy to repeat certain chants.

The Prologue to the Carthusian antiphoner by Guigues, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, says: "The gravity of the eremitic institution does not allow that

[^16]long spaces of time be taken up by the study of the chant. For according to Jerome, any monk is rather to some degree a hermit; he has the duty not of a doctor, much less of a singer, but rather of a mourner, who laments either himself or the world, and tremblingly awaits the coming of the Lord." ${ }^{77}$ According to this, for Carthusians there was more to lament than to sing on this Earth. This was also the role of the penitent and eremitic Provençal Mary Magdalene, whom they probably knew well. But, on the other hand, this was exactly the same (and the most important) role that Mary Magdalene "lived" in their liturgy, from her preparation of Christ's body to be buried, to her coming to the grave, lamenting, searching, and finding, as the first and the chosen one, the risen Christ.

## Selected Carthusian Sources

Only the selected Carthusian antiphoners are presented in the list below. All other sources included in the comparison in this paper can be found in the Cantus Database (with their textual incipits or complete texts, and in most cases also with links to the digital facsimile), and are therefore only shortly described in the footnotes appearing at the first mention of each manuscript.

Bologna 202 [I-Bca A.202]: Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Ms. A.202. Carthusian antiphoner, $15^{\text {th }}$ century (exlibris unreadable).

Graz 7 [A-Gu 7]: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 7. Carthusian antiphoner, ca. 1466 (Charterhouse Seitz/Žiče). Accesed on the website of the University Library of Graz - Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen.

Graz 18 [A-Gu 18]: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 18. Carthusian antiphoner, ca. 1400 (Charterhouse Seitz/Žiče). Accesed on the website of the University Library of Graz - Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen.

Graz 21 [A-Gu 21]: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 21. Carthusian antiphoner, beginning of the $15^{\text {th }}$ century (Charterhouse Seitz/Žiče). Accesed on the website of the University Library of Graz - Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen.
Graz 145 [A-Gu 145]: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 145. Carthusian antiphoner, ca. 1400 (Charterhouse Jurklošter or Seitz/Žiče). Accesed on the website of the University Library of Graz - Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen.
Graz 273 [A-Gu 273]: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 273. Carthusian antiphoner, between 1271 and 1318 (Charterhouse Seitz/Žiče?). Accesed on the website of the University Library of Graz - Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Sondersammlungen.
Grenoble 19 [F-G 19 Rés.]: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 19 Rés. Carthusian antiphoner, ca. 1400 (Grande Chartreuse). Accessed in Pagella.

[^17]Grenoble 338 [F-G 338 Rés.]: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 338 Rés. Un-notated collection of Carthusian liturgical manuscripts, including a complete antiphoner, $12^{\text {th }}$ century (Grande Chartreuse?).). ${ }^{78}$
Grenoble 418 [F-G 418 Rés.]: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 418 Rés. Carthusian antiphoner, $14^{\text {th }}$ century (Grande Chartreuse).
Grenoble 467 [F-G 467 Rés.]: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 467 Rés. Carthusian tonary and an un-notated antiphoner, $12^{\text {th }}$ century (Grande Chartreuse). ${ }^{79}$.
Grenoble 867 [F-G 867 Rés.]: Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 867 Rés. Carthusian antiphoner, between 1222-1276 (Grande Chartreuse?).). ${ }^{80}$
Lyon 509 [F-LYm 509]: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipal, Ms. 509. Carthusian antiphoner, after 1272 (Charterhouse Sainte-Croix-en-Jarez).
Ljubljana fragm. II-1 [SI-Las fragm. II-1]: Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica [National and University Library], fragm. II-1. Fragment from a Carthusian antiphoner, $15^{\text {th }}$ century (Charterhouse Seitz/Žiče?).
Notre Dame University b. 4 [US-Ndu lat. b. 4]: Notre Dame University, lat. b. 4. Carthusian diurnal, after 1282 (Charterhouse Vauvert-lès-Paris). ${ }^{81}$
Paris 131 [F-Pn mus. Rés. Vmf. ms. 131]: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des manuscrits, mus. Rés. Vmf. 131. Carthusian antiphoner, 1641 (unknown provenance). Accessed in Gallica.
Paris D-16002 [F-Pn mus. D-16002]: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des manuscrits, mus. D-16002. Carthusian antiphoner, between 1700-1770 (Grande Chartreuse). Accessed in Gallica.
Paris 1520 [F-Pn mus. Rés. 1520]: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France - Département des manuscrits, mus. Rés. 1520. Carthusian antiphoner, 1654 (provenance unknown). Accesed in Gallica.
St Pierre de Chartreuse 808 [F-SpCc 808 GC]: St Pierre de Chartreuse, Couvent de la Grande Chartreuse, Ms. 808. Carthusian antiphoner, 14 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century (Grande Chartreuse).
Toledo 44.3 [E-Tc 44.3]: Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capítulares de la Catedral, Ms. 44.3. Carthusian antiphoner, before 1271 (Grande Chartreuse?).

Vienna 1791 [A-Wn 1791]: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1791. Carthusian antiphoner, ca. 1375 (Charterhouse Brno).

[^18]
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## Appendix

## Table 1 (Appendix): Texts of the early Carthusian Mary Magdalene solemn Office (after 1282)

The texts for the Office of St Mary Magdalene are taken from the chants in Graz 273 (fols 241v-246v); if there was a correction, only the corrected version is taken into account. Latin has been standardized and proper names have been capitalized. Punctuation is used only to indicate individual chant parts. If there is an asterisk (*), only an incipit of the chant is given in this place in the manuscript. However, due to the complete presentation of the Mary Magdalene Office texts in the Carthusian tradition, all the chants appear with the complete texts once. The missing parts of the texts have been taken from other parts of the manuscript (Common of Virgins, fols 234v-241v), or - in a few rare instances - from other Carthusian manuscripts (there is a case of a few words cut out from Graz 273 in the antiphon In diebus illis; these have been taken from Lyon 509). Other major liturgical occasions, where the same chants appear (for other feasts or within the same office) are also given; sometimes the indication about the ferial use (throughout the week) is missing in the manuscript and is therefore also not indicated in the table. - The numbering of differentiae is taken from Becker's monograph Das Tonale Guigos I. ${ }^{82}$

V1: first Vespers; M: Matins; L: Lauds; V2: second Vespers; P: Prime; T: Terce; S: Sext; N : None
A: antiphon; EA: antiphon of Benedictus or Magnificat; I: invitatory antiphon; R: responsory; V: responsory verse; RB: short responsory; W: versicle
Liturgical occasions are named according to the Cantus Database. ${ }^{83}$

83 Cantus Database, accessed September 15, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/.
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| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | Cantus ID |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| First Vespers |  |  |  |  |  |
| V1 A | Maria ergo* [unxit pedes Jesu et extersit capillis suis et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti.] | Jo 12,3 | Feria 2 Majoris Hebdomadae (L EA) Mariae Magdalenae (M A 2; V2 A 1) | 6,1 | 003699 |
| V1 R | Fulcite me floribus* [stipate me malis. Quia amore langueo.] | Cant 2,5 | Purificatio Mariae (M R 12) Assumptio Mariae (M R 2) Nativitas Mariae (M R 2) Commune Virginum (M R 2) Mariae Magdalenae (M R 2) | 1 | 600923 |
| V1 EA | In diebus illis* - Can. Magnificat | Lc 7,37-38 | [Ad mandatum A 8; not in Graz 273)] Mariae Magdalenae (M A 1; V2 EA) | 7,1 | 003224 |
| Matins |  |  |  |  |  |
| Matins - First Nocturn |  |  |  |  |  |
| M I | Regem virginum* [dominum venite adoremus.] <br> - Ps. Venite | [after Ps 94] | Commune Virginum (M I) | 5 | 001151 |
| M A 1.1 | In diebus illis* - Ps. Domine Deus noster | Lc 7,37-38 | Ad Mandatum (A 8; not in Graz 273) Mariae Magdalenae (V1 EA; V2 EA) | 7,1 | 003224 |
| M A 1.2 | Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu et extersit capillis suis et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti. Ps. Caeli enarrant | Jo 12,3 | Feria 2 Majoris Hebdomadae (L EA) Mariae Magdalenae (V1 A 1; V2 A 1) | 6,1 | 003699 |
| M A 1.3 | Quid molesti estis huic mulieri opus enim bonum operata est in me. - Ps. Domini est terra | Mt 26,10 | Dominica in Palmis (M A Can) Mariae Magdalenae (V2 A 2) | 1,3 | 004527 |
| M A 1.4 | Mittens haec mulier in corpus meum hoc unguentum ad sepeliendum me fecit. - Ps. Eructavit | Mt 26,12 | Feria 6 de Passione (V EA) Mariae Magdalenae (V2 A 3) | 1,1 | 003799 |
| M A 1.5 | Vespere autem sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati venit Maria Magdalene et alia Maria videre sepulchrum alleluia. - Ps. Deus noster | Mt 28,1 | Vigilia Resurrectionis (V EA) Mariae Magdalenae (V2 A 4) | 8,1* | 005371 |


| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | Cantus ID |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M A 1.6 | Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole alleluia. - Ps. Magnus dominus | Mc 16,2 | Dominica Resurrectionis (L EA) | 7,4 | 002728 |
| M W 1 | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. - Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. | Ps 44,3 | Purificatio Mariae (M W 1) <br> Annuntiatio Mariae (M W 1) <br> Assumptio Mariae (M W 1) <br> Commune Virginum (M W 1) | r | 008014 |
| M R 1.1 | Vidi speciosam* [sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus. Et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium.] | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cant } 2,13-14, \\ & 6 ; 5,12 ; 4,11 ; \\ & 2,1 ; \text { Eccli } 50,8 \end{aligned}$ | Assumptio Mariae (M R 1) Commune Virginum (M R 1) | 3 | 007878 |
| M V 1.1 | Viderunt* [illam filiae Sion beatissimam praedicaverunt et reginae laudaverunt eam.] | Cant 6,8 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 1) Commune Virginum (M V 1) | 3 | 007878b |
| M R 1.2 | Fulcite me floribus* [stipate me malis. Quia amore langueo.] | Cant 2,5 | Purificatio Mariae (M R 12) <br> Assumptio Mariae (M R 2) <br> Nativitas Mariae (M R 2) <br> Commune Virginum (M R 2) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (V1 R) | 1 | 600923 |
| M V 1.2 | Adjuro [vos filiae Jerusalem si inveneritis dilectum ut annuntietis ei.] | Cant 5,8 | Purificatio Mariae (M V 12) <br> Assumptio Mariae (M V 2) <br> Nativitas Mariae (M V 2) <br> Commune Virginum (M V 2) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (V1 V) | 1 | 600923a |
| M R 1.3 | Surge propera* [amica mea et veni jam enim hiems transiit imber abiit et recessit. Flores apparuerunt in terra.] | Cant 2,10-12 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 3) Commune Virginum (M R 2) | 8 | 602630 |
| M V 1.3 | Vox* [turturis audita est in terra nostra ficus protulit grossos suos.] | Cant 2,12-13 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 3) Commune Virginum (M V 2) | 8 | 602630a |

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| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | Cantus <br> ID |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M R 1.4 | Dum transisset* [sabbatum Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata. Ut venientes unguerent Jesum alleluia alleluia.] | Mc 16,1 | Vigilia Resurrectionis (V R) Dominica Resurrectionis (M R 2) | 4 | 006565 |
| M V 1.4 | Et valde* [mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole.] | Mc 16,2 | Vigilia Resurrectionis (V V) <br> Dominica Resurrectionis (M V 2) | 4 | 006565a |
| Matins - Second Nocturn |  |  |  |  |  |
| M A 2.1 | Et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti alleluia alleluia. - Ps. Benedixisti | Mc 16,3 | Feria 4 tempore paschali (LEA) | 8,1* | 002697 |
| M A 2.2 | Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem erat quippe magnus valde alleluia. - Ps. Fundamenta | Mc 16,4 | Feria 5 tempore paschali (L EA) | 3,5 | 002718 |
| M A 2.3 | Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus nolite timere scio enim quod Jesum quaeritis alleluia. - Ps. Cantate I | Mt 28,5 | Dominica Resurrectionis (L A 4) | 8,1 | 004630 |
| M A 2.4 | Jesum qui crucifixus est quaeritis alleluia non est hic surrexit enim sicut dixi [!] vobis alleluia alleluia. - Ps. Dominus regnavit exsultet | Mt 28,5-6 | Dominica Resurrectionis (L A 5) | 8,1 | 003484 |
| M A 2.5 | Jesum quaeritis non est hic sed surrexit recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis cum adhuc in Galilaea esset alleluia. - Ps. Cantate II | Lc 24,5-6 | Feria 6 tempore paschali (L EA) | 8,1(*) | (003483) |
| M A 2.6 | Cito euntes dicite discipulis quia surrexit dominus alleluia. - Ps. Dominus regnavit irascatur | Mt 28,7 | Dom. Resurrectionis (M A Can) Feria 7 tempore paschali (L EA9 | 7,2 | 001813 |
| M W 2 | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. - Intende prospere procede et regna. | Ps 44,5 | Purificatio Mariae (M W 2) <br> Annuntiatio Mariae (M W 2) <br> Assumptio Mariae (M W 2) <br> Commune Virginum (M W 2) | r | 008201 |


| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cantus } \\ & \text { ID } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M R 2.1 | Quam pulchra es* [amica mea quam pulchra es et decora oculi tui columbarum. Absque eo quod intrinsecus latet.] | Cant 4,1 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 6) Commune Virginum (M R 4) | 4 | 007461 |
| M V 2.1 | Sicut vitta* [coccinea labia tua et eloquium tuum dulce.] | Cant 4,3 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 6) <br> Commune Virginum (M V 4) | 4 | 007461za |
| M R 2.2 | Veni de Libano* [sponsa mea veni de Libano veni. Coronaberis de capite Amana et de vertice Sanir et Hermon de cubilibus leonum de montibus pardorum.] | Cant 4,8 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 7) Commune Virginum (M R 5) | 4 | \$\$\$\$\$ |
| M V 2.2 | [H]ortus* [conclusus soror mea sponsa [h]ortus conclusus fons signatus.] | Cant 4,12 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 7) Commune Virginum (M V 5) | 4 | \$\$\$\$\$ |
| M R 2.3 | Diffusa est gratia* [in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum.] | Ps 44,3 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 4) Commune Virginum (M R 6) | 4 | 006446 |
| M V 2.3 | Dilexisti [justitiam et odisti iniquitatem.] | Ps 44,8 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 4) Commune Virginum (M V 6) | 4 | 006446b |
| M R 2.4 | Et valde* [mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum. Orto jam sole alleluia.] | Mc 16,2 | Dom. Resurrectionis (M R 3) | 1 | 006676 |
| M V 2.4 | [Mulieres emerunt aromata ut venientes unguerent Jesum.] | Mc 16,1 | Dom. Resurrectionis (M V 3) | 1 | 006676d? |
| Matins - Third Nocturn |  |  |  |  |  |
| M A 3 | Dum esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorem suum. - Can. Audite me - Can. Gaudens - Can. Non vocaberis ultra | Cant 1,11 | Commune Virginum (M A 3; V2 A 3) | 3,4 | 002450 |
| M W 3 | Adducentur regi virgines post eam. - Proximae ejus afferentur tibi. | Ps 44,15 | Purificatio Mariae (M W 3) Annuntiatio Mariae (M W 3) Assumptio Mariae (M W 3) Commune Virginum (M W 3) | r | 800008 |

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| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cantus } \\ & \text { ID } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M R 3.1 | Specie tua* [et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna.] | Ps 44,5 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 8) Commune Virginum (M R 7) | 8 | 007680 |
| M V 3.1 | Diffusa [est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum.] | Ps 44,3 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 8) Commune Virginum (M V 7) | 8 | 007680a |
| M R 3.2 | Dilexisti justitiam* [et odisti iniquitatem propterea. Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae.] | Ps 44,8 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 11) Commune Virginum (M R 8) | 3 | 006450 |
| M V 3.2 | [Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam.] | Ps 44,5 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 11) Commune Virginum (M V 8) | 3 | 006450a |
| M R 3.3 | Offerentur regi virgines* [domino post eam proximae ejus offerentur tibi. In laetitia et exultatione.] | Ps 44,15-16 | Assumptio Mariae (M R 12) Omnium Sanctorum (M R 11) Commune Virginum (M R 9) | 1 | 007312 |
| M V 3.3 | Specie* [tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna.] | Ps 44,5 | Assumptio Mariae (M V 12) <br> Omnium Sanctorum (M V 11) <br> Commune Virginum (M V 9) | 1 | 007312ze |
| M R 3.4 | Una sabbati* [valde diluculo venerunt mulieres ad monumentum alleluia. Portantes quae paraverant aromata alleluia alleluia.] | Lc 24,1 | Dom. Resurrectionis (M R 4) | 8 | \$\$\$\$\$ |
| M V 3.4 | [Et invenerunt lapidem revolutum a monumento et ingressae non invenerunt corpus Jesu.] | Lc 24,2-3 | Dom. Resurrectionis (M V 4) | 8 | \$\$\$\$\$\$ |
| Lauds |  |  |  |  |  |
| L A 1 | Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans et vidit duos angelos in albis sedentes ubi positum fuerat corpus Jesu alleluia. - Ps. Dominus regnavit | Jo 20,11-12 | Feria 5 p. Pascha (L EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (P A) | 7,1 | 003705 |
| L A 2 | Tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi alleluia et ego eum tollam alleluia. - Ps. Jubilate Deo | Jo 20,13 and 15 | Feria 5 p. Pascha (V EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (T A) | 7,3 | 005232 |


| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cantus } \\ & \text { ID } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L A 3 | Scio quod Jesum quaeritis crucifixum surrexit alleluia. - Ps. Deus Deus meus | Mt 28,5-6 | Feria 2 post Pascha (L A 1) <br> Dominica 4 post Pascha (L A 1) <br> Dominica post Ascensionem (H A) | 7,5 | 004833 |
| L A 4 | Surgens Jesus mane prima sabbati apparuit primo Mariae Magdalene de qua ejecerat septem demonia alleluia. - Ps. Benedicite | Mc 16,9 | Feria 2 p. Oct. Pasch. (L EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (S A) | 8,1**) | 005075 |
| L A 5 | Ite nuntiate fratribus meis alleluia ut eant in Galilaeam ibi me videbunt alleluia alleluia alleluia. - Ps. Laudate | Mt 28,10 | Dom. Resurrectionis (V2 EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (N A) | 4,1 | 003462 |
| L RB | [Adjuvabit eam Deus vultu suo. - Deus in medio ejus non commovebitur.] | Ps 45,6 | Commune Virginum (L RB) | r | 006042 |
| L W | [Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam. - Et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui.] | Ps 44,11 | Commune Virginum (L W) | r | 007955 |
| L EA | Mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix attulit alabastrum unguenti et stans secus pedes Jesu lacrimis coepit rigare pedes ejus et capillis capitis sui tergebat. - Can. Benedictus | Lc 7,37-38 | Feria 5 de Passione (L EA) | 8,1**) | 003822 |
| Daily Hours |  |  |  |  |  |
| P A | Maria stabat* | Jo 20,11-12 | Feria 5 p. Pascha (L EA) Mariae Magdalenae (L A 1) | 7,1 | 003705 |
| T A | Tulerunt dominum* | Jo 20,13 and 15 | Feria 5 p. Pascha (V EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (L A 2) | 7,3 | 005232 |
| S A | Surgens Jesus* | Mc 16, 9 | Feria 2 p. Oct. Pasch. (L EA) Mariae Magdalenae (L A 4) | 8,1**) | 005075 |
| N A | Ite nuntiate fratribus* | Mt 28,10 | Dom. Resurrectionis (V2 EA) Mariae Magdalenae (L A 5) | 4,1 | 003462 |


| Chant | The last version of the text in Graz 273 | Text source | Other liturgical uses in Graz 273 | Mode Diff. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Cantus } \\ & \text { ID } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Second Vespers |  |  |  |  |  |
| V2 A1 | Maria [ergo]* - Ps. Dixit dominus | Jo 12,3 | Fer II Maj. Hebd. (L EA) <br> Mariae Magdalenae (V1 A 1; M A 2) | 6,1 | 003699 |
| V2 A2 | Quid molesti estis* - Ps. Laudate | Mt 26,10 | Dominica in Palmis (M A Can) Mariae Magdalenae (M A 3) | 1,3 | 004527 |
| V2 A3 | Mittens haec mulier* - Ps. Laetatus sum | Mt 26,12 | Feria 6 de Passione (V EA) Mariae Magdalenae (M A 4) | 1,1 | 003799 |
| V2 A4 | Vespere autem sabbati* - Ps. Nisi Dominus | Mt 28,1 | Vigilia Resurrectionis (V EA) Mariae Magdalenae (M A 5) | 8,1* | 005371 |
| V2 RB | Audi filia et vide* [et inclina aurem tuam. - Et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui.] | Ps 44,11 | Commune Virginum (V RB) | r | 006141 |
| V2 W | Adjuvabit eam Deus vultu* [suo. - Deus in medio ejus non commovebitur.] | Ps 45,6 | Commune Virginum (V W) | r | 007934 |
| V2 EA | Dixit autem Jesus ad mulierem fides tua te salvam fecit vade in pace. - Can. Magnificat | Lc 7,50 | Feria 5 de Passione (V EA) | 3,5 | 201293 |
| V2 EA2 | In diebus illis mulier [quae erat] in civitate peccatrix ut $\operatorname{cog}$ [novit quod] Jesus recubuit in domo Simonis leprosi attulit alabastrum unguenti et stans retro secus pedes domini Jesu lacrimis coepit rigare pedes ejus et capillis capitis sui tergebat et osculabatur pedes ejus et unguento unguebat. - Can. Magnificat | Lc 7,37-38 | Ad mandatum (A 8; not in Graz 273) Mariae Magdalenae (V1 EA; M A 1) | 7,1 | 003224 |

Table 2 (Appendix): Earlier and later Carthusian Office of St Mary Magdalene with comparable offices (Matins)
(For the meaning of individual abbreviations, see Table 1 of the Appendix.)
The incipits of the chants from the Office of St Mary Magdalene that have been replaced by other chants or have changed their position within the office (invitatory antiphon and the Matins responsories), are typewritten bold; so are the comparable chants in other offices.

Stable Matins chants with Easter themes are marked with a light shade in the table, the Matins antiphons with the subject of the sinful woman showing the transition to the subject of the preparation of Christ's body for his burial are marked with darker shade.
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| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 <br> Later Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne (later addition) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Matins: antiphons and versicles |  |  |  |  |
| M I | Regem virginum dominum venite adoremus | Regem virginum dominum venite adoremus. | Laudemus Deum nostrum in conversione Mariae Magdalenae. | Laudemus Deum nostrum in confessione beatae Annae. |
| M A 1.1 | Haec est quae nescivit thorum in delicto habebit fructum in respectione animarum sanctarum. | In diebus illis mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix ut cognovit quod Jesus recubuit in domo Simonis leprosi attulit alabastrum unguenti et stans retro secus pedes domini Jesu lacrimis coepit rigare pedes ejus et capillis capitis sui tergebat et osculabatur pedes ejus et unguento unguebat. | In diebus illis mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix ut cognovit quod Jesus recubuit in domo Simonis leprosi attulit alabastrum unguenti et stans retro secus pedes domini Jesu lacrimis coepit rigare pedes ejus et capillis capitis sui tergebat et osculabatur pedes ejus et unguento unguebat. | Haec est quae nescivit thorum in delicto habebit fructum in respectione animarum sanctarum. |
| M A 1.2 | O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate. | Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu et extersit capillis suis et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti. | Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu et extersit capillis suis et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti. | O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate. |
| M A 1.3 | Dum esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorem suum. | Quid molesti estis huic mulieri opus enim bonum operata est in me. | Quid molesti estis huic mulieri opus enim bonum operata est in me. | Laeva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me. |
| M A 1.4 | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna. | Mittens haec mulier in corpus meum hoc unguentum ad sepeliendum me fecit. | Mittens haec mulier in corpus meum hoc unguentum ad sepeliendum me fecit. | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna. |
| M A 1.5 | Adjuvabit eam Deus vultu suo Deus in medio ejus non commovebitur. | Vespere autem sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati venit Maria Magdalene et alia Maria videre sepulchrum alleluia. | Vespere autem sabbati quae lucescit in prima sabbati venit Maria Magdalene et alia Maria videre sepulchrum alleluia. | Adjuvabit eam Deus vultu suo Deus in medio ejus non commovebitur. |


| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 Later Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne (later addition) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M A 1.6 | Sicut lilium inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias. | Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole alleluia. | Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole alleluia. | Dum esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorem suum. |
| M A 2.1 | Sicut malus inter ligna silvarum sicut dilectus meus inter filios. | Et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti alleluia alleluia. | Et dicebant ad invicem quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti alleluia alleluia. | Nigra sum sed formosa filia Jerusalem ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum. |
| M A 2.2 | Laeva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me. | Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem erat quippe magnus valde alleluia. | Et respicientes viderunt revolutum lapidem erat quippe magnus valde alleluia. | Trahe me post te in odorem curremus unguentorum tuorum oleum effusum nomen tuum. |
| M A 2.3 | Surge aquilo et veni auster perfla [h]ortum meum et fluent aromata illius. | Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus nolite timere scio enim quod Jesum quaeritis alleluia. | Respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus nolite timere scio enim quod Jesum quaeritis alleluia. | Surge aquilo et veni auster perfla [h]ortum meum et fluent aromata illius. |
| M A 2.4 | Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata. | Jesum qui crucifixus est quaeritis alleluia non est hic surrexit enim sicut dixi [!] vobis alleluia alleluia. | Jesum qui crucifixus est quaeritis alleluia non est hic surrexit enim sicut dixit vobis alleluia alleluia. | Pulchra es et decora filia Jerusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata. |
| M A 2.5 | Vidi speciosam sicut columbam et circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. | Jesum quaeritis non est hic sed surrexit recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis cum adhuc in Galilaea esset alleluia. | Jesum quaeritis non est hic sed surrexit recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis cum adhuc in Galilaea esset alleluia. | Vidi speciosam sicut columbam et circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. |
| M A 2.6 | Revertere revertere Sunamitis revertere revertere ut intueamur te. | Cito euntes dicite discipulis quia surrexit dominus alleluia. | Cito euntes dicite discipulis quia surrexit dominus alleluia. | Revertere revertere Sunamitis revertere revertere ut intueamur te. |
| M A 3 . | Inventa bona margarita dedit omnia sua et comparavit eam. | Dum esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorem suum. | Dum esset rex in accubitu suo nardus mea dedit odorem suum. | Inventa bona margarita dedit omnia sua et comparavit eam. |

K. ŠTER • MARY MAGDALENE, THE APOSTOLA...

| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 Later Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne (later addition) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M W 1 | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. | [Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum.] | [Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum.] |
| M W 2 | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna. | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna. | [Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna.] | [Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna.] |
| M W 3 | Adducentur regi virgines post eam. Proximae ejus offerentur tibi. | Adducentur regi virgines post eam. Proximae ejus offerentur tibi. | [Adducentur regi virgines post eam. Proximae ejus offerentur tibi.] | [Adducentur regi virgines post eam. Proximae ejus offerentur tibi.] |
| Matins: responsories |  |  |  |  |
| M R 1.1 | Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus. Et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. | Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus. Et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. [excluded from the new office] | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. <br> [changed position] | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. Propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. |
| M V 1.1 | Viderunt illam filiae Sion beatissimam praedicaverunt et reginae laudaverunt eam. | Viderunt illam filiae Sion beatissimam praedicaverunt et reginae laudaverunt eam. | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem. | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem. |
| M R 1.2 | Fulcite me floribus stipate me malis. Quia amore langueo. | Fulcite me floribus stipate me malis. Quia amore langueo. [change of position] | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna. <br> [changed position] | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna. |


| Chant | Graz 273 Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 <br> Later Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne <br> (later addition) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M V 1.2 | Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem si inveneritis dilectum ut annuntietis ei. | Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem si inveneritis dilectum ut annuntietis ei. | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. |
| M R 1.3 | Surge propera amica mea et veni jam enim hiems transiit imber abiit et recessit. Flores apparuerunt in terra. | Surge propera amica mea et veni jam enim hiems transiit imber abiit et recessit. Flores apparuerunt in terra. [excluded from the new office] | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem propterea. Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo letitiae. <br> [changed position] | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem propterea. Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo letitiae. |
| M V 1.3 | Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra ficus protulit grossos suos. | Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra ficus protulit grossos suos. | Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam. | Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam. |
| M R 1.4 | Quam pulchra es amica mea quam pulchra es et decora oculi tui columbarum. Absque eo quod intrinsecus latet. | Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata. Ut venientes unguerent Jesum alleluia alleluia. | Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata. Ut venientes unguerent Jesum alleluia alleluia. | Fallax est gratia et vana est pulchritudo. Mulier timens Deum ipsa laudabitur. |
| M V 1.4 | Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua et eloquium tuum dulce. | Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole. | Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto jam sole. | Date ei de fructu manuum suarum et laudent eam in portis opera ejus. |
| M R 2.1 | Veni de Libano sponsa mea veni de Libano veni. Coronaberis de capite Amana et de vertice Sanir et Hermon de cubilibus leonum de montibus pardorum. | Quam pulchra es amica mea quam pulchra es et decora oculi tui columbarum. Absque eo quod intrinsecus latet. [change of position] | Fallax est gratia et vana est pulchritudo. Mulier timens Deum ipsa laudabitur. [new responsory in the office] | Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam. Et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua. |
| M V 2.1 | [H]ortus conclusus soror mea sponsa ortus conclusus fons signatus. | Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua et eloquium tuum dulce. | Date ei de fructu manuum suarum et laudent eam in portis opera ejus. | Audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam. |

K. ŠTER • MARY MAGDALENE, THE APOSTOLA...

| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for <br> Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 <br> Later Matins chants for Mary <br> Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne <br> (later addition) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| M R 2.2 | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. <br> Propterea benedixit te Deus in <br> aeternum. | Veni de Libano sponsa mea <br> veni de Libano veni. Corona- <br> beris de capite Amana et de <br> vertice Sanir et Hermon de <br> cubilibus leonum de monti- <br> bus pardorum. <br> [excluded from the new <br> office] | Accinxit fortitudine lumbos <br> suos et roboravit brachium <br> suum gustavit et vidit quia <br> bona est negotiatio ejus. Non <br> extinguetur in nocte lucerna <br> ejus. <br> [new responsory in the of- <br> fice] | Accinxit fortitudine lumbos <br> suos et roboravit brachium <br> suum gustavit et vidit quia <br> bona est negotiatio ejus. Non <br> extinguetur in nocte lucerna <br> ejus. |
| M V2.2 | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti <br> iniquitatem. | [H]ortus conclusus soror mea <br> sponsa ortus conclusus fons <br> signatus. | Lucerna pedibus meis verbum <br> tuum et lumen semitis meis. | Lucerna pedibus meis verbum <br> tuum et lumen semitis meis. |
| M R 2.3 | Specie tua et pulchritudine <br> tua. Intende prospere procede <br> et regna. | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. <br> Propterea benedixit te Deus in <br> aeternum. <br> [change of position] | Quam pulchra es amica mea <br> quam pulchra es et decora <br> oculi tui columbarum. Absque <br> eo quod intrinsecus latet. <br> [changed position] | Quam pulchra es amica mea <br> quam pulchra es et decora <br> oculi tui columbarum. Absque |
| M V 2.3 | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis <br> propterea benedixit te Deus <br> in aeternum. | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti <br> iniquitatem. | Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua et <br> eloquium tuum dulce. | Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua et <br> eloquium tuum dulce. |
| M R 2.4 | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti <br> iniquitatem propterea. Unxit <br> te Deus Deus tuus oleo leti- <br> tiae. | Et valde mane una sabbato- <br> rum veniunt ad monumen- <br> tum. Orto jam sole alleluia. | Et valde mane una sabbato- <br> rum veniunt ad monumen- <br> tum. Orto jam sole alleluia. | Veni electa mea et ponam in <br> te thronum meum. Quia con- <br> cupivit rex speciem tuam. <br> (udinem et justitiam. |


| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 <br> Later Matins chants for Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne (later addition) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M R 3.1 | Offerentur regi virgines domino post eam proximae ejus offerentur tibi. In laetitia et exultatione. | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua. Intende prospere procede et regna. <br> [change of position] | Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi propter amorem domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi quem amavi in quem credidi quem dilexi. <br> [new responsory in the office] | Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi propter amorem domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi quem amavi in quem credidi quem dilexi. |
| M V 3.1 | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna. | Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum. | Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi. | Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi. |
| M R 3.2 | Induit me dominus vestimento salutis et iindumento laetitiae circumdedit me. Et tamquam sposnam decoravit me corona. | Dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem propterea. Unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo letitiae. <br> [change of position] | Lauda filia Sion laetare et exulta filia Jerusalem quia dominus rex in medio tui. Non timebis malum ultra. <br> [new responsory in the office] | Lauda filia Sion laetare et exulta filia Jerusalem quia dominus rex in medio tui. Non timebis malum ultra. |
| M V 3.2 | Deduxit me super semitas justitiae propter nomen suum. | Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et justitiam. | Abstulit dominus judicium tuum avertit inimicos tuos. | Abstulit dominus judicium tuum avertit inimicos tuos. |
| M R 3.3 | Lauda filia Sion laetare et exulta filia Jerusalem quia dominus rex in medio tui. Non timebis malum ultra. | Offerentur regi virgines domino post eam proximae ejus offerentur tibi. In laetitia et exultatione. <br> [excluded from the new office] | Fulcite me floribus stipate me malis. Quia amore langueo. [changed position] | Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum cujus inaestimabilis odor erat nimis in vestimentis ejus. Et sicut dies verni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium. |
| M V 3.3 | Abstulit dominus judicium tuum avertit inimicos tuos. | Specie tua et pulchritudine tua intende prospere procede et regna. | Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem si inveneritis dilectum ut annuntietis ei. | Viderunt illam filiae Sion beatissimam praedicaverunt et reginae laudaverunt eam. |


| Chant | Graz 273 <br> Commune virginum | Graz 273 <br> Earlier Matins chants for <br> Mary Magdalene | Graz 7 and Graz 18 <br> Later Matins chants for Mary <br> Magdalene | Graz 7 <br> Matin chants for St Anne <br> (later addition) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| M R 3.4 | Simile est regnum caelorum <br> decem virginibus quae accipi- <br> entes lampades suas. Exierunt <br> obviam sposo et sponsae. | Una sabbati valde diluculo <br> venerunt mulieres ad mo- <br> numentum alleluia. Portantes <br> quae paraverant aromata <br> alleluia alleluia. | Una sabbati valde diluculo <br> venerunt mulieres ad mo- <br> numentum alleluia. Portantes <br> quae paraverant aromata <br> alleluia alleluia. | Fulcite me floribus stipate me <br> malis. Quia amore langueo. |
| M V 3.4 | Prudentes autem virgins ac- <br> ceperunt oleum in vasis suis <br> cum lampadibus. | Et invenerunt lapidem revolu- <br> tum a monumento et ingres- <br> sae non invenerunt corpus <br> Jesu. | Et invenerunt lapidem revolu- <br> tum a monumento et ingres- <br> sae non invenerunt corpus <br> Jesu. | Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem si <br> inveneritis dilectum ut annun- <br> tietis ei. |

Table 3 (Appendix): Earlier and/or later Matins chants (invitatory and responsories) in the Carthusian Office of St Mary Magdalene

| Source | Date | Folio / Page | Early office | Correction | Later office only |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Grenoble 338 texts only | $12^{\text {th }}$ century | 210v (later hand, not a part of the original manuscript) | Yes | $/$ | / |
| Grenoble 467 texts only | $12^{\text {th }}$ century | Does not contain the feast | / | / | / |
| Grenoble 867 | 1222-1276 | 139r-141v | Yes | / | / |
| Toledo 44.3 | Before 1271 | 104 v | Yes | / | / |
| Graz 273 | After 1272 | 241v-246v | Yes | / | / |
| Lyon 509 | After 1272 | 191r-194r | Yes | Yes | / |
| Grenoble 418 | $14^{\text {th }}$ century | 3B61v-3B66r | Yes (most likely) | Yes (written over the in some parts almost invisible earlier office) | / |
| St Pierre de Chartreuse 808 | $14^{\text {h }}$ century | 197v-200r | Yes | Yes (invitatory only; the responsories might be written on the first page) | / |
| Vienna 1791 | Ca. 1375 | 167r-169r | Yes | Yes | / |
| Grenoble 19 | Ca. 1400 | B232v-B235r | Yes | Yes | / |
| Graz 18 | Ca. 1400 | 200v-203r | Yes | Yes (invitatory by a later hand, responsories by a later hand written over the original incipits; the original layer is not always visible) | / |
| Graz 145 | Ca. 1400 | 191v-192r | Yes | Yes | / |
| Graz 21 | Early $15^{\text {th }}$ <br> century | 192r-193r | Yes | Yes | / |


| Source | Date | Folio /Page | Early <br> office | Correction | Later office only |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Graz 7 | Ca. 1466 | $224 \mathrm{r}-226 \mathrm{v}$ | $/$ | $/$ | Yes (the folios with this office <br> are a later addition) |
| Bologna A.202 | $15^{\text {th }}$ century | $137 \mathrm{r}-138 \mathrm{r}$ | Yes | $/$ (contains only invitatory) | $/$ |
| Ljubljana fragm. <br> II-1 | $15^{\text {th }}$ century | $117 \mathrm{r}-119 \mathrm{r}$ | Yes | Yes | $/$ |
| Paris 131 | 1641 | $267 \mathrm{r}-271 \mathrm{e}$ | $/$ | $/$ | Yes (invitatory, but no respon- <br> sories directly, with instruc- <br> tion "caetera de communi non <br> virginum pro St Anna") |
| Paris 1520 | 1654 | $449-451$ | $/$ | $/$ | Yes (invitatory; otherwise it <br> contains only antiphons) |
| Paris D-16002 | $1700-1770$ | $435-440$ | $/$ | $/$ | Yes |

## Table 4 (Appendix): The antiphon Maria stabat in the Carthusian sources

Version: The official Carthusian version is as follows: "Maria stabat ad monumentum foris plorans et vidit duos angelos in albis sedentes ubi positum fuerat corpus Jesu alleluia." - The words where corrections occur in some manuscripts are typewritten bold.
/: The feast (with the antiphon) is missing in the source.
$\delta$ : The chant contains a musical correction.

| Source | Date | Easter <br> (EA Bene- <br> dictus) | Version | Mary <br> Magdalene <br> (Ps. Dom. <br> regnavit | Version |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Grenoble 338 <br> - texts only | $12^{\text {th }}$ century | 193 v | Correction on <br> "corpus", per- <br> haps on "posi- <br> tum" | 211 r | Official version |
| Grenoble 467 <br> - texts only | $12^{\text {th }}$ century | $40 \mathrm{r}-41 \mathrm{v}$ | Official version | $/$ | / |

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| Source | Date | Easter <br> (EA Bene- <br> dictus) | Version | Mary <br> Magdalene <br> (Ps. Dom. <br> regnavit $)$ | Version |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Bologna <br> A.202 | $15^{\text {th }}$ century | 104 v | Incipit only | 138 r | Incipit only |
| Ljubljana <br> fragm. I-1 | $15^{\text {th }}$ century | $117 \mathrm{r}-119 \mathrm{r}$ | $/$ | 118 r | Incipit only |
| Paris 131 | 1641 | $151 \mathrm{r}-151 \mathrm{v}$ | Official version | $269 \mathrm{r}-269 \mathrm{v}$ | Official version |
| Paris 1520 | 1654 | pp. $267-$ <br> 268 | Official version | 450 | Incipit only |
| Paris D-16002 | $1700-1770$ | p. 254 | Official version | p. 439 | Official version |

a) Even if this is an official version of the text, there is a small musical correction on "fuerat"; note "b" was added at the beginning of the last syllable of the word, which is also the case in the corrected versions elsewhere.
b) Probably there is a small musical correction on "fuerat (note "b" added at the beginning of the melisma of the last syllable).
c) Some notes are not clearly readable, but probably not because of the correction - even if some notes were deleted, the first version was identical to the official Carthusian melody.
d) The first note of the last syllable of "fuerat" might have been added, but it is not possible to prove that.
e) Perhaps there was a musical correction on "fuerat."

## Music example 1 (Appendix): Antiphon Maria stabat ad monumentum



Ma-ri-a sta-bat ad mo-nu-men-tum fo- ris plo-rans


Ma-ri-a sta-bat ad mo-nu-men-tum fo-ris plo-rans

F-Pn lat. 12044

CH-Fco 2


F-Pn n.a.lat. 1411
Ma-ri-a sta-bat ad mo-nu-men-tum
plo-rans

A-Gu 273


F-Pn lat. 1090


F-Pn lat. 12044

CH-Fco 2



F-Pn n. a. lat. 1411


A-Gu 273

F-Pn lat. 1090


F-Pn lat. 12044


CH-Fco 2


F-Pn n. a. lat. 1411


The examples are taken from the antiphoners of different traditions listed below. (Some places in this antiphon did not seem completely clear to me, so there is a possibility of minor mistakes in the transcription.)

A-Gu 273 (Graz 273): Carthusian tradition, late thirteenth century, fols 122v and 244v (Feria V post Pascha and the Office of Mary Magdalene; places of corrections are marked grey). ${ }^{84}$

CH-Fco 2: Franciscan tradition, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, fol. 111r (Feria V post Pascha). ${ }^{85}$

F-Pn lat. 1090: Aquitanian tradition (cathedral cursus), end of the twelfth century, fol. 77v (Feria V post Pascha). ${ }^{86}$

F-Pn lat. 12044, Cluniac tradition, early twelfth century, fol. 104 r (Feria Vpost Pascha). ${ }^{87}$

F-Pn n. a. lat. 1411, Cistercian tradition, second half of the twelfth century, fol. 101v (Feria V post Pascha). ${ }^{88}$

## POVZETEK

Lik svete Marije Magdalene je bil v tradiciji zahodne liturgije - in s tem tudi liturgične glasbe - sestavljen iz treh različnih svetopisemskih oseb. Prva je bila ženska, ki je bila prva priča Kristusovega vstajenja; druga je bila neimenovana skesana grešnica, ki je Jezusu s solzami umivala noge in jih brisala s svojimi lasmi; tretja je bila Marija, sestra Marte in Lazarja iz Betanije. Spevi srednjeveških oficijev Marije Magdalene so zajemali iz vseh teh podob, vsako obdobje pa je izpostavilo svojo, sploh v času, ko so se pojavili spevi, komponirani in namenjeni zgolj prazniku Marije Magdalene, ki so jo v Evropi najbolj častili med 11. in 15. stoletjem. Pod vplivom pridigarsko usmerjenih beraških redov je zaživela predvsem podoba Marije Magdalene kot skesane grešnice, ki se je po Kristusovem vnebohodu umaknila od sveta in živela kontemplativno življenje.
V nekaterih tradicijah je oficij Marije Magdalene dobil lastne speve, v drugih so bili spevi vzeti iz skupnih oficijev v čast devic; v številnih tradicijah se je liturgična vsebina praznika tudi menjala. Razprava na kratko oriše razvoj oficija v srednjem veku, osrednje mesto pa je namenjeno razvoju oficija Marije Magdalene v kartuzijanski liturgiji. Tu je oficij doživel večje spremembe še potem, ko je bil uveljavljen kot slovesni praznik z dvanajstimi
berili kmalu po izoblikovanju pomembne zbirke kartuzijanskih statutov, Statuta antiqua (1271). Ko so bili najverjetneje v 16 . stoletju spevi iz skupnega oficija v čast devic nadomeščeni s spevi iz skupnega oficija v čast svetih žena, so bili v matutinu, osrednjem delu oficija, nekateri spevi (invitatorij in osem responzorijev) nadomeščeni z drugimi, ali pa so spremenili svoje mesto v oficiju. Razprava se posveča odnosu med novim in starim oficijem, tudi v primerjavi z liturgijo nekaterih drugih tradicij. Poseben poudarek je namenjen obravnavi vsebine spevov. Čeprav se je vsebina praznika nekoliko menjala, podoba Marije Magdalene, ki je bila umeščena v novo skupino svetnic (svete žene namesto device), ni doživela velikih sprememb. Tako v najbolj zgodnjem oficiju s tremi berili kakor tudi v kasnejših oficijih je bila najbolj izpostavljena njena vloga v velikonočnih dogodkih, v katerih je bila predstavljena kot prva priča Kristusovega vstajenja in apostola apostolorum, "apostola apostolov". S posebno obravnavo v najmanj dveh rokopisih (Gradec 273 oz. A-Gu 237 iz 13. stoletja, ter Grenoble 418 oz. F-G 418 iz 14. stoletja; glej seznam virov) korigirane prve antifone lavd oficija Marije Magdalene, Maria stabat ad monumentum, razprava odpira tudi nova vprašanja, povezana z enotnostjo kartuzijanske liturgične tradicije in z odnosom med posameznimi rokopisi.

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[^0]:    The author acknowledges that the article was written within the project Forms and Transformations of the Monastic Musical Traditions in Medieval Europe: Carthusian Plainchant in the Light of Comparison with Selected Liturgical Traditions (Z6-5562), which was financially supported by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS). The research was also enabled by the Swiss National Research Funds (SNF) with the International Short Visit Scholarship (ISV - IZK0Z1 167557) at the Schola Cantorum Basilensis. I would especially like to thank Dr Agnese Pavanello and Kelly Landerkin from the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis; they have kindly supported my scholarship application and helped me in many ways during my research. A big thank you also goes to Dr Elaine Hild for her language proofreading and comments on this article.
    1 The Gospel acccording to John 11:2, however, connects this woman to Mary, Lazarus' and Martha's sister. Vulgata, "Biblia Sacra Vulgata," accessed October 9, 2016, https://www.biblegateway.com/.
    2 Victor Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge, 2 vols (Auxerre: Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne; Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1959), 285-326.
    3 Vassiliki A. Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene between East and West: Cult and Image, Relics and Politics in the Late ThirteenthCentury Eastern Mediterranean," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 65/66 (2011-2012): 271-272. According to Foskolou, the image of Mary Magdalene as a sinful woman was almost unknown in the Eastern tradition before the Crussades.
    4 Lila Diane Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants: A Comparative Survey" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 2000), 182-183.
    5 Ibid., 183-184 and 71 f. (partly also after Saxer, see footnote 2 above).

[^1]:    6 Foskolou, "Mary Magdalene between East and West," 285-289.
    7 Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 328.
    8 On June 10, 2016, the liturgical memory of St Mary Magdalene, celebrated on July 22, was re-elevated to the level of a feast day and received a new preface "de apostolorum apostola." See Holy See Press Office, "The Liturgical Memory of Mary Magdalene Becomes a Feast, Like That of the Other Apostles, 10.06.2016," accessed June 30, 2016, https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/ en/bollettino/pubblico/2016/06/10/160610b.html; Aleteia, "Mary Magdalene, 'Apostle to the Apostles,' Given Equal Dignity in Feast," accesed September 30, 2016, http://aleteia.org/2016/06/10/mary-magdalene-apostle-to-the-apostles-given-equal-dignity-in-feast/.
    9 Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer, preface to The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix.
    10 James Grier, "The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century," in The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 180-181 and 192. - Only a list of the selected Carthusian manuscripts is given in the bibliography. The list of chants and digital images from other antiphoners used for the purposes of this research can be found mostly in the Cantus Database. Individual manuscripts will be cited in the footnotes when they are first mentioned. - F-Pn lat. 1085 is an Aquitanian antiphoner from St Martial of Limoges, tenth century. Cantus Database, "Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant," accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374086/f-pn-lat-1085.
    11 Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 153-182 (esp. 159-160) and 169-170.
    12 Grier, "The Divine Office at Saint-Martial," 180-181 and 192.

[^2]:    13 Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 292.
    14 Such was the custom in Utrecht. Ibid., 322-323.
    15 For the main information on the manuscripts of the Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, see Cantus Database, accessed October 16, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/description.
    16 Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants," 184.
    17 David Hiley, "Early Cycles of Office Chants for the Feast of Mary Magdalene," in Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
    18 Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants," 184. - Silos 9 is a monastic breviary from the Royal Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, twelfth or thirteenth century. Ibid., 69-73.
    19 F-AI 44 is a gradual - antiphoner from the ninth century, Albi cathedral. Cantus Database, accessed October 7, 2016, http:// cantusdatabase.org/source/374102/f-ai-44.
    20 E-Tc 44.1 is an antiphoner from the first half of the eleventh century, Sant Sadurní de Tavèrnoles. Cantus Database, accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374061/e-tc-441.
    21 Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants," 184.
    22 Ibid., 188, Table 4.14 and Table 4.15. See also Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 378 and 384.
    23 Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants," 184.

[^3]:    24 E-Tc 44.2 is an antiphoner from the end of the eleventh century, Toledo cathedral. Cantus Database, accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374062/e-tc-442.
    25 This summary, also on the basis of different authors, is given by Collamore, "Aquitanian Collections of Office Chants," 184-185.
    26 Alexander Zerfass, Das Antiphonar von Grandmont: Ein Beispiel eremitischer Reformliturgien im 11./12. Jahrhundert (Freiburg, Switzerland: Academic Press Fribourg, 2011), 64.
    27 Alicia Scarcez, "The Proto-Cistercian Office for Mary Magdalene and Its Changes in the Course of the Twelfth Century," in Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles, ed. Peter V. Loewen and Robin Waugh (New York and London: Routledge, 2014), 55-68.

[^4]:    28 Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 131 and 209-210. On October 15, 1252, the main altar of the Charterhouse Montrieux was consecrated. It was dedicated to St Lazarus, "the first bishop of Marseilles." His bones were inserted into the altar, along with the relics of St Mary Magdalene and St Anne. The relics probably came from Provence and therefore had a connection with the Provençal tradition of Mary Magdalene's cult and with the legend of St Lazarus being the first bishop of Marseilles. The cult of St Anne is also of Provençal origin (thirteenth century).
    29 The official website of the Carthusian order and the Wikipedia website of the Charterhouse Montrieux give 1137 as the date of the foundation of this charterhouse, and they do not mention the legend connected to Mary Magdalene; on the other hand the information that they give is very scarce. The author named as "J'aime le Var" mentions that the monastery in Montrieux was founded in 1117 and was affiliated to the Carthusian order in 1137. Wikipedia, "Chartreuse Montrieux," accessed October 6, 2016, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chartreuse_de_Montrieux; L'Ordre des Chartreux, "Chartreuse de Montrieux," accessed October 6, 2016, http://www.chartreux.org/fr/maisons/montrieux/index.php; J'aime le Var, "Chartreuse Notre-Dame de Montrieux (Méounes)," accessed October 6, 2016. https://www.facebook.com/media/ set/ $/$ set $=$ a. $428804883995553.1073741835 .227613770781333 \&$ type $=3$.
    30 Saxer, Le culte de Marie Madeleine, 131-132.
    31 Ibid., 132.
    32 Ibid., 151.
    33 Ibid., 151-152.

[^5]:    34 Ibid., 294-295, and 311
    35 Ibid., 295. See also Scarcez, "The Proto-Cistercian Office for Mary Magdalene."
    36 Arthur Archdale King, Liturgies of the Religious Orders (London and New York: Longmans, Green \& Co., 1955 ), 24.
    37 Hansjakob Becker, Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers: Untersuchungen zu Urform und Herkunft des Antiphonars der Kartause (München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1971), 44.
    38 Jacques Hourlier and Benoît du Moustier [Lambres], "Le Calendrier cartusien," Études grégoriennes 2 (1957): 158. Their source was not later than 1174 , so the feast must have been a part of the Carthusian liturgy before that time.
    39 Emmanuel Cluzet, Particularités du Sanctoral cartusien (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 1984), 31.
    40 John B. Wickstrom, "The Antiphons ad psalmos of Carthusian Lauds," in Kartäuserliturgie und Kartäuserschriftum, 1, ed. James Hogg (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 1988), 15 (footnote 22) and 16.
    41 Because of this ranking, the feast did not have any proper psalmody in Matins and Vespers. Hansjakob Becker, Franz Ansgar, and Alexander Zerfass, Bruno von Köln und die Liturgie der Kartause: Rekonstruktion des Antiphonale Sancti Brunonis und Reproduktion der ältesten kartusiensischen Offiziumshandschriften (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 2015), 66
    42 Amand Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie des)," in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, 3/1, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1948), cols 1055 and 1058.
    43 Hourlier and du Moustier, "Le Calendrier cartusien," 158.
    44 Becker, Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers, 290.
    45 Becker, Ansgar, and Zerfass, Bruno von Köln, 51 and 66. Cantus Database gives nine sources which use Dum transisset as a responsory for Mary Magdalene, eight for Valde mane (the same sources as for Dum transisset, only one is missing), and none for Una sabbati. Cantus Database, accessed March 30, 2017, http://cantusdatabase.org/.

[^6]:    46 Becker, Ansgar, and Zerfass, Bruno von Köln, 66.

[^7]:    48 Many Carthusian antiphoners could be dated on the basis of their contents. Some feasts - such as Mary Magdalene and Corpus Christi - that had a more precise date of the introduction into the liturgy could be very helpful with that. However, Thomas Op de Coul has suggested that the Carthusians were not always very prompt in adding or inserting new feasts into the liturgical manuscripts, so dating of the manuscript on the basis of the inserted new feasts is not always reliable. Thomas Op de Coul, "How Were New Saints' Feasts Added to Liturgical Manuscripts? Uniformity in Three Dated Carthusian Graduals from the Low Countries," Études grégoriennes 41 (2014). Such was also the case with Grenoble 338 (from the twelfth century), which does not include musical notation, only texts. The feast of St Mary Magdalene was not a part of the original manuscript: it is not written on fol. 203 v , where it should stand in the Sanctorale; instead of that, there is an inscription "marie magdalene quere in fine libri."
    49 Becker, Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers, 290.

[^8]:    50 Scarcez, "The Proto-Cistercian Office for Mary Magdalene," 63 and 55-57.
    51 Ibid., 59-62.
    52 E-mail message to author by Dom Frančišek, Charterhouse Pleterje, November 12, 2016 (includes the text forwarded from Dom Jacques).
    53 Becker, Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers, 290.
    54 Degand, "Chartreux," cols 1063-1064.
    55 Feast of St Anne (July 26) was a feast of three lessons, celebrated with the mass in some charterhouses before 1174. It was a feast of three lessons (without a Mass) for the whole order in 1400 . Feast with a Mass was celebrated in the obedience of Avignon in 1405 , and then in the whole order in 1412 [after the Schism, which brought many new changes also in the liturgy of the Order]. It became a chapter feast in 1554, and then a solemnity (festum candelarum) in 1569/1571 (for the conversi only until 1582). In 1917, it became a feast of twelve lessons with Mass again. Hourlier and du Moustier, "Le Calendrier cartusien," 158.

[^9]:    56 This is a very telling fact, testifying not only to the long life and use, but also to the good preservation of the Carthusian antiphoners, which were used mainly as memory aids - and not as books from which the monks would sing during the office - at least until the first half of the fifteenth century.

[^10]:    57 There is no known supplement of this antiphoner, but this notice shows that such additional booklets or separate folios might have existed and were also one of the solutions to keep liturgical music manuscripts up to date.

[^11]:    59 For the description of the manuscript (Carthusian diurnal from Paris, after 1282), see David T. Gura, "Cod. lat. b. 4," in $A$ Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts of the University of Notre Dame and Saint Mary's College (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016).
    60 For all results of this paragraph, see Cantus Database, accessed October 9, 2016; revisited February 28, 2017, http:// cantusdatabase.org/.
    61 The unica antiphons are discussed by Cristina Bernardi, "Testimonianze liturgico - musicali delle certose venete: Antifonari dei secoli XV-XVII" (Università degli Studi di Padova, 2014), 59-61.
    62 Wickstrom, "The Antiphons ad psalmos," 10.
    63 Ibid. The concept of the four most important principles of the compilation of the Carthusian antiphoner was developed by Becker in his work Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers.

[^12]:    64 Wickstrom, "The Antiphons ad psalmos," 15.
    65 Ibid. Thematic unity was also the case in other instances when the Carthusians did not follow their own principles of compiling their antiphoner.
    66 Ibid., 16.

[^13]:    67 See also Cantus Database, accessed October 9, 2016; revisited February 28, 2017, http://cantusdatabase.org/ analyse?source $=436173 \&$ feast $=410865$.
    68 Hansjakob Becker, Das Tonale Guigos I.: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des liturgischen Gesanges und der Ars Musica im Mittelalter (München: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1975), 261; Bernardi, "Testimonianze liturgico - musicali," 322 and 375.
    69 Vulgata, accessed October 3, 2016, http://biblehub.com/vul/genesis/1.htm https://www.biblegateway.com/.
    70 This is also one of the cases when the text incipit is not enough to distinguish different variants.

[^14]:    71 The text of the antiphon can be found in Zerfass, Das Antiphonar von Grandmont, 222.
    72 For the details about these manuscripts - with the exception of the antiphoner from Grandmont - see Cantus Database.

[^15]:    73 There are some other musical details connecting the two manuscripts, such as the original eighth psalm-tone intonation with the notes f-a-c (later corrected into $\mathrm{g}-\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c}$ ); but this intonation was rather common in the Carthusian antiphoners up to the fourteenth century. See Katarina Šter, "Variantna intonacija osmega psalmovega tona v kartuzijanski liturgični tradicii," De musica disserenda $7 / 2$ (2011).
    74 James Hogg's edition of the Consuetudines, from Belinda Egan, "The Carthusians and Textual Uniformity," in Los cartujos en Andalucía, 1, ed. James Hogg, Alain Girard, and Daniel le Blévec (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik der Universität Salzburg, 1999), 189.

[^16]:    75 Vulgata, accessed October 3, 2016, https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+28\%3A1\&version=VULGATE. 76 Katarina Šter, "Dva kartuzijanska antifonarja iz 13. stoletja in vprašanje enotnosti kartuzijanskega liturgičnoglasbenega izročila," De musica disserenda 7/1 (2011), especially 30-33.

[^17]:    77 "Institutionis Heremitice gravitas not sinit longua in cantandi studiis temporum insumi spacia. Nam secundum Jeronimum monachus quilibet quanto magis hermita, non doctoris, quanto minus cantoris, sed plangentis habet officium, qui vel se vel mundum lugeat, et domini pavidus praestoletur adventum." The text (in a modernized Latin) is quoted after Becker, Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers, 183. The English translation above is given from Egan, "The Carthusians and textual Uniformity," 186.

[^18]:    78 A facsimile of the antiphoner can be found in Becker, Ansgar, and Zerfass, Bruno von Köln, 107-153.
    79 A facsimile of the antiphoner (without later additions) can be found in Becker, Ansgar, and Zerfass, Bruno von Köln, 155-208.
    80 A facsimile of the manuscript can be found in Becker, Ansgar, and Zerfass, Bruno von Köln, 209-407.
    81 A catalogue description can be found in Gura, "Cod. Lat. b. 4." The manuscript has already been included in the Cantus Database, accessed October 9, 2016; revisited February 28, 2017, http://cantusdatabase.org/; however, it does not yet appear among the fully described sources in the "Sources" search field.

[^19]:    84 Graz 273, list of sources.
    85 Cantus Database, accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374095/ch-fco-2.
    86 Ibid., accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374050/f-pn-lat-1090.
    87 Ibid., accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374051/f-pn-lat-12044.
    88 Ibid., accessed October 7, 2016, http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374100/f-pn-nalat-1411.

