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SINT-CATHARINADAL'S WOMEN CORRECTING CHANT, 1500–1700

This article examines the revision of liturgical chant manuscripts at a single Premonstratensian house in the Low Countries, with focus on a period of religious upheaval in the seventeenth century. Sint-Catharinadal, founded in Vroenhout in 1271 for a community of sisters, had a difficult history. Between its founding and the seventeenth century, the house relocated more than once: first to Breda, and then to its present location in Oosterhout. During this period, its chant books also underwent substantial revision. Its surviving manuscript sources that contain music for the Divine Office show textual and notational changes that coincide with later publications of the Premonstratensian antiphoner; however, unlike manuscripts from other houses, these revisions are partial and at times inconsistent. Taking stock of the surviving collection of sources preserved at Sint-Catharinadal, this article charts the process of revising older chant sources. This process was gradual, complicated and at times non-linear. Scribes often adopted individual approaches when revising their chants, including the use of notational systems commonly used for other repertoires, such as secular or keyboard music. What emerges is a location-specific and context-dependent picture of chant sources, where scribes exercised individual autonomy in the revision of repertoires, despite the calls for conformity and consistency that defined the early modern period.

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All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. MSS are given in boldface. I use the following abbreviations for libraries and archives:

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-AVna	Averbode, Norbertijnenabdij
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque nationale de Belgique
B-Gu	Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek
B-LVvp	Heverlee, Abdij van Park
GB-LIa	Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office

INTRODUCTION

Much liturgical chant in western Europe underwent periods of revision between 1500 and 1700.¹ The Protestant Reformation had defined its own music and liturgy, and Catholic authorities responded to these changes in turn. Aiming to convince Protestants to return towards Catholicism, and hoping that a reformed church might attract former Catholics back, the Congregation for the Clergy in Rome issued edicts that prescribed revisions to the chant so that they identified more strongly with the ideals of the Council of Trent and the Counter-Reformation that followed in its wake.² Two broadly

GB-Wm	Wells, Museum Library
NL-DHk	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Nationale Bibliotheek van Nederland
NL-HELga	Helmond, Gemeentearchief
NL-OHnp	Oosterhout, Priorij Sint-Catharinadal
NL-Ua	Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief
NL-Uu	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek

I include Cantus ID numbers, when they exist, in square brackets. The following conventions are used for tables. Genres are indicated by standard abbreviations and comprise two components, separated by a hyphen. The first part indicates the office: V1 = First Vespers, M = Matins, L = Lauds, V2 = Second Vespers. The second part indicates the genre: A = antiphon, A(B) = Benedictus antiphon, A(M) = Magnificat antiphon, Gl = Gloria, R = responsory, V = responsory verse, W = versicle. Square brackets indicate uncertain classification, and [?] indicates an entirely unknown chant classification. Antiphons, responsories and responsory verses are numbered (e.g. A1). When part of the Matins office, responsories and responsory verses are numbered according to the nocturne in which they appear and then their place within the nocturne (e.g. R2.3).

¹ The revised Roman Rite was to be adopted if a rite had been in use for under 200 years. Although textual revisions came first, revisions of chant were planned and, in some cases, enacted. 'In the "typical" editions of liturgical books that appeared after the Council of Trent, the chant texts were only slightly emended and would therefore have required minimal changes to the melodies': J. Dyer, 'Roman Catholic Church Music', §II.3, in *Grove Music Online*: <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046758?rskey=iwyGdu&result=5#omo-9781561592630-e-0000046758-div2-0000046758.2.3> (acc. 18 Nov. 2024); D. Curti and M. Gozzi (eds.), *Musica e liturgica nella Riforma Tridentina* (Trent, 1995); T. Karp, *An Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, 2 vols., Musicological Studies and Documents, 54 (Middletown, WI, 2005), i, Introduction; T. Karp, 'The Twilight of Troping', in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. T. Bailey and A. Santosuosso (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 81–94; M. C. E. Gillion, 'Plantin's *Antiphonarium Romanum* (Antwerp, 1571–3): Creating a Chant Book during the Catholic Reformation', *Acta musicologica*, 93 (2021), pp. 19–42. Reform of the sung liturgy was not limited to Catholic congregations, with Protestants altering their music to varying degrees: see M. C. E. Gillion, 'Interconfessional Implications: Printed Plainchant in the Wake of the Reformation', *Music & Letters*, 102 (2021), pp. 657–86.

² For an overview of the terms, see É. Weber, *Le Concile de Trente et la musique: De la Réforme à la Contre-Réforme*, 2nd edn (Paris, 2008), chs. 5–9. Crucial was the work of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, a congregation of the Roman Curia erected on 22 Jan. 1588 by Pope Sixtus V with the apostolic commission *Immensa aeterni dei*; it had its functions reassigned by Pope Paul VI on 8 May 1969. The congregation was charged with the

shared trends are identifiable.³ The first, better transmission of the chant melodies, was achieved through reduction in melismatic writing and ornamentation.⁴ More relevant to this article, however, is the second objective of textual and melodic consistency. These goals and aspirations were shared across the Catholic Church, in both monastic and secular realms.⁵ Yet despite the changes made to authoritative Roman liturgical books during the early modern era as the result of the Council of Trent and diocesan councils, the chant melodies not in the prescriptive Roman printed books varied from place to place as they had in the Middle Ages.⁶ Separating the archdiocesan edicts – or those from a monastic order's mother house – from the preferences, understanding and decisions made on a local level is essential, because prescriptions to reform and modernise chant were interpreted and effected by individuals, resulting in distinct local practices of implementation.⁷

supervision of the liturgy, with reforms put into practice locally. On practices in the Netherlands, see Karp, *Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, pp. 8–9. See also M. C. E. Gillion, 'Cantate domino canticum novum? A Re-Examination of Post-Tridentine Chant Revision in Italian Printed Graduals', in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)*, ed. F. Wim and V. Soen, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 2018), iii, pp. 159–82.

³ M. C. E. Gillion, 'Editorial Endeavours: Plainchant Revision in Early Modern Italian Printed Graduals', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 29 (2020), pp. 51–80; M. C. E. Gillion, "'Shall the dead arise and praise you?' Revisions to the *Missa pro defunctis* in Italian Printed Graduals, 1591–1621', *Troja: Jahrbuch für Renaissance Musik*, 13 (2014), pp. 59–80.

⁴ C. Reynolds, 'Rome: A City of Rich Contrast', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. I. Fenlon, Man & Music (London, 1989), pp. 63–101, at p. 93; C. Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin, 2017), ch. 9.

⁵ For calls to modernise chant in monastic orders pre- and post-Reformation, see E. J. Giraud, 'Dominican Chant and Liturgical Practices in the English Province', in *A Companion to the English Dominican Province*, ed. E. J. Giraud and J. C. Linde (Leiden, 2021), pp. 343–69; D. Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, Cambridge Introductions to Music (Cambridge, 2009), ch. 5.

⁶ While consistency was not a specific goal, regularisation and 'diversity within uniformity' were priorities. Following the death of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (whom Pope Gregory XIII entrusted, together with Annibale Zoilo, to revise traditional chant melodies), chant revision came into legal and organisational difficulties. During the 17th and 18th cc., many dioceses and religious congregations printed their own chant books. Consequently, Catholic chant never attained the same degree of uniformity imposed on the spoken texts and ceremonies by the printed books, all of which had to receive Rome's official approbation. See S. Ditchfield, 'Giving Tridentine Worship back its History', in *Studies in Church History: Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, 35 (1999), pp. 199–226; S. Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. R. P. Hsia, 9 vols. (Cambridge, 2007), vi, pp. 201–24; S. Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge, 1995), Introduction.

⁷ Gillion, 'Plantin's *Antiphonarium Romanum*', pp. 20–1.

This article discusses the implementation of conciliar dictates, and the revisions of chant text and music, at one monastic house: the community of Premonstratensian canonesses at the priory of Sint-Catharinadal in the southern Netherlands. The Premonstratensian Order, also known as the Norbertines after their founder, Norbert of Xanten (1075–1134), established their first house in Prémontré in north-eastern France in 1120. By the sixteenth century, numerous houses were active across Europe. The community of Sint-Catharinadal, which survives today, is one of the earliest, having been founded in 1271. Its library preserves twelve chant books that date from the sixteenth century to the late seventeenth. The Premonstratensians updated these sources several times during this period, and they received their most thorough and systematic revision around 1680.⁸ This final revision occurred so that the books would accord with the results of a comprehensive reform of the Premonstratensian antiphoner, seen in the *Antiphonarium Praemonstratense* published in Paris by Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers (c. 1632–1714).⁹ The layers of script in Sint-Catharinadal's manuscripts suggests that Premonstratensians implemented these changes gradually over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and not systematically. An examination of individual chants from twelve sixteenth- and seventeenth-century antiphoners demonstrates that those responsible for correcting these sources diverged (as occurred elsewhere) from the ideals of consistency that Nivers's edition sought to promote. In some manuscripts, they only updated chants for which they had Premonstratensian prints. At times they entered newly advocated texts without notation, or miscopied their melodies.¹⁰ While

⁸ For a summary of these reforms, see P. F. Lefèvre, *La liturgie de Prémontré: Histoire, formulaire, chant et cérémonial* (Leuven, 1957); R. van Waefelghem, *Répertoire des sources imprimées et manuscrites relatives à l'histoire et à la liturgie des monastères de l'ordre de Prémontré* (Brussels, 1930); M. J. M. Hoondert, 'The "Restoration" of Plainchant in the Premonstratensian Order', *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 18 (2009), pp. 141–61; H. T. Drummond, 'Guillaume Gabriel Nivers and the Quest for Consistency in Counter-Reformation Chant', *Journal of Musicology*, 40 (2023), pp. 308–69.

⁹ For a study of this publication and Nivers's *Graduale Praemonstratense*, also published in 1680, see C. [now A.] Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers: Un art du chant grégorien sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2004), ch. 6. The antiphoner (1697) and gradual (1701) were subsequently revised and both volumes reprinted (1718).

¹⁰ Variations are by no means uncommon to the chants of the Sanctorale, which may incorporate local versions. Inconsistencies are unusual in the more standardised Temporale and *Commune* sections. There is no surviving evidence that Sint-Catharinadal ever owned Nivers's 1680 edition or earlier printed revisions to the chant. For further discussion of Nivers's reforms in the Sint-Catharinadal manuscripts, see the section 'Revised Square Notation' below.

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scribes entered corrections in similar scripts, implying a small number of editors, their use of stroke as well as square notation suggests that they took considerable liberty in writing down new chant. The presence of stroke notation, often associated with secular or instrumental music (particularly keyboard repertoires), suggests that other types of music besides that prescribed by the Premonstratensian liturgy influenced Sint-Catharinadal's scribes. The variety of notations used in the chant manuscripts at Sint-Catharinadal has no known counterparts, making them interesting for a case study of Tridentine reform.

SINT-CATHARINADAL'S ORIGIN, EXPANSION, DECLINE AND REVIVAL

Sint-Catharinadal is the oldest female monastic house in the modern-day Netherlands to have existed since its founding without interruption.¹¹ Many periods of upheaval over more than seven centuries explain the state of disorder in the priory's surviving chant sources. The priory's earliest buildings were established around 1271 in Wouw, a settlement just to the west of Roosendaal in the province of North Brabant (see a chronology in Table 1). Its flood-prone location, leading to the disastrous 1288 Sint-Agathenvloed, made the canonesses vacate their original home and move, in 1295, to a site in the town of Breda.¹² They resided there for over 350 years, during which time an aisleless chapel was built for them in the Romanesque style. The earliest known building expanded over several years, with a Gothic choir built in the thirteenth century and further enlargements to the apse, nave and transepts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The canonesses also added other buildings to the complex, including a hospital, a mill and agricultural facilities (Figures 1–2¹³).

¹¹ The main sources for the priory's history can be found in A. Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal: Archeologie, bouwhistorie en geschiedenis: Archeologisch en bouwhistorisch onderzoek in Breda* (Breda, 1995); A. Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal te Breda na de Nederlandsche Beroerten 1625–1635', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 3 (1927), pp. 28–60. A summary appears in English in M. Thøfner, 'The Absent Made Present: Portraying Nuns in the Early Modern Low Countries', in *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. S. J. Moran and A. Pipkin (Leiden, 2019), ch. 4, at pp. 154–5.

¹² Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, p. 22. There is further evidence of earlier floods throughout the 1280s.

¹³ The images are also online at the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum: <https://proxy.archieven.nl/235/98CCC473304B4798848FCB5D62BB83E6>; <https://proxy.archieven.nl/235/F6A13B744D504C0C9C2B80C831A7A239> (acc. 13 Jul 2023).

Table 1 Main events in Sint-Catharinadal's early modern history

Date	Event
c. 1271	Priory founded in Wouw (Roosendaal).
1295	Priory moves to Breda.
1490	Breda city fire.
1520	Sint-Catharinadal fire.
22 July 1534	Breda city fire. Sint-Catharinadal severely damaged.
1556	Priory school founded.
[20 August?] 1566	Eighty Years' War. Iconoclastic conflicts affect Breda.
1567	Breda confiscated by King of Spain.
1576	Breda returns to Dutch control.
1581	Breda besieged, captured and pillaged by Spaniards.
1590	Breda recaptured by Dutch.
1624–5	Breda besieged and surrendered to Spaniards
1637	Breda besieged and surrendered to Dutch
1646	Convent site becomes Orange College of Breda. Priory moves to Oosterhout (15 June – 16 October).
1667	Treaty of Breda and end of Second Anglo-Dutch War.
1669	Orange College of Breda closed.
1672–8	Franco-Dutch War. Priory returns to Breda.
1679	Priory moves permanently to Oosterhout.
1688–97	Nine Years' War. Breda not directly affected.

By the time of the Reformation, Sint-Catharinadal had achieved importance, both in Breda's urban landscape and in the Premonstratensian order more generally.¹⁴

Sint-Catharinadal's move to Breda ushered in an era of growth, influenced by the city's prominence and prosperity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By 1463 records describe the priory as having twelve regular canonesses or *koorzusters*.¹⁵ By the turn of the sixteenth century, however, both the priory and the area around Breda were in a period of decline. The priory fell victim to several fires, of which the earliest recorded occurred in 1520.¹⁶ Far more destructive was a second fire in 1534 that engulfed almost nine-tenths of the city's houses, municipal buildings and churches.¹⁷ Only the chapel

¹⁴ Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, chs. 3–4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁶ T. Sponselee-de Meester, *Het Norbertinessenklooster Sint-Catharinadal in de Staatse periode 1625–1795: Portret van een religieuze vrouwengemeenschap in benarde tijden* (Hilversum, 2003), pp. 160–90.

¹⁷ Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, pp. 52–8.

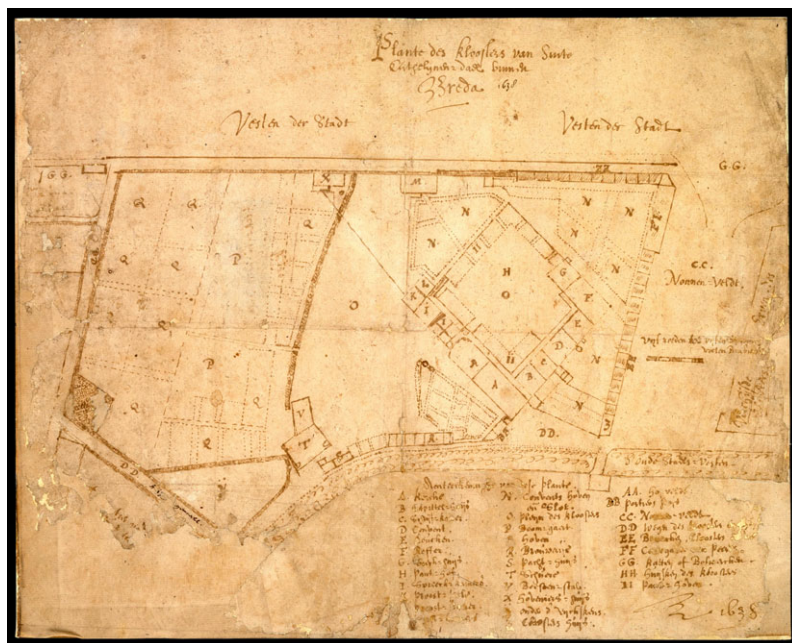


Figure 1 Plan of Sint-Catharinadal site in Breda (1638): **NL-OHnp K001**

and dormitory of Sint-Catharinadal escaped destruction.¹⁸ Also affecting Sint-Catharinadal at this time were a series of conflicts that dominated the religious and political landscape of the Netherlands in the early modern era. The most significant of these was the Eighty Years' War (c. 1566–1648), which began when Calvinists in the northern Habsburg-Netherlands territories rebelled against the Catholic Spanish government. Initial Calvinist iconoclastic attacks throughout the Netherlands in 1566 (known as the Beeldenstorm) led to the northern territories forming the United Provinces (also known as the Dutch Republic) in 1588.¹⁹ During this time, and until peace was officially declared in 1648,

¹⁸ A. Erens, 'St. Catharinadal en de urbanisatieplannen van graaf Hendrik III van Nassau te Breda', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 12 (1936), pp. 143–72, at p. 148. Since its chart manuscripts may have been kept in the priory's library it is possible that they, like the library, were lost in the fire. Other archival documents do survive, such as charters, manuals, registers and letters that date from the 13th c., as well as **NL-OHnp V5**, cited in n. 46 below.

¹⁹ A. van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*, trans. A. Brown (London, 2018). For Breda's role in the conflict, see S. Groenveld, 'Een notabele frontier: Breda en zijn regenten in het spanningsveld tussen Noord en zuid, 1576–1610', *Jaarboek de Oranjeboom*, 43 (1990), pp. 16–36. For the Beeldenstorm and foundation of the Dutch Republic, see van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands*, ch. 2.

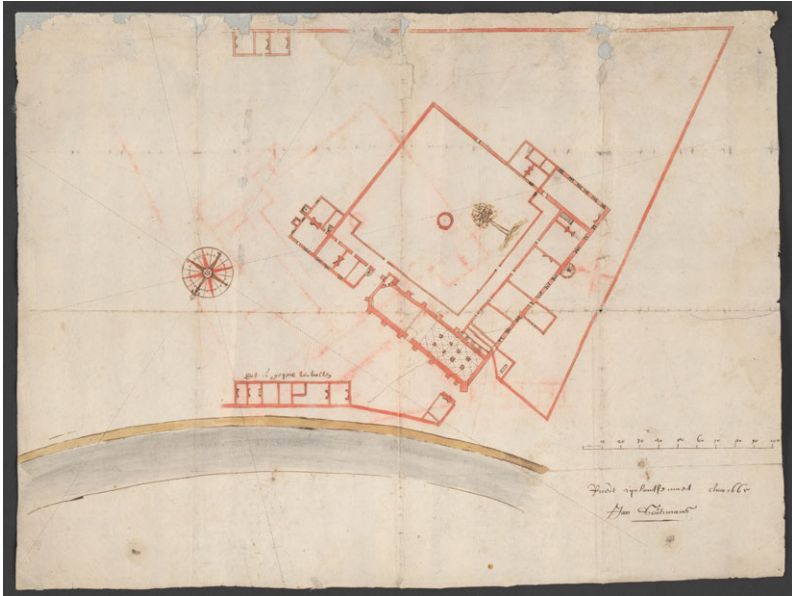


Figure 2 Plan of Sint-Catharinadal site in Breda: Jan Scuermans (1665):
NL-OHnp K003

lands in the Netherlands were subject to waves of Spanish invasion and Dutch recapture. Breda itself lay near boundaries of conflict between the Calvinist United Provinces in the north and the Catholic Southern Netherlands in the south. The city was located at the confluence of two rivers (the Mark and the Aa), was protected from artillery and cavalry by nearby forests, was well-fortified and housed key garrisons.²⁰ This strong position made Breda a key target as the Spanish and Dutch fought for territory in the provinces of Zeeland and North Brabant.

Breda's iconoclastic conflicts made for difficult years at Sint-Catharinadal. During this period, much of the priory's property, and particularly the house's main chapel, were damaged and looted.²¹ In 1566, Calvinists took over Sint-Catharinadal's main place of prayer for their morning service, and the canonesses had to hold their choral

²⁰ J. P. M. Rooze and C. W. A. M. Eimermann, *De belegering van Breda door Spinola, 1624–1625* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 2005), pp. A17–A67.

²¹ Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, p. 53, citing documentary evidence from the Sint-Catharinadal archive, **NL-OHnp MR 140**, p. 225, which refers to damage to the dormitory, refectory and kitchen. In the church everything able to be seized was broken into pieces, the organ smashed and the rood screen destroyed. Repairs were made approximately a year later, once the situation had become less turbulent.

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services in the priory's dormitory.²² The Calvinists' hold over Breda was short-lived, however, for in 1581 the Spanish, led by Claudius van Berlaymont, lord of Haultepenne, captured the city and returned its citizens to Catholic governance. As punishment for their brief revolt, Haultepenne's troops sacked, plundered and burned Breda. Around 500 citizens are estimated to have died in the aftermath of the 1581 recapture.²³ Sint-Catharinadal served during this time as a refuge for the Spanish soldiers, and priory life could not function as normal, with its buildings converted to billet troops.²⁴

Following the recapture of the city by the Dutch in 1590 and the subsequent return to Protestantism, priory life yet again ground to a halt. The Calvinist authorities sent the majority of the priory's sisters away, and they temporarily halted recruitment of novices until the 1620s. Further recaptures occurred throughout the Eighty Years' War, and Breda fell back to the Spanish (1624–5) and again the Dutch (1637). These occupations of the city affected normal life both in and out of the cloister. Living under Dutch rule offered a very real threat to the stability of Catholic religious orders, with several monasteries ordered to be disbanded entirely.²⁵ Yet a return to Catholic rule also came with its own upheavals. Spanish troops needed to be fed and housed, buildings were left to ruin, and economies collapsed. Being under Spanish control therefore did not guarantee greater security, since religious houses offered tempting material wealth and resources for invading forces. Successive periods of upheaval also exacerbated disease, and the flux of people moving into and out of Breda during the Eighty Years' War caused bouts of plague.²⁶ It is therefore not surprising that the number of deaths of canonesses recorded in Sint-Catharinadal's archives far outnumber the total of new members during the entire sixteenth century.²⁷

²² Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', p. 29.

²³ G. G. van der Hoeven, *Geschiedenis der vesting Breda* (Breda, 1868; repr. Schiedam, 1974), p. 52.

²⁴ Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', p. 29. It is likely that services were prohibited, given the situation in comparable cities under Calvinist governance. For the situation in e.g. Utrecht, see G. Yasuhira, 'Transforming the Urban Space: Catholic Survival through Spatial Practices in Post-Reformation Utrecht', in *Past & Present*, 255 (2022), pp. 39–86, at pp. 60–2.

²⁵ Sint-Catharinadal probably escaped such an end owing to its long-lasting support from the House of Orange (hence frequently being referred to in documents as the 'Oranjeklooster'). See the charters **NL-OHnp C520** (1590), **C520c** (1596) and **C527b** (1622), in which Prince Maurits of Orange-Nassau agrees to protect the site.

²⁶ F. Gooskens, 'Pestepidemieën in Breda tijdens de middeleeuwen (1382–1535)', *Jaarboek de Oranjeboom*, 39 (1986), pp. 18–54.

²⁷ Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', p. 30.

Given its dwindling community and the surrounding disorder, Sint-Catharinadal stagnated in the seventeenth century. During the Twelve Year's Truce (1609–21), when the Spanish and Dutch ceased fighting, reports indicate just one canoness remaining in the priory.²⁸ In the 1620s the Premonstratensian authorities sought to revive the declining house, and they sent Petrus van Dunne, a canon from the nearby abbey of Tongerlo, to assist in the reorganisation. He arrived in 1625 and came to dilapidated buildings and a church no longer in use. Van Dunne encountered just the one elderly member, accompanied by two others who had recently come from Antwerp to teach at the priory's school.²⁹ The authorities nevertheless decided to revive Sint-Catharinadal, bolstering its population with canonesses coming from the nearby priory of the Besloten Hof in Herenthals.³⁰ By 1635 the priory had no fewer than 16 sisters, but this period of revival was fleeting.³¹ In the 1640s pressure from the Protestant administration led Sint-Catharinadal's provost to relocate.³² Their home in Breda was under threat: the authorities viewed the old priory as the ideal location for a new Athenaeum Illustre or 'illustrious school', a new form of educational institution that provided academic training for a growing elite.³³ The canonesses left their site in Breda for the nearby village of Oosterhout in 1646–7, occupying a complex built around a former castle.³⁴ A new conflict – the Franco-Dutch war (1672–8) – made them return to Breda for safety. The canonesses only moved to Oosterhout definitively after the end of the war in 1679.³⁵

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35. The sister is identified as Johanna van der Stegen: see Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, p. 54. The priory's deanery buildings had been let to Third-Order Franciscan nuns, whose abbey had itself been burnt down during Haultepenne's destruction of the city. See T. Sponselee-de Meester, "Hoe het geclap verstomde!" De hervorming van Sint-Catharinadal te Oosterhout in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw', *Brabants heem*, 48 (1996), pp. 131–9, at pp. 133–5.

³⁰ Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', pp. 44, 55–6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 60.

³² Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, p. 57.

³³ G. Van Alphen, 'De Illustere School te Breda en haar boekerij', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, 64 (1951), pp. 272–314.

³⁴ The castle is known as 'De Blauwe Camer', named either after the colour of the roof tiles, or after one room with blue tapestries. Sint-Catharinadal's prior, Balthazar Cruyt, had already bought the property, built around 1400, from Adriaan Verelst in 1645. Its location in the Baronie van Breda, itself under the governance of the Prince of Orange, afforded it special protection. Sponselee-de Meester, "Hoe het geclap verstomde!", p. 131.

³⁵ Carmiggelt et al., *Het klooster Sint-Catharinadal*, pp. 57–8.

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MUSIC AT SINT-CATHARINADAL

Occasional records of musical life are attested beginning in the seventeenth century. Two women who came from Herenthals to Sint-Catharinadal in the 1620s, both koorzusters, were ordered to revive the monastic house, and one was charged with teaching the singing of the liturgy to new recruits:

Through doctrine and admonition in our renewed monastery, [they should] be a foundation to God in the honour and praise of the Order and of this house. One of the two would instruct the novices in the song and ceremonies of the Order; the other [would] direct the sisters' exercises and take care of their further education.³⁶

Given the pressure both the priory and Breda's citizens were facing, these wishes were likely aspirations rather than achievements, but they nevertheless indicate the goal of establishing a musically educated and literate community of women. Further sources point to musical knowledge amongst some of the novice canonesses, even during Breda's Calvinist governance. Attached to the main site, located on the first floor above the priory's parlour, was a school – also known as the 'French school' – founded in 1556.³⁷ Here the priory's canonesses taught young girls. This institution would have been responsible for the teaching of plainchant, and references to liturgical life referring to music include statutes from the school dated to 1643, which mention the pupils' participation in the divine office at the priory:

In the morning the mistresses [i.e. the pupils] will also get up at about four o' clock, or at the latest half past four, and maintain their silent meditation until five o' clock. At five o' clock or at a quarter past they will read their prime, terce and sext. They shall read none right before or after the mass; and they shall never neglect to read a chapter or two lessons from a devotional book in the morning, afternoon or evening. After about half past noon they can read their vespers and compline.³⁸

³⁶ 'Door leer en vermaning in ons vernieuwd klooster een grondvesting zouden zijn Gode ter eere en tot lof van de Orde en van dit huis. Eene der twee zou de nieuwelingen onderwijzen in den zang en de ceremoniën der Orde; de andere de oefeningen der zusters besturen en voor dezer verdere vorming zorg dragen.' See Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', p. 56. Letter from 15 April 1626, Tongerlo, Archief van de Abdij, l.c. nr. 28.

³⁷ A. Erens, 'De kloosterschool van St. Catharinadal te Breda, 1556–1640', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 3 (1927), pp. 449–58, at p. 449.

³⁸ 'Smorgens sullen de meesterssen oock opstaen ontrent 4 uren oft ten laatste ½ vijff, ende haere meditatie houden tot ontrent vijf uren. Ten vijf uren oft corts daer naer sullen lesen haer primen, 3, en 6. De 9 sullen sy lesen rechts voor oft naer de misse; en sullen noyt achterlaten tsy smorgens, snoenens of savonds een capittel oft 2 lesen in eenich devoot boecxken. Naer noen ontrent ½ een sullen moghen lesen haere vesperen ende completen': *ibid.*, p. 456. While 'lesen' refers to reading rather than singing in modern Dutch, the collocation of reading and singing meant that both formed part of literate

Amidst the risk of iconoclastic destruction, and the eventual pressure that forced the canonesses to relocate in 1646, these statutes show that there was a consistent and regular practice of observing the hours.

While the Sint-Catharinadal scribes had a secluded life, particularly following their move to Oosterhout, their commitment to holy orders did not mean that they were entirely removed from the sound world of music that was not sung, or not liturgical.³⁹ One later source from the eighteenth century, **NL-OHnp 52**, includes sung repertoire that is not notated, yet its contents include a mixture of song texts that are both sacred and secular.⁴⁰ This source, despite its later date, shows that the musical environment inhabited by the priory's canonesses was one where the everyday spiritual life existed amongst a sound world that also included secular music. There is additional evidence that the priory owned keyboard instruments, used in the mid seventeenth century for sacred music, suggesting that chants or devotional music might have been played and not just sung. The priory school's 1643 statutes describe various resources available to the young students as they embarked on their early education.⁴¹ They mention that the school owned a harpsichord, presumably kept within the main room above the parlour, to which the students' teacher controlled access.

Also, S. Suyers will ensure that the children who learn to work and play in the morning, may study on the harpsichord to better observe her time in devotion of Mary.⁴²

education, particularly that concerning the liturgy. See K. Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2009), ch. 1.

³⁹ Bertoglio, *Reforming Music*, pp. 441–2; R. Strohm, 'European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), pp. 305–24, at p. 313.

⁴⁰ Dated c. 1775 by the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum: <https://proxy.archieven.nl/235/F251D3B6AED34487922C594F29C8A9F4> (acc. 17 July 2023). Notes of ownership on the covers indicate that this source was in use as early as the 1720s.

⁴¹ While it is possible that children outside of the priory would have been educated at the school, it is likely that it functioned as a place to educate potential canonesses. Such institutions existed across the Netherlands. See for instance W. Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The Modern Devotion, the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings*, trans. D. F. Johnson (Woodbridge, 2004), ch. 2, pp. 41–7. Pupils were normally at least fourteen years old, and both reading and singing the liturgy were part of the education of such a novice. Scheepsma, *ibid.*, p. 53, notes the presence of music, including keyboard instruments like the organ, which were sometimes used during the office.

⁴² 'Oock sal S. Suyers daer op letten dat de kinderen die leeren wercken ende oock spelen smorgens, mogen leeren op de claversimbel om naer noen haren tyt by Marie beter waer te nemen.' Erens, 'De kloosterschool van St. Catharinadal', p. 457.

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Also, the harpsichord mistress will regulate the time of the children in such a way that her other works and the teachings will not come to an end after 10 or 12 without the knowledge of my Rev. Lord Provost, so as not to be a nuisance and to keep her to blame in all safety.⁴³

Here the statutes show that music-making was a frequent part of life at the priory, with a regular role in the pupils' daily education and devotion. Integral to this musical upbringing was an instrument that may have formed part of the religious practice within Sint-Catharinadal, but could have served a non-liturgical function too. These 1643 statutes offer information on the musical education for the young girls at the priory school, but a similar environment of musical awareness and literacy may have existed for at least some of the canonesses in the priory proper too, comprising both sacred and secular music.⁴⁴ These traces of daily life therefore show that the priory's canonesses were acquainted with multiple ways of thinking about music, including both liturgical and non-liturgical music that was played as well as sung.

SINT-CATHARINADAL'S CHANT BOOKS

Dietmar von Hübner conducted a wide-ranging survey of early Premonstratensian antiphoners throughout Europe; the chant books of Sint-Catharinadal are too late for his attention.⁴⁵ The earliest manuscripts to survive from this house date from the sixteenth century, with most dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁶ Sint-Catharinadal's sources are therefore late compared to manuscripts that Hübner consulted at nearby abbeys in Flanders,

⁴³ 'Oock sal de meesteresse vande claversimbel den tyt vande kinderen soo ordineren datse hare andere wercken ende leeringh daer door niet en veronnaxsamen ende over de 10. of 12. seffens niet aenveerden sonder wete van mijn Eerw. Heer den prost, om niet overlast te wesen ende haer tot malcanderen in alle gevuechgelyckheyt houden.' *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 454–8.

⁴⁵ D. von Hübner, *Frühe Zeugnisse prämonstratensischer Choraltradition (1126–1331): Studie zu Offiziumsantiphonen des Prämonstratenserordens*, 3 vols. (Munich, 2001), i, pp. 213–51. Owing to word limits, this article must unfortunately be confined to discussion of antiphoners for the Office, although similar features exist in graduals and other musical books. For sources that concern the Mass, see **NL-OHnp 92** and **94**, available online at the Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum: <https://www.bhic.nl/integrated?mizig=210&miadt=235&micode=2095&miview=inv2> (acc. 7 Dec. 2023).

⁴⁶ Sources made in the 18th c. onwards include **NL-OHnp 62** (c. 1768), **63** (1777), **65** (c. 1749), **66** (c. 1749), **67** (c. 1792), **68** (1792), **70** (c. 18th c.), **72** (before 1874), **74** (1791), **75** (c. 18th c.), **84** (c. 18th c.), **85** (c. 19th c.), **98** (19th c.), **99** (1894) and **100** (19th c.). These are not considered in this article, since they represent a later edition that superseded Nivers's. There is one bundle of fragments with musical notation, dating between the 14th and 18th cc., kept in the priory's archive: **NL-OHnp V5**, online at the BHIC website cited in the preceding n.

such as at Tongerlo, Grimbergen, Averbode and Postel.⁴⁷ That earlier sources exist nearby, but are lacking at Sint-Catharinadal, may be due to the series of destructive fires and conflicts that affected the house's former site in Breda from the 1530s onwards. This article offers a new perspective on the priory's manuscripts, prepared by the women of an important female Premonstratensian community.⁴⁸ This study also considers the profound social, religious and political elements that influenced how this Premonstratensian community of canonesses modified and understood their liturgy. Corresponding to the decades of turmoil at Sint-Catharinadal, its liturgical manuscripts provide a wealth of information about stages of revision not attested in other regional Premonstratensian abbeys. It is not known if these sources were made at the priory or originated elsewhere. The arrival of new chant books probably occurred after the 1620s or '30s, when the most significant efforts were made to reinvigorate the priory and its dwindling number of residents. Gathering structures, notation and notes of ownership in explicits offer potential clues as to the origin of these antiphoners. Table 2 provides a list including all surviving manuscripts and fragments from 1620 to 1640.

Earlier Use of Hufnagelschrift and Square Notation

A strong indication of these sources' diverse origins is their notation. The Sint-Catharinadal manuscripts were originally notated in Hufnagelschrift or square notation. Most older manuscripts deploy

⁴⁷ Pieter Mannaerts has examined those at Averbode and Grimbergen (now kept at the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique), the earliest sources of which date from the 13th c.: P. Mannaerts, 'Musicologische verkenning vanuit het Antifonarium Tsgrooten', in *Premonstratenzer gregoriaans in de Nederlanden: liturgische handschriften (13de–16de eeuw)*, ed. H. Janssens (Averbode, 2011), pp. 31–43; P. Mannaerts, 'Letare mater nostra Iherusalem: Het Augustinus-officie in het Antifonarium-Tsgrooten', *Tijdschrift voor gregoriaans*, 34 (2009), pp. 61–6, 102–9; P. Mannaerts, 'Het Antifonarium-Tsgrooten: De eeuwige jeugd van het gregoriaans', *Openbaar kunstbezit in Vlaanderen*, 46 (2008), pp. 8–11. Summaries of these manuscripts and relevant literature on similar collections of Premonstratensian sources also feature in S. A. Long and I. Behrendt, *Antiphonaria: A Catalogue of Notated Office Manuscripts Preserved in Flanders (c.1100–c.1800)* (Turnhout, 2011), i, pp. 23–58, 98–100. See also S. A. Long, 'Hymns in the Tsgrooten Antiphoner', in *Premonstratenzer gregoriaans in de Nederlanden*, pp. 45–8; N. W. Bleisch and H. T. Drummond, 'Op zoek naar de verborgen schat in het Antifonarium Tsgrooten', in *Als de Bliksem: 900 jaar norbertijnen en norbertinessen*, ed. J. Appelmans, H. Janssens and S. van Lani (Averbode, 2021), pp. 165–8; Drummond, 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers'.

⁴⁸ Similar reforms took place in other orders, including female communities: see e.g. K. Strinnholm-Lagergren, 'The Birgittine Mass Liturgy throughout Five Centuries: A Case Study of the Uden Sources', *Archiv für Liturgie-Wissenschaft*, 75 (2015), pp. 49–71; K. Strinnholm-Lagergren, 'The Birgittine Abbey of Maria Refugie: Five Hundred Years of Manuscript Production', in *IMS Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the XVII Meeting, Venice, Italy, 28 July – 1 August 2014*, ed. J. Borders (Venice, 2020), pp. 61–71.

Table 2 Summary of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts at Sint-Catharinadal with notated or unnotated music

Shelfmark (NL-OHnp)	Book type	Material	Source date	Notation	Extent
73	Antiphonarium festorum	parchment	1684	later square, revised square	62 pages
76	Antiphonarium	parchment	16th–17th c.	Hufnagelschrift, revised square	166 pages
76a	Antiphonarium	parchment	16th–17th c.	Hufnagelschrift, revised square	132 pages [incomplete]
77	Antiphonarium	parchment	1676	later square, revised square	531 pages
78	Antiphonarium	parchment	16th c.	Hufnagelschrift, later square, revised square	108 pages
79	Antiphonarium: ‘ <i>Commune</i> and Hymns of Feasts’ ^a	parchment	1664	later square, revised square	142 pages
80	Hymnary	parchment	16th c.	Hufnagelschrift, later square, revised square	84 pages
81	‘Songs for Holy Week’: ^b responsories, etc.	parchment	16th c.	older square	99 pages
92	Graduale	parchment	17th–18th c.	older square, revised square	294 pages
93	Antiphonarium	parchment	1618	older square, revised square	252 pages
94	Graduale	parchment	1618	Hufnagelschrift, revised square	539 pages

(Continued)

Shelfmark (NL-OHnp)	Book type	Material	Source date	Notation	Extent
97a	Koorboek	parchment	16th c.	Hufnagelschrift, older square, revised square	596 pages
V5	‘Scattered pieces, mostly parchment fragments with musical notation, often from book bindings’ ^c	parchment; some paper folios	14th–18th c.	Wide variety of styles, including Hufnagelschrift, square and modern staff notation	17 separate fragments in one bundel

^a ‘Commune en Hymnen van Feesten’.

^b ‘Gezangen Goede Week’.

^c ‘Membra disiecta, meest perkamenten fragmenten met muziek notaties, veelal afkomstig uit boekbanden’.



Figure 3 Hufnagelschrift: NL-Ohnp 76, fols. 46^v–47^r [37^v–38^r]

Hufnagelschrift, identified with lands north and east of the Rhine, as shown in NL-OHnp 76 (Figure 3). This form of notation, defined by rhomboid noteheads written with inclined nibs, contains features also present in Messine notation.⁴⁹ In her analysis of three fifteenth-century graduals from the diocese of Utrecht, Ike de Loos identified a similar style in antiphoners of the northern Netherlands. Such notation was, de Loos argued, typical of an East-Frankish style of notating chant that became exclusive of northern territories from the thirteenth century onwards.⁵⁰ This form appears in no fewer than five of the twelve Sint-Catharinadal sources from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and all the sources pre-date the 1620s. These manuscripts may represent the earliest sources that arrived at the priory after their compilation in the sixteenth century, probably before the initial period of iconoclastic unrest of the 1560s, after which Catholic influence from the north was limited.

⁴⁹ B. Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, 3: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 4 (Leipzig, 1975), p. 34.

⁵⁰ Hufnagelschrift is witnessed in both northern and southern Netherlandish sources from the 11th and 12th cc., but southern lands adopted square notation from the 13th c. See I. de Loos, 'Liturgy and Chant in the Northern Low Countries', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 53 (2003), pp. 9–47, at pp. 10–14.



Figure 4 Older square notation: **NL-OHnp 93**, fols. 4^v–5^r [pp. 8–9]

Most of the later manuscripts are written in a form of square notation, identified with the Southern Netherlands, as seen in **NL-OHnp 93** (Figure 4). This square form, de Loos argued, is more typical of Brabant and lands south and west of the Rhine. This group also includes **NL-OHnp 81** and **92** and the latter part of **NL-OHnp 97a**, all of which are estimated to have been made in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There is therefore a point of change within the original notation of the Sint-Catharinadal chant sources, from Messine/Hufnagelschrift to square, suggesting a shift of geographical influence from the Northern to the Southern Netherlands, with a putative date for the shift falling around the 1610s and '20s.⁵¹ This southern influence after the 1610s is all too understandable, given that access to land immediately to the north of Breda would have been almost impossible during periods of Spanish occupation.⁵² A significant influx of sources around the 1620s

⁵¹ This division is recorded as early as the 13th c., and Hufnagelschrift is shown to exist in sources as late as the 1580s. See *ibid.*, pp. 10, 43.

⁵² On the difficulties of land and water travel during the Eighty Years' War, see C. Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494–1660* (London, 1979), ch. 4. River and sea transport was particularly complex due to a combination of trade embargoes, river blockades and piracy: see J. Israel, 'Der niederländisch-spanische Krieg

coincides with van Dunne's reform of the priory, suggesting that these sources came from the Spanish Netherlands as part of Sint-Catharinadal's revival.

Gathering Structures and Indications of Ownership

The present gathering structures of some of these books are not original. Some, such as **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a**, are modern compilations of different chant books, possibly from outside of the priory, which were later bound into new volumes and the foliation or pagination sequences adapted.⁵³ Although the origins of these manuscripts are uncertain, areas of influence have been inferred from the use of specific forms of notation within subsections of a source's gathering structure, as demonstrated in **NL-OHnp 73**, an antiphoner that contains several chants for the divine Office for various feast days. Like **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a**, this source comprises numerous fragments that were probably rebound sometime during the seventeenth century. That earlier parts of this source were made for Premonstratensian use is without doubt. The manuscript has music for the feast of St Norbert in two separate gatherings (see Table 3).⁵⁴ These two sections have differing numbers of staves per page: nine in gathering 2 and eleven in gathering 3, as well as different scribes (see two versions of the name 'Norbertus' in Figure 5) and an entirely different style of initials and page decoration, all of which suggests that these were gatherings from diverse Premonstratensian communities that found their way into the later assemblage. Parts of this source came from outside the order, however. The final page in gathering 2 (fol. 16^v [p. 36]) includes a notice clarifying its date of compilation in 1684 (Figure 6). Accompanying this note is a Christogram accompanied by three nails piercing a heart, suggesting that Jesuits were responsible for the compilation of this ostensibly Norbertine gathering of chants.⁵⁵ This manuscript gathering, despite postdating the 1680 revision, was itself revised, as is shown by the painted-over staves. This gathering may have

und das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation (1568–1648)', in *1648: Krieg und Frieden in Europa*, ed. K. Bussmann and H. Schilling, 3 vols. (Münster, 1998), i, pp. 111–22. Breda's location south of the Maas–Rhine barrier made transport from the north incredibly difficult under periods of Spanish occupation.

⁵³ This is also proven, as discussed below, through variation in page sizes, number of staves per page, text and music scribes and detail of initials.

⁵⁴ Respectively, these occur at fols. 4^r–10^v [pp. 13–26] in gathering 2 and on fols. 18^v–21^r [pp. 38–43] in gathering 3. (I use the most recent folio numbering as primary; older numberings are shown in square brackets.)

⁵⁵ For context on Jesuit interactions with Sint-Catharinadal, see Erens, 'De herwording van St. Catharinadal', pp. 32–3 [pp. 4–5].

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Table 3 Summary of chants for two versions of the office for St Norbert as given in **NL-OHnp MS 73**

(a) Gathering 2		
Chant	Genre	Folio
Magnus dominus et laudabilis	V1-A1	4 ^r [p. 13]
Translatus a fluminibus Babylonis	M-A1	
Erogatis in pauperes	M-A2	
Romano itaquae fultus	M-A3	4 ^v [p. 14]
Dum vir Dei in venis paternis	M-R1.1	
Manus enim domini valida	M-V1.1	5 ^r [p. 15]
Peterritus homo Dei	M-R1.2	
Desine a malo et fac bonum	M-V1.2	5 ^v [p. 16]
Vir Dei divini amoris zelo accensus	M-R1.3	
Proferebat enim de thesauro Dei	M-V1.3	
Mirificavit dominus sanctum	M-A1	
In domum Praemonstratam	M-A2	6 ^r [p. 17]
Super opera manuum tuarum	M-A3	6 ^v [p. 18]
Depositam rerum temporalium	M-R2.1	
Pede igitur nudo et tunicam	M-V2.1	
Potestate praedicandi verbum Dei	M-R2.2	7 ^r [p. 19]
Rediens autem vir Dei	M-V2.2	
Quasi turba exaltabat vocem suam	M-R2.3	7 ^v [p. 20]
Catervatim fluebant populi	M-V2.3	
Gloria patri et filio	M-G1	
Dolum in linguam suam non egit	M-A1	
Benedictionibus dulcedinis domum	M-A2	8 ^r [p. 21]
Ordine suo rite fundato	M-A3	
Quaerebat locum aptum vivendi	M-R3.1	8 ^v [p. 22]
Erat enim locus asperrimus	M-V3.1	9 ^r [p. 23]
Corpora sanctorum undecim	M-R3.2	
Beatus ille servus cui revelata sunt	M-V3.2	9 ^v [p. 24]
Domi et foris daemonum obsessiones	M-R3.3	
Erat enim fide constantissimus	M-V3.3	10 ^r [p. 25]
Gloria patri et folio	M-G1	
Norbertus lucerna ardens	L-A1	
Antverpienses Tanchellinam haeresi	L-A2	
Principibus ecclesiae orphanorum	L-A3	10 ^v [p. 26]
Religionem Christi in Saxoniam	L-A4	
Plaudentibus omnibus archiepiscopus	L-A5	
(b) Gathering 3		
Chant	Genre	Folio
Laetare mater nostra Jerusalem	V1-A1	18 ^v [p. 38]
Hunc mater devotissima	V1-A2	

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(Continued)

(b) Gathering 3		
Chant	Genre	Folio
Distulit tamen diu conversionis	V1-A3	
Surgens ergo regione longinquam	V1-A4	19 ^r [p. 39]
Inventur namque in salebris vitiorum	V1-A5	
Magnus inter manos exiguos	V1-R1	
Erat enim vir Dei Norbertus	V1-V1	
Adest dies celebris quo solutus	V1-A(M)	19 ^v [p. 40]
Norbertus lucerna ardens	L-A1	
Antverpienses Tanchelina haeresi	L-A2	
Principibus ecclesie orpanorum	L-A3	20 ^r [p. 41]
Religionem Christi in Saxoniam	L-A4	
Plaudentibus omnibus archiepiscopus	L-A5	
Domi et foris daemonum obsessiones	L-R1	
Erat enim fide constantissimus	L-V1	20 ^v [p. 42]
Vir Dei suae paupertatis	V2-A(M)	
Norbertus Catholicae religionis	V2-A2	21 ^r [p. 43]

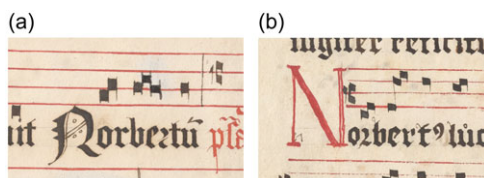


Figure 5 Comparison of the name ‘Norbert’ written by two scribes in different gatherings within **NL-OHnp 73**: (a) fol. 4^r [p. 13], in gathering 2 (i); (b) fol. 19^v [fol. 3^v; p. 40], in gathering 3 (ii)

entered **NL-OHnp 73** in the early sixteenth century as a former Jesuit antiphoner. Jesuits were, after all, not denied the right to celebrate the feast of St Norbert.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ St Norbert’s feast day (6 June) was only authorised for the Premonstratensians in 1582. In 1621 Gregory XV permitted the celebration of his feast for the entire Church, and his Office was included in the *Breviarum Romanum*. In 1625 his feast was moved to 11 July: H. Louthan, ‘New Perspectives on the Bohemian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century’, in *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*, edited by P. Benedict and M. P. Gutmann (Newark, NJ, 2005), pp. 52–79, at pp. 77–8 n. 74.



Figure 6 Date of 1684 in NL-OHnp 73, fol. 16^v [p. 36], in gathering 2

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Alternatively, Jesuits may have made this gathering specifically for a Norbertine community.⁵⁷ Given that Breda's Jesuit house was located less than a kilometre from Sint-Catharinadal, the sharing of musical sources was feasible.⁵⁸ Even by the mid 1680s, long after the conclusion of the Eighty Year's War, it is possible that Sint-Catharinadal was sourcing its chant repertoire from outside and rebinding fragments into serviceable manuscripts, a practice known to have existed elsewhere, not just within Breda and its environs but throughout Europe.⁵⁹ These fragments were ones that were well used, as shown by marginal notes and revisions entered on small scraps of paper bound into the gathering.⁶⁰ It is therefore reasonable to assume that **NL-OHNp 73** represents an assemblage of useful chants for a Norbertine community, some borrowed or acquired elsewhere. Given the cost of acquiring new manuscripts – or even new leaves of parchment or paper – it is understandable that religious houses would have economised by repurposing old sources into new ones.

Only one source, **NL-OHNp 77**, shows precise traces of its former ownership in an opening note:

⁵⁷ The Jesuits showed an interest in exchange between different orders: H. Thomas, 'Spiritual Exercises and Spiritual Exercises: Ascetic Intellectual Exchange in the English Catholic Community, c. 1600–1794', in *Jesuit Intellectual and Physical Exchange between England and Mainland Europe, c. 1580–1789*, edited by J. E. Kelly and H. Thomas (Leiden, 2019), pp. 287–314.

⁵⁸ Breda's Jesuits were renting at least two properties in the 1660s, one on the the Karrestraat in the inner city, which they had occupied since 1661. There are records of another property outside the older city walls on the Haagdijk, which they were renting around 1676. The Jesuits apparently left this latter site in 1677, probably because they purchased the more central site outright with plans to build a church (still probably secret) on the upper floor. These plans may have been partially carried out, yet they ended abruptly in 1685, when the city's mayor forbade them to use the property for religious purposes. A new site was found nearby, a former dyeing house on the Waterstraat. Its upper floor was converted to a secret church, which still survives today, although in a heavily altered state. See J. L. M. de Lepper, 'De Bredase schuilkerken', *Jaarboek de Oranjeboom*, 23 (1970), pp. 14–34, at pp. 17–21.

⁵⁹ See, for instance, the examples given in C. Sauer, 'Chorbücher eines mobile Buchmalers aus dem süddeutschen Raum: Zur Einordnung eines Antiphonars aus dem Klarissenkloster St. Maria Magdalena in Regensburg', in *St. Emmeram: Liturgie und Musik vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by H. Buchinger, D. Hiley and K. Schultz, Forum Mittelalter, 19 (Regensburg, 2023), pp. 289–310, at pp. 291–310. These examples indicate that one specific scribe worked for multiple orders, and that interaction occasionally may have taken place between the orders themselves.

⁶⁰ See the marginal direction in two different scripts on fol. 4^r [p. 13] and the scrap of paper between fols. 5^v–6^r [pp. 16–17].

This book is for the use of Sister Maria Margaret Brouwers. As long as her superior permits. In the year 1676. // Pray for my soul, which _ towards our death shall be borne from love. Rest in peace.⁶¹

Not only does this manuscript indicate a precise date (1676), but it also indicates an individual owner: canoness Maria Margaret Brouwers. From this indication, this source was not intended to be read around a lectern by an assembled group of canonesses, but was one woman's personal book intended either for her participation in the liturgy, or for her private devotions. This canoness with the surname Brouwers was almost certainly a Premonstratensian resident at the priory itself, because this surname was that of an important local family that sent several female members to be canonesses at Sint-Catharinadal over the course of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, there is mention of one Maria Anna Brouwers and her sister Elisabeth, both of whom were sent to Sint-Catharinadal to boost numbers after a period of low recruitment.⁶² Given the appearance of multiple Brouwerses at Sint-Catharinadal prior to this period, it is likely that **NL-OHnp 77**'s owner was one such family member.

This book therefore shows that in addition to manuscripts that were read by multiple canonesses, there were also books owned and used by individual women.⁶³ **NL-OHnp 77** offers a brief conspectus of an individual's expected knowledge of and participation in the Premonstratensian liturgy, as well as the impact individuals had on a book's contents and presentation. The manuscript is an antiphoner with Temporale and Sanctorale chants that form part of the winter cycle, from Advent to Easter. **NL-OHnp 77**'s contents are relatively complete and cohesive, containing a systematic ordering of chants for the entire liturgical year, unlike **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a**. For a source presumably intended for personal use, probably in the choir of the church, it is also quite elaborate, with frequent use of coloured initials and recurring, coloured marginal drawings of animals, commonly birds. This book was therefore one that held personal value, both as

⁶¹ 'Desen Bock is tot gebruyck van Str. Marie Margaretae Brouwers. Soo lanch alst haar boversten beliest. Anno 1676. // Bidt voor myn ziel die _ naer ons doodt zullen gebruyden uyt liefde. Requiescat in pace.'

⁶² Sponselee-de Meester, "Hoe het geclap verstomde!'", pp. 135–6.

⁶³ Books intended for individual canonesses also survive from the priory at Gempe, kept now at the Abdij van Park. All these sources date from the 17th and 18th cc. See **B-LVvp G-IV-1**, 3–11, **G-V-2**, **H-VI-7–17**, 19, **IIB3h.7a–b**, **8a**, **J-IV-7**, 11–13. These were undecorated but are rather large books and seem to have been copied by the canonesses for use in the choir. My thanks to Barbara Haggh-Huglo for making me aware of these sources.

an ordered compendium of chant repertoire and as a decorated object. **NL-OHnp 77** was not merely the property of Maria Margaret Brouwers: her ownership would have been recognised by the community of sisters around her, who may well have witnessed her using it in the choir, and who indicated her ownership in the note on the front page, which was entered after her death.

Revised Square Notation

A common feature in the Sint-Catharinadal sources is revision, with most changes to the original chant enacted to conform to Nivers's reform. Nivers was an influential organist and chant reformer, who had enjoyed close access to Louis XIV and the French court since at least the 1670s.⁶⁴ France had a long interest in plainchant as a living tradition during the early modern era. During the time of Louis XIV, chant displaced the king's favourite *grand motet* on important feast days at the royal chapel at Versailles.⁶⁵ Revision was as important a priority in France as anywhere else, with long melismas and 'defective' accentuation unsuited to contemporary humanistic literary tastes. Revisionists called for melodic simplification, adapted to principles of tonal music, and set chant to modern rhythms (i.e., plain-chant mesuré).⁶⁶ In this environment, a committee of senior canons commissioned Nivers around 1677 to revise the Premonstratensian antiphoner and gradual. The Premonstratensians had expressed the wish as early as 1660 for someone to 'remove the useless protractions of chant, correct their accents and eliminate all forms of dissonances'.⁶⁷ Nivers's efforts were emblematic of the Counter-Reformation spirit, directed towards an extensive revision of sung liturgy and driven by the wish to elevate chant to what many perceived to be the glories of an earlier repertoire.⁶⁸ His motivations were also political,

⁶⁴ Drummond, 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers', pp. 317–18.

⁶⁵ C. [now A.] Davy-Rigaux, 'Plain-chant et liturgie à la Chapelle Royale de Versailles (1682–1703)', in *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII^e siècle*, ed. J. Duron (Versailles, 1997), pp. 217–36; J.-P. C. Montagnier, 'French Grand Motets and Their Use at the Chapelle Royale from Louis XIV to Louis XVI', *The Musical Times* 146/1891 (2005), pp. 47–57, at p. 55.

⁶⁶ P. Bennett, *Music and Power at the Court of Louis XIII* (Cambridge, 2021), pp. 195–237.

⁶⁷ J. B. Valvekens and L. C. van Dijk, 'Acta et decreta Capitulorum Generalium O. Praem. T. V. (1657–1738)', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 62 (1986), pp. 103–32, at p. 132, cited in Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, p. 306, n. 5. Davy-Rigaux provides the most comprehensive summary of events leading up to the reform. See also Drummond, 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers', pp. 313–19.

⁶⁸ Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, ch. 1 and pp. 315–18.

echoing the priorities of an increasingly vocal Gallican church in Louis XIV's France, which challenged Roman influence.⁶⁹

Although newer printing technologies meant that buying revised official liturgical books had become cheaper, the relative price of paper meant that volumes such as Nivers's 1680 antiphoner and gradual were still an extravagant purchase.⁷⁰ Therefore, chant communities often updated their older manuscripts to reflect the latest, correct version of a chant instead. The older chant books of Sint-Catharinadal represent this priority to update even older sources. The priory's books are written with melodies that were deemed by the mid seventeenth century to be too florid. They were therefore corrected to accord with the less melismatic melodies of Nivers's *Antiphonarium Praemonstratense*.⁷¹ It is uncertain whether Sint-Catharinadal ever had a copy of the new 1680 revision, as records of its presence in the region survive only in the abbeys of Park, Averbode, Tongerlo and Grimbergen.⁷² The revisions to the Sint-Catharinadal sources may therefore have been implemented based upon a temporary period of access to the new edition. Sint-Catharinadal was still, after all, in a period of change, having moved to Oosterhout permanently just the year before the revision was published. There were doubtless greater priorities than purchasing the newest antiphoner, whereas relying on older sources that were updated may have been a more manageable solution. Other manuscripts from neighbouring houses (for example, Tongerlo

⁶⁹ Karp, *Introduction to the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper*, i, pp. 205–50; Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, pp. 342–5. Louis XIV had tried in 1673 to implement absolute power over southern French provinces against Rome's will, which led to tensions throughout his reign. For general literature on Gallicanism, see J. Berkin, *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France* (New Haven, CT, 2014), pp. 215–22.

⁷⁰ On the process and expense of early modern printing, see J.-F. Gilmont, 'Printing at the Dawn of the Sixteenth Century', in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont, trans. K. Maag (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 10–20. On printing for chant books, see Gillion, 'Plantin's *Antiphonarium Romanum*'; T. Karp, 'Two Belgian Traditions for the Post-Tridentine Mass Proper', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 7 (2008), pp. 35–49; R. J. Agee, 'The Printed Dissemination of the Roman Gradual in Italy during the Early Modern Period', *Notes*, 64/1 (2007), 9–42; M. Gozzi, 'Le edizioni liturgico-musicale dopo il concilio', in *Musica e liturgia nella riforma Tridentina*, ed. D. Curti and M. Gozzi (Trent, 1995), pp. 39–55.

⁷¹ Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers*, pp. 305–16.

⁷² It is worth noting that while copies of Nivers's chant books might not be extant in the canonesses' collection, it does not necessarily follow that they never owned them; however, the contents of the priory's library from the 17th c. onwards are rich, so not to include an edition as significant as Nivers's is itself noteworthy. The importance of Nivers's edition is apparent from surviving copies at the Abdij van Park, **B-LVvp PrIIV/33** (*Antiphonarium Praemonstratense*) and **ArFIV/4** (*Graduale Praemonstratense*), and at the Abdij van Averbode, **B-AVna 424–7**.



Figure 7 Revised square notation: NL-OHnp 76a, fols. 17^v–18^r (corrections)

and Grimbergen) were both retained and updated in the wake of Nivers's 1680 edition, and many of these sources are centuries older than the earliest of the Sint-Catharinadal manuscripts.⁷³

The Sint-Catharinadal sources incorporate multiple notational styles simultaneously within the same manuscript. The revised square form of notation used by later scribes, seen in the corrections to NL-OHnp 76a (Figure 7), differs from the earlier square script through a more distinctly seriffed form, the regular replacement of oblique pairs by square notes and the occasional presence of semibreves (all characteristics of seventeenth-century printed chant). That the revised square script appears consistently across Sint-Catharinadal's musical sources suggests that sometime after the 1680 revision to the Premonstratensian rite an individual, or a small team of people following the same notational standard, were responsible for revising the house's musical repertoire. That staves as well as notes were painted over is observed in NL-OHnp 76a. This source revises its Hufnagelschrift chants by painting over the original layer entirely, and on some pages scribes inserted newly ruled lines in red ink, which stand out from the usual black staves. The canoness-scribes then wrote new melodies and texts over the top in the revised square form.

⁷³ See, for instance, B-Br 210, 217 and 5642–3, all of which were revised after Nivers's 1680 edition, and whose original layers date from the late 15th c.



Figure 8 Revised square notation: **NL-OHnp 77**, fols. 66^v–67^r [pp. 126–7]

This approach appears to have been adopted throughout all sources at the priory, and partially in the hymnary **NL-OHnp 80**.⁷⁴ Antiphoners intended to be read by multiple canonsesses were revised, but so were those intended for individual women. As shown in Figure 8, **NL-OHnp 77** appears to have been edited with the revised square notation as the new standard; however, unlike **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a**, the revised square notation is not entirely dissimilar to **NL-OHnp 77**'s earlier script, with the only discernable difference being the use of serifs on both upper and lower sides of each neume, rather than the exclusive use of descending serifs for the earlier layer of certain manuscripts.⁷⁵ What this conformity of revision across the manuscripts shows is that a small number of scribes appears to have updated the manuscripts at Sint-Catharinadal, and that this revision was probably part of the house's official policy, enacted to conform with Nivers's new standard.

Most examples of erasure from houses to the south in the dioceses of Antwerp and Mechelen show revision at the same points of the manuscript. The Magnificat antiphon of First Vespers from the office of the Finding of the True Cross, *O crux gloriosa* (Cantus ID 004018), was revised in **B-Gu BKT.006** of Tongerlo Abbey, and these revisions

⁷⁴ Original layer written in early square form; revised sections include hymns for the feast of St Norbert (fols. 11^r–17^v) and additional melodies and texts. Many hymns have been left unnotated, either at the original compilation or after revision.

⁷⁵ See fol. 4^{r-v}.

Sint-Catharinadal's Women Correcting Chant, 1500–1700

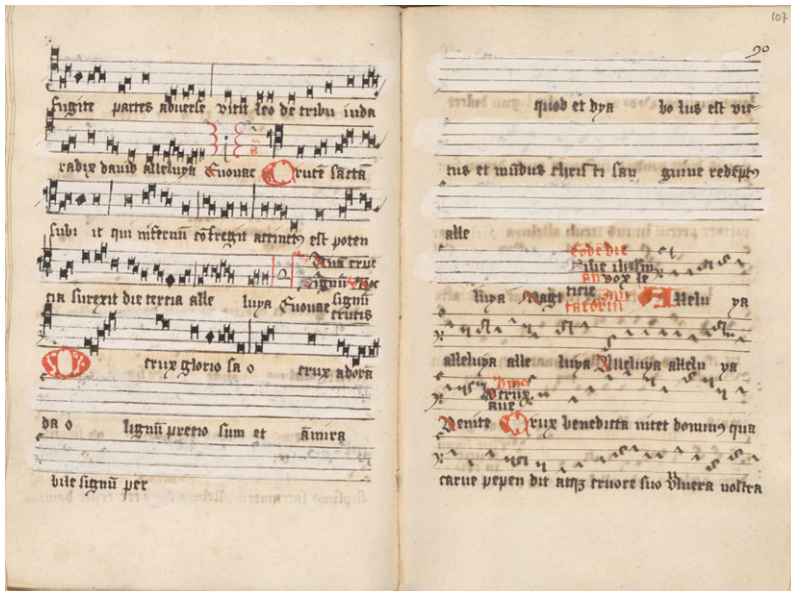


Figure 9 Incomplete revision of *O. crux gloriosa*: **NL-OHnp 76**, fols. 106^v–107^r
[89^v–90^r]

accord with Nivers's 1680 edition.⁷⁶ There are extensive points of erasure and occasional corrections written by a different scribe. Older chant retained in Nivers's revision is kept. The same technique of erasing individual notes was used in **B-Br 210** from Grimbergen Abbey, north of Brussels (fol. 116^{r-v}). While both sources from Tongerlo and Grimbergen write out the newly revised chant melody, **NL-OHnp 76** from Sint-Catharinadal only writes out the notation for the first system (Figure 9). That **NL-OHnp 76** only enters an incipit of the Niversian revision offers clues as to how Sint-Catharinadal's canonesses read their chant manuscripts: here notation served as a prompt to the revised melody, with only the chant's opening melody and the remainder of the chant text required to summon the rest of the chant from the singer's memory.⁷⁷ Partially notating portions of chant may also indicate that part of the melody was sung by a particular group of women, or even played by an organ; however,

⁷⁶ For a contextual study of this chant in Low Countries Premonstratensian sources, see Bleisch and Drummond, 'Op zoek naar de verborgen schat in het Antifonarium Tsgrooten', pp. 167–8.

⁷⁷ A hymn, for instance, might be more readily remembered than a responsory.



Figure 10 Revision on attached slips: **NL-OHnp 76**, fols. 10^v–11^r [4^v–5^r]

since the pattern of partially notating is inconsistent throughout the manuscript, and in the absence of more precise information on performance circumstances, this theory is unsupported by further evidence.

There are also inconsistencies that point to a less organised approach within Sint-Catharinadal itself. Occasionally there are revisions made on newly inserted leaves or smaller slips of paper, as seen in Figure 10 from **NL-OHnp 76**, where two sections of chant for Easter Sunday appear on separate slips: an antiphon for Matins, *Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia* (Cantus ID 001329), and a detail in the first responsory for Sext, *Alleluia. Angelus domini* (Cantus ID 006093). On these slips are written the chant melody in square notation, accompanied by a new text script. The revised square notation given in an initial revision was either written down incorrectly and had to be corrected, or a later revision occurred that superseded the earlier revision. In any case, these inserted sheets, placed amongst revised text, point towards an inconsistency of the repertoire: either as something that was adapted in multiple stages and so required multiple stages of correction, or was not stable enough to have been understood in the first place and so risked introducing errors that then had to be corrected through the insertion of new slips of paper.

Sint-Catharinadal's Women Correcting Chant, 1500–1700



Figure 11 Revised Magnificat antiphons and unrevised Benedictus antiphons:
NL-OHnp 76, fols. 79^v–80^r [67^v–68^r]

A point of interest in both **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a** is the approach towards editing some chants while leaving others in their original state. While these two sources contain chants for a wide variety of offices, the large majority only provide the notated Magnificat antiphons for First or Second Vespers and the Benedictus antiphon at Lauds. Figure 11 shows various chants for Sundays after Pentecost. Every Magnificat antiphon has been edited to accord with Nivers's 1680 revision, with each following Benedictus antiphon appearing in its original, unedited Hugnagelschrift. There is a direct correspondence here to Nivers's revision, since only the Magnificat antiphons that appear in the 1680 edition were updated, while those absent from the edition (i.e. the antiphons for the Benedictus) were left unedited. The canonesses would presumably have ignored these unaltered chants if they were no longer a part of the Premonstratensian service, so reminders of the earlier tradition remained alongside the updated liturgy. The unedited chants in the Hugnagelschrift may have still been recognisable to the canonesses, who could have recalled the earlier liturgy even if it was no longer permitted to be sung. That the *O crux gloriosa* chant in Figure 9 is only partially notated suggests memory played a crucial role within Sint-Catharinadal's community,

with entire melodies recalled from a melodic incipit or from the text alone.⁷⁸

Leaving parts of the revised sources in the earlier Hufnagelschrift did not necessarily mean that older melodies could not have been recognised. Hufnagelschrift was not altogether inaccessible to the manuscripts' readership, given Sint-Catharinadal's location close to where two notational systems coexisted. The porous boundaries between Hufnagelschrift and square forms is apparent in contemporaneous sources such as **B-Br 4826**, a sixteenth-century Vesperale made for the church and attached college of the Jesuits in Leuven (now the Sint-Michielskerk).⁷⁹ This repository of office chants, written on paper by what appears to be a variety of scribes, is a clean copy that did not go through subsequent editing. Here, square notation demarcates beginnings and ends of chants, while Hufnagelschrift is used almost consistently elsewhere. The square notation of **B-Br 4826** was practical for incipits and cadential formulae, offering easy readability to its audience. But while Hufnagelschrift can identify discrete pitches, it was avoided at moments of intonation and final cadences. Unlike the chants in this Jesuit source, entire Hufnagelschrift chants in the Sint-Catharinadal antiphoners were often erased. While Hufnagelschrift was readable, the fact that few Sint-Catharinadal sources use it directly alongside revised square notation within the same chant suggests that the canonesses did not accept the close juxtaposition of notational styles. The Sint-Catharinadal sources indicate a preference for the clarity of square notation for chants that the canonesses sang more frequently, and this

⁷⁸ Combined with the use of stroke notation, discussed below, this practice of only editing alternate chants might suggest use of the manuscripts by an organist or keyboard player who was to play alternatim. See **NL-Ua fonds Oudmunster inv. nr. 395**, a 14th-c. *Liber ordinarius*, which proscribes use of the organ for *O crux gloriosa* before Compline and after first Vespers on the Octave of the Nativity of Mary. See L. van Tongeren and G. Gerritsen-Geywitz (eds.), *The Liber ordinarius of the Chapter Church of Saint Saviour at Utrecht*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 52 (Münster, 2022), pp. 199–200.

⁷⁹ For datings, see B. Haggh, 'Simple Polyphony from Ghent: Representative or Exceptional?', in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura*, ed. G. Cattin and F. A. Gallo, Quaderni di 'Musica e Storia', 3 (2002), pp. 99–118, at pp. 99–100. Haggh identifies this manuscript as from the mid 16th c. and, based upon further rubrics, as intended for the Abdij 'Het Rijke Gasthuis' in Ghent and the parish church of St Martin (now the Dominicanenklooster). See also B. Haggh, 'Sources for Plainchant and Ritual from Ghent and London: A Survey and Comparison', in *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, 50 (1996), pp. 23–72, at pp. 49–50. The rubric indicating ownership at the Jesuit college in Leuven appears on fol. 1^r in a separate gathering from the rest of the manuscript. My thanks to Barbara Haggh-Huglo for alerting me to this source.

revised square notation mirrors the simplicity of notational style in Nivers's 1680 antiphoner.

A New Source of Stroke Notation

Like many scribes tasked with updating their religious books elsewhere, those at Sint Catharinadal sometimes deviated from editorial conventions, and such a deviation appears in **NL-OHnp 76**. Many pages in the manuscript appear with stroke notation, in a script that cannot be dated accurately, but which nevertheless provides information about a melody's rhythm through a series of vertical strokes. Table 4 summarises the complete chants with stroke notation in **NL-OHnp 76**, many of which are Magnificat antiphons for liturgical feasts throughout the year. Figures 12 and 13 present several examples of these strokes from the source.

Just as in normal square notation or Hufnagelschrift, the placing of the strokes indicates the pitches that should be sung. The number of strokes per note indicates how long each tone should last. A single stroke represents one tactus, two represents two and so on.⁸⁰

Using stroke notation for Latin texts and in liturgical books used for singing is unusual. Stroke notation exists in mostly non-liturgical sources, particularly those for instrumental music, throughout the Netherlands and northern Germany, with a smaller number found in England and Italy.⁸¹ They point to an alternative form of musical notation and means of musical literacy, which was used throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸² Barbara Haggh-Huglo has drawn attention to the Helmond manuscript, **NL-HELga inv. no. 215**, which is a register mostly containing contracts and acknowledgements

⁸⁰ Inconsistent with most stroke notation is the presence of diagonal strokes, which may represent subdivisions of the tactus. I am grateful for discussions with Jeremy Llewellyn, Barbara Haggh-Huglo, David Burn and David Hiley on whether these strokes are incomplete square notation where the vertical strokes were entered without horizontal strokes. While this may seem a tempting theory, there is little logic behind a scribe entering square notation with vertical strokes first, only to come back to an entire page and complete each grapheme with its corresponding horizontal strokes.

⁸¹ A. Kol, 'De streepjesnotatie in het Gruuthuse-Handschrift en andere bronnen': <http://arjenvankol.com/bronnen-met-streepjesnotatie.pdf> (acc. 17 Jul 2022); K. Vellekoop, 'Lijnen en streepjes: Aspecten van de muzieknotatie in het Gruuthuse-Handschrift', *Madoc*, 14 (2000), pp. 203–11.

⁸² On datings of sources with stroke notation, see Kol, 'De streepjesnotatie', p. 1. Two main periods are indicated: German and Low Countries sources before 1450 and English sources after 1450. One exception is an Italian source from the 16th c.

Table 4 Summary of chants with stroke notation in **NL-OHnp 76**

Incipit	Genre	Feast	CANTUS ID	Folio	Notes
Dextera domini fecit virtute	V2-GrV	Dom. 2 Quadragesimae	002185	18 ^{r-v} [11 ^{r-v}]	Strokes on 18 ^r [11 ^r]; overleaf on 18 ^v [11 ^v] in square.
Dixit Jesus discipulis suis	V[2]-A(M)	Fer. 4 p. Pascha	002297	19 ^{r-v} [12 ^{r-v}]	Strokes only from ‘predidistis nunc ascendit’ on 19 ^r [12 ^r]; overleaf on 19 ^v [12 ^v] in square.
Videte manus meas et pedes	V2-A(M)	Fer. 3 p. Pascha	005400	19 ^v [12 ^v]	Pastedown in different hand; final two notes in void square.
Benedictus qui venit in	V[2]-V	Fer. 6 p. Pascha	007978	20 ^{r-v} [13 ^{r-v}]	Square on 20 ^r [13 ^r]; strokes begin overleaf on 20 ^v [13 ^v] from ‘Benedictus’; much empty space indicating curtailing of melismas; void square on ‘qui venit’.
Data est mihi omnis	V2-A(M)	Fer. 6 p. Pascha	002099	20 ^v [13 ^v]	Strokes at ‘potestas tu celo et in recta alleluya alleluya’.
Hoc iam tertio manifestavit se	[V2]-A(M)	Fer. [?] p. Pascha	003084	24 ^v [17 ^v]	Strokes throughout; Magnificat in Hufnagelschrift.
Ego tu pastor ovium ego	V[2]-A(M)	Fer. [?] p. Pascha	002598	25 ^{r-v} [18 ^{r-v}]	Strokes for ‘Ego tu pastor’, after which empty; continuation overleaf in Hufnagelschrift.
Alias oves habeo quae non	V-A(M)	Dom. 2 p. Pascha	001320	27 ^r [20 ^r]	Strokes from ‘non sunt ex hoc’.
Non turbetur cor vestrum ego	M-R1.1	Dom. Pentecostes	007226	32 ^r [25 ^r]	Strokes throughout.
Ite in orbem universum et	M-R1.3	Dom. Pentecostes	007028	33 ^v –34 ^r [25 ^v –26 ^r]	Strokes throughout; following chants revised in square with altered texts too.
Tibi laus tibi gloria tibi	[M]-R1.1	Dom. Trinitate	007764	49 ^v –50 ^r [39 ^v –40 ^r]	Strokes throughout with occasional void square notation.

(Continued)

	Incipit	Genre	Feast	CANTUS ID	Folio	Notes
99	Cognoverunt omnes a Dan usque	V[2]-A(M)	De Regum	001849	65 ^{r-v} [56 ^{r-v}]	Begins on 65 ^r [56 ^r] in square; strokes begin from 65 ^v [56 ^v] from 'a Dan usque'; following chant edited but in square with occasional void square.
	Mons Gelboe nec ros nec	V[2]-A(M)	De Regum	003807	66 ^{r-v} [57 ^{r-v}]	Strokes throughout.
	Quomodo ceciderunt fortes	V[2]-A(M)	De Regum	006487za	67 ^v	Strokes on separate leaf with void square for 'ceciderunt'.
	In hymnis et confessionibus	M-V1.1	In Dedicatione Eccl.	007341a	89 ^r [76 ^r]	Begins in black square, with strokes beginning from 'confessioni'; following chant erased with no notation.
	Venientes autem venient cum	M-V1.2	In Dedicatione Eccl.	006756a	89 ^{r-v} [76 ^{r-v}]	Strokes throughout; following chant erased with no notation.
	Beati habitant in domo	M-V1.3	In Dedicatione Eccl.	006182	89 ^v [76 ^v]	Strokes throughout.
	Et ipsi populus eius erunt	M-V1.1	In Dedicatione Eccl.	007871za	91 ^v –93 ^r [78 ^v – 79 ^r]	Strokes throughout; following chant erased with no notation; separate leaf inserted in between, hence unusual foliation.
	Alleluya ego sum vitis vera	[?]	[?]	001342	100 ^r [80 ^r]	Strokes throughout, void square for 'mei'.
	Nos autem gloriari	M-R1.1	Inventio Crucis	007238	109 ^{r-v} [92 ^{r-v}]	Erased with no notation on 109 ^r [92 ^r]; notated from 109 ^v [92 ^v] with square from 'liberati sumus alleluia'; strokes from 'liberati sumus alleluia'.

(Continued)

Incipit	Genre	Feast	CANTUS ID	Folio	Notes
Mihi autem absit gloriari	M-V1.1	Inventio Crucis	007266a	109 ^v [92 ^v]	Strokes throughout.
O crux splendidior cunctis	V[2]-A(M)	Inventio Crucis	004019	110 ^v –111 ^r [93 ^v –94 ^r]	Square starts for ‘O crux splendidior’; strokes from cunctis.
Divina misericordia	[M-A1]	Mariae Magdalenae	600139a	123 ^{r-v} [103 ^{r-v}]	Strokes throughout, including overleaf; black void at doxology; strokes at ‘Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto’.
Gloriosa iam per orbem	V[2]-A(M)	Mariae Magdalenae	201980	125 ^r [105 ^r]	Black void incipit at ‘Gloriosa’; strokes from ‘iam per orbem’; square void at ‘superiosa’.
Nec tu me mutabis	[M-V1.1]	Augustini	601227a	132 ^r [112 ^r]	Strokes throughout; other chants around erased but no notation.
Herodes enim tenuit	[M-V1.1]	Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	007036b	138 ^v –139 ^r [121 ^v –122 ^r]	Strokes to ‘propter’; ‘Herodia’ and onwards from 122 ^r [139 ^r] without notation.
Inter natos mulierum	V[2]-R1	[Joannis Baptistae]	006979	139 ^v –140 ^r [127 ^v –128 ^r]	Strokes for ‘Inter natos’, after which erased but no notation.
Sanctifica nos domine	V[2]-A(M)	[Exaltatio crucis]	004744	140 ^{r-v} [128 ^{r-v}]	Strokes throughout; textual revision at ‘vexilo sancte’ and elsewhere; square overleaf on 140 ^v [128 ^v] except for strokes at ‘et pretium’.
Inter natos mulierum	V[2]-R1	[Joannis Baptistae]	006979	153 ^r [139 ^r]	Strokes throughout.
Beati pacifici beati mundo corde	[L]-A1	Comm. Apostolorum	001588?	164 ^r [155 ^r]	Strokes throughout, textual revision too.
Si audivitis vocum angelis	V1-A1	S. Angelis Custodis	?	167 ^v [158 ^v]	Strokes until ‘angelis’, after which erasure but with no notation.
Amen amen dico vobis si	V1-A(M)	Dom. 5 post Pascha	001377	172 ^r [162 ^r]	Strokes throughout.
Puer Samuel ministrabat ante Deus	V1-A(M)	Dom. 2 post Pentecostes	004414	172 ^r [162 ^r]	Strokes throughout.

(Continued)

Incipit	Genre	Feast	CANTUS ID	Folio	Notes
Amen dico vobis quia non	V2-A(M)	Dom. 3 Octob.	001380	174 ^v [164 ^v]	Strokes throughout.
Exaudiat dominus orationes	V1-A(M)	Dom. 4 Octob.	006028a/ 006687	174 ^v –175 ^r [164 ^v –165 ^r]	Strokes throughout.
O quam gloriosum est	V[2]-A(M)	Omnium sanctorum Ord. Prem.	004063	175 ^v [165 ^v]	Strokes from ‘O quam <u>gloriosum</u> ’.
Vos qui secuti estis me	V[2]-A(M)	[Omnium sanctorum]	005502?	176 ^{r-v} [166 ^{r-v}]	Strokes from 176 ^v [166 ^v] at ‘super fideo indicantes’.
Iusti autem in perpetuum	[M-A1]	Reliquiarum	008112	176 ^v [166 ^v]	Strokes throughout.
Beati estis	[V-A1]	[Omnium sanctorum]	001581?	176 ^v [166 ^v]	Strokes throughout.
Stetit angelus iuxta aram	[M-A1]	[Michaelis]	005029?	176 ^v [166 ^v]	Strokes throughout; notation and text in different hand.

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(a)



(b)



Figure 12 Stroke notation: NL-OHnp 76, fols. 66^v–68^r [57^v–58^r]

Sint-Catharinadal's Women Correcting Chant, 1500–1700

(a)



(b)



Figure 13 Stroke notation: NL-OHnp 76, fols. 18^v–20^r [11^v–13^r]

of debts and transfers by the aldermen of Helmond.⁸³ Bound into this volume is an oblong leaf (fol. 99^r), with two entries dated to 1416, containing three secular songs written in simple stroke notation indicating semibreves and minims. A further significant source is the Gruuthuse manuscript (**NL-DHk 79.K.10**).⁸⁴ While this manuscript does contain some liturgical prayers set to music, they are few, and strokes are not used for anything other than secular repertoire. Also worth mentioning is **B-Br 15589–15623**, a songbook that dates from around the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, filled with secular songs in the Dutch language.⁸⁵ While most of this songbook has texts lacking notation, two folios include stroke notation. The first, fol. 23^v,⁸⁶ once contained four pieces but has had a significant portion of the page cut out. Remaining are over 200 secular songs, with the collection headed ‘dits een rondeel’ (this is a rondeau). A further page in the manuscript, fol. 157^r, comprises six musical phrases in stroke notation for a simple secular song, with text divided into strophes of varying lengths. The rubric indicates that it is a song for St Peter’s eve (28 June).⁸⁷ This song, ‘Wech op wech op dat herte mijn’, is not liturgical in nature but is part of the secular celebrations associated with Midsummer Eve. These sources demonstrate a consistent link between stroke notation and secular songs, particularly those of a popular or folkloric quality.

Stroke notation has been associated with a simpler form of representing music for those less versed in notational literacy, or for instrumental genres.⁸⁸ The rhythmic system depicted by mensural notation, on the other hand, is less literal, since its method of depicting increased rhythmic values is non-figurative. The most common mensural notes, from shortest to longest, are the semi-minima (filled stemmed rhombus), minima (void stemmed rhombus), semibrevis (void rhombus), brevis (void square) and longa (void square with stem). The sequence of visual cues in mensural notation – from filled to void, from stemmed to stemless, from rhombus to

⁸³ B. Haggh, ‘The Helmond Manuscript’, *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 2 (1997), pp. 39–42.

⁸⁴ H. Brinkman and I. de Loos, *Het Gruuthuse-Handschrift: Hs. Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 79.K.10*, 2 vols. (Hilversum, 2015). My thanks to Jeremy Llewellyn for alerting me to this source.

⁸⁵ Formerly **V.H.192**. Noted in the opening rubric as a ‘Verzameling van een groot getal Gedichten in de Nederlandsche tael, gemaect in de XIV en XV eeuwen’.

⁸⁶ Given as fol. 30^v in Kol, ‘De streepjesnotatie’, p. 3.

⁸⁷ ‘Het viel op sente peters nacht.’

⁸⁸ B. Haggh, ‘New Publications in Dutch on Music before 1700 and a Newly Discovered 15th-Century Dutch Manuscript with Songs’, *Early Music*, 25 (1997), pp. 127–8; B. Haggh, ‘The Helmond Manuscript’, p. 39.

square – does not self-evidently indicate the increase in duration. Stroke notation, on the other hand, shows an accumulation of strokes that directly corresponds to a note's greater time value. Stroke notation has the disadvantage of overwhelming the reader. When faced with the pressures of performance, it is challenging to keep track of a very long sequence of strokes. Further compounding the system's limitations are the impracticalities of space for writing out longer notes in mensural notation, like the *longa* or *maxima*, which can despite being one notational grapheme represents many more durational beats. Stroke notation's visually literal nature nevertheless makes it an accessible aid and, in the case of **NL-OHnp 76**, the durations required are both short and within a narrow range of the longest and shortest notes (one or two strokes), meaning that practicalities of both reading and writing the notation are not complicated.

Such strokes do not appear in any other Sint-Catharinadal source, so it is likely that a small group of women carried out these changes on **NL-OHnp 76** at its initial stage of revision. Given that strokes are also sometimes associated with instrumental music, particularly that played by the organ or another keyboard instrument, an organist may have used this source for Magnificat antiphons and other chants that were often performed with organ. While it would be tempting to compare the strokes to Nivers's revisions to see if both can be interpreted rhythmically, none of the cases in **NL-OHnp 76** investigated so far include a comparable passage in the 1680 edition.⁸⁹ Most instances in this manuscript appear to be the first revised entry after the older staves and notation were painted over. See, for instance, Figure 13 above, where the Magnificat antiphon for Vespers on Easter Wednesday, *Dixit Jesus discipulis* (Cantus ID 002295; fol. 19^{r-v} [12^{r-v}]), appears partly in the revised square form and partly in stroke notation. The sections that are in strokes on 'quos predidistis nunc ascendit' are the initial layer of revision, just like the surrounding square form. Here, stroke notation clarifies the rhythm of the revised chant. The scribe was comfortable with reading square notation, but at moments of uncertainty a literal depiction of tactus through accumulation of strokes was deemed helpful. Overleaf is one

⁸⁹ Many chants from older antiphoners were not included in Nivers's revision, as seen above in Figure 11. There has been extensive debate as to whether early modern chant notation was read rhythmically. See A. Lovato, 'Aspetti ritmici del canto piano nei trattati dei secoli XVI–XVII', in *Il canto piano nell'era della stampa: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi sul canto liturgico nei secoli XV–XVIII*; Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Venezia, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 9–11 Ottobre 1998, ed. G. Cattin, D. Curti and M. Gozzi (Trent, 1999), pp. 99–114.

moment where the same scribe is identifiable. Observe the Magnificat antiphon for [Second] Vespers on Easter Tuesday, *Videte manus meas* (Cantus ID 005400; fol. 19^v [12^v]), written in strokes on a separate slip of paper pasted onto the original page, with a new text script in block letters. The only notes not in stroke notation here are the final two tones in void breves, at the end of the ‘Alleluia’: presumably, for the untexted final syllables, which are easier to sing without strokes on account of their falling on unison tones. The reason that this scribe decided to correct not just a chant but its text too may have been to account for new distribution of space with the stroke form.

Multiple musical scribes writing in stroke notation suggests that a small community of canonesses at Sint-Catharinadal thought of chant through this non-standard medium. See, for instance, the inserted part-leaf (fol. 67^{r-v}) in Figure 12 above, pasted within an earlier opening (fols. 66^v, 68^r [57^v–58^r]). On the recto side of the leaf is the invitatory antiphon for Matins at Pentecost, *Alleluia spiritus domini* (Cantus ID 001034). This invitatory on the recto appears in revised square notation, whereas the chant on the verso, the Magnificat antiphon for [Second] Vespers in the summer histories office De Regum, *Quomodo ceciderunt fortes in bello* (Cantus ID 006487za), is in stroke notation. Both revisions differ in their textual script from that of the inserted leaf on fol. 19^v [12^v] in Figure 13. The script here is cruder in its form, normally not cursive save for the textually ligated ‘g’ on ‘ego’. Meanwhile, on fol. 67^r in Figure 12, the script is also largely in block letters, but has distinctive features such as the open majuscule form for lower-case ‘e’. Both scripts have a closed miniscule lower-case ‘e’ form, but they differ in that fol. 67^v in Figure 12 shows greater tendency towards cursive writing. The melody, however, is in stroke notation. The stroke thickness and hue of ink in both cases are identical to their corresponding text scripts. Like Figure 13, the first scribe of Figure 12 uses strokes throughout, save for a punctum and virga on ‘cecid^{er}unt’; however, this scribe also deploys diagonal strokes that appear elsewhere throughout the manuscript. Such strokes appear to be restricted to penultimate (and unaccented) syllables of longer words; they may therefore signal stress patterns in performance, which may correspond to rhythmic difference. For this second scribe, stroke notation offers a more literal representation of rhythmicised chant, yet strokes also bridge the gap between indicating stress patterns and specifying exact duration. Here, the first scribe of Figure 12 deploys strokes to indicate subtleties of performance practice and not just to demarcate the melody into units of temporal space.

Despite the interest in sources with stroke notation, **NL-OHnp 76** has entirely escaped scrutiny. Yet this Sint-Catharinadal source is of profound significance, since it is the only Premonstratensian chant manuscript in current knowledge that contains stroke notation in the Netherlands.⁹⁰ So why was stroke notation used at all, particularly for liturgical books for music that was ostensibly sung? Based upon the difference in penmanship between the two scribes, there were probably between three and five canonesses notating chant in this way, suggesting that more than one individual was comfortable using this alternative form and at times conceived of rhythm literally, as an accumulation of strokes, alongside the more common, abstract conventions of square notation.⁹¹ That the canonesses should be using a form of notation commonly used for both secular and instrumental genres, in what has perhaps unfairly been considered a 'lower' form of notation, suggests that musical literacy at Sint-Catharinadal drew from a wide variety of sources, not just the square or mensural systems that proliferated in early-modern chant books. The presence of stroke notation also suggests that its associations with the secular and instrumental must be reconsidered, and that the boundaries between notational systems were porous. The precise circumstances under which canonesses updated the Sint-Catharinadal sources are unknown. There is no precise indication of when stroke notation appeared in **NL-OHnp 76**, nor for what

⁹⁰ Kol, 'De streepjesnotatie', pp. 2–5, provides the most extensive list of sources with stroke notation, none of which are exclusively for Gregorian chant. Exceptions are **NL-DHmw 10.B.26**, fols. 106^r–108^v, noted as having stroke notation for music for the first day of Christmas and a two-part trope 'Gaudet in domino'; **NL-Uu 16.K.34**, which contains a cantus part for an Alleluia in stroke notation; **GB-LIa Saxilby par 23/1**, with two- and four-voice Credo and Sanctus settings; and **GB-Wm frag. 'Wells Musical Slates'** [n.s.], containing fragments of the Kyrie 'Pater cuncta'. See U. Hascher-Burger, 'Neue Aspekte mehrstimmiger Lesungen des späten Mittelalters: Die Lektionen der Handschrift Den Haag, Museum van het Boek/Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, ms. 10 B 26', *Tijdschrift van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 48 (1998), pp. 89–111; U. Hascher-Burger, *Gesungene Innigkeit: Studien zu einer Musikhandschrift der Devotio Moderna (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 16 H 34, olim B 113), mit einer Edition der Gesänge*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, 106 (Leiden, 2002); M. Bent, 'New and Little-Known Fragments of English Medieval Polyphony', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), pp. 137–56; J. Blezzard, 'The Wells Musical Slates', *Musical Times*, 120 (1979), pp. 26–30.

⁹¹ Identifying the various hands for texts and notation is beyond the scope of this article, but initial studies suggest 3–5 different hands for the inserted stroke notation, and a similar number for original and inserted chant texts. It is uncertain whether stroke notation was used to depict chants that were being read simultaneously or remembered. Stroke notation may have served as a suitable medium of rhythmic shorthand to write down chants as they were being performed, in essence fulfilling the function of melodic dictation. A further possibility is that they could have been used for draft revisions, as suggested for other sources in Bent, 'New and Little-Known Fragments', p. 149.

reason. But given the practice of editing chant incipits, alternative chants and specific chants like Magnificat antiphons that were commonly played on an organ, there is some evidence to suggest that Sint-Catharinadal's canonesses edited parts of **NL-OHnp 76** to facilitate chant performance on an organ. Given the records of music making at the priory, including the ownership of keyboard instruments, it is not entirely inconceivable that the canonesses were accustomed to thinking about liturgical chant through a notational medium associated with non-liturgical and non-vocal music.

* * *

The chant manuscripts of Sint-Catharinadal's library offer a case study of musical understanding within a female monastic community of the early modern era. The features of the antiphoners discussed suggest a localised response to liturgical reform during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where almost continual upheaval at the priory inhibited effective transmission and understanding of the revised liturgy. As this bird's-eye view of Sint-Catharinadal shows, the priory's canonesses carried out these reforms inconsistently, and neither the dissemination of newly printed works nor the updating of older sources entirely satisfied the ambitions of revisers. The Sint-Catharinadal sources show that alongside newly printed antiphoners, scribes updated older sources and revised them to reflect liturgical changes in the chant texts and melodies. Often scribes tried to carry out these reforms systematically, as seen in **NL-OHnp 77**. Other sources point to a less comprehensive process of reform, such as **NL-OHnp 76** and **76a**, where only older chants in Hufnagelschrift that were in regular use appear erased and replaced. In these latter two sources, revised chants sit alongside those that the canonesses left unchanged, or which had fallen out of use. The existing sources of Sint-Catharinadal therefore point to a world where old and new chant repertoires existed in a continuum. Reminders of older chant texts and melodies were still very much available to manuscript readers, both to guide the reader's oral memory of the correct, revised chants or to recreate earlier repertoire when required.

An unexpected example of non-liturgical and non-vocal influence – stroke notation – offers insights into monastic communities of the early modern era. Since this notation has few if any associations with sung liturgical music, these sources suggest that sacred vocal, secular vocal and instrumental repertoires operated within close spheres of

influence. Sint-Catharinadal's manuscripts show that rather than being the preserve of purely instrumental genres, stroke notation interacted with and potentially informed the performance of the sung liturgy. A number of the canonesses of Sint-Catharinadal were familiar with stroke notation and no doubt were aware of wider repertoires associated with it. That much is clear from the ownership of secular music books and instruments. It is not unreasonable to think that the canonesses, too, existed in a sound world that also included secular song alongside liturgical chant. Exposed to the sound of profane music, certain scribes deployed a variety of notational styles, whether that be the Hufnagelschrift of the north, square notation or the stroke notation common to popular and instrumental genres. For the canonesses of Sint-Catharinadal, the domain of non-liturgical music thereby formed some influence as they updated their chant and make it worthier of Counter-Reformation sonic ideals.

These sources therefore show the tension between reform and its implementation. Monastic houses across Europe implemented changes to chant based upon local practices, making Sint-Catharinadal's chant holdings typical in their lack of consistency. What is remarkable, however, is that so many of Sint-Catharinadal's earlier sources survive in their partially edited forms. These manuscripts document the struggles of the priory's canonesses, as they grappled with the editorial requirements of Nivers's 1680 revision. Expectations to update chant to Premontre's standards ran counter to practical solutions. Compromises emerged, so that those singing the divine liturgy could recreate newly approved chants as easily as possible. This flexibility between ideals and practice resulted in the convergence of different notational systems. In sum, this conspectus of Sint-Catharinadal provides a better picture of the canonesses as they sought to update their liturgy. It is remarkable that having a properly updated chant library and a thriving musical tradition still held a certain priority, especially given successive conflicts in Breda and the priory's gradual decline. Yet despite their attempts to update the liturgy, it is understandable that the few remaining sisters of the seventeenth century failed to adhere to the new plainchant ideals that emanated from further afield. Sint-Catharinadal's sources point to individual canonesses resorting to non-standardised ways to depict the sound of revised chants, recalled from prior experience. Such recollection was informed by models from liturgical contexts, as well as from beyond the cloister.

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APPENDIX

Chants Discussed in Article

Incipit	Genre	Feast	Cantus ID	Sources	Source date	Notes
O crux gloriosa	VI-A1	Inventio crucis	004018	B-Gu BKT.006 , fols. 167 ^v –168 ^r	1522	Original square notation with notes erased. Some new insertions in square notation.
				B-Br 210 , fol. 116 ^{r-v}	1483	Original square notation with notes erased. Some new insertions.
				NL-OHnp 76 , fols. 106 ^v –107 ^r [89 ^v –90 ^r] (Figure 9)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted. Incipit overwritten in square notation up to ‘O crux gloriosa, o crux adoranda’.
	VI-A1	Dom. Resurrectionis	001329	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 10 ^v [4 ^v] (Figure 10)	16th–17th c.	Overwritten in revised square notation on pasted paper
	VI-A11	Dom. Resurrectionis	008415	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 11 ^{r-v} [5 ^{r-v}] (Figure 10)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted and revised square notation entered. Incipit overwritten on pasted paper.
Duos homines ascenderunt in	L-A(B)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	002484	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 79 ^{r-v} [67 ^{r-v}] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Hufnagelschrift.

(Continued)

Incipit	Genre	Feast	Cantus ID	Sources	Source date	Notes
Stans a longe publicanus nolebat	V2-A(M)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	005013	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 79 ^v [67 ^v] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted and revised square notation entered.
Dum transiret dominus per medios	L-A(B)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	002472	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 79 ^v [67 ^v] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Hufnagelschrift.
Quanto eis praecipiebat tanto	V2-A(M)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	004446	NL-OHnp 76 , fols. 79 ^v –80 ^r [67 ^v –68 ^r] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted and revised square notation entered.
Homo quidam descendebat	L-A(B)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	003131	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 80 ^r [68 ^r] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Hufnagelschrift.
Quis tibi videtur proximus	V2-A(M)	Dom. [?] p. Pent.	004551	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 80 ^r [68 ^r] (Figure 11)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted and revised square notation entered. Portions of text overpainted and corrected in a new hand. Bottom stave added with revised chant.
Alleluia. Spiritus domini replevit	M-I	Dom. Pentecostes	001034	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 67 ^r (Figure 12)	16th–17th c.	Written in revised square on loose paper.
Quomodo ceciderunt fortes in bello? Jonathas in excelsis interfectus est	[V2-A(M)]	[De Regum]	003807 (see Notes column)	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 67 ^r (Figure 12)	16th–17th c.	Written in stroke notation on loose paper. 003807 is <i>Montes Gelboe nec ros nec pluvia</i> . This loose part-leaf only includes part of the antiphon text.

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(Continued)

Incipit	Genre	Feast	Cantus ID	Sources	Source date	Notes
Dixit Jesus discipulis	L/V2-A(B/ M)	Fer. 4 p. Pascha	002295	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 19 ^{r-v} [12 ^{r-v}] (Figure 13)	16th–17th c.	Overpainted and revised square notation entered. Close of fol. 19 ^v [12 ^v] written in stroke notation.
Videte manus meas	V2-A(M)	Fer. 3 p. Pascha	005400	NL-OHnp 76 , fol. 19 ^v [12 ^v] (Figure 13)	16th–17th c.	Overwritten in stroke notation on pasted paper.