

NOTATED SOURCES  
FROM MEDIEVAL EUROPE  
AND MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

Transregional Research  
and Online Database Building

Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava  
Institute of Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Budapest

Bratislava 2020

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# Introduction

## **Notated Sources from Medieval Europe and Medieval Hungary. Transregional Research and Online Database Building**

This publication, *Notated Sources from Medieval Europe and Medieval Hungary. Transregional Research and Online Database Building*, is a conference omnibus edition of the homonymous scientific workshop that took place in Bratislava on 24 October 2017. The event was part of a bilateral project of international collaboration between the Slovak and the Hungarian Academies of Sciences.<sup>1</sup> Despite a certain time lapse, the editors and the authors of the studies tried to adopt the main goals of the already completed project. These goals are still topical and they form part of ongoing project tasks at the national level.<sup>2</sup>

The main aim of this publication is to present part of the updated results of research on medieval musical culture in Central Europe to promote coordinated and systematic international research. We consider the exchange of complex and up-to-date information about the processing of medieval and modern musical manuscripts to be an extraordinarily inspiring activity for the systematisation of knowledge on musical output under the influence of the transregional export and import of liturgical and cultural traditions.

The identity of completely or fragmentarily preserved musical codices, and their contents and formal components (liturgical and musical content, script and notation), were influenced by several aspects. Under the influence of economical, historical, and cultural factors, codices following multiple models, and various liturgical traditions were used in many Central European cities. These codices were produced in different workshops using different types of illumination and notation. Manuscripts became the carriers of the identity of individual ecclesiastical institutions, cities or even personalities. A large part of this publication is made up of studies that focus on research on medieval manuscript fragments. The meagre condition of some of the sources did not allow to reach firm conclusions. For this reason, international research and comparative examination of fragmentarily preserved materials has been, and will be, a fundamental and important step forward towards a meticulous evaluation of the sources.

Today, European archives, libraries, and museums keep a large number of fragmentary preserved medieval music manuscripts. Most of these materials served as a reinforcing parchment cover (top binding or front/back insertion into the cover page) for municipal official books (protocols, minutes, cartularies, etc.), younger manuscripts or prints. Usually, these medieval sources are still preserved today in their above-mentioned secondary function. Most of them do not

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<sup>1</sup> *Notated Sources from Medieval Hungary: Transregional Research and Online Database Building* (2016–2018) international bilateral research collaboration project (MAD).

<sup>2</sup> The publication is issued with the financial support of the following ongoing projects: VEGA 2/0034/17 *The Image of Piety in Medieval Musical Culture in Slovakia* (2017 – 2020); VEGA 1/0105/17 *Missale Romanum Rkp. vol. 387 from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – Research and Source Editing* (2017 – 2020); APVV no.19-0043 *CANTUS PLANUS in Slovakia: Local Elements – Transregional Relationships* (2020 – 2024); MTA lp2019-2/2019 “Momentum” *Digital Music Fragmentology. Notated Manuscript Fragments from Medieval Hungary – Research, System, Online Appearance* (2019 – 2024), and K 120643 of the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office *Codices and Fragments from late Medieval Hungary. Examining, Re-examining and Online Publishing of Notated Manuscripts and Chant Repertories* (Institute of Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2016 – 2020).

have their own shelfmark, and the inventories contain only scarce or no mention of them. They are notable medieval liturgical books (missals, graduals, antiphonaries, breviaries, psalters) that document medieval liturgical chant (cantus planus). The parchments were used as a cover page or to strengthen the material already at the end of the Middle Ages, but especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both in municipal and ecclesiastical offices. Liturgical books no longer used by ecclesiastical institutions were utilised for binding purposes. In the largest and most significant libraries, archives, and museums in Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and other European countries, we find several interesting examples of the transmission and transregional utilisation of older liturgical books in their primary or secondary form.

Apart from the two main project implementers (the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in collaboration with its scientific partners from the Catholic University in Ružomberok in Slovakia, and the Institute for Musicology of the Research Centre for the Humanities in Hungary), scientific lecturers were also invited to the workshop from the Czech Republic (Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic) and Slovenia (Slovenian Academy of Sciences).

Therefore, the publication includes articles from four countries (Slovenia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia) that focus on the oldest fragmentarily preserved materials from Bohemia (Jana Vozková), Slovenia (Jurij Snoj), and Slovakia (Janka Bednáriková), and transregionally identified fragments (Zsuzsa Czágány, Gabriella Gilányi), specific contents (Rastislav Adamko, Eva Veselovská, Rastislav Luz), and sources from the Modern Period that are based on the medieval liturgical tradition (Ágnes Papp).

The results of the studies are promising for further multinational research. We believe that, in the near future, we will continue to carry out active international collaboration in preparing new, common publications, projects and databases<sup>3</sup> in order to assure an effective exchange of current scientific knowledge to identify, examine, and assess the oldest sources of musical culture in Europe.

Special acknowledgement for supporting the research and the project goals goes to the director of the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, doc. PhDr. Hana Urbanová DrSc., and to the director of the Institute for Musicology of the Centre for the Humanities, Dr. Pál Richter.

We dedicate this omnibus edition to the memory of our dear colleague and friend, Dr. Gábor Kiss, who promoted the inception of this project and gave us significant scientific and personal support.

The editors

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<sup>3</sup> <http://cantus.sk>; <http://cantusindex.org>; <http://hun-chant.eu/>; <http://fragmenta.zti.hu>

## Quellen im mittelalterlichen Europa.

### Transregionale Forschung und online Datenbankerstellung

2016-2018

#### Einleitung

1982, vor mehr als 35 Jahren, erschien das *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts im Faksimiledruck.<sup>4</sup> Es ist eine der frühesten erhaltenen Quellen der mittelalterlichen Messliturgie des *ritus Strigoniensis*. Das Buch gelangte kurz nach seiner Entstehung in das Kollegiatkapitel St. Martin zu Pressburg, wurde dort verwendet und mit Marginalnotizen ergänzt. Es war sicher kein Zufall, dass in den siebziger und achziger Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts gerade diese Handschrift von der slowakischen und ungarischen Forschung aufgegriffen und zur gemeinsamen Edition vorbereitet wurde. Die beiden Editoren des Faksimiles, Richard Rybarič vom Musikwissenschaftlichen Institut der Slowakischen und Janka Szendrei vom gleichnamigen Institut der Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften legten hier eine exemplarische Arbeit vor, und schufen damit die Grundlagen einer zukünftigen Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaft der beiden Länder, Institutionen und ihrer Forscherteams, die bis hin zu konkreten Forschungsvorhaben geführt haben.

Eines dieser Forschungsvorhaben ist auch jenes, das vor etwa zehn Jahren in Form privaten Meinungsaustauschs zwischen Eva Veselovská und Zsuzsa Czagány über den gemeinsamen mittelalterlichen Quellenbestand begann und immer wieder Phasen von intensivem Brainstorming und Planung durchmachte, um schließlich 2015 im Rahmen eines von beiden Seiten offiziell beantragten slowakisch-ungarischen Projekts auf eine institutionelle Ebene erhoben zu werden. Das von den beiden Akademien dann in der Tat finanzierte Projekt *Notierte Quellen im mittelalterlichen Europa. Transregionale Forschung und online Datenbankerstellung*, erzielte beachtliche Ergebnisse, die in dem vorliegenden Band vorgestellt werden.

Neue Fragmente wichtiger mittelalterlicher Quellen wurden ans Licht gebracht: Eva Veselovská entdeckte Bruchstücke des in der Erzdiözesanbibliothek Esztergom aufbewahrten Antiphonale Strigoniense<sup>5</sup> sowie des sich heute im Städtischen Archiv in Bratislava befindlichen, vermutlich aber in Buda verfassten Ofener Antiphonars.<sup>6</sup> Als äusserst aufschlussreich hat sich die Untersuchung des Fonds des ehemaligen Prämonstratenserklosters Leles erwiesen. Sie erbrachte wesentliche Erkenntnisse über die im mittelalterlichen Ungarn nur spärlich dokumentierte musikalische Schrifttätigkeit dieses Ordens. Die ungarischen Projektteilnehmer können sich wiederum der Identifizierung und eingehenden Analyse von Fragmenten des Waradiner Antiphonars rühmen, die in die kürzlich erschienene kritische Edition dieser spätmittelalterlichen ostungarischen Prunkhandschrift miteinbezogen wurde.<sup>7</sup> Mit ihren neuesten

<sup>4</sup> SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard (Eds.): *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posenio*. In: *Musicalia Danubiana* 1. Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – KÖRMENDY, Kinga: Un fragment de l'antiphonaire Ms I 3c de la Bibliothèque archiépiscopale d'Esztergom aux Archives municipales de Nagyszombat. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 131/3 (2015), S. 300-302.

<sup>6</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Fragmente des *Budaer Antiphonars* im St. Adalbert-Verein Trnava und im Archiv des Slowakischen Nationalmuseums. In: *Studia Musicologica*. Vol. 56/2-3 (2015), S. 233-246.

<sup>7</sup> CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV, Vol. I. Proprium de tempore, Vol. II. Proprium de sanctis et Commune sanctorum, Vol. III. Essays*. In: *Musicalia Danubiana* 26/1-3. Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, 2019.

Forschungsergebnissen hat Gabriella Gilányi auf transregionale Zusammenhänge zwischen Handschriften/Fragmenten mehrerer weit auseinanderliegender Institutionen hingewiesen.<sup>8</sup> Ihre systematischen Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der Musikpaläographie, gemeinsam mit den ähnlich ausgerichteten, im zentraleuropäischen Raum durchgeführten Quellensondagen von Eva Veselovská sowie anderen slowakischen und ungarischen Choralforschern werden dazu führen, daß der bisherige Forschungsstand durch Miteinbeziehung neuer Aspekte aufs Neue hinterfragt und auch methodisch neu überdacht werden wird. Dies wäre umso wünschenswerter, als dadurch die Überwindung der terminologischen und methodologischen Diskrepanzen zwischen den „östlichen“ und „westlichen“ Zweigen heutiger Choralforschung gefördert werden könnte.

Der vorliegende Band veröffentlicht Aufsätze der Teilnehmer des slowakisch-ungarischen Forschungsprojektes. Dieses primäre Korpus wird durch weitere Beiträge von Choralwissenschaftlern aus ostmitteleuropäischen Ländern ergänzt, deren Forschungsmaterial neue Wege und Perspektiven für eine zukünftige Forschungsk Kooperation eröffnet.

Natürlich ist es nicht möglich, alle Forschungsvorhaben und Ergebnisse in voller Breite in einem Einzelband zu präsentieren. Die Editoren waren gezwungen, eine Wahl zu treffen, die zur Präferenz bestimmter Bereiche führte und zugleich andere in den Hintergrund rückte. Die vorliegenden Beiträge fokussieren auf die Darstellung bisher unbekanntes Quellenmaterials. Sie behandeln Aspekte der Repertoiregestaltung und der Notation. Musikbezogene Untersuchungen, Fragen der melodischen Variantenbildung und lokalbedingter Sondererscheinungen bleiben vorerst offen. Damit ist zugleich die Hoffnung verbunden, dass die nun vorgelegte Publikation nicht nur das Ende einer alten, sondern zugleich den Anfang einer neuen Phase der wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaft der Teilnehmer darstellen möge.

Zsuzsa Czagány

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<sup>8</sup> GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *Mosaics of the plainchant tradition of Transylvania – Interpreting the 14<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner fragments at Güssing*. In: *Resonemus pariter. Studies in Medieval Music History* 1. Ed. Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.



## German Adiastematic Notation in Slovenia

### Abstract

A systematic search for medieval music sources in Slovenia had led to the discovery of fragments of thirty different plainchant manuscripts with German adiastematic neumes. While the oldest among them can be assigned to the eleventh century, the majority date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These manuscripts belong to, and might have been used, during the Middle Ages in churches across the territory of modern-day Slovenia; however, due to the lack of in-depth historical knowledge on liturgy in Slovenian churches, the fragments could not be attributed to specific locations. It is almost certain that the scribes of the Slovenian sources also compiled other manuscripts with the same type of notation. Nonetheless, the search for their handwriting among the sources kept in several Austrian locations did not yield the expected results, as clear concordance could only be established in a couple of cases.

**Keywords:** Slovenia, Middle Ages, Notation, German adiastematic neumes, Manuscript

Manuscripts and fragments with German adiastematic neumes have survived not only in German-speaking territories but also in other Central and Eastern European regions that belonged to the cultural sphere of the Latin West in the Middle Ages.

In many eastern environments, it is precisely the documents with German adiastematic neumes that represent the earliest records of written music.<sup>9</sup> These sources raise specific questions: Were they imported from German-speaking territories or were they produced in local scriptoria? If the latter proves to be the case, they must have been copied from currently unknown manuscripts, written in the same type of notation, i.e. in German neumes. One can further deliberate whether Gregorian chant was imported to particular eastern regions through neumatic manuscripts or introduced as an oral culture already before the appearance of explicitly musical manuscripts. The final question for consideration is to what extent and in what manner the sources with German adiastematic neumes influenced the development of the types of notation that evolved in the late Middle Ages in the East.

This article discusses the fragments with German adiastematic neumes that are currently kept in Slovenian libraries and archives. On the one hand, it presents their basic characteristics and, on the other hand, it addresses the problems of their research. There is not a single completely preserved adiastematic manuscript in Slovenia; however, when discussing the presence of German adiastematic neumes in the country, one should not forget to mention a missal notated in German adiastematic neumes which was, according to its explicit, copied by a scribe working in Ljubljana and which could have been produced in the same city.

The preserved fragments of once-complete manuscripts are difficult to discuss precisely due to their incompleteness. A particular challenge is to establish their provenance, as this can be done on the basis of their palaeographic features as well as their contents, which are in all cases scanty and most often uncharacteristic. In addition, it may be claimed that at least some of the fragments preserved in Slovenia do not pertain to manuscripts used in churches across

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<sup>9</sup> HILEY, David – SZENDREI, Janka: Notation: History of Western Notation: Plainchant. In: *Grove Music Online*. Accessible on the internet: <https://doi-org.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20114>

its medieval territory, which is to say they arrived in their present locations by accident. Consequently, the fragments from Slovenia cannot necessarily be considered to form (the remaining part of) a unified collection with the same historical background.

Some time ago, a systematic search was conducted for fragments of destroyed plainchant manuscripts in Slovenia, during which all relevant locations in Slovenia's capital Ljubljana, as well as several institutions in other cities, were thoroughly examined. The work has not been completed yet and there are still a dozen of locations to be inspected for the presence of fragments of medieval manuscripts. So far, ninety complete or incomplete folios and forty-five little parchment scraps bearing music in German adiastematic neumes have been found. Without exception, all have been preserved as bookbinding material, as covers or strips in the bindings of various prints, manuscripts, and miscellaneous archival documents. A careful examination of their codicological, palaeographic as well as content-related characteristics has revealed that the preserved folios come from thirty different manuscript units (codices).<sup>10</sup>

Presented below are some general observations regarding the collection as a whole.<sup>11</sup> Among the sources found, there are only two or three larger fragments (in this article, the word "fragment" stands for the preserved part of a destroyed manuscript), the majority consisting of only one or two complete or incomplete folios. The oldest fragment might date back to the eleventh century; there are several ones from the twelfth century, and the majority may be ascribed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – the period in which diastematic scripts entirely prevailed in the western cultural sphere. Furthermore, one can see that the number of manuscripts for the office approximately matches the number of those for the mass. It is worth mentioning that there are several fragments of "plenarium" manuscripts (notated missals, notated breviaries) which almost entirely disappeared in the course of history.

**Table 1:** The extent of the fragments

Century	Not. missals	Not. breviaries	Graduals	Antiphoners	Sequentiaries	Unident.
11 <sup>th</sup>				1		
12 <sup>th</sup>	2	2, 4	2, 2, 2			1
13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup>	1, 2, 3, 10, 2	8, 4, 2, 1, 1, 1, 2	1, 24	4, 1	2, 2	1, 2

The question regarding the provenance of the fragments may, to some extent, be illuminated by exploring the circumstances of their preservation: manuscripts with folios preserved in more than one binding might have been somewhere in the vicinity, i.e. somewhere in the territory of Slovenia, at the time of their destruction. A similar speculation can be made concerning the destroyed manuscripts whose folios have survived in the bindings of various archival documents that were

<sup>10</sup> In several cases, folios of the same manuscript are preserved in different locations. The data quoted, as well as the subsequent observations, are based on the following catalogue of medieval music sources in Slovenia: SNOJ, Jurij: *Gregorijanski koral v srednjeveških rokopisih na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana : Založba ZRC, 2018, pp. 353–458.

<sup>11</sup> See Table 1. The figures give the number of the preserved folios of any of the fragments (e.g. from the twelfth century, seven fragments have been preserved: a two-folio fragment of a notated missal, a two-folio fragment of a notated breviary, a four-folio fragment of a notated breviary, etc. In the table, there are altogether only twenty-eight fragments (not thirty); two consist of merely little scraps (which are subsumed into the number of forty-five scraps).

almost certainly bound by local bookbinders. The opposite can be assumed in the case of fragments preserved in the bindings of books printed outside Slovenian territories; these may have arrived in their present locations together with the books that had already been bound. Judging by this method, seventeen out of the thirty fragments in total belong to manuscripts that might have been somewhere in the territory of modern-day Slovenia at the time of their destruction.<sup>12</sup> However, this does not necessarily imply that they were also used here.

Fragments with German adiastematic neumes constitute just one part of the plainchant sources preserved fragmentarily in Slovenian locations. It is worth considering what portion they occupy within the whole collection of surviving fragments. As evident from Table 2, nearly all adiastematic fragments are notated in German neumes (the notation of the few remaining adiastematic sources has not been identified, mostly due to their defects). As for the diastematic sources, by far the most numerous are those written in the German-Messine Gothic script (Messine of the third period according to B. Stäblein), followed by the fragments in square notation. This is mainly due to historical circumstances. In the cultural sphere of southern German areas, music was usually written in German neumes and, later, in Gothic notation of the above-mentioned type. A significant number of fragments in square notation may be ascribed to the ubiquitous presence of monastic orders with their roots in the West, where square notation prevailed. The divergent numbers of adiastematic and diastematic sources illustrate growing manuscript production in the late Middle Ages.

**Table 2:** The Notation of Plainchant Fragments

<b>Notation</b>	<b>Number of fragments</b>
German adiastematic neumes	30
Other adiastematic neumes	4
Neumatic staff notations	11
German-Messine Gothic	88
Other Gothic notations	30
Square notation	43

As already mentioned, seventeen of the thirty fragments come from manuscripts that must have been somewhere in the territory of modern-day Slovenia at the time of their destruction. Consequently, it seems pertinent to identify the churches that might have used them, which in turn requires an overview of the contemporary ecclesiastical network. In the Middle Ages, the territory of modern-day Slovenia was comprised of three ecclesiastical provinces: the areas south to the Drava / Drau River – covering most of the Slovenian territory – formed part of the ancient Patriarchate of Aquileia; the areas north to the same river belonged to the Archdiocese of Salzburg; and eastern regions falling under the Kingdom of Hungary were incorporated into the Hungarian ecclesiastical organization. With the exception of the Diocese of Koper / Capodistria, the territory of which was politically affiliated to the Republic of Venice, there had been no diocese in these areas until 1461 when a new diocese was established in Ljubljana. The

<sup>12</sup> There are some dubious cases among the thirteen fragments that appear to have arrived in Slovenia by accident.

territory was divided into a number of larger and smaller parishes; there were also some canon chapters and a considerable number of various monasteries.<sup>13</sup>

It seems reasonable to believe that monasteries belonging to orders from the West (Carthusians, Cistercians, Dominicans, Friars Minor) did not use German adiastematic notation. There were also several communities of chivalric orders in Slovenia, and one Benedictine monastery (Gornji Grad / Oberburg, established ca. in 1140), where plainchant manuscripts with German neumes were presumably used. However, the Benedictine monastery in Gornji Grad was abandoned no later than 1473<sup>14</sup> and very little, if anything, has been preserved of its holdings. As for the chivalric orders, it is uncertain what kind of liturgy was performed in their communities, especially in the small ones. Plainchant manuscripts with German neumes may have been used by some parish churches, though. Nevertheless, it seems questionable whether there was a regular plainchant liturgy in parish churches, particularly if their clergy consisted of a small number of priests or only of a single one. Generally speaking, the gap between historical knowledge about the liturgy of Slovenian churches on the one hand and the information gathered from the fragments themselves on the other seems too wide to allow specific attributions.

When discussing the presence of adiastematic notation in the territory of modern-day Slovenia, one cannot ignore a notated missal written in German adiastematic neumes and copied, according to its explicit, in 1296 by a scribe who identified himself as Ruotlibus de Laybaco (i.e. from Ljubljana).<sup>15</sup> Ruotlibus was a public scribe active in Ljubljana; the extant and known documents written by his hand – in German and Latin – date back to between 1291 and 1309.<sup>16</sup> Since Ruotlibus worked in Ljubljana, it is not implausible that the missal also originated there, which leads to speculations that it might not be the only music manuscript coming from Ruotlib's scriptorium. Ruotlib's hand – or the hand of his notator – does have recognizable characteristics; yet none of the Slovenian fragments with German adiastematic neumes can be recognized as the work of the same notator. There is a fragment of a notated breviary<sup>17</sup> whose notation is very close to that of the missal. However, a close examination of the individual neumes reveals differences that cast doubt on its origins in Ruotlib's scriptorium.

It is almost certain that the copyists and notators of the manuscripts with fragments preserved in the territory of modern-day Slovenia produced more than just these manuscripts. Consequently, it may be assumed that manuscripts and fragments written with the same type of notation and preserved in various central European localities include some copied by the same hands. The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna contains a voluminous collection of

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<sup>13</sup> AMBROŽIČ, Matjaž: *Prvih 1000 let krščanstva na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana : Teološka fakulteta, 2010, pp. 162-184, 188-191, 194-197.

<sup>14</sup> AMBROŽIČ, Ref. 13, p. 164.

<sup>15</sup> Stadtmuseum Bozen / Museo civico di Bolzano, Ms. 1304. The manuscript is first discussed in: GOZZI, Marco: "Tre sconosciuti manoscritti liturgici con notazione del Museo Civico di Bolzano". In: *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, vol. 82, 2003, Sezione I – 4, pp. 729-777.

<sup>16</sup> KOS, Dušan: *Pismo, pisava, pisar*. Ljubljana : Zgodovinski arhiv, 1994, pp. 185, 205.

<sup>17</sup> The fragment is described in: SNOJ, *Gregorijanski koral*, Ref. 10, p. 368 (fragment under number 2.12).

plainchant manuscript fragments.<sup>18</sup> Given that, in the Middle Ages, the territory of modern-day Slovenia belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, it is reasonable to expect that, among the many notators' hands found in the Viennese collection, one may also recognize the hands that produced the Slovenian sources. The Viennese collection contains three hundred and six fragments written in adiastematic neumes, the great majority of them in German adiastematic neumes. However, comparisons of the Slovenian fragments with any of the Viennese ones revealed only a few cases where the same hand could be recognized with some degree of certainty.<sup>19</sup>

When studying German adiastematic neumes, one can identify recognizable and distinctive graphic features that, independently of the meaning, characterize the scripts of particular hands and can serve as criteria for identifying the works of the same notators or the same scriptoria: the axis of the script, the form of the virga (it may have a little head to the left, a wavy aspect, etc.), the form of the punctum (it can be written as a tractulus, a little point, or with a downward stroke, resulting in a shape comparable to the comma), the form of the oriscus, quilisma, etc. These and other similar characteristics can be encountered in different manuscripts, but most often in different combinations: if two compared scripts agree in some features, they disagree in others. Thus, when trying to identify the notators' hands, two scripts may often seem to have been produced by the same scribe; however, a detailed examination of the shapes and of the graphic execution of the neumes may reveal differences that cast doubt on this.

The study of fragments with German adiastematic neumes kept in Slovenian locations leads to some general considerations: (i) The number of notators writing in German adiastematic neumes seems to have been very high in the late Middle Ages. (ii) It is not clear by which methods the manuscripts that were produced by the same notators or that originated in the same scriptorium could be recognized, i.e. by which criteria two or more scripts differing to a certain extent may be identified as the work of the same scribe. In assessing minor differences in notation between two or more scripts, it must be taken into account that the script of a notator may have changed gradually with time or that the notator consciously chose another way of putting down neumatic signs when starting a new manuscript. (iii) It is difficult and even risky to investigate only a small portion of fragments with German or any other neumes; the more accurate the knowledge on the sources with the given type of notation, the more reliable the conclusions concerning a particular portion of them will be.

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<sup>18</sup> *Musikalische Quellen des Mittelalters in der ÖNB*; project manager: Alexander Rausch, researchers: Robert Klugseder, Ana Čizmič, Eva Veselovska, Hanna Zühlke, etc. (<http://www.cantusplanus.at/de-at/index.htm>; accessed: July 2018). KLUGSEDER, Robert – RAUSCH, Alexander – ČIZMIČ, Ana – CHARVAT, Vera Maria – VERHAAR, Oskar – VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ZÜHLKE, Hanna: *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien*. In: *Codices Manuscripti & Impressi*. Purkersdorf: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 2014, Supplementum 10. <http://e-book.fwf.ac.at/o:599>

<sup>19</sup> Fragment 2.4 of the Slovenian collection might come from the same manuscript as ÖNB, cod01248; the notation (but not the text) of fragment 2.24 appears to be the work of the same notator as ÖNB, cod01797; fragment 2.5 seems very similar to ÖNB, cod02212; the notation of fragment 2.28 is very close to ÖNB, cod03081; perhaps fragment 2.28 comes from the same manuscript as ÖNB, Fragm905. (The fragments from Slovenia are identified by their numbers in the catalogue of medieval music sources in Slovenia: SNOJ, *Gregorijanski koral*, Ref. 10, pp. 353-458.)

## Summary

A systematic search for medieval music sources has been carried out in Slovenia; so far, all libraries and archives in Ljubljana as well as several institutions in other cities have been thoroughly inspected. During the search, fragments of two hundred and six destroyed plainchant manuscripts, amounting to over five hundred folios, have come to light. A smaller portion of these sources, ninety folios, represent fragments of thirty destroyed manuscripts with German adiastematic neumes. Some of these might have arrived in their present location by accident, but, in the case of seventeen fragments, it is reasonable to assume that they belonged to manuscripts that were somewhere in the territory of modern-day Slovenia at the time of their destruction. Given the fact that, in the Middle Ages, the main part of the Slovenian territories belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, the presence of German adiastematic neumes in the country is nothing unusual. In this respect, it may be mentioned that one of the public scribes working in Ljubljana at the turn of the fourteenth century, "Ruotlibus de Laybaco", copied a notated missal with music written in German adiastematic neumes. The discovered fragments might have been in use in some parish churches, chapters or monasteries, but not in monasteries of orders which originated in the West and used manuscripts with French (Cistercian) or square notation. Unfortunately, more specific attributions of particular fragments to particular churches are not possible. On the one hand, the contents of the fragments are, for the most part, general and, on the other hand, there is no specific knowledge concerning the liturgical practices of particular churches. It is almost certain that the scribes whose hands can be recognized in the Slovenian sources also produced other manuscripts with the same type of notation. However, a systematic comparison of the Slovenian fragments and the largest Central European collection of fragments from destroyed medieval music manuscripts (held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna) did not bring the desired results, as the same hand could be recognized with a considerable degree of certainty only in a few cases.

# Le testimonianze medievali del canto gregoriano tramandate in Slovacchia in forma di frammenti notati con la notazione adiaستمatica

### Abstract

The medieval liturgical-musical tradition of our history is represented by 18 noted manuscripts handed down to us. In addition to these there is the presence of about 900 parchment sheets or fractions of them that we usually call fragments. Those are found mainly in the secondary role of covers of official books, urban or record books of more recent periods. They come from the 11<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and almost all have been analysed from a codicological, palaeographic-musical and liturgical point of view. In this article we present only fragments with adiaستمatic notation. We present the fragments schematically for a better orientation between them. Furthermore, we take out all the notations preserved in a complete way and, moreover, to each fragment we add the names of all those authors who wrote about the fragments in their publications.

**Keywords:** Slovakia, Middle Ages, Notation, German adiaستمatic neumes, Fragment

Negli archivi slovacchi è presente attualmente un numero relativamente alto di frammenti notati medievali. Rispetto ai manoscritti conservati nei nostri fondi (18), i circa 900 esemplari di frammenti rappresentano un numero notevole, benché in altri paesi vi siano testimonianze di questo genere molto più significative. Molti frammenti a tutt'oggi costituiscono copertine di libri più recenti; alcuni di essi sono stati distaccati o anche restaurati.

Nella ricerca dei frammenti adiaستمatici, avviata sistematicamente una ventina d'anni fa, è stato rilevato che il loro numero è molto esiguo. Sono stati importati, probabilmente, dall'ambiente tedesco o da quello austriaco tramite i missionari franco-bavaresi o, più tardi, tramite i benedettini. Non escludiamo la possibilità che essi siano stati copiati in qualche scriptorium benedettino locale. La notazione adiaستمatica, tramandata nei frammenti più antichi, presenta caratteristiche di tipo germanico ed è stata tracciata durante i secc. XI – XIII.<sup>20</sup> A questo punto bisogna dire che molti frammenti sono stati persi o trasportati in Ungheria e in Romania<sup>21</sup>, come documentano 4 frammenti adiaستمatici provenienti dalle nostre fonti, nella Biblioteca *Batthyaneum* ad Alba Iulia.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, p. 174.

<sup>21</sup> Le destinazioni più frequenti per l'esportazione delle nostre fonti medievali sono appunto l'Ungheria e la Romania. Negli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso il codicologo slovacco Július Sopko ha fatto una ricerca in tre città ungheresi – a Budapest (Biblioteca Provinciale di Széchény, Biblioteca Universitaria e Biblioteca Centrale dei piaristi), Eger (Biblioteca Arcidiocesana) ed a Esztergom (Biblioteca di Primas e Biblioteca di Simor) – e ad Alba Iulia in Romania (Biblioteca Batthyaneum). In base ai risultati di tale ricerca ha pubblicato un catalogo di codici latini medievali tra i quali molti di essi, se non interi fondi, sono stati importati dal territorio della Slovacchia. SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1982. SELECKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveká levočská knižnica*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1974. SELECKÁ MÄRZA, Eva: *A középkori löcsei könyvtár*. Szeged : Scriptum KFT 1997.

<sup>22</sup> Nel 2009 abbiamo svolto ad Alba Iulia una ricerca più dettagliata rispetto ai frammenti adiaستمatici. Abbiamo scoperto che vi si trovano 4 frammenti adiaستمatici (più 15 frammenti con la notazione diastemática) attaccati su custodie di libri liturgici con la provenienza slovacca. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Adiaستمatické fragmenty*

Oltre ai frammenti in oggetto si è conservato, nell'Archivio Diocesano di Nitra, un manoscritto del XII secolo che presenta segni adiaSTEMATICI. Non è un vero codice adiaSTEMatico ma contiene alcuni segni che aiutano a capire il movimento della melodia sopra i testi delle passioni all'interno del manoscritto (cosiddetti segni eCFONETICI).<sup>23</sup>

In questo articolo presentiamo un riassunto schematico di frammenti adiaSTEMATICI conosciuti fino ad oggi, per avere una rassegna chiara e unificata. Presentiamo le caratteristiche più importanti di ciascuno di essi. La struttura della rassegna segue l'ordine dei libri liturgici, cominciando con un frammento proveniente da un antifonario sconosciuto. Seguono frammenti che facevano parte di breviari, di graduali e alla fine di messali. Oltre alle caratteristiche generali di ciascun frammento (datazione, fondo, alcuni parametri tecnici e contenuto liturgico) mettiamo in evidenza tutti i brani musicali interi per poter effettuare uno studio comparativo. All'interno di ogni gruppo riportiamo i frammenti in base agli archivi dove sono depositati, cominciando sempre con gli archivi di Bratislava. I benefici di quest'articolo risiedono soprattutto nella rassegna di tutti i brani notati conservati interamente (dall'inizio alla fine) e nella presentazione tutti gli autori che, in lavori scientifici, hanno trattato i frammenti in oggetto (cronologicamente secondo l'anno d'uscita).

## FRAMMENTI PROVENIENTI DA ANTIFONARI SCONOSCIUTI

### 1. Un foglio incompleto, sign. J 555 / 1, Martin

Datazione: XII secolo  
Fondo: Archivio di Letteratura, Biblioteca Nazionale Slovaca, Martin  
Scrittura: *carolino-gothica*  
Notazione: adiaSTEMatica di tipo germanico  
Iniziale: *S (i oblitus)*, 80 x 65 mm  
Misure: 160 x 90 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *Dominica II et III post albas*

### Brani musicali completi:

non rinvenuti (a causa del taglio del foglio)

### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

RYBARIČ, Richard: *Slovenská neuma*. In: *Hudobnovedné štúdie I.*, Bratislava 1955, pp. 151-170.

VAJDIČKA, Ľudovít: Neumový zlomok z 12. storočia v knižnici Matice slovenskej v Martine. In: *Kniha 77'. Zborník pre problémy a dejiny knižnej kultúry na Slovensku*, vol. 4, pp. 99-105.

SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin: Matica slovenská 1986, No. 589, p. 145.

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gregoriánskeho chorálu v knižnici Batthyaneum v Alba Iulii. In: *Musica mediaeva liturgica*. Ed. Rastislav ADAMKO. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2010, pp. 68-92. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Diastematické fragmenty gregoriánskeho chorálu v knižnici Batthyaneum v Alba Iulii. In: *Ad honorem Richard Rybarič*. Ed. Janka PETŐCZOVÁ. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied 2011, pp. 258-275.

<sup>23</sup> SOPKO, Július – VALACH, Július (eds.): *Nitriansky kódex*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1987. NEMEŠ, Jaroslav: *Nitriansky kódex a jeho poslanstvo : Aachen. Óbuda. Nitra*. Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška 2016. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ĎURČO, Marek: Diecézny archív v Nitre a neznáme liturgické rukopisy z 15. a 16. storočia. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, vol. 4 (30), 2013, pp. 83-84.



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- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Notované pergamenové zlomky v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine. In: *Hudobný archív* 16. Ed. Viera SEDLÁKOVÁ. Martin 2009, pp. 14-16.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 96-101.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Hudobno-paleografické špecifiká stredovekých notovaných rukopisov v Archíve literatúry a umenia SNK. In: *Knižnica* 2-3, Martin, 2010, pp. 29-30.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 118-119.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp.178-177.

## FRAMMENTI PROVENIENTI DA BREVIARI SCONSCIUTI

### 2. Due fogli incompleti, sign. EC Lad 1/2, Bratislava

- Datazione: a cavallo tra i secc. XII/XIII
- Fondo: Archivio Statale, Bratislava
- Scrittura: *gothica textualis primitiva*
- Notazione: adiastrmatica di tipo germanico
- Misure: f. 1 – 282 x 160 mm, f. 2 – 285 x 53 mm
- Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore – Parasceve, Sacrum Sabbatum*

### Brani musicali completi:

- f. 1rb R. Ecce quomodo moritur, V. In pace factus est  
A. Deus adiuvat me  
A. In pace factus est  
A. Factus sum sicut homo  
R. Estimatus sum, V. Et sicut vulnerati
- f. 1va R. Velum templi, V. Amen dico tibi  
R. Tenebre facte sunt, V. Et velum templi  
A. Proprio filio suo  
A. Anxiatu est in me  
A. Ait latro ad latronem  
A. Dum conturbata fuerit  
A. Memento mei domine  
A. Posuerunt super caput

### I fogli sono stati trattati da:

- RYBARIČ, Richard: *Slovenská neuma*. In: *Hudobnovedné štúdie I.*, Bratislava 1955, pp. 172-173.
- SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1986, No. 434, pp. 42-43.
- CZAGÁNYOVÁ, Zuzana: *Dva neumové fragmenty v archíve mesta Bratislavy*. In: *Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvor-covia*, zv. 18. Bratislava 1989, pp. 33-37.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*. Bratislava : Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum 2002, p. 60.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiestematických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie ko-nanej v dňoch 26. - 28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 19.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 31-45.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 120-121.

### 3. Un bifoglio quasi completo, sign. MUS I 351, Bratislava

Datazione: XIII secolo

Fondo: Museo Slovacco Nazionale – Museo della Musica, Bratislava

Scrittura: *gothica textualis*

Notazione: adiestematica di tipo germanico

Misure: 187 x 296 mm

Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore – Dominica III de Adventu*

#### Brani musicali completi:

f. 1r R. Qui venturus est, V. Ex Syon species (inc.)

f. 1v R. Egippte noli flere, V. Ecce dominator (inc.)

#### Il bifoglio è stato trattato da:

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava II*. Bratislava : Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum 2006, p. 55.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiestematických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie ko-nanej v dňoch 26. - 28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 21.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 84-89.

VESELOVSKÁ, E.: Stredoveké notované fragmenty z Hudobného múzea Slovenského národného múzea v kontexte najnovších výskumov stredovekej hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku a v strednej Európe. In: *Hudobné pramene – kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska*. Ed. Edita BUGALOVÁ. Bratislava 2011, pp. 32, 68-69.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 121-122.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 187-188.

### 4. Un foglio completo, sign. MUS I 352, Bratislava

Datazione: XIII secolo

Fondo: Museo Slovacco Nazionale – Museo della Musica, Bratislava

Scrittura: *gothica textualis*

Notazione: adiestematica di tipo germanico

Misure: 360 x 230 mm (specchio: 272 x 168 mm)

Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de sanctis – Commune sanctorum, Commune Evangelistarum*

#### Brani musicali completi:

f. 1v R. Qui sunt hi qui ut nubes, V. Dorsa eorum plena

Ab. Ecce ego iohannes vidi

## Il foglio è stato trattato da:

- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava II*. Bratislava : Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum 2006, p. 55.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánského chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 21.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 90-95.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Stredoveké notované fragmenty z Hudobného múzea Slovenského národného múzea v kontexte najnovších výskumov stredovekej hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku a v strednej Európe. In: *Hudobné pramene – kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska*. Ed. Edita BUGALOVÁ. Bratislava 2011, pp. 33, 70-71.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 122-123.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 188-189.

## 5. Due fogli tagliati orizzontalmente, sign. Manus. 81, Bratislava

- Datazione: XII secolo
- Fondo: Archivio Nazionale Slovacco , Bratislava
- Scrittura: *carolina*
- Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico
- Misure: cca 221 x 158 mm (31 strisce, larghezza dello specchio: cca 290 x 135 mm)
- Contenuto liturgico: *De Regum, Commune virginum*

## Brani musicali completi:

- f. 1ra A. Loquere domine  
A. Cognoverunt omnes  
A. Nonne iste est david  
A. Quis enim in omnibus  
A. Doleo super te frater  
A. Saul et Jonathas  
A. Dixitque david  
A. Rex autem david  
A. Unxerunt salomonem  
A. Clamabat eliseus
- f. 1va R. Montes gelboe, V. Omnes montes
- f. 1vb R. Domine si conversus, V. Si peccaverit in te
- f. 2ra R. Propter veritatem, V. Dilexi iustitiam
- f. 2rb A. Aque multe
- f. 2vb A. Vulnerasti cor meum  
R. Regnum mundi, V. Eructavit cor meum  
A. Hec est virgo sapiens et una  
A. Hec est virgo sapiens quam  
A. Media nocte clamor  
A. Prudentes virgines  
A. Tunc surrexerunt omnes

### **I fogli sono stati trattati da:**

SOPKO: Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin 1981, No. 84, p. 111.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi - Archivum Nationale Slovacaum*. Tomus III.

Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2014, pp. 92-94.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*.

Bratislava: SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 181-182.

### **6. Due fogli tagliati verticalmente, sign. Fk Kre IV/a+b, Bratislava**

Datazione: a cavallo tra i secc. XII/XIII

Fondo: Archivio Nazionale Slovacco, Bratislava

Scrittura: *carolina posterior*

Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico

Misure: f. 1 – cca 288 x 15 mm (12 strisce verticali, 9 + 3)

f. 2 – cca 290 x 15 mm (6 strisce verticali)

Contenuto liturgico: *Feria II, IV et Sabbato Hebdomadae III de Adventu, Dominica IV de Adventu, Sabbato Hebdomadae IV de Adventu, Antiphonae Majores, Nicolai, Inventio Stephani*

**Brani musicali completi:** non rinvenuti (a causa del taglio dei fogli)

### **I fogli sono stati trattati da:**

SOPKO: Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin: Matica slovenská 1981, No. 165, p. 179.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi - Archivum Nationale Slovacaum*. Tomus III.

Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2014, pp. 50-52.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*.

Bratislava: SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 179-180.

### **7. Un bifoglio quasi completo, sign. 3118, Modra**

Datazione: XIII secolo

Fondo: Archivio Statale, Bratislava – Modra

Scrittura: *carolina posterior*

Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico

Misure: 310 x 429 mm

Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore. Nativitas Domini*

### **Brano musicale completo:**

f. 1r R. Continet in gremio, V. Domus pudici pectoris

### **Il bifoglio è stato trattato da:**

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Gregorius*. Tomus I. Bratislava 2008, pp. 77-78.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok: VERBUM 2009, p. 22.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin: Norbertinum 2009, pp. 133-136.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańska. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 123-124.  
VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, p. 189.

## 8. Un bifoglio completo, sine sign., Kremnica

Datazione: XIII secolo  
Fondo: Archivio Statale, Banská Bystrica – Kremnica  
Scrittura: *gothica textualis primitiva*  
Notazione: adiafematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 290-323 x 415-450 mm (specchio: 220 x 160 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *Sabbato, feria III – VI temporis per annum*

### Branî musicali completi:

- f. 2v A. Per viscera misericordie  
A. In conspectu angelorum  
A. Domine probasti me  
A. A viro iniquo  
A. Domine clamavi ad te  
A. Portio mea domine  
I. Dominum deum nostrum  
A. Quia mirabilia fecit  
A. Iubilate deo omnis terra  
A. Clamor meus ad te  
A. Benedic anima mea  
A. Confitebor domino  
R. Misericordiam et iudicium, V. Perambulabam
- f. 1r A. Secundum magnam  
A. Salutare vultus  
A. Ad te de luce  
A. Cunctis diebus  
A. Omnes angeli eius  
A. Exiit dominus nobis  
A. In domum domini letantes  
A. Qui habitas in celis  
A. Adiutorium nostrum  
A. Benefac domine  
A. Facti sumus sicut  
I. In manu tua  
A. Avertit dominus  
A. Quoniam in te confidit  
A. Iuste iudicate  
A. Da nobis domine

- f. 1v A. A timore inimici  
A. In ecclesiis  
R. Paratum cor meum, V. Exurge gloria mea
- f. 2r R. Misericordia tua domine, V. Deus iniqui insurrexerunt  
R. Factus est mihi, V. Deus ultionum dominus  
A. Spiritu principali confirma  
A. In veritate tua exaudi  
A. Illumina domine vultum tuum  
A. Domine audivi  
A. In timpano et coro

### Il bifoglio è stato trattato da:

RYBARIČ, Richard: Slovenská neuma. In: *Hudobnovedné štúdie I.*, Bratislava 1955, p. 163.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaematických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006.* Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 22.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia.* Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 110-120.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 127-129.

### 9. Due foglietti incompleti, sign. B I/17a, c,<sup>24</sup> Martin

- Datazione: XII secolo  
Fondo: Archivio di Letteratura, Biblioteca Nazionale Slovaca, Martin  
Scrittura: *carolino-gothica*  
Notazione: adiaematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: f. 1 – 42 x 65 mm,  
f. 2 – 35-39 x 57-60 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *Dominica V et VI post Epiphaniam*

**Branì musicali completi:** non rinvenuti (a causa dei piccoli formati dei frammenti)

### I frammenti sono stati trattati da:

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia.* Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 102-106.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Notované pergamenové zlomky v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine. In: *Hudobný archív 16.* Ed. Viera SEDLÁKOVÁ. Martin 2009, pp. 17-18.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Hudobno-paleografické špecifiká stredovekých notovaných rukopisov v Archíve literatúry a umenia SNK. In: *Knižnica 2-3*, Martin, 2010, p. 30.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 125-126.

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku.* Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 177-178.

<sup>24</sup> Il terzo foglietto – B I/17b non è notato, contiene soltanto parte di una lettura. Per questo motivo non viene preso in considerazione.

## 10. Una striscia orizzontale proveniente da un bifoglio, sign. A XL, Martin

Datazione: a cavallo tra i secc. XII/XIII  
Fondo: Archivio di Letteratura, Biblioteca Nazionale Slovaca, Martin  
Scrittura: *carolino-gothica*  
Notazione: adiaematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 16 x 230 mm (larghezza dello specchio: 95 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *Dominica I et II in Adventu Domini*

**Brani musicali completi:** mancano (il frammento è troppo piccolo e ristretto)

### Il frammento è stato trattato da:

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najnovší výskum v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine. In: *Pramene slovenskej hudby II. 1. Pramene sakrálnej hudby. 2. Hudobné knihovníctvo a jeho význam v znalostnej spoločnosti. Zborník z 2. konferencie hudobných knihovníkov, archivárov a múzejníkov*. Eds. Martina BOŽEKOVÁ – Anna KUCIANOVÁ. Martin : SNK a SNS IAML 2012, pp. 28-29.

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 126-127.

## 11. Un foglio quasi completo, sign. 12257, Kežmarok

Datazione: a cavallo tra i secc. XII/XIII  
Fondo: Biblioteca della Comunità luterana, Kežmarok  
Fonte: *Thomae Linacri Britanni de emendata structura latini seimonis. Basileae per N[ic]olaum Bry[...] M. D. [...] IX.*  
Scrittura: *carolina*  
Notazione: adiaematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 315 x 165 mm (larghezza dello specchio: 95 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de sanctis, Tiburtii, Susannae, Hippolyti, Assumptio Mariae*

### Brani musicali completi:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| f. 1r | A. Inclytus martyr tiburtius                                   |
|       | A. Dixit hyppolitus ad decium                                  |
|       | A. Preses dixit ad hippolytum                                  |
|       | A. Dixit cesar ad hippolytum                                   |
|       | A. Audite est vox infantium                                    |
|       | A. Exemplum merear fieri                                       |
|       | A. Anima mea liquefacta  |
|       | A. Tota pulchra es amica mea                                   |
|       | A. Virgo prudentissima   |
|       | A. Exaltata es sancta dei genitrix                             |
| f. 1v | A. Paradisi porte per te nobis                                 |
|       | A. Benedicta tu in mulieribus                                  |
|       | R. Vidi speciosam sicut columbam, V. Que est ista que ascendit |
|       | R. Que est ista que processit                                  |

### Il frammento è stato trattato da:

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Kesmarkini*. Tomus V. Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2019, p. 54.

### 12. Un foglio completo, sign. 1658, Bardejov

Datazione: XIII secolo  
Fondo: Magistrato della città di Bardejov  
Fonte: *Register taxae 1457*, sign. 988  
Scrittura: *carolina posterior*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 310 x 220 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *In natale unius martiris, In natale plurimorum martirum*

### Brani musicali completi:

f. 1va I. Regem martirum  
A. Predicantes preceptum  
A. Filii dominum scitote

### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Fragmenty gregoriánskeho chorálu v archívnych fondoch v Bardejove, Prešove a Levoči. In: *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slovensku začiatkom 21. storočia*. Ed. Marta HULKOVÁ. Bratislava: FF UK 2007, pp. 52.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26. - 28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok: VERBUM 2009, p. 23.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin: Norbertinum 2009, pp. 126-132.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Notované fragmenty v archívno-knižničných fondoch Bardejova, Prešova a Levoče*. Ružomberok: Verbum 2010, pp. 53-57.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 129-131.  
VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava: SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, p. 190.

### 13. Un frammento scomparso, sine sign. Košice

Datazione: XIV secolo  
Fondo: ignoto  
Scrittura: *gothica textualis*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Contenuto liturgico: *Feria V in Pascha Domini*  
Branı musicali completi: non rinvenuti (a causa del piccolo formato del frammento)

### Il frammento è stato trattato da:

RYBARIČ, Richard: Slovenská neuma. In: *Hudobnovedné štúdie I*. Bratislava 1955, pp. 173, 176.



- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánského chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, pp. 23-24.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 137-139.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 131-132.

## FRAMMENTI PROVENIENTI DA GRADUALI SCONSCIUTI

### 14. Un foglio incompleto, sign. EC Lad 1/3, Bratislava

- Datazione: XIII secolo
- Fondo: Archivio Statale, Bratislava
- Scrittura: *gothica textualis primitiva*
- Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico
- Misure: 225 x 80 mm
- Contenuto liturgico: *Feria III – Statio ad S. Laurentium, In Natale Sancti Vitalis, In Natale Sancti Philippi et Iacobi apostolorum, In Inventione Sanctae Crucis, In Natale Floriani martiris, In Natale Sancti Gordiani et Epimachi, In Natale Sancti Pancratii, Nerei et Achillei, In Dedicatione Ecclesiae*

**Brani musicali completi:** non rinvenuti (il foglio è stato tagliato verticalmente in due strisce, mancano dunque alcune sillabe all'interno dei brani)

### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

- SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1986, No. 435, p. 43.
- CZAGÁNYOVÁ, Zuzana: Dva neumové fragmenty v archíve mesta Bratislavy. In *Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia*, zv. 18. Bratislava 1989, pp. 37-38.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*. Bratislava : Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum 2002, pp. 60-61.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánského chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 20.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 46-54.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 133-135.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, p. 186.

### 15. Un foglio quasi intero, sign. Manus. 40, Bratislava

- Datazione: XIII secolo
- Fondo: Archivio Nazionale Slovacco , Bratislava
- Scrittura: *carolina*
- Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico
- Misure: f.1ra: 292 x 90 mm, f.1rb: 294 x 116 mm
- Contenuto liturgico: *In Vigilia et in Natale Sanctae Andreae, De Sancta Trinitate, Dominica I, II et III post Pentecosten*

### **Brani musicali completi:**

non rinvenuti (all'interno del foglio tagliato verticalmente mancano in ogni rigo alcune sillabe)

### **Il foglio è stato trattato da:**

- SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1981, No. 51, p. 82.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*. Bratislava : Slowakisches Nationalmuseum - Musikmuseum 2002, p. 86.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiestematických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie ko-nanej v dňoch 26. -28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 20.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 55-62.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 135-136.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi - Archivum Nationale Slovacaum*. Tomus III. Bratislava : Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2014, pp. 90-92.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 183, 185.

### **16. Due fogli incompleti (tagliati), sign. Fk Kre XXIV/a + b, Bratislava**

- Datazione: 1200 - 1235
- Fondo: Archivio Nazionale Slovacco, Bratislava
- Scrittura: *carolina posterior*
- Notazione: adiestematica di tipo germanico
- Misure: f. 1: cca 205 x 10 mm (12 strisce verticali – 2 x 6)  
f. 2: 216 x 143 mm (larghezza della colonna: 100 mm)<sup>25</sup>
- Contenuto liturgico: *Feria IV et V post Dominica I Quadragesime, Feria IV et V post Dominica II Quadragesime*

### **Brani musicali completi:**

non rinvenuti (a causa del taglio dei fogli)

### **I fogli sono stati trattati da:**

- HUDEC, Konštantín: *Vývin hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1949, pp. 19-20.
- LAMOŠ, Teodor: *Archív mesta Kremnice. Sprivodca po fondoch a zbierkach*. Bratislava 1957, p. 182.
- SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská 1981, No. 185, pp. 210, 211, 214.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 121-125.
- BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 138-139.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi - Archivum Nationale Slovacaum*. Tomus III. Bratislava : Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2014, pp. 57-58.
- VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 183-184.

<sup>25</sup> Si tratta di un foglio che era stato considerato perso. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, p. 121.

### 17. Una striscia proveniente da un bifoglio, sign. B I/16, Martin

Datazione: fine del 11o secolo, 1080 - 1100  
Fondo: Archivio di Letteratura, Biblioteca Slovacca Nazionale, Martin  
Scrittura: *carolino-gothica*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 37-63 x 58-163 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *In Natale Sancti Laurentii, In Natale Sancti Tiburtii, In Natale Sancti Eusebii*

#### Brani musicali completi:

non rinvenuti (a causa del formato troppo piccolo del frammento)

#### Il frammento è stato trattato da:

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009, pp. 107-109.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Notované pergamenové zlomky v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine. In: *Hudobný archív 16*. Ed. Viera SEDLÁKOVÁ. Martin 2009, pp. 16-17.  
VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Hudobno-paleografické špecifiká stredovekých notovaných rukopisov v Archíve literatúry a umenia SNK. In: *Knižnica 2-3*, Martin, 2010, p. 30.  
BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Najstarsze muzyczne świadectwa kultury muzycznej Słowacji. In: *Studia gregoriańskie. Dom Eugène Cardine in memoriam*, vol. 6, 2013, pp. 136-137.  
VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : SMS, ÚHV SAV 2017, pp. 176-177.

### 18. Un foglio completo, sign. II/1969, Dolný Kubín

Datazione: a cavallo tra i sec. XII/XIII  
Fondo: Biblioteca Čaplovič, Il Museo di Orava di P. O. Hviezdoslav, Dolný Kubín  
Fonte: Žigmund Senfleben (?): *TEXTUS sequentiarum cum expositione lucida ac facili: sacre scripture auctoritatib[us] aliorū[que] exemplis creberimis roborata: vnacum vocabulorū explanatione*. [Basilee, 1504]  
Scrittura: *carolina posterior*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 290 x 183 mm (specchio: 211 x 128 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *S. Hermetis, S. Sabinae, In decollatione S. Iohannis, Ss. Felicis et Adaucti, Prothi, Hyacinthi, Corneli et Cipriani, Nicodemis Martiris, Eufemie, Lucii et Geminiani*

#### Brani musicali completi:

In. Cognovi Domine  
Cm. Principes persecuti sunt  
Cm. Quod dico vobis in tenebris

#### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Notované fragmenty gregoriánskeho chorálu v knižničnom fonde Čaplovičovej knižnice Oravského múzea P.O. Hviezdoslava v Dolnom Kubíne II. In: *Zborník Oravského múzea 2016*, vol. 33, pp. 208-210.

### 19. Un bifoglio completo, sine sign., Bratislava

Datazione: XIII secolo  
Fondo: Archivio Statale, Bratislava  
Scrittura: *gothica textualis primitiva*  
Notazione: adiafematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 225 x 80 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *In dies sancti Iohannis Baptisti, Iohannis et Pauli martyrum, In vigilia Petri et Pauli, In sancto die, In commemoratio sancti Pauli, Processi et Martiniani*

#### Brani musicali completi:

- f. 1r In. De ventre matris, InV. Bonum est confiteri  
Gr. Priusquam te formarem, GrV. Misit dominus manum tuam  
Cm. Tu puer propheta altissimi  
In. Multe tribulationes iustorum, InV. Benedicam domino  
Gr. Ecce quam bonum, GrV. Sicut unguentum in capite
- f. 1v V. Mandavit dominus  
Of. Gloriabuntur in te omnes  
Cm. Et si coram hominibus  
In. Dicit dominus petro, InV. Celi enarrant gloriam dei  
Gr. In omnem terram exivit, GrV. Celi enarrant gloriam dei  
Of. Mihi autem nimis
- f. 2r Cm. Simon iohannis diligis me  
In. Nunc scio vere, InV. Domine probasti me  
Gr. Constitues eos principes, GrV. Pro patribus tuis  
AlV. Tu es petrus  
AlV. Beatus es simon petre  
Of. Constitues eos principes super
- f. 2v Cm. Tu es petrus  
In. Scio qui credidi, InV. Celi enarrant gloriam dei  
Gr. Qui operatus est petro, GrV. Gracia dei in me  
Of. In omnem terram exivit  
Cm. Amen dico vobis  
In. Iudicant sancti gentes, InV. Exultate iusti in domino  
Gr. Exultabunt sancti in gloria, GrV. Cantate domino canticum

#### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – LUZ, Rastislav: Neznámy fragment graduálu sine sign. z 13. storočia zo Štátneho archívu v Bratislave. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, vol. 10 (36), 2019, No 2, pp. 239-260.

## FRAMMENTI PROVENIENTI DA MESSALI SCOSCIUTI

### 20. Un foglio incompleto, sign. Manus. 92, Bratislava

Datazione: XII secolo  
Fondo: Archivio Nazionale Slovacco, Bratislava  
Scrittura: *carolina posterior*  
Notazione: adistematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 224 x 161 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *Sabbato Hebdomadae II Quadragesimae, Dominica III Quadragesimae*

#### Brani musicali completi:

f. 1r Cm. Oportet te filii  
In. Oculi mei semper ad dominum  
Gr. Exurge domine, GrV. In convertendo  
f. 1v Of. Iustitia domini recte, OfV. Praeceptum domini,  
OfV. Nam erunt ut complaceant

#### Il foglio è stato trattato da:

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### 21. Un bifoglio incompleto, sine sign. (Frag. 7), Bratislava

Datazione: XIII secolo  
Fondo: Biblioteca Centrale dell'Accademia Slovaca delle Scienze, Bratislava  
Scrittura: *carolina*  
Notazione: adistematica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 211 x 362 mm  
Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore, Dominicae „in aestate“, Sabbato Q. T. in Sept.*

#### Brani musicali completi:

f. 1r In. Venite adoremus deum  
f. 2r AIV. Dextera Domini fecit vitem

### **Il bifoglio è stato trattato da:**

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### **22. Un foglio intero, sine sign. (Frag. 8), Bratislava**

- Datazione: a cavallo tra i secc. 110/120
- Fondo: Biblioteca Centrale dell'Accademia Slovaca delle Scienze, Bratislava
- Scrittura: carolina
- Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico
- Misure: 330 x 190 mm
- Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore, Tempus Paschale, Sabato post Dominica Pentecostes, infra Octava Paschae*

### **Branì musicali completi:**

- f. 1rb AIV. Laudate dominum
- f. 1va Cm. Non vos relinquant orphanos

### **Il bifoglio è stato trattato da:**

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### **23. Un foglio quasi completo, sign. 926-928 (B.c 121), Levoča**

- Datazione: XIII secolo
- Fondo: Biblioteca della Comunità luterana, Levoča
- Fonte: Rodolpho Goclenio: *De hominis perfectione animo*, 1594, sign. 926-928

Scrittura: *gothica textualis primitiva*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 397 x 197 mm (specchio: 245 x 160 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore, Feria III et IV de Passione*

#### **Brano musicale completo:**

f. 1ra In. Redime me deus

#### **Il foglio è stato trattato da:**

BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiaستمatických fragmentov gregoriánskoho chorálu na Slovensku. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26. - 28. októbra 2006*. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, p. 23.

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#### **24. Un foglio quasi completo, sign. VIII/261, Dolný Kubín**

Datazione: XIV secolo  
Fondo: Biblioteca Čaplovič del Museo di Orava di P. O. Hviezdoslav, Dolný Kubín  
Fonte: Friedrich Taubmann: *Melodæsia sive Epulum Musæum*. Lipsiæ, 1615  
Scrittura: *gothica textualis*  
Notazione: adiaستمatica di tipo germanico  
Misure: 160 x 250 mm (larghezza delle colonne: 65-70 mm)  
Contenuto liturgico: *Proprium de tempore, Feria V et VI Paschae Domini*

#### **Branî musicali completi:**

Of. Erit vobis  
In. Eduxit dominus populum suum

#### **Il foglio è stato trattato da:**

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#### **Conclusion**

Nel presente articolo abbiamo schematicamente presentato 24 numeri di frammenti adiaستمatici conservati in archivi, in musei e in biblioteche slovacche. In tutto, questi piccoli nuclei contengono 34 fogli (foglietti, frazioni) di cui uno proveniente da un antifonario, 12 frammenti (insieme 19 pezzi) da breviari, 6 frammenti (insieme 8 pezzi) da gradualî e 5 frammenti (insieme 6 fogli) da messali. Tra di essi 5 sono bifogli (Nn. 3, 7, 8, 19, 21) e, come abbiamo appena accennato,

alcuni gruppi numerati contengono due frammenti (Nn. 2, 5, 6, 9, 16). Nel numero complessivo di 34 frammenti/frazioni solo 7 presentano lo specchio (spazio scritto) completo (Nn. 4, 5, 8, 18, 19); 7 fogli sono conservati interamente (Nn. 4, 8, 12, 18, 19) e altri 7 quasi completamente (Nn. 3, 7, 11, 15, 23, 24). I restanti frammenti sono in formato più o meno grande o piccolo, e comunque presentano solo i pezzetti dei fogli originali. I frammenti di Modra, Dolný Kubín, Levoča, Kežmarok e Bardejov (Nn. 7, 11, 12, 18, 23, 24) sono a tutt'oggi oggi attaccati a libri più recenti come parte dell'involucro.

Lo stato di conservazione dei frammenti è generalmente buono eccetto i fogli di Bardejov, Levoča e Kežmarok, che sono troppo danneggiati (sbiaditi). La datazione va dalla fine del secolo XI (No 17, frammento di Martin) fino al secolo XIV (No 13 – il breviario perso, No 24 – il messale di Dolný Kubín). La provenienza di ogni frammento è sconosciuta. La scrittura<sup>26</sup> più frequente è la carolina posterior (6). Il numero maggiore dei frammenti è conservato negli archivi di Bratislava che era, anche nel passato, una città nota e sviluppata, con vivi e frequenti contatti con altri centri culturalmente rilevanti.

Tutti i frammenti presentano la notazione adiafematica dell'area germanica (soprattutto quella del sud), rappresentando così il più antico sistema notato in generale. Le differenze tra i frammenti conseguono dalla caligrafia individuale di ogni notatore. Possiamo constatare che tutti i frammenti sono caratterizzati dal ductus obliquo della scrittura neumatica. Tre frammenti, presentati sotto i numeri 14, 15, 16, sono caratterizzati da una notazione molto simile. Lo si vede nel ductus simile, nella posizione dei segni neumatici e, soprattutto, nella grandezza e nella grafia della clivis con punta inclinata verso destra. Si potrebbe ipotizzare a proposito uno stesso scriptorium.

In conclusione possiamo affermare che il numero di frammenti adiafematici conservati nei nostri archivi resta sempre esiguo, pur essendo in continuo aumento (nel 2006 conoscevamo solo 14 frammenti,<sup>27</sup> nel 2009 il loro numero è aumentato a 18<sup>28</sup> e oggi abbiamo un numero complessivo di 24 frammenti). Bisogna tuttavia sottolineare che essi sono testimoni importanti della nostra storia medievale e del nostro collegamento sia con la vita sociale che con quella liturgica vissuta nel contesto europeo.

### Tavola comparativa: Quadro dei frammenti adiafematici in Slovacchia

Archivio	Tipi di frammenti				Numero di frammenti
	Antifonari	Breviari	Graduali	Messali	
Bratislava - Archivio Statale	0	1 (2)	2 (3)*	0	3 (5)
Bratislava - Archivio Nazionale Slovacco	0	2 (4)	2 (3)	1	5 (8)

<sup>26</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Gotische Minuskel in Handschriften aus dem Königreich Ungarn*. In: NEMERKÉNY, Előd (ed.): *Magistrae discipuli: tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére*. Budapest : Argumentum 2009, pp. 279-289.

<sup>27</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Prehľad doposiaľ nájdených adiafematických fragmentov gregoriánskeho chorálu na Slovensku*. In: *Gregoriánsky chorál v súčasnej liturgickej praxi*. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej konferencie konanej v dňoch 26.-28. októbra 2006. Ed. Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : VERBUM 2009, pp. 18-24.

<sup>28</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009.



Bratislava – Accademia Slovaca delle Scienze	0	0	0	2 (3)*	2 (3)
Bratislava – Museo Slovacco Nazionale	0	2*	0	0	2 (3)
Bratislava – Modra Archivio Statale	0	1*	0	0	1 (2)
Banská Bystrica – Kremnica – Arch. Statale	0	1*	0	0	1 (2)
Martin – Biblioteca Nazionale Slovaca	1	2 (3)	1	0	4 (5)
Dolný Kubín – Museo di Orava	0	0	1	1	2
Levoča – Chiesa della Comunità luterana	0	0	0	1	1
Kežmarok – Biblioteca della Comunità luterana	0	1	0	0	1
Bardejov – Archivio Statale	0	1	0	0	1
Košice (?) – il fondo ignoto	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Totale</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12 (19)</b>	<b>6 (8)</b>	<b>5 (6)</b>	<b>24 (34)</b>

\* indica un bifoglio (insieme 2 ff.)

() tra parentesi si trova il numero reale di frammenti (frazioni)

## Summary

In the territory of modern Slovakia, unfortunately, there is no preserved example of whole notated manuscript representing the oldest adialematic (lineless) notation. Compared to other European countries, fragmentarily preserved records of this kind are also relatively scarce. Nevertheless, their research, study, and divulgation to broader public in Slovakia is quite significant, especially if we consider that it all started in the past few decades. The whole number of fragments with lineless notation is 24. All of them show signs of South German adialematic notation. They date back to a period comprised between the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. They come from several liturgical books (1 was extracted from an antiphonary; 12 from breviaries; 6 from graduals; and 5 from missals). They are preserved in 11 different funds of archives, libraries, and museums located in 7 different Slovak cities. Despite their scarce number, they represent an authentic and admirable testimony of the presence of European musical culture, development of social contacts, and living liturgical tradition in our territory during the Middle Ages.

## Záver

Najstaršia adialematická (bezlinajková) notácia sa na území dnešného Slovenska vo forme uceleného notovaného rukopisu, žiaľ, nezachovala. Fragmentárne zachovaných pamiatok tohto druhu je v porovnaní s inými európskymi štátmi tiež pomerne málo. Napriek tomu je ich objavovanie, štúdium a prístupňovanie širšej slovenskej verejnosti o to významnejšie, že sa tak deje len niekoľko posledných desiatok rokov. Celkový počet zlomkov s bezlinajkovou notáciou je 24 a všetky vykazujú známky juhonemeckej adialematickej notácie. Ich datovanie zasahuje obdobie od konca 11. do 14. storočia. Pochádzajú z viacerých liturgických kníh (1 bol vyňatý z antifonára, 12 z breviárov, 6 z graduálov a 5 z misálov) a uložené sú v 11 archívnych, knižničných či

muzeálnych fondoch v 7 mestách Slovenska. Napriek ich nízkemu počtu sú však hodnoverným a obdivuhodným svedectvom prítomnosti európskej hudobnej kultúry, rozvinutých spoločenských kontaktov a živej liturgickej tradície na našom území v období stredoveku.

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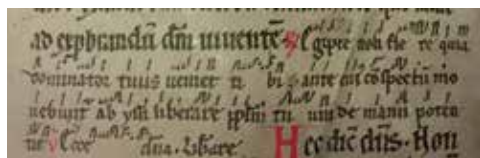
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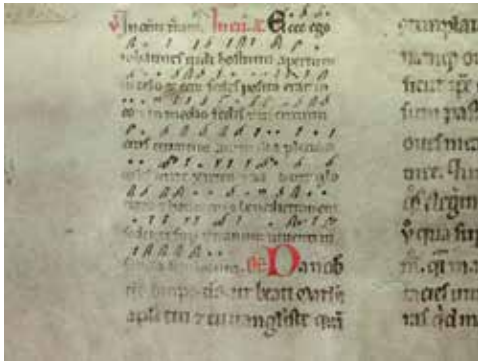
↑ **Picture 1.** Un foglio incompleto, sign. J 555 / 1, Martine



↑ **Picture 2.** Due fogli incompleti, sign. EC Lad 1/2, Bratislava



← **Picture 3.** Un bifoglio quasi completo, sign. MUS I 351, Bratislava



← **Picture 4.** Un foglio completo, sign. MUS I 352, Bratislava



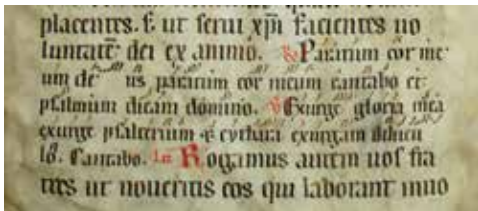
↑ **Picture 5.** Due fogli tagliati orizzontalmente, sign. Manus. 81, Bratislava



↑ **Picture 6.** Due fogli tagliati verticalmente, sign. Fk Kre IV/a+b, Bratislava



↑ **Picture 7.** Un bifoglio quasi completo, sign. 3118, Modra



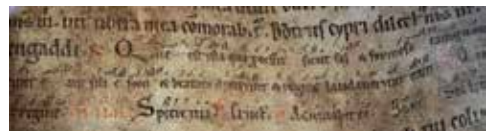
↑ **Picture 8.** Un bifoglio completo, sine sign., Kremnica



↑ **Picture 9.** Due foglietti incompleti sign. B 1/17a, c,<sup>29</sup> Martin



↑ **Picture 10.** Una striscia orizzontale proveniente da un bifoglio, sign. A XL, Martin



↑ **Picture 11.** Un folio quasi completo, sign. 12257, Kežmarok

<sup>29</sup> Il terzo foglietto – B 1/17b non é notato.

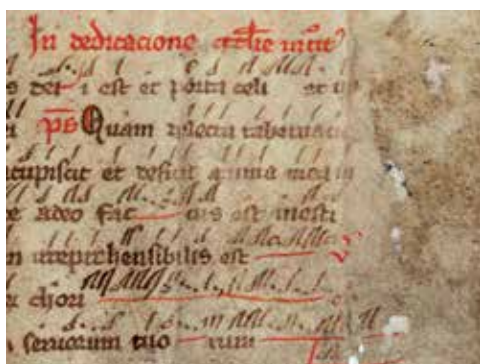




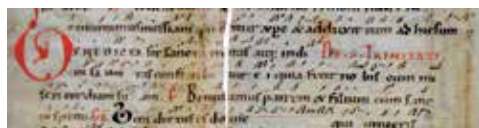
← **Picture 12.** Un foglio completo, sign. 1658, Bardejov



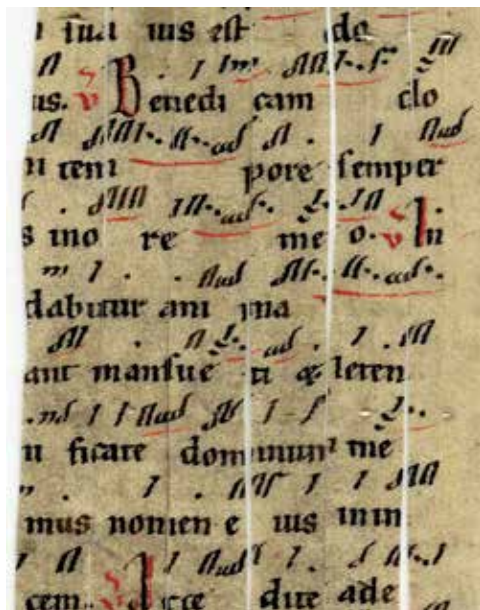
↑ **Picture 13.** Un frammento scomparso, sine sign. Košice



← **Picture 14.** Un foglio incompleto, sign. EC Lad 1/3, Bratislava



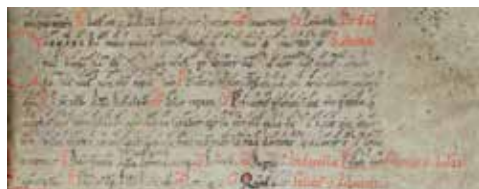
↑ **Picture 15.** Un foglio quasi intero, sign. Manus. 40, Bratislava



← **Picture 16.** Due fogli incompleti (tagliati), sign. Fk Kre XXIV/a + b, Bratislava



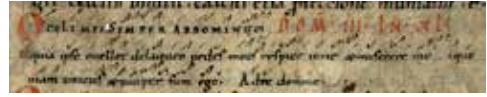
↑ **Picture 17.** Una striscia proveniente da un bifoglio, sign. B 1/16, Martin



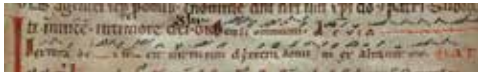
↑ **Picture 18.** Un foglio completo, sign. II/1969, Dolný Kubín



↑ **Picture 19.** Un bifoglio completo, sine sign., Bratislava



↑ **Picture 20.** Un foglio incompleto, sign. Manus. 92, Bratislava



↑ **Picture 21.** Un bifoglio incompleto, sine sign. (Frag. 7), Bratislava



↑ **Picture 22.** Un foglio intero, sine sign. (Frag. 8) Bratislava



↑ **Picture 23.** Un foglio quasi completo, sign. 926-928 (B.c 121), Levoča



↑ **Picture 24.** Un foglio quasi completo, sign. VIII/261 Dolný Kubín

## Sources with German Adiastematic Notation in Bohemia

### Abstract

A high number of medieval liturgical sources have been preserved from the historical Lands of the Bohemian Crown. Mostly, they are characterised by line notation. A smaller number of manuscripts includes staffless notation, especially German neumes. The text below sums up the developments and the current state of research, with particular regard to research on significant groups of sources of a homogeneous provenance (notably from the Benedictine monasteries in Břevnov, Rajhrad, and St George in the Prague Castle).<sup>30</sup>

**Keywords:** Bohemia, Middle Ages, Notation, German neumes, Manuscript

In the Czech tradition, research on Bohemian sources with German neumes has a long – almost centennial – history, although studies have never been carried out in a systematic way. These sources have attracted the attention of researchers just for the simple reason that they include the oldest notation system used in this territory. Its earliest record in Bohemian sources dates back to the middle of the eleventh century. The youngest record is from the fourteenth century. They include both fully notated sources and sources with sporadically inserted notation. In addition, there are a lot of fragments that have not been fully registered and classified yet.

For foreign scholars studying German neumes in a broader context, Bohemian sources with German neumes have always represented only an example of one of the later variants of this notation system; i.e. they never considered them as an independent issue. This can be observed, for example, in the research of Bruno Stäblein, who is very well acquainted with our sources, as seen in his work *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik* published in 1975.<sup>31</sup>

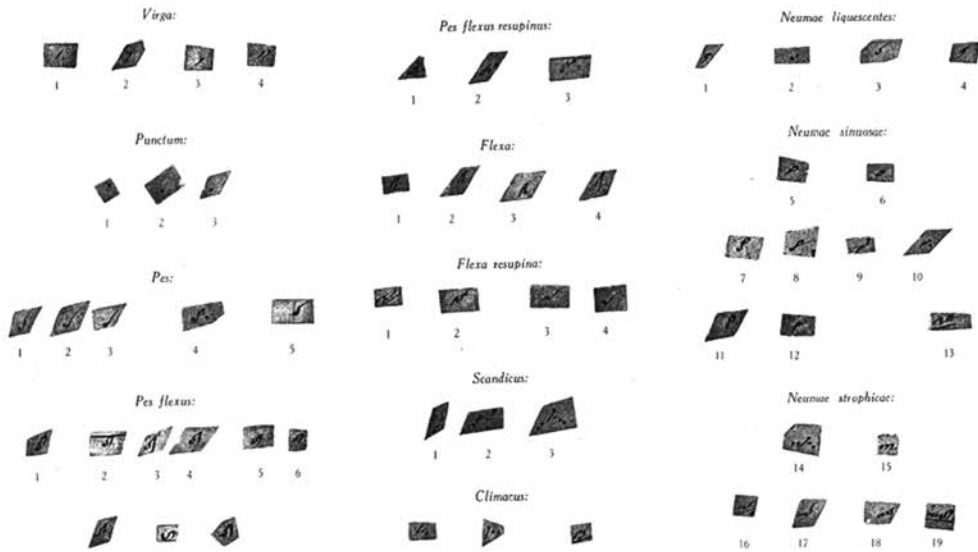
It is logical and appropriate to treat the sources in a wider context, without limitation to a given geographical area. But, on the other hand, due to the general historical development of the Bohemian Lands (where we can follow uninterrupted long-standing cultural trends from the tenth century onward thanks to an efficient organisation of the state), it is worth trying to monitor potential local peculiarities in the development of the notation. This task is for local researchers, who – in most of the cases – have easier access to the original manuscripts. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Josef Hutter was the first person who had the ambition to fulfil this task. He then became professor of musicology at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Charles University in Prague and – in 1926 – published the first volume, *Neumy [Neumes]*, of his book *Česká notace [Bohemian Notation]* in 1926.<sup>32</sup> His work was based on his knowledge of foreign literature available at the time and, as the title suggests, he provided general conclusions about the use of neumes in Bohemian sources. Actually, the only material described by him in detail was the oldest completely preserved manuscript in Bohemia with neumes – a notated missal from the twelfth century, known as *Pu XIV D 12*. Hutter carried out a comparative analysis of this manuscript with

<sup>30</sup> This study was written as part of the “Variables of the Identity of Musical Culture in Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages project (Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, GA15-11036S, 2015 – 2019).

<sup>31</sup> STÄBLEIN, Bruno: *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*. Leipzig : Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975.

<sup>32</sup> HUTTER, Josef. *Česká notace [Bohemian Notation]*. Prague : Neubert, 1926.

a number of foreign sources. In his monograph, he systematically inventoried and classified the notation signs and created a system documented with their facsimiles. If we consider the high number of sources present and available in Bohemia, such limitation to a single source is quite surprising (notably because Hutter tried to exploit his limited basis in order to formulate his theory about direct connections between the given lineless notation and the later Bohemian rhombic notation). [sic]



↑ Figure 1. Josef Hutter, *Česká notace I*. Neumy, Prague 1926, p. Annexes 1 and 2

Hutter's system was later used to describe sources also by his student Václav Plocek (1923 – 2005). He paid systematic attention to this form of notation in his work *Zwei Studien zur ältesten geistlichen Musik in Böhmen*,<sup>33</sup> which was mainly based on sources from the St George's Convent of Benedictine nuns in Prague. His research on manuscripts with neumatic notation represented only a preparatory step to his main focus, manuscripts with staff notation. He explicitly mentions only three manuscripts in which neumatic notation is quite frequently utilised: (i) lectionary *Pu XII E 16* from the twelfth century; (ii) breviary *VI E 13*, and (iii) breviary *XII F 5* (the latter two date back to the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth century).

Plocek drew on Hutter's systematic description of the neumes (including his original terminology) in a very accurate way also in his main masterpiece, the *Catalogue of Latin Notated Manuscripts of the State Library of the Czech Republic*.<sup>34</sup> He describes in a very detailed manner the notation of the manuscripts (including twenty manuscripts notated with lineless notation). A large group of these manuscripts is formed by the already mentioned sources from St George's Convent (a convent of Benedictine nuns located in Prague).

<sup>33</sup> PLOCEK, Václav unter Mitarbeit von TRAUB, Andreas: *Zwei Studien zur ältesten geistlichen Musik in Böhmen. Teil 1, Texte und Analysen*. Giessen : Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag 1985.

<sup>34</sup> PLOCEK, Václav. *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae - in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*. Prague : Národní knihovna, 1973.



Due to the unfavourable political situation, Václav Plocek did not have a chance to train any direct successor who would have continued to carry out research on the notation of Bohemian manuscripts. A generation of medievalists (who graduated during the past decades from the Department of Musicology of Charles University) have focused on themes that are mostly different from those of the founders of this field of study – without practically any special focus on notation. The only significant exception is Veronika Mráčková, who created a systematic model of notation systems present in the chant manuscripts of St George's Convent. In the introduction of her graduate thesis *Chorální notace v pramenech kláštera sv. Jiří v Praze [Neumatic Notation in the Sources of St George's Convent in Prague]*,<sup>35</sup> she offers a very solid overview of previous research on Bohemian neumatic sources in general. Nevertheless, as its generally formulated title suggests, she limited her research to manuscripts with staff notation and she omitted older manuscripts with German lineless neumes.

For this reason, there is still no uniform register of notated sources in Bohemia. Therefore, it is difficult to enumerate the exact number of completely notated, partially notated, and fragmentary Bohemian manuscripts.<sup>36</sup>

Partial original data about this issue are mostly extracted from works that focus on other themes (on groups of manuscripts from a given provenance or – sometimes – even monographic works about a single manuscript). In several cases, data from older works are simply quoted – e.g. in the otherwise very meritorious general project, [www.manuscriptorium.cz](http://www.manuscriptorium.cz), quotations from Plocek's catalogue are used for the descriptions.

In recent years, several works have been written about Bohemian manuscripts with neumes, although their primary focus is not on notation itself.

In his large description of medieval liturgical manuscripts preserved in the Benedictine convent in Rajhrad, [*Medieval Sources with Musical Notation from Rajhrad*]<sup>37</sup>, Lumír Škvařil presents detailed information about these manuscripts,<sup>38</sup> including current knowledge from general historical and palaeographic fields. The question of notation is only briefly mentioned in his text, since there is no systematic model of the notation of these manuscripts yet. However, in terms of more detailed research on Rajhrad manuscripts, Škvařil created a reliable basis for potential further processing.

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<sup>35</sup> MRÁČKOVÁ, Veronika: *Chorální notace v pramenech kláštera sv. Jiří v Praze* [Chant Notation in the Sources of St George's Convent in Prague]. Graduate thesis. Prague : Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

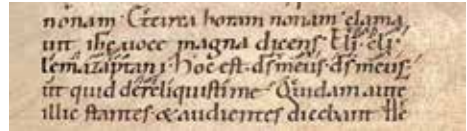
<sup>36</sup> It would be very useful – although not so easy to practically execute in the current situation – to make a similar list as that of R. Klugseder regarding the manuscripts of the National Library in Vienna. Klugseder's list contains detailed evidence and analysis of the notation used in the manuscripts. It represents an important criterion for orientation in the high number of the manuscripts. [<https://www.oeaw.ac.at/ikm/forschung/archiv/edition-und-dokumentation/mittelalterliche-musikhandschriften/-01/0%019>]

<sup>37</sup> The work consists of one, quite long, chapter in the following book: ŽŮREK, Pavel – ŠKVAŘIL, Lumír – MAŇAS, Vladimír: *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi: k hudební kultuře benediktinského kláštera Rajhrad od jeho založení do začátku 18. století* [In Conspectu Angelorum Psallam Tibi: On the Musical Culture of the Benedictine Monastery of Rajhrad from its Foundation up to the Beginning of the 18th Century]. Brno : Moravská zemská knihovna [Moravian Library], 2014, pp. 74–142.

<sup>38</sup> The same author analysed manuscripts with neumes also in his other works: ŠKVAŘIL, Lumír: Příspěvek k hudebním dějinám rajhradského kláštera v období středověku [A Contribution to the Music History of the Rajhrad Monastery in the Medieval Period]. In: *Acta musicologica*, vol. 11, 2014, no. 2; ŠKVAŘIL, Lumír: Dva břevnovské neumované prameny jako svědkové nejstaršího notového písma v Čechách [Two Sources with Neumes from Břevnov as Relics of the Oldest Notation in Bohemia]. In: *Opus musicum*, vol. 49, 2017, no. 1, pp. 6–18.



← **Figure 2.** CZ-R 388: The oldest neumes written in Bohemia, source from the half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, deposited in the Břevnov monastery over a manuscript edited in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Admont.



↑ **Figure 3.** CZ-R 637 - lectionary from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, originally from Admont, with neumes added in the Břevnov monastery in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.



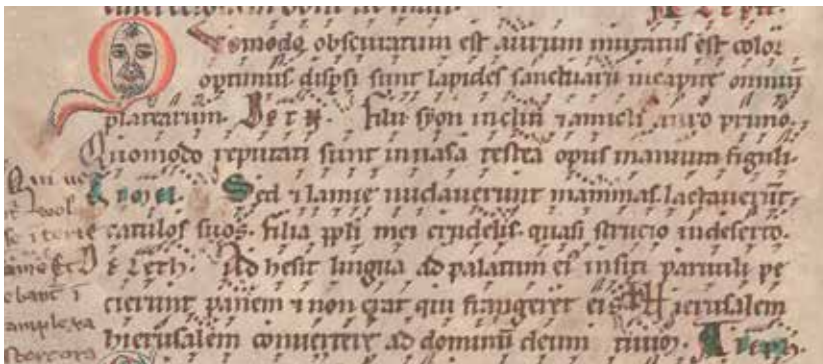
← **Figure 4.** CZ-R 418: Notation of a neume gradual written in the Břevnov monastery in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (transferred to Rajhrad only in Modern Period).



↑ **Figure 5.** CZ-R 396: Neumes in a missale from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, edited outside the territory of Bohemia.



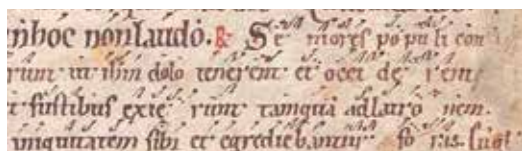
← **Figure 6.** CZ-R 387: Neumes in a notated breviary, written in the Benedictine monastery in Hradisko, Moravia, the 12<sup>th</sup> century.



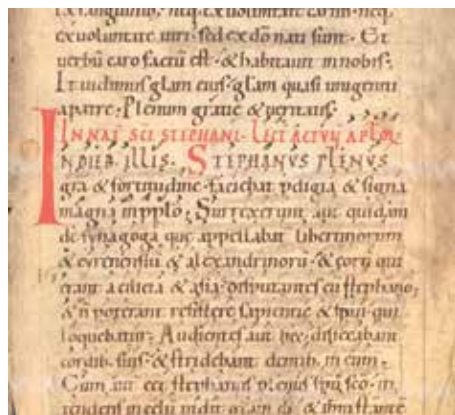
← **Figure 7.** CZ-R 376: Neumes in a lectionary written in an unidentified Benedictine monastery in Bohemia or Moravia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

As the above overview reveals, the neumatic manuscripts included in this group are of a heterogeneous origin, but they have a common denominator (their link to the Rajhrad monastery); therefore, it is worth analysing them in their mutual connections even in terms of their notation. Besides records obtained elsewhere, they also include integrations and additions that directly relate to liturgical life in Rajhrad. Therefore, it could be possible to monitor potential common local characteristics of the neumes they use. This is a task that could be carried out in the future.

Another significant cataloguing project (also focusing on the description of sources from an ecclesiastical institution) is about to be finished, but – thanks to the courtesy of the author – we already know the final outcome. It is a list of manuscripts from St George's Convent of Benedictine nuns in the Prague Castle. The theme is researched as a graduate thesis by Renáta Modráková from the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Prints of the National Library of Prague. She describes all the manuscripts, including twenty-six notated ones. As mentioned above, she could already draw on available data on manuscripts with staff notation from the graduate thesis of Veronika Mráčková.<sup>39</sup> Manuscripts with neumes have not been processed in a similar way so far.



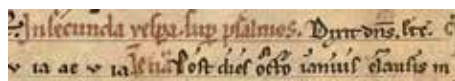
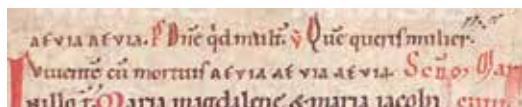
↑ Figure 8. CZ-Pu VI E 4c: Neumes in a breviary from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, used in St George's Convent



→ Figure 9. CZ-Pu XII E 16: Notation in a lectionary of the 12<sup>th</sup> century



← Figure 10. CZ-Pu XIII E 14b: Neumes in a psalter of German origin from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century



↑ Figure 11. CZ-Pu XXIII D 156: One of the sporadic neume inscriptions in a breviary from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century



← Figure 12. CZ-Pu VI E 13: Neumes in a breviary edited between the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>39</sup> Cf. note 33.

Within this group of sources, the only material processed accurately so far is the notation in manuscript CZ-*Pu VI E 4c*, analysed by Tereza Seifertová in her graduate thesis.<sup>40</sup> She identified two main levels of notation (an early phase and a Gothic phase of German neumes), and also – more precisely: seven main notators’ hands from the twelfth century and a high number of later additions. In her detailed analysis of the notation, she drew on Václav Plocek’s older descriptions;<sup>41</sup> nevertheless, from a methodological and terminological point of view, she inclined to the newer trend that is based on the works of Eugène Cardin.<sup>42</sup> In her analysis of the notation used in the source, she concluded that this type of notation was typical for Benedictine manuscripts edited in convents that embraced Hirsau Reforms. In this way, she got closer to the opinion previously formulated by Janka Szendrei with regard to the manuscripts of St George’s Convent.<sup>43</sup> It is a quite precise work, but it has one disadvantage: the systematic model of the notation is not accompanied by visual examples to illustrate it.

An updated contribution to a systematic model of neumatic notation in Bohemian manuscripts is Eva Vergosová’s work, who – back in 2017 – wrote her graduate thesis about the CZ-*Pn XIV D 12* missal with neumes from the twelfth century. She processed the oldest liturgical manuscript of a Bohemian origin, which abounds in neumes. It is the same manuscript that had been analysed by the pioneer Josef Hutter in his above-mentioned work from the 1920 s.<sup>44</sup> In her extended chapter dedicated to palaeographic analysis, Vergosová methodologically starts from the most recent specialised literature in the field of auxiliary sciences of history. Then she connects this fundamental basis to her own accurate identification and analysis of the writing and the notating hands. In order to provide a more synoptic framework for such a problematic issue, she uses a system of tables, where the notation signs are documented with facsimiles (in the exact way as they were written by the scribes of the manuscript). From a methodological and terminological point of view, this is the most detailed work concerning research on Bohemian liturgical manuscripts notated with German neumatic notation as of now.

If research continues on the path described in the latter works, it will certainly be possible to reach authentic general standpoints and detailed and systematically proven conclusions regarding the specificities of the neumes of the German type in Bohemian manuscripts.

A necessary requisite for reaching this goal is – obviously – detailed cataloguing and a specific description of the notation of all the available neumatic sources, with a consequent systematic list of the notation characters. It would be reasonable to compare the collected material with analogous material from other comparable manuscripts – selected according to carefully set criteria (i.e. manuscripts from Benedictine monasteries, notably from German-speaking areas, with liturgical manuscripts from geographically close countries). Such detailed and wide-ranging research can be carried out only through some form of teamwork – e.g. within a team formed to study the topics and issues treated in this collection of articles.

<sup>40</sup> SEIFERTOVÁ, Tereza: *Neumovaný breviář Pu VI E 4c z kláštera sv. Jiří [Neumatic Breviary Pu VI E 4c from St George’s Convent]*. Graduate thesis. Prague : Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, 2011, pp. 25-30, *Breviář Pu VI E 4c z hlediska hudebně-paleografického [Breviary Pu VI E 4c from a Musical and Palaeographic Point of View]* chapter.

<sup>41</sup> PLOCEK, Ref. 34, pp. 194-196.

<sup>42</sup> CARDINE, Eugen: *Semiologia gregoriana*. Rome : Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 1968.

<sup>43</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: Prager Quellen zum Hirsauer Choral. In: *Cantus Planus* 1995, pp. 555-571.

<sup>44</sup> HUTTER, Ref. 32.

# Chant Research in Hungary. Traditional Topics, New Directions

## Abstrakt

Vorliegender Aufsatz ist dreigliedrig konzipiert. Der erste Abschnitt fasst die Genese der musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung in Ungarn zusammen, von ihren Anfängen bzw. dem Antritt der "großen Generation" von Choralforschern Benjamin Rajeczky, László Dobszay, Janka Szendrei in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts bis zum Generations- und Paradigmenwechsel um das Jahr 2010. Im zweiten Teil wird aus dem Geflecht von Subdisziplinen der Choralwissenschaft die Fragmentenforschung herausgegriffen und ausführlich behandelt. Schliesslich wird am Beispiel einer Fragmentenrekonstruktion die Notwendigkeit gegenseitiger Koordinierung der projektorientierten Forschung in den Ländern Zentraleuropas betont.

**Keywords:** Chant research, Hungary, Central Europe, fragmentology, international cooperation

## I. The Past in the Present

Although the Hungarian roots of studying mediaeval liturgical monody go back to the first half of the twentieth century, its institutional framework was created only in the sixties and seventies. It is rather remarkable and quite unique that, in Hungary, scientific interest in the high musical culture of the Middle Ages grew out of folk music research. Benjamin Rajeczky, the leader of a special research group studying folk music, formed in 1953 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, began to explore the early strata of Hungarian music history and correlations between European and Hungarian folk music.<sup>45</sup> In the 1960s, he was joined by László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei and, as a result of their combined efforts, an independent research group (later department) of melodic history was set up in 1974 simultaneously with the establishment of the Institute for Musicology. This department (now called the Department of Early Music History) still exists, even though the surrounding institutional structure of the Academy has undergone several changes.<sup>46</sup> The department's basic objectives remained substantially unchanged, and they have only been slightly modified to the extent deemed necessary by the dynamic development of research tools.

These three scientists, Benjamin Rajeczky, Janka Szendrei, and László Dobszay began to explore, systematically classify, and publish the musical relics of the Hungarian Middle Ages in the 1960s. By a comprehensive analysis of the extant manuscripts and early printed sources (notated codices and liturgical fragments), they reconstructed the melodic inventory and notational practice of plainchant in Hungary, and determined its place within the overall historical framework of mediaeval European music and culture. By creating its own scientific terminology, they turned musical mediaeval studies into an independent discipline. Their scientific efforts included primary research on sources, with strenuous but indispensable attention to minutiae, an overall

<sup>45</sup> See, e. g., RAJECZKY Benjamin: *Népdaltörténet és gregoriánkutatás* [History of Folk Song and Plainchant Research]. In: *Emlékkönyv Kodály Zoltán hatvanadik születésnapjára*. ed. Béla GUNDA, Budapest : Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1943, pp. 308-312, reprint in *Rajeczky Benjamin írásai*. ed. Ilona FERENCZI, Budapest : Editio Musica, 1976, pp. 28-32; idem, *Gregorián, népének, népdal* [Plainchant, Folk Hymn, Folksong]. In: *Magyar Zenetörténeti Tanulmányok* II. ed. Ferenc BÓNIS, Budapest : Zeneműkiadó, 1969, pp. 45-64, reprint in *Rajeczky Benjamin írásai*, pp. 40-58.

<sup>46</sup> For more on the history of the department, see the website of the Institute for Musicology: <http://zti.hu/index.php/en/early-music/history-of-the-department> (01/09/2020)

conspectus of essential characteristics, and a speculative synthesis. Thanks to their laborious efforts, mediaeval liturgical plainchant has become a natural part not only of scientific thought, but also of applied education, liturgical practice and, ultimately, of Hungarian cultural life on the whole.<sup>47</sup>

The scientific efforts of the aforementioned researchers mark an important period in the history of science. However, between 2010 and 2015, this era came to an end. Nevertheless, László Dobszay's death in 2011 and Janka Szendrei's gradual withdrawal from active scientific life until her death in 2019 did not mean only the end of an era for their disciples and successors. Since a brand new beginning is always present, at least potentially, in every closure, now the members of the so-called "middle generation" have to make a complete assessment of the new situation: what can be done with this veritable scientific legacy, and what new directions can be found for research and expertise. They have come into the possession of a rich and advanced intellectual inheritance, and must now learn how to make the best of it: to find a way to further this legacy, and to understand that it is not a burden but an indispensable foundation to build on in the future.

It is undeniable that we have already brought to a successful end many tasks incumbent upon us from the perspective of basic research and, as a result of our complex scientific approach, we have gradually achieved complete and comprehensive understanding of the issue. Nonetheless, precisely because certain essential tasks have already been accomplished and because – almost as a side-effect – new methods, objectives, and horizons have opened up before us, it has now become both possible and necessary to build the Hungarian research of liturgical plainchant on new foundations. This paradigm shift resulted in the exploration of new, heretofore neglected areas and topics for research, as well as in the application of modern methods and techniques in analysing and publishing the research material. With the help of these, it will become possible to analyse old data and well-known phenomena in new correlations, and to publish our findings in a brand new light. From the perspective of the past decade, we may now say that the objectives of the Department of Early Music, once only seen in broad lines but now more clearly defined, are characterised both by the continuation of the work commenced by the previous generation, and a deliberate shift in emphasis, involving new methods and areas of interest in our research efforts.

In order to proceed from more abstract subjects of research towards more concrete ones, the Department of Early Music now focuses on the medieval and early modern history of the theory and practice of Latin liturgical plainchant, which includes the exposition and comparative analysis of its primary sources, the liturgical and musicological analysis of the chant repertoire transmitted by them, and the publication of select sources and repertoires. By looking at these

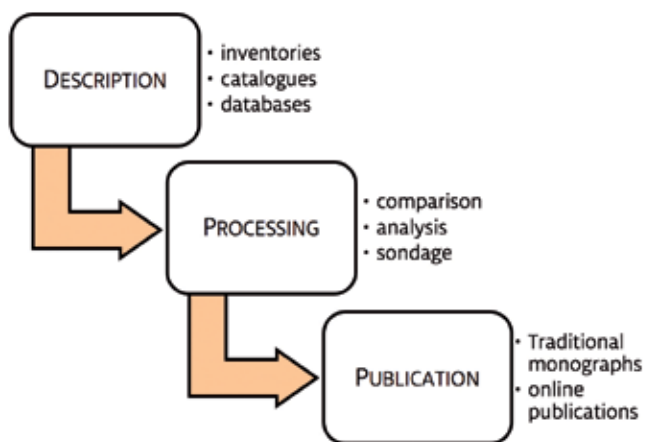
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<sup>47</sup> Their most comprehensive publications are: SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated Sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages]. Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténehez 1. Budapest : HAS Institute for Musicology, 1981; eadem, *Középkori hangjegyzírások Magyarországon* [Medieval Notations in Hungary]. Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténehez 4. Budapest : HAS Institute for Musicology, 1983; eadem, *A "Mos Patriae" kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében* [The Development of "Mos Patriae" in Notated Sources from Hungary Written before 1341]. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2005; DOBSZAY, László: *The System of the Hungarian Plainsong Sources*, In: *Studia Musicologica* 27, 1985, 1/4, pp. 37–65; idem, *Corpus Antiphonarum. Európai örökség és hazai alakítás* [European Heritage and its Hungarian Moulding]. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2003; See also the volumes of the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* series started in 1988. For a description of the project, with references to the previous volumes, see: <http://krakow-temporale.zti.hu/> (01/09/2020)



sources (*i.e.* notated liturgical codices and fragments) from this standpoint, we can affirm that not only do they play a primary role in the basic, initial stage of inquiry (which gradually diminishes later on, in the subsequent phase of theoretical abstraction), but they actually remain in the focus throughout our analytical research, from a descriptive understanding and primary harvest of experience all the way to a synthetic summary of the entire research process on a more general level. Thus, the main effort of our actual research is comprised of researching the available sources in a wider sense, while the subsequent tasks, determined by the different stages of research, may be summarised in the following three interrelated categories (see *Diagram 1*):

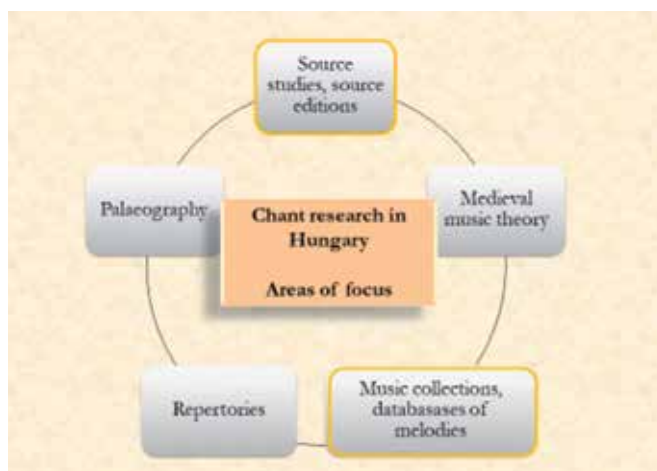
*description – processing – publication*



- *description*: preparation of appropriate catalogues and indices in accordance with the character of the sources,
- *processing*: comprehensive, monographic investigation of the sources and their contents,
- *publication*: traditional or digital publication of select parts (genre repertoires) or – in certain cases – of the entire source.

↑ **Diagram 1.** The diachrony of research

This methodological diachrony may then move towards the synchrony of the department’s research interests and actual projects, as illustrated in *Diagram 2*.



In the following, I shall pick one of the most dynamically developing areas of “Source Research and Source Edition” – *musical fragmentology* – and discuss it in detail.

↑ **Diagram 2.** The synchrony of actual topics and research areas

## II. Research on Fragments / Musical Fragmentology

Research on fragments is especially important in a country which has lost the greater part of its mediaeval manuscripts. According to reliable estimates, approximately fifty thousand codices must have been in circulation in mediaeval Hungary, and now there are only about a thousand and five hundred ones.<sup>48</sup> The remainder that survived has been studied by many branches of science with various intensity and from a number of different angles. We may actually say that fragmentology has now gained momentum owing to the electronic/digital aids of the modern age. Firstly, in dealing with damaged manuscript fragments, we can now have recourse to highly effective methods of physical restoration in the best research workshops of the world. Secondly, the databases set up in the name of collaboration, open access, and interoperability, are readily accessible on the internet and they make it possible to reunite fragments that once belonged together, and to reconstruct their actual content.<sup>49</sup>

In Hungary, the study of mediaeval manuscript fragments – in the wake of some earlier, isolated initiatives – has gradually developed into an independent scientific discipline from the 1970s onwards. At the start, it was considered to be a specific branch of historical-codicological-palaeographic research, embodying a synthesis of these scientific areas and demanding expertise in all three. The “originator” of Hungarian fragmentology, and the central figure of its early, formative period was László Mezey, who formulated the principles of this new scientific discipline for the first time:

Our knowledge about the age of manuscripts cannot be complete without the study of fragments. Hence, paying attention to them is a plainly evident scientific task (...)

(...) In terms of mining data about the past, the role and significance of manuscript fragments is similar to the ruins and unearthed foundations of historical monuments in archaeology or architectural history.<sup>50</sup>

After the initial difficulties in acknowledging the legitimacy of fragmentology and its acceptance as a scientific discipline, this new field began to bloom quickly and developed into a real success. As a result of the dedicated work of the *Fragmenta Codicum* research group established by Mezey,<sup>51</sup> a catalogue of fragments was published in the 1980s based on the collections of two important libraries in Budapest (the University Library<sup>52</sup> and the Library of the Central

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<sup>48</sup> MEZEY, László: *Fragmenta codicum. Egy új forrásterület feltárása* [Fragmenta Codicum. Discovery of a New Source Field]. MTA Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei, 30, 1978, pp. 65–90.

<sup>49</sup> See e. g. the objectives of the digital laboratory/web application *Fragmentarium* initiated in 2015 by Christoph Flüeler: <https://fragmentarium.ms/pages/about/digital-laboratory> (01/09/2020).

<sup>50</sup> MEZEY, *ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>51</sup> The *Fragmenta Codicum* research group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was the first project that began to systematically describe and publish medieval manuscript fragments from Hungary, in parallel with similar initiatives around Europe. The project is still running under the name of Res Libraria Hungariae / Fragmenta Codicum, accessible also online: <http://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/fragm.htm> (01/09/2020)

<sup>52</sup> *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, recensuit Ladislaus MEZEY cum sociis [...]. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó–Wiesbaden : Harrasowitz, 1983.



Seminary<sup>53</sup>). In the 1990s, and in the first decade of the new millennium, other catalogues of fragments were published (under a new title of the series, *Fragmenta et Codices in bibliotheca Hungariae*) based on the collection of libraries outside Budapest (Esztergom, Győr, Sopron).<sup>54</sup>

The initiatives of early Hungarian fragmentology fortuitously coincided in terms of time, content, organisation, and scientific standards with other highly significant initiatives in Hungarian music history. As I have already pointed out, it was precisely in the 1960s and '70s that Janka Szendrei and László Dobszay – under Benjamin Rajeczky's direction – began their pioneering work in exploring sources of Hungarian music history and prepared several publications of key importance.<sup>55</sup> This ground-breaking work laid the foundations for modern mediaeval music studies, and the scholars involved could easily and efficiently coordinate their efforts with the *Fragmenta Codicum* research group. In the volumes of the *Fragmenta et Codices in bibliotheca Hungariae* series, Szendrei's and Dobszay's studies proved that the results of research in music history and musical palaeography could, and should, be utilised within the context of fragmentology. They demonstrated that, for example, notation or melodic variants may actually be the only reliable indicators in cases when the usual codicological parameters turn out to be unhelpful in determining the origin, provenance, place of use, and content of the fragments.

Previously, I spoke in rather general terms of milestones within the first great period of researching early Hungarian music history. This was a period when the most important questions and tasks were defined and the sources necessary for their successful implementation were explored. Placing into our focus this latter aspect – that is, exploring and organising the sources into a complex system –, we may speak of three milestones. The first one was Janka Szendrei's work published in 1981, *Notated Sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages*.<sup>56</sup> In its introduction, Szendrei identified, listed, dated, and typologically categorised the medieval liturgical and notated codices or fragments, which she then catalogued in the second volume of her study, making it an indispensable point of reference for any further research. Thanks to this publication, László Dobszay's work of organising the prepared database into an overall chronological-typological system may not have been too arduous. The result was made available to the international public in 1985 in a study entitled *The System of Hungarian Plainsong Sources*.<sup>57</sup> With some modifications, Szendrei's list of sources became an independent chapter of *Hungarian Music History, vol. 1. (Middle Ages)* in 1988.<sup>58</sup> We may say that, with this publication, the first, heroic period of source amassment and organisation within the context of Hungarian plainchant studies came to an end.

In the 1970s and '80s, there was a fortuitous connection and close interaction between the heyday of systematic studies about mediaeval manuscript fragments and the methodical research and categorisation of Hungarian liturgical plainchant. Thanks to this auspicious

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<sup>53</sup> *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Seminarii cleri Hungariae centralis*, recensuit Ladislaus Mezey cum sociis [...]. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó–Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1988.

<sup>54</sup> see the List of publications at <http://www.fragmenta.oszk.hu/fragm.htm#pub> (01/09/2020)

<sup>55</sup> See the list of publications in footnote 47.

<sup>56</sup> SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, see footnote 47.

<sup>57</sup> DOBSZAY, *The System of the Hungarian Plainsong Sources*, see footnote 47.

<sup>58</sup> RAJECZKY, Benjamin (ed.): *Magyarország zenetörténete I. Középkor* [Music History of Hungary I. The Middle Ages]. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.

happenstance, a new auxiliary discipline of science sprang to life: a branch of fragmentology which zeroed in specifically on musical (notated) manuscript fragments.

Szendrei's aforementioned catalogue, published in 1981, actually contained a description of six hundred and fifty-five such fragments.<sup>59</sup> The descriptions followed the usual cataloguing order and method: they registered the genre, date of origin, library location, liturgical content, type of notation, and supposed provenance of the fragments. These succinct designations engross every bit of knowledge that the careful process of research in music history and palaeography has accumulated. In this particular case, accumulation – by our good fortune – goes well beyond simple abstraction. The knowledge thus collected and published – containing the background material of Szendrei's research on mediaeval sources – is readily available to us in its physical reality.

At the Institute for Musicology, there is an enormous cabinet in one of the rooms of the Department of Early Music History, containing all the documents that Janka Szendrei bequeathed to the department after her retirement. This cabinet is full of dossiers that contain the description of each source or fragment, along with detailed comments and explanations regarding content, melodic variants, musical notation, and cross references. Janka Szendrei made note of not only her own observations, but also of every other information regarding the application of the material. This is of immense value to her successors, a real treasure house of scientific data upon which many researchers can draw for a long time to come. The dossiers of the so-called *Szendrei Cabinet* contain information about many more sources than the six hundred and fifty-five fragments described in her catalogue. We can be certain that Szendrei collected many newly discovered fragments until the very end of her scientifically active life, and – despite the headway that electronic and digital data processing has recently made – she insisted on this “old-fashioned”, physical method of storing data.

When, in 2016, my colleagues and myself,<sup>60</sup> supported by a largescale *Grant of the National Research Development and Innovation Office*,<sup>61</sup> began to work on the description, processing, and publication of medieval notated manuscript fragments from Hungary – now also making use of all the electronic/digital aids and online resources –, we first decided to take a look at these two: the Szendrei Catalogue and the Szendrei Cabinet. We entered the six hundred and fifty-five fragment descriptions into a digital database and digitalized, one by one, the dossiers in the Szendrei Cabinet that contain seven hundred and forty-eight fragment descriptions.<sup>62</sup> We arranged the multifaceted contents of the dossiers into different files. After the reorganisation of the extant manuscript material, we needed to acquire modern, high-definition digital copies of the relevant fragments, given that the black and white xerox copies stored in the dossiers of the Szendrei Cabinet did not facilitate an in-depth palaeographic analysis of their contents. Taking as our point of departure the arrangement of the Szendrei Catalogue, we ordered, or personally

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<sup>59</sup> SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, see footnote 47, pp. 79–122.

<sup>60</sup> Eszter Gaál, Gabriella Gilányi, Ágnes Papp, Krisztina Rudolf, Anna Sanda.

<sup>61</sup> *Codices and Fragments from Late Medieval Hungary. Examining, Re-examining and Online Publishing of Notated Manuscripts and Chant Repertories*. Project number: K 120 648, project period: 2016–2020. Principal investigator: Zsuzsa Czágány.

<sup>62</sup> The main part of the digitalization work was carried out by Eszter Gaál.

made, digital copies of the entire notated fragment material available at the Manuscript Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the ELTE University Library, both in Budapest. It is remarkable that, from among the notated fragments of the University Library, the descriptions of ninety-one such fragments made their way into the first volume of the *Fragmenta Codicum* series,<sup>63</sup> while only two of these are featured in the Szendrei Catalogue.<sup>64</sup> Eventually, we found fifty-five of these fragments in the dossiers of the Szendrei Cabinet. During our on-site research at the University Library, in addition to the ninety-one fragments described in the first volume of the *Fragmenta Codicum*, we recovered about sixty additional fragments. Their processing, cataloguing, and analysis were finished recently at the Department of Early Music History.

In possession of this corpus of fragments, containing both old and new materials, we created a website, *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis (Notated Manuscript Fragments from Medieval Hungary)*,<sup>65</sup> with the aim to discover, collect, classify and publish notated medieval and early modern manuscript fragments preserved in libraries and archival collections in Hungary and abroad from the territory of the historical Kingdom of Hungary, as well as fragments of foreign origin that survived in present-day Hungary. The idea of a music-based fragment catalogue with a search engine containing both images and textual descriptions in an online accessible database was part of the aforementioned scientific project *Codices and Fragments from Late Medieval Hungary. Examining, Re-examining and Online Publishing of Notated Manuscripts and Chant Repertories* started in 2016 and funded by the Hungarian National Research, Development and Innovation Office. Subsequently, it became the main focus of the HAS 'Momentum' Digital Music Fragmentology research group established in 2019 and funded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.<sup>66</sup>

### III. Fragments of the Várad Antiphonal. A Case Study

One of the main objectives of fragmentology is reconstruction; that is, the recovery of the lost pages of mediaeval musical manuscripts, and their reintegration – at least virtually – into their appropriate place within the original corpus. The most monumental torso of Hungarian music history of the Middle Ages is a series of representative codices written in the last third of the fifteenth century for one of the centres of Hungary's southeastern ritual territory, the Cathedral of Várad.<sup>67</sup> This richly decorated series of codices must have consisted of several volumes – probably a two-volume Antiphonal, a Gradual, as well as a Kyriale and a Sequentiary – containing the complete liturgical material for both the Mass and the Divine Office sung at the Várad Cathedral. Today, these codices can only be partially reconstructed based on their fragments. Unlike the

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<sup>63</sup> *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, see footnote 52.

<sup>64</sup> SZENDREI, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, see footnote 47, F 174; F 328.

<sup>65</sup> <http://fragmenta.zti.hu/>.

<sup>66</sup> HAS 'Momentum' Digital Music Fragmentology. Notated Manuscript Fragments from Medieval Hungary - Research, System, Online Appearance. Project number: MTA Ip2019-2/2019, project period: 2019–2024, leader: Zsuzsa Czagány.

<sup>67</sup> Várad/Nagyvárad, Varadinum, Großwardein, today's Oradea in Romania.

Mass books of the series, which are represented by only a few surviving folios,<sup>68</sup> the Antiphonal is in a much better shape, as hundreds of its pages are still extant; yet, it is no more than a massive fragment. The corpus of the Várad Antiphonal is now kept in the Diocesan Treasury and Library of Győr,<sup>69</sup> the remains of this originally two-volume corpus – monumental in size, masterful in notation and illumination – were bound into a single volume at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>70</sup> It is only a badly damaged torso of the original Antiphonal, and its three hundred and seventeen pages represent only about a third of this once formidable manuscript. The maimed condition of the Antiphonal is somewhat counterbalanced by the surviving fragments of it. As a result of a decade-long research, a critical edition of the Antiphonal was published in 2019, containing – in addition to the main codex – the sixty-two fragments scattered in nineteen collections of twelve different cities located in three countries.<sup>71</sup>

I close my paper with a detailed examination of a fragment taken from the Várad Antiphonal. This proves how important international collaboration is in our field of expertise and, specifically, how significant it is between scholars from Central European countries.



The fragment (*see Figure 1*) was discovered in 2018 by a Romanian literary historian and philologist, Adrian Papahagi. It covers the two volumes, bound together, of the *Posoni kert* [The Poson Garden] treatise written by the Jesuit János Lippay and published in Vienna in 1664 and 1667.<sup>72</sup> Lippay was a well-known botanist and landscaper who – at the behest of his elder brother, György Lippay, archbishop of Esztergom – spent the last years of his life at the archiepiscopal court in Pozso-

← **Figure 1.** Cluj Fragment. Cluj-Napoca, Biblioteca Academiei Române [Romanian Academy Library], BMV R. 19.

<sup>68</sup> As of now, twenty-three fragments from the Várad Mass codices are known. See more in CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Kyriale és sequentionale. A váradai kódexcsalád két töredékcsoportjának elemzése* [Kyriale and Sequentiar. Analytische Untersuchung zweier Fragmentengruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Prachtkodizes der Waradiner Kathedrale]. In „Mestereknek gyengyének”. *Ünnepi kötet Madas Edit hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Festschrift für Edit Madas an ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag]. eds. Fanni HENDE, Klára KISDI, Ágnes KORONDI. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2020, pp. 443-464.

<sup>69</sup> Győr, Egyházmegyei Kincstár és Könyvtár (Diocesan Treasury and Library), sine sign.

<sup>70</sup> The restoration of the volumes was initiated by the Hungarian archaeologist and art historian Flóris Rómer, and János Zalka, bishop of Győr, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>71</sup> CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV Facsimile Edition with Essays. Miscalia Danubiana* 26/1–3. Budapest : Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2019.

<sup>72</sup> The first of the three volumes (*Virágos kert/The Flower Garden*) was printed in the Academy Printing House of Nagyszombat (today's Trnava in Slovakia), the second volume (*Veteményes kert/The Vegetable Garden*) and the third (*Gyümölcsös kert/The Orchard*) in Vienna by Matthäus Cosmerovius (along with its title page and dedication). For the first description of the fragment, see PAPAHAĞI, Adrian: A New Fragment of the Antiphonale Varadiense at the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj, In: *Étude Bibliologiques/Library Research Studies* No 1, 2019, pp. 40-46. Thanks to Adrian Papahagi for calling our attention to this fragment and to Bogdan Crăciun, director of the Department of Old and Rare Books at the Library of the Romanian Academy for their permission to publish a digital copy of it.

ny/Bratislava. According to the owner's note on the title page, the book was donated in 1697 by Miklós Orbonás to an unspecified institution in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the book was already in Budapest, in the possession of István Horváth, director of the Hungarian National Museum. After Horváth's death, it was given to the National Széchényi Library (under the auspices of the Hungarian National Museum). Since the library already had another copy of this book, the first one – as witnessed by the *ex libris* on the verso of its title page – was donated to the Calvinist Grammar School of Kolozsvár/Cluj.

Lippay's two volumes were produced by the printing press of Matthäus Cosmerovius in Vienna. The second volume came out a year after the author's death. The place of their binding and joining into a single volume is unknown. As in the case of the other fragments of the Várad Antiphonal, the places of their binding and use cannot be determined with certainty. We can only ponder the different possibilities offered by circumstantial evidence. Since the book, with its fragment, is now in Cluj, the hypothesis may be proposed that the binding might have taken place in Alba Iulia, in the printing press established in 1622 by Prince Gábor Bethlen.<sup>73</sup> However, based on the last locations of Lippay's life and the fragment's contents, it is more likely that the binding may have taken place in Bratislava or somewhere close by. The most compelling argument for this is the fragment's liturgical and musical content: the manuscript folio preserves the first chant for Advent, the responsory *Aspiciens a longe*. This also means that the folio (from which the fragment was cut out) must have been one of the first pages of the Antiphonal's first volume, just like most of the fragments discovered in Győr and Modra.<sup>74</sup> The Cluj fragment actually fits perfectly into one of the Modra fragments.



This fragment from Modra (see Figure 2) preserved on its recto the beginning section of the verse *Tollite portas*, which happens to be one of the verses of the responsory *Aspiciens a longe*. In terms of content, it immediately precedes the doxology of the Cluj fragment. On its verso, we can see a part of the responsory *Aspicebam in visu*, the same item whose first melodic line is notated on the Cluj fragment. If we place the two fragments one below the other, we can see that they neatly fit together and complement each other. The text that belongs to the melody of the Cluj fragment (*Aspicebam in vi-*) can be read on the Modra fragment. (see Figure 3)

← Figure 2. Modra Fragment. Štátny archív Bratislava, pobočka Modra, 3119

<sup>73</sup> PAPA HAGI, *A New Fragment*, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> The fragments from Modra were discovered and catalogued by VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgius*, Tomus I. Bratislava: Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, Nr. 7, 10, 26–29, 33, 34, 54, 55, 61–63. For more on the fragments in Győr and Modra, see: CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Töredék, kódex, rítus, hagyomány. A Zalka Antifonále győri és modori töredékeinek tanúsága* [Fragment, Kodex, Ritus, Tradition. Fragmente des Antiphonale Waradiense in Győr und Modra]. In: *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok*. ed. KISS, Gábor. Budapest: HAS Institute for Musicology, 2011, pp. 1–15. All fragments originating from the Várad Antiphonal are analysed in detail in CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Antiphonale Varadinense s. XV* vol. III *Essays*, chapter III.2. *Fragments, Carrier Books, Owners*, pp. 184–221.

→ **Figure 3.** Cluj and Modra Fragments (virtual reconstruction of the verso)

Working together with our Slovak colleagues on the *Notated Sources from Medieval Europe and Medieval Hungary. Transregional Research and Online Database Building* project proved the substantial sense of international collaboration and, especially – in the case of medieval notated manuscript fragments –, the importance of scholarly exchange of knowledge between researchers working in countries that share a common history. We are closing our project in hope of continuing our common efforts, which stem from our common past and shape a common future.



### Summary

Hungarian chant scholars began to explore, systematize and publish the musical heritage of medieval Hungary in the 1960s. Their work included both the immediate and intense study of the sources, and an overall survey of the field and theoretical synthesis. Thanks to the research carried out by Benjamin Rajeczky, Janka Szendrei, and László Dobszay, medieval liturgical monody became part not only of scholarship but also an integral part of practical education, ecclesiastical chant practice and, eventually, intellectual life in Hungary on the whole.

With the end of the activities of the above-mentioned scholars, a period in the history of chant studies came to an end, too: some lines of basic research seem to have been finished and, in some respects, their complex scholarly approach led to a completeness of the study. On the other hand, partly as a consequence of the completion, and partly as a side track of the main lines of the research, new tasks, targets and methods emerged that made it possible, and necessary, for plainchant research to take a new direction. This change of paradigm means not only the emancipation (coming into the forefront) of new research topics and areas that have been neglected earlier, but also the introduction of newer methods and techniques for both the study and publication of the results. International collaboration between institutions and scientific projects plays an important role. They throw new light upon the known phenomena and processes, which can now be made available to the public in a more effective way than before. Thus, on the one hand, our plans are an organic continuation of the work and initiatives of our forerunners, whereas, on the other hand, they represent a deliberate shift in the focus of the study and the inclusion of new areas into our research tradition.



## Alleluia Chants in Missale Romanum Rkp. zv. 387 from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava<sup>75</sup>

### Abstract

Medieval liturgy was characterized by a relatively high degree of freedom mainly in selecting the Alleluia repertoire. From the tenth century onward, precise lists of Alleluia verses emerged, typically in various regions first and, later, in religious orders and dioceses, or whole provinces. This process ended in the thirteenth century. Lists of Alleluia verses approved by general chapters were used by religious orders, while lists approved by bishops or synods were used in dioceses or in whole provinces. In addition, in the late Middle Ages, Alleluia chants (new compositions) also emerged, especially for the feasts of saints – the patrons of dioceses, churches or various associations. In this sense, the above-mentioned lists and later medieval Alleluia chants appear in the researched documents with a certain criterion, which enables us to determine the liturgical tradition which the medieval liturgical codices followed. Manuscript 387 was created in line with the local liturgical tradition of the city of Copenhagen. Additional, later interventions into the repertoire may indicate that the source moved to a new liturgical environment with slightly different habits, for example to Lund. However, this hypothesis has not been confirmed with respect to the other components of the repertoire yet. It may only be confirmed after further comprehensive analysis and comparison.

**Keywords:** Missal, Lund, Middle Ages, Alleluia

Alleluia chants form a layer of the medieval repertoire that had been shaped over a long period (until their active usage in liturgy). They are part of the proper of the Holy Mass and depend on the Gospel pericope for the given Sunday or feast day. The selection of the Sunday Gospel pericopes had undergone a relatively long process of stabilisation and, to a certain extent, their character varied in the various regions. The tenth century was prolific in terms of new Alleluia chants, and their number significantly increased. However, not all chants were known in the same way everywhere. Lists were drawn up with Alleluia chants for the various liturgical periods. This process ended in the thirteenth century, although creativity in composing Alleluia chants did not end, and new chants emerged for the feasts of saints, notably for the patron saints of churches, monasteries, cities or dioceses.

For this reason, the comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants in concrete sources appears to be a useful method to obtain more information about the source itself. It is a double comparison: a comparison within groups of Alleluia chants and, secondly, a comparison of concrete chants (their origin, connections between their text and melody, their modal form, text and melodic variants).

As primary objects for comparative research, we have chosen both manuscript and printed sources (without notation) from Northern Europe, i.e. from Northern Germany and from the Scandinavian environment – today's Denmark and Sweden. In order to form a distinct image of a given tradition, we also used sources from the Central European milieu, i.e. materials used in the Middle Ages in our territory and in the neighbouring countries.

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<sup>75</sup> This study came into being as part of the VEGA 1/0105/17 “Missale Romanum Rkp. zv. 387 from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – Research and Source Edition” project.

The Alleluia chants have been analysed in groups according to the liturgical patterns formed by the various segments of the liturgical year in a chronological order (from the Easter Week, through the Sundays of Eastertide, Pentecost and its octave, up to the Sundays in Ordinary Time after Pentecost).

### 1 The Easter Octave

The Easter Octave is formed by ferial days from Monday (feria 2) to Saturday (the Sabbath). The following table shows Alleluia verses for the given days in various liturgical centres (Tab. 1).

Tab. 1:<sup>76</sup> Comparison between the repertoire of alleluia chants during the days of Easter Octave

	Mi 387	MiLun	MiHaf	MiBre	MiSles I, II MiVib	MiStre	GrKol 1, 2	GrLi	MiLin MiUps	MiRos
fer 2	01	01	01	01	01	01	09 / 10 / 01*	09 / 10	01	-
fer 3	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	04	-
fer 4	03	03	03	03	09 / 10	09	03	12	02	-
fer 5	04	04	04	15	04	11	11	13	13	-
fer 6	05	05	05 / 14	05	05	05	05	05	09	09
Sab	06 07 / 08	06 07 / 08	06 07 / 08	06 07 / 08	06 07 / 08	06 07	06 07 / 08	06 07 / 08	06 07	06 07 / 08

#### Legend:

Alleluias: 01 Nonne cor nostrum – 02 Christus resurgens – 03 In die resurrectionis – 04 Surrexit Dominus et occurrens – 05 Dicite in gentibus – 06 Haec dies – 07 Laudate pueri – 08 Sit nomen Domini – 09 Angelus Domini descendit – 10 Respondens autem – 11 Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro – 12 Surgens Jesus Dominus – 13 In die resurrectionis – 14 Crucifixus surrexit – 15 Surrexit Dominus vere

The comparison shows a clear conformity between the compared sources from Copenhagen and Lund. Only MiHaf I adds an alternative chant for Friday, *All. Crucifixus surrexit*.

**All. Nonne cor nostrum** (f 20v), (SchlagKat no. 115b), for feria 2 belongs to one of the two basic traditions documented by Scandinavian, Northern German, some Eastern German (Polish) sources,<sup>77</sup> in exceptional cases also by some Bohemian sources (MNKre) and sources from the Kingdom of Hungary (GrSc, GrSup, GrCa, GrWl, GrCl, GrFu). The Southern German tradition adopted two Alleluia verses, *Angelus Domini* and *Respondens autem*,<sup>78</sup> and their usage was taken over by Bohemian and Hungarian sources as well.<sup>79</sup> Some of these (MNStr, GrStr, GrWl) reveal an attempt to connect both traditions by adding a third verse, *Nonne cor nostrum*.

<sup>76</sup> In order to provide a clear view of changes with respect to the compared repertoire, we have used the following signs in the table: each vers has own number (see legend); sign „-“ means absence of chant; sign \* means addition.

<sup>77</sup> PIKULIK, Jerzy: *Polskie graduaty średniowieczne*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2001, pp. 111-112.

<sup>78</sup> The modification of this tradition consists of the introduction of a single verse, *Angelus Domini* (GrAug, MissBran, GrTrast).

<sup>79</sup> The comparison was based on the following sources: MNStr, GrStr, MNlSt, MNZagr, GrTra, GrPa, GrNi.



**All. Christus resurgens** (f 23r), (SchlagKat no. 140a). The tradition of placing this chant on feria 3 of the Easter Octave is known from sources from Copenhagen (MiHaf I), Schleswig (MiSles I, II), Viborg (MiVib), Lund (MiLun), Strängnäs (MiStre), Einsiedeln 121, and from other German sources (MiBre, GrMo, GrLi, GrQ, GrKol 1, GrKol 2). Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Hungary (MNStr, GrStr, MNZagr, MNist, GrFu, GrWl, GrSup, GrSc) and Austrian manuscripts put this chant on Wednesday. In the given missal, the chant is in mode I transposed to A, just like in other peripheral sources from the Kingdom of Hungary (MNZagr, GrSc, GrWl, GrSup), Germany (GrMo, GrKol 1, 2) and Northern Italy.<sup>80</sup> Central Strigonium manuscripts introduce this chant in non-transposed mode III (e.g. MNStr, GrStr, MNist, GrFu).

**All. In die resurrectionis** (f 25r), (SchlagKat no. 351), for feria 4 is found in Cologne (GrKol 1, 2), Bremen (MiBre), Copenhagen (MiHaf I) and Lund (MiLun). All the Hungarian sources, apart from MNZagr, as well as many Polish, Austrian, and Bohemian codices<sup>81</sup> linked to the Southern German tradition, as seen from Einsiedeln 121 f 218, indicate this chant for feria 5 (i.e. one day later)<sup>82</sup>. In Mi 387, as well as in GradRom and in Bohemian, Polish, and peripheral Hungarian sources, this chant is in mode VII.<sup>83</sup> From a tonal point of view, it is recorded in different ways within the same group of sources. Some Strigonium sources present it in mode I (MNStr, GrStr, GrTra) or mode III (GrNi).<sup>84</sup>

**All. Surrexit Dominus et occurens** (f 27v). This chant, SchlagKat no. 10 in Mode I, is indicated for the given day also in Schleswig (MiSles I, II), Viborg (MiVib), Copenhagen (MiHaf I), and Lund (MiLun). The internal cadence on *avete* ends on *D*, similarly to MNStr, GrStr, MNist, and GrCl.

**All. Dicite in gentibus** (f 29r, SchlagKat no. 347) is given for feria 6 in several German<sup>85</sup>, Scandinavian<sup>86</sup>, Austrian (Salzburg, Klosterneuburg), and Polish sources, notably diocesan ones; as for the Hungarian sources, it is recorded only in MNZagr, GrWl, and GrSc. Central Hungarian sources bring the chant *All. Crucifixus surrexit* (MNStr, GrStr, MNist) in its place. In some of them, it is not present at all (MNStr, GrStr, GrNi, GrFu), although it figures in peripheral sources GrSc, GrCa, GrWl.

## 2 The Sundays of Eastertide

In this period, some local liturgical traditions used two Alleluia chants. In some local traditions that embraced chant reformation, the younger sources contain a different repertoire than the older ones. Diocesan sources from the same environment do not use the chants in the same way. Table 2 shows a comparison of the repertoire for five Sundays after Resurrection Sunday.

<sup>80</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graduale Strigoniense. Musicalia Danubiana* Vol. 12\*. Budapest: MTA Zenetudomány Intézet, 1993, p. 152.

<sup>81</sup> The comparison was based on: MNStr, GrStr, MNist, GrSc, GrLi, Pra 1, Pra 5, MNKre, GrWi, GrKr, MNKr, GrGn, WrPra.

<sup>82</sup> The comparison was based on: MNStr, GrStr, MNist, GrSc, GrLi, Pra 1, Pra 5, MNKre, GrWi, GrKr, MNKr, GrGn, WrPra.

<sup>83</sup> Among the compared sources, the melody is in mode VII in: MNist, GrWl, GrCl, GrSup, GrSc, Pra 1, WrPra, MNKre, GrWi, GrKr, MNKr, GrGn, GrLi.

<sup>84</sup> This variant is not listed by U. Bomm. Compare: BOMM, Urbanus: *Der Wechsel der Modalitätsbestimmung in der Tradition der Messgesänge im IX. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*. Hildesheim – New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975, pp. 130-131.

<sup>85</sup> The comparison was based on: GrKol 1, GrKol 2, GrKol 3, MiMag, GrAug, GrMelk, GrLi, TeNem, MiBre, as well as on sources from Seeon.

<sup>86</sup> The comparison was based on: MiSles I, MiSles II, MiVib, MiHaf I and MiLun.

**Tab. 2:** Comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants for the Sundays of Eastertide:

	Mi 387	MiHaf II MiHaf I MiLun	MiSles I MiSles II	MiVib	MiStre	MiRos	MiBre	GrKol 1, 2	GrLi	MiLin	MiUps
<b>Dom. 1</b>	01	01	01	-	01	-	-	07	11	19	19
	02	02	02	02	02	-	02		12	-	-
<b>Dom. 2</b>	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	07	02	01	20
	03	03	03	03	03	03	03		03	20	06
<b>Dom. 3</b>	01	01	01	01	01	01	-	08	13	01	21
	04	04	05	05	05	04	24	03	14	21	03
<b>Dom. 4</b>	01	01	01	01	01	-	-	09	15	01	15
	05	05	04	04	18	-	16		16	22	-
<b>Dom. 5</b>	01	01	01	01	01	-	-	10	11	01	23
	06	06	06	06	06	-	25	03	17	23	04

**Legend:**

Alleluias: 01 Haec dies – 02 Angelus Domini descendit – 03 Surrexit pastor bonus – 04 Surrexit Dominus et occurrens – 05 Surgens Iesus Dominus noster – 06 Surrexit Christus et illuxit – 07 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes – 08 Iubilate Deo omnis terra – 09 Dominus regnavit exsultet terra – 10 Quoniam Deus magnus Dominus – 11 In die resurrectionis – 12 Pascha nostrum – 13 Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro – 14 Nonne cor nostrum – 15 Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro – 16 Oportet pati Christum – 17 Christus reurgens – 18 Surrexit Dominus vere – 19 Post dies octo – 20 Ego sum pastor bonus – 21 Modicum et non videbitis – 22 Vado ad eum – 23 Usque modo non – 24 Redemptionem misit – 25 In resurrectione tua

Absolute conformity with Mi 387 can be seen in the repertoire of the printed missals from Copenhagen and Lund, where the tradition of two chants had also been preserved; the first chant is always *All. Haec dies*. Similarities are also present in the list of Alleluia chants in the Scandinavian sources from Schleswig, Viborg, and Strängnäs.

**All. Angelus Domini\*** (f 33r). This Alleluia chant, along with the previous *All. Haec dies* for the given day (Dominica I), can be observed in Scandinavian sources from Copenhagen (MiHaf I and II), Schleswig (MiSles I and II), Viborg (MiVib), and Strängnäs (MiStre). It is present, in an autonomous manner, also in some other sources: in the German source from Passau (GrPat), in the Hungarian sources MNStr, GrFu, GrTra, GrNi, and in the Polish source GrKr.

**All. Surrexit pastor bonus** (f 36v), (SchlagKat no. 169). This chant is absent in GradRom but is present in Scandinavian, German, and Central European sources, including some sources from the Kingdom of Hungary. Together with *All. Haec dies*, it was used on the second Sunday of Eastertide in the Scandinavian liturgical centres of Roskilde (MiRos), Copenhagen (MiHaf I and II), Lund (MiLun), Schleswig (MiSles I, II), Viborg (MiVib), and Strängnäs (MiStre). Northern German, Polish (Cracovian), and central Hungarian sources also contain two Alleluia chants for this day; in Northern German and Cracovian sources, one of these is *All. Surrexit pastor bonus*.<sup>87</sup> This chant is inserted as a single Alleluia verse in the given formulary in some peripheral Hungarian sources (GrCa, MN1st, GrSup, GrWl, GrBr, GrSc, MiCa), sources from Prague (Pra 1, Pra 5, MNKre, WrPra),

<sup>87</sup> For comparison, we must also include Polish sources GrWi, MNKr, GrTy 2, German sources GrKol 1, GrKol 2, GrKol 3, GrLi, GrTeg, and Hungarian sources GrCl, GrTra.

Polish sources (GrKr, GrGn, GrWr), and Eastern German sources (GrMo, GrQ). A second group of Hungarian sources (MNStr, GrStr, GrNi) follows a different tradition, with two chants: *All. Surrexit Dominus et occurens* and *All. Ego sum pastor bonus*; GrNi contains only the first of these.

**All. Surrexit Dominus et occurens** (f 39r). This chant, SchlagKat no. 10 in mode I, for the given Sunday (*Dominica 3*), appears in connection with *All. Haec dies* in the compared sources only in the sources from Roskilde (MiRos), Copenhagen (MiHaf I, II), and Lund (MiLun). It is present as an independent chant also in central Hungarian sources.

**All. Surgens Jesus Dominus noster** (f 41v). SchlagKat no. 26 (contrafactum of the melody of *Eripe me*), in mode II, was used for the fourth Sunday of Eastertide in the Scandinavian cities of Copenhagen (MiHaf I, II) and Lund (MiLun), as well as in Southern Germany (Seeon) and Austria (Klosterneuburg).

**All. Surrexit Christus et illuxit** (f 43v), (MonMon VIII p. 511, 802). The melody, in mode II, is commonly used especially in German sources – Schlager found it in sources from Berlin and Regensburg, but it also appears in Scandinavian sources from Schleswig (MiSles I, II), Viborg (MiVib), Copenhagen (MiHaf I, II), and Lund (MiLun), as well as in three Hungarian sources (MNStr, GrStr, MNZagr). Nevertheless, the latter ones bring the chant in the formulary a week later.

### 3 Pentecost and its Octave

A characteristic element of the repertoire in Mi 387 is that there is a second Alleluia chant, *All. Veni Sancte*, for each day of the given week. In other liturgical traditions, e.g. in the Southern German tradition (GrMo, GrTeg), the first chant, *All. Emitte Spiritum*, was fixed. Table 3 shows a comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants in the various sources.

Tab. 3: Comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants during Pentecost and its octave:

	Mi 387	Mi Haf II Mi Haf I	Mi Sles I Mi Sles II	Mi Lun	Mi Str	Mi Vib	Mi Bre	Gr Li	Mi Lin	Mi Ros	Mi Ups
<b>Pen.</b>	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01
	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02
<b>f 2</b>	03	03	03	03	03	03	05	04	04	11	11
	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	03	03
<b>f 3</b>	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	03	03	07	07
	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	12	12
<b>f 4</b>	05	05	05	05	05	05	03	05	05	03	03
	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	-	13
<b>f 5</b>	06	06	06	01	01	-	-	01	01	01	01
	02	02	02	02	02	-	-	02	02	04	04
<b>f 6</b>	07	07	07	07	04	04	05	01	10	10	10
	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02
<b>Sab.</b>	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01	01
	03	03	03	03	03	03	05	03	03	07	07
	05	05	05	05	05	05	04	02	05	13	13
	02	02	02	02	02	02	03	04	02	02	02
	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	08	09	08
	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09	09		09
				(Mi Sles II = 02)				02			

**Legend:**

Alleluias: 01 Emitte Spiritum tuum – 02 Veni Sancte Spiritus – 03 Spiritus Domini replevit – 04 Paraclitus Spiritus Sanctus – 05 Verbo Domini – 06 Sancti Spiritus Domine – 07 Loquebantur variis linguis – 08 Benedictus es Domine Deus – 09 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes – 10 Dum complerentur – 11 Spiritus Sanctus procedens – 12 Non vos relinquam – 13 Factus est repente

The repertoire of the Alleluia chants for Pentecost and its octave in Mi 387 fully corresponds to the repertoire for the same days in the printed missals from Copenhagen (MiHaf I, II). A large extent of conformity (except for one chant, which is different) can be detected also with the sources from Schleswig (MiSles I, II), Viborg (MiVib), and Lund (MiLun). In the missal from Strängnäs (MiStre), there are only two different chants.

**All. Spiritus Domini replevit** (f 57v), (SchlagKat no. 206 in mode III). In the analysed source, this chant is given for *Feria II post Pentecostes*. A similar pattern is also followed by Scandinavian sources from Schleswig, Viborg, Copenhagen, Strängnäs, and Lund, by German, Bohemian, and Polish sources,<sup>88</sup> and by some Hungarian sources (MNIst, GrStr, GrFu, GrTra, GrSc, GrNi, GrCa, MiCa). It is a tradition from the oldest source of the Holy Mass from Rheinau.<sup>89</sup> MNStr and GrPa reveal another tradition, in which *All. Dum complerentur* can be found for the same day.

**All. Paraclitus Spiritus** (f 58v) – a contrafactum of the melody of *Justi epulentur* (SchlagKat no. 77, mode I), an Alleluia verse for *Feria III* in Scandinavian (Schleswig, Viborg, Copenhagen, Strängnäs, and Lund), German, Bohemian, and many Hungarian<sup>90</sup> and Polish sources.<sup>91</sup>

**All. Verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt** (59v) – a contrafactum of *All. Post partum virgo* (SchlagKat no. 164), indicated for Sunday during the Pentecost Octave in connection with *All. Veni sancte* in Scandinavian sources from Schleswig, Viborg, Copenhagen, Strängnäs, Linköping, and Lund, but also in some Northern and Eastern German, Bohemian, peripheral Hungarian, and Polish sources.<sup>92</sup> This chant is not present in central Hungarian sources.

**All. Sancti Spiritus Domine** (f 60v) – SchlagKat no. 340 – indicated for Thursday in the Pentecost Octave in Scandinavian sources only from Schleswig and Copenhagen. The chant is known in Germany, but it is not known in the tradition of the Kingdom of Hungary. It is present in one source from Bohemia, but for feria 2 of the Pentecost Octave.<sup>93</sup>

**All. Loquebantur variis linguis** (f 61r). It is a melody with D as its final, not listed in Schlager's catalogue in connection with the given text. The chant is chosen for Friday in the given week only in Schleswig, Copenhagen, and Lund.

The Saturday of the Pentecost Octave involved several Alleluia chants, usually six in number. According to Pikulik, their selection (or order) is a testimony to a particular liturgical

<sup>88</sup> On Polish sources, see also PIKULIK, *Polskie graduaty średniowieczne*, Ref. 77, pp. 132-133.

<sup>89</sup> HESBERT, Dom René-Jean (ed.): *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*. Bruxelles, 1935, p. 126.

<sup>90</sup> The comparison was based on: MNStr, MNIst, GrStr, GrPa, GrTra, GrSup, GrSc.

<sup>91</sup> The comparison was based on: GrTeg, GrQ, GrKol 3, MiMag, Pra 5, GrTy 2, GrWr, GrWi, GrKr, MNKr, GrGn, GrTy 1. On Polish sources, see also: PIKULIK, *Polskie graduaty średniowieczne*, Ref. 2, pp. 133-134.

<sup>92</sup> The given sources among the available ones for comparison are: GrMelk, GrLi, GrKol 3, MiMag, GrGn, GrTy 2. Not known in the Salzburg-Passau tradition.

<sup>93</sup> Compare: *Fontes Cantus Bohemiae*, source from Rajhrad CZ-R 418; available on the internet: <http://cantusbohemiae.cz/chant/20781>, as of 02/10/2018.

tradition.<sup>94</sup> The given selection and order is common to several Scandinavian traditions: Schleswig, Viborg, Copenhagen, Strängnäs, Linköping, and Lund. In this form, the chant is not present in other European sources.

#### 4 Sundays after Pentecost

The order of the Alleluia chants for the Sundays after Pentecost varied in the various liturgical traditions. The lists of the Alleluia chants for these Sundays originated in the tenth century and, initially, they were characteristic for certain regions, and certain religious orders, dioceses or whole provinces. This process came to an end in the thirteenth century. The accepted lists of Alleluia verses were approved in religious orders by their general chapter and, in dioceses (or provinces), by bishops or synods.<sup>95</sup> In general terms, all lists were based on three main models. The oldest one was *Deus iudex justus*, used by scribes in Paris and Northern France. The second list, *Domine Deus meus*, was used in manuscripts from Southern Germany, from the territory of modern-day Austria, Bohemia, Poland<sup>96</sup>, and in peripheral regions of the Kingdom of Hungary (e.g. Scepusium, Košice or Zagreb). Central Hungarian manuscripts are more inclined to the use of *Verba mea*, also found in sources from Southern France, Italy, Switzerland, and in some Southern German regions and Cistercian scriptoria.

We can observe that the analysed source includes the second list, *Domine Deus meus*, with certain deviations. On f 68r, we find the chant *Domine Deus salutis meae* written in the original handwriting, including notation. Quite probably during later reviewing, another scribe added the incipit of the chant *Domine Deus meus*. Table 4 shows a comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants.

**Tab. 4:** Comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants for Sundays after Pentecost

	Mi 387	MiHaf I MiHaf II	MiHaf III	GrLi	MiLun MiSles II MiSles I MiVib MiStre	MiBre	MiLin	MiRos	MiUps
<b>D 1</b>	01 11*	01	01	11	11	11	31	31	31
<b>D 2</b>	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02	02
<b>D 3</b>	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03	03
<b>D 4</b>	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04	04
<b>D 5</b>	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	-	05
<b>D 6</b>	06	06	06	06	06	06	06	-	07
<b>D 7</b>	07	07	07	07	07	07	07	-	08a
<b>D 8</b>	08a / 08b	08a	08a	08a	08a / 08b	08a / 08b	09	-	09

<sup>94</sup> PIKULIK, *Polskie graduale średniowieczne*, Ref. 77, p. 138.

<sup>95</sup> PIKULIK, Jerzy: Indeks śpiewów Ordinarium missae w gradualech polskich do 1600 r. In: PIKULIK, Jerzy (ed.): *Muzyka religijna w Polsce*. Vol. 2. Warszawa, 1978, p. 301n.

<sup>96</sup> PIKULIK, Jerzy: Śpiewy allelujacyjne na niedziele po Zesłaniu Ducha Świętego jako kryterium ustalania proveniencji polskich rękopisów muzycznych. In: BEJZE, Bohdan (ed.): *W kierunku chrześcijańskiej kultury*. Warszawa : Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1978, p. 138.

	Mi 387	MiHaf I MiHaf II	MiHaf III	GrLi	MiLun MiSles II MiSles I MiVib MiStre	MiBre	MiLin	MiRos	MiUps
D 9	09	09	09	09	09	09	32	-	32
D 10	10a/10b	10a	10a	10a	10a/10b	10a/10b	10a	-	10a
D 11	11 07*	11	11	01	01	01	01	01	01
D 12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
D 13	13a/13b	13a	13a	13a	13a/13b	13a/13b	13a	13a	13a
D 14	14	14	14	14	14	25	14	14	14
D 15	15	15	15	15	15	15	28	28	28
D 16	16a/16b	16a	16a	16a	16a/16b	16a/16b	29	23	29
D 17	17	17	17	17	17	17	15	23	15
D 18	18	18	18	18	18	18	30	-	30
D 19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	-	19
D 20	20	20	20	20	20	-	20	-	20
D 21	21	21	21	21	21	29	21	-	21
D 22	22	22	22	22	22	22	24	-	24
D 23	22	22	22	22	22	27	24	-	24
D 24	22	22	22	22	22	-	24	-	24
D 25	23	23	23	24	23	-	23	-	23

#### Legend:

Alleluias: 01 Domine Deus salutis meae – 02 Deus iudex iustus – 03 Diligam te Domine – 04 Domine in virtute tua – 05 In te Domine speravi – 06 Omnes gentes – 07 Eripe me – 08a Te decet hymnus – 08b Replebimur in bonis – 09 Attendite popule – 10a Exsultate Deo – 10b Sumite – 11 Domine Deus meus – 12 Domine refugium factus est – 13a Venite exsultemus – 13b Praeoccupemus faciem – 14 Quoniam Deus magnus Dominus – 15 Paratum cor meum – 16a In exitu Israel – 16b Facta est Iudea – 17 Dilexi quoniam – 18 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes – 19 Dextera Dei fecit virtutum – 20 Qui confidunt in Domino – 21 De profundis clamavi – 22 Lauda anima mea – 23 Qui posuit fines tuos – 24 Qui sanat contritos – 25 Domine exaudi – 26 Confitebor tibi – 27 Lauda Ierusalem – 28 Timebunt gentes – 29 Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus – 30 Qui timent Dominum – 31 Verba mea – 32 Propitius es Domine

The table shows absolute conformity of the Alleluia chants in Mi 387 with those in the sources from Copenhagen. The corrections, due to an exchange of chants for the first and the eleventh Sunday, comply with the tradition followed in Lund, Schleswig, Viborg, and Strängnäs. It is possible that a manuscript was brought to a new place with a different tradition and additionally modified to comply with the dominant tradition.

#### Conclusion

The comparison of the repertoire of Alleluia chants according to the various periods of the liturgical year (from Easter) revealed certain basic conformities which are surely not mere coincidences, but they are the result of a consequent observance of the same local liturgical tradition. In the first liturgical period (days of the Easter Octave) and in the second liturgical period (the Sundays of Eastertide), conformity with the analysed source was found in the case of sources

from two Scandinavian cities – Copenhagen and Lund (which are concordant in the given point). In the two other compared periods (Pentecost and its Octave and Sundays after Pentecost), we found conformity with sources from Copenhagen.

Based on the above data, we can hypothetically conclude that Manuscript 387 was produced in the local liturgical tradition of the city of Copenhagen. Additional interventions into the repertoire suggest that it may have been transferred to a new liturgical environment with slightly different customs (e.g. in Lund). Nevertheless, this hypothesis has not been confirmed with respect to the other components of the repertoire yet. It can be confirmed only after a complex analysis and comparison of the source.

## Záver

Komparácia repertoáru alelujových spevov na jednotlivé obdobia liturgického roka počnúc od Veľkonočných sviatkov ukázala isté zásadné zhody, ktoré iste nie sú náhodné, ale sú výsledkom konzekventného dodržiavania tej istej lokálnej liturgickej tradície. V prvom (dni veľkonočnej oktávy) a druhom liturgickom období (veľkonočné nedele) zhodu so skúmaným prameňom vykazovali pramene z dvoch škandinávskych miest – Kodane a Lundu, ktoré sú v danom bode zhodné. V ďalších dvoch porovnávaných obdobiach (Turíce s oktávou a nedele po Turíciach) bola vykázaná zhoda z prameňmi z Kodane.

Na základe vyššie uvedeného možno hypoteticky konštatovať, že rukopis 387 bol vytvorený v lokálnej liturgickej tradícii mesta Kodaň. Dodatočné zásahy do repertoáru môžu naznačovať, že daný prameň sa mohol ocitnúť v novom liturgickom prostredí s mierne odlišnými zvykmi, napr. v Lunde. Táto hypotéza však zatiaľ nemá potvrdenie v iných zložkách repertoáru, čo bude možné konštatovať až po jeho komplexnej analýze a komparácii.

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- GrKol 2 *Graduale Coloniense Cod. 229*, about 1498, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln; <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de>
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- GrQ *Graduale Quedlinburgense Mus. Ms. 40078 (Z. 78)*, 12<sup>th</sup> century, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek.
- GrTeg *Graduale von Tegernsee Clm. 19267*, 1340, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
- GrTrast *Graduale Bodmer CH - Cod. Bodmer 74*, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, 1071; <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/cb/0074>.
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GrTra	<i>Graduale Cod. Lat.</i> 3815 from 1534, Budapest Országos Széchényi Könyvtár.
GrTy 1	<i>Graduale Tynecense Ms. BN 10 809</i> olim BUL 413/2, L. i 35434, Mf 258, 15 <sup>th</sup> century, Tynec.
GrTy 2	<i>Graduale Tynecense Ms. b.s.I BN 10810</i> olim 413/3, L. i 35 435, 15 <sup>th</sup> century (in.), Tynec.
GrWi	<i>Graduał wiślicki RL 1</i> , from 1320, Kielce, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego. It is a work of the Cracowian scriptorium brought to Wiślica around 1350 as a gift for the newly established chapter.
GrWl	<i>Graduale Wladislaw II.</i> Mss. I.3., 16 <sup>th</sup> century (in.), Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár.
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MNZagr	<i>Missale Notatum Zagrabiense I/43</i> , 13 <sup>th</sup> century (in.), Güssing (Austria), Klosterbibliothek der Franziskaner.
Pra 1	<i>Graduale XIII.A.5c</i> , 3/3 15 <sup>th</sup> century, Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
Pra 2	<i>Missale XVI.C.7</i> , 14 <sup>th</sup> /15 <sup>th</sup> century, Praha, Knihovna Národního Muzea; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
Pra 3	<i>Missale XVI.A.16</i> , 13 <sup>th</sup> /14 <sup>th</sup> century, Praha, Knihovna Národního Muzea; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
Pra 4	<i>Graduale XIII.E.2</i> , 14 <sup>th</sup> century, Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
Pra 5	<i>Graduale XIII.B.2</i> , 14 <sup>th</sup> century, Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
TeNem	<i>Graduale de tempore MS.E.45</i> from 1491, Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>
WrPra	<i>Graduale magnum B 1714</i> , Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu; <a href="http://www.manuscriptorium.com">www.manuscriptorium.com</a>

## The “Esztergom Antiphoners” (Cathedral Library of Esztergom, Ms. I. 3c, d) in the Context of Musical Notation<sup>97\*</sup>

### Abstract

The “Esztergom Antiphoners” are sources of prime importance for reconstructing the fifteenth-century office tradition of Esztergom, the see of the primate of Hungary. Full musical and liturgical research into these sources has ranked them among the purest forms of the Esztergom Rite (*Ritus Strigoniensis*), but major questions – the location of their scriptoria, and the age, connection and history of the manuscripts – remain open. Doubts are compounded by the conclusions that art historians reached about them, and by the discovery of some fragments of them in Hungarian and Slovakian collections. A detailed musical palaeographic comparison may reveal some new clues about the codices and their inter-regional connections.

**Keywords:** late Middle Ages, Gregorian palaeography, Esztergom, chant notation, Antiphoner

The fifteenth-century pair of so-called Esztergom Antiphoners, held in Esztergom Cathedral Library under shelfmarks **Ms. I. 3c** and **d**,<sup>98</sup> represents prominent codices for the examination of the late medieval office tradition of Esztergom, the primatial see of Hungary (*Facsimiles 1–2*). Literature has been aware of some fragments of these codices in Hungarian and Slovakian collections,<sup>1</sup> and 5 half folios from manuscript **d** are kept in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,<sup>99</sup> and another piece of a folio from the same codex is known from ELTE University Library in Budapest.<sup>100</sup> A folio of manuscript **c** was discovered in the State Archives in Trnava by Eva Veselovská.<sup>101</sup> And, most recently, another piece belonging to manuscript **c** has emerged from the Archdiocesan Library of Eger.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> The RISM shelfmarks are H-Efkő Ms. I. 3. c and H-Efkő Ms. I. 3. d. In Janka Szendrei’s catalogue: C9, C8. See SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated Sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages]. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, p. 60.

<sup>99</sup> MTA T 308, in Szendrei’s catalogue: F 40. KÖRMENDY, Kinga: *A Knauz-hagyatékek kódextörédei és az esztergomi egyház középkori könyvtárának sorsa* [Codex Fragments of Nándor Knauz’s Bequest and the History of the Medieval Library of Esztergom]. In: *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtárának Közleményei* 7 (82). Budapest: MTA Könyvtár, 1979, pp. 79–80.

<sup>100</sup> See *Fragmenta Latina Codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*, ed. László MEZEY. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983, p. 198. U. Fr. I. m. 236. KÖRMENDY, Ref. 99, p. 81.

<sup>101</sup> State Archives in Trnava: SK-TR MMT III d/599. Cover of *Liber restantiarum 1659, 1670, 1676*. See VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Tyrnaviensi*. Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2015, pp. 50–51, Fragment 8; KÖRMENDY, Kinga – VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Az Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Ms I 3c jelzetű antifonáljének egy töredéke a Nagyszombati Városi Levéltárban* [A Fragment from the Ms I 3c Antiphoner of the Cathedral Library of Esztergom in the State Archives in Trnava]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 131 (3), pp. 300–302.

<sup>102</sup> This is an in situ fragment, covering volume Yy 653 (RMK II. 1109).

The volumes include the chant repertory for the Temporale and Sanctorale feasts. They complement each other, but they certainly do not belong together. They were labelled in research projects of the Early Music Department of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as Str-1/3/1 and Str-1/3/2. These abbreviations appear in the CAO-ECE databases,<sup>103</sup> and in the monumental editions of Hungarian antiphon and responsory melodies prepared by Janka Szendrei and László Dobszay.<sup>104</sup> These shelfmarks suggest coherence between the volumes, so we use different abbreviations that refer to their recent library shelfmarks: antiphoner **d** means Str-1/3/1, antiphoner **c** stands for Str-1/3/2.

Earlier research examined these sources in full, both musically and liturgically. The findings show convincingly that these fine, large choir books convey a pure version of the office tradition of Esztergom, the *Ritus Strigoniensis*, which was the central liturgical rite in medieval Hungary. As László Dobszay put it, the high degree of correspondence between the liturgical content of the antiphoners and the 1484 printed Esztergom breviary shows the reliability of these sources.<sup>105</sup> Direct evidence for a Hungarian (Esztergom) provenance of manuscript **c** includes the special Hungarian Sanctorale feasts: historiae of local origin for King St Stephen and his son, Prince St Emeric (Imre), and the Translation of St Adalbert, patron saint of the Esztergom Cathedral.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, the obvious correspondences in the Temporale part (in manuscript **d**) also confirm the provenance of Esztergom.<sup>107</sup> The musical analysis of the whole antiphon and responsory repertory of the manuscript likewise shows how closely the melodic variants of the codices match the musical versions in sources that belong to the medieval Esztergom Rite.<sup>108</sup> The research findings on the antiphoners are convincing, but examinations cannot be concluded yet, even though the liturgical and musical variants have been precisely defined and reconstructed. Their art historical and musical palaeographic analysis reveals inconsistencies<sup>109</sup> that question where they belong, when they were written, and even whether they stem from the Esztergom Cathedral.

Unfortunately, the antiphoners do not refer to the workshop in which they were copied, nor to the copyists or scribes. References cannot be found in other, contemporary source materials on the scriptoria of the Esztergom Cathedral, either. Kinga Körmendy pointed out a single reference to an Esztergom scriptorium from the late Middle Ages. The humanist bibliophile Joannes Máthes reports in his *Veteris acis Strigoniensis descriptio* that Esztergom Archbishop János Vitéz

<sup>103</sup> See DOBSZAY, László – KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. V/A Esztergom (Temporale)*. Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 2004, p. 39.

<sup>104</sup> SZENDREI, Janka – DOBSZAY, László: *Antiphonen. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V/1–3*. Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1999; idem, *Responsories*. Vols. 1–2. Budapest : Balassi, 2013.

<sup>105</sup> DOBSZAY, László: *Corpus Antiphonarum. Európai örökség és hazai alakítás* [European Heritage and Its Hungarian Adoption]. Budapest : Balassi, 2003, p. 335.

<sup>106</sup> See St Stephen (on 20 August): f. 158r/6r, St Emeric (on 5 November): f. 188v/36v, Adalbert (on 6 November): f. 103v/261v. KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. V/B Esztergom (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 2006, pp. 123, 160, 162.

<sup>107</sup> See the comparative tables in DOBSZAY, László – KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. V/A Esztergom (Temporale)*.

<sup>108</sup> See Note 103.

<sup>109</sup> A brief summary of the history of research on the antiphoner can be read in Janka Szendrei. SZENDREI, Ref. 98, pp. 30–31.

had thirty copyists working there.<sup>110</sup> So there clearly was a significant workshop in Esztergom in the Middle Ages, but no specific conclusions can be drawn on our Esztergom source material.

As Kinga Körmendy explored, one of the marginalia of antiphoner **d**, dating to 1632,<sup>111</sup> provides further possibilities for reconstructing the history of this antiphoner. By 1632, the archbishop of Esztergom no longer resided in the city. Historical data show that the seat of the archiepiscopal province moved from Esztergom Castle to Nagyszombat/Trnava<sup>112</sup> in 1543 to escape the Ottoman invasion. According to a note, Márton Radossény, an Esztergom canon, was probably in possession of the codex in 1632;<sup>113</sup> thus the book was in Nagyszombat in the seventeenth century as part of the archiepiscopal book collection. The question is whether it could have been among the treasures rescued from Esztergom under Ottoman occupation and taken to Nagyszombat in 1543.

The uncertainty is increased by the earlier statements of historians and art historians, who presented the two manuscripts as interlinked volumes and ascribed them to György Pálóczy, Archbishop of Esztergom between 1423–1439, on the basis of the similarities of the illuminations in codex **c** to the Pálóczy Missal, of sure Esztergom provenance.<sup>114</sup> Music palaeography, on the other hand, is of a different opinion. Janka Szendrei denied that such a developed, ornate codex with mixed Gothic notation could have been inscribed in the beginning of the fifteenth century. She put it to a period twenty to thirty years later, to the middle of the century.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore, she distinguished between the two books: while she described the musical notation of codex **d** as a typical fifteenth-century central Hungarian form, she noticed a sort of Bohemian “colouring” in the musical notation of antiphoner **c**.

This is an important, if not the most important, conclusion about the codices in the literature. There were scriptoria producing representative codices for Hungarian liturgical use with Bohemian notation to foreign orders (e.g. the Zalka/Várad Antiphoner<sup>116</sup>), but the opposite did not apply: the scriptorium of the Esztergom Cathedral certainly did not work officially in the Bohemian writing style.<sup>117</sup> So only systematic musical palaeographic examination can reveal

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<sup>110</sup> KÖRMENDY, Ref. 99, pp. 19, note 31.

<sup>111</sup> KÖRMENDY, Ref. 99, p. 81.

<sup>112</sup> Nagyszombat, today Trnava. A city in Slovakia, 47 km to the north-east of Bratislava.

<sup>113</sup> See the inscription at the end of the codex, on a bonded piece of paper in black ink: *Martinus Radosseny S. J. renovavit anno 1632. 18. febr.* Márton Radossény had a canon's stallum in Esztergom (Nagyszombat at that time) between 1645 and 1653. See KÖRMENDY, Ref. 99, pp. 81–82.

<sup>114</sup> See RADÓ, Polikárp: *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limithropharum regionum*. Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 1973, pp. 528–529; BERKOVITS, Ilona: A kódexfestészet emlékei az Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtárban [Relics of Codex Painting in the Cathedral Library of Esztergom]. In: *Esztergom műemlékei. Part 1. rész Múzeumok, kincstár, könyvtár*. ed. GENTHON, István (Magyarország műemlékei topográfiaja 1.). Budapest: Műemlékek Orsz. Biz., 1948, pp. 292–294.

<sup>115</sup> SZENDREI, Ref. 98, pp. 30–31.

<sup>116</sup> H-Gc (sine siglum), SZENDREI, Ref. 98, C 53. See SZENDREI, Janka: A Zalka antiphonale provenienciája [The Provenance of the Zalka Antiphony]. In: *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok 1988* (22). Budapest: MTA Zenatudományi Intézet, pp. 21–32; CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: Rukopis na hranici kultúr: Antifonár varadínskej katedrály z konca 15. storočia [A Manuscript on the Borderline of Cultures: The Antiphoner of the Nagyvárad Cathedral from the Late Fifteenth Century]. In: *Vedy o umeniach a dejiny kultúry*. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 2013, pp. 131–142.

<sup>117</sup> See SZENDREI, Janka: Hangjegyzírás. A cseh notáció [Music Notation. The Bohemian Notation]. In: *Magyarország Zenetörténete I. Középkor*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, p. 213. It contradicts Bruno Stäblein's theory, who considered the use of the rhombic or Bohemian (Messine) notation to be widespread in Hungary. See STÄBLEIN,

how the notation of the two antiphoners is related, what elements of Bohemian notation they use, and whether this warrants conclusions about the origins of the two codices.

It is generally thought that, in the second half of the fifteenth century, central Hungarian (Esztergom and Buda) scriptoria developed their new, mixed style of normative plainchant writing because the earlier writing style, the Esztergom notation<sup>118</sup> with its flexible, conjunct neumes, had run up against the growing size of the manuscripts.<sup>119</sup> In the footsteps of the Messine-German Gothic notation style used in Central Europe, the heads of the notes were steadily enlarged and given a rhomboid shape, while structural alterations were also made to the neumes. The increase in note size also broadened the space between the staff lines, so that the series of notes slanted to the right, as seen, for example, in the *climacus* neume and its combinations. Along with the change in the writing direction of the central Hungarian scriptoria came the tendency to separate the neume structures; flexible neume shapes gave way to notation with square, fragmented signs. Still, some of the Hungarian structures survived, such as the conjunct *climacus* and the special *scandicus* forms, or the old conjunct pes, *torculus* and *porrectus* forms, as distinctive signs of this mixed notation.<sup>120</sup>

Antiphoner **d** is the earliest major relic of the new reformed musical codex writing of Hungarian origin that Janka Szendrei described explicitly as Messine-Gothic-Hungarian mixed notation.<sup>121</sup> Its specifics are regular, rhomboid note heads, comfortably broad structures, and a writing direction slanted to the right, but old Hungarian elements, such as the conjunct pes, *torculus* or *porrectus*, can also be found in this notation.

The notation in codices **d** and **c** differs notably in its details (see Table 1). The writing style of antiphoner **d** is more concise and regular, while the copyist elongates the neume structures horizontally in antiphoner **c**. The custos at the end of each musical line has two different shapes: antiphoner **c** has a form that is not of the type found in Hungarian sources, such as in **d**, but of the type of square notation, which often appears in Bohemian notation as well. Turning to neume structures, a notable difference can be seen in the shaping of the *scandicus*. In contrast with the elements apparent in antiphoner **d** and other sources from Hungarian scriptoria, antiphoner **c** has a *punctum+pes* combination. This is the feature Janka Szendrei saw as typical of the Bohemian notation.<sup>122</sup> Another sign of a northern influence is the decidedly rhomboid look

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Bruno: *Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*. Leipzig : VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975, pp. 68, 206.

<sup>118</sup> A distinct Hungarian medieval plainchant notation from the end of the twelfth century was identified by Janka Szendrei. This central Hungarian (or Esztergom) notation reached its aesthetic climax in the proportionate, flexibly drawn, uniquely artistic notation of the fourteenth-century *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* (SK-Bra EC Lad. 3 and EL 18). See SZENDREI, Janka: *Középkori hangjegyjírások Magyarországon* [Medieval Musical Notations in Hungary]. In: *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez* 4. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1983, pp. 46-49.

<sup>119</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: A gótikus hangjegyek kialakulása. A metzigót notáció hatása [The Formation of the Gothic Musical Notes. Influence of the Messine Gothic Notation]. In: *Középkori hangjegyjírások Magyarországon*, Ref. 118, pp. 63-68.

<sup>120</sup> It is important to note that this transformation of the musical notation did not occur as a sudden change in the fifteenth century: several transitional, chronological variants can be distinguished, with more, or fewer, conjunct neumes.

<sup>121</sup> The term "Messine Gothic" can be traced back to Bruno Stäblein. See STÄBLEIN, Bruno: *Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Ref. 117, p. 68.

<sup>122</sup> SZENDREI, Ref. 118, p. 78.

of the musical layout. Bohemian features can be seen, for example, in the form of the *scandicus* of the intervals of a fifth+third: in antiphoner **c**, the intermediate *punctum* is of a full rhomboid form, while antiphoner **d** uses only a vestigial half-note. Similarly, in the case of the pes, the vertical element of the neume is shifted to the right, so the rhombus is shaped more regularly in antiphoner **c** than in **d**. A further clue of northern influence can be the five-line staff (with the square custos), which was also alien to Hungarian scribal customs.<sup>123</sup> At the same time, the musical notation of antiphoner **c** seems to be a unique mixture. While Bohemian codex notation emphasizes angular rhomboid notes and joins them by thicker line elements giving the writing a specific character, the notation in codex **d** links the neume elements by thin strokes, as seen in Messine-German-Hungarian Gothic notation.

Though the music writing of antiphoner **d** represents a more regular form of contemporary Messine-German-Hungarian Gothic notation, the origin of the manuscript in the Esztergom Cathedral cannot be confirmed. Codex **d** has preserved some old Hungarian neumes, such as the forms of conjunct *pes*, *torculus* and *climacus*, but some modern signs, such as the *climacus* of three tilted rhomboid *puncta* or *scandicus* of inverted semicircles, were introduced into the notation. In this codex, Bohemian neume forms are absent, but it contains several elements which also point to a northern scriptorium of the Esztergom archdiocese. The same red five-line staff system appears instead of the Hungarian four-line version and a horizontal cutting of the pes-stroke can be seen.<sup>124</sup> The text writing of the codices is remarkably similar. Furthermore, at the end of manuscript **d**, Bohemian notation emerges. Moreover, on some tiny fragments which I found in the *maculatura* material of the antiphoner in the Esztergom Cathedral Library,<sup>125</sup> Bohemian writing elements, for example, the above-mentioned *pes* with thicker linking lines can be reconstructed.

This special neume system of codex **d**, which is characterized by a five-line staff, conjunct *pes*, *torculus*, *climacus*, *scandicus* of inverted semicircles, and an angular layout – some old and many new elements of Hungarian plainchant writing – has analogies among contemporary codices and notated fragments from Hungary.<sup>126</sup> These sources seem to form part of a larger group, which was referred to by Janka Szendrei as products of peripheral (northern, eastern) scriptoria of medieval Hungary.<sup>127</sup>

Musical palaeographic research has revealed that antiphoners **c** and **d** are certainly not works of the same scribes, and these manuscripts do not come from the Esztergom Cathedral. It is more likely that they originated in the northern parts of the archdiocese, in an area influenced by mixed local approaches to codex making. From there, the antiphoners may have found their way into the archiepiscopal library of Nagyszombat later, and arrived in Esztergom from Nagyszombat with the rest of the book collection of the Cathedral Library in the nineteenth century.

As a new discovery, some pieces of folios with musical notation very close to the writing style of the Esztergom antiphoners have been recently recognized among fragmented sources in

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<sup>123</sup> The four-line staff system and rhomboid custos were usual in Hungarian sources.

<sup>124</sup> Sometimes a virga has a rhombic end.

<sup>125</sup> Six fragments emerged from the binding. Three of these contain musical notation and may have belonged to the same codex of a Bohemian origin according to the musical palaeographic investigation.

<sup>126</sup> For a typical example of this layout, see e. g. Güssing, Franciscan Library, cover of 4/297.

<sup>127</sup> This writing type also emerged from the Gradual Futaki, held in Istanbul (TR-Itks 68, Szendrei: C 45).

Slovakian and Hungarian collections. These new sources are mainly gradual fragments.<sup>128</sup> Eva Veselovská discovered some of them in Trnava and Modra,<sup>129</sup> which show exactly the same kind of layout as seen in antiphoner **c**: e.g. the text notation, the five-line staff system of a similar size, the Bohemian *scandicus* form of *pes+punctum*, the typical tilted *pes* and angular conjunct neume structures. Another piece of a fragment with this kind of notation has recently emerged during our research in the Pauline Library of the Central Seminary in Budapest.<sup>130</sup> This is part of a *psalterium chori*, which contains a poorly legible responsory, *Benedicamus Dominum*, with a conjunct *pes* and a Bohemian *scandicus* from this chant, and the five-line staff system of a similar size again. One of the possessors of the *liber tradens* could be identified: it was the Jesuit University in Nagyszombat.<sup>131</sup> This possessor inscription confirms that the fragment comes from a liturgical codex made and used in Nagyszombat.

New discoveries are also related to our other source, antiphoner **d**. Last year, some gradual fragments were found in Hungarian libraries, in Szombathely<sup>132</sup> and Budapest (*Facsimile 3*),<sup>133</sup> and their detailed palaeographic examination revealed a really close relationship between these and codex **d** (e.g. the text writing, the five-line staff of the same size, the same neumes, like conjunct *pes*, *torculus*, *climacus*, *scandicus* of inverted semicircles, and an angular layout). Even the tiny elements of musical handwriting seem to be identical, as if the antiphoner and the gradual fragments had been made by the same copyist. Is it possible that these sources come from the same workshop, or were made by the same notator? Could the antiphoners and the new fragments belong to a representative choir book series prepared for the same ecclesiastical institution? There are still a lot of questions. Anyway, our newly found codex fragments suggest that the “pair codex”, as the Esztergom antiphoners **c** and **d** were treated in literature earlier, was surely not a pair. At the same time, based on their musical notation, each book may have had a gradual pair from the same workshop, or may have been produced by the same notator in the northern part of the Esztergom archdiocese, maybe in Nagyszombat itself. Let us hope more data will be available about the source in the future, making it easier to say where this unique group of full and fragmented sources were produced.

<sup>128</sup> See GILÁNYI, Gabriella: Esztergomi kódexsorozataink új Graduale Strigoniense-tördékek fényében [The Strigonian Codex Series in the Light of Newly Discovered Graduale Strigoniense Fragments], paper presented at the *Resonemus pariter conference* on the occasion of Janka Szendrei’s birthday. Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, 15 November 2018.

<sup>129</sup> See VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Tyrnaviensi*, Tomus IV. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2015, pp. 46, 50, 104, 110: 1 Graduale SK-TR Meisterbuch 1653–1870, 7 Graduale SK-TR MMTIIIId/598; idem, VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgius*, Tomus I. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2008, pp. 75: 20 Graduale 3112.

<sup>130</sup> *Fragmenta Latina Codicum in Bibliotheca seminarii cleri Hungariae centralis*. ed. László MEZEY. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, p. 74: Fr. I. m. 73.

<sup>131</sup> *Liber tradens*: BBc 17. Joannes Garetius, *De sanctorum invocatione liber...* Gandavi, 1570. Possessor: *Collegij Tyrnaviensis Societatis Jesu 1632. – Hunc ego possideo librum ... quis sum namque Johannes ... cognomine Bochkor [...]*gy.

<sup>132</sup> Two gradual fragments from Szombathely: Vas Megyei Levéltár EL-48; Szombathelyi Egyházmegyei Levéltár (sine siglum).

<sup>133</sup> Two gradual fragments from Budapest: National Széchényi Library, cover of Inc 387; ELTE University Library: cover of Inc. 260.



↑ Facsimile 1. Esztergom Antiphoner (Temporale), Esztergom Cathedral Library, Ms. I. 3d (Antiphoner d), f. 15r








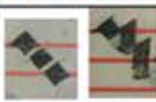









↑ Facsimile 2. Esztergom Antiphoner (Temporale), Esztergom Cathedral Library, Ms. I. 3c (Antiphoner c), f. 98r



↑ Facsimile 3. Gradual fragment, ELTE University Library, cover of Inc. 260



	Antiphoner d	Antiphoner c
Punctum		
Pes		
Clivis		
Torculus		
Porrectus		
Scandicus		
Climacus		
Keys		
Custos		
Specific neume-combinations		

↑ Table 1. Neumes in Antiphoner Ms. I. 3d and I. 3c

## Mittelalterliche liturgische Musikhandschriften aus Leles

### Abstrakt

Die jüngsten Quellenforschungen zu mittelalterlichen Materialien vom Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei haben viele neue und wertvolle Funde erschlossen. Zum spezifischen lokalen Material gehören die Fragmente des sog. Fonds „*Locus credibilis*“ des Prämonstratenserkonvents in Leles (Slowakisches Nationalarchiv). Die Fragmente repräsentieren eine spezifische Tradition, sowohl vom Inhalt als auch der Notation her. Sie sind auf Urkundenumschlägen (*Acta anni – varia*) erhalten und bilden Reste von vier verschiedenen liturgischen Büchern: von einem *Sequentiar* aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, einem *Missale* aus den Jahren 1350–1375, einem *Antiphonar* aus den Jahren 1350–1375 und einem *Psalterium* von der Wende des 14./15. Jahrhunderts.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Mittelalter, Slowakei, Leles, Prämonstratenser, Fragment, Notation

Das Slowakische Nationalarchiv (im Folgenden SNA) ist das größte und bedeutendste öffentliche Archiv der Slowakischen Republik. Seine Aufgabe besteht in der Aufbewahrung, der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung und Erschließung von Archivadokumenten. Im Jahr 2013 wurde mit der freundlichen Unterstützung des Direktors des SNA, Dr. Radoslav Ragač und der Leiterin seiner 1. Abteilung, Dr. Erika Javošová, eine Untersuchung aller notierten Einbände des Archivs durchgeführt.<sup>134</sup>

Besonders wertvolle Materialien der mittelalterlichen Musikkultur auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei vom Ende des 12. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts werden im SNA heute in 9 Archivbeständen aufbewahrt:

A) Kirchliche Einrichtungen:

Pressburger Kapitelbibliothek;

*Locus credibilis* Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel [slow. Bratislavská kapitula - prepošstvo / ung. Pozsonyi káptalan - prépostság];

*Locus credibilis* Zipser Kapitel [Spišská Kapitula/ Szepeshely];

*Locus credibilis* Konvent Leles; Pfarrbibliothek Kremnitz [Kremnica / Körmöcbánya].

B) Familien- und Herrschaftsarchive:

Archivbestand der Familie Palffy, Herrschaft Biberburg/Rotenstein I. [Červený Kameň / Vöröskő];

Bestand der Familie Palffy, Herrschaft Weinitz [Bojnice / Bajmóc];

Zentrales Palffy-Archiv und Zentrales Erdődy-Archiv:

Archivbestand der Familie Erdődy, Herrschaft Smolenitz [Smolenice / Szomolány].

Die mittelalterlichen notierten Fragmente wurden für Einbanddeckel jüngerer Handschriften und Bücher verwendet oder bildeten den oberen Deckel von Amtsprotokollen oder Rechnungen. Die notierten Materialien (62 Einheiten) datieren aus dem Zeitraum vom Ende des 12. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Hinsichtlich der Musikpaläographie dokumentieren diese

<sup>134</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi - Archivum Nationale Slovacaum*. Ed. *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia, Tomus III*. Bratislava: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2014.

Handschriften sechs unterschiedliche Notationssysteme: Metzger-gotische Notation, Quadratnotation, böhmische Notation, sog. Graner Notation, deutsche adiastematische und deutsche gotische Choralnotation auf Linien.

Die überlieferten mittelalterlichen Notationssysteme und die Liturgie der Fragmente weisen sowohl auf rege Auslandskontakte (Böhmen, Österreich, Deutschland, Polen), als auch auf eine aktive heimische Skriptorentätigkeit hin.

Wertvolle Materialien enthielten die überlieferten Bestände der folgenden *Loca credibilia*: Konvent Leles (*conventus ecclesiae sanctae Crucis de Lelez*), das Zipser Kapitel (*capitulum ecclesiae de Scepus beati Martini*) und das Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel (*capitulum ecclesiae Poseniensis beati Martini*). *Loca credibilia* (zu übersetzen etwa mit „Begläubigungsorte“, „Kanzleien“) waren eine Besonderheit des mittelalterlichen Ungarn. Sie entwickelten sich in Kapiteln und Konventen seit Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts. Dort wurden verschiedene privatrechtliche Handlungen beurkundet. Später wurden sie mit der Aufgabe öffentlicher Bezeugung betraut – sie erlangten gewissermaßen das Statut einer öffentlichen Verwaltungsinstitution.<sup>135</sup> Die als Einbände von Akten verwendeten notierten Handschriften waren im Zipser und Pressburger Kapitel ausschließlich heimischer Provenienz. Sie stammen aus liturgischen Büchern, die zur Zeit der Abfassung der Protokolle nicht mehr in ihrer primären Funktion (also im Rahmen der Liturgie) verwendet wurden. Um so wertvoller sind diese Funde heute.<sup>136</sup>

In den Aktenmappen (*Acta anni - varia*) des SNA sind, wie erwähnt, 4 notierte Fragmentgruppen erhalten geblieben.<sup>137</sup> Es handelt sich um 4 verschiedene liturgische Bücher, ein *Sequentiar* aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 1),<sup>138</sup> ein *Missale* aus den Jahren 1350–1375 (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 3),<sup>139</sup> ein *Antiphonar* aus den Jahren 1350–1375 (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10)<sup>140</sup> und einen *Psalter* von der Wende des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 11).<sup>141</sup>

Es handelt sich dabei um einen seltenen Fund von Handschriften, die offensichtlich aus einem heimischen Prämonstratenserskriptorium stammen.<sup>142</sup> Vom Gebiet der Slowakei gab es

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<sup>135</sup> SOLYMOSI, László: Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns in der Zeit des Königs Matthias Corvinus. In: *Archiv für Diplomatik*, Vol. 55 (2009) S. 175-190.

<sup>136</sup> So wurden z. B. die Protokolle des *Locus credibilis* des Zipser Kapitels in Folien von zwei der bedeutendsten Zipser Handschriften – des *Zipser Antiphonars* und des *Zipser Graduales des Georgius von Kásmark*, eingebunden.

<sup>137</sup> SEDLÁK, František – MARETTA, Robert: *Repozitóriium fragmentov stredovekých rukopisov. Súpis fragmentov z fondu SNA (Interná archívna pomôcka Slovenského národného archívu)*, ohne Jahrgang, 21+15 Seiten. Der Fond des *Locus credibilis* Leles ist auf den Seiten 2 und 3 zu finden (Nr. 3904, Kloster Leles: 4154). Eine handschriftliche Fassung des Inventars steht im Slowakischen Nationalarchiv zur Verfügung. Die notierten Fragmente haben die Nummern 1, 3, 10 und 11.

<sup>138</sup> <http://cantus.sk/source/13702>

<sup>139</sup> <http://cantus.sk/source/13703>

<sup>140</sup> <http://cantus.sk/source/13704>

<sup>141</sup> <http://cantus.sk/source/13705>

<sup>142</sup> Weder in der Slowakei noch in Ungarn gibt es eine vollständige mittelalterliche Handschrift, die nachweisbar in einem Prämonstratenserskriptorium entstanden ist. Eine späte Ausnahme bildet ein *Cantionale* aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert, geschrieben für die Prämonstratenserinnen in Szeged (Magyar Ferences Könyvtár és Levéltár / Bibliothek und Archiv der Ungarischen Franziskaner, Cod.med.09.). Zu dieser Handschrift s. GILÁNYI, Gabriella: A „főkötős atyafiak” zenei írásbelisége a 16. századi Magyarországon. Magyar hagyomány, rendi hagyomány, politika (The Musical Literacy of the „Monks in a Wimple” in Hungary in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Hungarian Tradition, Religious Order's Tradition and Politics). In: *Magyar Zene* LVII/4, 2019, S. 357-369.

bislang keine direkten Beweise für die Tätigkeit der Prämonstratenser. Außer notierten Fragmenten ist auf den Umschlägen der Protokolle des *Locus credibilis* Kloster Leles auch eine interessante Sammlung nicht notierter liturgischer Bücher erhalten (ein *Homiliar*, und ein *Missale*). Diese Handschriften sind höchstwahrscheinlich im Kloster Leles entstanden und wurden dort auch verwendet.

Die Gründung des Klosters in Leles datiert in die Jahre 1188–1196.<sup>143</sup> Sie geschah, als König Béla III. (1172–1196) Bischof Boleslav von Waitzen [Vacov/Vác] auf dessen Anregung hin örtlichen Besitz schenkte, um die Ansiedlung von Prämonstratensern zu ermöglichen.<sup>144</sup> Bélas Sohn Emmerich [Imrich/Imre] ließ die Gründungsurkunde jedoch vernichten, als Bischof Boleslav sich im Kampf König Emmerichs mit seinem Bruder Andreas auf die Seite des Letzteren gestellt hatte. Aus dem Jahr 1214 ist eine Fälschung der von Andreas II. ausgefertigten Urkunde erhalten, in der wahrscheinlich noch mehrere Punkte der ersten, originalen Gründungsurkunde enthalten sind.

Das Prämonstratenserklster in Leles wurde auf den Fundamenten eines älteren (benediktinischen?) Klosters errichtet und war dem Heiligen Kreuz geweiht.<sup>145</sup> Was die Etymologie des Ortsnamens Leles anbelangt, ist diese bis heute nicht genügend geklärt. Es könnte sich um eine Ableitung von dem ungarischen Wort „lélek“ – „Seele“ handeln, was die ungarische Übersetzung des älteren, ursprünglich slawischen Ortsnamens ist. Dies könnte auf die Anwesenheit von Mönchen vor der Zeit der prämonstratensischen Gründung hindeuten. Im Laufe der Zeit wurde das Kloster zum Zentrum des kulturellen und religiösen Lebens des Ortes selbst sowie der weiteren Umgebung.

In der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts begann das Kloster als *Locus credibilis* zu fungieren und unterhielt sogar eine Klosterschule. Während des Tatareneinfalls im Jahr 1241 wurde das Kloster jedoch völlig vernichtet. Im Laufe des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts kam es zum Bau eines neuen Klosterkomplexes. An der Südseite wurde 1313–1366 die gotische Kirche der Kreuzauffindung errichtet. An der Ostseite wurde Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts (um 1350) die gotische Kapelle des hl. Michael angebaut. Sie war mit gotischen Wandmalereien ausgeschmückt.<sup>146</sup> 1405 sind beim Kloster ein Spital und ein Armenhaus belegt. 1442 plünderten Hussiten das Kloster. 1453 zog Propst Martin zusammen mit Johann [Ján/János] Hunyadi in den Kampf gegen die Türken und nahm auch einen Teil des Archivs des *Locus credibilis* mit sich. Während des Aufstandes des Grafen Emmerich Thököly (1678–1682) wurde das Schriftgut des Klosters auf die Ungburg [Užský hrad/ Ungvár] gebracht. Viele Urkunden wurden jedoch knapp drei Jahrzehnte später vernichtet, als die Gefolgsleute des aufständischen Fürsten Franz [František/Ferenc] Rákóczi II. die Burg Munkatsch [Mukačevo/Munkács] eroberten. Nach der Auflösung des Prämonstratenserordens im Jahr 1787 wurde das Archiv auf vier Wagen in das Gebäude der Ungarischen Kam-

<sup>143</sup> MARSINA, Richard: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae II*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1987, Nr. 401, S. 282–283. MARSINA, Richard: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1971, Nr. 101\*, S. 94

<sup>144</sup> KOTRUSOVÁ, Júlia. *Dejiny premonštrátskeho kláštora sv. Jána Krstiteľa v Jasove v stredoveku* [Die Geschichte des Prämonstratenserklsters des hl. Johannes des Täuflers in Jossau im Mittelalter]. In: *Monasteriologia Slovaca II*. Trnavská univerzita : Trnava 2017.

<sup>145</sup> POMFIOVÁ, Bibiana (Ed.) *Stredoveký kostol. Historické a funkčné premeny architektúry* [Die mittelalterliche Kirche. Historische und Funktionswandlungen der Baukunst]. Bratislava : FO ART, 2015, S. 294–298.

<sup>146</sup> POMFIOVÁ, Bibiana – ŽAŽOVÁ, Henrieta: Leles (okr. Trebišov). Bývalý premonštrátsky Kostol a kláštor Svätého kríža. In: POMFIOVÁ, *Stredoveký kostol*, Anm. 145, S. 437–448.

mer in Ofen [Budín/ Buda] gebracht und drei Jahre später dem Domkapitel Erlau [Jäger/ Eger] übergeben, wo es über zehn Jahre verblieb. Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts gelangte es wieder nach Leles. 1930 wurde das Archiv dann nach Jossau [Jasov/ Jászó] überführt. Der letzte Transport erfolgte 1958, als das Archiv im Zuge der Konzentration der Archive der slowakischen *Loca credibilia* in das Staatliche Zentralarchiv der Slowakischen Republik in Bratislava – das heutige Slowakische Nationalarchiv – gelangte.<sup>147</sup>

Im Bestand des *Locus credibilis* Leles [*Leleský konvent*, ung. Lelesz] sind liturgische Handschriften erhalten, die zwei verschiedenen Notationstraditionen folgen. Die Metzger-gotische Notation wurde verwendet zur Fertigstellung des erwähnten *Sequentiariums* und des *Psalteriums*. Graner Notation repräsentiert die Musikschrift des fragmentarischen *Antiphonars* und des *Missales*. (S. näher dazu unten.)

Die Aufzeichnungssysteme dieser mittelalterlichen Notationen reflektieren historische, kulturelle und religiöse Prozesse und Einflüsse. Auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei wurden sechs unterschiedliche Notationen verwendet. Spezifische Formen dokumentieren drei mittelalterliche Notationssysteme: die Metzger,<sup>148</sup> die böhmische<sup>149</sup> und die Graner Notation.<sup>150</sup> Für die Musikfragmente aus Leles sind zwei dieser Notationsarten wichtig.

Die Metzger Notation war ab dem 13. Jahrhundert ein außerordentlich expansives Notationssystem, das sich beinahe im ganzen mitteleuropäischen Raum etablierte. Verschiedene Formen und häufig außergewöhnliche Einzelvarianten des Metzger Systems tauchen in spezifischer Form in den Diözesan-, Kapitular-, Stadt-, Pfarrskriptorien und in den Prämonstratenserskriptorien des heutigen Frankreichs, Deutschlands, Böhmens, Mährens, Polens, Österreichs, Ungarns, der Slowakei, Rumäniens, Sloweniens und Kroatiens auf.<sup>151</sup> Trotz der relativ einheitlichen Beschaffenheit der Neumengrundformen unterschieden sich einzelne Schreibzentren (Pressburg, Krakau, Olmütz u. a.) im Gebrauch der Neumenformen.<sup>152</sup> Über drei Viertel aller Handschriften und Fragmente vom Gebiet der Slowakei dokumentieren gerade das Metzger Notationssystem vom Ende des 14. und vor allem des 15. Jahrhunderts. Aufgrund der Gotisierung der einzelnen Neumenstrukturen wurde im Laufe des 15. Jahrhunderts diese ursprünglich für

<sup>147</sup> <http://www.historyweb.sk/clanky/detail/premonstratsky-klator-v-lelesi#.UOPGBtRe-f4>

<sup>148</sup> HILEY, David – SZENDREI, Janka: Notation, §III, + (iv, v): (f) Messine (Lorraine, Laon) notation. In: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Stanley SADIE. Volume 18. Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press, 2001, S. 96-97. 103-105. SZENDREI, Janka: Staff notation of Gregorian Chant in Polish Sources of 12<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century. In: *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish sources 11<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century*. Ed. Elżbieta WITKOWSKA-ZAREMBA, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica & Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2001, S. 187-281.

<sup>149</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Bohemian Notation in Slovakia in the Middle Ages. In: *Hudební věda*, 2012, Jhg. XLIX, Nr. 4, S. 337-376.

<sup>150</sup> Die Studie von Janka Szendrei *Die Geschichte der Graner Choralnotation* stellte ein spezifisches Notationssystem des mittelalterlichen Ungarn vor, das sich im Umfeld der bedeutendsten Kircheninstitutionen Ungarns zur Zeit der Arpadendynastie, vor allem in Gran [slow. Ostrihom] herauskristallisierte und bis in die Neuzeit verwendet wurde (Paulinerklöster). SZENDREI, Janka: Die Geschichte der Graner Choralnotation. In: *Studia Musicologica* 30. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988, S. 5-234.

<sup>151</sup> Eben aufgrund der Gotisierung der einzelnen Formen im 14. und insbesondere im 15. Jahrhundert bezeichnet die ungarische Musikhistorikerin Janka Szendrei diese diastematische Notation auf Linien als die Metzger-gotische Notation, da es sich um ein völlig anderes Notationssystem als die ursprüngliche adiaastematische Metzger Notation handelt. SZENDREI, Janka: Choralnotationen als Identitätsausdruck. In: *Studia Musicologica* 27, Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1985, S. 139-170.

<sup>152</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: Choralnotationen in Mitteleuropa. In: *Studia Musicologica* 30. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988, S. 437-446.

kleinformatigere Handschriften verwendete Notation zur Notenschrift der großformatigen liturgischen Chorbücher, die aus Pressburg, aus dem Zipser Kapitel oder aus anderen slowakischen Städten überliefert sind. Die Metzger Notation vom Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei weist eine klare graphische Struktur auf, die territorial zwei großen Kreisen zuzuordnen ist. Der westliche Kreis der erhaltenen Denkmäler (Pressburger Domkapitel, West- und Ostslowakei: Neusohl [Banská Bystrica/ Besztercebánya] ähnelt der Schreibtradition der österreichischen und mährischen Notatorenwerkstätten (*Pressburger Antiphonarien I, II, IV, Pressburger Missale* „H“<sup>153</sup> u. a.).<sup>154</sup> Der östliche Kreis nähert sich in Stil und Form einigen polnischen Handschriften und der polnischen Notationspraxis (Ostslowakei: Zipser Kapitel, Leutschau [Levoča/ Lőcze], Kaschau [Košice/ Kassa], Eperies [Prešov/ Eperjes]; ein Teil der Mittelslowakei: Schemnitz [Banská Štiavnica/ Selmenčbánya]); z. B. *Zipser Antiphonar Ms. Mus. No. 2*,<sup>155</sup> bzw. *Zipser Graduale des Georgius aus Käsmark Ms. Mus. No. 1*.<sup>156</sup>

An die deutsche Skriptorentradition knüpft auch die einheimische Notation an, die von Janka Szendrei als „Graner Notation“ bezeichnet wurde. Diese tauchte Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts auf und wurde kontinuierlich bis in die Neuzeit verwendet. Ihre Entstehung hing mit den Reformbestrebungen des Graner Erzbistums, mit dem Einigungsprozeß des Landes sowie mit der Einführung des Liniensystems und Einflüssen aus Italien, Österreich, Deutschland und Frankreich zusammen.<sup>157</sup> Auf dem späteren slowakischen Territorium taucht sie in den ältesten und bedeutendsten Stadtzentren auf: in Neutra [Nitra/ Nyitra], Pressburg [Bratislava/ Pozsony], im Osten des Landes: in Kaschau und Bartfeld [Bardejov/ Bártfa]. Bis ins ausgehende Mittelalter wurde sie auch in Paulinerklöstern verwendet. Die Graner Notation ist also das Produkt mittelalterlicher ungarischer Skriptorien. Sie wurde in bedeutenden Handschriften verwendet, wie dem *Codex Pray*,<sup>158</sup> dem *Pressburger Missale I*,<sup>159</sup> dem *Graduale von Neutra*.<sup>160</sup> Daneben ist sie in zahlreichen Fragmenten aus dem 12. – 18. Jahrhundert vertreten.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>153</sup> *Cmae 94 Széchényi*-Nationalbibliothek in Budapest. Notiert sind nur *Exultet*, Präfationen und der *Liber generationis*. Die Metzger-gotische Notation dieses Kodex ist eines der ältesten Beispiele dieses Notationstypus aus der Werkstatt eines Pressburger Skriptoriums.

<sup>154</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Métsko-gotická notácia na Slovensku v období stredoveku [Die Metzger-gotische Notation in der Slowakei im Mittelalter]. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, 2018, Jhg. 9 [35], Nr. 2, S. 165-199.

<sup>155</sup> *Spišský antifonár* [Zipser Antiphonar]. Rastislav ADAMKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ – Juraj ŠEDIVÝ. Ružomberok : Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2008.

<sup>156</sup> *Spišský graduál Juraja z Kežmarku (1426)* [Zipser Graduale]. Amantius AKIMJAK – Rastislav ADAMKO – Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. Ružomberok : Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2006. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Slovenská muzikologická spoločnosť – Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2017, S. 162-172.

<sup>157</sup> SZENDREI, Anm. 150, S. 5-234.

<sup>158</sup> Ein Sakramentar des 12. Jahrhunderts, benützt in Pressburg, mit notierten Eintragungen aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Budapest, Széchényi Nationalbibliothek Mny 1.

<sup>159</sup> VESELOVSKÁ – ADAMKO – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Anm. 156, S. 100-108.

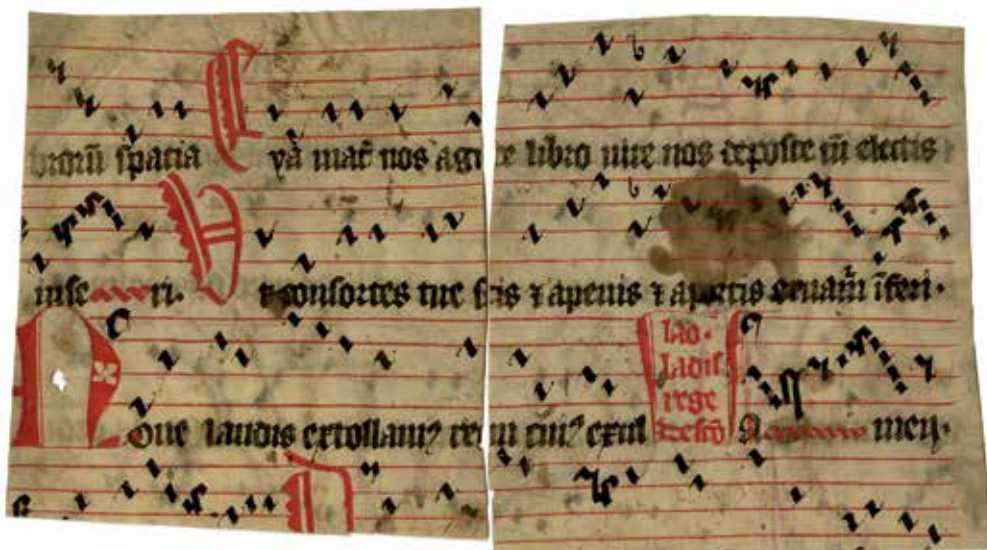
<sup>160</sup> ADAMKO, Rastislav et al.: *Graduale Nitriense (s. XVI). Liturgicko-muzikologická štúdia*. Ružomberok : Vebum, 2016.

<sup>161</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Notatio Strigoniensis – ostríhomská notácia na Slovensku [Die Graner Notation in der Slowakei]. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, Jhg. I., Nr. 1, Bratislava 2010, S. 46-79.

## Die Musikfragmente aus Leles

Das *Sequentiar* (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 1) enthält Teile der Sequenzen zu den Festen der wichtigsten ungarischen Heiligen – *Gaude Sion quod egressus* zum Fest der hl. Elisabeth und *Novae laudis extollamus* zum Fest des hl. Ladislaus, des ungarischen Königs.<sup>162</sup>

Auf den Fragmenten aus Leles sind leider nur kleine Teile aus den Sequenzen beider Heiligen erhalten. Dennoch gehören sie zu den besonders wertvollen notierten Beispielen, da die vollständig erhaltenen Quellen für diese Melodien vor allem aus dem 14. Jahrhundert sehr selten sind.<sup>163</sup> Die Metzger-gotische Notation dieser Quelle belegt die klassischen Formen des Metzger Systems ohne Vermischung der Grundzeichen, hat aber kursiven, stenografischen Charakter, d.h. die grundsätzlich vertikale Stellung der einzelnen Notationszeichen ist leicht nach rechts geneigt. Das *Punctum* als Grundzeichen ist mit einem haarfeinen Strich geschrieben. Da die überlieferten Gesänge ein syllabisches Text-Musik-Verhältnis aufweisen, sind Ligaturen nicht sichtbar.



↑ Abb. Nr. 1: *Sequentiar, Locus credibilis* Leles (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 1), 1v

<sup>162</sup> SLIVKA, Michal: *Pohľady do stredovekých dejín Slovenska* [Einblicke in die Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Slowakei]. Martin : Matica slovenská, 2013, S. 115-118.

<sup>163</sup> Benjamin Rajeczky dokumentiert 21 Handschriften mit der Sequenz der hl. Elisabeth, davon 8 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Die Sequenz des hl. Ladislaus *Novae laudis* enthalten 12 Quellen, davon 5 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Vgl. *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi I. Hymny et sequentiae*. Benjamin RAJECZKY (Ed.). Budapest, 1956. Andrea Kovács publiziert die Sequenz der hl. Elisabeth aus 8 Hss. sowie die Sequenz des hl. Ladislaus aus 13 Hss. Vgl.: KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Monuments of Medieval Liturgical Poetry in Hungary. Sequences – Critical Edition of Melodies. Musica Sacra Hungarica 1*. Budapest : Argumentum – Zeneakadémia – Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2017, hl. Elisabeth: Nr. II. 49, S. 250, 165\*, hl. Ladislaus: Nr. II. 93.3, S. 369, 222\*. Die Sequenz des hl. Ladislaus beginnt mit dem Incipit *Novae laudis extollamus* statt des ursprünglichen *Novae laudis attollamus*. <http://cantus.sk/chant/17918>. DREVES, Guido Maria – BLUME, Clemens – BANNISTER, Henry Marriott: *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Bd. I – LV, 1886 – 1925). LV. *Die Sequenzen*. Leipzig : Fues's Verlag, 1889, Bd. 55, Nr. 215 (weiter AH). Es handelt sich um eine Kontrafaktur der Sequenz *Laudes crucis attollamus* zum Fest *De Sancta Cruce* (AH 54, Nr. 120).

Aus musikpaläografischer Sicht besonders interessant ist *das Missale (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 3)*. Es enthält Passionen nach dem Evangelium des hl. Johannes<sup>164</sup> mit interlinearen notierten Eintragungen. Hier wurde die Graner Notation in einer feinen, kalligraphischen Ausführung verwendet. Die Notationszeichen repräsentieren das klassische Stadium der Graner Notation. Hauptrepräsentant ist der vertikal gestellte *Climacus* mit doppeltem *Bipunctum* im Ansatz. Weitere Charakteristika sind die rasch und fließend ausgeführten Linien z. B. des S-förmigen ungeteilten *Pes* und des *Scandicus*. Die Notationszeichen sind mit roter Tinte geschrieben.



↑ **Abb. Nr. 2:** Missale, *Locus credibilis* Leles (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 3), 1ra

Einen wertvollen Fund bilden die Fragmente *eines Antiphonars* (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10). Sie enthalten einen Teil der Liturgie zum Fest der Enthauptung Johannes des Täufers, zum Fest der Kreuzerhöhung<sup>165</sup> und zum Fest des hl. Michael. Die Notationszeichen repräsentieren das Spätstadium des Graner Systems (zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts; leichte Gotisierung der einzelnen Elemente). Zu sehen sind pro Folio 11 Systeme eines roten 4-Liniensystems ohne *Custos*. Der Notationsduktus ist vertikal. *Pes* und *Scandicus* haben ihre ursprüngliche geschwungene Form bereits verloren. Das verlängerte *Punctum* im Ansatz des *Pes* ist mit einer vertikal gestellten *Virga* verbunden (der *Scandicus* weist entsprechend *Tractulus* und *Virga* auf) und bildet ein fast einheitliches, ungeteiltes Zeichen. Die *Clivis* ist rechtwinklig. Der *Porrectus* wird aus *Clivis* und *Virga* gebildet.

Das Fest des hl. Johannes des Täufers gehörte zur Gruppe der frühmittelalterlichen Missionsfeste. Das *Officium Herodes tetrarcha audivit* zum Fest der Enthauptung des Johannes,<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Auf dem Bruchstück sind die Verse: Jn 18, 24-40; Jn 19, 1-15.

<sup>165</sup> Dem heiligen Kreuz geweiht waren außer dem Prämonstratenserklöster in Leles häufig auch Zisterziensergemeinschaften (Vérteskeresztúr, Heiligenkreuz, Haus und Weingärten des Klosters Pilis auf dem Devin), Ritzergemeinschaften (Scharoscher Chmel'ov, Käsmark) und Klöster der ungarischen Pauliner (Pilisszentkereszt – „heremitae de Sancta Cruce“). SLIVKA, Anm. 162, S. 120-121.

<sup>166</sup> Die Antiphon *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* dokumentieren in der Datenbank Cantusindex nur 3 Handschriften (zwei spanische, eine portugiesische), vgl.: <http://cantusindex.org/id/202129> oder <http://hun-chant.eu/chant/523085>.



das auf dem zweiten Bruchstück des *Antiphonars* erhalten ist (Sedlák Nr. 10), feiert die letzten Ereignisse im Leben dieses Heiligen, die Umstände seiner Enthauptung (Herodes' Haltung, die Beschreibung, Bewertung des Festmahls u. Ä.). Auf dem Bruchstück sind Gesänge aus der dritten Nokturn erhalten: drei Antiphonen, drei Responsorien, fünf Laudes-Antiphonen, Rubriken für Hymnus und Versikel und die Antiphon zu Magnificat in der zweiten Vesper, *Missio Herodes spiculatore*.<sup>167</sup> Besonders wertvoll sind vor allem die Responsorien *O nephandum execrandum crudele*<sup>168</sup> mit dem Vers *Detestetur omnis orbis*<sup>169</sup> und *O beate Johannes corona lux prophetarum*<sup>170</sup> mit dem Vers *Absolve quaesumus delicta populorum*.<sup>171</sup> In notierter Form sind sie lediglich auf den Leleser Fragmenten erhalten. Das Offizium *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* taucht in den ungarischen Quellen nur in zwei *Zipser Brevieren* und aus einem *Brevier von Bartfa* auf (*Brevier Alba Iulia* R.III.94: Sc-94,<sup>172</sup> *Diurnale Alba Iulia* R.II.125: Sc-125, *Brevier* des Ungarischen Nationalmuseum 63.74.I.C: Sc-6384).<sup>173</sup> Da die Ecken des Folios abgeschnitten wurden, war die vollständige inhaltliche Rekonstruktion von Text und Notation beider Responsorien nicht möglich.



↑ **Abb. Nr. 3:** *Antiphonar, Locus credibilis* Leles (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10), 2r

*Der Psalter* (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 11) aus der Wende des 14./15. Jahrhunderts (3 Folien, davon 2 Bifolien) dokumentiert die Metzger-gotische Notation mit den klassischen Formen des Metzger Systems ohne Mischung der Grundzeichen. Die Notationszeichen haben eine vertikale

<sup>167</sup> <http://cantusindex.org: 003790>.

<sup>168</sup> <http://cantusindex.org: a01552>.

<sup>169</sup> <http://cantusindex.org: a01552a>, <http://gradualia.eu: 508293390>.

<sup>170</sup> <http://cantusindex.org: a01553>.

<sup>171</sup> <http://cantusindex.org: a01553a>.

<sup>172</sup> Das Brevier enthält andere Responsorien, vgl.: KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae V/B. Strigonium (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2006, S. 295.

<sup>173</sup> KOVÁCS, Anm. 172, 5.0829.3010-5.0829.3550. *Decollatio Johannis Baptistae*: Sc-94, Sc-125, Sc-6384, S. 250-251. 295. Das Offizium *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* ist jünger. Es ist in einer Prosaversion geschrieben, die in den einschlägigen Editionen fehlt: CAO I, II (*Corpus Antiphonalium Officii I-II*. Jean R. HESBERT (Ed.). Roma: Herder, 1963), *Analecta Hymnica* (*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi. V. Historiae Rhythmicae.*) und LMLO (Andrew HUGHES: *Late medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research. Vol. 1. Subsidia Mediaevalia*. Toronto – Ontario: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994).

Stellung. Die Notation erscheint in einem roten Vierliniensystem ohne Umrahmung und ohne *Custos*. Die Maße der vollständigen Folien betragen 360 x 258 mm, die Maße des Schriftspiegels sind 247 x 178 mm. Die Höhe des Liniensystems ist 29 mm, wobei der Linienzwischenraum bis ca. 6-7 mm groß sein konnte. Verwendet wurden C- und F-Schlüssel. Selbständiges *Punctum* befindet sich im Ansatz des *Pes* (*Punctum* + *Virga* mit dem Kopf nach rechts geschrieben), *Scandicus* (*Punctum* + *Virga* + *Virga* oder *Punctum* + *Punctum* + *Virga*) und *Torculus*. Die *Clivis* ist rechtwinklig, mit einem rhombischen Abschluss und vertikal geschrieben (ähnlich ist der *Porrectus* gebildet: *Clivis* + *Virga*). Die Notation des *Psalters* nähert sich der Notation des *Pressburger Antiphonars IV*<sup>174</sup> und des *Pressburger Psalters*.

Das Ausschmückungssystem der Initialen des Psalteriums ist mit einem reichen Fleuronée-Schmuck dekoriert.

Die Liturgie der Bruchstücke ist für die Wochentage des Jahreskreises bestimmt. Ob der Kodex wahrscheinlich eine der aufwendigeren Handschriften des Prämonstratenserkonvents war, können wir heute noch nicht definitiv belegen. Es gibt leider sehr wenige mittelalterlichen Vergleichsmaterialien, die in ungarischen Prämonstratenserklöstern hergestellt oder benutzt wurden. Weitere Ergebnisse lassen sich von der eingehenden vergleichenden Untersuchung der überlieferten Melodien erhoffen, was eine Aufgabe für die zukünftige Forschung darstellt.



↑ **Abb. Nr. 4:** Psalter, *Locus credibilis* Leles (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 11), 3v-4r

## Zhrnutie

Pramenné výskumy stredovekých materiálov z územia Slovenska priniesli v poslednom období mimoriadne veľa nových a cenných nálezov. Medzi špecifický, domáci materiál patria fragmenty fondu Hodnoverného miesta premonštrátskeho konventu v Lelesi. Zlomky 4 notovaných rukopisov reprezentujú vzácnu skriptorskú tradíciu, ktorá je špecifická po obsahovej i notáčnej stránke.<sup>175</sup>

Stredoveké notované fragmenty sa zachovali na obaloch listín (*Acta anni - varia*). Ide o 4 rôzne bohoslužobné knihy: *sekvenciár* z druhej polovice 14. storočia (2 fóliá), *misál* z rokov

<sup>174</sup> VESELOVSKÁ – ADAMKO – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Anm. 156, S. 100-108.

<sup>175</sup> Die vorliegende Studie wurde im Rahmen des Projekts VEGA 2/0034/17 *Obraz zbožnosti v stredovekej hudobnej kultúre na Slovensku* [Frömmigkeit in der mittelalterlichen Musikkultur der Slowakei]; 2017 – 2020 bearbeitet. Deutsche Übersetzung: Margita Kurdelová.

1350 – 1375 (40 fólií), *antifonár* z rokov 1350 – 1375 (3 fóliá) a *žaltár* z prelomu 14./15. storočia (3 fóliá, z toho dve bifóliá).

Z obsahového (liturgického) hľadiska ide o rukopisy, ktoré obsahujú ostrihomskú liturgickú tradíciu. Z hudobnopaleografického aspektu prezentujú leleské zlomky dve stredoveké notačné školy. Ostrihomský – teda domáci, uhorský notačný systém, dokladajú *misál* (bezlinajkový ostrihomský systém) a *antifonár*. Métsko-gotickú notáciu používajú *sekvenciár* a *žaltár*.

Mimoriadne cenným nálezom sú fragmenty *antifonára*, ktoré obsahujú časť liturgie na sviatok Štátia Jána Krstiteľa, Povýšenia sv. Kríža a sv. Michala.

Dva fragmenty dokumentujú spevy najstarších kultov (augustový sviatok Štátia Jána Krstiteľa, septembrové sviatky Povýšenia sv. Kríža a sv. Michala archanjela). Kult archanjela Michaela i sviatok Povýšenia sv. Kríža má v kresťanskej Európe a i na území Slovenska mimoriadne dlhú tradíciu. Sv. Krížu boli okrem premonštrátskeho kláštora v Lelesi zasvätené často i cisterciánske komunity, rytierske komunity a uhorskí pavlíni. Do skupiny včasnostredovekých misijných sviatkov patril aj sviatok sv. Jána Krstiteľa. Ofícium *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* na sviatok Štátia Jána Krstiteľa, ktoré sa zachovalo na druhom zlomku *antifonára* (Sedlák č. 10), dokladá popis posledných udalostí života tohto svätca, okolnosti jeho štátia (Herodesov postoj, popis a hodnotenie hostiny a pod.). Na zlomku sa zachovali spevy z tretieho nokturna: tri antifóny, tri rezponzória, päť antifón na ranné chvíly, rubriky na hymnus a versikulus a antifóna *Misso Herodes spiculatore*. Mimoriadne cenné sú najmä rezponzória *O nephandum execrandum crudele* s veršom *Detestetur omnis orbis* a *O beate Johannes corona lux prophetarum* s veršom *Absolve quaesumus delicta popoloru*, ktoré sa v notovanej podobe zachovali len v prípade leleských fragmentov. Ofícium *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* sa v uhorských prameňoch objavuje len v troch spišských breviároch (*Breviár Alba Iulia* R.III.94, *Diurnale Alba Iulia* R.II.125, *Breviár* Maďarské národné múzeum 63,74.I.C).

**Tabelle 1:** Mittelalterliche liturgische Musikhandschriften aus Leles

Acta Anni	Folios	Datierung	Notation	Inhalt
<b>Sequentiar</b> (Sedlák č. 1)	2	2/2 14. Jh.	Metzer-gotisch	s. Elisabeth (AH 55-140), s. Ladislai (MHMA I-52)
<b>Missale</b> (Sedlák č. 3)	40	1350-1375	Gran	Passionen
<b>Antiphonar</b> (Sedlák č. 10)	3	1350-1375	Gran	Decollatio Johannis Baptistae Exaltatio Crucis, Michaelis
<b>Psalterium</b> (Sedlák č. 11)	3	1375-1425	Metzer-gotisch	Feria 2, 4, 5, 6 per annum

**Tabelle 2:** *Exaltatio Crucis, Michaelis* (SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10, f. 1r-v)<sup>176</sup>

Hm L Sedlák 10 (ff.1r-1v)	Gran	Prag	Großwardein
A. Sanctifica nos domine	+		+

<sup>176</sup> Die Tabellen benützen die Daten der CAO-ECE Edition: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae V/B*, Anm. 172. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae III/B. Prag (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2002. KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VII/B. Transylvania (Sanctorale)*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008.

A. Crux Jesu Christi	A. O crux gloriosa		
I. Venite adoremus	I. Praeveniat faciem	+	I. Praeveniat faciem
A. O magnum pietatis		+	
A. Salva nos Christe salvator		+	
A. Crux benedicta*		+	
A. Lignum vitae/?/*		+	
R. Adoramus te*	R. Crux Christi qui		R. Crux Christi qui
V. Tuam crucem*	V. O lignum pretiosum		V. O lignum pretiosum
A. O magnum pietatis*	A. O crux splendidior	A. O crux splendor	A. Gloriandum nobis est
A. Michael Gabriel cherubim	A. Sancte Michaele archangele		A. Excelsi regis filium
R. Te sanctum dominum	+	+	+
V. Cherubim quoque et seraphim	+	+	+
A. Dum sacrum mysterium cerneret	+	+	+
I. Angelorum regi deo jubilemus	+	+	+
H. Tibi Christe*			
A. Stetit angelus juxta aram			
A. Ascendit fumus aromatum	A. Introibo in domum	A. Introibo in domum	A. Data est ei incensa
A. Michael archangelus venit	A. Stetit angelus	A. Stetit angelus	A. Ascendit fumus
W. Stetit angelus*		W. In conspectu	W. Ascendit fumus

**Tabelle 3:** *Decollatio Johannis Baptistae – Herodes tetrarcha audivit* SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10, 2r-2v (+ Sc-125, Sc-6384)

Hm L Sedlák 10 (f. 2r-2v) + Sc-125, Sc-6384	Gran	Prag	Großwardein
A. Herodes facibus libidinis	+	+	
A. Allatum est caput	+	+	
A. Hodie plusquam propheta	+	+	
R. Misso Herodes spiculatore	R. Misit Herodes rex	R. In medio carceris	R. Misit Herodes rex
V. Accedentes discipuli	V. Arguebat Herodem	V. Quoniam tu es	V. Arguebat Herodem
R. O nephandum execrandum	R. Johannes Baptista arguebat	R. Accedentes discipuli	R. R. Johannes Baptista arguebat
V. Detestetur omnis orbis	V. Misso Herodes spiculatore	V. Misso Herodes spiculatore	V. Herodes enim tenuit
R. O beate Joannes corona lux	R. Metuebat Herodes	R. Sanctus Johannes Baptista	R. Metuebat Herodes
V. Absolve quaesumus delicta	V. Misis Herodes ac tenuit	V. Malens periclitari	V. Misis Herodes rex
A. Herodes enim tenuit	+	+	+
A. Puellae saltanti	+	+	+
A. Domine mi rex	+	+	+
A. Da mihi in disco caput	+	+	+
A. Misit rex incredulus	A. Petiit puella caput	A. Petiit puella caput	+
H. Corona aurea*	H. Martyr Dei	H. O nimis felix	H. Martyr Dei

W. Non fuit*	W. Justus ut palma	W. Justus ut palma	W. Justus ut palma
A. Misso Herodes spiculatore	Ab. Misit rex incredulus	Ab. Misso Herodes spiculatore	Ab. Misso Herodes spiculatore
	Am. Misso Herodes spiculatore	Am. In medio carceris	Am. In medio carceris

**Tabelle 4:** Das Offizium *Herodes tetrarcha audivit* SK-BRsa Acta anni Sedlák Nr. 10, f. 1r-v, Übersetzung: Rastislav Luz 1r:



































A.	Herodes fatibus libidinis ardens cogitaba[t tradere neci innocentem quo] Christo teste in natis mulierum major non surre[xit (003029)].	Herodes vášnivými rečami zapálený rozhodol sa odovzdať na smrť nevinného, od ktorého medzi tými, čo sa zo žien narodili, väčší svedok Kristovi nepovstal.
A.	Allatum est] caput baptisti Joannis in disco qui sa[lutaria moni]ta dabat incestui et illicita prohibebat connubia (001324).	Prinesená bola hlava krstiteľa Jána na tanieri, ktorý spásanosne napomenutia dával nečistému a nezákonné zakazoval sobáše.
A.	Hodie plus quam prophetam Joannem ab impio Herode interemptum toto cordis affectu precemur ut triumphans cum angelis assidua prece Christum roget pro nobis (003114).	Dnes viac (než inokedy) proroka Jána, nespravodlivým Herodesom zabitého, náklonnosťou celého srdca prosíme, aby jasajúci s anjelmi neprestajným príhovorom Krista prosil za nás.
R.	Misso Herodes spiculatore praecepit amputari caput Joannis in carcere quo audito discipuli ejus venerunt et tulerunt corpus ejus et posuerunt illud in monumento (007169).	Poslanému strážcovi Herodes nariadil odrezať hlavu Jánovu vo väzení, čo keď vypočuli jeho učenici prišli a odniesli telo jeho a uložili ho do hrobu.
V.	Accedentes discipuli sancti Joannis Baptistae tulerunt corpus ejus (007169a).	Pristúpiači učenici svätého Jána Krstiteľa odniesli telo jeho.
R.	O neph[andum] execrandum [cru]de convivium in quo mors prophetae datur saltatrici premium (a01552).	Ó ohavná, prekliatia hodná, krutá hostina, na ktorej smrť proroka je daná tanečnici za odmenu.

**1v:**

V.	[Detestetur] omnis orbis talem conventiculum (a01552a, gradualia.eu: 508293390).	Nech prekliate je celým svetom také zhromaždenie.
R.	O beate Jo[annes corona...]m lux prophetarum gaudium apostolorum praeco [...] fidelium et sic tua sanctissima interevent[...]gere gaudia aeternae vite (a01553, gradualia.eu: 508293400).	O blahoslavený Ján [...], svetlo prorokov, radosť apoštolov, hlásateľ [...], [...] veriacich a tak tvoje presväté [...] radosti večného života
V.	Absolve quaesumus delicta populorum qui meruisti digito ostendere Christum (a01553a, gradualia.eu: 508293410).	Rozhreš, prosíme, chyby ľudu, ty, ktorý si bol hoden prstom ukázať na Krista.
A.	Herodes enim tenuit et ligavit Joannem et posuit in carcerem propter Herodiadem (003028).	Herodes totiž chytil a poviazal Jána a umiestnil ho do väzenia kvôli Herodiade.
A.	Puellae saltanti imperavit mater nihil aliud petas nisi caput Joannis (004409).	Tancujúcej dievčine prikázala matka: Nič iné nežiadaj než hlavu Jána.
A.	Domine mi rex da mihi in disco caput Joannis Baptistae (002358).	Pane, môj kráľ, daj mi na tanieri hlavu Jána Krstiteľa.
A.	Da mihi in disco caput Joannis Baptistae et contristatus est rex propter jus jurandum (002088).	Daj mi na tanieri hlavu Jána Krstiteľa. A zarmútil sa kráľ kvôli prísaha.

A.	Misit rex incredulus ministrum detestabilem et amputari jussit caput Joannis in carcere (003788).	Poslal kráľ neveriaci sluhu opovrhnutia hodného a odrezať prikázal hlavu Jána vo väzení.
H.	Corona aurea* (a01554, W (?). 007997).	Koruna zlatá*
W.	Non fuit* (a01555, H. (?): 008406g).	Nebol(o)*
A.	Misso Herodes spiculatore praecepit amputari caput Joannis in carcere [quo audito discipuli ejus venerunt et tulerunt corpus ejus et posuerunt illud in monumento] (003790).	Poslanému strážcovi Herodes nariadil odrezať hlavu Jánovu vo väzení, čo keď vypočuli jeho učeníci prišli a odniesli telo jeho a uložili ho do hrobu.

**Tabelle 5:** Die Notation der Fragmente aus Leles

	punctum	pes	clivis	scandicus	climacus	torculus	porrectus	custos	Schlüssel
<b>SEQUENTIAR</b> (Sedlák č.1)	 								  
<b>MISSALE</b> (Sedlák č.3)									
<b>ANTIPHONAR</b> (Sedlák č.10)	 								 
<b>PSALTERIUM</b> (Sedlák č.11)									 

## *Cantionalia* – liturgische Bücher retrospektiven Inhalts aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn<sup>177\*</sup>

### **Abstract**

Die Studie behandelt die gattungstypischen Eigenschaften der "*Cantionale*" genannten mitteleuropäischen liturgisch-musikalischen Handschriften des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts. Dies geschieht anhand einer vergleichenden Darstellung zweier bedeutenden Kodizes aus dem Gebiet des ehemaligen Königreichs Ungarn.

Das *Pauliner Cantuale* aus Częstochowa (Polen) ist der ungarischen Musikgeschichtsforschung wohl bekannt. Seine Verbindung zu Ungarn und die dortige Verwendung kann trotz seines heutigen Aufbewahrungsortes mit Sicherheit nachgewiesen werden. Diese Sammlung umfaßt mehrere liturgische Bucharten unterschiedlichen Inhalts (Prozessionale, Hymnar, Exsequiale).

Die andere, weit weniger bekannte Handschrift stammt aus Ost-Siebenbürgen (aus dem sog. Seklerland), und wird heute im Franziskanerkloster von Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu-Ciuc, Rumänien) aufbewahrt. Dieses *Cantionale* beinhaltet eine eigenartige Auswahl und Gruppierung von Meßgesängen, u. a. Gesänge, welche nicht zum festen Bestandteil des mittelalterlichen europäischen Grundrepertoires gehören, sondern als dessen Zusatz anzusehen sind.

**Keywords:** Post-medieval plainchant, Pauline Order, cantionale, processionale, suffragium, agenda, graduale

Die Grundlage für den vorliegenden Beitrag bietet die eingehende Erforschung zweier bedeutender spätmittelalterlicher Papierkodizes, die aus dem Gebiet des ehemaligen Königreichs Ungarn stammen. Eine monographische Behandlung beider "*Cantionale*" - Bücher ist gegenwärtig noch im Anfangsstadium, deshalb werden die neuesten Forschungsereignisse weniger betont. Der Schwerpunkt liegt stattdessen auf der Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Informationen wie auch der bisherigen einschlägigen Fachliteratur über die betreffenden Handschriften. Eine parallele Darstellung beider liturgischer Gesangbücher ist angebracht, da sie die allgemeinen gattungstypischen Eigenschaften der "*Cantionale*" teilen, d.h. von (retrospektiven) Handschriften, deren Produktion in der Periode der Reformationszeit und der Türkenherrschaft in Ungarn einen gewissen Aufschwung erlebte.

Die erste Handschrift, das *Cantuale* von Częstochowa,<sup>178</sup> wird von der Musikgeschichtsforschung als eine bedeutende Quelle des ungarischen Paulinerordens angesehen. Ihre Notenschrift repräsentiert die für die Pauliner typische Variante der Graner (ungarischen) Notation.<sup>179</sup> Nicht nur die Notationspraxis der Pauliner, sondern auch ihre Liturgie und Musik mit den charakteristischen melodischen Varianten waren seit dem 13. Jahrhundert eng mit dem Usus von Esztergom (Gran) verknüpft.<sup>180</sup> Das *Cantuale* von Częstochowa könnte daher dazu dienen, um mit seiner Hilfe auf Melodien zu verweisen, die auf der Basis früherer, verlorengegangener mit-

<sup>177</sup> \* Der vorliegende Aufsatz wurde im Rahmen des Projektes Nr. 120643 des "National Research, Development and Innovation Fund" verfaßt.

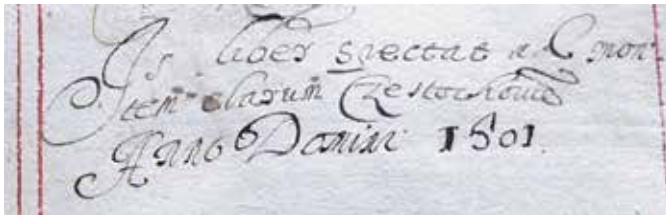
<sup>178</sup> Biblioteka Jasnogórska (Klasztor OO. Paulinów Jasna Góra; PL-CZ), I-215 (R. 583) Cf. PODEJKO, Paweł: *Katalog tematyczny rękopisów i druków muzycznych kapeli wokalnie-instrumentalnej na Jasnej Górze*. Ed. *Studia Claromontana* 12. Kraków : Wydawnictwo OO. Paulinów, 1992, p. 839 („Nr. 2387: Cantionale ecclesiasticum”).

<sup>179</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: Die Geschichte der Graner Choralnotation. In: *Studia Musicologica* 30, 1988, S. 5-234 (S. 142-149).

<sup>180</sup> DOBSZAY, László: The System of the Hungarian Plainsong Sources. In: *Studia Musicologica* 27, 1985, S. 37-65, hier S. 41-42.

telalterlicher Quellen der Erzdiözese Gran nicht mehr dokumentiert werden können.<sup>181</sup> Die Handschrift verdient besondere Beachtung, sind ja notierte Pauliner Kodizes aus dem 14.-16. Jahrhundert nur in einer bedauerlich geringen Zahl erhalten. Entsprechend der These, dass der Paulinerorden auffallend konservativ seinen liturgischen und musikalischen Usus bewahrt habe, ist das *Cantuale* von Czesztochowa sowohl in seiner äußeren Erscheinung als auch inhaltlich merklich archaisch geprägt.

Die Entstehung der Handschrift wurde seit längerem auf das 15. Jahrhundert datiert. In der einschlägigen ungarischsprachigen Fachliteratur<sup>182</sup> wurde die auf Seite 141 eingetragene Jahreszahl als 1501 angegeben: *“Is[te] liber spectat ad montem clarum Czesztochowe ANNO DOMINI 1501.”* (“Dieses Buch liegt auf dem Klarenberg von Czesztochau im Jahre des Herren 1501.”) (Abbildung 1) Vor einigen Jahren erschien jedoch eine Revision der Datierung des *Cantuale*.<sup>183</sup> Jakub Kubieniec führte eine gründliche kodikologische Untersuchung der Handschrift durch. Aufgrund seiner neuen Erkenntnisse wurde eine neue Lesung der Jahreszahl vorgeschlagen, die auf der Evidenz der Wasserzeichen beruhte.<sup>184</sup> Kubieniec wies nämlich nach, dass zur Herstellung der Handschrift hauptsächlich Papier aus dem Jahre 1526 verwendet wurde. Das *Cantuale* konnte also keinesfalls vor 1526 entstanden sein. Merkwürdigerweise machte der polnische Musikwissenschaftler und Theologe, Bolesław Bartkowski (1936-1998) bereits in seiner 1970 verfassten Dissertation darauf aufmerksam, dass 1601 die richtige Jahreszahl in der Eintragung sei.<sup>185</sup> (Diese Feststellung dürfte jedoch, wenn überhaupt, ausschließlich bei polnischen Forschern bekannt gewesen sein.)



← **Abbildung 1:** Die für die Datierung der Handschrift entscheidende Eintragung im *Cantuale* von Czesztochowa auf Seite 141.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. SZENDREI, Janka: Recitativ műfajok. [Liturgische Rezitation.] In: RAJECZKY, Benjamin (Ed.): *Magyarország zenetörténete I: Középkor* [Musikgeschichte Ungarns: Mittelalter]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, S. 265-307. (S. 297); DOBSZAY, László: Psalmorum melodia. *Egyházzenei Füzetek*, II/5. Budapest: LFZE; Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság, 2002, S. 25-26; FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: Gyászszertartások a régi magyar liturgiában. In: BARTÓK, Zsófia Ágnes – HORVÁTH, Balázs (Eds.): *Írások a Pray-kódexről* [Totenfeier im alten ungarischen Ritus. In: *Studien zum Codex Pray*. Ed. Műhely tanulmányok 5. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019, S. 65-96.

<sup>182</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notierte Quellen aus dem mittelalterlichen Ungarn]. Budapest: MTA ZTI, 1981, S. 35, 167, 64 (Nr. C 46); DOBSZAY, László: *Corpus antiphonarum: Európai örökség és hazai alakítás* [Europäisches Erbe und heimische Gestaltung]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003, S. 337.

<sup>183</sup> PAPP, Ágnes: ‘Toni chorales’: Rövid tonáriusok Magyarországon a középkor után [Kurztonare in Ungarn nach dem Mittelalter]. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, 20, 2012/2013, S. 299-313, hier S. 300.

<sup>184</sup> Ich danke Jakub Kubieniec für die einschlägigen Informationen und Belege. Cf. KUBIENIEC, Jakub: Średniowieczne rękopisy liturgiczne z archiwum jasnogórskiego. In: POŚPIECH, Remigiusz (Ed.): *Liturgia w klasztorach Paulińskich w Polsce: Źródła i początki*. Opole: Wydział Teologiczny Uniwersytetu, 2012, S. 135-148, hier S. 138).

<sup>185</sup> Cf. BERNAGIEWICZ, Robert: Dramatyzacja procesji Niedzieli Palmowej u paulinów na Jasnej Górze w Czesztochowie na przełomie XV i XVI wieku. In: POŚPIECH, Anm. 184, S. 295-310, hier S. 296; Fn. 3.



Was die Entstehungsgeschichte der Handschrift angeht, ließe sich die auf den *“Terminus ante quem”* gerichtete Frage mit einer anderen Frage verknüpfen: wie ist diese Handschrift überhaupt nach Częstochowa (Jasna Góra) gekommen?

Die Jahrzehnte um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts brachten in Ungarn als Folge der Reformation und der Regierungskrise oft gewalttätige Klosterauflösungen mit sich. In Anbetracht dieser unruhigen Umstände muß man annehmen, dass das *Cantuale* wohl spätestens in den 1530er Jahren fertiggestellt war. Die polnische Geschichtsforschung hat die enge Verbindung zwischen der polnischen und ungarischen Ordensprovinz der Pauliner aufgearbeitet. Erörtert wurde ebenfalls die Rolle des Klosters von Częstochowa in der Unterstützung des Ungarnkönigs Johann Zapolya, der 1539 die polnische Königstochter Isabella heiratete. Die persönlichen Verbindungen der Hauptakteure der ungarischen Politik – vor allem die des Bischofs Georg Martinuzzi / György Utješonović / Bruder Georg – zu Częstochowa wurden durch das Studium archivalischer Quellen klargestellt.<sup>186</sup> Aufgrund dieser Erkenntnisse läßt sich der Weg der Handschrift ins Kloster von Częstochowa gut nachvollziehen.

Die Forschungsgeschichte der zweiten hier behandelten Quelle kann zwar zusammengefaßt werden. Doch verlief auch die Geschichte des *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó<sup>187</sup> nicht ohne dramatische Ereignisse. Die im Franziskanerkloster von Csíksomlyó in Szeklerland (heute in Rumänien) aufbewahrte Handschrift dürfte wohl spätestens in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein. Das Gesangbuch wurde 1680 restauriert, neu eingebunden und von dem siebenbürgischen Franziskanerpater und Musiker Joannes Kájoni (Ioannes Caioni; 1629/30–1687) mit einem Index ergänzt. (Abbildung 2a–b) Deshalb wurde es in den einschlägigen Publikationen für lange Zeit als ein genauer nicht identifiziertes Werk von Kájoni mit dem Titel *“Cantionale cum cottis scriptum”* verzeichnet.<sup>188</sup> Es steht fest, dass die Handschrift im 17. Jahrhundert von den Franziskanern benutzt wurde. Zusammen mit anderen Beständen der berühmten Franziskanerbibliothek zu Csíksomlyó galt sie nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg bis 1980 als verschollen.

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<sup>186</sup> ZBUDNIEWEK, Janusz OSPPE (Ed.): *Zbiór dokumentów zakonu paulinów w Polsce, Tom II. 1464 – 1550*. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo OO. Paulinów, 2004; Idem: A lengyel pálosok, Fráter György, I. Zsigmond és Zsigmond Ágost udvarának bonyolult kapcsolatai [Die schwierigen Relationen zwischen den Paulinern in Polen, dem Bruder Georg und den Königshöfen von Sigismund I. und Sigismund August]. In: SARBÁK, Gábor (Ed.). *Decus solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Jahrhunderte in der Geschichte des Paulinerordens.]. Ed. *Művelődéstörténeti Műhely*, 4/1. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2007, S. 142–152; Idem: *Obraz życia i działalności polskich paulinów przełomu XV – XVI wieku*. In: KUHN, Elmar et alia (Ed.). *Studia Claramontana*, 27. Warszawa : Wydawnictwo OO. Paulinów, 2009, S. 149–162.

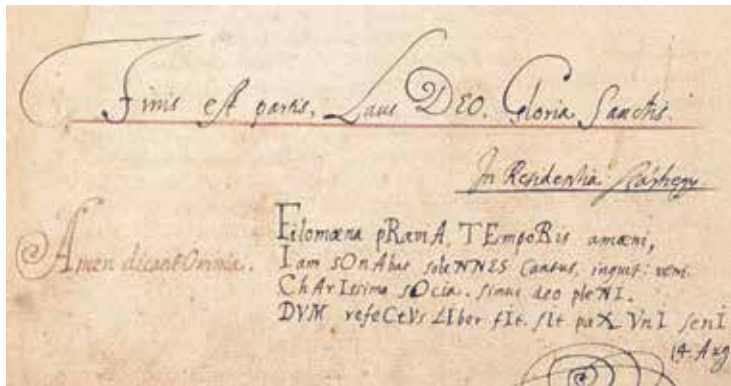
<sup>187</sup> Şumuleu-Ciuc, Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters, Sign. A V 5/5252. Cf. MUCKENHAUPT, Erzsébet: *A csíksomlyói ferences könyvtár kincsei : Könyvleletek 1980–1985* [Schätze der Franziskanerbibliothek zu Csíksomlyó : Funde von 1980 – 1985]. Budapest; Kolozsvár : Balassi Kiadó; Polis Könyvkiadó, 1999, S. 101; KOVÁCS, Andrea: *A Csíksomlyói Cantionale* [Das Cantionale von Csíksomlyó]. In: MEDGYESY S. Norbert et alia (Ed.). *Nyocszáz esztendő a ferences rend : Tanulmányok 1. [800-jähriges Jubiläum des Franziskanerordens. Studien]*. Ed. *Művelődéstörténeti Műhely*, 8/1. Budapest : Magyar Napló Kiadó, 2013, S. 547–574.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. SEPRŐDI, János: *A Kájoni-kódex irodalom- s zenetörténeti adalékai* [Belege des Kodex Kaioni literarischer und musikalischer Art]. In: BENKŐ, András et alia (Ed.). *Seprődi János válogatott zenei írásai és népzenei gyűjtése*. [Ausgewählte Schriften über Musik und ethnomusikologische Feldforschung von János Seprődi]. Bucureşti : Kriterion, 1974, S. 202.

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↑ **Abbildung 2a:** Inhaltsverzeichnis des Cationale von Csíksohely, Autograph von Joannes Kájoni.



← **Abbildung 2b:** Akro-, Meso-, Telestichon- und Chronogramm-Inschrift von Joannes Kájoni.

Weder die Notation, noch die notierten Melodien weisen allerdings im *Cantionale* die typischen franziskanischen Merkmale auf. Der Skriptor verwendete nicht die für diesen Orden charakteristische Quadratnotenschrift, sondern bediente sich der siebenbürgischen Variante der Graner (ungarischen) Choralnotation.<sup>189</sup> Auch die Gesänge zeigten charakteristische Züge des sog. "germanischen" Chordialekts, statt den für die Franziskaner international vorgeschriebenen von der römischen Kurie herrührenden Melodien. Ein dem *Cantionale* ähnliches Schriftbild und ein ähnlicher Inhalt wurde von Kájoni in seinem 1681 abgeschriebenen Graduale nachgeahmt.<sup>190</sup>

Zahlreiche gemeinsame Äußerlichkeiten der beiden eben vorgestellten Kodizes können beobachtet werden. Das *Cantuale* wie auch das *Cantionale* wurde auf Papier geschrieben. Es war billiger und leichter zu beschaffen als das wertvolle Pergament. Beide Bücher sind relativ kleinformatig. Betrachtet man aber die Kopistenarbeit, die als Ganzes wirkende Zusammengehörigkeit der Notation und des Textes, lassen sich durchaus Anzeichen eines gewissen Qualitätsanspruches beobachten. Das ist als Folge einer getreuen Nachahmung früherer mittelalterlicher liturgischer Handschriften zu werten. Obwohl die Initialen bescheiden sind, wurden sie doch geplant, d. h. der Schreiber hat sowohl bei den Noten, als auch im Text für die nachträgliche Einfügung von Initialen ausreichend Platz freigelassen. Das *Cantuale* von Częstochowa wurde zwar nur rubriziert, doch findet man mancherorts auch Vergoldung. (*Abbildung 3.*) Für die Initialen im *Cantionale* von Csíksofnyó wurden mindestens drei Tintenfarben verwendet (rot, blau und braun). Außerdem wurden bestimmte Initialen durch großflächige Federzeichnungen, rustikal wirkende Darstellungen von menschlichen Gesichtern, ergänzt.

<sup>189</sup> SZENDREI, Anm. 179, S. 135-142.

<sup>190</sup> Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; H-Ba), K 786. Cf. SZENDREI, Anm. 182, pp. 48, 70-71 (Nr. C 112); FORRAI, Magdolna: Egy ismeretlen Kájoni-kézirat [Eine unbekannte Handschrift von Kájoni]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Vol. 88, 1972, S. 91-93; SZOLIVA, Gábor: Ki írta a Kájoni-graduále gregorián hangjegyet? : Egy zenei paleográfiai vizsgálat tanulságai [Wer war der Notator des Kájoni Graduale? Ergebnisse einer musikalisch-paleographischen Untersuchung]. In: *Acta Pintériana* 6 (2020), S. 35-46.

Cantuale von Częstochowa	Cantionale von Csíkсомlyó	
		
		
		

↑ **Abbildung 3:** Buchschmuck – Rubriken, Initialen und Randleiste – im *Cantuale* und im *Cantionale*.

Die Notation im Haupttext hat sowohl im *Cantuale* als auch im *Cantionale* das ursprüngliche Graner Zeichensystem mit den gotisierenden, gegliederten Neumenstrukturen des vorangehenden Jahrhunderts konsequent bewahrt. (Abbildung 4a-b) Die Skriptoren arbeiteten jedoch deutlich unter dem Einfluß der Kursivschrift. Das Gesamtergebnis wirkt daher eher als eine halbkursive Notation. Man bemühte sich im Wesentlichen um bessere Raumnutzung und Flexibilität. Der Schreibduktus wurde außerdem vor allem durch dicke Schreibfedern und die Beschaffenheit des Papiers beeinflusst. Dadurch bleibt der Gebrauchscharakter der Schrift und der Handschrift im Ganzen unbestritten.





↑ **Abbildung 4a:** *Cantuale* von Czestochowa, p. 64.



↑ **Abbildung 4b:** *Cantionale* von Csiksomlyó, f. 23v.

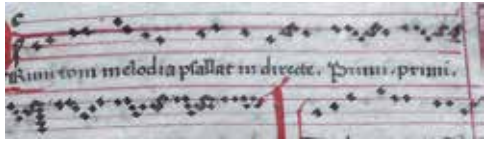
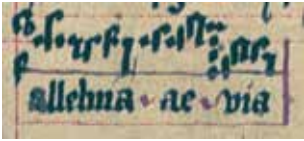
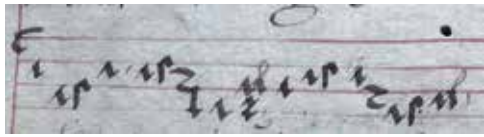
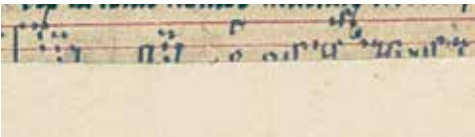
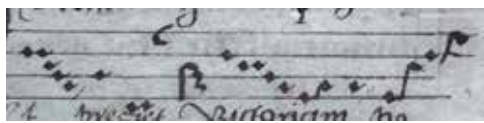

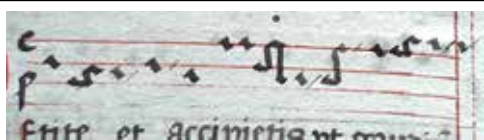
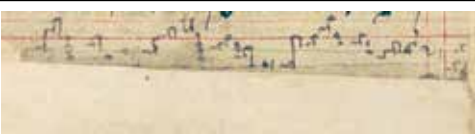

Im Vergleich zur früheren repräsentativen Kodexnotation wirkt die Physiognomie der Notenschrift in den späteren Cantionalen wesentlich freier und ungezwungener. Der frühere Zwang zur Kodifizierung und Uniformisierung wird durch einem gewissen “ad-hoc-Charakter” ersetzt. (Abbildung 5) Im *Cantuale* der Pauliner lassen sich nicht nur die abwechselnden Schreiberhände, sondern auch Änderungen in der Größe der Notation feststellen.<sup>191</sup> Außerdem begegnet man bei Teilen, die als Anhang zu betrachten sind, wirklicher Kursivschrift und vereinfachter Mensuralnotation.<sup>192</sup> Im Haupttext des *Cantionales* von Csiksomlyó, das ein wesentlich einheitlicheres Notenbild aufweist, finden die am Rand eingefügten Ergänzungen noch genügend Platz.<sup>193</sup> Erst danach folgen die am unteren Blattrand notierten – und teils durch die Neubindung im 17. Jahrhundert vernichteten – kursiven Notenaufzeichnungen. Sie stellen einen wesentlichen Notationswechsel dar und sprechen für eine längere Benutzung der Handschrift.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>191</sup> *Cantuale* von Czestochowa, S. 133-137.

<sup>192</sup> *Cantuale* von Czestochowa, S. 1-14, 386-392.

<sup>193</sup> *Cantionale* von Csiksomlyó, ff. 7r, 8r, 21v-22r, 23r-v, 44r, 76v, 106v, 110v.

<sup>194</sup> *Cantionale* von Csiksomlyó, ff. 5v, 11v, 24r-v, 25r-v, 26r, 68v, 110v.

Cantuale von Częstochowa	Cantionale von Csíksomlyó
	
	
	
	
	

↑ **Abbildung 5:** Sekundäre und Randschriften (Beispiele)

Schliesslich sind die in den Cantionalen aufzufindenden Nachträge und Glossen in Vernakularsprache zu erwähnen. Im Pauliner *Cantuale* von Częstochowa (p. 386) wurde ein kurzes Gebet in ungarischer Sprache aufgezeichnet: „O Edesseges Ziz maria ez vjlagnak megh velagosithoja [...]“ („Oh zarteste Jungfrau Maria, Erleuchterin dieser Welt“).<sup>195</sup> Im *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó liest man innerhalb der Gesänge - am häufigsten bei den melismatischen Abschnitten - zahlreiche ungarische, mit roter Tinte geschriebene Einträge, die scheinbar zur gleichen Zeit entstanden sind wie der Haupttext. Z.B. „Segélj, uram istenség“ („Helfe mir/uns, mein Herrgott“), „hala istenek“ („Dank sei Gott“), „jól mondom“ („ich sage es richtig“), „ne mosolyogj“ („lache nicht“), „nosza emeljed jól“ („nun erhebe es richtig“), „nosza, lóra legények“ („nun zu Pferd, Knechte“). Nach bisheriger Annahme dienten diese Einschübe vor allem als konkrete, bildliche Vortragshinweise für die Sänger.<sup>196</sup>

Nach dieser Beschreibung der äußeren Merkmale, wendet sich der folgende Abschnitt nun den strukturellen und inhaltlichen Charakteristika der Cantionale zu. (Tabelle 1) Das Pauliner *Cantuale* von Częstochowa verrät bereits auf den ersten Blick seinen heterogenen, vielschichtigen Inhalt. Dagegen scheint das *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó durchaus homogener zu sein, allerdings mit einer

<sup>195</sup> Der Text wurde aufgrund sprachgeschichtlicher Überprüfung auf die erste Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts datiert. Cf. DOMOKOS, Pál Péter: Magyar nyelvemlék Częstochowában 1501-ből [Ein ungarisches ungarisches Sprachdenkmal aus Częstochowa im Jahre 1501]. In: *Magyar Nyelv*, Vol. 62, 1966, S. 489-492.

<sup>196</sup> KOVÁCS, Anm. 187, S. 553.

eigenartig "gemischten" Anordnung der Feste: die sonst getrennten Temporale- und Sancto-rale-Teile des Kodex wurden hier nach der Reihenfolge des liturgischen Kalenders kombiniert.

Um die Buchgattung dem Inhalt entsprechend möglichst klar darzustellen, sollen beide Quellen aufgrund tiefgehender Untersuchung genauer bezeichnet und definiert werden. Die im *Cantuale* von Częstochowa überlieferten Prozessionen des Kirchenjahres stellen ein eigenständiges *Prozessionale* dar. Dies gilt auch für das *Hymnar*. Der Abschnitt mit den Intonationen für die kleinen Horen des Stundengebets könnte wohl zu einem Offiziumsbuch gehören, wobei dieser auch separat als *Intonarium* angesehen werden kann. Die Psalmtöne, welche anhand von Mustermelodien dargestellt werden, könnten zu einem *Intonarium* (oder *Tonarius*), oder zu einem spätmittelalterlichen-frühneuzeitlichen Schulkompendium passen, welches musiktheoretische Grundlagen für die Chorsänger zusammenfaßt. Das Begräbnis und alle begleitenden Riten der Totenfeier (wie z. B. die letzte Ölung) wurden im *Obsequiale*, dem charakteristischen spätmittelalterlichen Zeremonialbuch des zentraleuropäischen Raumes aufgezeichnet. Das *Kyriale* und das *Sequentiar*, die die wesentlichen Einheiten des *Cantionale* von Csíksofolyó ausmachen, gehörten nicht unbedingt zu einem Graduale. Sie werden auch als selbständige liturgische Bücher überliefert.<sup>197</sup>

Alle erwähnten liturgischen Buchgattungen beinhalteten die Gesänge entweder nach liturgisch-musikalischen Gattungen oder nach liturgischen Handlungen ausgewählt und geordnet. Sie waren ergänzende Zusätze zu den gebräuchlichen Offiziums- und Meßbüchern. Das *Cantuale-Cantionale*, welches dieses zusätzliche Repertoire enthielt, erfüllte dadurch als liturgische Sammlung die Funktion eines "Hilfsbuches", das das Vorhandensein der grundlegenden liturgischen Bücher (Missale, Brevier, Antiphonale und Graduale) voraussetzte.

Es ist anzumerken, dass das Pauliner *Cantuale* vor allem solche Zeremonien und deren Gesänge enthält, die im Mittelalter außerhalb des Stundengebets oder der Messe ohne bischöfliche Assistenz zelebriert werden konnten. Diejenigen liturgischen Bücher, die Texte und Gesänge dieser zusätzlichen liturgischen Riten enthalten, wurden im Mittelalter "Manuale" oder "Agenda" genannt. Die mit den außerordentlichen Riten des Temporale und mit der Sakramentsspendung verbundenen Gesänge tauchten im Antiphonale oder Graduale nur ausnahmsweise auf. Textliche (nicht gesungene) Bestandteile besonderer Riten (z. B. die Bestattung oder Prozessionen außerhalb der Kirche) wurden ebenfalls nur selten in die Meßbücher eingetragen. Es ist also festzuhalten, dass das *Cantuale* von Częstochowa eine Schicht des liturgischen Gesangrepertoires überliefert, die allein anhand der normativen liturgischen Bücher der mittelalterlichen Graner Diözesanliturgie kaum zu erfassen wäre. Anhand des Beispiels der Antiphonen der Totenfeier und des Begräbnisses kann dies veranschaulicht werden. (Siehe *Tabelle 2*).<sup>198</sup>

<sup>197</sup> Zu den liturgischen Buchgattungen siehe HUGLO, Michel: *Les livres de chant liturgique*. Ed. *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 52. Turnhout : Brepols, 1988; HILEY, David: *Western Plainchant : A Handbook*. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993, S. 287-339.

<sup>198</sup> In der zweiten und dritten Spalte der Tabelle 2 wurden die CANTUS-Zählung (<http://cantusindex.org/>) und die Nummer der Antiphonen-Gesamtausgabe des Graner Ritus (Kürzel: MMMAe V) zwecks Identifizierung angegeben. Cf. DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (Eds.): *Antiphonen*. Ed. *Monumenta Musicae Medii Aevi*, V/1–3. Kassel etc. : Bärenreiter, 1999.

Die sich am Anfang des *Cantuales* befindende Ergänzung wurde von einer vom Hauptkopisten abweichenden Hand geschrieben und umfaßt eine Reihe von Suffragien. (Siehe *Tabelle 3*.<sup>199</sup>) Das Suffragium-Gebet war gewöhnlich Teil einer Station im Laufe einer Prozession und bestand aus einer Antiphon, einem Versikel und einer Oration. Letztere war eine Fürbitte, etwa zur Dreifaltigkeit, zu Maria, zum Heiligen Kreuz, zu den Patronen, zu Allen Heiligen, „*pro peccatis*“, für den König, für Regen und klares Wetter, für Frieden und gegen die Heiden.

Im *Cantuale* wurden alle drei Teile des Suffragiums (nicht nur die Antiphon) mit schneller Kurschrift ziemlich flüchtig festgehalten. Die erwähnten Bestandteile gehörten im Mittelalter zum Stundengebet. Ein solches umfassendes Repertoire der Suffragien fand aber seinen Platz auch in den Prozessionen der *Litaniae maiores* (der „großen Litaneien“, der ungarischen Markusprozession) und des Flurumgangs (*consecratio segetum*; Flursegen). Diese wurden nur ausnahmsweise in die mittelalterlichen Chorbücher aufgenommen.<sup>200</sup> Die Quellen vermehrten sich um 1500 im Gebiet des Königreichs Ungarn entsprechend zum Ausbau des hiesigen Ritus.<sup>201</sup> Die im Pauliner *Cantuale* aufgezeichneten Suffragium-Antiphonen stammten zwar größtenteils aus dem Antiphonale, können aber teilweise durchaus als spätmittelalterliches Zuwachsrepertoire betrachtet werden. Als signifikante Beispiele seien diejenigen Antiphonen hervorgehoben, die nach heutigem Wissensstand ausschließlich in osteuropäischen Quellen überliefert sind (*Maria intacta virgo*),<sup>202</sup> oder insbesondere von den Paulinern verwendet wurden (*Hic vitam eremiticam, Iesus Nazarenus*).<sup>203</sup>

Diversität und eine gezielte retrospektive Auswahl von Gesängen ist auch im *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó festzustellen. Mit ihrem erneuerten, unkonventionellen Repertoire entsprachen die Kompilatoren den Anforderungen des Spätmittelalters. Die Erweiterung des Gesangsrepertoires zeigt ein Übergewicht der Marien-Gesänge, das den gesamten Charakter des Gesangsbuches prägt. Ein weiterer Zuwachs ist unter den Votivmessen für bestimmte Anlässe zu beobachten. Das *Cantionale* überliefert Gesänge für 31 Votivmessen vollständig mit Notation.<sup>204</sup> Wenn man die separate Serie der Tractus- und Alleluia-Gesänge wie auch die 52 Sequenzen mitberücksichtigt,<sup>205</sup> läßt sich eine These über Zweck und Verwendung des Buches vorschlagen. Diese spezifische Buchgattung zielt auf einen besonderen Kreis der Benutzer und auf einen bestimmten liturgischen Verwendungsort, der nicht mit einer Pfarrei identisch ist. Es handelte sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um ein Pilgerziel, vielleicht eine Bruderschaft, eine Votivstiftung oder Gnadenkapelle.

<sup>199</sup> Für die Kürzel der letzten zwei Spalten in Tabelle 3 siehe Anm. 198.

<sup>200</sup> Siehe SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard (Eds.): *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*. Ed. *Musicalia Danubiana* 1. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982, ff. 155r-161v.

<sup>201</sup> FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *A Litania maior és a Szent Márk-napi búzaszentelés szokása*. [Die *Litania maior* und die Sitte des Flursegens am Markustag]. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, vol. 17, 2009/2010, Nr. 3, S. 343-360.

<sup>202</sup> Außer den im MMMAe V (Anm. 198) veröffentlichten Handschriften siehe auch: A-Wda D-4, PL-Wru R 503, SK-Brsa SNA 17, D-Bsb Theol. Lat. Qu. 149, TR-Itks 42. Cf. <http://cantusindex.org/id/203008>.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. *Antiphonale Paulinorum* (15. Jahrhundert), HR-Zda, Metropolitanska Knjižnica, MR 8, S. 405, 812. Das Auftauchen der Antiphon *Iesus Nazarenus* am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Zagreber Professionalen bedarf noch weiterer Erforschung. Cf. *Processionale Zagradiense* HR-Zaa, VII-104, ff. 40v; *Processionale Zagradiense* (1698), HR-Zda, Metropolitanska Knjižnica, MR 108, ff. 35v.

<sup>204</sup> KOVÁCS, Anm. 187, S. 557-558.

<sup>205</sup> KOVÁCS, Anm. 187, S. 560-566.



Abschließend möchte ich einige weitere Gesangbücher als Vergleichsmaterial heranziehen, die im 16.–17. Jahrhundert auf dem Gebiet des historischen Ungarn entstanden sind und die erwähnten inhaltlichen Eigenschaften aufweisen. Diese Quellen haben in der Fachliteratur unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen erhalten, abhängig davon, was für ein Repertoire in ihrem Anfangsteil zu finden, oder mit welchen liturgischen Texten oder Gesängen die Handschrift zum größten Teil gefüllt war. Ein titelloses Gesangbuch der Pauliner aus dem 17. Jahrhundert wurde als „Prozessionale“ bezeichnet,<sup>206</sup> die *Agenda* eines Priesters (Blasius Medvedich) aus der Zagreber Diözese als „Rituale“,<sup>207</sup> ein Gesangbuch völlig gemischten Inhalts wurde dagegen lediglich nach seinem ehemaligen Besitzer, dem Dorfschullehrer Czerey, benannt.<sup>208</sup> Eine Abschrift von ausgewählten Meßgesängen – die Handschrift des Franziskaners Joannes Kájoni – wird normalerweise als „Graduale“ gekennzeichnet.<sup>209</sup> Auch das *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó ist eigentlich, gemäß seines Hauptinhalts, ein Graduale.

Die hier aufgezählten Handschriften stimmen jedoch größtenteils inhaltlich überein: Vier davon (das *Pauliner Cantuale* von Częstochowa, das *Prozessionale Paulinorum*, das *Rituale Blasii Medvedich*, das *Gesangbuch von Czerey*) beinhalten sowohl Prozessionsgesänge (Teil der *Litaniae maiores* oder *Rogationes*), als auch längere Texte und Gesänge, die zu den Riten christlicher Lebensstationen und zu den Ordines der Sakramentspendung gehörten. In allen vier Handschriften wurde ein Hymnar (oder zumindest Teile davon) mit den Vesperhymnen für das ganze Jahr eingefügt. Außerdem sind diese Kompendien noch durch einen Tonar – im Czerey-Gesangbuch samt musiktheoretischen Schulnotizen – erweitert. Messgesänge und Kyriale-Teile hat nicht nur der ehemalige Kompilator des *Cantionale* von Csíksomlyó, sondern auch der Schreiber des *Rituale Blasii Medvedich* eingetragen. Andererseits wurden im *Prozessionale Paulinorum* sämtliche Rezitationstöne für die Lesungen und Orationen der Messe festgehalten. Schließlich ist ein gemeinsames Merkmal der Handschriften zu erwähnen: die an manchen Stellen auftauchenden volkssprachigen Eintragungen und Randbemerkungen.

Unabhängig davon, für welche Bezeichnung sich die Erforscher dieser Quellengruppe entschieden haben, stand ein in jeder Hinsicht zutreffender Name wohl nicht zur Verfügung. Der neutrale Name „Cantionale“ entsprach dem vielfältigen Inhalt der Bücher am besten, viel besser als andere, eher gattungsbezogene Titel. Aus der Perspektive der europäischen Musikgeschichte könnte dieser Ausdruck jedoch irreführend sein. Der Begriff „*Cantio*“ verweist auf eine Gattung außerliturgischer Gesänge und verweist damit gerade auf das Gegenteil vom lateinischen liturgischen Gesangsmaterial der Graduale und Antiphonarien. Der Begriff „Cantional“ fand seit dem Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts zudem verbreitete Verwendung als Bezeichnung für Sammlungen deutschsprachiger Kirchenlieder in mehrstimmigem Kantionalsatz aus der

<sup>206</sup> H-Bn, Sign. Oct. Lat. 794. Cf. GILÁNYI, Gabriella: The Processional Oct. Lat. 794 of the Budapest National Széchenyi Library: A Re-identification. In: *Studia Musicologica*, vol. 56, 2015, S. 257-289.

<sup>207</sup> H-Kf, Sign. Ms. 302 (olim215). Cf. PAPP, Ágnes: Eine liturgische Handschrift mit Tonar der Zagreber Diözese aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. In: *De musica disserenda*, vol. 9, 2013, Nr. 1-2, S. 99-121.

<sup>208</sup> H-Bn, Sign. Oct. Hung. 1609. Cf. PAPP, Ágnes: Eine späte Abschrift der Lehre der *musica plana* in einem Gesangbuch aus Ungarn: Musiktheoretische Aufzeichnungen und Tonar. In: BERNHARD, Michael (Ed.). *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters, III. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission*, 15. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001, S. 481-510.

<sup>209</sup> Siehe Anm. 187.

Zeit nach der Reformation.<sup>210</sup> “Cantionale” und “Cantuale” (im Sinne von “Gesangbuch”) sind zudem frühneuzeitliche Wortbildungen, die nach der Analogie von “Antiphonale” und “Manuale” entstanden sind. “Cantuale” wurde für Gesangbücher im 16. Jahrhundert lediglich in den Niederlanden angewendet. Die Benennung war für Mitteleuropa keineswegs spezifisch. “Cantionale” wurde dagegen in Mittel- und Osteuropa erst später und in protestantischen Druckwerken in Gebrauch genommen.<sup>211</sup>

### Zusammenfassung

Die Auseinandersetzung mit Titel und Buchgattung kann nun dabei helfen, einen näheren Einblick in die Absicht der Schreiber und in den Inhalt der behandelten späten liturgisch-musikalischen Sammlungen zu gewinnen. Zweifellos ging es den Schreibern darum, die kodifizierten liturgischen Gesangsrepertoires zu bewahren. Neben einer retrospektiven Sammlung der Gesänge konnten jedoch auch neue Stücke auftauchen, die dem zeitbedingtem Bedarf entsprachen. Man sieht Spuren des Alltagsgebrauchs an diesen Cantionalen. Offensichtlich spielte diese Zweckbestimmung eine wesentliche Rolle. Diesen späten Handschriften wurde trotz ihrer einfacheren Ausstattung im Verhältnis zu den illuminierten liturgischen Handschriften des Mittelalters offenbar durchaus hoher Wert beigemessen. Natürlich geschah dies auf eine viel weniger institutionellen Weise, als das früher der Fall gewesen war.

**Tabelle 1:** Inhaltsübersicht der untersuchten Handschriften

<b>Cantuale von Częstochowa</b>		<b>Cantionale von Csíksohely</b>	
pp. 1-18	Suffragia + orationes, antiphonae de BVM	ff. 1r-20r	Ad missam (Temporale-Sanctorale)
pp. 18-	Ad processionem	ff. 20v-38v	Missae votivae
pp. 96-103, 139-140	Suffragia + litania	ff. 39r-39v	Tractus
pp. 104-132	Intonationes cantuum officii (Prima, Tertia, Sexta, Nona, Completorium)	ff. 40v-52r	Kyriale: Kyrie-Gloria-Sanctus-Agnus
pp. 133-138	Intonationes ad psalmos et Magnificat	ff. 52v-110v	Alleluiae, sequentiae, tropi
pp. 143-199	Ordo ad inungendum infirmos. Officium defunctorum		
pp. 201-384	Hymnarium		
pp. 386, 388-392	Cantiones „Patrem” rhythmicae		

<sup>210</sup> Cf. SEHNAL, Jiří – BRAUN, Werner: Cantional. In: SADIE, Stanley – TYRRELL, John (Eds.). *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London : Macmillan, 2001, Vol. 5, S. 59-63; MASSENKEIL, Günther – ZYWIETZ, Michael (Eds.). *Lexikon der Kirchenmusik*, 1. Ed. *Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik*, 6/1. Laaber : Laaber-Verlag, 2013, S. 218.

<sup>211</sup> Das böhmische Kancionál wird hier nicht berücksichtigt. Siehe die Datenbank *Universal Short Title Catalogue*: [www.ustc.ac.uk](http://www.ustc.ac.uk). Zu den im deutschen Sprachgebiet erschienenen Drucken siehe die Verzeichnisse: <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/historische-drucke/recherche/vd-16/> (16. Jahrhundert), <https://gso.gbv.de/DB=1.28/> (17. Jahrhundert) abgerufen am 30. September 2018.

**Tabelle 2:** Antiphonengesänge des Officium defunctorum und der Depositio in mittelalterlichen Graner und in späten Pauliner Kodizes<sup>212</sup>

Incipit	CANTUS ID	MMMAe V	Liturg. Stelle	Cant Paul	Vesp Paul	Ant Bud	Psalt Bud
Placebo Domino	004293	3001	V a1	p.143	+		+
Heu mihi quia	-	2024	V a2	p.144	+		+
Dominus custodit te	002402	8058	V a3	p.144	+		+
Si iniquitates observaveris	004899	8057	V a4	p.145	+		+
Opera manuum tuarum	004159	2023	V a5	p.146	+		+
Omne quod dat mihi	004115	7133	V Am	p.146	+		+
Regem cui omnia	001131	6032	M Inv	p.148			
Dirige Domine	002244	7041	M a1	p.150	+	+	+
Convertere Domine	001921	8063	M a2	p.151	+	+	+
Nequando rapiat	003875	8061	M a3	p.152	+	+	+
Absolute Domine	001211	4221	L Ab	p.159		+	+
Aperite mihi portas	001446	-	Dep a1	p.190			
Ingrediar in locum	003335	-	Dep a2	p.190			
Haec requies mea	003012	-	Dep a3	p.191			
De terra plasmasti	002123	-	Dep a4	p.191			
Non intres in iudicium	203301	-	Dep a5	p.191			
Omnis spiritus laudet	004154	7001	L a	p.192		+	+
Ego sum resurrectio	002601	2107	L Ab	p.192			

**Tabelle 3:** Suffragia im *Cantuale* von Częstochowa

Suffragium	Antiphona	CANTUS ID	MMMAe V
De S. Trinitate	Te Deum Patrem	005117	4268
De S. Spiritu	Veni Sancte Spiritus reple	005327	8379
De S. Cruce	Adoremus crucis signaculum	001292	-
[De Beata Virgine]	Sancta Dei genetrix	004699	1075
De BV in Adventu	Missus est Gabriel	003794	8039
De O. Ss. in Adventu	Ecce Dominus veniet	002509	5029
De BV post Nativitatem	Maria intacta virgo	203008	6071
De S. Cruce Temp. Pasc.	Crucem sanctam	001951	2168
De O. Ss. Temp. Pasc.	In coelestibus regnis	003211	7183
De Ss. Apost. Petro et Paulo	Gloriosi principes terrae	002960	6109
De S. Augustino	Laetare mater nostra	202821	1496
De S. Paulo	Hic vitam eremiticam	-	2196
De uno martyre	Beatus vir qui suffert	001677	8237

<sup>212</sup> Cant Paul = *Cantuale Paulinorum* von Częstochowa; Vesp Paul = *Vesperale Paulinorum*, saec. 16, H-Sa (olim sign. ms. 93); Ant Bud = *Antiphonale Strigoniense* (Buda?), saec. 15/ex, SK-BRm, Sign. EC Lad. 6; Psalt Bud = *Psalterium Strigoniense* (Buda?), saec. 15/ex, H-Efkö, Sign. ms. 13b.

De plur. confessoribus	Collaudabunt multi	001851	8523
Pro papa	Sacerdos et pontifex	004673	1308
Pro rege	Praevaluit David	004368	8214
Pro pluvia	Domine Rex Deus	002376	-
[Pro serenitate]	Surgens Iesus imperavit	005074	8376
De Oo. Ss.	Omnes electi Dei nostri	203647	5049
[De Oo. Ss.]	Omnes sancti Dei orate	203656	8079
Contra paganos	Contere Domine	-	-
Pro peccatis	Ne reminiscaris Domine	003861	4228
Pro pace	Da pacem	002090	1325
?	Omni tempore benedic	004136	3085
De S. Anna	Caeleste beneficium	001832	1053
[Contra paganos]	Iesus Nazarenus	-	3113

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