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EDITORIÁL

Aktuálne číslo časopisu *Musicologica Slovaca* má monotematické zameranie. Rubrika „Štúdie“ ponúkla priestor témam, ktoré sú súčasťou hudobnohistorického výskumu stredovekých prameňov. V oblasti výskumu stredovekej hudobnej kultúry je v poslednom období celosvetovo badať zvýšený záujem o podrobné a komplexné spracovanie a hodnotenie primárnych prameňov (Portugalsko, Maďarsko, Nemecko, Taliansko, Francúzsko, Kanada, Nórsko – úspešné projekty COST, ERC, DACT). Výskum zachovaných rukopisov v úplnej alebo fragmentárnej podobe je oblasťou osobitného záujmu so silnými medzinárodnými presahmi. V mnohých prácach sa čoraz častejšie objavuje aj téma recyklácie pergamenových rukopisov. Fragmenty vzácných rukopisov sa dnes nachádzajú v zbierkach viacerých múzeí, archívov a knižníc. Takto zachované hudobné materiály tvoria významnú pramennú bázu pre rôzne vedné odbory (liturgika, kodikológia, paleografia, muzikológia, dejiny umenia). Úvodný interdisciplinárny príspevok Josa Bernaera ponúka pohľad na analýzu stredovekého kalendára kartuziánskeho rádu. Autor prezentuje detailný komparatívny výskum kalendárov rôznych mníšskych rádov a diecéz stredovýchodnej Európy s cieľom určiť typické črty kartuziánskej tradície. Okrem toho prezentuje systém kalendárov v ôsmich rukopisoch kartuziánskych kláštorov z Moravy a stredovekého Uhorska (Lövöld, Letanovce, Brno a Olomouc), s cieľom určiť ich pôvod a bližšie datovanie. Štúdiá aktuálne dopĺňa stav bádania stredovekých hudobných prameňov kartuziánov z územia Slovenska a z Moravy.

Päť ďalších štúdií bolo prednesených na medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencii „Local Elements – Transregional Connections: Medieval and Early Modern Age Culture and Education in Central Europe“, ktorú usporiadal Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i. v spolupráci s Katolíckou univerzitou v Ružomberku, so Štátnym archívom v Bratislave a s Múzeom mesta Bratislavy v dňoch 11. – 13. marca 2024. Konferencia bola venovaná pamiatke českej muzikologičky doc. PhDr. Lenke Hlávkovej, PhD. z Ústavu hudobnej vedy Filozofickej fakulty Karlovej univerzity v Prahe, ktorá bola taktiež pozvaná na konferenciu, ale tragicky zahynula koncom roka 2023. Počas trojdňovej interdisciplinárnej konferencie zazneli výskumné témy z oblasti muzikológie, histórie, liturgiky, paleografie a dejín výtvarného umenia z deviatich európskych krajín (Slovensko, Česká republika, Poľsko, Maďarsko, Nemecko, Taliansko, Rumunsko, Slovinsko, Francúzsko) a z Kanady. V sekcii muzikologických príspevkov, ktoré prezentovali výskum recyklovaných hudobných materiálov z obdobia stredoveku, priblížili Zsuzsa Czagány a Gabriella Gilányi nové nálezy, ktoré súvisia s pramennou základňou z územia Slovenska. Štúdiá Gabrielly Gilányi sa zaoberá drobným rozstriedaným hudobným zlomkom zo Slovenského národného archívu, ktorý bol publikovaný v rámci kataló-

gu stredovekých notovaných zlomkov tejto inštitúcie v roku 2014. Identifikuje jeho pôvod, a dokonca i konkrétne miesto vystrihnutia (Ostrihomský antifonár Ms. I. 3c, Metropolitná arcibiskupská knižnica v Ostrihome). Príspevok je výborným príkladom detailnej interdisciplinárnej analýzy recyklovaného materiálu, ktorý môže priniesť významné informácie. Aj tzv. sekundárny prameň môže predstavovať jeden zo zaujímavých pilierov rekonštrukcie hudobného kultúrneho dedičstva.

Podobný obsah prezentuje aj štúdia Zsuzsy Czagány, ktorá sa zaoberá zaujímavým fragmentom stredovekého graduálu zo 14. storočia, ktorý sa zachoval v Maďarskom národnom archíve v Budapešti (fond *Urbaria et Conscriptioes*). Takmer úplné bifolium omšovej knihy tvorilo vonkajšiu väzbu urbára hradu Čabrad. Štúdia analyzuje nielen hudobný obsah fragmentu, ale aj jeho širší kultúrno-historický kontext, poukazujúc na praktiky recyklácie rozstrihaných nepoužívaných kódexov rôzneho obsahu a pôvodu v administratívnej praxi rôznych uhorských inštitúcií v 16. storočí. Keďže graduál dokumentuje ostrihomský notačný systém, ktorý dokladá dôležitú skriptorskú tradíciu hlavného liturgického centra stredovekého Uhorska, teda Ostrihomu, môžeme označiť jeho znovuobjavenie a spracovanie za mimoriadne dôležité.

Stredoveké spevy sviatku Navštívenia Panny Márie, konkrétne prenos melódií vo forme kontrafaktov liturgických spevov tohto sviatku, si vo svojej štúdii všimla Rhianydd Hallas. Jej príspevok sa zaoberá variantmi oficiá *Accedunt laudes virginis*, ktoré sa zachovali v dvoch moravských rukopisoch z neskorého stredoveku (CZ-Bsa R 626 z Benediktínskeho opátstva Rajhrad, CZ-OLu M IV 6 zo Štátnej vedeckej knižnice Olomouc).

Dve ďalšie štúdie sa zaoberajú analýzou liturgie vybraných rukopisov z obdobia stredoveku. Predmetom príspevku Gionatu Brusu je kódex *Vesperale Mus. 40616* (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), ktorý odráža stredoveké liturgické zvyklosti ambroziánskeho mníšskeho rítu. Analýzou liturgických a muzikologických prvkov sa tento článok snaží vniesť svetlo do obsahu rukopisu, ktorý bol do značnej miery prehliadaný, avšak zaslúži si významné miesto v bohatej histórii dejín ambroziánskej liturgie.

Štúdia Miklósa Istvána Földváryho sa zaoberá najstaršími kódexmi ostrihomskej liturgie, konkrétne Hartvikovou agendou (MR 165, Univerzitná knižnica Záhreb) v komparatívnom kontexte s materiálmi Českého kráľovstva (Tobiášova agenda P 3, Metropolitná knižnica Praha, pražská liturgia). Na príklade vybraných spevov (hymny) autor poukazuje na zaujímavé a konkrétne paralely a špecifiká jednotlivých liturgických tradícií a vyhodnocuje vybraný hudobný repertoár v priestore Českého kráľovstva (pražská liturgická tradícia) a stredovekého Uhorska (ostrihomská liturgia: územia dnešného Slovenska, Maďarska, Rumunska, Chorvátska).

Eva Veselovská

EDITORIAL

The current issue of *Musicologica Slovaca* focuses on a single theme. The 'Studies' section gives scope to topics that are part of music-historical research on medieval sources. In the field of research on medieval musical culture, scholarly interest in the detailed and comprehensive processing and evaluation of primary sources has grown significantly across the globe (Portugal, Hungary, Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Norway – successful COST, ERC, DACT projects). Research into preserved manuscripts, both complete and fragmentary ones, is a specific area of interest with strong international overlaps. The theme of recycled parchment manuscripts is also increasingly appearing in many works. Fragments of precious manuscripts are found in the collections of numerous museums, archives, and libraries. Musical materials preserved in such fragmentary form constitute an important source base for a number of scientific disciplines (liturgics, codicology, palaeography, musicology, art history).

The opening, interdisciplinary paper by Jos Bernaer offers an analytical perspective on a medieval Carthusian calendar. The author presents his detailed comparative study of the calendars of various monastic orders and dioceses across East-Central Europe, aiming to identify the typical features of the Carthusian tradition. He examines the calendar system in eight manuscripts from charterhouses in Moravia and medieval Hungary (Lövöld, Letanovce, Brno, and Olomouc) to determine their provenance and establish more precise datings. His study updates the current state of research on the medieval musical sources of the Carthusians from the territories of Slovakia and Moravia.

Five additional studies in this issue were presented at the international scholarly conference 'Local Elements – Transregional Connections: Medieval and Early Modern Age Culture and Education in Central Europe', organised by the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Catholic University in Ružomberok, the State Archives in Bratislava, and the Bratislava City Museum (held on 11–13 March 2024). The conference was dedicated to the memory of the Czech musicologist doc. PhDr. Lenka Hlávková, PhD. from the Institute of Musicology at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, who was invited to participate but passed away tragically in late 2023.

The three-day interdisciplinary conference featured research topics in musicology, history, liturgics, palaeography, and art history from nine European countries (Slovakia, Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Romania, Slovenia, France) and Canada. In the musicological section, focused on recycled musical materials from the medieval period, Zsuzsa Czagány and Gabriella Gilányi presented new findings related

to the source base from the territory of Slovakia. Gilányi's study explores a small, cut-up musical fragment, which is held at the Slovak National Archives and was published in their 2014 catalogue of medieval notated fragments. She identifies its origin and even the specific location it was cut from, namely Esztergom Antiphoner Ms. I. 3c in the Cathedral Library of Esztergom. Her paper exemplifies the potential of an in-depth interdisciplinary analysis of recycled materials to yield valuable information. Even so-called secondary sources can become crucial pillars for the reconstruction of musical cultural heritage.

Zsuzsa Czagány's paper, which examines a remarkable fourteenth-century fragment of a medieval gradual preserved in the National Archives of Hungary (*Urbaria et Conscriptioes collection*), has a similar focus. This almost complete bifolium of a missal formed the outer cover of the *urbarium* of Čabrad Castle. The study analyses the musical content of the fragment as well as its broader cultural-historical context, highlighting the practice of recycling disused codices of varied content and origin in the administrative routines of various Hungarian institutions in the sixteenth century. Since the gradual documents the Esztergom notation system, a vital scribal tradition from the main liturgical centre of medieval Hungary, its rediscovery and analysis are especially significant.

Medieval chants for the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, specifically the transmission of the liturgical chants of this feast in the form of contrafacta, are discussed by Rhianydd Hallas. Her paper examines variants of the office *Accedunt laudes virginis* preserved in two late medieval Moravian manuscripts, CZ-Bsa R 626 in the Benedictine Abbey in Rajhrad and CZ-OLu M IV 6 in the State Scientific Library in Olomouc.

The two subsequent studies analyse the liturgy in selected medieval manuscripts. Gionata Brusa deals with *Vesperale* Mus. 40616 (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), which reflects the medieval liturgical practices of the Ambrosian monastic rite. Through both liturgical and musicological analysis, he sheds light on the contents of this largely overlooked manuscript, which deserves a prominent place in the rich history of Ambrosian liturgy.

Miklós István Földváry focuses on the oldest codices of the Esztergom liturgy, specifically Hartvik's agenda (MR 165, University Library in Zagreb), in a comparative context with materials from the Kingdom of Bohemia (Tobias's agenda P 3, Metropolitan Library of the Cathedral of Saint Vitus, Prague liturgy). By examining selected chants (hymns), the author points out the specificities of individual liturgical traditions and their noteworthy parallels, and evaluates selected musical repertoire within the context of the Kingdom of Bohemia (Prague liturgy) and medieval Hungary (Esztergom liturgy: territories of present-day Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Croatia).

Eva Veselovská

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CARTHUSIAN CALENDARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

JOS BERNAER

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the liturgical calendar of the Carthusian Order will be compared with those of other monastic orders and of the dioceses of Central Europe to define its typical features. Furthermore, the content of calendars in eight manuscripts of Carthusian monasteries from Moravia and the Kingdom of Hungary will be analysed in an attempt to determine their provenance and to date them if possible. As a result of this study, it was possible to determine the date of the feast of the dedication of the church from four charterhouses (Lövöld, Letanovce, Brno and Olomouc).

Keywords: Carthusians, liturgy, calendar, saints, manuscripts

*'If we do not understand medieval liturgy,
it is hard to image how we can understand
any aspect of the Middle Ages.'*
C. Symes¹

The study of monastic spirituality inevitably requires a focus on ritual liturgical calendars. Carthusian spirituality is typically linked to austerity and contemplation reflected in the calendars. In addition to a general description of calendars, we will seek to classify them and determine their characteristics. We will compare Carthusian liturgical calendars to those used by other orders and different dioceses in the Central European region. Finally, a case study focused on the manuscripts of Moravia and the Kingdom of Hungary will present the specific characteristics of Carthusian calendars.

¹ SYMES, Carol: Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices. In: GITTO, Helen – HAMILTON, Sarah (Eds.): *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation*. London; New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 267.

A. Generalities

1. Evolution

A calendar is a written visualization of a mathematical model in which time-related data is brought together for a period of one year.²

In antiquity, natural events were used to keep track of time. Nature changes according to the seasons and men and all living creatures had to constantly adapt themselves to them. Day and night, or light and darkness are the two ever-recurring features. This resulted in civil lunisolar calendars. The Sun and Moon were central to nature worship and the content of the calendars has been extended to include religious events over time. In the Middle Ages, Occidental calendars were almost entirely connected with liturgical content. It was common to use names such as ‘*Johannistag*’ (day of the feast of Nativity of John the Baptist) or ‘*Dreikönigstag*’ in documents instead of June 24 and January 6. The Julian calendar is not a perfect representation of the rotation of the earth around the sun. One of the best-known criticisms was formulated by Nicolaus of Cusa in his treatise ‘*De correctione kalendarii*’, written in 1437 for the Council of Basel, who noted that Easter and other mobile feast days fell on the wrong date in some years.³

2. Description of lay-out and content

Let us now consider the lay-out of a liturgical calendar. The calendars are described on the basis of their lay-out and the information provided by the content. Arno Borst⁴ divides calendars into the liturgical and the astronomical. In his paper, Borst mentions three common characteristics: a first zone with letters and numbers in three columns (*Intervallzone*), a second one with the religion feasts (*Festzone*) and a third one with astronomical or chronological information (*Terminzone*). The description of Borst is based on the visual impression of calendars in the medieval manuscripts. In most manuscripts, the *Festzone* and the *Terminzone* are intertwined. The latter is not written in a separate column on the right side of the folio, for example, and on days with a longer feast name, the astronomical information follows next to it. On other occasions, the astronomical information is written in the middle of a line.

Regarding the *Intervallzone*, Meta Niederkorn-Bruck pointed to a connection with the Roman period, more specifically with the Julian Calendar.⁵ It is therefore understandable that in the early Christian period the Church of Rome adopted this framework and adapted the Christian liturgical year to it. The most common lay-out of medieval

² A year is in very general terms the time the earth needs to go around the sun. HAMETER, Wolfgang: *Astronomische Grundlagen*. In: HAMETER, Wolfgang – NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, Meta – SCHEUTZ, Martin (Eds.): *Ideologisierte Zeit. Kalender und Zeitvorstellungen im Abendland von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*. (= Querschnitte, Band 17.) Innsbruck; Wien; München; Bozen : StudienVerlag, 2005, pp. 12-15.

³ NOTHAFT, C. Philip E.: *Strategic Skepticism: A Reappraisal of Nicholas of Cusa's Calendar Reform Treatise*. In: MEHL, Édouard – ROUDET, Nicolas (Eds.): *Le temps des astronomes. L'astronomie et le décompte du temps de Pierre d'Ailly à Newton*. Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 2017, pp. 65-102.

⁴ BORST, Arno: *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*. Hannover : Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998, pp. 386-454.

⁵ NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, Meta: *Alle Zeit der Welt. Zeitstruktur und Denken über Zeit im Mittelalter*. In: HAMETER, NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, SCHEUTZ, Ref. 2, pp. 16-38.

calendars has the same pattern. The information for each day is written in a number of columns on the left side. In general, the first contains the Golden Numbers, followed by a column with the dominical letters. The third presents a numbering system based on the Roman calendar. A month in a Roman calendar is divided into three periods: *Kalends*, which was the first day of the month, followed by *Nones*, either the fifth or seventh day, and *Ides*, the middle of the month. Often it will be stated how many hours of day and night there are in each specific month at the top or bottom.

Dom Jacques Dubois and Jean-Loup Lemaitre in '*Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*'⁶ divided the layout of the calendar into a technical part and a liturgical one. A good definition is given by Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, and in several cases the astronomical information is incorporated in the liturgical information part and not in a separate area: '*Le calendrier des manuscrits liturgiques ne sert pas seulement à noter les fêtes des saints. Il contient des éléments de comput relatifs au temporel et des indications sur la célébration du culte*'.⁷

3. Distinction: calendar of saints and liturgical calendar

A distinction must be made between calendars of saints and liturgical calendars. A calendar of saints can be found in the Book of Hours. The Book of Hours was not submitted for the ecclesiastical authorities' approval, which means such calendars did not need to strictly follow the order and dates on which a saint is commemorated. Such calendars usually list saints based on the date on which they are commemorated, and include various names of saints added at the request of the ordering person. When analysing such a calendar, one must take into account the space available for writing. If the scribe had limited space, he could only add one saint a day. Image 1 shows the month of June in a non-liturgical calendar of the Carthusian monastery of Lapis Refugii (Letanovce) with the names of the feasts only.

Liturgical calendars resemble a diptych. On the right panel, there is a list of the saints and on the left is subjoined the corresponding ranking of the liturgical days. Both elements must be taken into account when dating a calendar, as the ranking can also change over time. The division of the festival rank differs between the Roman and monastic rite. In the medieval model, this difference is based on the number of lessons read during the night office. In the Roman rite, there were three lessons on weekdays and nine lessons on Sundays and feast days. In the monastic rite, three or twelve lessons are read, which reliably distinguishes a liturgical calendar of a secular church from a monastic order.⁸

⁶ DUBOIS, Jacques – LEMAÎTRE, Jean-Loup: Le calendrier. In: DUBOIS, Jacques – LEMAÎTRE, Jean-Loup: *Sources et méthodes de l'hagiographie médiévale*. Paris : Les Éditions du Cerf, 2007, pp. 138-150: 'Aspect matériel des calendriers'.

⁷ LEBIGUE, Jean-Baptiste: *Le calendrier, in Initiation aux manuscrits liturgiques*. Available online: <<https://irht.hypotheses.org/2445>>

⁸ The Mendicant Orders and Canons Regular follow the Roman rite. The monastic rite is based on the rule of Benedict.

junius				medius motus lune			
xix	c	f m	marcelli et pet'	3	22	1	82
xviii	f	m		3	34	11	82
xvii	d	m		3	28	28	82
xvi	a	n		2	1	38	82
v	b	nob		2	12	29	82
iiii	c	vm		2	21	19	82
iii	d	vm		2	21	10	82
ii	e	vi		2	18	21	82
i	f	v	juni et felixiani	1	1	31	82
x	g	m		1	20	82	82
xix	a	m	bartholomei apte	1	33	12	82
xviii	b	n	basilides arini et nabois	1	21	3	82
xvii	c	idus		0	0	12	82
xvi	d	vi		0	13	10	16
xv	e	vi		0	26	21	16
xiiii	f	vi	Enia et ulite	0	39	31	16
xiii	g	vi		0	42	82	16
xii	a	vi	maria et marcelliani	1	1	12	16
xi	b	vi	Getuliy et prothasy m	1	19	3	16
x	c	vi		1	32	12	16
ix	d	vi		1	24	28	16
viii	e	vi		1	18	31	16
vii	f	vi	vigilia	2	11	24	16
vi	g	vi	nativitas iohis bapt	2	22	16	16
v	a	vi		2	38	1	16
iiii	b	vi	iohis et pauli	2	41	11	16
iii	c	v		3	2	28	16
ii	d	vi	vigilia leois pape hyrenoi	3	11	38	16
i	e	vi	petri et pauli	3	30	29	16
x	f	n	Comemoracio s. pauli apte	3	23	19	16

jun	0	aries	30
zmi	1	gemini	30
zmi	2	leo	30
xtii	3	libra	30
xtii	4	scorpio	30
xtii	5	sagittarius	30
xtii	6	capricornus	30
xtii	7	aquarius	30
xtii	8	pisces	30

Signa
physica

Si vis hunc mediu motu
luc aliquo tpe vel hora
ptq meridie tuc accipe pro
duabus horis una hora 33
minuta Sed pro duabus
horis 1 gradu et 6 minuta
et adde ad motu luc meri
diei Si aut vis hunc mo
tu luc m meridie tuc sub
trahere pro 1 una hora 33 mi
ta Si pro duabus 1 gradu et 6
minuta

Image 1: June in the calendar of Lapis Refugii
 Budapest, ELTE University Library and Archives, Cod. Lat. 77, fol 72v
 By courtesy of the Loránd Eötvös University Library.

B. Carthusian calendars

1. Definition

We now focus on calendars used by the Carthusian order. This article seeks to define what a typical Carthusian liturgical calendar is and how it differs from other calendars. The study case will focus on those of the Central European regions, the Margraviate of Moravia and the Hungarian Kingdom. A calendar in a manuscript is often used to determine its provenance and composition date. For example, the gradual Martin, SNK, rpk J 538, which contains a select part of the *Proprium de sancti*. This gives the information necessary to validate this manuscript as probably originating from the charterhouse of Lapis Refugii (Letanovce).⁹ The results of an analysis are not always convincing enough due to a lack sufficient data. However, many calendars can provide us with information in a long-term historical sense. Calendars in liturgical manuscripts were regularly updated by their successive possessors. These elements reveal information about the liturgical evolution and the book history of a specific manuscript and about the users.

Each Order specifically focusses on how monks experience and propagate their faith and has a selection of saints representing characteristics of their faith. These are embodied in their liturgical calendars. A Carthusian calendar applies to the entire Order and reflects the spirituality of the Order. The feasts and saints celebrated a form of exegesis for which they stand. The semi-hermitic life of solitude and simplicity is present in the liturgical calendar. At the end of the fifteenth century, other monastic orders had between 200 to 245 saints, and the Carthusian calendar contained 173 saints (15 – 30% less). The calendars of the secular churches are conceived using the same principle. The emphasis lays not on spirituality, but on the religious history of the church community. Church calendars mark the saint days and ask the faithful to commemorate them.

2. A short history of the Carthusian Order

The Carthusian Order was founded by Bruno, a former canon in the diocese of Reims.¹⁰ It is not known for certain what the first Carthusian calendar looked like.¹¹ Dom Degand describes the oldest known calendar relying on a document from the

⁹ ADAMKO, Rastislav: Kalendár vytvorený z *Propria de sanctis*. In: ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka – ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj – VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *PSALTERIUM – GRADUALE CARTUSIENSE* (s. XV./XVI.) : *Liturgicko-muzikologická štúdia a faksimile*. Ružomberok : VERBUM, 2023, pp. 22-32. (Translation : Calendar created of the Proper of the Saints, pp. 109-119.)

¹⁰ UN CHARTREUX: *La Grande Chartreuse par un chartreux*, 19^e ed. Le Barroux : Éditions Sainte-Madeleine, 2020, p. 14.

¹¹ BECKER, Hansjakob: Bruno von Köln und die Liturgie der Kartause. In: TIMMERMANS, Francis – GAENS, Tom (Eds.): *Magister Bruno. Negen eeuwen uitstraling van de Kartuizerorde*. Leuven : Peeters, 2003, p. 1: 'Die Anfänge der Liturgie der Kartause sind nur zum Teil aufgehehlt: Wie Bruno und seine Gefährten Gottesdienst gedeiert haben, wissen wir nicht, und erst mit den *Consuetudines Guigos* befinden wir uns auf sicherem Boden'; the word 'Chartreuse' pointed to the first settlement, The Great Chartreuse nearby Grenoble (France).

archives of the mother monastery.¹² In a footnote, he mentions that this calendar was drawn up in 1134 at the latest, in others words during a period of fifty years between the founding and the probable terminus ante quem of the document. Thanks to the analysis of the antiphonary Hansjakob Becker, some principles can be defined which were used by the first generation of Carthusians.¹³ This study enabled the formulation of the hypothesis that the first form of the liturgy was of canonical origin and followed the *cursus Romanus*.¹⁴ Further, Becker and Zerfaß's research enabled a reconstruction of the antiphonary of Bruno's days. Guigo, the fifth prior of the community of the Chartreuse, provided the first legal text concerning the Carthusian liturgy. Guigo wrote in his prologue to the *Consuetudines* that he had applied Saint Benedict's rule adapted with hermitic elements, to describe the mode of living of the community in the Chartreuse. Subsequently, the General Chapter guarded against the further increase of liturgical feasts, to protect Carthusian solitude. Private praying prevailed over communal celebrations. Nevertheless, despite resistance, a number of new liturgical feasts were introduced, while detracting as little as possible from the ideal of solitude.

3. Evolution in numbers of feasts in the Carthusian Order

During the first four centuries of the order's existence, only 33 new feasts were promulgated, whereas during the Middle Ages more than 100 new saints and blessed were created every century. The table below gives an overview of what Dom Degand defined as the oldest Carthusian calendar,¹⁵ later published by Jean-Loup Lemaître and Sylvain Excoffon as *Le nécrologe primitif de la Grande Chartreuse* (Degand),¹⁶ the calendar of the Carthusian breviary printed in 1491 (Brev. 1491)¹⁷ and a manuscript from the monastery of Letanovce (Cod. 77).¹⁸

¹² DEGAND, A.: Chartreux (Liturgie des). In: CABROL, Fernand – LECLERCQ, Henri Leclercq (Eds.): *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Tome Troisième, première partie, Chainage – Chypre*. Paris : Librairie Letouzey et Ané, Éditeurs, 1914, col. 1051-1053.

¹³ BECKER, Hansjakob: *Die Responsorien des Kartäuserbreviers. Untersuchungen zu Urform und Herkunft des Antiphonars der Kartause*. (= Münchener theologische Studien: II. Systematische Abteilung, 39.) München : M. Hueber Verlag, 1971, pp. 90-108.

¹⁴ BECKER, Hansjakob – ANSGAR, Franz – ZERFASS, Alexander: *Bruno von Köln und die Liturgie der Kartause. Rekonstruktion des Antiphonale Sancti Brunonis und Reproduktion der ältesten kartauseinsischen Offiziumshandschriften*. Salzburg : FB Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2015, pp. 11-24. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 292.)

¹⁵ DEGAND, Ref. 12, col. 1051-1053. Dom Degand used a small manuscript from the archives of the Grande Chartreuse, old shelfmark 'C.III.864', which is today '2 CAL. 2, calendrier A'.

¹⁶ LEMAÎTRE, Jean-Loup – EXCOFFON, Sylvain: *Le nécrologe primitif de la Grande Chartreuse*. Saint-Étienne : CERCOR, 2015. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 309.)

¹⁷ *Breviarium Cartusianum*. Ed: Conventus Cartusianorum de Padua, Venice : Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 5 May [1491], ISTC ib01134000, GW 05197. Available online: <<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00048776-9>>

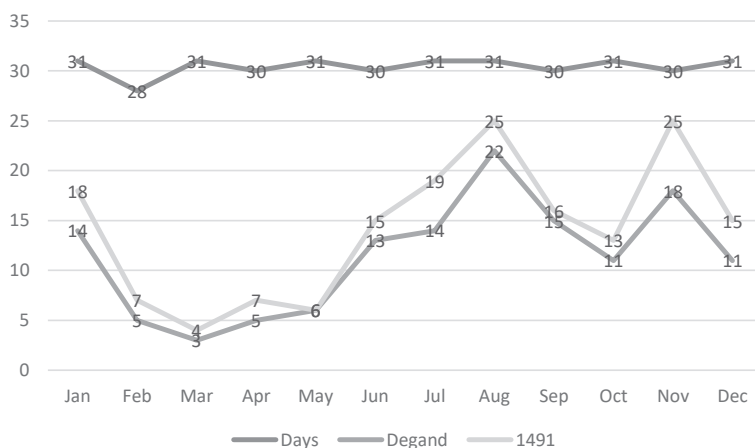
¹⁸ Budapest, Loránd Eötvös University Library: Cod. Lat. 77. Available online: <<https://hdl.handle.net/10831/51612>>

Table 1: Overview of the evolution from the oldest calendar (early 12th c.) with two calendars of the 15th century.

Month	Degand	Brev. 1491	Cod. 77
January	14	18	19
February	5	7	6
March	3	4	4
April	5	7	7
May	6	6	5
June	13	15	15
July	14	19	17
August	22	25	20
September	15	16	13
October	11	13	13
November	18	25	19
December	11	15	14
Total	137	170	152
Days	122	148	147
Average over 2 weeks	4.70	5.70	5.65

This data show the gradual additions over a period of 400 years. The numbers in the second column relate to the first quarter of the 12th century, and the last two refer to the end of the 15th century. As in a few cases they commemorated more than one saint on certain days, the number of days gives a more realistic idea of how often the monks had a feast day with a specific intention. This underlines the spirituality of the Carthusians, embracing solitude in prayer rather than exuberant liturgy. The average of five days in two weeks shows the simplicity of the Carthusian liturgy.

Graph 1: Distribution of saints per month over a liturgical year.



In the graph above, the figures from the oldest calendar and the one from 1491 have been converted and the top line shows the total number of celebrated saints in each month. It can be seen that the two lines are not far apart. Furthermore, the graph clearly shows that there is a peak in August and November, whereas the numbers from February to May are low. This is a general phenomenon, as there are several movable feasts which are not mentioned in the calendar, such as those between Septuagesima and Pentecost.

In Appendix 1 of the calendar of Dom Degand the absence of the three octaves after the Circumcision Feast on January 1st can be noted. These three octaves were not mentioned until the Customs of Basil in 1170.¹⁹ In his article on Carthusian liturgy, Dom Degand did not mention the feast of St. Gerald of Corbie, abbot, and founder of the Benedictine abbey of Sauve-Majeure (near Bordeaux, France) who died on October 13th 1095.²⁰ Another omitted feast is the '*Commemoratio canonicorum Valentiae*' on October 4, resulting from a confraternity (= *Gebetsverbrüderung*) formed by the monks of the Chartreuse and the canons of Valence. The latter belonged to the congregation of the canons of Saint Ruf.²¹ A similar '*Officium pro Cluniacensibus*' was added later on November 13th. It is interesting to note that these examples were not afterwards retained in the Carthusian liturgy. This is a first indication that these were local entries, a phenomenon occurring in later Carthusian calendars.²²

4. Carthusian calendar versus monastic calendar

One of the problems in liturgical manuscripts researchers are faced with, is the scarcity of analytical studies on the calendar of the Carthusian Order and their typical saints. A few older publications, often written by the Carthusians themselves, clarify the evolution of their liturgical calendar.²³ Based on these studies, this case study will

¹⁹ HOGG, James: *Die Ältesten Consuetudines der Kartäuser*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1973, p. 149.

²⁰ DEGAND, Ref. 12, col. 1052; LEMAÎTRE, EXCOFFON, Ref. 16, pp. 52-53. On the website of Usuarium the veneration of St. Gerald is mainly situated in the south of France and Spain. Both regions have several communities of the Canons of St. Ruf. Available online: <<https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/591/view>>

²¹ DEREINE, Ch. S. J.: Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. In: *Revue Bénédictine*, Vol. 54, 1949. Turnhout : Brepols, pp. 161-182. VEYRENCHÉ, Yannick: Une abbaye chef d'ordre face à deux cités: les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Ruf à Avignon et Valence. In: *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 44. *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e – X^e siècle)*. Toulouse : Librairie Privat, 2009, 44, pp. 79-106. This confraternity has to be dated after 1158.

²² See Appendix 1: Comparative table between the calendar in the 'nécrologue primitif' and the 'Breviarium cartisianum' printed in Venice in 1491.

²³ DEGAND, Ref. 12; HOUILLIER, Jacques – DU MOUSTIER, Benoît: Le calendrier Cartusien. In: *Études Grégoriennes* 2, 1957, p. 151-161; CLUZET, dom Emmanuel: *Particularités du missel cartusien. Contribution à l'étude des origines du missel cartusien*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1994. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:26.); CLUZET, dom Emmanuel: *Particularités du temporal et du sanctoral du missel cartusien*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1994. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:27.); CLUZET, dom Emmanuel: *Particularités du temporal cartusien. Le temps après la Trinité*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1994. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:29.); CLUZET, dom Emmanuel: *Particularités du missel cartusien*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1994, pp. 11-24. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:30.); CLUZET, dom Emmanuel: *Sanctoral: section II: Propre des Saints – Section III: Messes votives et des Défunts – Section IV: Conclusions du Sanctoral*. Salzburg : Institut für

analyse a number of fifteenth century manuscripts and compare them with those of other monastic orders and with calendars of former dioceses in the Central European region printed at the end of this century and define the core elements of the Carthusian calendar.

5. Method of analysis

In order to determine which are the typical feasts or saints in the Carthusian calendar, I have used a certain number of incunables, containing a liturgical calendar. Printing liturgical books involved a significant financial investment. Editions are estimated to have generally been around 100.²⁴ Therefore it can be assumed that these liturgical printed books were not only intended for local customers. The choice to use printed calendars had several advantages. The first was that they were used in more than one monastery of an order or in more than one church of a diocese. A second is that what is original and what additional can be accurately determined. The handwritten additions show that the insertions were due to local influences or personal predilection. Thirdly, the dating for incunables is often more precise than for manuscripts.

Not all of the selected incunables and post-incunables contain an official approbation from the order or from the bishop of the diocese. But despite the lack of such an approval, the different printers would not have produced these breviaries and missals without the cooperation of the monastic or diocesan authorities, even though in some cases it was a single prior, abbot or bishop, who provided them with the liturgical manuscript. For instance, the *Missale Cartusiense* printed by Peter Drach in Speyer, did not have an approbation from the prior general, nor from the General Chapter.

6. Analysis of the different liturgical calendars

a) Comparison sample

Liturgical calendars are used by secular churches and by monastic Orders, but with a slight difference in the ranking of the feasts. In this analysis, the ranking will not be taken into account, as the main goal is to find out more about which feasts and saints characterize a calendar. The calendar of the Carthusian Order will first be compared with those of the Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican and Augustinian Order.²⁵ Then the Carthusian calendar will be compared with the those of the surrounding dioceses:

Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1994. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:31.); DEVAUX, dom Augustin: *Les origines du missel des Chartreux*. Salzburg : Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1995. (= *Analecta Cartusiana* 99:32.).

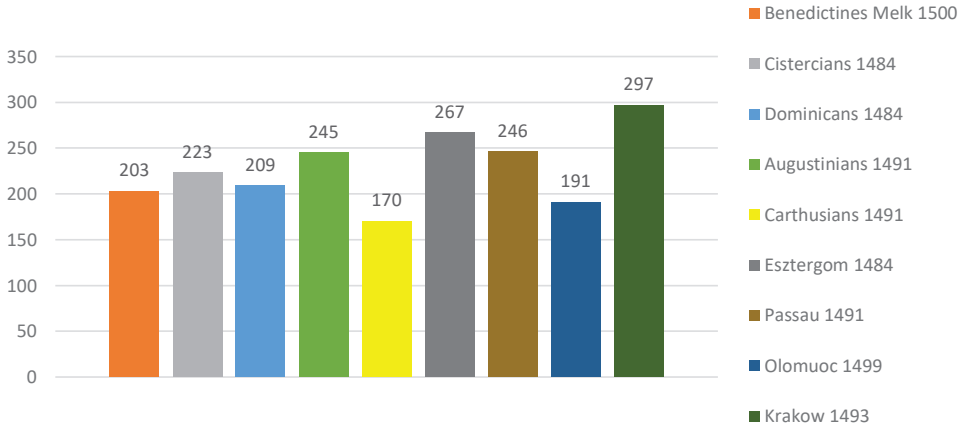
²⁴ For example the estimation of the Gutenberg Bible is around 180 copies. WHITE, Eric Marshall: *Editio princeps: a history of the Gutenberg Bible*. London; Turnhout : Harvey Miller Publishers, 2017, p. 23.

²⁵ List of consulted monastic calendars: *Breviarium Benedictinum Mellicense*, Nürnberg, [ca. 1500] [GW 5188 – ISTC *ib01118300*]; *Breviarium Cisterciense*, Ed: Nicolaus Salicetus, Abbot of Baumgarten [Commissioned by Johannes de Cireyo, Abbot of Cîteaux]. Corr: Johannes Falkenstein, Basel : Peter Kollicker and Johann Meister (Koch), (4. November) 1484, [GW 5198 – ISTC *ib01135000*]; *Breviarium Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Venice : Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 1 Mar. 1494, [GW 5228 – ISTC *ib01143000*]; *Missale ordinis fratrum eremitarum sancti Augustini de observantia*, Nürnberg, 1494 [GW M23973 – ISTC *im00630500*].

Esztergom, Passau, Olomouc and Krakow.²⁶ When preparing this paper, the calendars of the patriarchate of Aquileia, Prague and Salzburg were examined. The Aquileian deviates significantly from the Central European region.²⁷ The Prague calendars are similar to the Olomouc calendar²⁸ and the Salzburger calendar has similarities to the Passau calendar.²⁹ For this reason, they are not included in the analysis.

b) Number of saints

Graph 2: Total number of saints for five monastic Orders and four dioceses



Graph 2 shows the total numbers of saints commemorated during a liturgical year and shows that the Carthusian Order restricted the number of feasts. The Benedictine congregation of Melk has 20% more saints, the Dominican Order 23% more, the Cistercians 31% and the Augustinians 44%. As the four monastic orders (other than the Carthusians) have an average of 220 saints and the average of the diocesan group is 250.25, it seems that the secular churches felt a greater need for the veneration of saints. The reason could be that laity needed more concrete examples to lead a pious and devote life than the monks and nuns who supported each other with this in their closed communities. The only exception is the diocese of Olomouc that has 30% less saints

²⁶ List of consulted secular calendars: **Missale Strigoniense** (Esztergom), Nuremberg : Georg Stuchs, 18 Sept. 1490, [GW M24747 – ISTC *im00723400*.] (used ÖNB *Ink 9.G.11*); **Missale Pataviense** Mit dem Mandat von Christoph von Schachner, Bischof von Passau, Passau 20. 11. 1491, Passau [nach 1491.11.20.] [GW M24626 – ISTC *im00682000*]; **Psalterium Olomucense**, (Ol-mütz). Corr: Paulus Reyhel de Evanczicz, Brünn : Conrad Stahel, 1499 [GW M36300 – ISTC *ip01060750*]; **Missale Cracoviense** (Cracow), Nuremberg : Georg Stuchs, for Johann Haller [not before 1493] [GW M24359 – ISTC *im00658100*].

²⁷ **Breviarium Aquileiense** (Aquileia), Venice : Andreas Torresanus, de Asula, 29 July 1496 [GW 5258 – ISTC *ib01146550*].

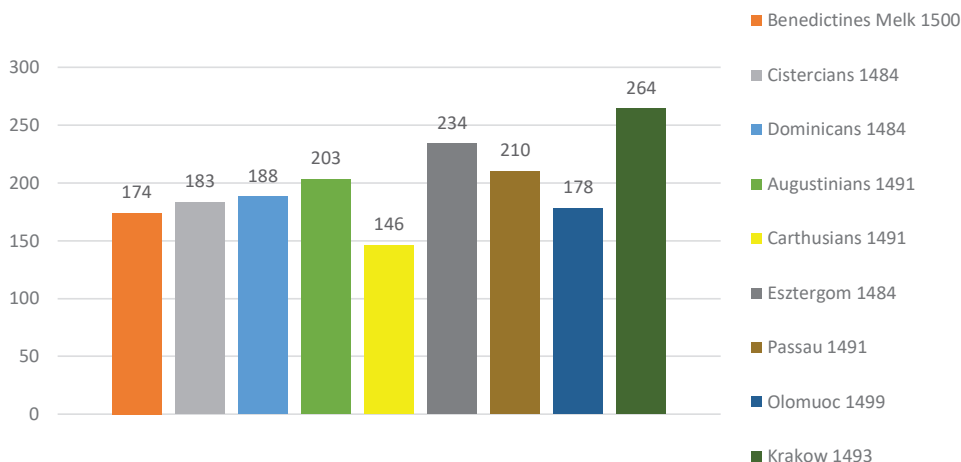
²⁸ **Missale Pragense**, (Prague), Leipzig, Conrad Kachelofen, 24 July 1498 [GW M24638 – ISTC *im00686000*];

²⁹ **Breviarium Salisburgense** (Salzburg). Commissioned by Bernhard von Rohr, archbishop of Salzburg, Venice : Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1482, [GW 5442 – ISTC *ib01178000*].

compared to the average of the four dioceses. These numbers have been converted to the number of days on which they have a specific feast in the graph below.

c) Number of days by order and diocese

Graph 3: Numbers of days when a feast is celebrated



Another approach is to look at the number of days given over to celebrations. On some days, more than one saint is commemorated on the same day. More saints presupposes a more complex textual liturgy, as more customized formulations were necessary. In other words, these numbers show once more that the Carthusians followed a simpler liturgy. This was an automatic consequence of their way of life. As Guigo stated in his prologue in the antiphoner: 'The seriousness of the hermitic way of life prohibits devoting much time to singing. For, according to Saint Jerome, a monk – and a hermit all the more – has the task not of teaching, far less of singing, but of lamenting, of mourning for himself and the world, and of eagerly awaiting the return of the Lord.'³⁰ Whereas in the abbeys and cathedrals were several dozen clergymen available, a Carthusian monastery had only thirteen fathers, no schola cantorum and not even assistants during the Holy Mass.

The simplicity principle explains some specific character of the Carthusian liturgy which we must examine further as regards what it exactly comprises. The basis is the Roman liturgy, so a number of common features can be observed in all the calendars. From here on, we will analyse the two groups separately for convenience. Feasts and saints can be classified in groups according to their presence throughout the Western Church. For example, on January 1st the feast of Circumcision is celebrated everywhere. Other feasts, falling into the second group, have a more regional character as, for ex-

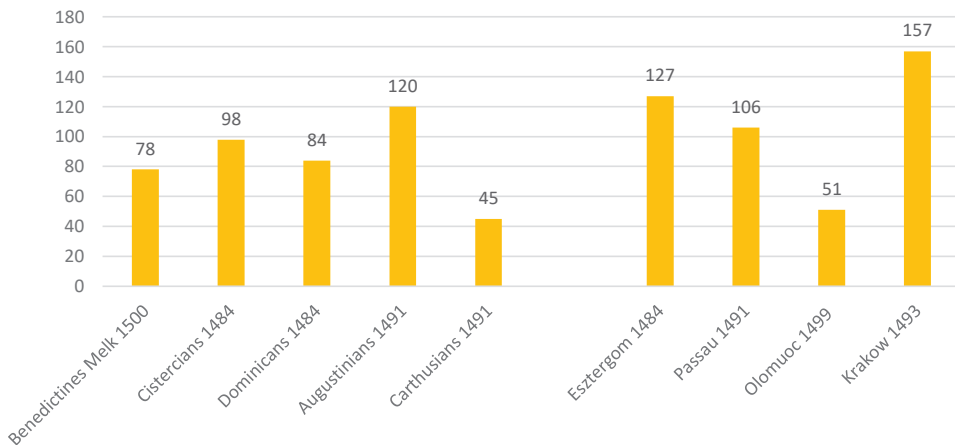
³⁰ BECKER, Ref. 13, p. 183: '*Institutionis Heremetice gravitas non sinit longa in cantandi studiis temporum insumi spacia. Nam secundum Jeronimum monachus quilibet quanto magis hermita, non doctoris, quanto minus cantoris, set plangentis habet officium, qui uel se vel mundum lugeat, et domini pavidus presteletur adventum.*'

ample, that of Saint Elizabeth on November 19th, mainly observed in the Holy Roman Empire. Her feast is present in all the studied calendars, except in that of the Carthusian Order. Finally, the third level contains the more local feasts as in the Esztergom calendar of 1484 on May 30th the feast of '*Inventio dextre sancti Stephani regis*' (Invention of the Holy Dexter of Saint Stephen, king).³¹

d) Comparison without common saints

By comparing the four monastic calendars with the Carthusian, 125 feasts and saints are found to be common, where the calendars of the four dioceses have 140 feasts in common. By 'in common' I mean that all four of each group have a feast in common with the Carthusians, with a few minor exceptions. For example, the feast of St. Eufemia occurred in Passau, Olomouc and Krakow, but not in Esztergom, that only has St. Lucy and Geminian, but in most of the cases they are mentioned together. Similarly, for the feast of St. Peter the Martyr on April 29th. The Cistercians moved the feast to April 30th, as they celebrated their abbots Hugues and Robert on April 29th.

Graph 4: Comparison of the number of feast and saints excluding the common ones



By excluding the feasts and saints which are common, we obtain a more manageable group of 45 entries in the Carthusian calendar. However, under these 45 feasts, several can still be found in one or two of the calendars of the other groups. For example, the Cistercian calendar does not mention St. Blasius on February 3rd, whereas all others celebrate his feast. The feast of St. Polycarpus is celebrated in Esztergom, Olomouc and Krakow on January 26th, but is not present in the calendar of the diocese of Passau. By eliminating these less common feasts and saints, we find the feasts and saints that are typical of the Carthusian calendar in the breviary of 1491.

³¹ BEREND, Nora: *Stephen I. The First Christian King of Hungary. From medieval myth to modern Legend*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2024, pp. 129-155. The website of Usuarium gives beside Esztergom the Missal of Zagreb (1511) and a missal of the Ultramontans (1480), ISTC No.im00729800 / GW M24106.

Table 2: List of typical Carthusian feasts and saints for both groups³²

		Feast and Saints	Monastic	Diocese
January	21	Policarpus episcopi		X
April	1	Hugo epicopi		
June	28	Hirenei ac sociorum martyrum	X	
July	20	Margarite virginis et martyris	X	
July	24	Vigilia s. Jacobi apostoli		X
September	23	Tecle virginis et martyris		X
October	6	Fidis virginis et martyris		X
October	21	Hilarionis confessoris	X	
November	2	Eustachii et sociorum eius martyrum		X
November	8	Festum reliquiarum		
November	9	Commemoratio Fratrum nostrum defunctorum		
November	17	Hugonis episcopi et confessoris		
November	26	Lini pape et martyris		X
November	28	Silee apostoli		
December	10	Eulalie virginis et martyris		

After removing the non-common feasts and saints the table above shows the names that are typical for the Carthusian calendar of 1491. The ones marked with X are only present in one of the eight compared calendars. As one can see, some saints are common for the monastic Orders, but are not celebrated in one of the four studied calendars of the Central European dioceses or vice versa. The feast of Pope Linius was commemorated in the dioceses of Esztergom and Krakow on November 26th, whereas the congregation of Benedictines of Melk and the Augustinians Hermits celebrate this feast on September 23rd. The Carthusians moved this feast to September 23rd in 1580. The above list brings us to a final one with feasts and saints ‘unique’ for the Carthusian liturgy. By ‘unique’ I mean when compared with the eight calendars studied, it is not found in this selected group. However, comparing it, for example, with a calendar of the English dioceses, the feast of Bishop Hugh of Lincoln is present on November 16th in the Catholic rite and on November 17th in the calendar of the Church of England.

Table 3: List of ‘unique’ Carthusian feasts and saints

		Feast and Saints
April	1	Hugo epicopi
November	8	Festum reliquiarum
November	9	Commemoratio Fratrum nostrum defunctorum
November	17	Hugonis episcopi et confessoris
November	28	Silee apostoli
December	10	Eulalie virginis et martyris

³² X = feast is present in this group.

The final list contains the feasts of bishops closely connected with the Carthusian Order: Hugh of Grenoble on April 1st, who was considered a co-founder of the Grand Chartreuse motherhouse and Hugh of Lincoln, who was a Carthusian monk and became prior of the English charterhouse of Witham, before he was consecrated as Bishop of Lincoln on September 21st 1186. The commemoration of all the deceased members of a monastic Order appears to be logical. The Carthusians chose to do this on November 9th. The Feast of the Relics can also be found in other calendars. The Usuarium website lists three missals where this feast was celebrated on July 7th (Salisbury, Norwich and Laon), which possibly goes back to the commemoration of the Saint Martyrs, as mentioned in the martyrology of Ado.³³ It must have been introduced in the Carthusian calendar between 1170, the date of the *Consuetudines* of Basil³⁴ and 1222, the year of the *Statuta Jancelini*.³⁵ The last two are very surprising. St. Silas is well known as one of the twelve apostles, and is mentioned several times in the New Testament, but his veneration is not widespread.³⁶ Eulalia of Mérida was less known and is celebrated in Spain, the Low Countries and in several Germanic dioceses.³⁷ Eulalia is also mentioned in the martyrologies of Ado,³⁸ Rabani Mauri³⁹ and Usuardus.⁴⁰

Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates the popular proverb 'One swallow does not make a summer!'. One or two singular feasts or saints make not much sense. The group such as the one in table 3 gives greater certainty, but it is still necessary to place them in a context with other liturgical calendars from the same region. As mentioned above, data from a similar analysis using English or French calendars gives different results. It is clear that the Carthusian calendars gain their specificity on the basis of the comparisons mentioned above concerning the number of feasts and saints. Compared with the data from other orders, they seem to be more restricted and reflect the celebrations of their own saints.

³³ DUBOIS, Jacques – RENAUD, Geneviève: *Le Martyrologe d'Adon*. Paris : Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1984, p. 218: 'Apud Viennam, Eooldi episcopi, cuius industria delatae sunt reliquiae sanctorum martyrum Thebaeorum ad urbem Viennam.'; Feast of the Relics on Usuarium. Available online: <<https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/6571/view>>

³⁴ HOGG, Ref. 19, p. 182. (= *Analecta Cartusiana*, 1.) The *Consuetudines* of Basile only give: '... et die crastinal post festum omnium sanctorum.'

³⁵ HOGG, JAMES (Ed.): *The Statuta Jancelini 1222. Volume 1: Part 1. Manuscripts of the Charterhouse of Glandier*. (= *Analecta Cartusiana*, 65.) Salzburg : Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2015, p. 77. (= *Analecta Cartusiana*, 65.) The text in the *Statuta Jancelini* says '... et die crastinal post festum omnium sanctorum, seu reliquiarum, et quando incipiens tricenarium, ...'

³⁶ The Usuarium website gives 25 missals, including one of Évora (Portugal) and one of Zagreb (Croatia), beside 23 from different regions in France. Available online: <<https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/1268/view>>

³⁷ The Usuarium website. Available online: <<https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/455/view>>

³⁸ DUBOIS, RENAUD, Ref. 33, pp. 411-412.

³⁹ MCCULLON, John (Ed.): *Rabani Mauri, Martyrologium*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis XLIV. Turnhout : Brepols, 1979, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁰ DUBOIS, Jacques: *Le martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire*. Bruxelles : Société des Bollandistes, 1965, p. 356.

C. Analysis of calendars from charterhouses in the Hungarian Kingdom and Moravia

1. Problematic issues

Before starting the analysis, problems which may arise during such an investigation should be mentioned.

1. Liturgical calendars in manuscripts are a snapshot of the history of a church or monastery, while the liturgy has already undergone an evolution and continues to develop. For example, new feasts are created, the significance of others changes, some were removed, and so on.
2. Local influences ensured that in some cases a feast was moved to another day. A trap for determining the date of a calendar is when it is based on the dates of the canonization of saints.⁴¹ In the liturgical calendars of monastic orders with a centralized government, such as the Carthusians, new feasts must be approved by the General Chapter according to a long procedure before they are introduced into the liturgy. In some cases, it takes years, as in the case of the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴² This feast was introduced by Pope Urban VI in 1389. It was introduced by the Carthusian order in 1468.⁴³
3. One should also be aware of the type of usage of the manuscript as breviaries, psalters and missals. The calendars in the missals were intended for the celebration of Mass with their accompanying texts and thus had a more official character, while the breviaries and psalters had a more personal character.

As stated in the introduction, the Carthusian Hours of the Office are prayed privately in the cells during the day. With the exception of the Night Office and Vespers and on Sundays, almost the entire Office is prayed in the church.⁴⁴ This has a great impact on the way the Carthusians composed their liturgical books. Unlike the Benedictines, Cistercians and other orders, the Carthusian monks used personal breviaries, i.e. diurnals and psalters. These are small format manuscripts adapted for private use. In addition, each monk-priest celebrated his daily Holy Mass privately in one of the chapels in the monastery, also using small-format missals. For the part of the Office which took place in church, two or three monks shared large-format liturgical books and these books have a more official status.

The format had an impact on the page design and on the content of information written in the calendar. The use of abbreviations was a common phenomenon in the

⁴¹ FLOREA, Luminita: 'Let Us Sing With a Well-rounded and Lively Voice': *An Unknown Medieval Music Manuscript in the Robbins Collection of Roman and Medieval Canon Law, University of California at Berkeley*. Paper presented on the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, University of Bangor, July 2008, p. 2. Available online: <https://www.academia.edu/230136/Let_Us_Sing_With_a_Well_rounded_and_Lively_Voice_An_Unknown_Medieval_Music_Manuscript_in_the_Robbins_Collection_of_Roman_and_Medieval_Canon_Law_University_of_Caifornia_at_Berkeley>

⁴² ADAMKO, Ref. 9, p. 114.

⁴³ HOURLIER, DU MOUSTIER, Ref. 23, p. 157.

⁴⁴ UN CHARTREUX, Ref. 10, p. 46. The Matins and Lauds during the night were always prayed in the church. On Sundays only Compline was prayed in the cell.

Middle Ages. Larger-format manuscripts for the liturgy in the church contained less abbreviations to promote reading fluency. In those for personal use, the copyist could decide to include more abbreviations and to omit less important information, for example, a commemoration of a saint, where he did not have sufficient space to add it. For example, this is probably the reason for the commemoration of Saint Hilarius on January 13th being missing in the Vienna Cod. 3990, folio 1r.

2. Origin

The manuscripts in the following analysis are selected according to their provenance. They are currently kept in the National Library of Austria in Vienna,⁴⁵ the National Library of the Czech Republic in Prague,⁴⁶ the Research Library in Olomouc⁴⁷ and the Library of the Eötvös Loránd University Library in Budapest.⁴⁸ These institutes hold manuscripts from the charterhouses in the former Kingdom of Hungary and the Margraviate of Moravia. The charterhouses were part of the Carthusian province *'Alemanniae superioris'*. This province extended from Slovenia to Poland and from Belarus to Austria and the Czech Republic.⁴⁹ At the end of the fifteenth century, it consisted of 14 monasteries. Today, around 80 liturgical manuscripts are known from these monasteries and are kept in 14 different institutions. The selection is based on the presence of calendars in the manuscripts originating from these Central European monasteries.

Once a manuscript was finished, it might be used for several generations. Later additions and alternations document such long-term usage. Individual annotations tell us the history of the book from one owner to another and the history of liturgical practice at a monastery, a region and order as a whole. In some cases, as Ian Doyle has shown for the English charterhouses, a monk took his psalter or breviary with him when he was transferred to another monastery.⁵⁰ Cod. 2027 of the ÖNB, for example, shows such a transfer, which will be discussed below. In his calendar on fol. 10r, the original scribe wrote on October 13th *'Dedicatio ecclesie Gemminensis'* (the dedication of the church of the charterhouse of Gaming) and a later hand added on October 11th *'Dedicatio ecclesie Brunensis'* for the dedication of the church of the charterhouse of Brno.

We will now look at eight manuscripts.

⁴⁵ From now on referred as ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

⁴⁶ From now on referred as NKCR: Národní knihovna České republiky.

⁴⁷ From now on referred as Vkol: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci.

⁴⁸ From now on referred as Elte: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem.

⁴⁹ In Slovenia: Žiče, Jurklošter, Bistra and Pleterje. In Hungary: Tárkány and Lövöld. In Slovakia: Letanovce and Lechnica. Czech Republic: Brno and Olomouc (Prague was closed in 1419). In Austria: Mauerbach, Gaming and Aggsbach. Poland; Krakow, which existed from 1479 till 1530. See SCHLEGEL, Gerhard – HOGG, James: *Monasticon Cartusiense Band II*. Salzburg : Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2004. (= *Analecta Cartusiana*, 185:2.)

⁵⁰ DOYLE, Anthony Ian: The libraries of the Carthusians, in GILLESPIE, Vincent (Ed.): *Syon Abbey*. Corpus of British medieval library catalogues, 9. London : British Library Publishing, 2001, p. 609.

3. MANUSCRIPTS

a. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 3990

The 'Katalog der Mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien.' mentioned a 'Cod. 3990 – Psalter, Kalender, Hymnar'.⁵¹ The description highlights specific saints in the Carthusian calendar:

KALENDAR (kartäussisch) besondere Heilige und Feste:

Dedicatio Capituli et Cimeterii (2.2), *Thomae de Aquino* (7.3), *Hugonis* (1.4), *Petri mart.* (30.4), *Ladislai regis hungariae* (27.6), *Visitatio Mariae* (2.7), *Margaretae* (20.7), *Germani* (31.7), *Dominici* (5.8), *Bernhardi* (20.8), *Stephani regis* (20.8), *Augustini* (28.8), *Clodovicus rex hungariae* (10.9), *Francisci* (4.10), *Undecim milium virginum* (21.10), *Dedicatio ecclesiae nostre* (25.10), *Emericus* (5.11), *Festum reliquiarum* (8.11), *Commemoratio fratrum nostrorum defunctorum* (9.11), *Hugonis* (17.11), *ferner ein sterbeintrag zum 30.10. Obiit frater Michael senior domus huius.*

The first question is what did the author mean by 'besondere Heilige und Feste' [special saints and feasts] and which were the criteria he used for it? The author pointed to St. Augustine of Hippo on August 28th. His feast is mentioned in the Carthusian calendar and also presented in those of the Benedictines, Cistercians, Dominicans, Augustinians and others. It is thus found in the calendars of the dioceses of Esztergom, Passau, Olomouc, and Krakow. Those of Peter the Martyr and Bernardus are less frequent, but are found in the calendars of Esztergom and Krakow, as well as in all the monastic calendars. Saint Margareth and Saint Germanus of Auxerre are present in the calendars of Esztergom, Krakow – those of the Cistercians and the Dominicans. In other words, these examples make it difficult to find the meaning of 'besondere Heilige und Feste'. These feasts are not typical for the Carthusian calendar.

Secondly, the reason why some names are in bold and others are not, is because the scribe wrote some names in red ink. However, scribes and copyists were not always consistent. The use of red ink is not always reliable. In Cod. 3990, on April 23rd, the scribe wrote the simple feast of *Georgii martyris* with *missa* in red ink, while all the other three-lesson feasts with a mass were written in black and the word *missa* only in red. The reverse can be seen on October 9th with *Dionisi et sociorum eius martyrum*, which is a twelve-lesson feast and is written in black. There are seventeen 12-lesson feasts in this calendar, eleven of which are in red and six in black ink. Such mistakes or inconsistencies often occur in calendars where a scribe has forgotten to change pens. It could also be due to the fact that a feast in the exemplar was celebrated with another rank and the scribe noticed it too late, or the change of the rank was implemented subsequently as in the case of *Thome confessoris* on March 7th where *Capituli non conversi* was added. In the list, the feast of *Hugonis confessoris et episcopi* on April 1st should have been marked in bold, as it was written in red ink in the manuscript.

⁵¹ KLUGSEDER, Robert: *Katalog der Mittelalterlichen Musikhandschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien. Codices Manuscripti & impressi. Zeitschrift für Buchgeschichte. Supplementum 10*. Purkersdorf : Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 2014, p. 177. The title on the ÖNB website is 'Hebdomadarium chorale Carthusianorum...', which is more correct, because the psalms are ordered according the hours of the Office only during the day.

The list contains four regional saints. Why is *Elizabeth regine* not mentioned, when it is also written in red? The answer is probably that her feast, while not a '*besondere Heilige*' for the describer, was common in the Austrian regions. However, her feast was not celebrated in the liturgy of the Carthusians. There is also a misreading as regards the entry on September 9th. This is not a feast of a '*Clodovicus rex hungariae*', but rather an obituary notice.⁵² The full text is '*O[biit] Lodovicus rex hungarie f[undator] h[u]i[us] do[mus]*', which stands for King Louis I of Hungary (1326–1382). He was the founder of the Carthusian monastery of Lövöld in Hungary, which means that Cod. 3990 must originally have been written in the Carthusian monastery of Lövöld, and was later transferred to the Brno monastery.

This is also the reason why on folio 1r the entry *Cartusiae Brunenis* on the line of January 5th is by a later hand, as on the first flyleaf and on the top of the folio 1r another hand from the fifteenth century wrote '*Ad leweld*'. The provenance of Lövöld can also be explained by the presence of several feasts connected to saints of the Hungarian Kingdom that were not often celebrated in the region of Brno, which was part of the Margraviate of Moravia. As stated, Lövöld was a royal foundation comparable to the Carthusian monastery of Paris. Shortly after Saint Louis IX was canonized in 1294, he was commemorated by the Carthusians of Paris. He was mentioned in their calendar, as well as in some other Carthusian monasteries in northern France.⁵³ Saint Emeric of Hungary, the son of King Stephen I of Hungary, mentioned in the list, is venerated almost exclusively in the archdiocese of Esztergom. Together with Saint King Ladislaus I of Hungary, Saint King Stephen I of Hungary and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, the calendar of Cod. 3990 contains all the Hungarian Christian royal saints. This makes it evident that this *Hebdomadarium* was originally created by the Carthusians of Lövöld.

The typical feasts of the Carthusian calendar, i.e. that of Hugh on April 1st, the feast of the Relics on November 8th, the Commemoration of their brethren on November 9th and Hugh of Lincoln on November 17th, are present in the calendar of Cod. 3990. This leads us to the two feasts of dedication. The first one: *Dedicatio capitula et cimterii* is on March 2nd (not in February). This is noteworthy, not only as such a dedication is rarely mentioned in a liturgical calendar, but this also means that the cemetery was consecrated at the same time as the chapterhouse.⁵⁴ The construction of the chapterhouse may have been completed before the church. If this was the case, the first monks probably used the chapterhouse as their temporary chapel, as the chapterhouse had an altar and sufficient space for the entire monastic community and the graveyard could also be used. The dedication of the church on October 25th concerns Lövöld and differs from that of Brno, which will be discussed below.

In order to date a calendar, one must be aware of the interaction between the feasts and the feast rank. Katarina Šter gives an example with the feast of Mary Magdalene, which was present in the earliest Carthusian calendar as a three-lesson feast. Subse-

⁵² Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 3990, fol. 5r.

⁵³ MORARD, Martin: Dater par les calendriers ou se méfier des apparences. À propos de manuscrits de la chartreuse du Mont-Dieu. In: *Scriptorium*, Vol. 66, 2012, No. 2, p. 355. His feast was promulgated for the whole Order in 1623.

⁵⁴ In more than 150 Carthusian calendars examined the '*Dedicatio Capitula*' is only two times mentioned.

quently, it was changed to a twelve-lesson feast with a conventual Mass.⁵⁵ The feast rank in the Carthusian order follows the *cursus monasticus*, which means three lessons on week days and twelve lessons on Sundays and higher festivals. On days with a second saint or group of saints, it is called a *commemoratio*, which means that it does not have liturgical texts and is simply mentioned during the Office and Mass. In some cases, three-lesson feasts have their own Mass, as for example the three Octave feasts at the beginning of January. The twelve-lesson feasts had three levels. First, the simple twelve-lesson feast with twelve lessons read during the night office. There were also twelve-lesson feasts with chapter. On these days, the Carthusian went to the chapterhouse for an additional liturgical session.⁵⁶ The highest rank is a 12-lesson feast, known as a solemnity, which in Carthusian calendars is called *Candelarum*, as more candles were used then on the altar than during the Holy Mass.

As stated above, there are some indications the calendar of Cod. 3990 was used for several generations. On the folio 1r with the month of January, '*Cartusia Brunensis*' was added with a fine pen and on four other occasions a new rank was added, for example, on March 7th, the feast of Thomas of Aquinas, was introduced in 1406 as a simple three-lesson feast. A later hand added *capituli non Conversis* as the General Chapter decided in 1468/1469 to elevate it to a 12-lesson feast with chapter, which lay brethren didn't need to attend. The obit of king Louis I of Hungary, who died in 1382, gives a first indication that the manuscript must date to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. On December 8th, the name of the feast is *Sanctificatio Marie virginis*. The Carthusians originally used the word *Conceptio*, but changed it in 1340 to *Sanctificatio* and then in 1470 they changed it again to *Conceptio*. As the scribe used *Sanctificatio*, the calendar must have been created between these two dates. The scribe wrote the rank *missa* by the feast for *Anne matris Marie* on July 26th. This rank was given to the feast in 1400. On September 14th, the important rank *Candelarum* for the feast of *Exaltatio s. Crucis* is missing, and on November 11th the 12 *lectio* rank for the feast of St. Martinus is absent. On December 4th, the *missa* for the feast of St. Barbara and the commemoration of St. Anastasia on December 25th are not mentioned. The newest feast introduced in the Carthusian liturgy can be found on November 20th. The *Presentatio [beate] Marie* was promulgated in 1470 and at the same time the changing of the name *Sanctificatio* was ordered. The fact that the scribe did not change it can possibly be explained by the presence of the feast of *Presentatio*, which looks to have been written by the first scribe. The feast of St. Stephen I, King of Hungary on August 20th was admitted to the Hungarian monasteries by the General Chapter in 1488.⁵⁷ That he did not change the

⁵⁵ ŠTER, Katarina: Mary Magdalene, the Apostola of the Easter Morning: Changes in the Late Medieval Carthusian Office of St Mary Magdalene. (Marija Magdalena, apostola velikonočnega jutra : spremembe v poznosrednjeveškem kartuzijanskem oficiju Marije Magdalene). In: *Muzikološki Zbornik 1* [Musicological Annual], Vol. 53, 2017, p. 15.

⁵⁶ In general chapter is hold on daily basis after Prime. In the Carthusian order it is only on Sundays and on 12-lesson feasts with chapter. Normally the chapter was held for both, monks and brethren, without such exceptions, e.g. on April 4th for the feast of S. Ambrosius.

⁵⁷ CLARK, John: *The Chartae of the Carthusian general chapter 1475–1503* (MS. Grande Chartreuse 1 Cart. 14). Salzburg : Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1999, p. 53. (= *Analecta Cartusiana*, 100:31.) '*Concedimus domibus Provinciae Alemaniae Superioris in Hungaria consti-*

name *Sanctificatio* may have a possible explanation in the fact that he used a register in which the name change had not yet taken place.

Conclusion: This calendar was originally written for the charterhouse of Lövöld around 1488 with the two dedication feasts, on October 25th for the church and on March 2nd for the chapterhouse and the cemetery. The presence of the Hungarian royal saints point to this provenance.

b. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2027

The Vienna manuscript Cod. 2027 is a fairly small breviary with dimensions of 105 x 76 mm.⁵⁸ The original size was probably 130 mm x 90 mm, as the illumination on fol. 13r has been partly cut away at least 15 mm above and below. This clearly indicates that it was written for private use. Cod. 2027 was originally written in the Austrian monastery of Gaming, as the first hand added the feast of the dedication of the church on October 13th, called *Dedicatio ecclesie Gemminensis*. This feast of dedication occurs in ten other manuscripts from Gaming.⁵⁹

The calendar of the breviary printed in 1491 has the same content, except for small-scale feasts, due to the lack of writing space, for example on October 6th by *Bruno co[nfessoris] ca[pitulum]* the feast of St. Faith is missing, and the Vigil feast for St. Matthew on February 23rd and that of St. James on July 24th are not mentioned. There are few surprises in the calendar, except that on January 18th the *Trice[n]na[rium] Talara[n]di* is mentioned. A tricennarium is a Mass celebrated for thirty consecutive days for a deceased person who is subsequently commemorated on that day.⁶⁰ This was a recognition given by the General Chapter to Hélié Talleyrand-Périgord, Cardinal Bishop of Albano,⁶¹ who died on 17 January 1364. Cardinal Talleyrand received it for his support of the Carthusian Order, especially for the monastery of Vauclaire. He was the brother of Archambaud IV (1261–1311),⁶² founder of the Carthusian monastery of Vauclaire.⁶³ A second tricennarium can be found on April 25th: *T[ri]ce[n]narium p[er] a[mblardus] v[...]*.⁶⁴ This is Amblard d'Entremont, who was bishop of the diocese of Maurienne (France) from 1301 until his death on April 24th 1308. Amblard d'Entremont founded the charterhouse of La Currière in 1293, when he was still archdeacon at Tarantaise.⁶⁵ These

tutis, ut festa gloriosae Virginis Mariae de Nive, et Sancti Stephani Regis Hungarorum et Apostoli, valeant suis diebus celebrare cum candelis et refectorio.

⁵⁸ Available online: <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13947908>>

⁵⁹ Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 638, 1870, 1872, 1895, 1903, 1956, 1995, 2029, 12811, 13828.

⁶⁰ DE GRAUWE, Jan: *Glossarium betreffende de Orde van de kartuizers*. Brussel : Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2001, p. 15.

⁶¹ ZACOUR, Norman P.: Petrarch and Talleyrand. In: *Speculum*, Vol. 31, 1956, No. 4, p. 683.

⁶² AVEZOU, Robert: Les comtes de Périgord et leur domaine au XIV^e siècle – Chapitre premier: Aperçu historique sur les comtes de Périgord au XIV^e siècle. In: *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord* Vol. 52, 1925, pp. 90-96.

⁶³ DEVAUX, Augustin – VAN DIJCK, Gabriël: *Nouvelle Bibliographie Cartusienne. Cartusiana. T. 3: Maisons de l'Ordre, 2e éd.* Saint-Pierre-de-Chartreuse : Grande Chartreuse, 2005, p. 731.

⁶⁴ *Statuta ordinis cartusiensis a domino Guigone priore cartusie edita*. Bruxelles : Archives de l'État, 1998, (reprinted of the edition of Basel, 1510), Prima pars statutorum novorum, § 19: '*Tricennarium olim concessum domino amblardo episcopo maurianensi : circa festum beati marci evangeliste. per totum ordinem singulis annis celebratur.*'

⁶⁵ DEVAUX, VAN DIJCK, Ref. 63, p. 231.

tricennaria ordered by the General Chapter appear in liturgical manuscripts of several charterhouses.

The Octave of the Visitation feast instituted in 1468 and that of the Presentation on November 21st, instituted in 1474, are written by the first hand. The Carthusian obtained the right to commemorate their founder, St. Bruno, in their liturgy by a papal decision in 1515. This dates this calendar to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. A later monk added two feasts for personal purposes in the early sixteenth century. On July 8th, he added St. Kilian of Würzburg, mainly venerated in the south of Germany and the ecclesiastical provinces of Austrian region and Esztergom. On July 12th, he added the feast of St. Hermagoras and Fortunatus, who are mainly venerated in the patriarchate of Aquileia. Such additions to breviaries and psalters are not unusual and must be considered as elements of personal devotion. This may point to the local background of the Carthusians who used this breviary, and were possibly from Carinthia. It is possible the same scribe added the dedication of the Carthusian church of Brno on October 11th, as in Cod. 3990. To the feast of St Francis on October 4th is added *Festum capituli* promulgated in 1591.

Conclusion: The calendar probably dates to the early 16th century and is from the monastery of Gaming. The manuscript has been composed for personal use and there were later additions after it was transferred to the charterhouse of Kralovo Pole (Královo Pole) / Brno and was used by subsequent generations of Carthusians until the end of the sixteenth century.

c. Olomouc, Vkol, MS. M I 6

The next manuscript is preserved in the Research Library in Olomouc, and has the signature M I 6.⁶⁶ This diurnal is believed to have originated from the Carthusian monastery of Brno. This monastery was initiated in 1370 and incorporated into the Order in 1373.⁶⁷ This calendar is analogous to the printed breviary of 1491. The feasts of St. Hilary on January 13th, St. Blaise on February 3th and Peter the Martyr on April 29th were probably introduced in the thirteenth century.⁶⁸ St. Dorothea on February 6th is crossed out, as her feast does not belong to the core of the Carthusian calendar. Nevertheless, one finds her feast in several calendars of both *provinciae Alemanniae*,

⁶⁶ Available online: <https://aleph.vkol.cz:443/F?func=direct&doc_number=000759646&local_base=SVK01&format=999> BOHÁČEK, Miroslav – ČÁDA, František: *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Staatsbibliothek von Olmütz*. Köln, 1994; GLONEK, Jiří: *Knihvazačská dílna královopolských kartuziánů*. In: *Bibliotheca Antiqua 2014 : sborník z 23. konference, 5. – 6. listopadu 2014, Olomouc*. Olomouc : SDRUK ČR – VKOL, 2013, pp. 14, 23.

⁶⁷ LE COUTEULX, Carolo: *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis ab anno 1084 ad annum 1429*. Monstrolii : Typis Cartusiae s. Mariae de Pratis, 1890, Vol. 6, p. 133: 'Circa annum 1370, illustrissimus Princeps ac dominus Joannes Henricus marchio Moraviae, filius Joannis regis Bohemiae et frater Caroli IV imperatoris, concessionem habuit a Capitulo nostro generali novae cartusiae prope Brunnam instaurandae; quae Domus sanctissimae Trinitatis, alias etiam Campus regius (Koenigsfeld) vocatur. ... Anno 1373 Capitulum generale hanc in favorem novae plantationis juxta Brunnam dedit ordinationem: 'Concessionem olim factam (videlicet anno 1370) per Capitulum generale, excellentissimo Principi, dominno duci Moraviae, de aedificanda una Domo de Ordine'.

⁶⁸ LEMAÎTRE, EXCOFFON, Ref. 16, pp. 31, 33, 39: added by a later hand.

and it is present in the printed missal of 1496.⁶⁹ The other feast which did not belong to the core of the Carthusian calendar was that of St. Wenceslaus on September 28th. This feast can be connected with Bohemia, where he is the patron saint, as well as with Moravia. The addition of the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas on March 7th and the feast of St. Anne with a Mass on July 26th was introduced around 1405/1406. Therefore, we can assume that the calendar was written prior to the end of the fourteenth century. It is remarkable that eight, possibly nine obits were erased. These are almost unreadable, except for a few words, for example on July 15th the word *fundator* and on October 30th a word ending on *fundatoris*. On October 17th, the entry is more legible: '*Obiit Iohannis Castoris prior ...*'. John Castor was the first prior of the charterhouse of Kralovo Pole (Královo Pole). Previously he had been at the charterhouse of Gaming. On November 13th, a later hand added the obit of John Henry of Luxembourg.⁷⁰ He was the son of King John of Bohemia and margrave of Moravia from 1349 until his death in 1375.⁷¹ Given this addition, the calendar was probably written before 1375.

The addition of the feast of the dedication of the church on October 11th strengthens this argument, as the monastery church was still under construction during the founding years. This can also be supported by the text in the previously mentioned manuscript Cod. 2097. On an unknown date, the feast of Vitus and Modestus on June 15th was added, and subsequently erased. The most recent feasts are those of St. Catherine of Siena with a Mass held on May 6th, that was admitted by the General Chapter in 1462,⁷² and the feast of St. Bruno on October 6th, introduced in 1515. As the octave of the latter was not added, this allows us to place the terminus post quem in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Miroslav Boháček and František Čáda state in their description that this manuscript was not originally written in Brno, as the obits were erased.⁷³ A later owner may have done this, as he considered it was insufficiently relevant. However, the colophon states: '*This book belongs to the house of the Holy Trinity of the Carthusian order nearby Brno, written by brother Herman, redditus, son of this house.*'⁷⁴ A certain Dom Herman from Kralovo Pole (Královo Pole) wrote this manuscript, probably based on a copy from another monastery, as the monastery of Kralovo Pole (Královo Pole) was founded in 1373 and the manuscript was written around the same period.

⁶⁹ *Missale Cartusianum*, Speyer, Peter Drach, for Hendrik Eckert, van Homberch, not after 1496. ISTC: im00634000.

⁷⁰ Olomuoc, Vkol, MS M I 6, fol. VIIr: '*Obiit domus iohannis marchio moravic fundator huius domus anno domini mille ccc° lxxv.*'

⁷¹ See note 12.

⁷² OP DE COUL, Thomas: *Carthusian Liturgy and Music. Ordinations in charters of the Carthusian general chapter (A working document – version January 31, 2025)*, p. 7. Published on his Academia profile. Available online: <https://www.academia.edu/9862650/Carthusian_Liturgy_and_Music_Ordinations_in_charters>

⁷³ BOHÁČEK, ČÁDA, Ref. 66, p. 2: '*Die ursprünglichen Anniversarien radiert (der Kodex wurde von einem anderen Kloster benutzt als von dem, für das es ursprünglich geschrieben worden war); zum 13. November später hinzugefügt: 'Obiit dominus lohannes, marchio Moravie, fundator huius domus, anno Domini M°CCC°LXXV''*'

⁷⁴ Olomouc, Vkol, MS M I 6, fol. 1r: '*Iste liber est domus sancte Trinitatis ordinis Carthusiensis prope Brunam, scriptus a fratre Hermano redito filio huius domus.*'

The church was still under construction and not yet consecrated. This is why the feast of the dedication was added later. The same is true for the additional obit of the founder, who died in 1375.

Conclusion: Erasures and additions make it likely the calendar dates to before 1375 and is from the Carthusian monastery of Kralovo Pole (Královo Pole) / Brno. Additions are present until the beginning of the 16th century.

d. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1803

The Vienna Cod. 1803 is a missal with the dimensions 315 x 218 mm. As stated before, the calendar in a missal has a more official character. This can be proved by the absence of additional saints. One small error was made, with the feast of Pope Silvester initially written as being on December 30th, but was probably corrected by the first hand. It is remarkable that the scribe mentioned the rank of 3 lessons after the feast of *Lucie et Geminiani martyrum* on September 16th. This rank is normally not mentioned, as it is common knowledge for the monks.

The scribe wrote the feast of St. Giles (*Egidius*) on September 1st. This feast is common for all the dioceses in Central Europe and is present in the majority of the monastic calendars. Exceptionally, it does not occur in the Carthusian calendar, which means his name was erased. On May 6th, the feast of Catharine of Siena with a Mass was added by another hand. This feast was admitted by the General Chapter in 1462⁷⁵ and was only made obligatory in 1581, after the publication of the *Nova collectio statutorum*. This may explain why it was erased. *Barbare v[ir]g[in]is [et] m[arty]ris missa* was added by another hand. This feast was promulgated in 1463 with its own Mass.⁷⁶ On February 23rd, the vigil of St. Matthew's feast is missing, which was promulgated in 1420. On the basis of these three observations, this calendar can be dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, probably before 1420 due to the missing vigil.

Later hands added newer feasts. In 1468, the General Chapter approved the octave of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary as a 12-lesson feast on July 9th.⁷⁷ And in 1470, the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was approved as a *Candelarum* on November 21st. The last feast is that of St. Bruno promulgated in 1515. Here the scribe erased the feast of St. Faith by writing with red ink *Brunonis co[n]fesso[ris] Can[delarum]*, followed by *Fidis virg[in]is [et] m[arty]ris* in black ink. This last feast was previously a 3-lesson feast and was downgraded in 1515 to a commemoration.

⁷⁵ See note 72.

⁷⁶ See note 72.

⁷⁷ OP DE COUL, Ref. 72, p. 8, 12.

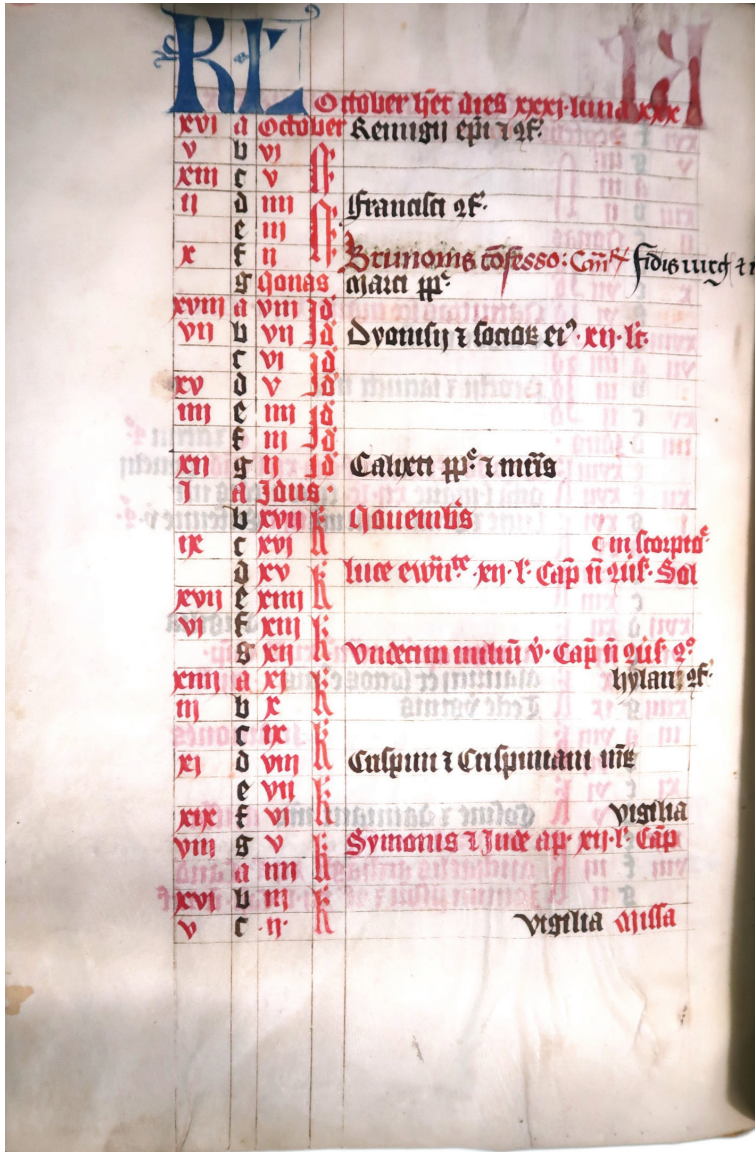


Image 2: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1803, fol. 5v: September

The addition of the feast of St. Wenceslaus on September 28th cannot be dated. It could have been written shortly after the scribe finished the calendar, as on fol. 237v-274r one can find the text for this Mass. St. Wenceslaus is not present in the calendars of the charterhouse of Gaming and thus his feast can be considered as typical for the Moravian and Bohemian Carthusian manuscripts, Olomouc, Vkol, M I 6 and M II 186.

Conclusion: The calendar can be dated to the first quarter of the 15th century, as all added feasts were promulgated after 1420. The presence of St. Wenceslaus on September

28th points to one of the Moravian or Bohemian Carthusian monasteries (Prague, Brno and Dolany / Olomouc).

e. Olomouc, Vkol, MS M 3 II 186

The manuscript with shelf mark M 3 II 186 in the Research Library in Olomouc is written on paper in a late Gothic cursive; later than the previous ones written on parchment.⁷⁸ It measures 290 x 216 mm and has illuminated initials. The title of the online catalogue is *Breviarium ordinis Cartusiensis*,⁷⁹ but it is in fact a nocturnal. This breviary only contains the texts for the night Office, which corresponds to the more official character of the calendar. No feast has been added by a later hand. The study of Jiří Glonek proves that the original book binding was undertaken at the monastery of Dolany / Olomouc.⁸⁰

As in Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1803, the scribe added the rank of a 3-lesson feast. This can be found on June 28th, which has three entries. This day is the vigil of the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, and the feast of St. Irenaeus and his companions and Pope Leo the Great. This last one is marked with *iii l[e]c[tiones]*. In four other cases, the scribe forgot the *missa* rank.⁸¹

The feast of St. Catherine of Siena, admitted by the General Chapter in 1462, is present on May 6th, as well as these of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on November 21st, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on December 8th, both promulgated in 1470, and the Octave for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on July 9th. This feast was admitted in 1411, but in 1468 the General Chapter ordered it must be celebrated as a 12-lesson feast. This calendar also contains the feast of St. Wenceslaus with 12 lessons on September 28th. The content of these feasts do not allow us to determine in which Moravian Carthusian monastery it was used.

Conclusion: this nocturnal was written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, or in the early sixteenth century at the charterhouse of Dolany, near Olomouc.

f. Olomouc, Vkol, MS M I 363

Manuscript M I 363 of the Research Library in Olomouc, with dimensions 125 x 85 mm, is described as a diurnal, following a different order than MS I 6.⁸² The calendar is missing two months (February and March), but the information for these months can be considered as identical to M 3 II 186 regarding the official feasts and saints.⁸³ The feasts and saints from the printed breviary of 1491 are all present, except for the missing months. The scribe made a mistake in January. He initially wrote on 12th January the feast of St. Vincent with 12 lessons and chapter, but later erased it and rewrote it on

⁷⁸ BOHÁČEK, ČÁDA, Ref. 66, p. 307.

⁷⁹ Available online: <https://aleph.vkol.cz:443/F?func=direct&doc_number=000759953&local_base=SVK01&format=999>

⁸⁰ GLONEK, Jiří: Knihvazačská dílna olomouckých kartuzianů. In: KRUŠINSKÝ, Rostoslav – VINTROVÁ, Tereza (Eds.): *Bibliotheca Antiqua 2013: sborník z 22. konference, 30. – 31. října 2013, Olomouc*, Olomouc: Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, 2013, p. 54

⁸¹ On August 6th, October 31st, November 2nd and December 24th.

⁸² BOHÁČEK, ČÁDA, Ref. 66, pp. 312-313.

⁸³ On the strip of March, fol. 2v is written on March 4th '... pape ...' by a later hand, which may be pope Lucius.

the correct date of January 22nd. On April 4th, the feast of St. Ambrosius is crossed out and moved to December 7th by ordonnance of the General Chapter due to the *Nova collectio statutorum* in 1582.⁸⁴

As with the calendar of Lövd, this calendar has the dedication of the chapterhouse on December 5th and the feast of the dedication of the monastery church on November 23rd. Only the latter is celebrated as a *Candelarum* feast.

The feast of St. Elizabeth is added on November 19th, which is not standard in the Carthusian liturgy, and is to be celebrated as a 12-lesson feast with a chapter. This means that this feast was of some importance for the charterhouse of Olomouc and was admitted by the General Chapter with its own liturgical texts during the Divine Office and Holy Mass. As for the feast of St. Conradus, who is probably the Bishop of Constance, this is added on November 26th with chapter. His feast is mentioned in the missals of the dioceses of Passau and Krakow.⁸⁵ A third less important feast which was added is that of St. Martha on July 27th with the rank of 3 lessons with Mass. The feast of *St Marthae Christi hospitae* is also celebrated by the diocese of Olomouc, which could be why the Carthusians of Dolany / Olomouc were allowed to add it to their calendar.

Three other regional feasts were added, the last of which can be linked to the surrounding dioceses. The feast of the Ten Thousand Martyrs on July 22nd is not only venerated in Olomouc, but also in Esztergom, Prague and Krakow. The other is of St. Affra, whose feast is even more widespread, for example in the dioceses of Passau and Salzburg. And the third is St. Gall on October 16th. As his feast is not present in the missals of the diocese of Olomouc, its presence in this diurnal means it was probably more a matter of personal devotion. This is probably also the case for St. Affra and St. Onuphrius on June 11th. Onuphrius is one of the Desert Fathers, who lived as a hermit in the desert of Upper Egypt, and was considered as a prototype of a Carthusian monk.⁸⁶ Some monks chose his name when they entered the Carthusian Order.

This calendar was written between 1468 and 1470. The feast of St. Katherine on November 25th has the rank of a 12-lesson feast with chapter, which was promulgated in 1468 and that of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on November 21st has been added by another scribe. The diurnal was used occasionally until 1582, which can be attested to by the fact that the feast of St. Ambrosius was then transferred from April 4th to December 7th. On the other hand, several other feasts from the sixteenth century, such as that of St. Bruno, are not added, which indicates this diurnal was no longer used on a daily basis.

Conclusion: As the date of the dedication of the church does not correspond with those of Gaming, Lövd, Letanovce or Brno, this is probably a calendar from the charterhouse of Olomouc. The calendar can be dated to between 1468 and 1470.

⁸⁴ HOUPLIER, DU MOUSTIER, Ref. 23, p. 161.

⁸⁵ See Usuarium. Available online: <<https://usuarium.elte.hu/calendarlabel/311/view>>. For Passau the missal of 1491 and for Krakow the one of 1493.

⁸⁶ BAUER, Erika: Der Kartäuser Heinrich Haller als Übersetzer von Cistercienser-Texten. In : *Cistercienser-Chronik*, Vol. 84, 1977, No. 1. Bregenz : Verlag der Zisterzienser in Mehrerau, p. 95; RADHAKRISHNAN, Manu: *The Carthusians and the Egyptian Hermit Onuphrius: An Open Question* (unpublished paper read at the Carthusian conference, Gaming, 2017).

g. Prague, NK CR, Ms. XIII E 11

The manuscript XIII E 11 was once in the possession of the Carthusian monastery of Valdice. This charterhouse was founded in 1627 thanks to the support of Albrecht von Wallenstein. At this time, several liturgical books had already been printed in a limited edition, but were not immediately available. The solution was that the first monks brought their own breviaries and other necessary liturgical books with them. Manuscript XIII E 11 is an example of this. With leaves of a format of 250 x 180 mm, several illuminated initials and notation for the antiphons, it is a carefully composed book. The calendar is written in a 14th or early 15th century textualis with a number of additions by later hands.⁸⁷

The four feasts admitted before 1400 are Hilary on January 13th, Blasius on February 3rd, Peter the Martyr on April 29th and the Vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle on December 20th and were noted by the first hand. The feast of St. Thomas Aquinas was added shortly after the calendar was completed, as the scribe used a similar colour-stroke at the initial letter. This feast was approved for celebration in 1406 by the General Chapter. The feast of *Undecim milium virginum* on October 21st, which was admitted around 1352, is added to the calendar by a later hand. The feast of St. Barbara on December 4th, which only became obligatory in 1463, is also added by a later hand in cursive. On the second of July, the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary is written after the less important one of *Processi et Martiniani martyrum*, which suggests that the copy which was used had the same composition. It was a relatively new feast admitted in 1390, but became obligatory for the whole Order in 1411 after the reunion of the two obediences due to the Western Schism. December 8th has the feast of *Conceptio sancte Marie virginis*. The word *Conceptio* replaced the older designation of *Sanctificatio* used between 1341 and 1470.

An older feast which does not often occur in 15th century calendars was held on October 19th – *Commemoratio cluniacensium*. This was a prayer association between the Chartreuse monks and those of Cluny. Later, it was extended to both Orders on both sides.

The first hand states the *Festum Dedicationis huius Ecclesie* is on October 13th. It is followed in a cursive on the same day by *Colomanni*, which was one of the major saints in the Austrian region. Two obits are mentioned: The first on July 20th is *Fundatoris nostri obitus* and on October 19th *Obitus domine fundatricis Jo[hanne]*. These were Albert II, Duke of Austria and his wife, Johanna of Pfirt, who died on July 20th 1358 and November 15th 1351 respectively. In the 15th century, the feast *Translatio Kopoldi confessoris* was added, referring to St. Leopold of Austria. Later in the 16th or early 17th century, some feasts were readded. This time they were written with a very thin pen in cursive. All can be found on the right side of the leaf. This proves that the holder made a distinction between the feasts celebrated by the Carthusian liturgy and the feasts he commemorated as a personal devotion. There are four such feasts in July, including the

⁸⁷ TRUHLÁŘ, Josepho: *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in C. R. Bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragensis asservantur. Pars posterior Codices 1665-2752, Forulorum IX-XV et bibliothecae Kinskyanae. Adligata 2753-2830. Tabulae. Addenda. Index*. Prague, 1906, p. 240.

feast of *Henrici imperator*.⁸⁸ This group is also present in the calendars of the Carthusian monastery of Gaming.⁸⁹

Conclusion: The feast of the dedication of the church on October 13th in combination with the obits of the founder and that of his wife show that this manuscript originated from the charterhouse of Gaming, written between 1400 and 1405. It was brought by one of the first monks designated to this new founded house around the time of the foundation of the monastery of Valdice in 1627. The calendar did not contain any specific feast which related to the Carthusians of Valdice.

h. Budapest, Elte, Cod. Lat. 77

The calendar in Cod. Lat. 77 cannot be catalogued as a liturgical one, as the ranking of the feasts is missing and in addition to the manuscript, contains only non-liturgical texts.⁹⁰ The scribe drew several columns in the calendar for astronomical information on the right side.⁹¹ He also omitted to note the commemoration feasts.⁹² The manuscript reveals its ownership on the recto of the first flyleaf '*Hic liber est monasterii beati Johannis Baptiste de Lapide refugii Ordinis Carthusiensis*', which is the charterhouse of Letanovce.

Due to the lack of a rank, crucial information is missing. It would be of interest to know what was the rank of the feast of St. Anthonius on January 17th. This feast received the rank of Capitulum in 1282. Normally, it would have the rank of a *Candelarum* in the calendar of Letanovce, as St. Anthonius was the main patron of the monastery. It is worth taking a closer look at the content of the mentioned feasts. The only feast mentioned which is not standard in the Carthusian liturgy is that of St. Elizabeth of Hungary on November 19th. However, her feast can be found in several other breviaries and missals in both *Provinciae Alemanniae*, for example, the missal of 1496 printed by Peter Drach in Speyer.⁹³ In the previously discussed manuscripts, the feast of Elizabeth is only mentioned in the psalter of Lövd. ⁹⁴ All the feasts introduced at the end of the fifteenth century are present and written in an earlier Gothic Cursiva, which allows us

⁸⁸ This is Holy Roman Emperor Henry II, 973–1024. Canonized by pope Eugene III in 1146.

⁸⁹ Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 1871, cod. 1902 and cod. 1955.

⁹⁰ FODOR, Adrienne: Die Bibliothek der Kartause Lechnitz in der Zips vor 1500. In: SZEMZŐ, D. Piroška – MEZEY, László: *Armarius. Studia ex historia scripturae, librorum et ephemeridum.* (= *Studien aus der Geschichte der Schrift, der Bücher und der Periodica.*) Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976, p. 61.

⁹¹ Explained in e.g.: ZINNER, Ernest: *Geschichte und Bibliographie der astronomischen Literatur in Deutschland zur Zeit der Renaissance.* Leipzig : Hiersemann, 1941; NOTHAFT, C. – Philipp E.: *Scandal Error: Calendar Reform and Calendrical Astronomy in Medieval Europe.* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2018.

⁹² This happens in 21 cases: 3 May: Alexandri, Evencii et Theodoli; 2 July: Processi et Martiniani; 25 July: Christofori; 6 August: Feliciisimi et Agapiti; 22 August: Timothei et Simphoriani; 28 August: Hermetis; 29 August: Sabine; 14 September: Corneli et Cypriani; 15 September: Nicomedis; 16 September: Eufemia; 21 October: Hylarionis; 1 November: Cesarii; 2 November: Commemoratio omnium fidelium; 8 November: Quattour Coronatorum; 9 November: Commemoratio Fratrum nostrorum defunctorum; 11 November: Menne; 21 November: Columbanus; 23 November: Felicitatis; 25 December: Anastasia. Plus 2 vigils on 23 February and 23 August.

⁹³ *Missale Cartusianum* ITC: im00634000, fol. ccii. 21 copies are known, two on vellum are from the charterhouse of Brno (Wien, ÖNB, Ink 26a.15 and Olomouc, Vkol, III 2.674).

⁹⁴ It is also presented in the defected calendar of Olomouc, Vkol, M I 363 as a 12 lesson feast.

to date it to the last quarter of the fifteenth century or early sixteenth century. The most important is the feast of the Dedication on October 2nd. Taking into account the above mentioned feast of the dedication of churches of Gaming, Lövdö, Brno and Olomouc, this information will help in the future to identify manuscripts still unknown today.

Conclusion: Due to the inscription of ownership on the flyleaf of the manuscript, this calendar can be attributed to the charterhouse of Letanovce and provides us with the date of the feast of the dedication of its church on October 2nd. As this calendar contains all the feasts of the printed breviary of 1491, it can be dated to the end of the fifteenth century.

i. Litany of the Saints

In the above discussed calendars, the presence of a feast or saint in combination with its rank can be scrutinized to determine dating and provenance. One last tool are the Litanies of the Saints. These can be found at the end of the psalms and canticles in breviaries and psalters.⁹⁵ From the eighth century onwards, litanies had a fixed structure with a list of saints, hierarchically classified: angels, apostles and evangelists, disciples of Our Lord, martyrs, pontifices, doctors, monks, hermits and confessors, female saints and virgins and widows.⁹⁶ The content of a litany reflects the saints in a calendar. The name of St. Hugh is often found in the litanies of the Carthusian Order, in some cases twice. After his canonization, St. Bruno's name was often added. One female saint who the Carthusians did not venerate in their liturgy, is mentioned in the litany, namely St. Blandina, 'martyred at Lyon during the persecution of Marcus Aurelius in 177'.⁹⁷ She is mentioned in, for example, M I 6, fol. 66v, M I 363, fol. 352v and Cod. 207, fol. 115r. One must not forget the martyrologies. They contain many more saints and martyrs, whose names were read out during the chapter after Prime to all the monks and nuns in the monasteries, such as the one of St. Blandina on June 2nd in the Martyrology of Usuard.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ MORGAN, Nigel J.: *English monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100, Vol. III: Addenda, Commentary, Catalogue of Saints, Indexes*. London, 2018, p. 83.

⁹⁶ DUBOIS, LEMAÎTRE, Ref. 6, p. 99.

⁹⁷ MORGAN, Nigel J.: *English monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100, Vol. I. Abbotsbury – Peterborough*; London : The Boydell Press, 2012, p. 83.

⁹⁸ DUBOIS, Jacques, Ref. 40, p. 239: '*Lugduni, Passa est quoque et sancta Blandina ex eorum collegio, quae primo, secundo et tertio die pulsata cruciatibus, cum non superaretur, quarto verberibus acta, cratibus exusta et multa alia perpessa, ad ultimum gladio iugulata est.*'



Image 3: Olomouc, Vkol, M I 6, fol. 66v

By courtesy of the Vkol.

Conclusion:

As Eva Veselovská⁹⁹ demonstrated in her article about the Office of the Dead, the Carthusian liturgy has no close connection with the liturgy of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. The same can be said of the other dioceses, due to the restricted number of

⁹⁹ VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Oficiu za zosnulých v rkp. J 538 z Literárneho archívu Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine. In: BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka (Ed.): *Musica Mediaeva Liturgica IV: Zborník*

saints commemorated during the liturgy reflected in the calendars of the Carthusian Order. A list of typical feasts and saints can be compiled by comparing the Carthusian calendar with those of other monastic orders and of the dioceses of Central Europe. This group of six names allows us to determine if a manuscript with a calendar is connected to the Carthusian Order. Several types of calendars can be distinguished which hold additional information. The calendars in missals have a more official character, whereas those in breviaries and psalters contain more elements of personal devotion.

The studied copies from the monasteries of Moravia and the Kingdom of Hungary can be more accurately dated by an analysis of the different feasts in combination with their ranking. The most important results of this analysis are the dedication dates of four charterhouses: Lövd on October 25th, Brno on October 11th, Olomouc on November 23rd and Letanovce on October 2nd. Secondly, by a decision of the General Chapter, the Order permitted the Moravian houses to celebrate the feast of St. Wenceslaus as a 12-lesson feast on September 28th and for the Hungarian monastery of Lövd to celebrate the different royal saints as an act of gratitude to the dynasty of their founder King Louis I of Hungary. In the calendar of Letanovce, only the feast of St. Elizabeth remains, probably celebrated with 12 lessons, as mentioned in the calendar of Lövd and of Olomouc.

It would be of value to compare the content of calendars with those of liturgical texts in each manuscript. In the missal printed by Peter Drach in 1496, the calendar is identical to the calendar of the breviary of 1491. However, the texts of this missal contained in a separate section include eight saints who do not belong to the core of the Carthusian liturgical calendar. Such information is not included, due to the limitations of the present study. How these local feasts were initiated and incorporated and which sources were used also requires further research.

Regarding this matter, I agree with Thomas Op de Coul that: *'If scholars are using information of the article [HOURLIER-DU MOUSTIER] to date liturgical manuscripts, while the same information has been partly culled from (unspecified) liturgical manuscripts, one is dangerously close to circular reasoning – apart from the potential uncertainties in the liturgical sources themselves.'*¹⁰⁰ In the article of Hourlier and Du Moustier, many feasts are connected with their presence in the statutes. The ordonnances from the twelfth and thirteenth century are largely missing, a period when several new feasts were introduced. Most likely they were introduced before the promulgated statutes.¹⁰¹ New feasts or changes to existing ones were ordered by the General Chapter due to the ordonnances. On their behalf, two appointed priors supervised and scrupulously controlled the liturgical books during the annual visitations. The relevant liturgical books needed to be modified. However, it is difficult to determine which books were and which were not in use in those days and became the subject of such a control.

príspevkov z muzikologickej konferencie konanej dňa 1. júna 2022. Ružomberok : VERBUM, 2023, pp. 153-171.

¹⁰⁰ OP DE COUL, Thomas: How were new saint's feasts added to liturgical manuscripts? Uniformity in three dated Carthusian graduals from the Low Countries. In: *Etudes grégoriennes*, Vol. 41. Solesmes : Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 2014, p. 78.

¹⁰¹ OP DE COUL, Ref. 100, p. 78: *'would strongly suggest that in such research, however, statutory sources should be kept strictly separate from liturgical ones'.*

While the Carthusian Order has hitherto been presented as a highly centralized organization with a uniformity in its liturgy, this study has uncovered much diversity as regards smaller-scale, local customs. The Carthusians' mission was to pray not only for themselves, but for the entire Christian community and the people associated with them. What better way to do this than to include local festivals. There was an interaction between the Carthusian monasteries and their founders in response to such a request, as is evident from the Lövd calendar. Despite this diversity, the drive for a standardized liturgical program of the sanctorale is beyond dispute and shows the unique character of Carthusian spirituality.

Appendix 1: Comparative table between the oldest calendar mentioned by Dom Degand (based on the *Nécrologe primitif*) and the *Breviarium cartisianum* printed in Venice in 1491

The additional feasts in the calendar of 1491 were admitted between 1134 and 1491. For example, the octaves on January 2nd, 3rd and 4th were first mentioned in the *Consuetudines* of Basil in 1170. The most recent one is the feast of the Presentation on November 21st, admitted in 1470, which became obligatory in 1474.

Month	Day	Feast	Necr.	1491
January	1	Circumcisio Domini	x	x
January	2	<i>Octava Sancti Stephani</i>		x
January	3	<i>Octava Sancti Joannis</i>		x
January	4	<i>Octava Sanctorum Innocentium</i>		x
January	6	Epiphania	x	x
January	10	Pauli primi heremite	x	x
January	13	Octave Epiphanie	x	x
January	13	<i>Hilarii epi. & conf.</i>		x
January	14	Felicitas in Pincis conf.	x	x
January	16	Marcelli pape & mr	x	x
January	17	Antonii abb. & conf.	x	x
January	18	Prisce virg. & mr.	x	x
January	20	Fabiani et Sebastiani mr	x	x
January	21	Agnetis virg. & mr	x	x
January	22	Vincentii mr	x	x
January	25	Conversio sancti Pauli	x	x
January	26	Policarpi epi. & mr	x	x
January	28	Agnetis secundo	x	x
February	2	Purificatio beate Marie	x	x
February	3	<i>Blasii epi. & mr</i>		x
February	5	Agathe virg. & mr	x	x
February	14	Valentini mr	x	x
February	22	Cathedra sancti Petri	x	x
February	23	<i>Vigilia</i>	x	x
February	24	Mathie apost.	x	x
March	7	<i>Thome de Aquino conf.</i>		x
March	12	Gregorii pape	x	x
March	21	Benedicti abb.	x	x

Month	Day	Feast	Necr.	1491
March	25	Annunciatio Domini	x	x
April	1	<i>Hugonis epi. & conf.</i>		x
April	4	Ambrosii epi. & conf.	x	x
April	14	Tiburtii, Valeriani et Maximi mr	x	x
April	23	Georgii mr	x	x
April	25	Marci evang.	x	x
April	28	Vitalis mr	x	x
April	29	<i>Petri mr. Ordinis Predicatorum</i>		x
May	1	Philippi et Jacobi apost.	x	x
May	3	Inventio sancte Crucis	x	x
May	3	Alexandri, Eventii et Theodori mr	x	x
May	10	Gordiani et Epimachi mr	x	x
May	12	Nerei et Achillei atque Pancratii mr	x	x
May	25	Urbani pape & mr	x	x
June	2	Marcelini et Petri mr	x	x
June	9	Primi et Feliciani mr	x	x
June	11	Barnabe apost.	x	x
June	12	Basilidis, Cirini et Narboris mr	x	x
June	16	Cirici et Julite mr	x	x
June	18	Marci et Marcelliani mr	x	x
June	23	Vigilia	x	x
June	24	Nativitatis s. Joannis Baptiste	x	x
June	26	Joannis et Pauli mr	x	x
June	28	Vigilia	x	x
June	28	Leonis pape	x	x
June	29	Petri et Pauli apost.	x	x
June	30	Commemoratio s. Pauli apost.	x	x
July	1	Octava s. Joannis Baptiste	x	x
July	2	Processi et Martiniani mr	x	x
July	2	<i>Visitatio beate Marie</i>		x
July	6	Octave Apostolorum Petri et Pauli	x	x
July	9	<i>Octava Visitationis b. Marie</i>		x
July	10	Septem fratrum mr	x	x
July	20	<i>Margarite virg. & mr</i>		x
July	21	Praxedis virg.	x	x
July	22	Marie Magdalene	x	x
July	23	Apollinaris epi. & mr	x	x
July	24	Cristine virg & mr	x	x
July	25	Jacobi apost.	x	x
July	25	Christofori mr	x	x
July	26	<i>Anne matris b. Marie</i>		x
July	28	Nazarii, Celsi mr et Pantaleonis	x	x
July	29	Felicis, Simplicii, Faustini et Beatricis mr	x	X
July	30	Abdon et sennen mr	x	x
July	31	Germani epi. & conf.	x	x
August	1	S. Petri ad Vincula	x	x

Month	Day	Feast	Necr.	1491
August	2	Stephani pape & mr	x	x
August	3	Inventio s. Stephani prothomr	x	x
August	5	<i>Dominici conf.</i>		x
August	6	Sixiti pape & mr	x	x
August	6	Felicissimi et Agapiti mr	x	x
August	8	Ciriaci, Lari et Smaragdi mr	x	x
August	9	Vigilia	x	x
August	10	Laurentii mr	x	x
August	11	Tiburtii mr	x	x
August	13	Ypoliti mr	x	x
August	14	Vigilia	x	x
August	14	Eusebii conf.	x	x
August	15	Assumptio Beate Marie	x	x
August	18	Agapiti mr	x	x
August	20	<i>Bernardi abbatis</i>		x
August	22	Octava Assumptionis	x	x
August	22	Timothei et Simphoriani mr	x	x
August	23	<i>Vigilia</i>		x
August	24	Bartholomei apost.	x	x
August	28	Augustini epi. & conf.	x	x
August	28	Hermetis mr	x	x
August	29	Decolatio s. Joannis Baptiste	x	x
August	29	Sabine mr	x	x
August	30	Felices et Adaucit mr	x	x
September	8	Nativitas beate Marie	x	x
September	9	Gorgonii mr	x	x
September	11	Prothi et Jacincti mr	x	x
September	14	Cornelii et Cypriani mr	x	x
September	14	Exaltatio sancte Crucis	x	x
September	15	Nicomedis mr	x	x
September	15	<i>Octava Nativitatis beate Marie</i>		x
September	16	Lucie et Geminiani mr	x	x
September	16	Euphemie virg.	x	x
September	20	Vigilia	x	x
September	21	Mathei apost. & evang.	x	x
September	22	Mauricii et sociorum eius mr	x	x
September	23	Teclæ virg.	x	x
September	27	Cosme et Damiani mr	x	x
September	29	Michaelis archangeli	x	x
September	30	Hieronymi presb. & conf.	x	x
October	1	Remigii epi. & conf.	x	x
October	4	<i>Francisci conf.</i>		x
October	6	Fidis virg. & mr	x	x
October	7	Marci pape & conf.	x	x
October	9	Dionisii et sociorum eius mr	x	x
October	14	Calixti pape & mr	x	x

Month	Day	Feast	Necr.	1491
October	18	Luce evang.	x	x
October	21	Hilarionis conf.	x	x
October	25	Crispini et Crispiniani mr	x	x
October	27	Vigilia	x	x
October	28	Simonis et Judea apost.	x	x
October	31	Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum	x	x
November	1	Festivitas Omnium Sanctorum	x	x
November	1	Cesarii mr	x	x
November	2	Eustachii cum sociis suis	x	x
November	2	<i>Commemoratio fidelium defunctorum</i>		x
November	8	Quatuor Coronatorum	x	x
November	8	<i>Festum reliquiarum</i>		x
November	9	Theodori mr	x	x
November	9	<i>Commemoratio Fratrum nostrorum defunctorum</i>		x
November	11	Martini epi. & conf.	x	x
November	11	Manne mr	x	x
November	13	Bricatii epi. & conf.	x	x
November	17	<i>Hugonis epi. & conf.</i>		x
November	21	Columbani abbatis & conf.	x	x
November	21	<i>Presentatio beate Marie</i>		x
November	22	Clementis pape & mr	x	x
November	22	Felicitatis mr	x	x
November	24	Crisogoni mr	x	x
November	25	<i>Katharine virg. & mr</i>		x
November	26	Lini pape & mr	x	x
November	27	Agricole et Vitalis mr	x	x
November	28	Silee apost.	x	x
November	29	Saturnini mr	x	x
November	29	Vigilia	x	x
November	30	Andree apost.	x	x
December	4	<i>Barbare virg. & mr</i>	x	x
December	6	Nicolai epi. & conf.	x	x
December	8	<i>Conceptionis beate Marie</i>		x
December	10	Eulalie virg. & mr	x	x
December	13	Lucie virg. & mr	x	x
December	20	<i>Vigilia</i>		x
December	21	Thome apost.	x	x
December	24	Vigilia	x	x
December	25	Nativitas Domini	x	x
December	25	Anastasiae virg. & mr	x	x
December	26	Stephani prothomr	x	x
December	27	Joannis apost. & evang.	x	x
December	28	Sanctorum Innocentium	x	x
December	29	Thome epi. & mr	x	x
December	31	Silvestri pape & conf.	x	x

Appendix 2: The calendar of the charterhouse of Letanovce¹⁰²

Budapest, Elte, Cod. Lat. 77, fol. 70 r – 75v.

KL			Januarius
iii	A		Circu[m]cisio d[omi]ni
	b	iiii	Octava [san]c[t]i Stephani
xi	c	iii	Octava s[ancti] Iohan[n]is
	d	ii	Octava s[anctorum] Innoce[n]tu[m]
xix	e	Non[as]	Vigilia
viii	f	viii	Epyphania d[omi]ni
	g	vii	
xvi	a	vi	
v	b	v	
	c	iiii	Pauli p[ri]mi he[re]mite
xiii	d	iii	
ii	e	ii	
	f	Idus	Octava epyphanie // Hylarii ep[iscop]i
x	g	xix	Februrarii Felic[is] i[n] pinis [con]fes[soris]
	a	xviii	
xviii	b	xvii	Marcelli p[a]pe [et] m[arty]r[is]
vii	c	xvi	Anthonii abbatis
	d	xv	Prisce v[ir]ginis [et] m[arty]r[is]
xv	e	xiiii	
iiii	f	xiii	Fabiani [et] Sebas[tiani] m[arty]r[u]m
	g	xii	Agnetis v[ir]ginis [et] m[arty]r[is]
xii	a	xi	Vincencii m[arty]r[is]
i	b	x	
	c	ix	
ix	d	viii	Co[n]v[er]sio s[ancti] Pauli
	e	vii	Policarpi ep[iscop]i [et] m[arty]r[is]
xvii	f	vi	
vi	g	v	Agnetis s[e]c[un]do
	a	iiii	
xiiii	b	iii	
iii	c	ii	
KL			Februarius
	d		
xvi	e	iiii	Purificacio Marie
xix	f	iii	Blasii ep[iscop]i [et] m[arty]r[is]
viii	g	ii	
	a	Non[as]	Agathe v[ir]ginis [et] m[arty]r[is]

¹⁰² Orthograph is following the manuscript; abbreviations are solved between square brackets; feasts in red ink in the manuscript are in bold; normally the second feast of a day is missing and added in italics between brackets.

KL			Februarius
xvi	b	viii	
v	c	vii	
	d	vi	
xiii	e	v	
ii	f	iiii	
	g	iii	
x	a	ii	
	b	Idus	
xviii	c	xvi	Vale[n]tini m[arty]r[is]
vii	d	xv	
	e	xiiii	
xv	f	xiii	
iiii	g	xii	
	a	xi	
xii	b	x	
i	c	ix	
	d	viii	Kathedra s[an]c[t]i Petri
ix	e	vii	(vigilia)
	f	vi	bisexbilis hic i[m]ponit[ur]
	g	v	Mathie ap[osto]li
xvii	a	iiii	
vi	b	iii	
	c	ii	
xiiii			
KL			Marcus
iii	d		
	e	vi	
xi	f	v	
	g	iiii	
xix	a	iii	
viii	b	ii	
	c	No[na]s	
xvi	d	viii	Thome de aquino c[on]f[essoris]
v	e	vii	
	f	vi	
xiii	g	v	
ii	a	iiii	Gregorii pape
	b	iii	
x	c	ii	
	d	Idus	
xviii	e	xvii	
vii	f	xvi	
	g	xv	
xv	a	xiiii	

KL			Marcius
iiii	b	xiii	
	c	xii	Benedicti abbatis
xii	d	xi	
i	e	x	
	f	ix	
ix	g	viii	An[n]u[n]ciac[i]o d[omi]nica
	a	vii	
xvii	b	vi	
vi	c	v	
	d	iiii	
xiii	e	iii	
iii	f	ii	

KL			Aprilis
	g		Hugonis ep[iscop]i et [con]fes[soris]
xi	a	iiii	
	b	iii	
xix	c	ii	Ambrosii ep[iscop]i et [con]fes[soris]
viii	d	No[na]s	
xvi	e	viii	
v	f	vii	
	g	vi	
xiii	a	v	
ii	b	iiii	
	c	iii	
x	d	ii	
	e	Idus	
xviii	f	xviii	Tiburcii et Valeriani
vii	g	xvii	
	a	xvi	
xv	b	xv	
iiii	c	xiiii	
	d	xiii	
xii	e	xii	
i	f	xi	
	g	x	
ix	a	ix	Georgii m[arty]r[is]
	b	viii	
xvii	c	vii	Marci eva[ngeliste]
vi	d	vi	
	e	v	
xiii	f	iiii	Vitalis m[arty]r[is]
iii	g	iii	Petri m[arty]r[is]
	a	ii	

KL

xi	b	
	c	vi
xix	d	v
viii	e	iiii
	f	iii
xvi	g	ii
v	a	No[na]s
	b	viii
xiii	c	vii
ii	d	vi
	e	v
x	f	iiii
	g	iii
xviii	a	ii
vii	b	Idus
	c	xvii
xv	d	xvi
iiii	e	xv
	f	xiiii
xii	g	xiii
i	a	xii
	b	xi
ix	c	x
	d	ix
xvii	e	viii
vi	f	vii
	g	vi
xiiii	a	v
iii	b	iiii
	c	iii
xi	d	ii

Maius

Philippi et Iacobi

Invencio Crucis (*Alexandri, Eventii & Theodoli mr*)

Gordiani et Epimachi

Nerei et Achillei

Urbani ep[iscopi] et m[arty]r[is]

KL

	e	
xix	f	iiii
viii	g	iii
xvi	a	ii
v	b	No[na]s
	c	viii
xiii	d	vii
ii	e	vi
	f	v
x	g	iiii
	a	iii

Junius

Marcelli et Pet[ri]

P[ri]mi et Feliciani

Barnabe ap[osto]li

			Junius
xviii	b	ii	Basilidis Cirini et Nabo[r]is
vii	c	Idus	
	d	xviii	
xv	e	xvii	
iiii	f	xvi	Cirici et Iulite
	g	xv	
xii	a	xiiii	Marci et Marcelliani
i	b	xiii	Gervasii et Prothasii m[arty]r[um]
	c	xii	
ix	d	xi	
	e	x	
xvii	f	ix	Vigilia
vi	g	viii	Nativitas Iohannis Bap[tiste]
	a	vii	
xiiii	b	vi	Ioh[ann]is et Pauli
iii	c	v	
	d	iiii	Vigilia Leo[n]is pape Hyrenei
xi	e	iii	Petri et Pauli
	f	ii	Co[m]me[m]oracio s[ancti] Pauli ap[osto]li

KL			Julius
xix	g		Oct[av]a Ioh[ann]is Bap[tiste]
viii	a	vi	Visitac[i]o[n]is Marie (<i>Processi & Martiniani mr</i>)
	b	v	
xvi	c	iiii	
v	d	iii	
	e	ii	Oct[av]a ap[osto]loru[m]
xiii	f	No[na]s	
ii	g	viii	
	a	vii	Oct[av]a visitac[i]o[n]is Ma[r]ie
x	b	vi	VII fratriu[m]
	c	v	
xviii	d	iiii	
vii	e	iii	
	f	ii	
xv	g	Idus	
iiii	a	xvii	
	b	xvi	
xii	c	xv	
i	d	xiiii	
	e	xiii	Margarete v[irginis] m[arty]r[is]
ix	f	xii	Praxedis v[irginis]
	g	xi	Marie Magdalene
xvii	a	x	Appolli[n]aris ep[iscop]i m[arty]r[is]

KL			Julius
vi	b	ix	[Christ]ine v[irginis] m[arty]r[is] Vigilia
	c	viii	Iacobi ap[osto]li (<i>Christophori mr</i>)
xiii	d	vii	Anne
iii	e	vi	
	f	v	Nazarii Celsi Pa[n]taleo[n]is m[arty]r[um]
xi	g	iiii	Felicitis Simplicii Faus[tini] Be[atricis] m[arty]r[um]
xix	a	iii	Abdon et Sennes m[arty]r[um]
	b	ii	Germani ep[iscop]i [con]fes[soris]
KL			Augustus
viii	c		Ad vincula Pet[ri]
xvi	d	iiii	Steffani m[arty]r[is]
v	e	iii	Invenc[i]o Steffani
	f	ii	
xiii	g	No[na]s	D[omi]nici co[n]f[essoris]
ii	a	viii	Sixti pape (<i>Felicissimi et Agapiti mr</i>)
	b	vii	
x	c	vi	Ciriaci et socioru[m] ei[us]
	d	v	Vigilia
xviii	e	iiii	Lauren[cii] m[arty]r[is]
vii	f	iii	Tiburcii m[arty]r[is]
	g	ii	
xv	a	Idus	Ippoliti m[arty]r[is]
iiii	b	xix	Eusebii co[n]f[essoris] Vigilia
	c	xviii	Assu[m]pcio Marie
xii	d	xvii	
i	e	xvi	
	f	xv	Agapiti m[arty]r[is]
ix	g	xiiii	
	a	xiii	Ber[n]hardi abbatis
xvii	b	xii	
vii	c	xi	Oct[av]a Assu[m]pc[i]o[n]is (<i>Timothei et Simphoriani mr</i>)
	d	x	(<i>vigilia</i>)
xiii	e	ix	Bartholomei ap[osto]li
iii	f	viii	
	g	vii	
xi	a	vi	
xix	b	v	Augustini ep[iscop]i co[n]f[essoris] (<i>Hermetis mr</i>)
	c	iiii	Decollacio s[ancti] Io[hann]is (<i>Sabine mr</i>)
viii	d	iii	Felicitis et Adaucti m[arty]r[um]
	c	ii	

KL		September	
xvi	f		
v	g	iiii	
	a	iii	
xiii	b	ii	
ii	c	No[na]s	
	d	viii	
x	e	vii	
	f	vi	Nativitas Marie
xviii	g	v	Gorgonii m[arty]r[is]
vii	a	iiii	
	b	iii	Proti et Iaci[n]cti m[arty]r[um]
xv	c	ii	
iiii	d	Idus	
	e	xviii	Exaltacio Crucis (<i>Cornelii et Cipriani mr</i>)
xii	f	xvii	Oc[tav]e nativitatis Ma[r]ie (<i>Nicomedis mr</i>)
i	g	xvi	Lucie et Geminiani m[arty]r[um] (<i>Eufemie v.</i>)
	a	xv	
ix	b	xiiii	
	c	xiii	
xvii	d	xii	Vigilia
vi	e	xi	Mathei ap[osto]li
	f	x	Mauricii et soc[i]oru[m] ei[us]
xiiii	g	ix	Tecle v[irginis]
iii	a	viii	
	b	vii	
xi	c	vi	
xix	d	v	Cosme et Damiani m[arty]r[um]
	e	iiii	
viii	f	iii	Michaelis
	g	ii	Ie[r]onimi [con]f[essoris]
KL		October	
xvi	a		Remigii ep[iscop]i et co[n]f[essoris]
v	b	vi	Dedicacio ecc[les]ie
xiii	c	v	
ii	d	iiii	Francisci [con]f[essoris]
	e	iii	
x	f	ii	Fidis v[irginis] et m[arty]r[is]
	g	No[na]s	Marci pape [con]f[essoris]
xviii	a	viii	
vii	b	vii	Dyonisii et soc[i]oru[m] ei[is]
	c	vi	
xv	d	v	
iiii	e	iiii	

KL			October
	f	iii	
xii	g	ii	Calixti pape et m[arty]r[is]
i	a	Idus	
	b	xvii	
ix	c	xvi	
	d	xv	Luce ewa[ngeliste]
xvii	e	xiiii	
vi	f	xiii	
	g	xii	XI miliu[m] v[ir]ginu[m] (<i>Hylarionis cf.</i>)
xiiii	a	xi	
iii	b	x	
	c	ix	
xi	d	viii	Crispini et Crispiniani m[arty]r[um]
xix	e	vii	
	f	vi	Vigilia
viii	g	v	Simonis et Iude
	a	iiii	
xvi	b	iii	
v	c	ii	Vigilia
KL			Nove[m]ber
	d		Om[n]i[um] S[an]ctoru[m] (<i>Cesarii mr</i>)
xiiii	e	iiii	Eustachii et soc[i]oru[m] ei[is] (<i>Commemoratio omnium fidelium</i>)
ii	f	iii	
	g	ii	
x	a	No[na]s	
	b	viii	
xviii	c	vii	
vii	d	vi	Reliq[ui]aru[m] (<i>Quattuor Coronatorum mr</i>)
	e	v	Theodori m[arty]r[is] (<i>Commemoratio Fratrum Nostrorum</i>)
xv	f	iiii	
iiii	g	iii	Martini ep[iscop]i [con]f[essoris] (<i>Menne mr</i>)
	a	ii	
xii	b	Idus	Briccii ep[iscop]i [con]f[essoris]
i	c	xviii	
	d	xvii	
ix	e	xvi	
	f	xv	Hugo[n]is ep[iscop]i [con]f[essoris]
xvii	g	xiiii	
vi	a	xiii	Elizabet
	b	xii	
xiiii	c	xi	P[rese]ntac[i]o[n]is Ma[r]ie (<i>Columbani abbatis</i>)
iii	d	x	Cecilie
	e	ix	Cleme[n]tis (<i>Felicitatis mr</i>)

xi	f	viii	Crisogoni
xix	g	vii	Katherine v[irginis] et m[arty]r[is]
	a	vi	Lini pape m[arty]r[is]
viii	b	v	Agricole et Vitalis m[arty]r[um]
	c	iiii	Silee ap[osto]li
xvi	d	iii	Saturnin m[arty]r[is] Vigilia
v	e	ii	Andree ap[osto]li

KL**December**

xiii	f		
ii	g	iii(i)	
	a	iii	
x	b	ii	Barbare v[irginis] m[arty]r[is]
	c	No[na]s	
xviii	d	viii	Nicolai ep[iscop]i co[n]f[essoris]
vii	e	vii	
	f	vi	Concepc[i]o Ma[r]ie v[irginis]
xv	g	v	
iiii	a	iiii	Eulalie v[irginis] m[arty]r[is]
	b	iii	
xii	c	ii	
i	d	Idus	Lucie v[irginis] m[arty]r[is]
	e	xix	
ix	f	xviii	
	g	xvii	
xvii	a	xvi	
vi	b	xv	
	c	xiiii	
xiiii	d	xiii	Vigilia
iii	e	xii	Thome ap[osto]li
	f	xi	
xi	g	x	
xix	a	ix	Vigilia
	b	viii	Nativitas [Christ]i (<i>Anastase v & mr</i>)
viii	c	vii	Steffanii m[arty]r[is]
	d	vi	Iohan[n]is ewa[ngeliste]
xvi	e	v	Innocentu[m]
v	f	iiii	Thome ep[isco]i et m[arty]r[is]
	g	iii	
xiii	a	ii	Silvestri pape [con]f[essoris]
			bisextilis

Appendix 3: The Carthusian Calendar of analysed manuscripts

Feasts which are not Carthusian are marked in bold, except the dedication of the church, which is held on a different date for each monastery. Feasts added by a later hand are marked by []. Between () are feasts which have been erased. Feasts in bold cursive are a personal devotion. Grey means that the months February and March in Olom. 2 are missing.

Löv. : Lövdöld = Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 3990

Let. : Letanovce = Budapest, Elte, Cod. Lat. 77

Brno: Brno = Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2027

Olom 1 : Olomouc = Olomouc, Vkol, MS M 3 II 186

Olom 2 : Olomouc = Olomouc, Vkol, MS M I 363

Date	Saint	Löv.	Let.	Brno	Olom 1	Olom 2
01 Jan	Circumcisio Domini	x	x	x	x	x
02 Jan	Octava s. Stephani	x	x	x	x	x
03 Jan	Octava s. Joh. Evang.	x	x	x	x	x
04 Jan	Octava s. Innocentium	x	x	x	x	x
05 Jan	Vigilia Epiphania		x		x	x
06 Jan	Epiphania Domini	x	x	x	x	x
10 Jan	Pauli primi eremitae	x	x	x	x	x
13 Jan	Octava Epiphaniae	x	x	x	x	x
13 Jan	Hilarii ep. & cf.		x	x	x	x
14 Jan	Felcis in Pincis cf.	x	x	x	x	x
16 Jan	Marcelli pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
17 Jan	Anthonii abb.	x	x	x	x	x
18 Jan	Priscae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
20 Jan	Fabiani et Sebastiani m.	x	x	x	x	x
21 Jan	Agnetis v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
22 Jan	Vincentii m.	x	x	x	x	x
25 Jan	Conversio s. Pauli	x	x	x	x	x
26 Jan	Polycarpi ep. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Jan	Agnetis secundo	x	x	x	x	x
02 Feb	Purificatio Mariae	x	x	x	x	x
03 Feb	Blasii ep. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
05 Feb	Agathae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
14 Feb	Valentini m.	x	x	x	x	x
22 Feb	Cathedra s. Petri	x	x	x	x	x
23 Feb	Vigilia s. Mathiae ap.				x	x
24 Feb	Mathiae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
02 Mar	Dedicatio capituli et cimeterii (Lövdöld)	x				
07 Mar	Thomae de Aquino cf.	x	x	x	x	x
12 Mar	Gregorii pp.	x	x	x	x	x
21 Mar	Benedicti abb.	x	x	x	x	x
25 Mar	Annunciatio Domini	x	x	x	x	x
01 Apr	Hugonis ep. Gratiapol.	x	x	x	x	x
04 Apr	Ambrosii ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	(x)

Date	Saint	Löv.	Let.	Brno	Olom 1	Olom 2
14 Apr	Tiburtii, Valeriani et Maximi m.	x	x	x	x	x
23 Apr	Georgii m.	x	x	x	x	x
25 Apr.	Marci ev.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Apr	Vitalis m.	x	x	x	x	x
29 Apr	Petri m.	x	x	x	x	x
01 May	Philippi et Iacobi ap.	x	x	x	x	x
03 May	Inventio s. Crucis	x	x	x	x	x
03 May	Alexandri, Eventii et Theodoli m.	x		x	x	x
06 May	Catharine Senensis				x	
10 May	Gordiani et Epimachi m.	x	x	x	x	x
12 May	Nerei, Achilei et Pancratii m.	x	x	x	x	x
25 May	Urbani p. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
02 Jun	Marcellini et Petri m.	x	x	x	x	x
09 Jun	Primi et Feliciani m.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Jun	Barnabe ap.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Jun	<i>Onufrij</i>					[x]
12 Jun	Basilidis, Cirini et Naboris m.	x	x	x	x	x
16 Jun	Cirini et Iulitae m.	x	x	x	x	x
18 Jun	Marci et Marcelliani m.	x	x	x	x	x
19 Jun	Gervasii et Prothasii m.	x	x	x	x	x
22 Jun	Decem milium martyrum					[x]
23 Jun	Vigilia Iohannis Baptistae	x	x	x	x	x
24 Jun	Iohannis Baptistae	x	x	x	x	x
26 Jun	Iohannis et Pauli m.	x	x	x	x	x
27 Jun	Ladislai regis hungarie	x				
28 Jun	Leonis pp. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Jun	Hirenaei ac soc.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Jun	Vigilia ss. Petr et Pauli ap.		x	x	x	x
29 Jun	Petri et Pauli ap.	x	x	x	x	x
30 Jun	Commemoratio s. Pauli ap.	x	x	x	x	x
01 Jul	Octava Iohannis Baptistae	x	x	x	x	x
02 Jul	Visitatio Mariae	x	x	[x]	x	[x]
02 Jul	Processi et Martiniani m.			x	x	x
06 Jul	Octava ap. Petr et Pauli	x	x	x	x	x
08 Jul	Killianus			x		
09 Jul	Octava Visitationis		x		x	[x]
10 Jul	Septem Fratrum m.	x	x	x	x	x
12 Jul	Hermagoras et Fortunatus m.			x		
20 Jul	Margaritae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
21 Jul	Praxedis v.	x	x	x	x	x
22 Jul	Marie Magdalenae	x	x	x	x	x
23 Jul	Apollinaris ep. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
24 Jul	Christinae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
24 Jul	Vigilia Iacobi ap.	x	x		x	x
25 Jul	Iacobi ap.	x	x	x	x	x

Date	Saint	Löv.	Let.	Brno	Olom 1	Olom 2
25 Jul	Christophori m.	x		x	x	x
26 Jul	Annae matris b. Mariae	x	x	x	x	[x]
27 Jul	Marthe					[x]
28 Jul	Nazarii, Celsi et Pantaleonis m.	x	x	x	x	x
29 Jul	Felices, Simplicii, Fautini & Beatricis m.	x	x	x	x	x
30 Jul	Abdon et Sennen m.	x	x	x	x	x
31 Jul	Germani ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
01 Aug	Ad vincula s. Petri	x	x	x	x	x
02 Aug	Stephani pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
03 Aug	Inventio s. Stephani prothom.	x	x	x	x	x
05 Aug	Dominici cf.	x	x	x	x	x
06 Aug	Sixit pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
06 Aug	Felicissimi et Agapiti m.	x		x	x	x
06 Aug	<i>Affra</i>					[x]
08 Aug	Ciriaci, Largi et Smaragdi m.	x	x	x	x	x
09 Aug	Vigilia Laurentii	x	x	x	x	x
10 Aug	Laurentii m.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Aug	Tiburtii m.	x	x	x	x	x
13 Aug	Hippolyti m.	x	x		x	x
14 Aug	Vigilia Assumptio	x	x	x	x	x
14 Aug	Eusebii cf.	x	x	x	x	x
15 Aug	Assumptio Mariae	x	x	x	x	x
18 Aug	Agapiti m.	x	x	x	x	x
20 Aug	Bernardi abb.	x	x	x	x	x
20 Aug	Stephani regis	x				
22 Aug	Octava Assumptio	x	x	x	x	x
22 Aug	Timothei et Simphoriani m.	x		x	x	x
23 Aug	Vigilia Bartholomaei			x		x
24 Aug	Bartholomaei ap.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Aug	Augustini ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Aug	Hermetis m.	x		x	x	x
29 Aug	Decollatio Iohannis Baptistae	x	x	x	x	x
29 Aug	Sabinae v. & m.	x		x	x	x
30 Aug	Felices et Adaukti m.	x	x	x	x	x
08 Sep	Nativitas b. Mariae	x	x	x	x	x
09 Sep	Gorgonii m.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Sep	Prothi et Iacincti m.	x	x	x	x	x
14 Sep	Exaltatio s. Crucis	x	x	x	x	x
14 Sep	Cornelii et Cypriani m.	x		x	x	x
15 Sep	Octava Nativitatis Mariae	x	x	x	x	x
15 sep	Nicomedis m.	x		x	x	x
16 Sep	Lucie et Geminiani m.	x	x	x	x	x
16 Sep	Euphemiae v. & m.	x		x	x	x
20 Sep	Vigilia Mathaei ap.		x	x	x	x
21 Sep	Mathaei ap. & ev.	x	x	x	x	x

Date	Saint	Löv.	Let.	Brno	Olom 1	Olom 2
22 Sep	Mauricii et soc. m.	x	x	x	x	x
23 Sep	Teclae v.	x	x	x	x	x
27 Sep	Cosmae et Damiani m.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Sep	Wenceslai m.				x	
29 Sep	Michaelis archangeli	x	x	x	x	x
30 Sep	Hieronymi presb. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
01 Oct	Remigii ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
02 Oct	Dedicatio ecclesie (Letanovce)		x			
04 Oct	Francisci cf.	x	x	x	x	x
06 Oct	Brunonis cf.			x		
06 Oct	Fidis v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
07 Oct	Marci p. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
09 Oct	Dionisii et soc. m.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Oct	Dedicatio (Brno)			x		
13 Oct	Dedicatio ecclesie (Gaming)			x		
14 Oct	Calixti pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
16 Oct	Galli abbatis					[x]
18 Oct	Lucae ev.	x	x	x	x	x
18 Oct	Commemoratio cluniacensis					x
21 Oct	Undecim milium virginum	x	x	x	x	x
21 Oct	Hilarionis cf.	x		x	x	x
25 Oct	Crispini et Crispiniani m.	x	x	x	x	x
25 Oct	Dedicatio ecclesie nostre (Lövöld)	x				
27 Oct	Vigilia Simonis et Iudae ap.		x	x	x	x
28 Oct	Simonis et Iudae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
31 Oct	Vigilia Omnium Sanctorum		x	x	x	x
01 Nov	Festum Omnium Sanctorum	x	x	x	x	x
01 Nov	Caesarii m.	x		x	x	x
02 Nov	Commemoratio fidelium defunctorum			x	x	x
02 Nov	Eustachii et soc. m.	x	x	x	x	x
05 Nov	Emeriti cf.	x				
08 Nov	Festum reliquiarum	x	x	x	x	x
08 Nov	Quattuor Coronatorum	x		x	x	x
09 Nov	Theodori m.	x	x	x	x	x
09 Nov	Commemoratio Fratrum nostr. defunct.	x		x		x
11 Nov	Martini ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
11 Nov	Mennae m.	x		x	x	x
13 Nov	Britii ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
17 Nov	Hugonis ep. Lincoln. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
19 Nov	Elizabeth vidue	x	x			[x]
21 Nov	Presentatio b. Mariae	x	x	[x]	x	x
21 Nov	Columbani abb.	x		x	x	x
22 Nov	Ceciliae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
23 Nov	Clementis pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
23 Nov	Felicitatis m.	x		x	x	x

Date	Saint	Löv.	Let.	Brno	Olom 1	Olom 2
24 Nov	Dedicatio (Olomouc)					x
24 Nov	Crisogoni m.	x	x	x	x	x
25 Nov	Katherinae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
26 Nov	Lini pp. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
26 Nov	Conradi ep. & cf.					x
27 Nov	Agricolae et Vitalis m.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Nov	Sileae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
29 Nov	Saturnini m.	x	x	x	x	x
29 Nov	Vigilia s. Andreae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
30 Nov	Andreae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
04 Dec	Barbarae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	[x]
05 Dec	Dedicatio in capituli (Olomouc)					x
06 Dec	Nicolai ep. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x
07 Dec	Ambrosii ep. & cf.					x
08 Dec	Conceptionis b. Mariae	x	x	x	x	x
10 Dec	Eulaliae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
13 Dec	Luciae v. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
20 Dec	Vigilia s. Thomae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
21 Dec	Thomae ap.	x	x	x	x	x
24 Dec	Vigilia Nativitas domini	x	x	x	x	x
25 Dec	Nativitas Domini	x	x	x	x	x
25 Dec	Anastasiae v. & m.			x	x	x
26 Dec	Stephani prothomartyris	x	x	x	x	x
27 Dec	Iohannis ap. & ev.	x	x	x	x	x
28 Dec	Innocentum martyrum	x	x	x	x	x
29 Dec	Thomae ep. & m.	x	x	x	x	x
31 Dec	Silvestri pp. & cf.	x	x	x	x	x

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Summary

SIGNIFICANCE OF CARTHUSIAN CALENDARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

The Carthusian Order is known for its austere, semi-hermitic life. From their establishment, they pursued simplicity by imposing a *numerus clausus* and a limited patrimony. This is clearly reflected in their liturgy, especially in their liturgical calendars.

Compared to other monastic orders and dioceses of Central Europe, the number of feasts and saints commemorated by the Carthusians is 20–50% lower. A detailed analysis of this comparison has brought to light a group of six feasts / saints typical of the Carthusian liturgy pertaining to other calendars in the Central European region.

In the second part, eight manuscripts with a calendar were examined. All of them have the group of six typical feasts / saints. In addition, each of these calendars have local aspects, with feasts that were incorporated in the liturgy of a specific monastery. This proves that in addition to uniformity, there was room to commemorate saints from their region. Another important result of this case study is the determination of the date of the dedication feast of the charterhouses' church at four monasteries (Lövd, Letanovce, Brno and Olomouc).

Resumé

VÝZNAM KARTUZIÁNSKÝCH KALENDÁROV V STREDNEJ EURÓPE

Rád kartuziánov je známy svojím prostým polo-pustovníckym životom. Od založenia svojej rehole sa kartuziáni usilovali o jednoduchosť nastolením princípu *numerus clausus* a obmedzením dedičstva. Toto sa zreteľne odráža v ich liturgii, najmä v ich liturgických kalendároch.

Počet sviatkov svätých, ktorých kartuziáni slávia, je asi o 20 – 50 % nižší než v iných rehoľných rádoch a diecézach Strednej Európy. Podrobná analýza ukázala, že skupina šiestich sviatkov svätcov typických pre kartuziánsku liturgiu sa vyskytuje aj v iných kalendároch regiónu Strednej Európy.

V druhej časti štúdie skúmame osem rukopisov, ktoré obsahujú kalendár. Vo všetkých sa nachádza skupina šiestich typických sviatkov svätých. Každý z týchto kalendárov vykazuje aj lokálne aspekty, konkrétne sviatky, ktoré sa dostali do liturgie predmetného kláštora. To dokazuje, že okrem jednotnosti existoval aj priestor na slávenie svätých z daného regiónu. Ďalším dôležitým výsledkom tejto prípadovej štúdie je určenie dátumu sviatku zasvätenia kostola rádu v štyroch kartuziánskych kláštoroch: Lövd (dnes Városlöd), Letanovce, Brno a Olomouc.

A NEWLY IDENTIFIED NOTATED *FRAGMENTULUM* IN THE SLOVAK NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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ABSTRACT

Studying tiny fragments (*fragmentula*) can open up new avenues of medieval codex research. Bookbinding strips containing only a few notes or letters and partially legible parchment covers *in situ* are often overlooked in favour of larger, more informative fragments. However, the surviving musical source material from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary is so incomplete that even the smallest fragments are invaluable. This paper focuses on identifying a single *fragmentulum* – a codex fragment housed in the archival fond of the Bratislava Chapter of the Slovak National Archives. It first came to my attention in a fragment catalogue as the cover of Manuscript 242. Only the spine is legible, on which there are a few preserved neume fragments and a syllabized capital *M*. However, it was later discovered that the siglum of the host book was incorrect, necessitating its correct identification and a tracing of its provenance. The second challenge was to identify the fragment based on the limited data available. To my great surprise, I succeeded: the minimal information from the notated fragment proved highly informative, ultimately leading me to one of the most significant 15th-century musical codices of the Archdiocese of Esztergom.

Keywords: codex, fragment, host book, antiphoner, notation, Esztergom, Bratislava, Slovak National Archives

For years, our research group in Budapest¹ has undertaken the study of fragments. We are often granted the privilege of accessing the collections of various libraries, includ-

¹ The team operates as the Department of Early Music History within the HUN-REN Research Centre for Humanities, Institute of Musicology, Budapest, under the leadership of Zsuzsa

ing manuscripts, rare books, and their storerooms.² Here, we have had the opportunity to engage in the meticulous task of searching for fragments of musical codices *in situ*. Entire collections of books have been made available for examination, with each volume carefully removed from the shelves for thorough inspection. This methodical approach has allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the materials. The scale of our discoveries has far exceeded initial expectations. It was unexpected that such a large number of notated codex fragments had survived, and even more surprising was the discovery of numerous tiny notated parchment pieces – such as small spine strips and reinforcements embedded in book bindings – which have considerable scientific value.

The newly-discovered fragment corpus is analysed according to well-established criteria, focusing on quantitative characteristics: the results are then published on the *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis* website.³ The fragment descriptions vary in length: some pieces are discussed in great detail, sometimes accompanied by a study-length summary of observations, while others receive only a brief description. The depth of analysis depends on the information that can be extracted from each fragment.

One of the key criteria for analysis is the size of the written parchment. Larger codex fragments are particularly valuable, as they tend to preserve more text and musical notation, increasing the likelihood of identifying the original notated leaf. In contrast, smaller fragments and parchment strips are often regarded as less significant, as their limited content provides minimal insight into the fragment's provenance or the mother codex. Typically, these small excerpts do not provide enough information to determine the musical notation, liturgical function, or origin of the manuscript. However, even the most seemingly insignificant fragments should not be dismissed, the tiniest remnants can yield valuable insights.

To illustrate this, I will present two compelling examples. At the Reformed College of Kecskemét in central Hungary, surplus binding fragments are stored in plastic at a secure storage facility. One such strip was noted by Zsuzsa Czagány, who identified that it contained parts of a responsory verse associated with the feast of St. Stephen the Martyr. The verse *Mortem enim* was sung in the 4th mode within a single tradition, and it was only in this tradition that it was linked to the

Czagány. From 2019 to 2025, it functioned as the *Momentum – Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group*, supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Beginning in 2025, fragment research will be funded by the NRDI Office through project K 146780, titled *Fragments, Chants, Notations: The Ecosystem of Musical Fragmentology*.

² First and foremost, we can highlight our extensive research in the most important collections in Hungary, including the National Széchényi Library, the ELTE University Library and Archives, the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Library and Information Centre. The collection of codex fragments will continue to expand as old books are restored, bindings are removed, and hidden remnants preserving medieval melodies are uncovered.

³ Available online: <<https://fragmenta.zti.hu/>> (last visited: 14 February 2025). This website is dedicated to discovering, collecting, classifying, and publishing notated medieval and early modern manuscript fragments, which are preserved in libraries and archival collections both within Hungary and abroad.



Facsimile 1

responsory *Patefactae sunt*: the Cistercian Order.⁴ This identification was made possible by a small, yet noteworthy fragment. In another remarkable discovery, Eszter Gaál identified small fragments of a codex leaf from the Roman Catholic Diocesan Library of Nagyvárád (Oradea, Romania).⁵ These spine strips, measuring just 2–3 centimetres, were connected to an antiphoner from St. Martin's Church in Utrecht by the analysis of a unique musical formula, characteristic of the responsory verse *Itaque cum* for the office of St. Martin.

These discoveries highlight how even the smallest fragments can become crucial in understanding a larger musical and historical context, especially when they possess distinct attributes. A unique chant, recognizable from a limited number of notes, distinctive neume forms, or unusual writing dimensions can, in rare cases, lead to identifying the provenance of the source.

As regards the smallest yet still recognizable fragment, the piece at the heart of this study is a strong contender. Notably this fragment, which is kept in Bratislava, was not uncovered by traditional methods such as research expeditions or *in situ* examination of collections. Rather, it was identified from a photograph in a fragment catalogue. The fragmentulum forms part of the spine reinforcement of a book, a large portion of which remains concealed beneath a red-painted leather cover (Facsimile 1). Currently,

⁴ F 939 Available online: <<https://fragmenta.zti.hu/f-939-antiphonale-cisterciense-s-15-1-fragmentulum-kecskemets-reformatus-egyhazi-kozseg-konyvtara-b-25-hordozo/>> (last visited: 14 February 2025).

⁵ F 1063. Available online: <<https://fragmenta.zti.hu/f1063-antiphonale-s-14-5-fragmentulum-nagyvarad-nagyvaradi-romai-katolikus-egyhazi-megyei-konyvtar-551/>> (last visited: 14 February 2025).



Facsimile 2

it is housed in the Slovak National Archives (Slovenský národný archív) in Bratislava.⁶ It was discovered and published by Eva Veselovská in the third volume of *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi* series.⁷

The fragment is a spine reinforcement, and only a few notes and a part of a red capital letter have been preserved (Facsimile 2). The catalogue description suggests a possible Polish origin,⁸ given features such as the five-line staff and the square form of the custos. These elements are significant, as they are common in large, ornate Central European codices of the 15th century. However, a more precise determination of provenance is required. While reviewing the catalogue, the fragment caught my attention due to its resemblance to notation found in primary sources from the northern region of the medieval Archdiocese of Esztergom. This group of manuscripts includes: (1) two truncated antiphoners preserved in the Cathedral Library of Esztergom (Ms. I. 3c–d);⁹ (2) four fragments from Slovak collections (Trnava and Modra), discovered by Eva

⁶ In the Fond of the Archives of the Bratislava Chapter (Kapitulská knižnica v Bratislave).

⁷ VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi – Archivum Nationale Slovacum*. (= *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi* in Slovakia. Tomus 3.) Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2014, pp. 99, 256: Nr. 53 Antiphonar.

⁸ It states: 'N[otation]: Messine Gothic Notation, Polish Provenance, b, Custos'.

⁹ Körmendy, Kinga – LAUF, Judit – MADAS, Edit – SARBAK, Gábor: *Az Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, az Érseki Simor Könyvtár és a Városi Könyvtár kódexei* [Codices of the Esztergom Metropolitan Library, the Archdiocesan Simor Library, and the Municipal Library]. *Fragmenta et Codices in Bibliothecis Hungariae VII-A. Esztergom*; Budapest : Cathedral Library of Esztergom; National Széchényi Library; Akadémiai Kiadó, 2021, pp. 63-69.

Veselovská;¹⁰ and (3) eight parchment leaves from a gradual, recently collected from various libraries and archives in Hungary (from Budapest, Pécs and Szombathely).¹¹ After extensive research, Hungarian scholars – codicologists, as well as art and music historians – have concluded that these manuscripts may have originated in Nagyszombat in the Archdiocese of Esztergom (modern-day Trnava, Slovakia), a northern royal free city in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.¹² At the time of the Ottoman invasion (from 1543), the Archbishop of Esztergom relocated his seat to Trnava. With this in mind, it was essential to verify whether the initial hypothesis – that the sources in question were linked and could be traced to a recognized scriptorium within the Archdiocese – was correct.

*

Our research team studies fragments alongside their carriers, often extending beyond the traditional scope of musicology. A manuscript may offer insights into the binding site and the history of the carrier, and conversely the host book may also contain information about the fragment's provenance. At a point in their history, the parchment cover and its host book become intricately intertwined. A unified body of research is applied to these merged sources, allowing for a more comprehensive and cohesive analysis. Identifying a small fragment may initially seem an insurmountable challenge – due to its minute size and the significant difficulties with determining the identity of the host volume.

As regards our fragment, in the Slovak fragment catalogue, the carrier's signature is listed as *Manuscripta 242*, but it is marked with a question mark, introducing uncertainty about the accuracy of this designation.¹³ The siglum is inscribed in ink on the lower part of the spine, while an older bookmark – crossed out and overwritten in the

¹⁰ VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Tyrnaviensi*. (= *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia*. Tomus 4.) Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2015, No. 1 Graduale, Meisterbuch 1653–1870 cover, No. 7 Graduale, MMT III d/598 Liber taxarum /1605/1662/1669 cover; eadem, VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgius*. (= *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia*. Tomus 1.) Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2008), No. 20 Graduale, Bratislava State Archives, Modra Branch Archives, 3112. II. 3. 53. 307, Kammerrechnung 1660 cover.

¹¹ GILÁNYI, Gabriella: *From Fragments to Workshop. Reconstructing a 15th-Century Graduale Strigoniense*. (= *Resonemus pariter*. Tomus 4.) Budapest : HUN-REN Research Centre of the Humanities, Institute for Musicology, 2025, pp. 177–398.

¹² Situated in the north-eastern corner of the Pozsony County, along the banks of the Tirna stream, the town is mentioned in historical works under various names: Tyrnavia in Latin; Dyrnau/ Tyrnau in German; Trnava in Slovak; Szombathely, Szombat, Szombati, and Nagyszombat in Hungarian. Although Trnava's ecclesiastical prominence peaked in 1543, it was already the third-largest center of the Esztergom diocese in the 15th century. At that time, it was an exempt parish under Esztergom's supremacy, a significant free royal town, and even a thriving market town. It also served as a favored residence and later the burial place of Louis the Great of Hungary from the House of Anjou (1326–1382).

¹³ VESELOVSKÁ, Ref. 7, p. 99.

same ink – further complicates identification. Additionally, another modern number (157) is also present.

The carrier is a manuscript lacking a frontispiece, with the title *De ultimis voluntatis et successionibus ab intestato* inscribed at the top of the first page (Facsimile 3).¹⁴ This, along with the word *Tractatus* at the bottom, suggests that it may be a copy of a legal treatise on succession, possibly from a university notebook. Since the manuscript is preserved in the collection of the former Archives of the Bratislava Chapter, an attempt was made to identify the work in the historical catalogue of Nándor Knausz – an esteemed 19th-century historian of the Chapter Archives.¹⁵

The label at the top of the spine, bearing the abbreviation *Jur.* (Facsimile 2), was originally part of the bookmark and referred to the *Jurisprudentia* or *Juristica* – the legal department of the earlier Chapter Archives. However, in the Knausz catalogue, under number 242, a manuscript copy of Ferenc Nádasdy's *Mausoleum Potentissimorum Regum et Ducum Hungariae* is listed under the *Historia* category,¹⁶ which suggests there may be some confusion regarding the manuscript markings.

Furthermore, the other number on the spine, 157, is also incorrect, as it corresponds to a notebook on mathematics according to the catalogue (with the old signature Phil. 143).¹⁷ In summary, the analysis revealed that the numbers written in ink cannot be traced to the Chapter Archives' catalogue.

To clarify the identity of the manuscript, I attempted to decipher the crossed-out original number and sought a match in the Chapter Archives' catalogue, specifically under *Juristica*. By enlarging the photo and digitally adjusting it in various colour scales and to various temperatures, I was able to confirm the number 287. This led to a breakthrough: in the Knausz catalogue, under the old *Jur.* 287, I found a potential match for the manuscript. Knausz's description of Manuscripta 181 aligns with what we know about the book,¹⁸ confirming that this is indeed the correct number. Manuscripta 181 is identified as a university notebook containing excerpts from canon and civil law, allowing us to identify the volume that was later assigned incorrect catalogue numbers and nearly lost in the process.¹⁹

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¹⁴ 'Wills and Testamentary Succession'.

¹⁵ Nándor Knausz (1831–1898), Prelate of Bratislava, historian, and researcher of the Archdiocese of Esztergom's history. See KNAUZ, Nándor: *A pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratái – Codices Manuscripti Capituli Posoniensis*. Esztergom : Horák, 1870. A separate edition from *Hungarian Sion*, Vols. IV–VII.

¹⁶ KNAUZ, Ref. 15, p. 340.

¹⁷ At Knausz's catalogue: 'Iskolai könyv. [School notebook.] – Listed under No. 157. Scientiarum quarumdam Mathematicarum Selectae Praxes Conscriptae a Joanne Jacobo Francisco Schwartzner Matheseos Auditor (sic!) 1668 die 7. Nov.' KNAUZ, Ref. 15, p. 240.

¹⁸ KNAUZ, Ref. 15, p. 272: Iskolai könyv. [School Notebook.] [...] Modus scribendi et legendi Citationes Textuum in Jure tam Canonico, quam civili [...]

¹⁹ The incorrect index number results from a cataloguing error, as the contents of the volume were likely not included in Knausz's catalogue.

The following discussion will focus on the binding of the notated codex fragment, which features a spinal reinforcement partially covered by a thin layer of red leather. The inscribed parchment extends beneath this leather layer, although the leaf does not fully cover the entire binding. On both sides of the spine, an additional two to three centimetres of parchment remain hidden. Damage to the red cover is evident at the bottom right-hand corner, where paper maculature and printed text are visible underneath.²⁰ As stated above, a large section of the parchment strip is obscured by the library label, concealing a significant part of the content.

At the left edge of the fragment (at the headband, see **Facsimile 2**), there is a linking element of a neume, followed by a red *M* lombarda at the beginning of the melody. This is accompanied by puncta, a clivis, and the lower part of a porrectus, which appears at the double bounding lines. Four staff lines are visible, and a fifth can be inferred due to the missing portion of the porrectus. The rastrum used to delineate the staff lines was likely dipped in ink shortly before use, resulting in a particularly pronounced mark. The chant lacks clefs, but a later addition of a *b* rotundum clarifies the tonality and makes the melody legible.²¹ Below the staves, the lower half of a square custos is included, with a prolonged run-out stem.

Despite the limited information available, the data collectively paints a compelling picture. The form of this custos and the five staff lines are typical of Bohemian and some Polish Gothic notations. However, the clivis differs from the usual Bohemian form in that its stem is cut straight rather than ending in a rhombus with a small line extending from it. This feature, which is of particular significance, was what initially drew my attention, as it mirrors the design found in the previously mentioned sources from Trnava.

The list of notable notation elements continues with the observation that the *b* rotundum, added later, is a characteristic feature of the Trnava source group, seen both in the antiphoners and the gradual fragments.²² Additionally, parallels can be drawn between the red *M* capital of the chant text and these sources. However, the defining feature that clarified the identification was the square custos (for the notation elements, see **Table**).²³

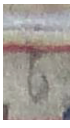
²⁰ Unfortunately it is illegible.

²¹ The beginning of the melody: *f-a-ca-cdc(d?)*.

²² The lighter ink and finer pen strokes suggest a later stage of transcription.

²³ Comparative sources in the table: 1. Fragmentulum in the Slovak National Archives; 2. 15th-century truncated antiphoner, Ms. I. 3c, Cathedral Library of Esztergom; 3. 15th-century truncated antiphoner, Ms. I. 3d, Cathedral Library of Esztergom; 4. 15th century gradual fragments from Szombathely, Pécs and Budapest, see GILÁNYI, Ref. 11, p. 181: Fr, p. 184.

Table: Notation elements of the Trnava source group

	Bratislava Fragment	Antiphoner Ms. I. 3c	Antiphoner Ms. I. 3d	Gradual fragments (Budapest, Pécs, Szombathely)
clivis				
<i>b</i> rotundum				
M capital				
custos				

It is important to note that this shape does not correspond to the late medieval Gothic pipe form typical of the Esztergom scriptoria. Instead, it is a unique and rare occurrence, and similar characters are only found in a single work of the Esztergom diocese: the antiphoner Ms. I. 3c. This is one of the best known Esztergom archdiocesan chant manuscripts, referenced in previous research, which is kept in the Cathedral Library of Esztergom.²⁴ The distinctive features of this codex are reinforced by the presence of the custos and the elements mentioned above, which only appear together in this antiphoner.²⁵ Using Bohemian elements of notation,²⁶ the truncated musical codex contains a summer temporale and a sanctorale, which is likely the second part of a two-volume manuscript.²⁷ Returning to the small fragment, as previously noted, the chant text begins with the capital letter *M*, which is a key indicator. In antiphoner Ms. I. 3c, major responsories begin with Lombard initials of the same form. This strongly suggests we

²⁴ Available online: <http://esztergom.bibliotheca.hu/scan/ms_i_3_c/index.html> (last visited: 14 February 2024); see also Ref. 9.

²⁵ For a full comparison of neume forms, see the Hungarian Neume Catalogue website: Available online: <https://neume.zti.hu/en_index.asp> (last visited 14 February 2024).

²⁶ SZENDREI, Janka, *Középkori hangjegyvírások Magyarországon*. Budapest : Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1983. Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez 4, p. 78; GILÁNYI, Gabriella: The 'Esztergom Antiphoners' (Cathedral Library of Esztergom, Ms. I. 3c, d) in the Context of Musical Notation. In: *Notated Sources from Medieval Europe and Medieval Hungary. Transregional Research and Online Database Building*. Eds. Eva Veselovská – Zsuzsa Czágány. Bratislava : Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; Budapest : Institute of Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020, pp. 66-73.

²⁷ However, this is not the companion volume to Ms. I. 3d.

are dealing with a responsory. The opening of the melody is characteristic of the 5th mode, which considerably narrows the range of possible pieces.

In László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei's edition of the Hungarian responsory repertory, the authors arranged the melodies by tonality and type, enabling precise identification of the chants.²⁸ Their work based on the reconstruction of the beginning part of the melody facilitated the detection of the piece,²⁹ which is the *Misit Dominus angelum* responsory from the *Historia of the Prophets* and is legible in the fragment (Musical Example).³⁰

Musical Example: Resp. *Misit Dominus angelum* (Historia Prophetarum), Ms. I. 3c, f.193r

Mi - sit Do - mi - nus an - ge - lum su - um et con - clu - sit o - ra

le - o - num * et non me con - ta - mi - na - ve - runt qui - a co -

ram e - o iu - sti - ti - a in - ven - ta est in me.

V) Mi - sit De - us mi - se - ri - cor - di - am su - am et ve - ri - ta - tem

su - am a - ni - mam me - am e - ri - pu - it de me - di - o ca - tu - lo - rum

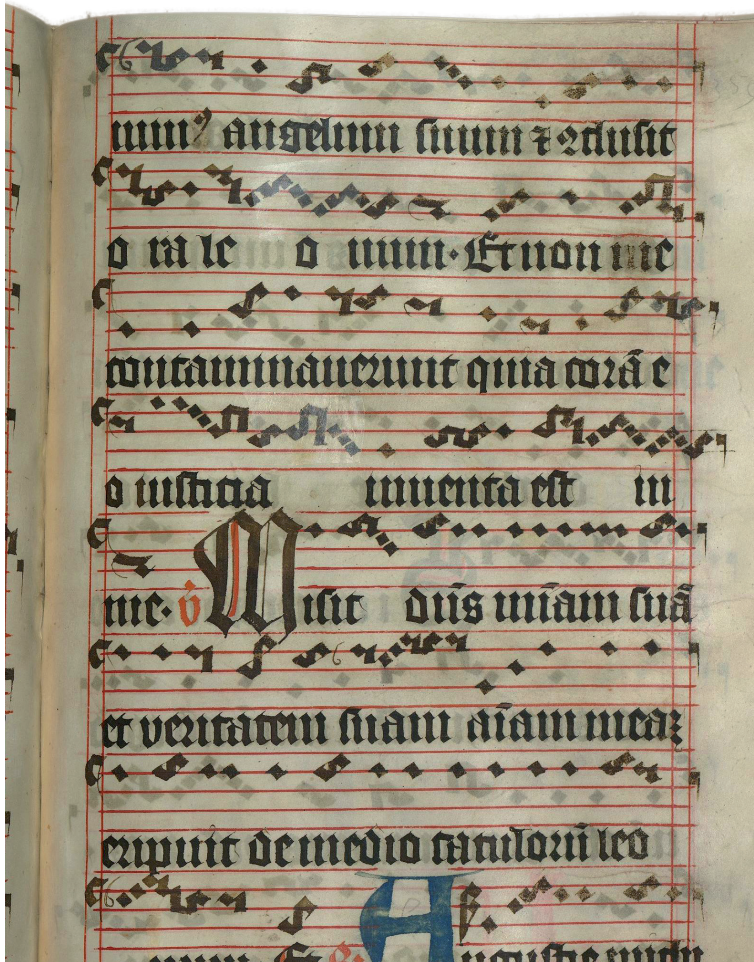
le - o - num *

²⁸ DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (Eds.): *Responsories*, Vol. 1–2. Budapest : Balassi, 2013.

²⁹ See Ref. 21.

³⁰ DOBSZAY – SZENDREI (Eds.), Ref. 28, Vol. 2, No. 5003.

This finding is particularly significant for this research, as the antiphoner Ms. I. 3c contains this section of the *Historia Prophetarum* from the summer temporale. Initially, this was disappointing – if the passage was present in the codex, it seemed our fragmentulum did not belong to it. However, it was discovered that a folio was missing from the corresponding leaf of the truncated antiphoner.³¹ This missing folio contained the opening phrase of the chant *Misit Dominus angelum*, while the subsequent folio revealed its continuation (Facsimile 4).³²



Facsimile 4. Continuation of Resp. *Misit Dominus angelum* (*Historia Prophetarum*), Ms. I. 3c, f.193r

³¹ Fol. 193r.

³² I sincerely thank Katalin Szalai, Director of the Cathedral Library of Esztergom, for granting permission to publish the folio from the codex.

As a result, the responsory began at the very bottom of the reverse side of the preceding folio – now absent – and continued on the recto of the following leaf in the codex. Intriguingly, the missing leaf was absent from both the contemporary and historical folio numbering systems.³³ This suggests that the folio may have been removed before the manuscript was rebound in the late 16th century. The present fragment thus provides a valuable addition to the examination of the fragmentulum, demonstrating the insights a thorough palaeographical analysis can yield. Ultimately, it shows that even the smallest fragment can be pivotal during an identification.

The conclusions drawn from further research on the carrier are outlined in the final section of this paper, which also raises several important issues. For instance, it is plausible that the owner copied the manuscript for personal study. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the copier was a former student of the Trnava university, which was already established in this period. Consequently, it has been proposed that the antiphoner Ms. I. 3c was both created and cut in Trnava and the binding was also produced there. Previous research supports the hypothesis that antiphoner c kept in Esztergom now originated and was cut in the town. However, if the folio was excised from its mother codex before the 16th century, as suggested by the layers of folio numbering, it can be deduced that its later use in bookbinding occurred much later, or as a secondary event. It is known that in the 19th century, the antiphoner Ms. I. 3c remained in Trnava until 1820, when the archbishop and library returned to Esztergom after a prolonged absence. However, the data also suggests that the removal of the folio from the codex may have occurred much earlier.

After extensive research, the owner of the volume has finally been identified. Although no possessor entry is found in the notebook, Nándor Knauz has noted a close association between this booklet and another work, manuscript number 187.³⁴ It is possible that he noted similar handwriting in the two notebooks, both dated 1722. Fortunately, the owner of the latter volume has also been identified. Johannes Joseph Spácz, a former student at St. Stephen's Seminary in Trnava and a reading canon from Bratislava, attended the classes of Weichard Lewenberg, professor of canon law and dean at the Seminary.³⁵ Spácz likely copied the treatise for these classes. This missing link closes the circle. It is known that Spácz, a former Hungarian student at the seminary in Trnava, took his schoolbooks with him to Bratislava, the final stop in his ecclesiastical career.

Following Spácz's death, his books were given to the Chapter Archives and in the 20th century, to the Slovak Central Archives, now part of the Slovak National Archives. The history of the identified carrier and its late owner is remarkable in its own right, but the more significant musicological outcome is the discovery of a fragment from

³³ KÖRMENDY, Kinga – LAUF, Judit – MADAS, Edit – SARBAK, Gábor: *Az Esztergomi Főszékes-egyházi Könyvtár, az Érseki Simor Könyvtár és a Városi Könyvtár kódexei* [Codices of the Esztergom Metropolitan Library, the Archdiocesan Simor Library, and the Municipal Library], p. 63.

³⁴ 'Az alább felhozandó 187. sz. alatti kézirattal egyidős.' [It is of the same date as the manuscript at No. 187 below.] KNAUZ, Ref. 15, p. 272.

³⁵ KNAUZ, Ref. 15, p. 273. Iskolai könyv [School Notebook.] – Listed under No. 187. Canones Joan. Jos. Spacz, quos scripsit sub A. R. P. Weichardo Lewemberg Tarnaviae S. Steph. R. H. Alumnus existens a. 1722. Libri Quarti Decretarium Tractatus.

the magnificently decorated 15th-century music codex created in the Trnava workshop. The Ms. I. 3c is one of the primary sources of the archdiocesan plainchant practice of Esztergom. It is to be hoped that this will not be the last fragment of the codex to be found, and that more pieces of this historical mosaic will come to light.

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Summary

NEWLY IDENTIFIED NOTATED *FRAGMENTULUM* IN THE SLOVAK NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The bindings of old books often conceal tiny parchment fragments of medieval manuscripts, such as spine strips, which pose a considerable challenge as regards identification. These minuscule pieces are frequently discarded, as reconstructing their origins from just a few musical notes is typically impossible. However, in rare instances, successful identification can reveal insights into a manuscript's genre, date, content, notation, or provenance – and, in the most fortunate cases, even lead to the identification of the original codex. This study presents the reconstruction of a 15th-century notated fragment containing only four neumes, discovered in the National Archives in Bratislava. We were able to trace its origins, despite its seemingly unidentifiable nature, by applying a complex methodology. Our investigation led not only to the well-known mother codex preserved in the Cathedral Library of Esztergom, and to new insights into the host book that preserved the fragment. Furthermore, our findings shed light on the late owner's ecclesiastical career, revealing previously unknown aspects of its history. This case study highlights the potential of digital fragmentology in reconstructing lost musical heritage, demonstrating how even the smallest manuscript fragments can contribute to a broader understanding of medieval book culture.

Resumé

NOVOIDENTIFIKOVANÝ NOTOVANÝ *FRAGMENT* V SLOVENSKOM NÁRODNOM ARCHÍVE

Vo väzbách starých kníh sa často skrývajú malé pergamenové fragmenty pochádzajúce zo stredovekých rukopisov, ako sú chrbtové pružky, ktorých identifikácia predstavuje značnú výzvu. Tieto nepatrné kúsky sa často prehliadajú, keďže rekonštrukcia ich pôvodu iba na základe niekoľkých zachovaných neum je obvykle nemožná. V zriedkavých prípadoch môže úspešná identifikácia poskytnúť pohľad na druh, datovanie, obsah, notáciu či provenienciu rukopisu, a v tých najšťastnejších prípadoch dokonca viesť k identifikácii pôvodného kódexu. Predkladaná štúdia poskytuje pohľad na rekonštrukciu notovaného fragmentu z 15. storočia obsahujúceho iba štyri neumy, ktorý bol objavený v Slovenskom národnom archíve v Bratislave. Aj napriek zdanlivo neidentifikovateľnému charakteru sa nám pomocou aplikovania zložitej metodológie podarilo vystopovať jeho pôvod. Výskum nás doviedol nielen k dobre známemu materskému kódexu, ktorý sa zachoval v Katedrálnej knižnici v Ostrihome, ale aj k novým poznatkom týkajúcim sa hostiteľskej knihy, ktorá na sebe niesla daný fragment. Naše výskumy odhalili predtým neznáme aspekty príbehu knihy s recyklovaným zlomkom a objasnili aj cirkevnú kariéru jej posledného vlastníka. Táto prípadová štúdia poukazuje na potenciál digitálnej fragmentológie v rekonštrukcii strateného hudobného dedičstva, demonštrujúc, ako dokonca i tie najmenšie fragmenty dokážu prispieť k širšiemu porozumeniu stredovekej knižnej kultúry.

FRAGMENT OF A 14TH-CENTURY GRADUAL IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL ARCHIVES*

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important collections in Hungary for documents containing medieval codex fragments as their binding is the Archives of the Hungarian Treasury, Section E of the Hungarian National Archives (MNL OL) in Budapest. This study will focus on a recently-discovered medieval notated codex fragment, which was used as a cover of a document in the archival records of the Hungarian Chamber. In this archive, documents of the same type are organized into separate groups, subgroups and collections. One of them is the collection known as *Urbaria et Conscriptioes*, marked in the archival order as siglum E 156. The fragment is a complete bifolium of a 14th-century gradual. The two complete parchment leaves, with 11 lines of text and music per page, show the late stage of the Esztergom notation, which also makes it clear that the original manuscript, the 14th-century gradual was copied and used in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

Keywords: medieval manuscript fragment, host volume, Hungarian National Archives, urbar, Csábrág Castle, János Krusics

Among the mostly 16th–17th century books and manuscripts with parchments leaves from medieval codices as their covers, of special importance are the official written documents which were produced in large numbers at all levels of ecclesiastical and secular administration in late medieval and early modern Hungary. From time to time they underwent systematic arrangement, ordering and sorting, which often meant

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new binding. Recycled manuscript folios were often used as covers or binding reinforcement, and continued to be used in this secondary role for centuries.

The fragments preserved on official archival documents are of special interest for fragmentological research in at least two respects: (1) As a rule, they were not glued to the corpus of the host manuscript, but rather stitched to it with thread, and instead of cutting or cropping the parchment leaves according to the size of the documents, they were folded to size, so there was no great damage. Consequently, the fragments remained relatively intact, with both sides accessible for research without major restoration work. (2) Official documents were almost always handled, arranged and bound by the institution responsible for producing them, and the binding process took place locally. It seems plausible that in these cases the documents were bound in parchment leaves of medieval codices no longer in use, but not yet discarded. Bound documents can usually be linked to specific years, so the exact date of binding can easily be determined. In this way, a connection can be established between the modern carrier and the medieval fragment serving as its cover, since the information obtained from one is also relevant for the other, and the two sets/types of information can reinforce each other. (This type of connection is absent from the more random coexistence of printed books and their manuscript covers, since the books could have been bound decades after they were printed, and the place of binding was not necessarily the place of printing). Thus, for the researcher looking for the provenance of the mother codex of the fragment, i.e. the place of its origin and use, in order to connect it with the fragment content – including the transmitted repertory, chants and notations – it is much easier to deal with fragments covering handwritten official documents than with those preserved on printed books.

One of the most important collections in Hungary for documents containing medieval codex fragments as their binding is the Archives of the Hungarian Treasury, Section E of the Hungarian National Archives (MNL OL) in Budapest.¹ This section contains the documents of the central financial administration bodies established under the Habsburg government after the Battle of Mohács (1526) and the dissolution of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. It includes the archival corpuses of the *Hungarian Chamber* (Camera Hungarica, Ungarische Kammer), which operated from 1528 as a provincial treasury subordinated to the Court Chamber in Vienna. Initially located in Buda, it moved its seat in 1529 to Pozsony / Bratislava and there was also a second treasury, the Szepes / Spiš Chamber (Camera Scepusiensis, Zipser Kammer) established in 1567 with its seat in Kassa / Košice in present-day Eastern Slovakia.² Past research has uncovered several medieval codex fragments from both collections.³

¹ Available online: <https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/magyar_kincstari_leveltarak> (05.04.2025)

² On the role, structure and functions of both chambers, see: EMBER, Győző: *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Mohácsról a török kiűzéséig* [The history of modern Hungarian administration from Mohács to the expulsion of the Turks]. (= Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, III. Hatóság- és hivataltörténet 1.) Budapest : Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1946.

³ Many of these already appear in the catalogue of Janka Szendrei published in 1981: SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages]. (= Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez 1.) Budapest : Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1981. Most recently, Fanni Hende summarised the codex fragments recovered and restored from the individual archival units of MNL. These form a special collection of fragments (fond Q 406) in the archives. Cf. HENDE, Fanni: *Az Országos Levéltár*

The following study will focus on a recently-discovered medieval notated codex fragment serving as a document cover in the archival records of the Hungarian Chamber. My focus is not primarily on the analysis of the liturgical-musical content or notation of the fragment, but rather on the broader cultural-historical context connected with the carrier.

The discovery of the fragment in 2020 was due to the pandemic. When cultural institutions – including libraries and archives – were closed in March 2020, for chant scholars a period of virtual library visits and online archival research began. Our Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group, established a few months before the outbreak,⁴ with the support of the Momentum Programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences⁵ sought to make the best of this unprecedented situation. From March 2020, we browsed the online catalogues of the historical book collections of Hungarian libraries and archives, and searched for medieval codex fragments in digital photograph archives accessible on the web, including the databases and catalogues on the website of the Hungarian national archives, including the E-section, the Archives of the Hungarian Treasury, which keep the historical documents of the Hungarian Chamber. Documents of the same type are organized into separate groups, subgroups and collections. One of them is the collection *Urbaria et Conscriptioes* marked in the archival order with the siglum E 156.⁶ It was on one of its units, *Fascicle 4 File No. 11*, that we found the fragment during our virtual expedition.

The fragment is a complete bifolium of a 14th-century gradual. (The digital images are shown in **Figure 1–3**, the basic data summarized in **Table 1**, and the liturgical-musical content in **Table 2**.) As explained in the introduction, it is almost completely intact: there has been almost no cropping, but rather folds, and it was not glued to the document, but sewn with a thick thread in two places of the spine. The two complete parchment leaves, with 11 lines of text and music per page, show the late stage of the Esztergom notation, which also makes it clear that the original manuscript, the 14th-century gradual was copied and used in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.⁷

Mohács előtti gyűjteményében található kódextörödékek [Codex fragments in the Pre-Mohács collection of the National Archives]. In: *TURUL*, Vol. 91, 2018, No. 2, pp. 64–80.

⁴ HAS 'Momentum' Digital Music Fragmentology Research Group, 2019–2024, principal investigator Zsuzsa Czagány. For further information see the research group's website. Available online: <<https://ldzf.zti.hu/en/project/>> (05.04.2025)

⁵ Available online: <<https://mta.hu/lendulet/lendulet-program-105403>> (05.04.2025)

⁶ MNL OL E 156. Available online: <<https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/urbarium/>> (05.04.2025)

⁷ The detailed description of the content and notation of the fragment see in: CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa – GILÁNYI, Gabriella: Egy 14. századi magyarországi graduále töredéke az Országos Levéltárban [Das Fragment eines Graduales des 14. Jahrhunderts im Ungarischen Nationalarchiv]. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* [Revue pour l'Histoire du livre et de la presse], Vol. 139, 2023, No. 1, pp. 1–21. For a shorter summary see the description of the fragment on the website Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis, available online: <<https://fragmenta.zti.hu/f941>> (05.04.2025)

Table 1. General information and technical data of the fragment

Genre	Gradual
Date	s. 14
Archives, signature	Hungarian National Archives E 156 Urbaria et Conscriptiones – a. Fasc. 4. – No. 11. (host)
Material	parchment
Extent, condition	1 bifolium, almost complete, detached and restored
Page height and width	455 x 547 mm
Written height and width	307 x 217 (f.1) 307 x 231 mm (f.2)
Stave height	16 mm
Number of lines	11 lines with text and music per page
Script	gothica textualis
Notation	Strigonian
Notation-remarks	4-line staves with lines traced in red, clefs C, F, G, double (C, F) and triple (C, F, G) clefs, no custos.



Figure 1: Fragment before restoration



Figure 2: Fragment after restoration (f. 2v-1r)



Figure 3: Fragment after restoration (f. 1v-2r)

Table 2. Liturgical content of the fragment

Folio	Feast	Genre	Incipit	Mode	CANTUS ⁸	MELODIARIUM ⁹
f.1r	QuT Adv f4	All	Prophetae sancti praedicaverunt*	2	g02341	–
f.1r	QuT Adv f4	Grad	Prope est Dominus	5	g00530	Gr-096
f.1r	QuT Adv f4	Grad-V	Laudens Domini loquetur	5		
f.1r	QuT Adv f4	Off	Confortamini et iam nolite	4	g00509	Off-020
f.1r	QuT Adv f4	Comm	Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet	1	503007	Co-050
f.1r	QuT Adv f6	Intr	Prope esto Domine	4	g00510	In-122
f.1r	QuT Adv f6	Intr-V	Beati immaculati	4	g00510a	In-122
f.1r	QuT Adv f6	Grad	Ostende nobis Domine	2a	g00511	Gr-091
f.1r	QuT Adv f6	Grad-V	Benedixisti Domine terram tuam	2a	g00511a	Gr-091
f.1v	QuT Adv f6	Off	<i>Deus tu convertens</i>		g00499	Off-028
f.1v	QuT Adv f6	Comm	Ecce Dominus veniet	6	g00513	Co-047
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Intr	Veni et ostende nobis	2	g00514	In-160
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Intr-V	Qui regis Israel	2	g00514a	In-160
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad	A summo caelo egressio	2a	g00515	Gr-001
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad-V	Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei	2a	g00515a	Gr-001
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad	In sole posuit tabernaculum	2a	g00517	Gr-072
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad-V	A summo caelo egressio	2a	g00517a	Gr-072
f.1v	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad	Domine Deus virtutum	2a	g00519	Gr-037
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad-V	Excita Domine potentiam tuam	2a	g00519a	Gr-037
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad	Excita Domine potentiam tuam	2a	g00521	Gr-050
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Grad-V	Qui regis Israel	2a	g00521a	Gr-050
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es Domine Deus	7	g00523	–
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Et benedictum nomen	7	g00523	–
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es in templo sancto	7	g00523	–
f.2r	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es super thronum	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es super sceptrum	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es qui sedes	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es qui ambulas	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedicant te omnes angeli	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedicant te caeli terra mare	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es in omnibus operibus	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Gloria Patri et Filio	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Sicut erat in principio	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Hy	Benedictus es Domine Deus	7	g00523	–
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Tract	Qui regis Israel	8	g00524	Tract-033
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Tract-V	Qui sedes super cherubim	8	g00524a.1	Tract-033
f.2v	QuT Adv Sabb	Tract-V	Beniamyn et Manasse*	8	g00524a.2	Tract-033

Abbreviations: QuT Adv – Quatuor temporum Adventus; f4 – feria quarta; f6 – feria sexta; Sabb – Sabbato; Intr, Intr-V – introitus, versus ad introitum; Grad, Grad-V – graduale, versus ad graduale; All – Alleluia; Off – offertorium; Comm – communio; Hy – hymnus (Canticum Danielis)
Incomplete chants are indicated with an asterisk. Rubricated chants are written in italics.

⁸ Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources. Directed by Debra Lacoste (2011–), Terence Bailey (1997–2010), and Ruth Steiner (1987–1996). Available online: <<https://cantusdatabase.org/>> (05.04.2025)

⁹ Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi Digitale. Available online: <<https://melodiarium.zti.hu/en/>> (05.04.2025)

But what kind of document was bound into the bifolium? The host manuscript is a lengthy urbar (urbarium) of 20 pages: a directory of taxation, a register with the tax obligations of Csábrág / Čabrad' Castle – located in the former Hont County in present-day Slovakia – and its surrounding villages, recorded in 1549.¹⁰ According to its inscription the register was made 'tempore et Capitaneatu Johannis Schabrag',¹¹ i.e. during the captaincy of Johannes Schabrag. It gives a census of urbarial services and goods that the listed villages had to submit as taxes to the castle lord. It also names the villages that had to pay taxes to the Turks. The remarks in the census *et turcis servire tenetur* suggest that it was common for inhabitants of the villages – especially for those close to the border of the territory occupied by the Ottoman forces – to pay double taxes, to both the local landlord and to the Turks.

Csábrág Castle established as a manor centre in the 15th century, became part of the system of border castles built during the 16th century, and played an important role in the Hungarian defensive system against Ottoman invasion, primarily protecting the mining towns in the upper part of the country.¹²

From the early 16th century onwards, several different aristocratic families owned the castle: Tamás Bakócz (1497–1521 Archbishop of Esztergom), and the Erdődy, Pálffy, and Balassa families. But who was Johannes, captain of the castle in Csábrág named by the urbarial register? This is none other than János Krusics / Ján Kružič, the brave soldier of Croatian origin, who was appointed captain-general of Csábrág in 1549 by the king. In the following decades, Krusics had a significant career as a castle captain. In 1570, he was ennobled by King Ferdinand and received the title of baron, and in 1574 he also held the office of ispán/župan/comes/count of Liptov County. His life displays the bravery and military valour required in the 16th-century for those of lower origin to enter the Hungarian aristocracy.¹³

The urbarium preserved as the host manuscript of our fragment was compiled in 1549, the year in which Krusics became captain of Csábrág Castle. We can assume that the census was held due to the change of the castle's ownership. On the instructions of his superior, the newly-appointed captain reviewed the income conditions of the castle estate, and prepared a detailed statement regarding the tax obligations of the villages belonging to Csábrág.

¹⁰ The castle ruins of Čabrad' belong today to the village of Čabrad'ský Vrbovok, located in the southeast of Krupina in south-central Slovakia.

¹¹ *Registrum continens possessiones jobagionemim [!] proventuumque animalium numerum arcis Csabrag, Anno p[raesenti] quadregesimo nono tempore et capitaneatu Johannis Schabrag.* MNL OL E 156 – a. – Fasc. 004. – No. 011., 3.

¹² BOROVSKÝ, Samu: *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai. Hont vármegye községei / Csábrágvarbók* [Counties and cities of Hungary. Villages of Hont county / Csábrágvarbók]. Budapest : Országos Monografia Társaság, 1906.

¹³ See also PÁLFFY, Géza: Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században [Borderfortress-captain-generals, district-captain-generals and vice-captain-generals on the Hungarian frontier of the Habsburg Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries]. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, Vol. 39, 1997, No. 2, pp. 257–288; *ibid.*: Utak az arisztokráciába – bárói címszerzők a 16. századi Magyar Királyságban [Paths to the aristocracy – baronial title holders in the 16th-century Kingdom of Hungary]. In: PAPP, Klára – PÜSKI, Levente (Eds.): *Arisztokrata életpályák és életviszonyok* [Aristocratic careers and living circumstances]. (= Speculum Historiae Debreceniense 4.) Debrecen : Debreceni Egyetem Történeti Intézete, 2009, pp. 9–23.

Since our research focuses primarily on the medieval chant manuscript fragment covering the census, it is of interest when, where and under what circumstances the binding was made. The register was obviously compiled locally, under the instructions and supervision of the castle captain, and it may also have received its parchment cover here. However, the completed document – whether bound or unbound – was not kept locally, but – in accordance with the usual practice – was forwarded to the Hungarian Chamber as the competent superior institution. The Chamber, which moved from Buda to Bratislava to escape the Turks in 1531, received official submissions from most parts of the country. After they had undergone administrative processing, they were bound into fascicles.¹⁴ Krusics's urbarium may have arrived in Bratislava in 1549 and this is the latest date on which it could have been bound in the parchment leaf of the 14th-century gradual.

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¹⁴ Cf. EMBER, Győző: *Az újkori magyar közigazgatás története Moháctól a török kiűzéséig*. (= Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, III. Hatóság- és hivataltörténet 1.) Budapest : Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1946, pp. 119-147.

Summary

FRAGMENT OF A 14TH-CENTURY GRADUAL IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The study discusses the cultural and historical background of a fragment of a 14th century gradual of Hungarian origin, kept in the Hungarian National Archives (Budapest), Section E (Archives of the Hungarian Treasury), as part of the *Urbaria et Conscriptiones* fund. The almost complete, recently detached and restored bifolium, which contains Mass chants of the Ember Days in Advent, served as a cover of the document in *Fascicle 4 File No. 11*, a summary of tax obligations (urbarium) prepared in 1549 at Csábrág / Čabrad' Castle under the captaincy of János Krusics (Ján Kružič). After completion, the document was most likely transferred to the Hungarian Chamber in Pozsony (Bratislava) where, after the usual administrative procedures, it received its cover made from the parchment leaf of a medieval chant manuscript.

Resumé

FRAGMENT GRADUÁLU ZO 14. STOROČIA Z MAĎARSKÉHO NÁRODNÉHO ARCHÍVU

Štúdia sa zaoberá kultúrno-historickým kontextom fragmentu graduálu zo 14. storočia, ktorý pochádza zo stredovekého Uhorska a dnes sa uchováva v Maďarskom národnom archíve v Budapešti, v Sekcii E (Archív uhorských pokladníc) ako súčasť fondu *Urbaria et Conscriptiones*. Takmer kompletne, nedávno zreštaurované bifolium obsahuje omšové spevy na kántrové dni v Advente. Slúžilo ako obal dokumentu vo *Fasciculus 4, No. 11*, ktorý dokladá súpis daňových povinností (urbár) vyhotovený v roku 1549 na hrade Čabrad', v tom čase pod velením kapitána Jána Kružiča. Krátko po vyhotovení bol urbár pravdepodobne presunutý do Uhorskej komory, sídliacej v Bratislave, kde po obvyklom administratívnom procese získal vonkajší obal z pergamenového listu stredovekého notovaného graduálu.

MUSICLESS CONTRAFAC T TRANSMISSION IN TWO MORAVIAN MANUSCRIPTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines musicless contrafact transmission in two late medieval Moravian manuscripts,¹ CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-Olu M IV 6, which preserve a variant of the late fourteenth-century Visitation office *Accedunt laudes virginis* by Adam Easton. Composed as a contrafact of Julian of Speyer's *Franciscus vir catholicus* for St. Francis of Assisi, Easton's office features extensive melodic modifications to accommodate differences in chant structure and text length. The version presented in the two Moravian manuscripts does not preserve any of Easton's adaptations, instead reverting to Speyer's original melodies with unique modifications made where necessary. Analysis of the Moravian Visitation suggests that the office was transmitted to Moravia as a text-only source with an indication of the intended melodies, rather than as a fully-notated source. Consequently, the scribe – likely unfamiliar with Easton's musical revisions – independently constructed the melodies, resulting in a distinct contrafact office based on *Franciscus vir catholicus*.

Keywords: Contrafact, Office, Adam Easton, Moravia, Visitation, St. Francis of Assisi

The transmission of liturgical chants into a new geographical, cultural, or musical context often results in alterations, whether due to scribal error, deliberate choice, or natural variations that arise through oral transmission. Such variations are especially informative in contrafacta, where both the adapted melody and its original source provide points of comparison. This paper examines a variant of the contrafact office *Accedunt laudes virginis*, composed for the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (2 July), preserved in

¹ Issued with the support of the Czech Science Foundation as part of the project 'The Use and Reception of Contrafact in Late Medieval Liturgical Chant' (GN22-36033O) at the Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

two late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts from Olomouc: CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6. The *Accedunt laudes virginis* office² was written by the English cardinal Adam Easton [c. 1330–1397] between 1386 and 1390.³ The office is almost entirely formed of contrafact chants, with melodies taken from the office for St. Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*,⁴ written by Julian of Speyer [d. c. 1250] between 1229 and 1235.⁵ The version of the Visitation found in CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6 deviates significantly from Easton's highly modified contrafact melodies, frequently reverting to the original tunes of Speyer's *Franciscus vir catholicus*. These manuscripts thus appear to evince a transmission process in which only the text, along with an indication of the contrafacted melodies, was conveyed. The scribe of the Moravian version then used this information in the creation of a second contrafact office using the same text and drawing upon the same melodic source material resulting in a markedly different office.⁶ Consequently, the absence of direct musical transmission resulted in the emergence of a distinct Moravian version of the *Accedunt laudes virginis* office.

The transmission of offices without music is not an unknown phenomenon; another Visitation office, *Exsurgens autem Maria*, composed in the late 1300s by the Czech archbishop Jan of Jenštejn appears to have spread in some areas without music. Three Cambrai manuscripts (F-CA Ms. 71, F-CA Ms. 73, and F-CA Impr XVI C4) present Jenštejn's text with new melodies, evidencing the creation of a *contrapositum* office.⁷ A scribe presented with a text-only version of a newly-composed office would have no option but to add new music – either reusing music from other, likely well-known, chants or creating their own to fit the new text. In contrast, in a contrafact office, if an indication of the original musical source is given, a scribe presented with a text-only

² The fifteenth-century Visitation office in Antiphoner NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) is used as the comparison exemplar throughout this article.

³ For details of the dates and the circumstances surrounding the Visitation's introduction into the Roman Calendar, see HALLAS, Rhianydd: *Two Rhymed Offices Composed for the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Comparative Study and Critical Edition*. [Unpublished PhD thesis.] Bangor : Bangor University; Prague : Charles University, 2021.

⁴ The thirteenth-century Franciscan Antiphoner CH-Fco 2 is used as the comparison exemplar throughout this article.

⁵ The text of Speyer's office is Thomas of Celano's *Vita Beati Francisci* which was approved by Pope Gregory IX on 25 February 1229, and part of Speyer's office is recorded as being performed on 4 October 1235. For information on Celano's *Vita Beati Francisci*, see WDZIECZNY, Gilbert: The Life and Works of Thomas of Celano. In: *Franciscan Studies, New Series*, Vol. 5, March 1945, No. 1, pp. 55–68, at p. 58. For information on the performance of Speyer's office, see WEIS, J. E.: *Die Choräle Julian's von Speier: zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*. München : J. J. Lentner'schen Buchhandlung, 1901, p. 24.

⁶ For brevity, the original *Accedunt laudes virginis* office may be referred to as the 'Easton's Visitation office', the version found in these manuscripts as the 'Moravian variant/version', and the melodic source office *Franciscus vir catholicus* as the 'Speyer office' or the 'office of St. Francis'. A singular scribe/author of the Moravian version will also be referred to, although it cannot be currently determined whether it was the work of an individual.

⁷ *Contrapositum* – when a new melody is added to a pre-existing text; the opposite of *contrafactum*. Friedrich Gennrich notes that the added melody does not have to be newly-composed for this definition. See GENNRICH, Friedrich: *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*. Frankfurt : Langen bei Frankfurt, 1965, pp. 177–183.

version may have had the option to set the new text to the original contrafacted melodies as they saw fit.

Text-only transmission of Easton's chants has been suggested by Miriam Wendling based on the treatment of additional lines and syllables in a few Visitation texts.⁸ She notes, however, that her examples do not 'deal with divergences in text length in a radically different manner than the others'.⁹ The two Moravian manuscripts examined in this article present a far greater deviation from Easton's melodies, allowing for a much clearer picture of text-only transmission into the region.

Contrafacture is not a standard and uniform procedure applied to every piece.¹⁰ Friedrich Gennrich, in his book *Die Kontrafaktur im Liedschaffen des Mittelalters*, identifies four forms of contrafacta.¹¹ The first is 'regular contrafacta', where the contrafact uses the melody, metre, and rhyme scheme of the source piece.¹² Gennrich notes that this form is the most common: it was likely the easiest to use, as the new text could underlay the old melody with very little modification. The second form is 'irregular contrafacta', where the melody of the original piece is used, with changes made to account for a longer or shorter text.¹³ The third form is 'initial contrafacta', where only the opening elements of a melody are used before it diverges.¹⁴ The final form is 'basic contrafacta', where some elements of the original material are used, but with a high degree of modification. For example, the material could be used in a new structure, with some of the melodic line modified, the transitions reworked, or with the removal of phrases and/or the addition of new lines.¹⁵ Gennrich states that basic contrafacta are used extensively in liturgical music, where new melodies are often created based on common material.¹⁶

The chants in *Accedunt laudes virginis* are a combination of regular and irregular contrafact.¹⁷ Most of the modifications were made to accommodate a different chant length or text structure, although some apparently aesthetic alterations were also

⁸ WENDLING, Miriam: Adam Easton's Office for the Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. In: *Cardinal Adam Easton (c. 1330–1397): Monk, Scholar, Theologian, Diplomat*. Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press B.V., 2020, pp. 155–174.

⁹ WENDLING, Ref. 8, p. 174.

¹⁰ For an overview of contrafact, see FALCK, Robert and PICKER, Martin: Contrafactum. In: *Grove Music Online*, 2001. Available online: <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006361>>, last accessed 11 February 2025. See also GENNRICH, Ref. 7. For a discussion of parody and contrafacture, see FALCK, Robert: Parody and Contrafactum: A Terminological Clarification. In: *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 65, January 1979, No. 1, pp. 1–21. For other discussions of individual contrafacta, see PAVANELLO, Agnese (Ed.): *Kontrafakturen im Kontext*. Basel : Schwabe Verlag, 2020; QUINLAN, Meghan: *Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song*. [Unpublished PhD Thesis.] Oxford : University of Oxford, 2017; BULL, Andrew: *Analysis of contrafacta variation found in the Inchcolm fragments' Office for St. Columba*. [Unpublished PhD Thesis.] Glasgow : University of Glasgow, 2022.

¹¹ GENNRICH, Ref. 7.

¹² GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 48–67.

¹³ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 68–109.

¹⁴ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 110–136.

¹⁵ GENNRICH, Ref. 7, pp. 137–156.

¹⁶ Gennrich notes that, while in contrafacta a new song is closely linked to the pre-existing melody, if only part of the melody is used then this should be considered 'borrowing'. He also refers to the use of common melodic motifs as 'wandering melodies'.

¹⁷ For a more detailed analysis, see HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, pp. 175–223.

made. The versification of the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office texts is not consistent: the antiphons in First Vespers and Lauds are written in an 887 887 structure; the Matins antiphons all have four lines in an 87 87 structure; the Matins responsories are written in 87 87 87 with an 887 verse in the first nocturn, in 887 887 with an 887 verse in the second nocturn, and in irregular structures in the third nocturn; and the antiphons for the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* are irregular. In contrast, Easton’s texts are composed in a far more uniform structure,¹⁸ with almost all chants formed of repeated 887 phrases.¹⁹ The antiphons of First Vespers and Lauds are constructed in the same format in both offices, allowing for the creation of regular contrafacta where the Speyer melodies are overlaid onto the new Visitation text with little to no modification. This is not the case for most of the Matins chants, where the difference in text structure required some level of melodic change to fit the new, often longer text, thus forming irregular contrafacta.

The Manuscripts

Table 1: Manuscript details

Siglum	CZ-Bsa R 626	CZ-OLu M IV 6
Date	1397	fifteenth-century
Provenance	Olomouc	Olomouc; likely the Convent of the Poor Clares, Olomouc
Repository	Moravian State Archives, Brno	Scientific Library, Olomouc
Book Genre	Breviary (summer part)	Antiphoner
Folios	325ff	291ff
Dimensions	600 mm x 410 mm	650 mm x 430 mm
Material	Parchment	Parchment
<i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i>	ff. 318v-325v	ff. 189v-196v

CZ-Bsa R 626²⁰ (referred to in this article as R 626) is a 1397 breviary containing the summer repertory from Moravia, likely Olomouc. Most of the manuscript is formatted with two columns of up to 40 lines of text, or 13 four-line red staves. Faint single black framing lines are present, on or outside of which are drawn clefs and custodes. A variety

¹⁸ Easton’s rigid adherence to this structure may well have been a response to the criticism of the irregular text of Jan of Jenštejn’s earlier Visitation office by canonists and theologians commissioned by the papal curia. For more information on the curia’s judgement of the feast and Jenštejn’s office, see HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, pp. 59-68 and pp. 163-167.

¹⁹ The exceptions are *In Mariam vite viam* (First Vespers, hymn, 448 448), *Acceleratur ratio in puero* (First Vespers, antiphon for the *Magnificat*, 8888 8888), *O Christi mater celica* (Compline, hymn, 8888), *Reginam celi Mariam* (Matins, invitatory antiphon, 8888), and *Elyzabeth congratulans profunde* (Matins, first nocturn, second responsory, 887 888 v.8887). In two chants an extra syllable is added to the 7-syllable line: *Vocat hanc matrem* (Matins, first nocturn, second antiphon, 888 888) and *Transivit in itinere* (Matins, second nocturn, second antiphon, 888 887).

²⁰ Manuscript CZ-Bsa R 626 is digitised and available online at manuscriptorium.com: <https://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-BOPPRBR_626_2D0JG33-xx#search> (February 1, 2025).

of custodes are employed in the main body of the manuscript, and are omitted entirely in some chants, suggesting that they were added later by individual singers.²¹ Initials are given in red and blue ink or in black with simple red line decorations. Another Visitation office, *Exsurgens autem Maria*, written by Jan of Jenštejn between 1386 and 1390 is present in the main body of the manuscript on ff. 101r-114v between the offices of St. Paul (30 June) and St. Margaret (20 July).

While Jenštejn's office was included in the manuscript when it was created, Easton's office was added later at the very end of the manuscript, on ff. 318v-325v. In contrast to the rest of the manuscript, these folios are written with one column of 10 four-line red staves. Black double frame lines are used, with clefs placed between them, slightly to the outer left line. Square custodes are placed at the end of lines with their right edge aligned with the outermost frame line. Although written in the same notation, this office appears to be in a different hand to the main corpus of the manuscript. The most obvious difference is the inclusion in almost all lines of a contemporary square custos. The C-clef is also different. In the main body of the manuscript the C-clef is written with a slightly elongated upper horizontal mark with the downward movement flowing smoothly and creating a rounded bottom half of the clef. In contrast, the C-clefs in Easton's office appear to have been formed in three movements: a slightly elongated upper horizontal mark, a lower punctum-like shape, and a straight descending line joining the two.

The Visitation office in R 626 appears to have contained all of Easton's texts, although some are now missing due to manuscript damage. Page 323 has been removed from the manuscript – leaving only a narrow part of the margin – which would have contained the chants in the third nocturn of Matins. The verse of *Stella sub nube*, the third responsory in the second nocturn, is written in full on f. 322v, including the indication to return to 'Ely' (*Elyzabeth*) within the respond. The gloria, however, is not included on this folio and, as it is given after the third responsory in the other two nocturns, it would likely have been present on the following missing folio. The leftmost part of three initial letters can be seen on the upper half of the f. 323r stub: the first in black inside a faint frame line, the second only visible as an ascending hairline in blue ink, and the third now only a descending hairline in black ink. Due to the consistent pattern of coloured initials throughout the rest of the office,²² it is likely that the partial black letter is the G for *Gloria*, the blue ink is the leftmost stroke of the T for *Tunc ad sermonem*, and the black descending stroke is a hairline from the top of an A for *Adest mira credulitas* (see Table 2 for a full list of the office chants). The only writing remaining on the stub of f. 323v is a single custos inside a faint frame line in the top line and the ends of some

²¹ Folio 260r, for example, contains a 'double tick' shape for *Martinus episcopus migravit*, formed of a tick with its tail to the right, with a second roughly parallel line from the top of the tick base out to the right. A second custos shape is used for *Dixerunt discipuli ad beatum, Domine si adhuc populo*, two lines of *O virum ineffabilem*, one line of *Oculis ac manibus*, and two lines of *Martinus Abrahe synu*, formed of a small, repeated wave shape followed by an upward movement that occasionally plateaus before rising again. Other lines on the folio have no custos.

²² In the two fully extant nocturns, the initial of the first antiphon is in blue ink followed by the second and third in black, and the responsories alternate red-blue-red initials with the verse and gloria initials in black.

staves that reached into the margins. The extant chants restart on f. 324r with ‘*lysabeth dicente*’, the final words of the verse *In Marie presentia* for the second responsory in the nocturn, *Thronum lucis prospexerat*. The final responsory, *Elyzabeth ex opere*, is only given here as an incipit, as it is written in full in First Vespers. It is not clear why page 323 was removed. There are a number of folios from which marginal and decorated initials were excised. However, these are often cut out carefully to remove only the relevant image, which does not seem to have been the case here.²³

The addition of Easton’s later Visitation office after the main body of the manuscript is explained by a rubric on f. 325v, which reads ‘*Explicit hystoria de visitacione sancte Marie, quam composuit dominus Adam Cardinalis et doctor sacre theologie, confirmata per Dominum Bonifacium papam nonum, que singulis annis in ipso festo occurrente debet cantari sub anathemate. Solummodo cantus alia autem per totum de precedenti historia*’. (Here ends the historia of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, which the lord Adam, cardinal and doctor of holy theology, has composed, having been confirmed by Pope Boniface IX, [and] which must be sung on that feast when it occurs every year under pain of anathema. But he only composed the chant [text], with another office [used] as a [musical] model throughout).²⁴ The rubric indicates that the scribe was aware of both the author of the office and its contrafact nature and suggests that this second Visitation office was added to their corpus later due to its official promulgation by the pope. This acknowledgement is not uncommon in sources containing this office: for example, the unnotated Vat.Ott.lat. 676 includes an opening rubric which states that the office is sung according to the melodies for St. Francis: ‘*...et cantabitur iuxta cantum beati Francisci*’.²⁵

One final unusual element in this office is the antiphon for the *Nunc dimittis* in Compline, a chant not consistent within instances of Easton’s office. For this chant, the antiphon *Gaude Maria mater* from Jenštejn’s Visitation office has been used, found earlier in the manuscript on f. 102r. The reiteration of the chant in Easton’s office, however, is not identical, and must therefore have been copied from a different source manuscript or from scribal memory. In addition to small melodic differences, *Christum* and *Christi* are spelt with a lower case *cr* rather than the traditional Greek *xp*, a spelling not seen elsewhere in the manuscript.²⁶

²³ Excision of images can be seen on ff. 1r (initial of *Gloria tibi trinitas equalis* for Trinity Sunday), 6r (initial of *Sacerdos in eternum Christus* for Corpus Christi), 70v (initial of *Sanctificavit Dominus tabernaculum* for the Dedication of a Church), 101r (inner marginalia and initial of *Exsurgens autem Maria* for the Visitation), 140r/v (lower margin removed), 150v (initial leading into upper margin of *Ecce tu pulchra es* for the Assumption of Mary), 159r/v (lower margin removed), 175r/v (lower margin removed), 181v (initial of *Adest namque nativitas* for the Nativity of Mary), 202r/v (outer lower margin removed), 231r/v (lower margin removed), and 233r/v (lower margin removed).

²⁴ Translation until last sentence taken from HALLAS, *Two Rhymed Offices*, Ref. 3, p. 181. My thanks to Henry Howard for his suggestion as to the last line.

²⁵ The rubric is on f. 355r.

²⁶ The hymn *O mater Christi* given just above *Gaude Maria mater* on f. 320r uses the *xp* spelling ‘*O mater xpī*’ in the notated first verse and within the unnotated fourth (*xpo* – *Christo*) and sixth (*xpi* – *Christi*) verses.

CZ-OLu M IV 6²⁷ (referred to in this article as M IV 6) is an antiphoner likely owned by the Convent of the Poor Clares in Olomouc. There are ten four-line red staves in one column on each page with double frame lines featuring clefs and custodes. Red ink is used for rubrics and initials are written in either black ink with black fine line decorations or alternating red and blue ink.

Easton's office is found on ff. 190r-196v, although it is unfortunately not complete. There is a substantial lacuna in the manuscript, in which fall all of the First Vespers chants. F. 189v ends on the antepenultimate word of the antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *Vos qui secuti estis*, for the feast of St. Paul (30 June) and f. 190r starts on the second syllable of the penultimate line of the first Matins antiphon, *De celo velut radius*, for the Visitation (2 July). It is likely that the manuscript originally contained a full complement of Visitation chants.

The two Moravian manuscripts are certainly related in some way – possibly copied from the same (as yet unidentified) source manuscript – as evidenced by the high degree of similarity in both the text and the melodies of the Visitation chants. The chant texts in both sources closely follow Easton's original Visitation text, but there are a few variations: in the responsory *Rosa de spinis*, for example, the original fifth line reads '*tota domus perficitur*', which is changed in both manuscripts to '*tota domus reficitur*'. This change appears to be unique to this regional version.²⁸ The melodies given in the two manuscripts are also very similar, as demonstrated by the fifth line of the responsory *Maria parens filios* (Figure 1). The EF ligature on *ma-* of *manus* is not found in either Easton's or Speyer's melodies and is not a relic from the previous line. From *-nus* the melody follows the DG ac rise one syllable late, omitting the repeated c and realigning on *-nit* of *ponit*. At the end of the line, the regular ab ligature is expanded to a four note abcb elaboration before dropping to an a rather than the b used by Speyer and Easton. This level of similarity is fairly consistent throughout the office, and it is therefore likely that the missing chants from each manuscript would be analogous.

²⁷ Manuscript CZ-OLu M IV 6 is digitised and available online at manuscriptorium.com: <https://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-VKO___M_IV_6_____33RWT49-cs#search> (February 1, 2025).

²⁸ Similar unique variants are found in three other chants present in both manuscripts: the second line of the verse of the responsory *Surgens Maria gravida* is extended from '*salutes mox de Nazareth*' to '*salutes Marie surgens mox de Nazareth*', the final word '*premitur*' of the second line of the responsory *Stella sub nube* is replaced with '*panditur*', and the word order of the fourth line of the antiphon to the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers *Ihesu redemptor optime* is changed from '*pan forma nos visitet*' to '*pan nos forma visitet*'.

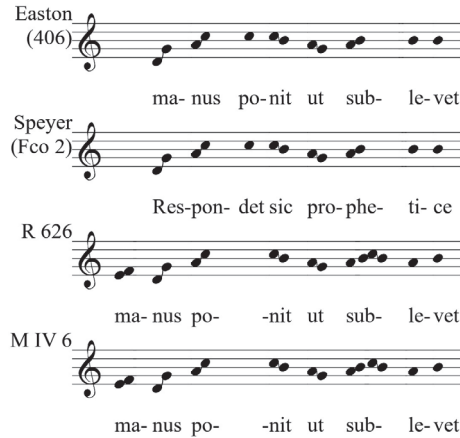


Figure 1: Comparison of *Maria parens filios* and *Dum seminudo corpore* (line five) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Speyer's office for St. Francis (4 October) was certainly known to the users of manuscript M IV 6. The full office is found on ff. 227v-235r in the antiphoner, unsurprising for a manuscript used at a Convent of the Poor Clares. The office is not found within manuscript R 626, although a prayer for St. Francis is included in the texts for the octave of St. Wenceslas (5 October) on f. 227r. Could the Visitation melodies have been copied internally by the scribe of M IV 6 from the office for St. Francis in the manuscript?

Analysis of the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office in M IV 6 reveals only a few differences to other instances of the office of St. Francis, few of which are found in the two Moravian Visitation offices. One instance where the Moravian Visitation melody does include a peculiarity from the M IV 6 St. Francis office is found in lines four and six of the Lauds antiphon *Vera humiliatio fuit* (Figure 2). The melody of line four in the Visitation chant, *ex hoc laudabunt singuli*, follows the M IV 6 variation, with an *ef* ligature on *da* followed by a single *g* on *bunt* of *laudabunt*, rather than Speyer's singular *e* followed by an *fg* podatus. Similarly, the *di* of the following *medius* is given a rising *de* instead of a singular *d*. In the final line, the traditional Speyer *d-de-e* melody is replaced in both offices in the Moravian sources by the syllabic *d-e-e* for *dicente/utrumque*. These similarities are, however, few and far between and are only found in passages of one or two syllables. In most cases, these similarities are found in close proximity to divergences from the M IV 6 Speyer melody, such as in the preceding Lauds antiphon *Tunc exultavit animus* (Figure 3). At the end of line two, on the words *filius/docuit*, the two instances of the St. Francis melody agree with the Visitation chant in manuscript R 626. The Visitation melody in M IV 6, however, does not have the same note alignment. The neumes were written in a clear spacing and grouping by the scribes of both the Visitation and St. Francis offices within M IV 6. In the St. Francis *Hic predicando circuit* on f. 233r, the phrase is written with a punctum on *do-*, a second punctum on *-cu-*, and a grouping of a punctum followed by a clivis placed over the *t* of *-it*, well-spaced from the previous

notes. In the Visitation *Tunc exultavit animus* on f. 194v, in contrast, the scribe wrote a punctum on *fi-*, a clearly joined climacus on *-li-*, followed by a set apart punctum on *-us*. These and similar differences throughout the offices lead to the conclusion that the Moravian Visitation version was definitely not copied from the office for St. Francis in manuscript M IV 6.

However, the Visitation offices in the two Moravian manuscripts are so similar, both in terms of small textual changes and in the melodic variations both large and small, that they were probably copied from the same source. In the source manuscript of the Moravian version, Easton's text was set to the St. Francis melodies available to them, with the scribe making any necessary changes as he saw fit.

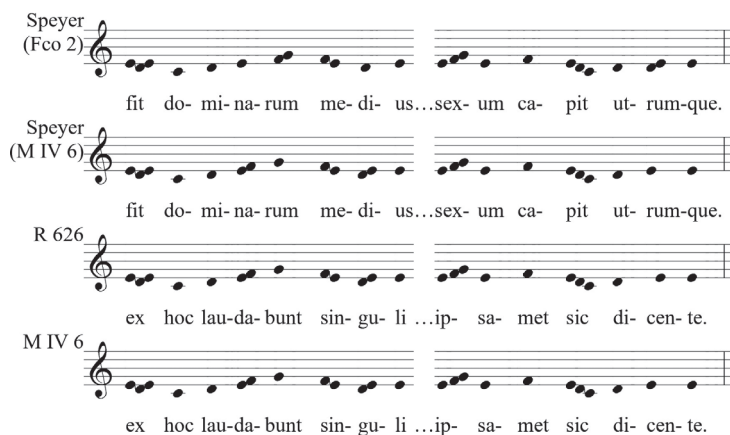


Figure 2: Comparison between *Vera humilatio fuit* and *Tres ordines hic ordinat* (lines four and six) in CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (Visitation and St. Francis).

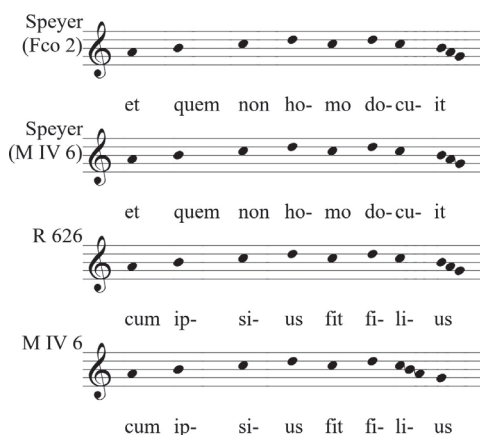


Figure 3: Comparison between *Tunc exultavit animus* and *Hic predicando circuit* (line two) in H-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (Visitation and St. Francis).

Table 2: Chants in *Accedunt laudes virginis* (NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7)) and *Franciscus vir catholicus* (CH-Fco 2).

	<i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i>	<i>Franciscus vir catholicus</i>
First Vespers	A1 <i>Accedunt laudes virginis</i> A2 <i>Divo repletur munere</i> A3 <i>Accendit ardor spiritus</i> A4 <i>Monstrans culmen</i> A5 <i>Carismi sancti spiritus</i> H <i>In Mariam vite viam</i> Am <i>Acceleratur ratio in puero</i>	A1 <i>Franciscus vir catholicus</i> A2 <i>Cepit sub Innocentio</i> A3 <i>Hunc sanctus prelegerat</i> A4 <i>Franciscus evangelium nec</i> A5 <i>Hic creaturis imperat</i> H <i>Proles de celo</i> Am <i>O stupor et gaudium</i>
Compline	H <i>O Christi mater celica</i>	H <i>In celesti collegio</i>
Matins	I <i>Reginam celi Mariam</i>	I <i>Regi que fecit</i>
First Nocturn	A1 <i>De celo velut radius</i> A2 <i>Inter turmas femineas</i> A3 <i>Vocat hanc matrem</i> R1 <i>Surgens Maria gravida</i> R2 <i>Dixit verba prophetica</i> R3 <i>Elisabeth contragulans</i>	A1 <i>Hic vir in vanitatibus</i> A2 <i>Excelsi dextere gratia</i> A3 <i>Mansuescit sed non penitus</i> R1 <i>Franciscus ut in publicum</i> R2 <i>In Dei fervens</i> R3 <i>Dum pater hunc</i>
Second Nocturn	A1 <i>Non fuit Christus</i> A2 <i>Transivit in itinere</i> A3 <i>Longam viam pertransitur</i> R1 <i>Maria parens filios</i> R2 <i>Rosa de spinis</i> R3 <i>Stella sub nube</i>	A1 <i>Pertractum domi verberat</i> A2 <i>Iam liber patris</i> A3 <i>Ductus ad loci presulem</i> R1 <i>Dum suminudo corpore</i> R2 <i>Amicum querit pristinum</i> R3 <i>Audit in evangelio</i>
Third Nocturn ²⁹	A1 <i>Tunc ad sermonem</i> A2 <i>Adest mira credulitas</i> A3 <i>Fit nature propinquius</i> R1 <i>Occasum virgo nesciit</i> R2 <i>Thronum lucis prospexerat</i> R3 <i>Elyzabeth ex opere</i>	A1 <i>Cor verbis nove gratie</i> A2 <i>Pacem salutem nuntiat</i> A3 <i>Ut novis sanctis merita</i> R1 <i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i> R2 <i>De paupertatis horreo</i> R3 <i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i> R4 <i>Arcana suis reserans</i> R5 <i>Euntes inquis in eum</i> R6 <i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
Lauds	A1 <i>Sacra dedit eloquia</i> A2 <i>Tunc exultavit animus</i> A3 <i>Vera humilatio fuit</i> A4 <i>Magna perfecit Dominus</i> A5 <i>Maria tribus mensibus</i> Ab <i>Adiutrix visitatio</i>	A1 <i>Sanctus Franciscus previis</i> A2 <i>Hic predicando circuit</i> A3 <i>Tres ordines hic ordinat</i> A4 <i>Doctus doctrine gratia</i> A5 <i>Laudans laudare monuit</i> Ab <i>O martyr desiderio</i>
Second Vespers	Am <i>Ihesu redemptor optime</i>	Am <i>O virum mirabilem</i>

The Moravian melodies

A comparison of the Speyer, Easton, and Moravian Visitation melodies reveals that where Easton's contrafact chant strictly follows the original Speyer tune, all four melo-

²⁹ The number and order of responsories within the third nocturn of the office for St Francis varies between manuscripts and is discussed below (see Table 3).

dies correspond closely. This is particularly evident in the First Vespers antiphon *Divo repletur munere*, a contrafact of the St. Francis chant *Cepit sub Innocentio* (Figure 4). The three manuscripts differ in only two passages: the phrase *-pletur mu-/Innocen-* in the first line and *-iit et perfe-/raculis famo-* in the last line. These variations are minimal and can mostly be attributed to scribal errors and slight shifts in text-note alignment. Such subtle differences make it challenging to determine whether the Moravian manuscripts in these instances adhere to Easton's contrafact melody, or revert to the original Speyer tune, as minor variations of this nature are common in sources from this period.

Easton (406)

Di- vo re- ple- tur mu- ne- re Ma- ri- a si- ne mu- mu- re cum fi- li- um con- ce- pit

Speyer (Fco 2)

Ce- pit sub In- no- cen- ci- o cur- sum- que sub Ho- no- ri- o per- fe- cit glo- ri- o- sum

R 626

Di- vo re- ple- tur mu- ne- re Ma- ri- a si- ne mu- mu- re cum fi- li- um con- ce- pit

Easton (406)

sur- re- xit ab o- ra- cu- lo sta- tim in mon- tis cal- cu- lo ab- i- it et per- fe- cit.

Speyer (Fco 2)

suc- ce- dens hiis Gre- go- ri- us mag- ni- fi- ca- vit am- pli- us mi- ra- cu- lis fa- mo- sum.

R 626

sur- re- xit ab o- ra- cu- lo sta- tim in mon- tis cal- cu- lo ab- i- it et per- fe- cit.

Figure 4: Comparison between *Divo repletur munere* and *Cepit sub Innocencio* in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), and CZ-Bsa R 626.³⁰

A clear example of a return to the St. Francis source melodies in the Moravian manuscripts can be seen in the responsories in Matins where, despite his chants having the same number of lines as Speyer's text, Easton frequently altered the original melody to accommodate differences in the chant structure. In the office for St. Francis, the responsories exhibit an unequal division between the two parts of the respond, with four lines in the first part and two in the second part.³¹ In contrast, Easton generally constructed his responsories with two equal halves of three lines each. Despite this structural difference, Easton intentionally preserved

³⁰ This chant is missing from M IV 6 due to manuscript damage.

³¹ For information on responsory structure, see HILEY, David: *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, pp. 69-76.

the original melodic division between the two halves in most responsories. This decision necessitated extensive melodic changes, none of which are seen in the Moravian manuscripts.

Dixit verba prophetica is the only Visitation responsory in which Easton's and Speyer's texts are divided in the same way, with four lines in the first half and two in the second. In the first two lines of the chant (see Figure 5), Easton's melody closely resembles that of the St. Francis *In Dei fervens*, although with a different alignment of notes to syllables and a small simple D elongation on *Elyzabeth*. The Moravian version, in contrast, is almost identical to Speyer's tune, mostly preserving the ligature-syllable alignment. The rigid adherence of this version to the original St. Francis melody is continued throughout the respond, aside from a few small passages. The extra line in the Visitation verse necessitated the addition of simple musical material. In the Moravian manuscripts, the Speyer melody is used for the first two lines and then the final line of the verse, with an abrupt insertion of the new material for the third line of text. In Easton's verse the delineation between the original melody and the new is not so clearly defined: the first two lines are set to Speyer's tune, after which the melody for the first two syllables of Speyer's last line are used for the opening text of Easton's third line, which then deviates until the final word *via* where it returns to Speyer's repeated D. It is thus clear that even in areas where Easton's chant adheres closely to the original source material, albeit with a different note to text alignment, the Moravian version is far closer to Speyer's original melody.

The figure displays three sets of musical notation, each consisting of a vocal line and a corresponding Latin text line. The notation is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line red staff.

- Speyer (Fco 2):** The first set shows the melody for 'In Dei fervens o-pe-re sta-tim ut su-a ven-dit'. The text is written in a Gothic script.
- Easton (406):** The second set shows the melody for 'Dixit verba pro-phe-ti-ca E-ly-za-beth ce-li-co-la'. The text is written in a Gothic script.
- Speyer (Fco 2) and R 626:** The third set shows the melody for 'In Dei fervens o-pe-re sta-tim ut su-a ven-dit'. The text is written in a Gothic script.
- M IV 6:** The fourth set shows the melody for 'Dixit verba pro-phe-ti-ca E-ly-za-beth ce-li-co-la'. The text is written in a Gothic script.

Figure 5: Comparison between *Dixit verba prophetica* and *In Dei fervens* (lines one and two) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton) and CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), and in CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Dixit verba prophetica is unusual within Easton's responsories in its similarity to the St. Francis source chant. Due to the structural differences within their responds, more extensive melodic changes were required within the other responsories, as demonstrated by *Surgens Maria gravida* (Figure 6). In this responsory, the first half of Speyer's original text concludes in line four (*secedit meditari*), with a descent of more than an octave from **d** at the beginning of *secedit* to **C** on *me-*, followed by a melisma centred around **D/f** on *-ta-* before resolving on *-ri* on the finale **D**. The second half of the respond begins on line five with *Inventum*, rising from **a** to **d** in the first word. In Easton's Visitation chant, Speyer's melody is largely preserved in the first three lines, although with some small changes, particularly in the assignment of notes to syllables. However, Easton shifts the division between the two halves of the respond, beginning the second half on line four, a line earlier than Speyer. To retain the same melody for the opening of this half, Speyer's original melody of the fourth line is bypassed, with *Intra-* taking the melodic opening of

Easton (406)

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de-e. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

Speyer (Fco 2)

in ag-rum mox do-mi-ni-cum se-ce-dit me-di-ta-ri.

R 626

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

M IV 6

in ci-vi-ta-tem Iu-de. In-tra-vit do-mum pro-pe-re

Easton (406)

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

Speyer (Fco 2)

In-ven-tum e-van-ge-li-cum

R 626

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

M IV 6

Za-cha-ri-e cum o-pe-re

Figure 6: Comparison between *Surgens Maria gravida* and *Franciscus ut in publicum* (lines three to five) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

Inventum. Thus, Easton retained the original melodic link between the end of the verse (or *gloria*) and the beginning of the repeated part of the respond: the final D in the verse (-tive) is followed by the rising notes ac at the beginning of *Intravit*, a familiar mode 1 ascent (Figure 7). The version transmitted in the Moravian manuscripts, however, does not follow Easton's structural modification. Instead, Speyer's melody is preserved with only minor changes, with *Intravit* starting high with the d and descending over an octave to *domum*. The rising opening a cd melody from *Inventum* highlights the mid-phrase *Zacharie*. In the version transmitted in these manuscripts, this melodic variation thus transfers the musical emphasis away from Mary's entrance into the house to greet Elizabeth and onto the owner (Zachariah) of the house itself.

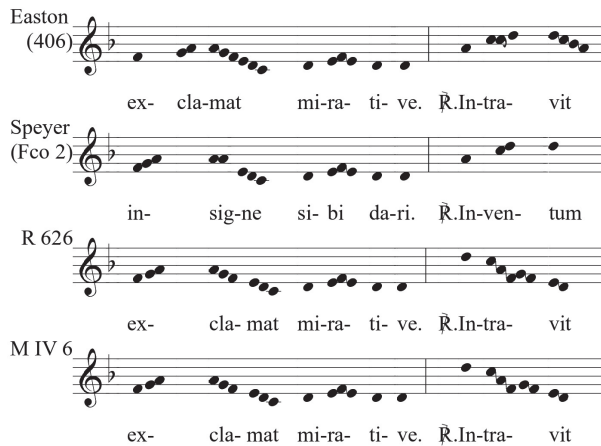


Figure 7: Comparison of *Surgens Maria gravida* and *Franciscus ut in publicum* (verse end into respond) in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.

It is clear that Easton sought to preserve the overarching musical framework of Speyer's office, despite the textual differences. The responsories maintain a clear connection to the original through structural markers: their responds begin with the familiar Speyer opening phrase, the second part of the respond retains the original St. Francis opening and concluding melodies, the verse is set as far as possible to the original tune, after which the familiar respond second half repeats. Although Easton introduced significant melodic additions and modifications to the internal sections of the chants, his retention of the original melodic structure provided a recognisable framework that would facilitate the singers' navigation of the new texts, ensuring an immediate sense of familiarity. The Moravian version adhered to Speyer's original melody irrespective of the structural divisions introduced by Easton. This approach would have made the chants more immediately accessible for those familiar with the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office, but in exchange loses the clear delineation between sections of the chants. As a result, the transition from the verse back into the respond becomes more abrupt: rather than progressing smoothly from the conclusion of one melodic phrase into the beginning

of another distinct phrase, the singers move from an ending cadence straight into the middle of an originally ongoing musical line. This disruption would likely have been noticeable to singers accustomed to the original Speyer melodies. These differences in responsory construction demonstrate that the scribe of the Moravian version did not preserve the original melodic framework, i.e. the musical story of the St. Francis office. This suggests that the scribe prioritised accurately reproducing the original Speyer melody, and likely did not have access to Easton's changes.

The responsories in both Speyer's and Easton's offices generally contain the same number of textual lines, so the Moravian version was able to revert to Speyer's melody without requiring substantial modifications or additional material. However, many of Easton's other chants are longer than their counterpart in Speyer's office and thus needed more extensive changes. In these chants, the scribe of the Moravian version generally utilised the entirety of the source melody and added new material as necessary. In the most common lengthening, from four lines to six, this process predominantly involved maintaining the original melody for the first three lines, introducing a newly composed or Speyer-based passage for the next two, and returning to the original melody for the final line.

This technique is evident in the six-line Matins antiphon, *De celo velut radius*, which is set to the melody of Speyer's four-line *Hic vir in vanitatibus* (Figure 8). To address this discrepancy, Easton retained the original melody for the first three lines, added newly composed material for the following two lines, and then returned to the original tune for the final line. The Moravian version mirrors this structure, setting lines one, two, three, and six to Speyer's melody, but introduces an entirely different melody for the intermediate lines four and five. In this chant, the new phrase appears to be based on the first two lines of Speyer's tune, although this is not the case for all newly composed phrases in the Moravian version. Both the Easton and Visitation versions thus preserve the original melodic story by maintaining the opening and concluding of the overarching melodic phrases. In most chants where additional material was required, both the Easton and Moravian versions diverge from the Speyer melody at the same point, suggesting a systematic approach to integrating new melodic material into a contrafact chant with an expanded text. In the Matins antiphon *Non fuit Christus*, however, the Moravian version aligns with Easton and Speyer for only the first two lines and the second half of the last line. Rather than employing the St. Francis melody for the third line of the Visitation text, Speyer's phrase associated with *-gans vincit carcerat* in the third line appears to have been used in a more syllabic manner for *-dere cum corporali robore trans-* in the second half of the Moravian chant. Although this is an atypical formulation in the Moravian version, it still reflects a predilection for returning to the original St. Francis melody where possible. None of Easton's additions are found within the Moravian sources, which appears to confirm that the scribe of the Moravian version did not have access to the original melodies for the Visitation office.

Easton (406)
De ce- lo ve- lut ra-di-us des-cen-dens sa- cer spi- ri- tus E- ly-za- beth in- tra- vit

Speyer (Fco 2)
Hic vir in va-ni- ta-ti- bus nu- tri- tus in- de- cen- ter di- vi- nis ka- ris- ma- ti- bus

R 626
De ce- lo ve- lut ra-di-us des-cen-dens sa- cer spi- ri- tus E- ly-za- beth in- tra- vit

Easton (406)
mox be-ne-dic- tam vir-gi- nem sanc- ti- ta- tis pro- pa-gi- nem pro-phe-ti- ce cla-ma- vit.

Speyer (Fco 2)
pre-ven-tus est cle-men-ter.

R 626
mox be-ne-dic- tam vir-gi- nem sanc- ti- ta- tis pro- pa-gi- nem pro-phe-ti- ce cla-ma- vit.

M IV 6
...cti- ta- tis pro- pa-gi- nem pro-phe-ti- ce cla-ma- vit.

Figure 8: Comparison between *De celo velut radius* and *Hic vir in vanitatibus* in NL-Uu 406 (3 J 7) (Easton), CH-Fco 2 (Speyer), CZ-Bsa R 626, and CZ-OLu M IV 6.³²

Only three chants within Easton's office are not set to a melody from the office for St. Francis: the verse of the Matins responsory *Thronum lucis prospexerat*, the First Vespers hymn *In Mariam vite viam*, and the antiphon to the *Magnificat* within Second Vespers *Ihesu redemptor optime*. In the first two cases, the Moravian version adheres to the expected St. Francis chant as its source material. In Easton's office, the respond *Thronum lucis prospexerat* is an irregular contrafact of its counterpart St. Francis chant, *De paupertatis horreo*, while its verse, *In Marie presentia*, is set to a new melody. In contrast, the Moravian version assigns the melody of the corresponding verse, *Pro paupertatis copia*, adapted to fit a three-line text rather than the original four-line structure. Here, the approach to shortening the melody follows a similar pattern to the expansions observed elsewhere in the office: the first two lines of the original melody are retained, followed immediately by the last line, omitting the highest part of the original chant.

Easton's melody for the hymn *In Mariam vite viam* appears to have been newly composed, with a musical emphasis placed on the names of both Mary and Elizabeth.³³ Due to manuscript damage, the hymn is missing from M IV 6, but in R 626 it is set to the

³² Due to manuscript damage, this chant is only extant from *-ctitatis* in the penultimate line.

³³ HALLAS, Rhianydd: Male perspectives of Female-Coded Piety in Offices for the Visitation. In: LOVERIDGE, Kathryn – MCAVOY, Liz Herbert – NIEBRZYDOWSKI, Sue – PRICE, Vicki Kay (Eds.): *Women's Literary Cultures in the Global Middle Ages: Speaking Internationally*. Gender in the Middle Ages. Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 2023, pp. 175-192.

well-known melody of *Proles de celo prodiit* (Figure 9).³⁴ This melody was used for hymns in various offices, and Veronika Mráčková has identified three distinct groups, or ‘tune families’, within its transmission: (1) those found predominantly in Franciscan sources, (2) those formed of paraphrases, and (3) those which exhibit local characteristics.³⁵ The version of the melody used within the Moravian sources for *In Mariam vite viam* most closely aligns with the Franciscan tune family, which includes *Proles de celo prodiit* for St. Francis, *Anne sacre solempnia* for St. Anne, and *Ad cenam agni provide* for Easter.³⁶ As shown in Figure 9, minor variations are present, often found in instances of short ligatures in the *Proles de celo prodiit* melody, such as the addition of a **d** in *-am/-it* at the end of the first line, transforming an *ec clivis* into an *edc climacus*. The hymn *Proles de celo prodiit* is predominantly found in First Vespers in the St. Francis office, so it is likely that the source manuscript for the Moravian version included it as the hymn in this position.

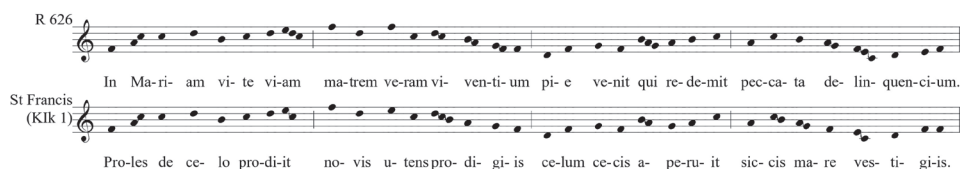


Figure 9: Comparison between *In Mariam vite viam* and *Proles de celo prodiit* in CZ-Bsa R 626 and PL-KIk Ms. 1.³⁷

The responsory *Elyzabeth ex opere* is particularly significant, as it may offer an insight into the specific version of the office for St. Francis that served as a source for the scribe of the Moravian version. In this chant, Easton adhered to his characteristic approach to contrafact responsories, omitting the melody of the fourth line of the respond so that the second half begins with the opening Speyer phrase – in this case a high *f* on *Quam* and *Precludit* in the fifth line – followed by an additional musical phrase to compensate for the missing melodic material in the second half. The Moravian version of *Elyzabeth ex opere* also follows the standard responsory construction for these manuscripts, disregarding the uneven division between the two halves of the respond. As a result, the opening of the second half, *Quam gracia*, is set to the relatively unremarkable phrase *a a-G-baGF*, while Speyer’s higher and more elaborate *a cd-dc-baG* opening loses its original prominence in the middle of a textual phrase. The adaptation of both Easton’s and the Moravian versions is thus consistent with the other responsories in their respective offices. However, the melodies of the two *Elyzabeth ex opere* chants are in no way alike, as each version drew its source material from a different responsory in the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office.

³⁴ For details on the authorship of the tune of *Proles de celo prodiit*, see SZOLIVA, Gábel, OFM: *Proles de Celo Prodiit: the First Vespers Hymn of the Office of Saint Francis of Assisi and its Subsequent History in Hungary*. In: *Extractum ex Periodico Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Vol. 109, 2016, pp. 597–611.

³⁵ MRÁČKOVÁ, Veronika: The Transmission of Hymn Tune Stäblein 752 in Europe during the Late Middle Ages. In: *Hudební věda*, Vol. 49, 2012, No. 1–2, pp. 19–32.

³⁶ Transcriptions of the melodies are given on pp. 20–21 of MRÁČKOVÁ, Ref. 34, pp. 19–32.

³⁷ A 1372 Antiphoner from Kielce. *Proles de celo prodiit* is the First Vespers hymn on f. 235v.

Table 3: Responsories within the third nocturn of Matins in the *Franciscus vir catholicus* office for St Francis, and the source melodies for both Easton's and the Moravian Visitation office.

Manuscript	Provenance						
CH-Fco 2	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
CH-SGs 388	St Gall Abbey Cathedral (Benedictine)		<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>		
Dk-Kk 3449 8o XII	Augsberg Cathedral			<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
D-Ma 12o Cmm 1	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
H-Bu lat. 121	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
I-Nn vi.E.20	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
I-Rvat lat. 8737	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
NL-Zu 6	Zutphen Chapter	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>			
PL-Klk 1	Kielce	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>			<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
US-CHNbcl 097	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
US-Cn 24	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
US-Nycub Barnard 1	Franciscan	<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>	<i>Arcana suis reserans</i>	<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	<i>Regressis quos emiserat</i>
CZ-OLu M IV 6 St Francis		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>			<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
Easton melodic source		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>			<i>Euntes inquit in eum</i>	
Moravian melodic source		<i>Carnis spicam contemptus</i>	<i>De paupertatis horreo</i>	<i>Sex fratrum pater septimus</i>			

Julian of Speyer's office for St. Francis is found in manuscripts with either three or six responsories in the third nocturn of Matins (Table 3). In the monastic six-responsory version, the selection and order of the chants are fixed: *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, *Sex fratrum pater septimus*, *Arcana suis reserans*, *Euntes inquit in eum*, and *Regressis quos emisera*t. The secular three-responsory version, however, exhibits greater variability in both the selection and order of the responsories. Easton's office adopts the melodies from *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Euntes inquit in eum* for the responsories in the third nocturn. Given his otherwise strict adherence to the original chant order, it seems likely that Easton's source manuscript only contained these three responsories, which he then used sequentially as models for his corresponding chants. The Moravian manuscripts, however, follow the first three responsories in the monastic cursus, employing the melodies of *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Sex fratrum pater septimus*, which occurs only once in the three-responsory versions examined – in the fifteenth-century Zutphen Chapter manuscript NL-Zu 6. The office for St. Francis in M IV 6 mirrors Easton's three-responsory arrangement, with *Carnis spicam contemptus*, *De paupertatis horreo*, and *Euntes inquit in eum* given in full, and does not include *Sex fratrum pater septimus*. This confirms that the melodies of the Moravian version could not have been copied from the office for St. Francis in this manuscript. The scribe almost certainly copied the melodies from a fully notated source of Speyer's office and used the melodies available to them. While it is possible that the scribe of the Moravian version worked from a secular three-responsory office that only contained these three responsories (as in NL-Zu 6), it is equally plausible that they had access to the monastic six-responsory office and used the melodies of the first three responsories.

In a few chants, the Moravian Visitation office makes no use of the melodies from the office of St. Francis at all, instead creating new melodies for the texts. For the Lauds antiphon *Maria tribus mensibus*, this is likely due to the extreme length of Easton's text: fifteen lines as opposed to Speyer's six. Where Easton tried to lengthen the Speyer melody as much as possible by splitting ligatures between syllables and incorporating extensive additional passages, the Moravian version of the antiphon is instead set to a new melody. The opposite is the case for the antiphon for the *Magnificat* in First Vespers, *Acceleratur ratio in puero*, where Easton's eight-line text is half the length of Speyer's sixteen-line chant. Easton's text mirrors the Speyer melody for the first few lines, ignoring the original ligature-syllable alignment, with a number of Speyer's excess musical lines omitted. The Moravian version, however, bears little to no resemblance to the original melody, beyond the use of traditional modal formulae, placing a long melisma on the first syllable of the final word, *venientem*, so as to evoke the expectation of the coming Jesus described in the text.

As described earlier, Easton's Visitation office largely mirrors the chant progression of the office for St. Francis, with each text set to the melody of its corresponding chant from the earlier office. However, for some reason – possibly due to an omission or damage to his source manuscript – Easton's antiphon for the *Benedictus* at Lauds, *Adiutrix visitatio*, was set to the melody of Speyer's antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *O virum mirabilem*. As a result, the melody of Easton's own antiphon for the *Magnificat* at Second Vespers, *Ihesu redemptor optime*, is not derived from the office for

St. Francis, and instead appears to be newly composed. The Moravian version does not follow Easton's melodic change, but also does not revert to the original Speyer melody for either chant. The inclusion of new melodies for these chants may indicate that the Moravian author was aware that these texts were not set to their corresponding Speyer melody (or, as regards *Ihesu redemptor optime*, to any Speyer melody at all), but lacked access to the specific tunes used.

Conclusion

An analysis of the Visitation chants in the Moravian manuscripts CZ-Bsa R 626 and CZ-OLu M IV 6 makes it evident that the version preserved in these sources was not derived directly from Easton's *Accedunt laudes virginis* melodies. The manuscripts transmit the Visitation text with minimal variations, which are often shared by both manuscripts, while being set to the original melodies of the office of St. Francis written by Julian of Speyer. Could the consistent departure from Easton's alterations signify a rejection of his revisions, almost a form of rebellion? This does not appear to be the case, as even minor melodic adjustments or note-text alignment differences in Easton's chants are not reflected in the Moravian version. Given the substantial synchronised divergence from Easton's melodies observed in these manuscripts, it seems more plausible that the scribe of the Moravian version was provided with Easton's complete text along with instructions that it should be set to the melodies of *Franciscus vir catholicus*. While it is possible that the instructions specified the precise melodic assignments for each chant (i.e. the text *Monstrans culmen dulcedinis* to the melody of *Franciscus evangelium nec*), the use of the *Sex fratrum pater septimus* melody rather than Easton's chosen *Euntes inquit in eum* as the source for the final Matins responsory instead suggests that they were provided an overarching directive that the office as a whole should follow the office for St. Francis. The setting of *Adiutrix visitatio* and *Ihesu redemptor optime* to new melodies remains a question; perhaps the scribe's source manuscript was missing these chants. Had Easton's exact melodic prescription for each chant been known to the scribe of the Moravian version, surely the Visitation antiphon for the *Benedictus* in Lauds, *Adiutrix visitatio*, would have been set to Speyer's corresponding chant *O virum mirabilem*. It is also likely that the scribe of the Moravian version had not heard Easton's office. At present, no additional examples of the Moravian *Accedunt laudes virginis* have been identified, but additional research into manuscripts in this area may reveal more about this variant office and its composition.

The way in which Easton adapted Speyer's melodies suggests a deliberate effort to preserve the melodic story of the original office while accommodating the new Visitation texts. The familiar opening and closing phrases of each chant (or sub-section) from *Franciscus vir catholicus* remain intact, with modifications mostly limited to the internal sections of chants or sub-sections. This approach would likely have created a sense of familiarity for both singers and listeners, especially those from a Franciscan environment. In contrast, the version of the office preserved in the Moravian manuscripts retains far more of the original melody and adheres more strictly to the original assignment of notes to syllables. Where textual expansion necessitated additional melodic material, it

was predominantly added to the inner lines of chants. The result of this is an office that would have been melodically recognisable to users and more 'faithful' to the original, but with more jarring transitions within some chants. Ultimately, the version of *Accedunt laudes virginis* transmitted in these two Moravian manuscripts almost certainly evidences a musicless contrafact transmission, and reveals the scribe's individual approach to adapting new texts to an existing melodic framework.

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Summary

MUSICLESS CONTRAFACT TRANSMISSION IN TWO MORAVIAN MANUSCRIPTS

This paper examines a variant of *Accedunt laudes virginis*, an office for the Visitation composed by Adam Easton, as preserved in manuscripts from Olomouc: CZ-Bsa R 626 (1397) and CZ-OLu M IV 6 (fifteenth-century). Easton's late fourteenth-century office is almost entirely formed of contrafact chants, adapting melodies from Julian of Speyer's office for St. Francis of Assisi, *Franciscus vir catholicus*. However, the version found in the two Moravian manuscripts deviates significantly from Easton's highly modified contrafact melodies, frequently reverting to Speyer's original tunes. This suggests a transmission process in which only the text, along with an indication of the contrafact melodies, was conveyed. Easton extensively modified Speyer's melodies to accommodate differences in chant length and text structure, while maintaining a recognisable melodic framework for singers and listeners. In contrast, the Moravian version remains largely faithful to Speyer's original melodies, only introducing unique melodic phrases where necessary. Notably, the choice of source melody for the final Matins responsory differs between Easton's and the Moravian office, providing an insight into the source offices for both versions. In the rare instances where Easton's chants are not set to the melody of the corresponding St. Francis chant, the Moravian version either returns to Speyer's tune or introduces a new melody. This analysis demonstrates that the Moravian *Accedunt laudes virginis* was not derived directly from Easton's melodies, but rather from a text-only source accompanied by instructions that they should be set to the melodies of *Franciscus vir catholicus*.

Resumé

PRENOS NENOTOVANÝCH KONTRAFAKTOV V DVOCH MORAVSKÝCH RUKOPISOCH

Predmetom skúmania tejto štúdie je variant oficia Navštívenia Panny Márie *Accedunt laudes virginis*, ktorého autorom je Adam Easton, v podobe, v akej sa zachoval v rukopisoch z Olomouca: CZ-Bsa R 626 (1397) a CZ-OLu M IV 6 (15. storočie). Eastonovo officium z konca štrnásteho storočia takmer celé pozostáva z kontrafaktových spevov, pričom využil a upravil melódie z oficia Juliána Speyera *Franciscus vir catholicus* na sviatok sv. Františka z Assisi. Verzia, ktorú nachádzame v dvoch moravských rukopisoch, sa výrazne odchyľuje od Eastonových značne pozmenených kontrafaktových melódií a často sa vracia k pôvodným Speyerovým melódiám. Takto je doložený proces, v ktorom sa prenášal výlučne text, pričom kontrafaktové melódie boli iba naznačené. Easton rozsiahlo upravil Speyerove melódie, aby sa prispôbil odlišnostiam v dĺžke spevov a štruktúre textu a zároveň zachoval pre spevákov a poslucháčov rozpoznateľný melodický rámec. Naproti tomu moravská verzia je do značnej miery verná pôvodným Speyerovým melódiám a len tam, kde je to potrebné, zavádza jedinečné melodické frázy. Je pozoruhodné, že výber východiskovej melódie pre záverečné matutinové responzórium sa v Eastonovom officiu líši od moravského. V zriedkavých prípadoch, keď Eastonove spevy nie sú skomponované na melódiu príslušného spevu sv. Františka, moravská verzia sa buď obracia k Speyerovej melódii, alebo zavádza novú melódiu. Táto analýza dokazuje, že moravský spev *Accedunt laudes virginis* nebol odvodený priamo z Eastonových melódií, ale skôr z výlučne textového zdroja, ku ktorému boli pripojené inštrukcie, že sa má spievať na melódie oficia *Franciscus vir catholicus*.

EINIGE BEOBACHTUNGEN ZUR AMBROSIANISCHEN HANDSCHRIFT BERLIN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN, MUS. 40616

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ABSTRACT

The manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. 40616, is a so-called Vesperale according to the modern typology of liturgical books, i.e., a book containing chants for the celebrations of Lauds, Vespers, and the Horae Minores. The most remarkable features of the Berlin Vesperale pertain to its liturgical and musicological aspects, which reflect the customs of the Ambrosian monastic rite. The codex was written as early as at the beginning of the 16th century for the important monastery of St Ambrose in Milan, at a time when the Cistercians had replaced the Benedictine monks. By analysing these liturgical and musicological elements, this paper aims to shed light on a manuscript that has been largely neglected by modern scholars, yet deserves a prominent place in the rich history of Ambrosian liturgy.

Keywords: Milan, Ambrosian chants, monastery of St Ambrose, cistercians order, Berlin

Die unterschiedlichen Typologien liturgischer Bücher ermöglichen einen unmittelbaren Einblick in zahlreiche verschiedene Aspekte unserer Vergangenheit. Doch sind von diesen „Verbindungsstücken“ nur wenige erhalten. Insgesamt sind etwa 30.000 mittelalterliche liturgische Handschriften überliefert worden, eine wohl kleine Zahl im Vergleich zu den einstmals vorhandenen liturgischen Büchern. Üblicherweise wird angenommen, dass das Verhältnis des heute noch Vorhandenen zum Ehemaligen sich wie 1 zu 100 verhält. Daraus kann man schließen, dass einst wohl mindestens 3.000.000 Exemplare vorhanden waren. Die Zahl mag auf den ersten Blick zwar sehr groß erscheinen, doch wenn wir die alten Bibliothekskatalogen des westlichen

christlichen Europas und die darin erwähnten Handschriften berücksichtigen, klingt sie durchaus plausibel. Besonders zutreffend scheint diese Annahme hinsichtlich der ambrosianischen Liturgie, vor allem der monastischen. Zu den heute noch erhaltenen Handschriften aus diesem Bereich zählt eine Handschrift, die heute unter der Signatur Mus. 40616 in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin aufbewahrt wird und einst in Mailand geschrieben wurde.¹

Frühere Untersuchungen der Handschrift

Das Benutzerregister der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin erwähnt nur zwei Namen von Forschern, die die Handschrift in jüngster Vergangenheit eingesehen bzw. untersucht haben, nämlich die berühmten Musikwissenschaftler Hans Engel (ohne genaue Jahresangabe) und Jacques Handschin (1970). Im Jahr 2005 interessierte sich Giacomo Baroffio für den Codex.²

Kodikologische Beschreibung

Die Handschrift Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. 40616, umfasst in Großfolio 203 Blätter. Der Beschreibstoff ist Pergament; Haar- und Fleischseite wechseln regelmäßig ab. Der Schriftspiegel, von schwarzen Tintenlinien gerahmt, misst 570 × 400 mm und weist pro Seite sechs Notationssysteme (Text + Musik) auf. Während die oberen Löcher für die Reglierung noch gut sichtbar sind, wurden die unteren im Allgemeinen entfernt, wohl bei der letzten Beschneidung des Buchblockes. Auffallend ist, dass die ersten zwei Linien des vierten Liniensystems über die Begrenzung des Schriftspiegels hinaus bis zum Blattrand verlängert wurden: Genau in diesem so entstandenen Rechteck findet sich jeweils am Recto eine zeitgenössische Folierung in roten arabischen Ziffern.

Nachdem der älteste Kern der Handschrift Änderungen erfahren hat, wurde die originale romanische Ziffer gestrichen und dann von der neuen arabischen ersetzt. Zum Beispiel können wir noch die folgende Ziffer erkennen:

LXV[IIII] = 49, [...]XX[...] = 51, LXXIII = 53, LXXXI = 59, LXXXVIII = 61, LXXXV = 63, LXXXVII = 65, LXXXVIII = 67, LXXXV = 73, LXXXV[II] = 75, LXXXVI-I[II] = 77, CIII = 81.

Das Pergament hat sich nicht gut konserviert und viele Blätter weisen eine wellige Fläche auf. Die Heftung erfolgte mit fünf Bändern am Buchrücken, doch ist der Band ziemlich kompakt und erlaubt keine weiteren Untersuchungen. Der Rücken des Einbands, womöglich zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland aus braunem Leder gefertigt, zeigt folgenden Titel in Goldbuchstaben: „Libro corale del canto ambrosiano“.

¹ Ein Verzeichnis der ambrosianischen liturgischen Handschriften ist in: BAROFFIO, Giacomo: *Iter Liturgicum Ambrosianum. Inventario sommario di libri liturgici ambrosiani*. In: *Aevum*, 74/2, 2000, S. 583-603.

² BAROFFIO, Giacomo: *Frammenti di Ricerche*. In: *Philomusica on-line*, 4/1, 2005, Nr. 9.

Auf einem kleinen zwischen den Vorsatz des Einbandes eingelegten Papier ist in Bleistift festgehalten: *Antiphonarium. Mailand, 16. Jahrhundert. Römische Choralnoten auf 4 Liniensystem.*

Die Lagen sind wie folgt angeordnet: $1^9 (8+1)$, $2-3^8$, 4^{10} , 5^8 , $6^8 (5+3)$, $7-14^8$, $15^{10 (8+2)}$, 16^8 , $17^{11 (8+3)}$, 18^8 , $19^8 (6+2)$, $20-21^8$, 22^5 , $23^6 (4+2)$, $24^7 (6+1)$, $25^9 (8+1)$.

Da der Codex mehrmals neu gebunden wurde, benötigt die Lagenbeschreibung eine besondere Analyse:

Lage 1: Ursprünglich ein Quaternio, später wurde fol. 1r an fol. 9r angeklebt.

Lage 4: Ein Ternio, bei der die zur alten Handschrift gehörenden fol. 25, 30, 32, 33 mit einer Klappe eingefügt wurden.

Lage 6: Im Inneren der Lage sind zwei originale Doppelblätter (fol. 45, 46, 47, 48), es folgt ein eingeklebtes Einzelblatt (fol. 49). Diese fünf Blätter wurden mit einem weiteren Doppelblatt zusammengenäht, zuletzt wurde fol. 50 hinzugefügt.

Lage 7: Fol. 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58 sind aneinandergeklebt.

Lagen 15 und 19: Am ursprünglichen Quaternio wurden jeweils zwei Blätter eingefügt.

Lage 17: Dem ursprünglichen Quaternio wurden drei Blätter hinzugefügt.

Lage 23: Zwei äußere Blätter wurden an originalen Doppelblätter eingefügt.

Lage 24: Drei Doppelblätter sowie ein später ergänztes Einzelblatt.

Lage 25: Fol. 203 wurde an den ursprünglichen Quaternio angepasst.

Die Lagen 11–14, 16, 18, 20–21 sind nicht regelmäßig; jedes Doppelblatt wurde abgeschnitten und dann erneut angeklebt. Warum dies passierte, kann derzeit nicht festgestellt werden.

Paläographische und musikologische Analyse

Der Codex ist in einer regelmäßigen späten gotischen Minuskel (Rotunda) geschrieben. Abkürzungen sind nur wenige vorhanden. Die mit roter Tinte geschriebenen Rubriken stammen von der Hand des jeweiligen Schreibers.

Insgesamt sind drei Haupthände zu unterscheiden:

- Hand A. Gotische Minuskel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Schriftspiegel 400×280 mm, sechs Liniensysteme (Text + Musik), gotische sogenannte „a rombi“ Notation.
- Hand B. Gotische Minuskel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Schriftspiegel 430×280 mm, sechs Liniensysteme (Text + Musik), Quadratnotation auf vier roten Linien.
- Hand C. Gotische Minuskel des 16. Jahrhunderts. Schriftspiegel 415×280 mm, sechs Liniensystem (Text + Musik), Quadratnotation auf vier roten Linien.

Mehrere Hinweise (vor allem die Foliiierung) legen die Annahme nahe, dass die drei Hände zeitgenössisch sind und somit an der Erstellung der Handschrift mitgearbeitet haben.

Die Quadratnotation (= Hand B und C) weist keine Besonderheit auf. Wir können nur ein Sonderzeichen für den pes subbipunctis oder subtripunctis bemerken, das

manchmal in der Quadratnotation auftaucht: Der zweite Punctus des pes ist von zwei oder drei querhinabgehenden Rauten gefolgt (z.B. fol. 8r, 26r, 83v, 86v).

Ausstattung

Besonders interessant ist die ikonographische Ausstattung:

- Bl. 1r: Ein an hl. Ambrosius erinnernder metropolitane Bischof mit Tiara, Pallium und ein Wappen mit Geißel.
- Bl. 26r: Antiphon (P)*er Gabrielis*: Mariä Verkündigung.
- Bl. 31r: Lucernarium (P)*aravi lucernam*: Ein segnender Gottvater.
- Bl. 33r: Antiphon (S)*piritus domini*: Christi Geburt.
- Bl. 43r: Antiphon (I)*n principio*: König David mit einer Schriftrulle *Davit p[rophet]a*.
- Bl. 49v: Antiphon (M)*agi stellam*: Die Heiligen Drei Könige.
- Bl. 133r: Responsorium (A)*scendens*: Christi Himmelfahrt.
- Bl. 146v: Antiphon (C)*enantibus*: Verehrung des Corpus Domini.
- Bl. 181r: Responsorium (A)*udiam domine*: Kirchweihe.

Zeit und Ort

Man kann mit Sicherheit annehmen, dass die ganze Handschrift für das Kloster des hl. Ambrosius in Mailand geschrieben wurde,³ vgl. hierzu auch den Titel auf fol. 1r: *Antiphonarium diurnum de tempore monachorum Sancti Ambrosii maioris Mediolani secundum ritum monasticum ambrosianum*.

Zudem weisen mehrere liturgische und musikalische Besonderheiten eindeutig auf ein dem ambrosianischen Ritus folgendes Monasterium hin:

1. Dem römischen Ritus entsprechend umfasst jede Vesper vier Antiphonen, aber auch ein typisches ambrosianisches *Lucernarium*.
2. Zusätzlich zum *Lucernarium* enthält die Handschrift auch folgende typische ambrosianische Rubriken: *Psallenda*, *Responsorium cum gloria* usw.
3. Die gotische sogenannte „a rombi“ Notation.

Da unser Codex aus drei kodikologischen Abschnitten besteht, müssen wir drei verschiedene Zeiten bzw. Ebenen der Bucherstellung unterscheiden:

1. Palimpsest unter Teil A
2. Teil A
3. Teil B (B1 + B2)

³ Eine Liste der Handschriften aus dem Kloster St. Ambrosius befindet sich in FERRARI, Mirella: *La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia*. In: *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo. Convegno di studi nel XII centenario: 784-1984 (5-6 novembre 1984)*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1988, S. 160-162; betreffend nur die liturgischen Zeugnisse siehe BAROFFIO, Giacomo: *Nomina Codicum. Nome, origine, committenza, destinazione dei codici liturgici italiani*. Stroncone: Associazione San Michele arcangelo, 2011, S. 114.

Für die Datierung der Handschrift dürfte das Jahr 1488 von zentraler Bedeutung sein: In diesem Jahr stand dem Kloster Ascanio Sforza als Abt „in commenda“ vor, zudem wurde es dem Zisterzienserorden anvertraut.⁴

Jede hier und dort in der ganze Handschrift bestehende Buchmalerei gehört zum ursprünglichen Palimpsest, auffallend ist allerdings die Ikonographie bei der „Dedicatio ecclesiae“ (Bl. 181r). Sie zeigt eine Kirche mit zwei Türmen (möglicherweise St. Ambrosius selbst); vor der Tür wartet eine Vielzahl an Mönchen, wo der Zelebrant die bestimmten Gebete beendet hat. Sie tragen alle ein schwarzes Ordenshabit wie die Benediktiner und keine weiße und schwarze, wie es für Zisterzienser üblich war. Daher ist anzunehmen, dass das Palimpsest geschrieben wurde, bevor die Zisterzienser an die Stelle der Benediktiner traten.

Die Teile A und B1 sowie B2 sind aufgrund dieser Beobachtung frühestens ins 16. Jahrhundert zu datieren; dies wird auch vom paläographischen Befund gestützt.

Eine spätere Hand des 16./17. Jahrhunderts hat an mehreren Stellen liturgische Hinweise eingetragen. Sie beziehen sich auf weitere einst im Kloster vorhandene Handschriften:

- *De reliquo quod ad officium huius vigiliae serva per omnia sicut plenius notatur in ingressario hiemali* (Bl. 33r)
- *Responsorium de sancto Silvestro et commemoratio Natalis in antiphonario sanctorum...* (Bl. 42v)
- *Stephanus plenus est in sanctorali magno* Bl. XXXI (Bl. 42v)
- *... ut in sanctorali magno* (Bl. 47r)
- *Fiat commemoratio de Christophoria quae est Tolle puerum in graduali hiemale* (Bl. 56v)
- *In vigilia Pentecostes habetur officium in graduali more presbiteriali* (Bl. 135r)
- *Fiat commemoratio de sancto Sixto ad Vesperas ut in libro antiphonarii de sanctis* (Bl. 194r)

Struktur und Inhalt

Der Codex Mus. 40616 kann entsprechend der Typologie der liturgischen Bücher als Antiphonarium diurnum bezeichnet werden. Er enthält also alle während Vesper, Laudes und „Horae minores“ gesungenen Stücke.

Im konkreten Fall umfasst er nur das Temporale; es beginnt mit dem Formular „Sabbato ante dominica I de Adventu“ (Bl. 1r) und endet mit der „Dominica IIIa post dedicationem ecclesiae“ (Bl. 188v). Anschließend folgt ein Formular aus dem Sanctoriale: „In festo annuntiationis beatae Mariae“ (Bl. 189r). Ansonsten werden – allerdings sehr selten – Heilige nur am Blattrand vermerkt: Stephanus (Bl. 42r und 47v), Martinianus (Bl. 47v), Sysytus (Bl. 194r).

Am Schluss der Handschrift gibt es einen kleinen Anhang mit dem Offizium und der Missa „In transfiguratione Domini“ (Bl. 192r-200v).

⁴ Über die Geschichte der Abtei als Zisterzienserabtei und ihr Buchvermögen siehe FERRARI, Ref. 3, S. 111-131.

Die Frage, warum die Zisterziensermönche bei der Übernahme der Abtei St. Ambrosius die Reste einer benediktinischen Handschrift wiederverwendeten und nicht eine neue ex novo geschrieben haben, lässt sich nicht klar beantworten. Möglicherweise spielten finanzielle Aspekte eine Rolle, meines Erachtens ist der eigentliche Grund aber bei den Ursprüngen des Zisterzienserordens zu finden. Bekanntlich verband den Zisterzienserorden eine besondere Beziehung mit dem liturgisch-musikalischen Repertoire von Mailand.⁵ Dies zeigt sich besonders deutlich in der primitiven Auswahl der Hymnen. Auf der Suche nach Authentizität und strikter Einhaltung der „Regula Benedicti“ wurde festgelegt, dass die Hymnen aus der Mailänder Liturgie übernommen werden sollten.⁶ Man nahm nämlich an, dass das Repertoire der ambrosianischen Hymnen aus Ambrosius' eigener Autorität stammte und von ihm diktiert wurde. Woher rührt aber diese Beharrlichkeit, auf die Autorität des Ambrosius zu verweisen? Die Antwort ist einfach: In mehreren Passagen der „Regula“ verwendet der hl. Benedikt den Begriff „ambrosianum“, wenn er sich auf den Begriff „hymnus“ bezieht. Ich halte es daher für sehr plausibel, dass die Zisterziensermönche, nachdem sie die Stelle der Benediktinermönche eingenommen hatten, Teile eines Codex wiederverwenden wollten, der, obwohl tausend Jahre auseinanderliegend, mit der Gestalt des Ambrosius verbunden war, die typischen Gesänge der ambrosianischen Liturgie verwendete und sie in der typischen ambrosianischen Notation übertrug. Sie war also quasie eine Hommage an den Mann, der auch vom hl. Benedikt als Autor der „reinsten“ Hymne angesehen wurde.

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⁵ Zum musikalischen Repertoire der Zisterzienser siehe insbesondere: HOURLIER, Jacques: Les réformes du chant cistercien. In: *Revue grégorienne* 31, 1952, S. 70-76; MAROSSZÉKI, Solutor Rodolphe: Les origines du chant cistercien. Recherches sur les réformes du plain-chant cistercien au XIIe siècle. In: *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cistercensis* 8, 1952, S. VII-XVI und 1-179; MITTERSCHIFFTHALER, Karl: Die liturgische Musikpraxis nach der Gesetzgebung des Zisterzienserordens. In: *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterziensorden* 89, 1978, S. 472-509; MAÏTRE, Claire: *La réforme cistercienne du plain-chant. Etude d'un traité théorique*. Brecht : Abdij Nazareth, 1995.

⁶ Über die Beziehung zwischen zisterziensischen und ambrosianischen Hymnen siehe WADDEL, Chrysogonus: *The Twelfth-century Cistercian Hymnal*, Band I: *Introduction and Commentary*. Trappist (Kentucky) : Gethsemany Abbey, 1984, S. 59-70; WADDEL, Chrysogonus: *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Lat. Oct. 402) with Variants from the «Bernardine» Cistercian Breviary. Freiburg : Academic Press Freiburg, 2007, S. 64-65; siehe auch STÄBLEIN, Bruno: Hymnen (I), Kassel-Basel : Bärenreiter, 1956, S. VII-VIII und 503-522.

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Summary

SOME REMARKS TO THE AMBROSIAN MANUSCRIPT MUS. 40616 FROM THE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK BERLIN

The manuscript Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. 40616 clearly shows how liturgical manuscripts reflect the historical and ecclesiastical contexts for which they were copied. This codex contains the chants for the celebrations of Lauds, Vespers, and the Horae Minores, which were sung at the important monastery of St. Ambrose in Milan. Written at the beginning of the 16th century, when the Cistercians replaced the Benedictine monks, the codex underwent numerous revisions and modifications. Codicological analysis shows how the White Monks reused remnants of an older manuscript, copied during the Benedictine period and featuring the characteristic Ambrosian musical notation. In fact, they adapted the new parts to incorporate both Benedictine and Ambrosian elements, likely because the early Cistercian liturgy sought to reinforce its connection both to a strict interpretation of the Rule of Benedict and to Milanese liturgical traditions, with particular reference to the authority and spiritual legacy of St Ambrose.

Resumé

NIEKOĽKO POZNÁMOK K AMBROZIÁNSKEMU RUKOPISU MUS. 40616 Z BERLÍNSKEJ ŠTÁTNEJ KNIŽNICE

Rukopis Mus. 40616 z Berlínskej štátnej knižnice nám ukazuje, ako liturgické rukopisy odrážajú historický a cirkevný kontext, v rámci ktorého vznikli. Tento kódex obsahuje spevy na slávenia ranných chvál, večer a malých hodínok, ktoré sa spievali vo významnom kláštore sv. Ambróza v Miláne. Kódex vznikol začiatkom 16. storočia, keď cisterciáni nahradili benediktínskych mníchov, a podstúpil mnohé revízie a úpravy. Kodikologická analýza nám ukazuje, ako cisterciáni, nazývaní aj „bieli mníši“, využili zvyšky staršieho rukopisu, ktorý bol opísaný za čias benediktínov a vykazoval charakteristickú ambroziánsku notáciu. V skutočnosti prispôbili nové časti tak, aby zahŕňali tak benediktínske, ako aj ambroziánske prvky, pravdepodobne preto, lebo cisterciánska liturgia sa snažila posilniť svoju väzbu na prísnu interpretáciu benediktínskych pravidiel, ako aj na milánske liturgické tradície, so zvláštnym odkazom na autoritu a duchovný odkaz sv. Ambróza.

FROM CHARTVIRGUS TO TOBIAS: ARCHAIC HUNGARIAN TRACES IN THE LITURGY OF PRAGUE

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ABSTRACT

In medieval Central Europe, Prague possessed the most splendid liturgy. Not only did it have a distinctive musical notation, indicative of an astonishing level of book culture, but the Use of Prague was an almost ostentatious parade of voluminous and carefully orchestrated rituals. In addition to the wealth of liturgical poetry and music, Prague's eminence is most evident in the extraordinary ceremonies of the annual cycle, typically recorded in rituals, pontificals, and processions. One of the earliest relevant documents is the Agenda of Bishop Tobias from 1294. This wealth, however, was not created in a vacuum. It was a synthesis from the collection, supplementation, and reordering of a wide range of liturgies from across Europe. 300 years before the emergence of Prague as an imperial capital, a small but dedicated group of prelates was working on the liturgy of another nascent archdiocese, that of Esztergom in Hungary. The surviving key documents of this process are two pontificals, one of which contains the peculiarities of the annual cycle and is known as the 11th-century *Agenda of Hartwick* or, more correctly, the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. It contains the foundation of the mature Use of Esztergom, and bears witness to an almost extravagant creativity, whose output was often discarded during later trends towards consolidation, although it survived to some degree in Prague.

Keywords: liturgy, Middle Ages, Holy Saturday, Candlemas, major blessing of water, Bohemia, Hungary

In almost half of Europe, the Holy Saturday blessing of fire was followed by the hymn *Inventor rutili*.¹ The light was distributed, and the clergy entered the church.

¹ Although a late antique poem, the idea of accompanying the distribution of the newly blessed fire with *Inventor rutili* only emerged around the first millennium. Its first occurrences charac-

The source poem by the 4th-century author Aurelius Prudentius was almost epic.² It consisted of 41 stanzas of 164 lines, each of 12 syllables. It was thus natural that in liturgical practice, the hymn was abbreviated to an extract of 2 to 10 strophes without the opening stanza, which recurred as a refrain as in other processional chants: first in full, then only its second part, and so on repeatedly. The usual method of abbreviation favoured the first strophes that enumerate and describe different kinds of torches and candles, sometimes adding the last strophe as a doxology and occasionally some of the preceding ones, meditating on the deep symbolism of the *lucernarium*.³

In Prague, a different approach prevailed. Between the 2nd and 3rd strophes, the 32nd (*Sunt et spiritibus*) is wedged into the series. This gave voice to the idea that on the night of Christ's resurrection, even the evil spirits are released from hell, enjoying a respite from their permanent torture.⁴ The choice was undoubtedly deliberate. Not only did it select a text that belonged neither to the opening nor the closing section of the poem, but it disrupted the numeric order of the stanzas. The anonymous compiler must have taken a special pleasure in emphasising this aspect of Holy Saturday. Indeed, *Sunt et spiritibus* is a reliable marker of Prague and its sphere of influence.⁵ It does not occur anywhere else in Europe, except in Hungary.

terise the annual cycle associated with the so-called *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* or *Ordo Romanus* L. VOGEL, Cyrille – ELZE, Reinhard: *Le pontifical romano-germanique du 10e siècle = Pontificale Romano-Germanicum saeculi decimi*. 3 vols. Studi e testi 226, 227, 269. Città del Vaticano : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963, II. 97. (No. XCIX. 345.); ANDRIEU, Michel: *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* 5. Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense 29. Louvain : Peeters Publishers, 1961. On Holy Saturday, it was ubiquitous in Northeastern Europe, but almost unknown in the Southwest (exceptions are e.g. Perugia, Elne, and Girona). My chronological and geographical observations rely on: Földvály and Research Group of Liturgical History, 'Usuarium (Database)'. Digitised copies of the sources cited in this study can be consulted there. In the following, I quote manuscripts by library and shelf mark, incunabula and early prints by short title and date.

² Text and translation: PRUDENTIUS, Aurelius Clemens. *Volume I*. Translated by H. J. Thomson. Reprint of Heinemann, London, 1949. The Loeb Classical Library 387. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 2006, *Volume I*, pp. 38-49. On the *Cathemerinon* cycle: DÉRI, Balázs: *A részek és az egész: Prudentius Cathemerinon című himnuszciklusának szerkezete*. Apollo könyvtár 22. Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, 2001; O'DALY, Gerard James Patrick: *Days Linked by Song: Prudentius' Cathemerinon*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2012. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199263950.001.0001>>; RICHARDSON, Nicholas J.: *Prudentius' Hymns for Hours and Seasons: Liber Cathemerinon* (trans.). Routledge Later Latin Poetry. New York : Routledge, 2016. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315714295>>; CASTELNUOVO, Elena: Across the Red Sea to the Paradise Regained: Easter Vigil and Baptism in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* 5. In: *Vigiliae Christianae* 75, No. 5, 2021, pp. 524-547. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1163/15700720-12341479>>

³ After analysing 79 sources, 60 of them with full texts, my colleague Katalin Suba found that the first three stanzas are always employed, and typically either of the last two concludes the hymn: *Per Christum genitum* (40.) or *Per quem splendor honor* (41.). Besides *Sunt et* [or: *de*] *spiritibus* (32.), the only remarkable choices are *Hunc ignem populis* (10.), peculiar to Speyer and Strassburg, and *Pendent mobilibus* (36.), characteristic of Trier. In Bamberg, the refrain followed the blessing of the fire (*finita ignis benedictione*), and the rest of the hymn was reserved for the entrance to the church (*versus residui debent servari et cantari in introitu ecclesiae*).

⁴ To the idea's sources: RICHARDSON, Ref. 2, p. 116.

⁵ Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 184r; *Agenda Thobiae* (Praha, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, ms. P III) 131; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496,

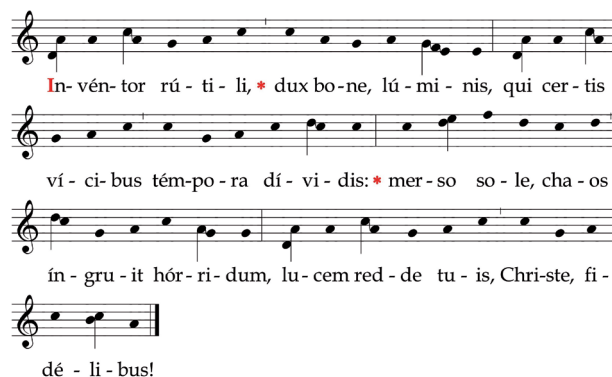
There, however, it was even more prominent. As in Olomouc, *Sunt et spiritibus* immediately followed the first strophe. We find it in this position in every mature source of Esztergom and Zagreb, including service books of unidentifiable, but probably southern parts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, such as the first printed missal of the mysterious *Domini Ultramontani*, or the monumental gradual of Francis de Futhak.⁶ Yet, strangely enough, *Sunt et spiritibus* is missing from the books of the Pauline order, founded in the 13th century, and otherwise closely related to Esztergom, and from all Hungarian sources before the 14th century.⁷ Not so in Prague, where it appears in the 13th-century Agenda of Tobias (who was bishop of the city between 1278 and 1296) and

53r and 1520, 124r. While the stanza is already documented in 12th-century Prague, it is missing from the earliest extant Moravian Missal (with the order: 1. *Inventor*, 2. *Quamvis*, 3. *Ne*, 38. *O res*, 41. *Per quem*): Olomouc, Vlastivědné muzeum, R 59, 78r.

⁶ For Esztergom after the 13th century, see: Štátny archív v Bratislave, *Bratislavský misál Ia* (Missale Notatum Strigoniense) EC Lad. 3/86 f. 114r, SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard: *Missale notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*. (= Musicalia Danubiana 1.) Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982; and *Bratislavský misál II* EL 11, 96v; Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Națională a României – Filiala Batthyaneum, Ms. II. 134, 102r–v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 94, 106r (KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Az esztergomi missale notatum és a pozsonyi misekönyvek*. In: *Mestereknek gyengyének. Ünnepi kötet Madas Edit hetvenedik születésnapjára*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2020, pp. 403–414); *Missale Strigoniense* 1484, 65r (DÉRI, Balázs: *Missale Strigoniense 1484, id est Missale secundum chorum almae ecclesiae Strigoniensis, impressum Nurenbergae apud Anthonium Koburger, anno Domini MCCC-CLXXXIII (RMK III 7)*. (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica 1.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2009.). For Zagreb: *Missale Zagrabienne* 1511, 84v–85r. Sources of dubious origin: *Missale Ultramontanorum* 1480, 138r (HOLL, Béla: *Spiritualitas dominorum ultramontanorum*. Sulla poesia medievale liturgica in Ungheria e sul suo riflesso europeo. In: *Storia religiosa dell'Ungheria*, 1992, pp. 123–137; MÁTYUS, Norbert: *A Missale Dominorum Ultramontanorum keletkezéstörténetéhez*. In: *Gondold tovább ezt a kis kóstolót. Olasz-magyar filológia*. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2017, pp. 76–87); İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Gayri İslami 68 (KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Graduale Francisci de Futhak 1463*. (= Musica Sacra Hungarica 4/1.) İstanbul; Budapest : Topkapı Palace Museum, 2021). An overview of the strophes in Hungarian sources: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Húsvét vigiliája a Hartvik-agendában*. Első fennmaradt ordónk magyar és európai összefüggésben. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 25, 2021, No. 1, pp. 33–35.

⁷ Early Hungarian sources without the stanza: İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 49, 87r and 60, unnumbered, digital pp. 156–157. (SZENDREI, Janka: *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*. Budapest : Balassi Kiadó, 2005, pp. 324–349.); Güssing, Klosterbibliothek der Franziskaner, Cod. 1/43, 125r–v (DOBSZAY, László: *Árpád-kori kottás misekönyvünk provenienciája*. In: *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok* 6, 1984, pp. 7–12; SZENDREI, Ref. 7, pp. 210–248.). Later Hungarian sources from outside of Esztergom still without the stanza: Eger, Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár, U2 VI. 5, 74r; Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Ms. I. 20, 103v; Štátny archív v Bratislave, EL 13, 98r–v; *Missale Quinqueecclesiense*, 1487, 107v and 1499, 92r (facsimile: *Missale secundum morem Alme Ecclesie Quinqueecclesiensis*.), *Missale Paulinum* 1514, 91v; Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, 234, 108v; Częstochowa, Archiwum OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, sygn. III-3, 115v (POŚPIECH, Remigiusz: *Mszał Jagiellonów z Jasnej Góry*. Wydanie fototypiczne / *Missal of the Jagiellons of Jasna Góra*. Phototypical edition. (= Musica Claromontana. Studia 2.) Opole; Częstochowa : Wydział Teologiczny Opolskiego; Klasztor OO. Paulinów Jasna Góra, 2013) and R. 583, 72. (CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa – SARBAK, Gábor: *Cantuale Paulinorum s. XVI (Częstochowa, Archiwum Jasnogórskie, I-215, R583)*. *Zene- és nyelvtörténeti tanulmányok a Częstochowai pálos kantuáléről*. Budapest : Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Zenetudományi Intézet, Régi Zenetörténeti Osztály – Magyar Pálos Rend, 2022). Most probably, it was missing in Győr too, see the text of Clichtoveus, *Elucidatorium*, pp. 33–35 with a foreword from

features until the last printed rituals of the 16th century. Accordingly, it is a witness of Bohemian influence on Hungarian liturgics in the age of the Angevin kings who, after decades of warfare and hostility, joined a Central European alliance that is still known today as the Visegrád Group after its first summit in 1335.⁸



In- vén- tor rú - ti - li, * dux bo-ne, lú - mi - nis, qui cer - tis
ví - ci - bus tém-po - ra dí - vi - dis: * mer - so so - le, cha - os
ín - gru - it hór - ri - dum, lu - cem red - de tu - is, Chri-ste, fi -
dé - li - bus!

Sunt de spirítibus saepe nocéntibus
poenárúm céleres sub Styge fériae
illa nocte, sacer qua rédiit Deus
stagnis ad súperos ex Acherónticis. Merso.

Figure 1. The beginning of the Holy Saturday hymn in the edition of the *Esztergom Gradual*⁹

A further link between Bohemia and Hungary is the hymn *Quod chorus vatum* sung at the end of the Candlemas procession. Although a popular hymn in the feast's office, it only occurs as a processional chant in the environs of Prague and Esztergom.¹⁰ Here, the relationship cannot be a product of the Angevin period. In contrast with *Sunt et spiritibus*, the Candlemas hymn features in the procession of Prague as early as the

1515 to Ioannes Gozthon (Gosztonyi), bishop of Győr, and based on choir books of that city (unpublished transcription by Ervin J. Alácsi).

⁸ On Czech-Hungarian relationships in the 14th century: BEREND, Nora – URBAŇCZYK, Przemysław – WISZEWSKI, Przemysław: *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c. 1300*. Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2013. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813795>>; ZEČEVIĆ, Nada – ZIEMANN, Daniel: *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Central Europe*. Oxford; New York : Oxford University Press, 2022. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190920715.001.0001>>.

⁹ SZASZOVSKY, Ágnes: *Graduale Strigoniense. Proprium de Tempore et de Sanctis (Editio ad Experimentum)*. Miklós István Földváry (Ed.). (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica, Series Practica, Va.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2017, p. 237.

¹⁰ *Quod chorus vatum* (Cantus ID 008378) was a widespread hymn for the Vespers of Candlemas throughout Europe, see DREVES, Guido Maria: *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. Erste Ausgabe: 1886–1926. 55 vols. Augsburg : Rauner, 2006. Available online: <<http://webserver.erwin-rauner.de/>>, 50:155; Stäblein, *Hymnen*, nos. 72, pp. 146, 151, 154, 160, 164, 422, 710; LACOSTE, Debra – BAIN, Jennifer: *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources*. Available online: <<https://cantusdatabase.org/>>, 2023, No. 008378.

Agenda of Tobias, up to the last printed sources,¹¹ and is also present in the Pauline books and in the earliest Hungarian sources of the 11th and 12th centuries.¹² The early connection proves even closer if we consider *Qui sine peccato*. In Prague and Olomouc, this two-line addition serves as the refrain strophe of the processional variant.¹³ It is not sung in the day's office and, written in distich form, is metrically very different to the Sapphic original. While *Qui sine peccato* is another marker of Bohemia, its first occurrence long predates the Agenda of Tobias. It appears in the late 11th-century Pontifical of Chartvirgus, the earliest reliable document of the annual cycle from medieval Hungary.

The age of the first records can be accidental and is never decisive as regards the direction of borrowing. It could be that lost Bohemian sources were inspired by the surviving Hungarian sources, rather than the other way around. Structural considerations, however, suggest the priority of the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Although we cannot identify the historical figure of Archbishop Chartvirgus, his pontifical records the liturgy of the Cathedral of Esztergom in the 11th century.¹⁴ Topographical information refers to the old station church of St. Stephen beside the medieval basilica. It is of even greater significance that the well-documented rites of Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, and Holy Week almost perfectly coincide with the established Use of Esztergom, without being identical to any known tradition abroad or even in other Hungarian dioceses.

The *Chartvirgus Pontifical* is highly innovative, and its content can be divided into three thematic groups. The label 'processional' aptly describes the extraordinary days of the annual cycle. 'Pontifical' may denote acts of ecclesiastical discipline performed by the bishop, such as holding a synod or reconciling penitents, and 'ritual' may comprise the core of what later evolved into the agenda of a parish priest, i.e. baptism or sickbed rituals. While the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*'s processional rites enjoyed long and unchanging succession, many of its other chapters underwent a different fate. Its 'pontifical' was mostly replaced by the spread of international books from the 13th century, and its 'ritual' yielded partly to consolidating efforts and partly to future elaboration.¹⁵

¹¹ *Agenda Thobiae*, 47; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 9, 57r; *Pontificale Alberti de Sternberg* (Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG I 19), 9v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 18r and 1520, 87v.

¹² Częstochowa, Archiwum OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, sygn. III-3, 208r; *Missale Paulinum* 1514, 183r; *Pontificale Chartvirgi* (Zagreb, Knjižnica Metropolitana, MR 165), 33v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, MNy 1, 70r.

¹³ *Qui sine peccato*: STÄBLEIN, Bruno: *Hymnen (I). Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*. (= Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1.) Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1956, No. 1013.

¹⁴ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Egy úzus születése I. A Chartvirgus-pontifikále és a magyarországi liturgia megalkotása a XI. században*. Műhelytanulmányok 4. Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2017, pp. 77-93. For earlier opinions favouring Győr, see: MORIN, Germain: *Manuscripts liturgiques hongrois des XIe et XIIe siècles*. In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6, 1926, pp. 54-67; KNI EWALD, Dragutin: *Hartwick győri püspök Agenda Pontificalis-a*. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle* 65, 1941, pp. 1-21; SZENDREI, Ref. 7, p. 69.

¹⁵ HORVÁTH, Balázs: *A Pray-kódex liturgikus összefüggései és filológiai problémái*. Budapest : Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2022. Available online: <<https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/86227>>, pp. 91-111. One might anticipate similar results from the diversity of Hungarian sickbed rituals and burials: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Gyászszertartások a régi magyar liturgiában*. In: *Írások a Pray-kódexről* (Szerk. Bartók Zsófia, Horváth Balázs).

As the overture of the ‘processional’, Candlemas belonged to the least variable layer. Several case studies indicate that this layer was the product of careful compositional work. For the present survey, one observation is of particular interest. In Esztergom, the processional rites of Candlemas and Palm Sunday fitted precisely the same template.¹⁶ Both rites consisted of sprinkling holy water, marching to a site other than the main church, blessing and distributing candles or branches there, marching back in procession, and observing successive stations before the main church and in front of the choir screen. Moreover, each section deployed identical sets of liturgical genres. The most remarkable parallel was the object blessing with its five orations alternating with voluminous chants and concluding in a consecratory prex. In both cases, this arrangement was unique to Esztergom.

Table 1. Parallels between Candlemas and Palm Sunday

Candlemas	Palm Sunday
<i>In the choir</i>	<i>In the choir</i>
Sprinkling with oration	Sprinkling with oration
<i>Procession to the stational church</i>	<i>Procession to the stational church</i>
Responsories	Responsories
<i>In the stational church</i>	<i>In the stational church</i>
Responsory with Marian oration	Responsory with Marian oration
	Prophecy, chant, Gospel
<i>Blessing of candles</i>	<i>Blessing of branches</i>
	Exorcism
Orations alternating with chants	Orations alternating with chants
Solemn consecratory preface	Solemn consecratory preface
<i>Distribution of objects</i>	<i>Distribution of objects</i>
Antiphon with canticle	Two antiphons
<i>Return to the main church</i>	<i>Return to the main church</i>
Oration for departure	Oration for departure
Antiphon with Ambrosian hymn	Antiphon with Ambrosian hymn
	Adoration of the cross
<i>Entrance to the main church</i>	<i>Entrance to the main church</i>
Oration before the gate	Oration before the gate
Antiphon with Benedictus	Antiphon with Benedictus
Oration before the choir screen	Oration before the choir screen
Refrained metric hymn	Refrained metric hymn

On Candlemas, *Qui sine peccato* with *Quod chorus vatum* played the same role as *Gloria laus* on Palm Sunday. At the earliest stage of the rites, the return procession was accompanied by long rhymed hymns of accentuated metre (*Laetetur omne saecu-*

(= Műhelytanulmányok 5.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019, pp. 65-96; SUBA, Katalin: A Pray-kódex temetési szertartásának külföldi párhuzamai. In: *Fons*, 2021, No. 28, pp. 311-340.

¹⁶ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: A római rítus változatainak kutatása III. Virágvasárnap a középkori Magyarországon. In: *Magyar Egyházzene*, Vol. 20, 2013, No. 3, pp. 241-245.

lum and *Magnum salutis gaudium*, respectively); stational orations signalled the stop in front of the portal; simple antiphons with the canticle *Benedictus* accompanied the entrance of the assembly to the church; further orations sounded at the stop before the screen; and the refrained, metric hymns were sung when the clergy entered the choir. Later, the ceremonies became simplified by omitting the lengthy, rhymed processional hymns and replacing them with shorter, time-measured alternatives. This development removed the original functions and made *Qui sine peccato* unnecessary. But the parallels between the analogous structures clearly show why the hymn *Quod chorus vatum* was once required on Candlemas and why it needed a distich refrain strophe.

These parallels do not apply to Prague or Olomouc. Therefore, we can conclude that this peculiar combination of two metrically different chants was a second-hand borrowing. The clues, in this case, lead from Chartvirgus to Tobias, suggesting an early Hungarian influence on the nascent Use of Prague, possibly in the 13th century. The observation is especially important, as there is a large chronological gap between the earliest service books of Esztergom from the 11th century and the mature ones surviving from the Angevin period. In addition to the indirect testimony of the Pauline Use, which was being consolidated at this time,¹⁷ Czech remnants preserve something of the ‘dark age’.

21. *Deinde accedant pueri quattuor, et canant hymnum:*

*Qui sine peccato templo est oblatus ad aram
a nobis clemens crimina quæque demat.*

1. *Quod chorus vatum venerandus olim
Spiritu Sancto cecinit replētus,
in Dei factum Genitrice constat
esse Maria.*

2. *Hic Deum cali Dominumque terræ
Virgo concepit, peperitque Virgo,
atque post partum meruit manere
inviolata.*

3. *Quem senex iustus 1341 Simeon in ulnas
in domo sumpsit Domini gavisus,
ob quod optatum proprio videre
lumine Christum.*

4. *Tu libens votis, petimus, p[re]cantum,
regis æterni Genitrix, faveto,
clara quæ celsi résidens (Olympi
regna pe)tisti.*

5. *Sit Deo nostro decus et potestas,
sit salus semper, sit honor perennis,
qui poli summa résidet in arce
trinus et unus. Amen.*

22. *Hymno expleto, celebretur missa per ordinem:*² *Suscépinus, Deus.*

Figure 2. The end of the Candlemas procession in the online edition of the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*¹⁸

¹⁷ On the retrospective value of the Pauline sources: FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: Pauline Customs within the Esztergom Use: Archaism, Variant, or Usage? In: *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 9, 2020, pp. 133-145. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.JMMS.5.120399>>, pp. 137-141.

¹⁸ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Pontificale Chartvirgi saeculi XI exeuntis de Hungaria (Strigoniense?)*. (Zagrabiae, Knjižnica Metropolitana MR 165). Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, 2013, p. 47.

My last example points to an even more specific exchange between the Czech and Hungarian lands. Prague and Olomouc celebrated the major water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany.¹⁹ Although this may seem natural in the light of modern Roman practice, it was not at all self-evident in the Middle Ages.²⁰ In Salzburg, Aquileia, and Brixen, the water blessing occurred on Saint Stephen's Day; in Strasbourg on Saint Peter's Chains; in Minden on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; in Cahors and Rodez on Whit Sunday; and in Augsburg on the 2nd Sunday after Pentecost.²¹ Unlike the minor blessing on Sundays, the major blessing had nothing to do with baptism or its commemoration.²² It was a large-scale sacramental, primarily for agrarian purposes.²³ The exorcised water served apotropaic purposes in the fields, the houses, and the stables. Besides sprinkling, both humans and animals could enjoy its benefits by drinking it. This aspect was emphasised by the fact that, in Prague and Olomouc, the antiphon *Fontes aquarum* was sung at the end of the ceremony, including the words 'haurite aquas de fonte Salvatoris' ('Draw ye waters out of the Saviour's fountains'). The passage quotes from the canticle of Isaias (Is 12:3), recited weekly in the Monday lauds, but the antiphon comes directly from the 1st

¹⁹ Beyond Prague: *Agenda Olomucensis* 1486, unnumbered, digital 67–82 and 1498, 60–75. (Olomouc); *Pontificale Alberti de Sternberg*, 1r–6r (Litomyšl); Budapest : Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 252, 3r–11r (Třeboň).

²⁰ The model of the great water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany as found in modern editions of the *Rituale Romanum* probably came from Venice, not independent of Byzantine inspiration: *Liber sacerdotalis* 1523, 205r–212v; *Sacerdotale Romanum* 1554, 189r–196v (*quae licet in Romana Curia non fiat, in multis tamen ecclesiis sollemniter celebratur*). It is missing from all the pre-Tridentine Roman Rituals and still from the editio princeps of 1614: SODI, Manlio – ARCAS, Juan Javier Flores: *Rituale Romanum. Editio princeps (1614)*. Facsimile. (= Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 5.) Città del Vaticano : Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004.

²¹ *Agenda Salisburgensis* 1511, 3r (*quae ex antiquo consueta est fieri in die sancti Stephani natalis*); *Agenda Aquileiensis* 1495, 52r (*in festo sancti Stephani*); *Obsequiale Brixinense* 1493, 38v (*in nativitate sancti Stephani protomartyris*); *Agenda Argentinensis* 1489, 148r (*in festo sancti Petri ad Vincula*); *Agenda Mindensis* 1522, 79r (*In Inventione Sanctae Crucis*); *Manuale Cadurcense* 1593, 331 (*in die sancto Pentecostes*); *Manuale Ruthenense* 1513, 3v (*in die sancto Pentecostes*); *Obsequiale Augustense* 1487, 41v (*habetur dominica prima post octavas Pentecostes*).

²² On the minor water blessing's connection with Baptism, Sundays, and parochial liturgy: BARTH, Médard: Zur Geschichte der Sonntagsprozession nach sonntäglicher Wasserweihe im Elsass. In: *Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace* 6, 1955, pp. 251–254; PERKOW, Ursula: *Wasserweihe, Taufe und Patenschaft bei den Nordgermanen*. Hamburg : Heidelberger Reprographie, A. Grosch, 1972. In general: MARTÈNE, Edmond: *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri*. Reprografischer Nachdruck der 2. erweiterten Ausgabe Antwerpen 1736. 4 vols. Hildesheim : Olms, 1969; FRANZ, Adolph: *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Freiburg, 1909. 2 vols. Bonn : Nova & Vetera, 2006.

²³ E.g. FRANZ, Adolph: *Das Rituale von St Florian aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert*. Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder, 1904, 140 (*pro infirmitate animalium*); HÜRLIMANN, Gebhard: *Das Rheinauer Rituale* (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.). (= Spicilegium Friburgense 5.) Freiburg : Universitätsverlag, 1959, p. 132 (*pro peste animalium*); Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 395, 23r (*pro peste animalium*); Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Cod. D 1, 180r; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6425, 224r (*ad pecora*); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 54, 121v and 59, 149r (*pro peste animalium*); *Agenda Argentinensis* 1489, 148r (*contra mortem subitanam hominum et pestem animalium*).

Vespers of the Octave of Epiphany.²⁴ It is curious that, despite the date, there is nothing in the previous rite that has any connection with Epiphany, save a Gospel pericope presenting the figure of Saint John the Baptist.²⁵

Again, the key to the assignment to Epiphany lies in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Probably, its most flamboyant innovation was a blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany according to the Greeks: a ritual with the translation of a famous, ancient Byzantine prayer at its heart, surrounded with original Latin elements that evoked an eastern atmosphere.²⁶ One of them was the final *Fontes aquarum*. As its Magnificat antiphon and first proper chant, it hallmarked the office of the Octave of Epiphany, which was famous for being a Greek loan in the West. According to Notker Balbulus, the office was translated from Greek at the behest of Charlemagne, who was charmed by the singing of Greek envoys at his court.²⁷ Indeed, the 7th-mode melody type of the series *Veterem hominem* is unparalleled in the Gregorian tradition and may be the earliest musically decipherable document of Eastern plainchant. The 8th-mode *Fontes aquarum* does not belong to the melody group, but relies on Greek textual models and stands as a prelude before the emblematic series of antiphons.²⁸

²⁴ Its overall position is unstable, see HESBERT, René-Jean: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*. 6 vols. (= *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta*. Series Maior. Fontes 7–12.) Roma : Herder, 1963, pp. 69–70; DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka: *Antiphonen*. 3 vols. (= *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi* 5.) Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1999, III, pp. 1242–1243, No. 8418. In Esztergom and Prague, it distinguishes the 1st Vespers of the Octave of Epiphany: DOBSZAY, László – KOVÁCS, Andrea: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. Esztergom/Strigonium 5/A (*Temporale*). Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 2004; CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. Praha 3/A (*Temporale*). Budapest : Zenetudományi Intézet, 1996, No. 14640. In digital format: Kiss and Czagány, ‘Hungarian Chant Database’. In the context of the major blessing of waters: *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 28v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 92, 228r (Spiš); Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 68r; *Agenda Thobiae*, 32; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 9, 12v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 8r and 1520, 76r.

²⁵ *Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem* (J 1:29–34) was to become the default Gospel of the Epiphany Octave in the Roman Rite, already prominent on the following weekdays in early sources without an explicit octave: KLAUSER, Theodor: *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*. (= *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 28.) Münster in Westfalen : Aschendorff, 1935, p. 191.

²⁶ FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: A Latin Blessing of Waters on the Eve of Epiphany According to the Greek Tradition. In: *Archiv Für Liturgiewissenschaft* 60, 2018, pp. 180–207. For the only other Latin translation known so far: PUNIET, Pierre de: Formulaire grec de l’Épiphanie dans une traduction latine ancienne. In: *Revue Bénédictine* 29, 1912, pp. 29–46. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.04713>>.

²⁷ HAEFELE, Hans F: *Notker der Stammler: Taten Kaiser Karls des Großen (Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris)*. (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*. Nova series 12.) Berlin : Weidmann, 1959, p. 58 (II. 7.).

²⁸ On the Greek models in general: DENYSENKO, Nicholas E: *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany: The Eastern Liturgical Tradition*. Liturgy, Worship, and Society. London; New York : Routledge, 2016. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315614014>>. In particular: TREMPÉLAS, Panagiōtēs N.: *Μικρόν Ευχολόγιον Β’*. Ακολουθία και τάξεις αγιασμού υδάτων, εγκαίνιων, όρθρου και εσπερινού κατά τους εν Αθήναις ιδία κώδικας. Athenai, 1955, pp. 18–43; VELKOVSKA, Elena: *Nuovi paralleli greci dell’Eucologio slavo del Sinai*. Filologia slava. Roma : Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’, 1996, pp. 38–40.

The major blessing of water had several forms. The rite was popular in Germany, and its many local versions differ from the more concise variants of Prague and Esztergom. These, however, are related to one another. Here again, either Esztergom could conform to a pattern provided by Prague or Prague to Esztergom, especially as the latter's patron saint, Vojtěch (Adalbert), arrived from Prague in the age when both the Esztergom archbishopric and the Hungarian kingdom were founded.²⁹

Table 2. Comparison of the major blessings in Esztergom and Prague

Esztergom (Chartvirgus)	Prague (Tobias)
	Deus in adiutorium (3×)
	Ps. Domine quid multiplicati
	Ps. Dominus regit me
	Ps. Afferte Domino
	Ps. Miserere mei Deus miserere mei
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis
Lc. Dixerunt viri civitatis	Lc. Dixerunt viri civitatis
Ev. Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem	Ev. Vidit Ioannes Iesum ad se venientem
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae
Or. Praesta Domine tuum salutare remedium	Or. Deus qui ad salutem humani generis
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis	Ex. Exorcizo te creatura salis
	Or. Benedic omnipotens Deus hanc
	Haec commixtio
	Or. Deus cui super Cherubim
	Or. Sancte Domine creator omnium
VD Domine Deus caeli et terrae	VD Domine Deus caeli et terrae
Sanctus	[Sanctus]
	Or. Praesta Domine tuum salutare remedium
	Or. Aeterne Deus omnipotens
	Or. Domine sancte Pater omnipotens
	Or. Deus invisibilis et inaestimabilis
	Or. Deus invictae virtutis auctor
	Or. Domine sancte Pater omnipotens
Ex. Exorcizo te creatura aquae	
Or. Deus qui ad salutem humani generis	
	Benedictio Dei Patris
Or. Inclina Domine aurem tuam	
Ant. Fontes aquarum	Ant. Fontes aquarum
	W. Domine apud te
	Or. Praesta nobis Domine per hanc

Yet, structural considerations suggest the opposite. The early agendas and pontificals of Prague start with the major blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany. In the late

²⁹ On Saint Adalbert/Vojtech: HEGEDŰS, András – BÁRDOS, István: *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oldalma alatt.* (= Strigonium antiquum 4.) Esztergom : Primási Levéltár, 2000.

rituals, called *Obsequialia*, it still opens the section of the annual cycle, preceded only by the life cycle rites. In Prague, neither the date nor the closing antiphon is justified thematically, while in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*, the whole rite of the major blessing of water is inserted into the equivalent blessing according to the Greeks. After the Byzantine call for the bowing of heads, the script is temporarily interrupted with the title *De eodem*, meaning that another version of the same rite will ensue.³⁰ Then follows the typical Latin form of the major blessing without reference to Epiphany, as in Prague. Lastly, the Greek rite continues with the Byzantine prayer of inclination and ends with the often-cited *Fontes aquarum* antiphon.

The Greek blessing must have been abandoned at an early date in Esztergom, as it is not documented elsewhere than in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. Possibly, it was too extravagant for later generations of a more conformist disposition. Nor did it survive in Prague, yet it seems that the Czech scribes who discarded it when adopting the major blessing from an archaic book of Esztergom were not aware of the shift back to the Greek formulary at the end of the rite. Recognising this shift indeed requires careful analysis, as it passed graphically unnoticed in the *Chartvirgus Pontifical*. The closing antiphon thus remained in Bohemia as the vestige of an imperfectly trimmed prototype for centuries after the total obliteration of both the Greek and the major Latin water blessing in Hungary.

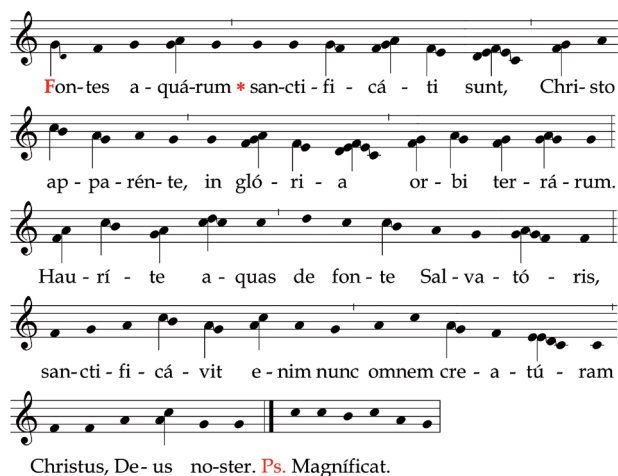


Figure 3. The Magnificat Antiphon on the Eve of the Octave of Epiphany in the edition of the notated *Esztergom Breviary*³¹

³⁰ FÖLDVÁRY, Ref. 26, pp. 182-183.

³¹ NÉNYEI, Sára – CSONKA, Szabina Babett – SZOLIVA, Gábor: *Breviarium Strigoniense. Proprium de Tempore post Epiphaniam (editio ad experimentum)*. Miklós István Földváry (Ed.). (= Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica, Series Practica 4c.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Latin Tanszék, 2017, p. 56.

Conclusion

Arguing for the chronological primacy of the liturgy of Esztergom over Prague may arouse the suspicion of national bias. This, however, was far from being an incentive for this survey. My observations emerged spontaneously in the last fifteen years when studying the earliest service books of medieval Hungary and comparing them to the pan-European context. The list of coincidences between mature Prague and archaic Esztergom could continue with orations, but these would probably be of less interest to an audience of musicologists.³² My study highlights the changing attitudes of liturgical creativity, rather than the priority of one bishopric over another.

No one can deny that in the High Middle Ages, Prague possessed the most splendid liturgy in Central Europe. Not only did it have a musical notation with an astonishing level of book culture, but the Use of Prague was also an ostentatious parade of voluminous and carefully orchestrated rituals.³³ In addition to the bounty of liturgical poetry and music, this eminence is most evident in the extraordinary ceremonies of the annual cycle. Such wealth, however, did not arise in a vacuum. It was a synthesis of the collection, supplementation, and reordering of a wide range of liturgies from across Europe. Prague witnessed a last bloom of the attitude that has recently been called liturgical spoliation.³⁴

³² E.g. the two orations after first communion on Holy Saturday (*Omnipotens ... qui regenerasti; Omnipotens ... maiestatem tuam*): *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 94v; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 94, 126v; *Agenda Thobiae*, 190. They occur in some Gelasian Sacramentaries: DESHUSSES, Jean – DARRAGON, Benoît: *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands sacramentaires*. (= Spicilegium Friburgense. Subsidia 9–14.) Fribourg Suisse : Éditions Universitaires, 1982, No. 2446; MOHLBERG, Leo Cunibert: *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*. (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56.) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*). (= Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior. Fontes 4.) Roma : Herder, 1960, No. 2385, but are not registered by MOELLER, Edmond Eugène – CLÉMENT, Jean-Marie – WALLANT, Bertrand Coppieters't: *Corpus orationum*. (= Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 160 A–M.) Turnhout : Brepols, 1993. Another parallel is the blessing of fishes on Maundy Thursday, later transposed to Easter: *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, 71v; Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV D 12, 175v; *Obsequiale Pragense* 1496, 66v and 1520, 137v.

³³ On the liturgical book production in the age of Dean Vitus (died in 1271) and the bloom under Archbishop Arnestus in the 14th century: NEJEDLÝ, Zdeněk: *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách*. Praha : Královské české společnosti nauk, 1904, pp. 18–35; BERAN, Josef: *Mešní liturgie. Secundum rubricam ecclesiae Pragensis ve st. XV. a XVI. Příspěvek k vývoji liturgického práva partikulárního v Čechách*. Praha, 1931; EBEN, David: Die Bedeutung des Arnestus von Pardubitz in der Entwicklung des Prager Offiziums. In: *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*. László Dobszay, Ágnes Papp, and Ferenc Sebő (Eds.). Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1992, pp. 571–577; EBEN, David – RANKIN, Susan: Using the Past as Model: Musical Scripts in Books of the Prague Diocese. In: *Sounding the Past: Music as History and Memory*. Karl Kügle (Ed.). (= Épitome Musical.) Turnhout : Brepols, 2020, pp. 75–100. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1484/M.EM-EB.5.122005>>; KUBÍNOVÁ, Kateřina: Biskupové a kapituly jako objednavatelé uměleckých děl. In: *Obrazy v době Přemyslovců. Kontexty a forma*. Jan Klípa (Ed.). Praha : Academia (forthcoming). See also the thematic issue of *Miscellanea Musicologica* 37 (2003) with the publications of Zsuzsa Czágány, Jana Vozková, Hana Vlhová-Wörner, and Jiří Žůrek.

³⁴ PARKES, Henry: Henry II, Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the 'Romano-German Pontifical'. In: *Early Medieval Europe* 28, 2020, pp. 104–141. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12389>>, pp. 128–129.

Remarkably, the earliest evidence for this comes from the 13th century, which means it was more of a preparation than a following of Prague's emergence as an archepiscopal see and imperial capital in the age of Archbishop Arnestus and Emperor Charles.

About 300 years before, a small but dedicated group of prelates were working on the liturgy of another nascent archdiocese, Esztergom. The surviving monuments of this process are two Pontificals,³⁵ one of which contains the peculiarities of the annual cycle. It contains the foundation of the mature Use of Esztergom, and at times bears witness to an almost overflowing creativity, whose output was often restrained by later trends towards consolidation.³⁶ Esztergom experienced another late blooming, that of liturgy-making in an Ottonian style.

The basic difference between it and the high medieval approach of Prague consisted in the fact that archaic Esztergom was more concerned with structures, and mature Prague with texts and melodies. Esztergom, however, served as a pool of raw material for Prague. Creative rearrangement in Hungary occasionally needed supplements such as the *Qui sine peccato* refrain strophe or the *Fontes aquarum* antiphon. There, the emphasis lay on function. Later in Bohemia, however, such by-products were perfectly suited to enrich a spoliative liturgy, where the emphasis lay on accumulating an insurmountable amount of repertory.

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³⁵ The other codex is: Zagreb, Knjižnica Metropolitana, MR 89, see FÖLDVÁRY, Miklós István: *Az Esztergomi benedikcionále. Irodalom és liturgia az államalapítás-kori Magyarországon*. (= Műhelytanulmányok 1.) Budapest : Argumentum Kiadó, ELTE BTK Vallástudományi Központ, Liturgiátörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2014. Its newly discovered relatives: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. lit. 60; Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 23.

³⁶ To the concept of consolidation: SZOLIVA, Gábor: *Hymnule ecclesiae Zagrabiensis (Metropolitanska knjižnica Zagrebačke nadbiskupije, MR 21). Hagymánytiszteltet és egyéni alakítás a zágrábi székesegyház 15. század eleji himnáriumban*. (= Resonemus pariter 2.) Budapest : Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Zenetudományi Intézet, Régi Zenetörténeti Osztály, 2019, p. 64.

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Summary

FROM CHARTVIRGUS TO TOBIAS. ARCHAIC HUNGARIAN TRACES IN THE LITURGY OF PRAGUE

In this study, I highlighted three musical pieces of Gregorian plainchant that reveal an exclusive interrelatedness of Bohemian and Hungarian sources. The first was the unusual selection of stanzas for the *Inventor rutili* hymn, sung in an abbreviated form on Holy Saturday during the distribution of the newly blessed fire. The original poem's theologically contestable 32nd strophe, *Sunt et spiritibus*, features only in Prague and Esztergom. Second, I showcased the hymn *Quod chorus vatium* with the distich refrain strophe *Qui sine peccato*, chanted at the end of the Candlemas procession, exclusive in this context to the mature uses of Prague and Olomouc, but equally appearing in the earliest source of Esztergom. Third, I drew attention to the antiphon *Fontes aquarum*, a well-known chant of First Vespers on the Octave of Epiphany, which, however, also closed the major water blessing on the Eve of Epiphany in Prague and was unique in this capacity by the end of the Middle Ages. Still, again, it had been present in the earliest manuscript recording the water blessing in Esztergom.

By examining the histories and contexts of these three musical items and their liturgical assignments, I concluded that, while in the first case, it was the late medieval practice of Prague that influenced Esztergom, parallel to the intense political and cultural exchange between Bohemia and Hungary in Hungary's Angevin period, in the second and third cases we encounter vestiges of an archaic liturgy of Esztergom that had died out on their native soil and survived only in Prague. This statement rests partly on chronological and partly on functional insights. The earliest extant witness of the *Sunt et spiritibus* stanza comes from 12th-century Bohemia, yet it only appears in Hungarian

sources from the 14th century and remains restricted to Esztergom. The combination of *Qui sine peccato* and *Quod chorus vatum* in the Candlemas procession and the *Fontes aquarum* in the major blessing of water, however, appear first in the 11th-century Chartvirgus Pontifical, the most significant source of the archaic Esztergom liturgy, and in Prague only in the late 13th-century Agenda of Tobias.

Beyond chronological considerations, only the original context in Esztergom explains why these pieces have been chosen. In the Chartvirgus Pontifical, the order of the Candlemas procession precisely paralleled that of Palm Sunday. Both ended with a metric hymn, divided by a distich refrain, when the clergy entered the choir before mass. *Qui sine peccato* played the same role on Candlemas as *Gloria laus* on Palm Sunday. In the same source, the major blessing of water was wedged into a purportedly Greek blessing of water on the Eve of Epiphany, ending with *Fontes aquarum*. While both the timing and the Greek connotations justify the antiphon's presence in the Chartvirgus Pontifical, they make less sense in Prague, where the water blessing has no other thematic connection with Epiphany and, however surprising it may be, the rite's appointment to Epiphany proves also exceptional in a pan-European comparison.

The first complete Bohemian service book that contains these parallels is the Agenda of Tobias from 1294, suggesting a terminus ante quem for a project of liturgical improvement in Prague, probably overlapping with the manuscript production campaign associated with Dean Vitus, who died in 1271. The masterminds of this project may have also known and utilised contemporary Esztergom sources, which, albeit untraceable in the ill-documented 13th century, did yet survive in the foremost document of the nascent Hungarian liturgy, the late 11th-century Chartvirgus Pontifical.

This liturgical transfer reveals more than the mere connection between two medieval bishoprics in Central Europe. Its key is the identification of formative periods and the understanding of their shifting emphases. Esztergom was the most open to liturgical innovation in the early 11th century. A new church organisation had to be equipped with a distinctive use that expressed its identity. The toolkit of this endeavour relied on models derived from an Ottonian tendency to elaborate rites, such as the Mass ordinary, the processions of the annual cycle, and those of ecclesiastical discipline. It manifested mainly in an interest in developing new structures.

Prague's formative period coincided with the city's rise and transformation into one of Europe's most prominent political and cultural hubs. At that time, the strategy of liturgy-makers was to accumulate an array of lesser-known texts and chants, demonstrating the richness and broad orientation of the emerging cathedral. Adopting the cultural goods of another centre was not considered a gesture of subordination in the Middle Ages. On the contrary, it resembled the attitude of a coloniser or a victorious warlord, parading with spoils appropriated from his subjects. Spoliation has recently been introduced into the vocabulary of liturgical history to describe a similar policy. In this sense, we can truly term Prague's evolving liturgy in the late 13th century spoliative and point to the archaic use of Esztergom as one of its tributaries.

Resumé

OD HARTVIKA K TOBIÁŠOVI. STOPY STAROBYLÉHO UHORSKÉHO RÍTU V PRAŽSKEJ LITURGII

Vo svojej štúdii som upriamil pozornosť na tri hudobné vsuvky gregoriánskeho chorálu, ktoré odhaľujú mimoriadny vzťah medzi českými a uhorskými prameňmi. Prvou je neobvyklý výber strof z hymnu *Inventor rutili*, ktorý sa spieva v skrátenej forme iba na Veľkonočnú sobotu počas rozdávania práve posväteného ohňa. Teologicky sporná 32. strofa pôvodnej básne, *Sunt et spiritibus*, sa objavuje jedine v Prahe a Ostrihome. V druhom prípade som poukázal na hymnus *Quod chorus vatum* s dvojveršovým refrénom *Qui sine peccato*, ktorý sa spieva na záver hromničnej procesie, pričom v tomto kontexte sa

používa jedine v liturgii Prahy a Olomouca vo vrcholnom stredoveku, avšak rovnako ho môžeme nájsť v najstaršom prameni z Ostrihomu. V treťom bode upozorňujem na antifónu *Fontes aquarum*, známy chorál z prvých večer na oktávu sviatku Zjavenia Pána, ktorý však zároveň uzatvára požehnanie vody v predvečer Zjavenia Pána v Prahe a v tejto funkcii bol na konci stredoveku jedinečný. Opäť ho však nachádzame aj v ranom rukopisnom zázname požehnania vody v Ostrihome.

Výskum dejín a kontextov týchto troch hudobných jednotiek a ich liturgických funkcií ukázal, že kým v prvom prípade práve neskorostredoveká pražská prax ovplyvnila liturgiu v Ostrihome, paralelne s intenzívnou politickou a kultúrnou výmenou medzi Čechami a stredovekým Uhorskom anjouovského obdobia, tak v druhom a treťom prípade máme dočinenia so zvyškami archaickej ostrihomskej liturgie, ktorá na svojej rodnej pôde zanikla, avšak prežila práve v Prahe. Toto tvrdenie je založené čiastočne na chronologických a čiastočne na funkčných argumentoch. Najstaršie zachované svedectvo prítomnosti *Sunt et spiritibus* pochádza z Čiech z 12. storočia, avšak v uhorských prameňoch sa objavuje až od 14. storočia a obmedzuje sa na Ostrihom. Kombinácia *Qui sine peccato* a *Quod chorus vatum* v hromničnej procesii a *Fontes aquarum* v požehnaní vody sa však objavujú už v najvýznamnejšom prameni archaickej ostrihomskej liturgie – Hartvikovom pontifikáli z 11. storočia. V Prahe sa vyskytuje až v Tobiašovej agende z konca 13. storočia.

Prečo boli vybraté práve tieto úryvky vysvetľuje jedine pôvodný ostrihomský kontext. V Hartvikovom pontifikáli je poradie hromničnej procesie paralelné s procesiou na Kvetnú nedeľu. Obe sa končia metrickým hymnom, ktorý je rozdelený dvojveršovým refrénom, keď duchovenstvo pred omšou vchádza na chór. Spev *Qui sine peccato* zohráva tú istú úlohu v hromničnej omši ako *Gloria laus* na Kvetnú nedeľu. V tom istom prameni bolo svätenie vody vklinené do údajne gréckeho požehnania vody v predvečer Zjavenia Pána, ktoré sa končí s *Fontes aquarum*. Kým časový parameter ako aj grécke konotácie opodstatňujú prítomnosť antifóny v Hartvikovom pontifikáli, ich prítomnosť je menej zmysluplná v Prahe, kde svätenie vody nemá žiadne iné tematické spojenie so Zjavením Pána a, prekvapujúco, umiestnenie ceremoniálu do liturgie sviatku Zjavenia Pána je výnimočné aj v celoeurópskom kontexte.

Prvá kompletná česká bohoslužobná kniha, ktorá obsahuje tieto paralely, je Tobiašova agenda z roku 1294. Dostávame tak termín *ante quem* súvisiaci s projektom liturgického pokroku v Prahe, zrejme sa prekrývajúci s výrobou tohto rukopisu, spájaného s dekanom Vítom, ktorý umrel roku 1271. Vedúci predstavitelia tohto projektu zrejme poznali a využili aj súdobé ostrihomské pramene, ktoré sú síce v chabo dokumentovanom 13. storočí nevystopovateľné, avšak prežili v poprednom dokumente rodiacej sa maďarskej liturgie, v Hartvikovom pontifikáli z konca 11. storočia.

Tento liturgický prenos odhaľuje viac než iba spojenie medzi dvomi stredovekými biskupstvami v Strednej Európe. Jeho kľúčom je identifikácia formatívnych období a pochopenie ich meniacich sa dôrazov. V ranom 11. storočí bol Ostrihom najotvorenejší voči liturgickej inováci. Nová cirkevná organizácia mala mať výraznú liturgiu vyjadrujúcu vlastnú identitu. Nástroje tohto úsilia sa opierali o modely odvodené z ottonskej tendencie prepracovať ceremónie ako omšové ordinárium, procesie ročného cyklu a prislúchajúce cirkevné reguly. Prejavovali sa najmä v záujme vyvíjať nové štruktúry.

Pražské formatívne obdobie koincidovalo so vzostupom a transformáciou mesta na jedno z najpoprednejších politických a kultúrnych centier Európy. V tom čase bolo stratégiou zhotoviteľov liturgie nazhromaždiť celý rad menej známych textov a spevov, ktoré by demonštrovali bohatstvo a široký rozhľad rodiacej sa katedrály. Prax prijatia kultúrnych výdobytkov iného centra sa v stredoveku nepovažovala za gesto podriadenia sa, naopak, skôr pripomínala prístup kolonizátora alebo víťazného vojvodu, ktorý sa promenáduje s korisťou zhabanou porazeným. Nedávno sa dostalo do slovníka liturgických dejín slovo, ktoré opisuje podobnú prax – „drancovanie“. V tomto zmysle môžeme pomenovať pražskú vyvíjajúcu sa liturgiu konca 13. storočia za drancujúcu a poukázať na archaickú ostrihomskú liturgiu ako na jedného z jej prispievateľov.

PIESŇOVÝ REPERTOÁR OBCE JABLONICA NA ZÁHORÍ V DOKUMENTÁCII KAROLA PLICKU

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ABSTRACT

The contribution summarizes the results of the collecting activities of Karol Plicka (1894–1987) in the village of Jablonica, Záhorie region. The collector was attracted to the traditional song culture of the village; to its singers, genre structure of the repertory, as well as the ornamental style of singing. In 1924 he undertook field research in this village, during which he recorded 187 songs by 26 singers. In 1929 the singers and musicians from the village participated in a project of audio documentation of traditional music in Czechoslovakia. The project was realized in Prague in collaboration with Karol Plicka. The village of Jablonica belongs to those localities in Slovakia which had their traditional singing documented not only in notated records, but also on precious sound recordings as early as during the interwar period.

V roku 1924 Karol Plicka (1894 – 1987) uverejnil štúdiu, v ktorej zhrnul svoje prvé skúsenosti a výsledky zo zberateľských ciest po Slovensku.¹ Vďaka tomu vieme, že už v priebehu roka 1924 navštívil región Záhoria – súčasťou štúdie sú aj ukážky troch piesní v podaní spevákov zo záhorskej obce Jablonica.² Títo speváci zaujali Plicku nielen svojím piesňovým repertoárom, ale aj ozdobným štýlom spevu. So zdobeným spôsobom prednesu piesní sa Plicka podrobnejšie zoznámil na Záhorí hlavne v podaní speváčky Evy Studeničovej z Moravského Svätého Jána, ktorú na-

¹ PLICKA, Karol: O sbieraní ľudových piesní. In: *Sborník Matice slovenskej*, roč. 2, 1942, č. 2, s. 49–59.

² Ref. 1, s. 50, 53, 54.

vštlivil ako zberateľ po prvý raz v decembri 1924.³ Zápisy ozdobného spevu v tomto regióne však uskutočnil už skôr, a to práve v obci Jablonica. Tu zdokumentoval pomerne objemný súbor piesní v interpretácii viacerých miestnych spevákov a speváčok. Rekonštrukcii tohto repertoáru sme sa venovali v samostatnom príspevku, ktorý bol publikovaný v roku 2021.⁴ Vychádzali sme z rukopisného materiálu, ktorý je v súčasnosti uložený v Slovenskom národnom múzeu v Martine a v Literárnom archíve Slovenskej národnej knižnice. Výsledkom rekonštrukcie bol repertoárový korpus v rozsahu 187 piesní, ktoré Plicka zapísal od 26 spevákov a speváčok z obce. V Jablonici zberateľa osobitne zaujal vokálny prejav speváka Pavla Pinkavu, ktorého uvádzal ako príklad pozoruhodného mužského interpreta miestnych piesní.⁵ V podaní tohto 52-ročného speváka získal vyše 60 piesní, vrátane záznamu ozdobného štýlu spevu. Zápisy piesní od ďalších spevákov a speváčok sú prínosné z hľadiska kompletizácie piesňového repertoáru tejto obce v pomerne širokom zábere piesňových druhov a žánrov. Tieto zápisy sú dôležité aj z hľadiska porovnania piesňových variantov v podaní viacerých miestnych interpretov. Celý korpus piesňových zápisov z obce Jablonica možno hodnotiť z hľadiska obsahu ako pozoruhodný. Poukazuje na dobový stav a uchovanie tradičného spevu v tejto lokalite v prvej polovici 20. rokov minulého storočia.

Obec Jablonica na Záhorí je významná vo vzťahu k zberateľsko-dokumentačnej činnosti Karola Plicku aj z iného hľadiska. V roku 1929 sa uskutočnila prvá etapa rozsiahleho projektu zvukovej dokumentácie tradičnej hudby Československa, ktorá sa realizovala v Prahe v podobe štúdiových nahrávok v spolupráci Českej akadémie vied a umení a francúzskej firmy Pathé.⁶ Jej súčasťou bolo nahrávanie spevu a hudby z územia Slovenska. Za ukážky zo Slovenska zodpovedal Karol Plicka spolu s českým muzikológom pôsobiacim na Slovensku, Dobroslavom Orlom.⁷ Pri výbere materiálu na nahrávanie sa Plicka riadil aj poznatkami z vlastného terénneho výskumu. To potvrdzuje práve príklad Jablonice – do výberu interpretov na nahrávanie boli prizvaní aj speváci a speváčky z tejto obce.⁸ Tí sa zúčastnili štúdiovkej nahrávky v Prahe a v ich interpretácii bol zaznamenaný súbor troch piesní, spolu s ukážkou hry miestneho gajdoša.⁹ Na účely porovnania zvukových nahrávok z roku 1929 s Plickovými rukopisnými zápismi piesní z obce Jablonica z roku 1924 sme zrevidovali finálny korpus

³ PLICKA, Karol: *Eva Studeničová spieva. Z piesňovej zbierky Karla Plicku*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1928, s. 59.

⁴ TIMKOVÁ, Miriam: Piesňový repertoár obce Jablonica na Záhorí a „zdobený spev“ v zápisoch Karola Plicku. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, roč. 12 (38), 2021, č. 2, s. 274-290.

⁵ Ref. 1, s. 53.

⁶ ELSCHÉKOVÁ, Alica – ELSCHÉK, Oskár: *Úvod do štúdia slovenskej ľudovej hudby*. Bratislava : Hudobné centrum, 2005, s. 42-43. KRATOCHVÍL, Matěj: *Lidová hudba v Československu. Nahrávky Fonografické komise České akademie věd a umění*. (= Nejstarší zvukové záznamy lidové hudby II.) Praha : Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i., 2009.

⁷ URBANCOVÁ, Hana: Slovenská ľudová pieseň v pohľade hudobného historika Dobroslava Orla. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, roč. 13 (39), 2022, s. 233-252.

⁸ CHLUMSKÝ, Josef: Fonografický a gramofonický archiv České akademie věd a umění v Praze. In: *Časopis pro moderní filologii*, roč. 16, 1930, č. 2, s. 189-192.

⁹ KRATOCHVÍL, Matěj: *Lidová hudba v záznamech Fonografické komise České akademie věd a umění*. [Dizertačná práca.] Praha : Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav etnologie, 2010, s. s. 48, 73.

piesňového repertoáru z tejto obce z rukopisných zápisov piesní. Jeho súpis dodatočne publikujeme ako prílohu tohto príspevku. Na základe porovnania sa ukázalo, že Plicka vybral na nahrávanie pre zvukovú dokumentáciu v Prahe ukážky z tých piesní, ktoré zapísal už pri svojom terénnom výskume v obci v roku 1924. Tieto piesne transkriboval pri priamom a bezprostrednom kontakte so spevákmi, teda nie na základe zvukových nahrávok, ako sa pôvodne predpokladalo.¹⁰ Obec Jablonica patrí k tým lokalitám na Slovensku, ktoré mali v medzivojnovom období vďaka Plickovi zdokumentovaný tradičný spev nielen v podobe notových zápisov, ale aj zvukových nahrávok.

¹⁰ Bližšie k tomu: URBANCOVÁ, Hana – TIMKOVÁ, Miriam: *Eva Studeničová. Výnimočná speváčka v dokumentácii Karola Plicku*. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i., 2024. (v tlači)

PRÍLOHA

Tabuľka: Súpis piesní z obce Jablonica z rukopisnej zbierky Karola Plicku

Textový incipit piesne	Interpret
<i>Abu, tataru, sype baba kalvaru</i>	Anna Patáková, vek neuvedený
<i>A dubina, dubina, pod dubinú leština</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Ach, Bože, prebože, šak je ten svet</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ach, mamenko, mamko, srco sa mi zamklo</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Ach, mamenko, mamko moja</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>/: Ach, mamenko moja, ./ cedulenska v kancelári</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Aj, dzívčence, dzívčence, dze na travu pújdete</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Angl tangl, vtáček</i>	Mária Nedbalová, vek neuvedený
<i>Ani som nezbýjal, ako iní kradli</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Beda temu kamenu kamenu, čo pod vodú plyne</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Bola jedna baba, mela v Praze dum</i>	Mária Nedbalová, vek neuvedený
<i>Čo sa stalo, aj pridalo divnú božskú mocú</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Čo sa stalo nove v meste Hodoníne</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Čo sa stalo v nove v mesce Jablonici</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Čo sa stalo v Trnave pri brane</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Čos, Janenko, čos urobil, keď sis ruky zakrvavil</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Čo som sa nachodil po slovenskej zemi</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Čo to dzívča hovorí, na šuhajka svečí</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Čula som, moj najmilejší, že sa ty na mňa hneváš</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Daj ma, mamenko, daj ma do školy</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Daj mi, Bože, teho, zač ta dycky prosím</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>De bežíš, zajáčku, kuku, zajáčku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Deže ideš, kučeravý Janku</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Do chce mladú ženu mjet, mosí si on pre nu jet</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Dolina, dolina, dolina, po ní sa prechádza Marina</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ej, čačača, volečky, ej, s černyma rožečky</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Eden, beden, cicka hreben</i>	Elena Mihalová, vek neuvedený
<i>Ej, hory, hory, zelené hory</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ej, láska, láska, šak si nestála</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ej, na senických lúkach našel sem tam dukát</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ej, okolo nás hlastovenka letala</i>	Katarína Valentová, 54-ročná
<i>Ej, zešly, zešly konope u cesty</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Erliška v kole tancuje, švarných mladencú miluje</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Gajdajte, gajdence, s tej sivej kozence</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Gúlalo sa, gúlalo červené jablčko</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Hajaj, belaj, Turčátko</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Hajovia, hajovia, aj dva mesačkovia</i>	A. Žáková, 10-ročná
<i>Haju, belu, kočky v zelu</i>	Cecília Barcajová, vek neuvedený
<i>Hoja, hoja, hojasa, nemá koza ocase</i>	Mária Turanská, vek neuvedený
<i>/: Hora, hora, Bila hora, ./ na tej hore černá skala</i>	Mária Valentová, 50-ročná

Textový incipit piesne	Interpret
<i>Hore háj, hore háj, hore hájom chodník</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Hore pres dolinu cesta ušľapaná</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Hrábličky, hrábličky, na makové slížičky</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Chodza som chudobná, chudobnej matere</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Chodzí rychtár po dzedzine, chlapom rozkazuje</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Chodzila pani po Bílej hory</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Chudobná devečka jako iskerečka</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Chycili aj tata sojku, chycili aj mama sojku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ideme, ideme, chodníčka nevíme</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Išla klúčka na drva do černého kadrba</i>	Mária Turanská, vek neuvedený
<i>Išla Marina do Šamorýna</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Išlo dzívča pre vodu, pre vodu studenú</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Jablonic je pekné mesto prezeň chodníček</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Jablonický kostel nový kolem neho černý les</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Jaké duchny, také duchny, len sa ty, šuhaj</i>	Julka Pinkavová, 15-ročná
<i>!/: Jako si, Janenko,:/ pres ty hory prešel</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>Já sem člověk velmi dobrý</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Já sem malý jageriček, ledvaj flintu nosím</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Já sem synek sebevolný, ženil sem sa po svej vuli</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Javore, javore, čos taký pukatý</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Jede Janénko pres hory</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Jeden, jeden, ty si z medem</i>	Anna Patáková, vek neuvedený
<i>Kač, kaç, kačica, černá bíla slepica</i>	Mária Žáková, vek neuvedený
<i>Kaďes, holúbka, létala, keď sis to svoje perko</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Katerinka husy pasla, šaryrom</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Kázal komár práci, na ty hody dojíci</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Každý kačer svú kačičku, ej, vede si ju za ručičku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Kebys bola moja, kúpil bych ti kona</i>	Anka Gažová, 37-ročná
<i>Keď bulo pondelí, pondelí, nadývala kúdeli, kúdeli</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Keď sem bul malučky pacholíček</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Keď sem išel z vojny na mém vraném koni (1. var.)</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Keď sem išel z vojny na mém vraném koni (2. var.)</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Keď sem ja k vám chodzíval, měsíček mi svícíval</i>	Alfonz Polák, 34-ročný
<i>Keď som maširoval, milá šaty prala</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Kerá má mamička ve vojne synáčka</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Ket sem k vám chodzíval bol mesáček</i>	neuvedený
<i>Kmotre! Copak? Pujdeme !</i>	Oto Štebík, vek neuvedený
<i>Kreše mlynár, kreše kameň, a svetlo mu horí na nem</i>	Alfonz Polák, 34-ročný
<i>Kupil som jí voly</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Lecel, lecel roj pres mej milej dvor</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Malučky je maderánek, malučky je od zeme</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Mám já svoju milú peknú bílú jako grídu</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Marunka, runka, daj Bože, sunka</i>	Mária Žáková, vek neuvedený
<i>Mela sem já milovntička</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Melo dzívča trnku, melo dzívča trnku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný

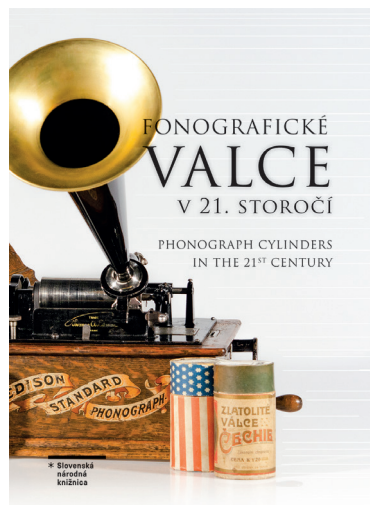
Textový incipit piesne	Interpret
<i>Meu Adam sedem synú</i>	Angela Jurovátá, 12-ročná
<i>Mlynári, šafári, z vašeho mlynka švárna dievčinka</i>	Alfonz Polák, 34-ročný
<i>Myšičko, myš, poť ke mne blíž</i>	Anna Patáková, vek neuvedený
<i>Na čáčovskej rubanine, leží Janko, zrúbaný je</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Nač sú ti, slávičku, tvoje krídla</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Nad Franciu tri hvezdičky krásné</i>	Jozef Hlásiček, 58-ročný
<i>Nad vodú vták, pod vodú rak</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Najprv do komúrky ja potom na pec</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Na Petra proso i pšenice</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Na prahu stála, pekná sa zdála</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>/: Na previjar švárnú ceru,:/ pekne meno Halomenu</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Na tem našem natoničku, na tem našem natoní</i>	neuvedený
<i>Nebudem tak robiť, jako som robieval</i>	neuvedený
<i>Nebudeš ma, mužu, lát, ani na mňa mrkaci</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>/:Nebudzem:/ v Dobrej vozde bývat</i>	Anka Gažová, 37-ročná
<i>Neprš, neprš, déšť, povežeme rež</i>	Elena Mihalová, vek neuvedený
<i>Nic ma tak neteší jak panská zahrada</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Nové leto, nové, des tak dúho bulo</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Od kostela do mlýna</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Od Prešporku cesta piskem posypaná</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>/:Pane náš,:/ chystaj nám oldomáš</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>Páni muzikanti, pijem vám, pijem vám</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Pásel Janko dva voly na zelenom úhory (1. var.)</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Pásel Janko dva voly na zelenom úhory (2. var.)</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Pes, pes, duhý ocas má</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Počkaj, ty mój milý, počkaj do nedzele</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Počul som novinu prežalostnú (1. var.)</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Počul som novinu prežalostnú (2. var.)</i>	Julka Pinkavova, 15-ročná
<i>Počúvajte, hlavní pani, málo</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Počúvajte málo, panny a mládenci</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Pod Verunú, pod tým kopcom</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Practe, practe, pradulienky, půjdeme domú</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Prala plienky u studenky</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Před nami je zahrádka a v ní rostne fialenka</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Před nami je studna múruvaná</i>	Mária Valentová, 50-ročná
<i>Před Pinkavú červený kameň</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>/: Před Pinkavú dva duby,:/ sedza na nich holuby</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Pri Dunajku šaty prala, plakala</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Pri Šaščine na kopečku sekajú sa o dzevečku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Pri Trnave ruža kvitne, já ju trhat nebudu</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Psota ma odešla, do Nádaša išla</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Rúža Šandor bol zbojník, bol zbojník</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>Sedí kačer na barine a hovorí deč</i>	Cecília Barcajova, vek neuvedený
<i>Sedí zajác v svém dulečku, sedí a spí</i>	Mária Blažková, 13-ročná
<i>Sirota, sirota, tvoja svadba stojí (1.var.)</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný

Textový incipit piesne	Interpret
<i>Sirota, sirota, tvoja svadba stojí (2.var.)</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Skoro ráno, raňúčko vyskočilo slničko</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Smutná noc, tmavá noc</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Sobotenka, ňedzela može pre mňa nebyť</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Stala sa v Nádaši bitka, vybila kukučka mutka</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Stojí hruška</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Stojí Kačka pri šentýši vínko naléva</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Šak je to smutný, neveselý deň</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Šijeme mjechy na orechy</i>	H. Lahotayová, 15-ročná
<i>Šla Anička do hajička do zeleného</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Taká som veselá srdenko ve mňa hrá</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Teče voda tokem, vedľa našich oken</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Tečie voda od Zahora mutná</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Ten Jožka Polák na vršku leží</i>	Alfonz Polák, 34-ročný
<i>Toto je ten chodníček, ej hój, po kerem chodzíval</i>	Anka Gažová, 37-ročná
<i>Tučem, tučem mak, ale nevím jak</i>	Margita Boltová, vek neuvedený
<i>Tulipán, tulipán, veru ťa vykopám</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Ty šuhajko mladý, zanechaj ty rady</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Ťapy, ťapy, ťapušky, vará mama halušky</i>	Anna Koblížková, vek neuvedený
<i>Učilo sa dzívča žáci, panské lučky vyžínaci</i>	Mária Valentová, 50-ročná
<i>Už ja idem, moja mamenko, preč od vás</i>	Kristína Durgalová, 28-ročná
<i>Už je s náma, neženaný chuapci, zle</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Vandroval by súsedův syn, ej</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Včera bola ňedzela, ja sem doma nebula</i>	Anka Gažová, 37-ročná
<i>Včera na poledňo, keď sem vodu brala</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>V čirém poli hruška</i>	neuvedený
<i>V čirom poli breskyňa</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>V čirom poli hruška stojí vršek se jí zelená</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>V čirom poli rokyta zlatem, stříbrem prekvítá (1. var.)</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>V čirém poli rokyta zlatem, stříbrem prekvítá (2. var.)</i>	Anka Gažová, 37-ročná
<i>Večerná hvezdička jasno svíci</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Vedem, vedem andělíčka</i>	neuvedený
<i>Vej, vetříčku, z Podole, zroň jablčko lebo dve</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>Veselí velké v Káni slaveno</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>V jablonickom poli tri rúžičky stojí (1. var.)</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>V jablonickom poli tri rúžičky stojí (2. var.)</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>V nedzeli ja borovenku pijem</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Vodu hrabala, písek vázala</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>V senickém poli na samém kraji</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>V svatokaterínskem háji stojí klášter malovaný</i>	Katarína Škápiková, 41-ročná
<i>V tej bakonskej hory tichý ohník horí</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>V tej našej zahradke rostne gbes</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Vylec, sokol, vysoko nad ker malinový</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Vysoko denička, dobrú noc, Anička</i>	Agata Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>Zadala mati, zadala ceru do cudzej cudziny (1. var.)</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný

Textový incipit piesne	Interpret
<i>Zadala manka, zadala ceru do cudzej cudziny (2. var.)</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Za hory pujdem, doma nebudem</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Zakázali v pivovari, aby pivo nevarili</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Zapadá slniečko za zelené hory</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Zaspala Anička na bielem ručníčku</i>	Pavel Pinkava, 52-ročný
<i>Zaspívaj slávičku, rozveseluj pole</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Zelena je petržalka, červená je mrkvička</i>	neuvedený
<i>Zelenaj sa, zelena travenka</i>	Mária Oslejová, 53-ročná
<i>Zima je, zima je, zimú sa traseme</i>	Agáta Bartáková, 32-ročná
<i>Zlatá brana otvrita, štyrma koňi podeprita</i>	Hermína Tesarová, 12-ročná
<i>/: Žena muža :/ na strnisku pásla</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná
<i>Židé klášter stavajú, lilium</i>	Agneša Pinkavová, 35-ročná

Dominika Machutová – Marcel Jánošík (eds.): *Fonografické valce v 21. storočí / Phonograph Cylinders in the 21st Century*

Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2022, 432 s. ISBN 978-80-8149-160-3



Skonstruovanie fonografu bezpochyby patrí k priekopníckym vynálezom 19. storočia. Tento technologický objav umožňujúci nahrávanie a reprodukciu zvuku posunul ako štúdium klasikej, tak i tradičnej hudby na novú úroveň. Fonograf sa stal nielen významným pomocným prostriedkom pri výskume hudby rozmanitých etníc, ale zároveň mal výrazný podiel pri vzniku etnomuzikológie ako nového vedného odboru.¹ Vďaka fonografu, ktorý sa vo výrobe udržal až do roku 1931, už na prelome 19. a 20. storočia vznikali vzácne zbierky zvukových nahrávok tradičných piesní a hudby z európskych aj mimoeurópskych kultúr. Zvukové záznamy nahrané pomocou tohto prístroja sa snímali na fonografické valce. Tie dnes predstavujú vzácne artefak-

ty, ktoré sa uchovávajú v pamäťových aj vedeckých inštitúciách. Na Slovensku k týmto inštitúciám patrí aj Literárny archív Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine (ďalej LA SNK), v ktorom je uložená časť zbierky fonografických valcov Bélu Bartóka z rokov 1913 – 1916.

Publikácia s názvom *Fonografické valce v 21. storočí* vznikla ako výsledok viacerých podnetov. Jedným z nich bol odborný výskum fonografických valcov uložených v LA SNK v roku 2020, a to s cieľom zlepšiť ich fyzický stav a podmienky dlhodobého uloženia (s. 7). V roku 2021 pracovníci tejto inštitúcie zrealizovali medzinárodný prieskum výskytu fonografických valcov prostredníctvom elektronického dotazníka, pričom oslovili viaceré domáce a zahraničné inštitúcie, medzi ktorými boli predovšetkým archívy, knižnice, múzeá, galérie a iné pracoviská (s. 347). V rovnakom roku LA SNK zorganizoval medzinárodný seminár zameraný na aktuálny stav bádania fonografických valcov, na súčasné prístupy k ich uchovávaniu, ochrane, digitalizácii a sprístupňovaniu (s. 8). Zborník je výsledkom výstupov účastníkov seminára a zároveň bol obohatený o prezentáciu jednotlivých inštitúcií a zbierok zapojených do prieskumu.

Zborník je publikovaný v slovensko-anglickej jazykovej podobe (dva príspevky sú v česko-anglickej jazykovej podobe). Celkovo obsahuje 19 príspevkov, resp. štúdií, ktoré sú začlenené k 4 tematickým okruhom. Prvý z nich s názvom *Zbierka slovenských ľudových piesní Bélu Bartóka v LA SNK / Béla Bartók's Collection of Slovak Folk Songs in LA*

¹ KUNST, Jaap: *Musicologica : A Study of the Nature of Ethno-musicology, its Problems, Methods and Representative Personalities*. Amsterdam : Indish Institute, 1950.

SNL obsahuje 4 štúdie, ktoré sú zamerané na rozličné aspekty priblíženia tejto zbierky. V prvej štúdii autorka Marianna Bárdiová opisuje začiatky zberateľskej činnosti B. Bartóka, jeho ďalšiu dokumentáciu ľudových piesní a jeho záujem o slovenské ľudové piesne. Zároveň objasňuje historické súvislosti a udalosti, za ktorých sa fonografické valce B. Bartóka (resp. ich časť) dostali do Matice slovenskej na Slovensko. Príspevok Ondreja Híreša je zameraný na priblíženie aktuálneho fyzického stavu fonografických valcov B. Bartóka uložených v LA SNK. V štúdii prináša výsledky detailného prieskumu, na základe ktorého boli určené stupne a typ poškodenia jednotlivých valcov. Zároveň čitateľa upozorňuje na nový typ ochrany týchto valcov, ktorý sa realizoval s cieľom dlhodobého uloženia a ochrany pred ich ďalšou degradáciou pri skladovaní. Ďalší príspevok (Tibor Potočný) opisuje proces digitálneho reštaurovania týchto fonografických valcov, ktorý prebiehal v dvoch fázach: v roku 1995 a v roku 2019. Posledný príspevok v tomto tematickom okruhu (Viktor Jablokov) približuje vzťah B. Bartóka k slovenskému etniku, k slovenským ľudovým piesňam. Autor sa ďalej venuje opisu zberateľskej činnosti B. Bartóka na území Slovenska, ťažkostiam, ktoré boli spojené so vznikom rozsiahlej piesňovej zbierky, približuje zberateľove ambície spracovať tento piesňový korpus. Spracovanie sa týkalo transkripcie, analýzy a klasifikácie piesní. Napriek veľkému úsiliu sa B. Bartók vydania vlastnej zbierky slovenských ľudových piesní nedožil. Jeho zbierka bola postupne publikovaná od konca 50. rokov 20. storočia v troch zväzkoch, pričom prvé dva vyšli vo vydavateľstve Slovenskej akadémie vied, tretí vo vydavateľstve ASCO.² V roku 2019 vyšiel ich reprint

vo vydavateľstve Hudobného centra,³ pričom v roku 2022 bol doplnený o štvrtý, dosiaľ nepublikovaný zväzok. Jeho súčasťou je audio-súbor s reštaurovanými a zdigitalizovanými fonografickými záznamami z LA SNK.⁴ Práve práca na vydaní štvrtého zväzku slovenských ľudových piesní B. Bartóka bola jedným z hlavných podnetov k preskúmaniu fyzického stavu fonografických valcov uložených v tejto inštitúcii.

Druhý tematický okruh s názvom *Fonografické valce včera a dnes / Phonograph Cylinders Then and Now* zahrnuje 6 štúdií. Niektoré z nich reflektujú prácu s fonografickými valcami, ktorá súvisela s vytváraním nahrávok tradičných piesní aj na území Slovenska v minulosti (Marián Minárik, Krisztina Pálóczy, Hana Urbanová), zatiaľ čo sa ďalšie zaoberajú problematikou aktívnej starostlivosti o zvukové kultúrne dedičstvo v súčasnosti či najnovšieho vývoja v oblasti uchovávania a digitalizácie fonografických záznamov (Filip Šír, Nadja Wallaskovits). Súčasťou tohto tematického okruhu je aj príspevok laického zberateľa fonografov a fonografických valcov, mechanických gramofónov a šelakových platní, ktorý zároveň reštauruje prístroje vo svojej kolekcii (Michal Tokovský). K rozsiahlejším možno zaradiť štúdiu M. Minárika, ktorá podáva komplexný prehľad nahrávok slovenského folklóru, resp. tradičných piesní na fonografických valcoch. V rámci nej autor zhrnul prácu deviatich zberateľov, ktorí dokumentovali ľudové piesne pomocou fonografu v rozličných regiónoch Slovenska v rokoch 1901 – 1935. Okrem toho hovorí aj o prvej nahrávke interpretky z územia Slovenska, ktorá vznikla v roku 1900. Štúdia K. Pálóczy sa venuje fonografickým nahrávkam, ktoré sú uložené

² BARTÓK, Béla: *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. I. diel. Eds. Oskár Elschek, Alica Elscheková, Jozef Kresánek. Bratislava : Slovenská akadémia vied, 1959. BARTÓK, Béla: *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. II. diel. Eds. Oskár Elschek, Alica Elscheková. Bratislava : Slovenská akadémia vied, 1970. BARTÓK, Béla: *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. III. diel. Eds. Oskár Elschek, Alica Elscheková. Bratislava : ASCO Art & Science, 2007.

³ BARTÓK, Béla: *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. Zväzok 1 – 3. Eds. Oskár Elschek, Alica Elscheková. Bratislava : Hudobné centrum; Veda – Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2019.

⁴ BARTÓK, Béla: *Slovenské ľudové piesne*. Zväzok 4. Ed. Oskár Elschek, Alica Elscheková. Bratislava : Hudobné centrum, 2022.

v Národopisnom múzeu v Budapešti. Uvedené múzeum v súčasnosti vlastní zbierku, ktorá obsahuje 4 570 fonografických valcov viacerých maďarských zberateľov (Béla Vikár, Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, László Lajtha). Autorka sa však zameriava na zbierku B. Bartóka, v ktorej sa nachádzajú maďarské, turecké, rumunské a slovenské zbery (v rámci ktorých je tu v súčasnosti uložených 109 fonografických valcov s približne 400 melódiami, s. 177). V štúdiu K. Pálóczy zároveň prezentuje digitalizáciu a publikovanie ako jeden z hlavných cieľov Národopisného múzea v Budapešti. Zbierky ľudových piesní B. Bartóka sú súčasťou online digitálneho katalógu, ktorý je prístupný odbornej aj laickej verejnosti s cieľom poskytnúť nové podnety v oblasti výskumu tradičnej hudby. V poslednej štúdiu v druhom tematickom bloku H. Urbancová zhrnula informácie, poznatky a osobné skúsenosti z prípravy a realizácie medzinárodného projektu, na ktorom sa priamo zúčastnila. Tento projekt súvisel s vydaním kritickej edície fonografických nahrávok slovenských a moravských piesní, ktoré dokumentoval hudobný skladateľ Leoš Janáček spolu s Františkou Kyselkovou a Hynkom Bímou v rokoch 1909 – 1912.⁵ Okrem historického kontextu vzniku nahrávok, miesta ich uloženia a samotnej prípravy kritickej edície boli pozoruhodným aspektom tohto projektu (okrem archívnych) aktuálne terénne výskumy zamerané na výskum historickej faktografie a lokálnej pamäti spojenej s osobami spevákov a speváčok a s kontextom vzniku fonografických nahrávok (s. 232–233). Poznatky z terénu tak nielen doplnili chýbajúce informácie, ale zároveň obohatili celý projekt o nový rozmer. Autorka v štúdiu približuje aj samotnú trojdielnu publikáciu s kritickou edíciou fonografických nahrávok, ktorá vznikla ako finálny výsledok tohto projektu.

Najvyšší počet štúdií (8 príspevkov) nachádzame v treťom tematickom okruhu *Zbierky fonografických valcov zapojené*

v medzinárodnom prieskume 2021 / Collections of Phonograph Cylinders Participating in the International Survey in 2021. Väčšina z nich prináša prehľad a základné informácie o uložených zvukových nahrávkach na fonografických valcoch vo viacerých európskych a mimoeurópskych verejných pamäťových inštitúciách, ktoré sa zapojili do medzinárodného prieskumu iniciovaného LA SNK (pozri vyššie). Čitateľ sa tak môže dozvedieť o kolekciách uložených v Českom múzeu hudby Národného múzea v Prahe (Národní muzeum – České muzeum hudby), ktoré zhrnul Michal Studničný, ďalej v Maďarskej národnej knižnici v Budapešti (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár), ktoré spracovala Boglárka Illyés a v Etnografickom múzeu v Budapešti (Néprajazi Múzeum), ktoré približuje Krisztina Pálóczy, vo Fonografickom archíve vo Viedni (Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), ktoré prezentuje Christian Liebl, v Berlínskom fonografickom archíve (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv), ktoré zhrnul Albrecht Wiedmann, vo Francúzskej národnej knižnici v Paríži (Bibliothèque nationale de France), ktoré opisuje Lionel Michaux, v Centre pre výskum švédskej ľudovej hudby a jazzu (Svenskt visarkiv) v Štokholme, ktoré približuje Wictor Johansson a v Zvukovom archíve fonografických valcov (Cylinder Audio Archive) Kalifornskej univerzity v Santa Barbare, ktoré zhrnul Stewart Engart. Počet fonografických valcov a zvukových nahrávok, ktoré sú na nich zaznamenané, je v uvedených inštitúciách rozmanitý, pričom sa pohybuje od niekoľko stoviek až po niekoľko tisíc. Za impozantnú možno považovať rozsiahlu zbierku obsahujúcu až 30 000 fonografických valcov s približne 16 000 nahrávkami rozličného typu z celého sveta, ktorú vlastní Berlínsky fonografický archív (s. 308) ako jeden z najstarších a najväčších zvukových archívov tradičnej hudby v Európe.⁶ O tom, ako výrazne fonograf prispel k vedeckým poznatkom vo viacerých vedných odboroch

⁵ PROCHÁZKOVÁ, Jarmila a kol.: *Vzaty do fonografu: slovenské a moravské písně v nahrávkách Hynka Bíma, Leoše Janáčka a Františky Kyselkové z let 1909–1912*. Zv. 1 – 3. Brno : Etnologický ústav AV ČR, Praha – pracoviště Brno, 2012.

(napr. lingvistika, folkloristika, muzikológia, história) svedčí mimoriadne rôznorodý zvukový materiál nahraný na fonografických valcoch, ktoré vlastní uvedené inštitúcie. V ich kolekciách sa nachádzajú napríklad zvukové nahrávky tradičnej európskej a mimoeurópskej hudby, rôzne folklórne útvary, rozmanité nahrávky z oblasti klasickej hudby, ďalej nahrávky populárnej hudby, ale aj rečové prejavy viacerých politických predstaviteľov zo začiatku 20. storočia. Okrem základných informácií o charaktere uloženého zvukového materiálu na fonografických valcoch je v niektorých štúdiách obsiahnutá aj vedecko-výskumná činnosť, ktorú zastrešovali jednotlivé inštitúcie už od svojho vzniku. V tomto pohľade sú zaujímavé informácie uvedené v príspevku s názvom *Phonogrammarchiv vo Viedni a jeho historické zbierky / The Vienna Phonogrammarchiv and Its Historical Collections* (Ch. Liebl). Z tejto štúdie sa dozvedáme o cielených terénnych výskumoch v európskych a mimoeurópskych krajinách už na prelome 19. a 20. storočia (s. 302), ktoré sa konali pod zastrešením tejto inštitúcie.

Posledný okruh obsahuje jedinú štúdiu zameranú na prezentáciu medzinárodného prieskumu fonografických valcov, ktorý uskutočnili pracovníci LA SNK v roku 2021. Autorom štúdie sú Dominika Machutová a Marcel Jánošík, ktorí sa na tomto výskume sami podieľali. V jeho rámci boli oslovené viaceré domáce a zahraničné organizácie, ktoré sa venujú problematike uchovávanía fonografických valcov. Jedným z hlavných cieľov tohto prieskumu bolo získanie informácií o výskyte

fonografických valcov v archívoch, knižniciach, múzeách, galériách a iných pamätových a archívnych inštitúciách na Slovensku a v zahraničí, ale aj získanie informácií v súvislosti s aktuálnymi spôsobmi ich evidencie, odborného spracovania, preventívnej ochrany, digitalizácie či spôsobmi ich prezentácie a sprístupňovania odbornej a širšej verejnosti (s. 344). Autori v štúdiu uvádzajú podnety, ktoré viedli k vzniku tohto projektu, ďalej približujú jeho ciele, metódy prieskumu a výber oslovených inštitúcií. Rozsiahlejšiu časť štúdie tvorí detailné vyhodnotenie prieskumu fonografických valcov. Štúdiu dopĺňajú prílohy, ktoré obsahujú samotný dotazník, tabuľky a obrazové prílohy.

Ochrana audiálneho a audiovizuálneho kultúrneho dedičstva, jeho digitalizácia a napokon sprístupňovanie je v súčasnosti aktuálnou medzinárodnou témou, ktorej sa venujú viaceré vedné odbory. Publikácia *Fonografické valce v 21. storočí* preto predstavuje aktuálny a hodnotný príspevok k uvedenej problematike, ktorá dosiaľ na Slovensku nebola dostatočne preskúmaná. V slovenskej etnomuzikológii sa vybraným témam v súvislosti so zvukovými nahrávkami na fonografických valcoch venovala H. Urbancová v niekoľkých svojich štúdiách (okrem autorskej účasti na spomínanom kritickom vydaní fonografických nahrávok L. Janáčka a jeho spolupracovníkov uverejnila výsledky obsahovej rekonštrukcie zbierky fonografických valcov K. A. Medveckého).⁷ Aj z hľadiska nedostatočnej reflexie tejto problematiky možno zborník hodnotiť ako významný a prínosný. Pozitívne možno

⁶ SIMON, Artur (Hg./ed.): *Das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv 1900–2000. Sammlungen der traditionellen Musik der Welt / The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv 1900–2000. Collection of Traditional Music of the World*. Berlin : VWB Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2000.

⁷ URBANCOVÁ, Hana: K obsahovej rekonštrukcii prvých fonografických nahrávok slovenskej ľudovej hudby. In: *Multimediálna spoločnosť na prahu 21. storočia, jej kultúra, umenie, hudba a neprekonané problémy*. Ed. Oskár Elschek. Bratislava : ASCO Art & Science, 2005, s. 206–225. URBANCOVÁ, Hana: Z histórie prvých fonografických nahrávok na Slovensku. Korešpondencia Karola Medveckého a Andreja Kmeťa z roku 1901. In: *Slovenský národopis*, roč. 54, 2006, č. 1, s. 5–28. URBANCOVÁ, Hana: Piesňový repertoár Nemcov v obci Veľké Pole na fonografických nahrávkach Karola A. Medveckého (1902 – 1903). In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, roč. 13 (39), 2022, č. 1, s. 5–35. URBANCOVÁ, Hana: K fonografickým nahrávkam Karola Antona Medveckého na Horehroní. Piesne z Beňuša (1903). In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, roč. 14 (40), 2023, č. 2, s. 283–309.

vyzdvihnúť okrem dvojazyčnej podoby príspevkov redakčné spracovanie zborníka, bohatú obrazovú prílohu a jej grafickú úpravu.⁸

Na tomto mieste si dovoľíme uviesť aj niektoré drobné pripomienky. Prvá súvisí s informáciou z úvodu publikácie, kde je nepresne uvedený rok vyhotovenia kópií fonografických nahrávok B. Bartóka pre Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV v rámci prípravy publikovania jeho rukopisných zápisov (transkripcií) slovenských ľudových piesní a ochrany zbierky fonovalcov. Uvedený rok 1956 nekorešponduje s obdobím zhotovenia týchto kópií, ktoré vznikli na prelome 50. a 60. rokov, konkrétne od novembra 1959 do januára 1960.⁹ V štúdiu M. Minárika v súvislosti s dokumentáciou piesní K. A. Medveckého je zrejme omylom uvedený údaj pri obrazovom dokumente č. 4 – Medveckého prednáška s názvom O ľudovom umení v Detve nebola publikovaná v jeho monografii Detva, ale v Sborníku Museálnej slovenskej spoločnosti, ako autor príspevku správne uvádza v súpise literatúry. Keďže väčšina obrazových

dokumentov v tejto štúdii pochádza z doteraz publikovaných prameňov, azda by bolo bývalo vhodné vložiť aj odkazy na tieto zdroje dokumentov priamo pod príslušné obrazové snímky. Uvedené drobné pripomienky však neznižujú hodnotu a význam celej publikácie, ktorú považujeme v domácom kontexte za priekopnícku.

Publikácia *Fonografické valce v 21. storočí* svojou tematikou, obsahom, viacjazyčnou podobou a grafickým dizajnom má potenciál zaujať ako odborníkov, tak aj široké spektrum čitateľov nielen doma, ale aj v zahraničí. Slovenskému čitateľovi odhaľuje časť hudobných dejín, ktoré dosiaľ neboli natoľko známe. Poukazuje na najnovšie postupy v oblasti ochrany a uloženia najstarších zvukových nahrávok. Zároveň môže byť inšpiráciou pre ďalší výskum tradičného spevu a hudby uchovanej na fonografických valcoch.

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Kristína Lomen

Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i.

Zuzana Martináková-Rendeková: Dušan Martinček. Osobnosť a tvorba

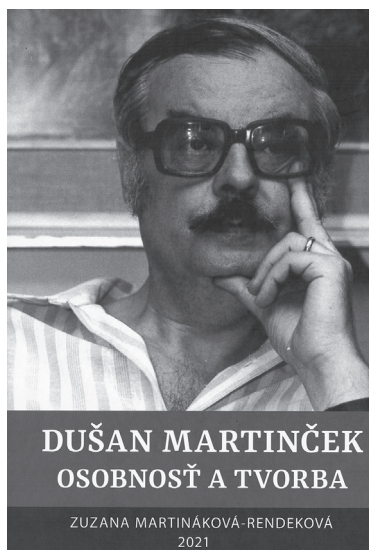
Banská Štiavnica : Hudobná a umelecká akadémia Jána Albrechta Banská Štiavnica, 2021, 221 s. ISBN 978-80-972605-2-1

Žáner hudobnej biografie je dnes napriek rôznym vývojovým peripetiám už absolútne legítimnou súčasťou disciplíny historickej muzikológie. Jeho význam a dôležitosť spočívajú nielen v akcentovaní samotného tvorcu, ale aj v priblížení širších súvislostí a javov, ktoré paralelne vplývali na formovanie jeho osobnosti a tvorby. Z hľadiska komplexnosti ide najmä o priblíženie dobových kontextov, ktoré sú

v mnohých prípadoch kľúčovým aspektom pre uchopenie celej problematiky. Tento prístup je spravidla naznačený už v samotnom podnázve predmetného titulu prostredníctvom slovných spojení ako *skladateľ a jeho doba, život a dielo*, resp. *osobnosť a tvorba*. Posledný z uvedených variantov si zvolila aj Zuzana Martináková-Rendeková, ktorej monografia venovaná hudobnému skladateľovi,

⁸ Mapovaniu slovenských historických zvukových nahrávok na médiu gramofónových platní sa venuje najnovšia publikácia z roku 2025. BUČEK, Robert: *Diskografia slovenských historických zvukových nahrávok*. Rožňava : R. Buček, 2025.

⁹ URBANCOVÁ, Hana: Sound Recordings of Folk Music at the Institute of Musicology, Slovak Academy of Sciences. In: *Musicologica Slovaca*, roč. 15 (41), 2024, č. 2, s. 260-261.



klaviristovi a pedagógovi Dušanovi Martinčekovi má ambíciu priniesť celý rad zaujímavých faktov o dobe, v ktorej Martinček žil a pôsobil, vrátane ľudí, ktorí výrazne ovplyvnili jeho život a umelecký vývoj.

Výber tejto osobnosti nebol náhodný, keďže Martinákovú a Martinčeka spájala viac ako 30-ročná známosť, ktorá zo vzťahu žiak – učiteľ postupne prerástla do kolegiálno-priateľskej roviny. Ako v predslove autorka uvádza, podnet k napísaniu monografie vzišiel krátko po Martinčekovej smrti od jeho manželky, nielen z dôvodu ich dlhoročného priateľstva, ale aj pre patričné množstvo publikačných výstupov venovaných dielam tejto významnej osobnosti slovenskej hudby 20. storočia. Je prirodzené, že vzhľadom na Martinákovu celoživotnú bádateľskú záujem o problematiku slovenskej hudby 20. storočia sa texty rozoberajúce Martinčekove diela stali súčasťou kapitol jej dizertačnej práce *Súčasná kompozičná tvorba na Slovensku* obhájenej vo vtedajšom Umenovednom ústave SAV v roku 1988. Nadobudnuté poznatky zúročila v monografii v anglickom jazyku *Slovak Composers After 1900* z roku 2002, ako aj vo viacerých vedeckých štúdiách a príspevkoch. Martináková sa tiež podieľala na organizácii medzinárodného seminára *Progresívne*

metódy analýzy v hudbe a umení, ktorý bol v roku 2006 venovaný skladateľovi *in memoriam*. Logické vyústenie týchto aktivít teda predstavuje monografia *Dušan Martinček. Osobnosť a tvorba*, ktorej napísanie sa podľa vlastných slov stalo pre autorku zároveň výzvou spočívajúcou v nadobudnutí vlastností literáta či historika objavujúceho nové fakty a zároveň disponujúceho schopnosťou empatie pri získavaní informácií zo strany rodiny, priateľov a známych.

Monografia je rozdelená do deviatich kapitol. Vzhľadom na zaužívaný postup má prvá kapitola biografický charakter. Martinčekove životné osudy sú rozdelené do siedmich podkapitol o jeho rodine, osobnom živote a priateľoch, vrátane prvých kontaktov s hudbou až po roky profesionálnej kariéry. Prvé dve podkapitoly sú venované rodinnému zázemiu, obdobiu detstva a dospievania až po obdobie štúdií. Dušan Martinček (nar. 19. júna 1936 v Prešove) vyrastal v mimoriadne erudovanom prostredí. Jeho otec, architekt, historik a pedagóg Dušan Martinček st., sa významne podieľal na záchrane a obnove viacerých historických pamiatok na Slovensku. Jeho brat Martin Martinček bol právnik a známy fotograf, ktorého manželkou bola Ester Martinčeková-Šimerová, často označovaná ako prvá dáma slovenského maliarstva. Stará mama skladateľa pochádzala zo známej rodiny Porubjakovcov, pričom prostredníctvom jej sestry siahla ďalší príbuzenský vzťah k nemenej známej rodine Pietorovcov.

Popri súkromných hodinách nemčiny a francúzštiny bol Dušan Martinček už od skorého veku prostredníctvom svojej matky Heleny vedený k hudbe. S postupným nadobúdaním klavírných zručností vznikli ešte počas života v rodnom meste aj prvé kompozičné pokusy. Pre ďalšie napredovanie malo zásadný význam presťahovanie sa do Bratislavy, keď v roku 1946 otec Dušan prijal zákazku súvisiacu s projektovaním rekonštrukcie Bratislavského hradu. Po usadení sa v Bratislave Martinček spočiatku popri gymnáziu študoval súkromne hru na klavíri u Rudolfa Macudziňského a kompozíciu u Alexandra Albrechta a Jána Zimmera. Po prijatí na

Štátne konzervatórium v Bratislave bol v rokoch 1951 – 1956 žiakom Anny Kafendovej. Po absolútoriu pokračoval na Vysokej škole múzických umení v klavírnej triede Rudolfa Macudziňského, navyše si päťročné štúdium paralelne rozšíril o kompozíciu, v ktorej sa jeho učiteľom stal Ján Cikker. Vysokú školu Martinček úspešne absolvoval diplomovou prácou, ktorou sa stala kompozícia *Dialógy vo forme variácií pre klavír a orchester* (1960), ktorú aj sám premiérovu uviedol.

Dušan Martinček zasvätil celý svoj profesijný život hudbe. Popri kompozičnej a koncertnej činnosti pôsobil na Pedagogickej fakulte Univerzity Komenského v Trnave, zároveň prednášal na Katedre hudobnej teórie a neskôr vyučoval kompozíciu na Katedre skladby a dirigovania Hudobnej fakulty Vysokej školy múzických umení v Bratislave. Bližšie podrobnosti o týchto aktivitách sú spolu s informáciami o udalostiach zo súkromného života zaznamenané v predmetných podkapitolách časovo rozčlenených na dve periódny: 1961 – 1982 a 1982 – 2006. Osobitné podkapitoly sú venované predstaveniu najbližšej rodiny a priateľov z radu kolegov-skladateľov a interpretov. Záverečná podkapitola v krátkosti sleduje rozvíjanie Martinčekovho odkazu po jeho smrti v roku 2006, predovšetkým prostredníctvom údajov o koncertoch a nahrávkach jeho diel a oceneniach udelených *in memoriam*.

Mimoriadne cenným zdrojom poznatkov, zužitkovaných nielen v tejto, ale aj v ostatných kapitolách, sú dva pramene: Martinčekova inauguračná prednáška z roku 1992 nazvaná „*Pohľad na vlastnú tvorbu z odstupe času*“ a rukopis s titulom „*Ak by si bol Dušan Martinček viedol denník...*“, do ktorého si v priebehu rokov 1994 a 1995 zapisoval svoje úvahy, kritické poznámky, postrehy a spomienky. Ďalšími sekundárnymi zdrojmi sa stali skladateľove výpovede zachytené v rozhovoroch a iných publikovaných textoch. Z tých napríklad pochádza Martinčekova reminiscencia na celoživotné priateľstvo s Jánom Albrechtom, s ktorým sa zoznámil ešte počas súkromných hodín kompozície u jeho otca. Ako sám uviedol, návštevy Domu Albrechtovcov mali preňho zásadný

význam nielen z hľadiska hudobného vývoja. Siahodhlé rozhovory na množstvo tém od umenia, filozofiu až po exaktné vedy, ktoré spoločne viedli, formovali Martinčekovu osobnosť natoľko, že považoval Albrechta, familiárne prezývaného „Hansi“ za svojho ďalšieho učiteľa. Napokon, práve vďaka Albrechtovi sa Martinček v druhej polovici 90. rokov zoznámil s Paulom Sacherom. Tento kontakt viedol až k oficiálnemu prijatiu niekoľkých rukopisov Martinčekových diel do zbierky Sacherovej nadácie so sídlom vo švajčiarskom Bazileji.

Kapitoly okrem Martinčekových vlastných textov obsahovo dopĺňajú aj komentáre jeho kolegov, napríklad úryvky z posudkov k diplomovej práci, resp. habilitácii, od Jána Cikkera alebo hodnotenia oponentov Ivana Hrušovského a Petra Ebena z inauguračného konania.

Druhá kapitola chronologicky mapuje Martinčekovu kompozičnú tvorbu. Rozdelenie na tri podkapitoly odzrkadľuje vývoj jeho kompozičného myslenia od obdobia štúdií, cez počiatky využívania novších kompozičných prostriedkov v kombinácii so zaužívanými tvorivými východiskami až po dosiahnutie osobitého štýlového prejavu.

Muzicírovanie v albrechtovskom dome znamenalo pre mladého Martinčeka intenzívne spoznávanie rôznorodej hudobnej literatúry. Z množstva sólickej a komornej tvorby rozličných štýlových epoch sa postupne formoval bližší vzťah k skladateľom, ktorí boli blízki jeho osobnostnému naturelu. Na rozdiel od svojich rovesníkov Martinček v prvom tvorivom období neprejavoval záujem o kompozičné techniky Novej hudby. Naopak, osvojil si názor, že umenie sa nemôže rozvíjať na základe negácie tradície, ale v nadväznosti na ňu. Čiteľný bol preto vplyv predstaviteľov klasicisticko-novoromantickej hudby až po obdobie ranej moderny. V skladbách s ustáleným formovým riešením iba ojedinele dochádzalo k prekračovaniu hraníc harmonicky určenej rozšírenej totality. Prevažovalo uplatnenie kontrapunktickej techniky, dôraz na metro-rytmickú zložku a prítomnosť modálnych postupov. Ďalším z faktorov, ovplyvňujúcich Martinčekov kompozičný

prejav akcentujúci predovšetkým klavírne opusy, bola prax klaviristu-interpreta. Citáty z inauguračnej prednášky a denníka, ktoré sú súčasťou charakteristiky predstavených skladieb, napokon v tejto súvislosti odhaľujú aj tú skutočnosť, že skladateľ sa pre preferenciu tohto nástroja neraz považoval za „obef pianistického myslenia“, ktorého sa s veľkou námahou postupne zbavoval.

Od 70. rokov sa Martinček začal zaoberať aktualizáciou svojho kompozičného prejavu na báze syntézy tradície a avantgardných hudobných techník. Toto obdobie, charakteristické expresívnejším prejavom na úkor ustálených štýlových väzieb, sám nazýva hľadačským. Kategóriu tradicionalistov, kam Martinčeka jeho rovesníci zaradili, na prevrpenie viacerých napokon definitívne opustil. Zároveň v priebehu 80. rokov upustil od využitia klavíra pri komponovaní a začal venovať pozornosť iným nástrojom a možnostiam využitia ich špecifických zvukových daností. Ako dôsledok permanentnej evolúcie vedúcej k zrelému osobitému štýlovému prejavu došlo k rozvinutiu základných, tradíciou overených kompozičných princípov. Tie predstavovali spôsob rozvíjania motivicko-tematickej práce, rešpektovanie princípov kontrastu, reprizovosť, hierarchiu tektonických celkov v kombinácii so súčasnými výdobytkami: dodekafonickou a seriálnou organizáciou tónového materiálu, sonoristikou vyplývajúcou z rozširovania možností nástrojovej hry, harmóniou nezakladajúcou sa na tonálnej vertikálnej organizácii, a schizometriou – pojmom, ktorým skladateľ označil jeden z ďalších princípov svojho kompozičného prejavu spočívajúci v metrorytmickej asymetrii, polymetrickom a polyrytmickom vedení hlasov. Pri završení tvorivej fázy došlo napokon aj k inovácii hudobného zápisu, ktorá zodpovedala maximálnemu uplatneniu jeho kompozičných zámerov. Kapitulu uzatvára umelecké krédo Dušana Martinčeka, pre ktorého podľa vlastných slov tvorba predstavovala istú vnútornú potrebu nerozlučne spätú s podstatou bytia. Zaujímavá je autorkina analógia medzi Martinčekom a Györgyom Ligetiom ako jed-

ným z mnohých skladateľov 20. storočia: paralely nachádza nielen v kompozičnom jazyku, ale i v snahe oboch tvorcov reagovať na kultúrno-spoločenskú a politickú situáciu svojej doby a apelatívnym spôsobom vyjadrovať subjektívne pocity prostredníctvom hudby.

V nadväznosti na vývoj kompozičného myslenia tvorí obsah tretej kapitoly kompletný prepis inauguračnej prednášky, ktorá je autoreflexiou Martinčekovej v tom čase 46 rokov trvajúcej tvorivej aktivity.

Štvrtá kapitola je súborom Martinčekových úvah objavených pri výskume jeho pozostalosti v roku 2020. Prvá časť zápiskov, ktoré vznikli desať rokov pred Martinčekovou smrťou, poukazuje na jeho celoživotný záujem o filozofiu s pokusom o diferenciáciu humanistických koncepcií vychádzajúcich z myšlienok Sartra, Valéryho, Duhamela a de Montherlanta. Druhá časť analytických postrehov sa viaže k Franzovi Lisztovi s poukázaním na jeho novátorstvo v oblasti harmónie, zmenu dovtedajšieho chápania klavírneho prejavu a prínos pri završení vývinu programovej hudby.

Piata a šiesta kapitola majú podobný charakter. Ide o vyznania, spomienky, reflexie a hodnotenia pochádzajúce od osôb, ktoré boli s Martinčekom počas života v bližšom priateľskom či kolegiálnom vzťahu. Mimoriadne citlivo vyznieva text jeho manželky Magdalény, ktorá sa po ukončení štúdia spevu na VŠMU v Bratislave rozhodla nebudovať si spevácku kariéru, aby umožnila manželovi jeho umelecký rozvoj a mohla sa venovať rodine a synovi Petrovi, ktorý sa tiež vydal na skladateľskú dráhu. Svoj život, podobne ako jej manžel, obetovala hudbe, avšak iným spôsobom, keď počas takmer 36-ročného pôsobenia na Konzervatóriu v Bratislave ako hlasová pedagogička vchovala celý rad vynikajúcich speváčok. Popri celoživotných priateľoch, akým bol Ivan Palovič, Dagmar a Jozef Zsapkovi, sú v kapitole zahrnuté aj dojmy a spomienky Martinčekových žiakov, medzi ktorých patrila napríklad Jana Kmitová, Ľubica Čekovská alebo Tomáš Boroš. Popri posudkoch Ivana Hrušovského a Petra Ebena prispel k hod-

noteniu Martinčekovho tvorivého odkazu aj Ľubomír Chalupka.

Dušan Martinček viedol bohatú korešpondenciu nielen s významnými osobnosťami z domáceho prostredia. Znalosť nemčiny a francúzštiny mu výdatne dopomohla k rozšíreniu okruhu adresátov aj zo zahraničia. Aj keď výber z korešpondencie, uvedený v šiestej kapitole, obsahovo neprekračuje zdvorilostnú rovinu vo forme gratulácií a pozdravov, zahrnuté mená dokazujú, že Martinček bol mimoriadne charizmatickým a erudovaným človekom so širokým registrom priateľov, medzi ktorých nepatrili iba hudobníci, ale i výtvarníci a literáti.

Hoci súpisy tvorby a nahrávok bývajú v hudobných biografiách zvyčajne zaradené ako prílohy, v Martináčkovej práci sú vedené ako samostatné kapitoly. Obdobne je to aj v prípade bibliografie, ktorá tvorí záverečnú,

deviatu kapitolu celej 221-stranovej monografie.

Vizuálny dojem inak elegantného spracovania knihy v pevnej väzbe trochu narušajú miestami nekvalitná reprodukcia obrazových materiálov. Za nedostatok možno považovať absenciu cudzojazyčného resumé a menného registra.

Zuzana Martináková-Rendeková v súlade s podtitulom svojej knihy ponúka čitateľovi pútavý súbor informácií o jednej z významných osobností slovenskej hudby 2. polovice 20. storočia. Keďže výskyt monografií venovaných slovenským skladateľom je v domácej muzikológii stále zriedkavým javom, jej počin je o to cennejší.

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Michal Ščepán

Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i.

Eva Veselovská – Eduard Lazorík – Hana Studeničová: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitate Cremniciensi* (Tomus IX)

Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, v. v. i., 2024, 428 s. ISBN 978-80-89135-58-5



Fragmentologický výskum predstavuje v posledných dvoch desaťročiach jednu z najdynamickejších oblastí skúmania stredovekých hudobných prameňov na Slovensku. Výskum notovaných pamiatok stredovekého pôvodu nadobudol systematický charakter vďaka edičnej sérii *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia* (vydavateľ: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i.), ktorej zakladateľkou a hlavnou iniciátorkou je Eva Veselovská. Po predchádzajúcich zväzkoch venovaných fragmentom z Modry, Banskej Štiavnice, Bratislavy, Trnavy, Kežmarku, Trenčína, Betliara a Košíc vyšiel v roku 2024 deviaty zväzok, tentoraz zameraný na notované zlomky z Kremnice. Autorský kolektív v zložení Eva Veselovská, Eduard Lazorík a Hana Studeničová ponúka nielen detailný

opis hudobných recyklovaných prameňov, ale prináša aj cenný pohľad do historicko-kultúrneho kontextu Kremnice. Publikácia celkovo obohacuje výskum o hudobnej kultúre nielen tohto banského mesta, ale aj celého územia dnešného Slovenska do roku 1600.

Publikácia je členená do tematicky ucelených kapitol. Rozsiahly úvod slúži na vymedzenie predmetu skúmania a hlavného cieľa práce. Predstavuje notované pramene vo forme fragmentov ako najstarších dokladov knižnej a hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku a význam ich sprostredkovania pre hĺbkový výskum v budúcnosti. Počas nových výskumov v Kremnici bolo identifikovaných až 491 fragmentov, z čoho 112 dokladá hudobnú notáciu. Tieto recyklované materiály sú predmetom analýzy a vyhodnotenia deviateho zväzku edície. Dnes sú uložené v troch inštitúciách Kremnice: v Štatnom archíve v Banskej Bystrici, pracovisko Archív Kremnica (ďalej uvádzaný len ako Archív Kremnica, 97 notovaných zlomkov), v Archíve Mincovne Kremnica (6) a v Knižnici evanjelickej cirkvi a. v. v Kremnici (9). V kontexte výskumov recyklovaných zlomkov z územia Slovenska je daný počet unikátny. Jednotlivé fragmenty sú dôkazom bohatej a donedávna len minimálne zdokumentovanej hudobnej tradície mesta. Autorský kolektív sa rozhodol pre spracovanie výlučne notovaných zlomkov. Tento výber je opodstatnený predovšetkým ich vysokým počtom, ako aj zámerom budúceho spracovania zvyšných nehudobných fragmentov v osobitnom katalógu. Súčasťou úvodu je aj prehľad doterajšieho stavu bádania danej problematiky, ktorý zhrňa kľúčové publikácie, z ktorých autori vychádzali.

Prvá časť publikácie sa zameriava na dejiny mesta Kremnice, ktoré zohralo v dejinách Slovenska výnimočnú úlohu ako jedno z centier baníctva, mincovníctva a kultúrneho života v stredoveku. Význam mesta pre písomnú a hudobnú kultúru podčiarkuje existujúca knižná tradícia. Viaceré cirkevné i svetské inštitúcie disponovali knižnicami, z ktorých sa dodnes zachovala najmä knižnica farského kostola s 26 rukopismi, ktoré sú dnes uložené v Slovenskom národnom archíve a v Szé-

chényiho národnej knižnici v Budapešti. Ide o druhú najrozsiahlejšiu zachovanú stredovekú knižnú zbierku na Slovensku. Osobitná pozornosť sa v texte venovala aj dokladom o živom hudobnom dianí, ako sú zmienky o trubačoch, organistoch či inscenovaných školských hrách. Historiografickú časť uzatvára stručný prehľad dejín jednotlivých inštitúcií, ktoré dnes uchovávajú hudobné fragmenty.

V nasledujúcich kapitolách sa autori zaoberajú metodologickými otázkami, pričom upozorňujú na súčasný stav zlomkov, ktorý väčšinou neumožňuje jednoznačné datovanie a určenie proveniencie. Na čiastočné objasnenie týchto otázok slúžila aj paleografická a kodikologická analýza, ktorej metodika je predstavená v kapitole *Paleographical and Codicological Aspects*. Autori sa systematicky a chronologicky venujú typom písma a prezentujú výsledky tejto analýzy. V ďalšej časti *Medieval Notations from Kremnica* aplikujú podobný prístup na hudobnú notáciu. Detailne opisujú šesť základných notačných systémov, ktoré sa vyskytovali v strednej Európe, pričom konštatujú, že v Kremnici dominuje métsko-gotická notácia, nasledovaná českou, kvadratickou, ostrihomskou, nemeckou gotickou, a nakoniec cisterciánskou notáciou. Zaujímavým zistením je, že v Kremnici je vysoký výskyt zmiešaných notačných systémov, ktoré kombinujú základné znaky jednotlivých notačných systémov.

Po úvodných teoretických častiach nasledujú ťažiskové kapitoly monografie. Tie predstavujú bohatý textový aparát, ktorý sa dôkladne venuje analýze a hodnoteniu zlomkov. Autori ich najprv delia podľa miesta uloženia (Archív Kremnice, Archív Mincovne Kremnica, Knižnica evanjelickej cirkvi a. v. v Kremnici) a osobitne sa zameriavajú na jednohlasné a viachlasné pramene. Jednohlasné zlomky sú ďalej členené do samostatných podkapitol podľa použitia notačného systému s podrobnými analytickými sondami. Autori ponúkajú liturgický a paleografický rozbor, čím vytvárajú charakteristiky jednotlivých fragmentov. V niektorých prípadoch sa podarilo identifikovať skupiny fragmentov z jedného prameňa, čo poskytol rozsiahlejší mate-

riál na zodpovedanie otázok k ich pôvodu. Na príklade zlomkov 8, 97 a 99 bolo na základe tvarov kadel iniciál možné určiť presný rok vzniku kódexu (jedna z nich totiž obsahovala rok 1487). Súčasťou podkapitol sú aj tabuľky s obrazovou prílohou, čo čitateľovi umožňuje sledovať analytické a komparačné vyhodnotenie konkrétnych otázok (liturgia, notácia, porovnanie výzdobného systému a i.).

Ako sme už spomenuli, pozornosť sa venuje aj polyfónnym fragmentom. Po kratšom teoretickom úvode k hudobnej kultúre raného novoveku v Kremnici nasleduje analýza piatich zlomkov (15, 16, 93, 94, 95), ktoré tvoria spoločnú skupinu. Pochádzajú z jedného prameňa a obsahujú hymnus *Te Deum* pre päť až šesť hlasov. Na základe komparácie s inými európskymi prameňmi sa autorom podarilo určiť, že ide o dielo nemeckého skladateľa Johanna Wirckera. Okrem toho kapitola poukazuje na dva fragmenty s touto kompozíciou, uložené na Slovensku (v Lýcejnej knižnici Slovenskej akadémie vied v Bratislave a v Archíve mesta Košice), pričom upozorňuje na ich vzájomnú podobnosť. Autori predpokladajú, že aj tieto zlomky patria ku kremnickej skupinke a kedysi tvorili jeden prameň, hoci ich presun do Bratislavy a Košíc zatiaľ nebol objasnený.

Neoddeliteľnú časť publikácie tvorí samotný katalóg fragmentov. Jeho prednosťou je prehľadnosť a jasná štruktúra. Ku každému zlomku sa systematicky uvádzajú základné údaje: typ pôvodnej liturgickej knihy, materiál, datovanie, hostiteľský rukopis, tzv. *liber tradens*, rozмеры, charakteristika písma, výzdoby, notácie, predpokladaná proveniencia a obsah prameňa, vrátane kompletného prepisu textu. Daný repertoár je priradený k príslušnému sviatku či časti liturgického roku. Súčasťou každého záznamu je aj identifikačné číslo Cantus ID k jednotlivým spevom, ktoré umožňuje ich jednoznačnú identifikáciu a vyhľadávanie v medzinárodnej databáze Cantus Index (<https://cantusindex.org>). Táto prepojenosť s celosvetovým digitálnym vy-

skumným prostredím predstavuje významný prínos pre ďalšiu muzikologickú prácu, keďže uľahčuje komparatívnu analýzu, overovanie výskytu repertoáru a jeho šírenia v európskom kontexte.

Je potrebné upozorniť tiež na viaceré prvky, ktoré významne prispievajú k funkčnosti a prehľadnosti publikácie. Ide v prvom rade o bohatú a kvalitnú obrazovú prílohu. Nechýba ani komparatívna tabuľka základných notačných znakov všetkých jednohlasých zlomkov. Na uľahčenie orientácie v publikácii sú k dispozícii indexy členené podľa viacerých kritérií: typ notácie, druh liturgickej knihy, proveniencia, druh písma, datovanie a incipyty všetkých spevov. Takéto členenie predstavuje cenný a efektívny nástroj pre budúci výskum. V neposlednom rade je vhodné vyzdvihnúť skutočnosť, že monografia je publikovaná v angličtine, čo zvyšuje jej dostupnosť v medzinárodnom odbornom priestore.

Autorskému kolektívu sa podarilo vytvoriť rozsiahlu, detailnú a zároveň systematicky funkčnú publikáciu na vysokej odbornej úrovni, ktorá sa venuje hudobným fragmentom uchovávaným v inštitúciách mesta Kremnice. Publikácia vďaka svojej metodologickej precíznosti, dôslednej dokumentácii a spojeniu s digitálnymi nástrojmi predstavuje spoľahlivý a hodnotný príspevok k výskumu hudobných fragmentov na Slovensku. Prínosom je nielen samotná analýza zlomkov, ale aj širší historický a kultúrny kontext, v ktorom ich autori predstavujú. Deviaty zväzok série *Catalogus fragmentorum etc.* efektívne nadväzuje na predchádzajúce diely a rozširuje poznanie o stredovekej hudobnej kultúre na našom území.

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Zuzana Badárová

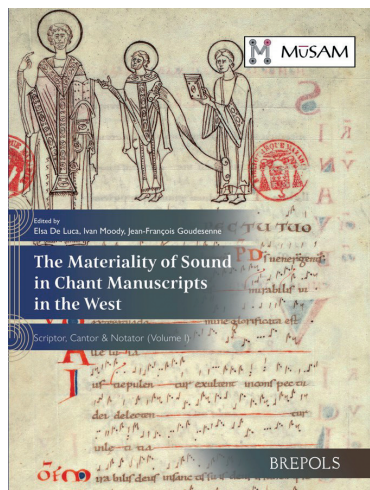
Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, v. v. i.;

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Masarykovy univerzity v Brně

Elsa De Luca – Ivan Moody – Jean-François Goudessene (eds.): *The Materiality of Sound in Chant Manuscripts in the West. Scriptor, Cantor & Notator (Volume I)*

Turnhout : Brepols, 2023, 328 s. ISBN 978-2-503-60614-9



Zrejme sa nikdy nedozvieme, ako presne sa spieval gregoriánsky chorál v stredoveku. Analýzou notovaných prameňov sa však môžeme aspoň priblížiť k pravdepodobným možnostiam jeho znenia. Je preto nutné pristúpiť k detailnému štúdiu zachovaných artefaktov hudobnej činnosti stredovekých pisárov, kantorov a notátorov (podnadpis monografie: *Scriptor, Cantor & Notator*). Práve o to sa snažia dvanásť autori kolektívnej monografie *The Materiality of Sound in Chant Manuscripts*

in the West.¹ Kniha prináša široké spektrum pohľadov na liturgickú hudbu, čo je na jednej strane výhoda, keďže čitateľ môže sledovať, ako odlišne jednotliví autori spracovávajú problematiku v rôznych výskumných kontextoch, ale kvôli ich nesúrodosti nemožno od publikácie očakávať vytvorenie nového a uceleného pohľadu na dejiny gregoriánskeho chorálu. Jednotlivé príspevky sú rozdelené do troch tematických okruhov: 1. metodológia, 2. rukopisy a rukopisné fragmenty, 3. regionálne notácie a repertoáre. Autori sa zaoberajú predovšetkým bezlínajkovými notáciami západnej a južnej Európy. Jediným pohľadom do neskorého stredoveku a do strednej Európy je text autorky Evy Veselovskej.

Celou publikáciou sa nesie apel na pre pájanie muzikologického výskumu s ďalšími vedami. Hĺbková analýza notovaných rukopisov sa totiž nezaobíde bez pochopenia širšieho kontextu výskytu neum. Preto je nutné skúmať aj paleografickú, kodikologickú a obsahovú stránku rukopisov. Vďaka týmto doplňujúcim informáciám je následne možné lepšie rekonštruovať zámery tvorcov kníh, a teda aj pochopiť, prečo použili dané notáčne prostriedky na vyjadrenie hudby.

Susan Rankin a Giovanni Varelli tento princíp aplikujú na najstaršie notované pra-

¹ Susan Rankin (Concepts and Taxonomies of Music Script), Giovanni Varelli (Design, and the Historiography of Early Music Scripts), Laura Albiero (Appunti metodologici sullo studio del canto liturgico), Óscar Mascareñas Garza (Indeterminacy, New Aspect of Meaning in Gregorian Chant), Leo Lousberg (Guiding Silence, The Function of Melodic Interruptions in Medieval Chant), Jean-François Goudessene (Et gloriosus in saecula. Paléographie des notations franques nord-occidentales 970–1120), Luisa Nardini (Reuniting Fragments and Reconsidering the Scribal History of the Beneventan Zone), Stefania Roncroffi (Frammenti di un antifonario in notazione nonantolana), Anne Mannion (Notation in Transition? A Palaeographical Study of the Insular Missal EXcl 3515), Giovanni Cunego (Notazioni neumatiche dei secoli XI–XII nella Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona), Joaquim Garrigosa I Massana (La notation musicale dans la Catalogne médiévale) a Eva Veselovská (The Scribe and the Notator as the Bearer of Identity, Bohemian Notation in Late Mediaeval Manuscripts of Central Europe). Talianske a francúzske články v recenzii nebudú priblížené, keďže autor sa neodvažuje hlbšie hodnotiť texty v týchto jazykoch.

mene. S. Rankin sa vo svojej kapitole *Concepts and Taxonomies of Music Script* nechala inšpirovať talianskym paleografom Carlom Cencettim pri posudzovaní taxonómie karolínskych notácií. Jej cieľom nie je zaviesť novú nomenklatúru, ale skôr uvažovať o dôvodoch vzniku tej súčasnej a o problémoch, ktoré sa s ňou viažu. Z konkrétnych prípadov zmieňuje métsku notáciu, ktorá sa objavuje na prameňoch z mesta Méty až v 11. storočí a spojenie jej vzniku s týmto mestom je podľa autorky nedostatočne podložené. Väčší priestor venuje bretónskej notácii, na príklade ktorej dokazuje, že tento typ vznikol v severnom Francúzsku, kde bol však rýchlo nahradený a ako archaizmus sa dlho udržiaval v Bretónsku. Nie je možné teda jednoducho uvažovať o prameňoch s touto notáciou ako o rukopisoch s bretónskym pôvodom. Na vytvorenie spoľahlivej taxonómie je podľa Susan Rankin nutné všimnúť si stabilizované tvary neum a spôsob ich písania. Zároveň registruje, že väčšina autorov nevytvárala taxonómiu s cieľom študovať vývoj tvarov neum, ale skôr na účely datovania a lokalizácie daných prameňov, čo istým spôsobom smerovalo k pomenovaniu jednotlivých notácií. Práve s výzvou k pochopeniu historických okolností vzniku taxonómie ukončuje svoju kapitolu.

Konkrétnym vývojom neumy pes sa vo svojom texte *Design and the Historiography of Early Music Scripts* zaoberá Giovanni Varelli. Všimá si, že väčšina raných notácií zapisuje túto neumu ako spojený tvar dvoch tónov (nižší a vyšší tón), akvitánske a nonantolské hudobné písmo ju však rozdelili do dvoch znakov. Dôležitým východiskom jeho analýzy je tvrdenie, že notácie sú pragmatické v zapisovaní znakov a každý ťah perom má svoj hudobný význam. Za každou zmenou v tvaroch neum, v ich dizajne, je tak nutné vidieť myšlienkový proces notátora snažiacего sa zachytiť presnejšie daný spev. Analýzou zmien je možné zostaviť vývojovú líniu notácií. Ako však ukazuje na príklade textologického bádania, nie vždy je najjednoduchší variant textu aj tým najstarším. Vznik notácie kladie Giovanni Varelli približne na začiatok 9. storočia a spája ho s karolínskou snahou o ná-

pravu (*correctio*) liturgického spevu. Pôvodne si isté znamienka zapisovali len kantori na dočasné písacie látky a až po ich formalizovaní sa začali zapisovať do kníh. Tým vysvetľuje dôvod, prečo sa do súčasnosti zachovali až vyvinuté notačné písma.

Oproti týmto dvom exaktným kapitolám stojí experimentálny text *Indeterminacy* od Óscara Mascareñasa Garzu. Autor sa v ňom zamýšľa, do akej miery môžeme vnímať gregoriánsky chorál ako fixovaný, keď bol založený hlavne na pamäti spevákov a na notácii, ktorá neposkytovala všetky informácie na jeho prednes. Množstvo melodických variantov konkrétnych spevov by mohla vysvetľovať práve neurčitost' zakódovaná v gregoriánskom choráli. Spevák vytvárajúci melódiu vychádza z neurčitosti v neumovom zápise a vo svojej pamäti. Neisté miesta transformuje do konkrétnej podoby prostredníctvom hrania sa s nimi. Samotné hranie sa malo podľa Garzu významný vplyv na výslednú interpretáciu liturgického spevu. Odchýlky medzi neumovými zápsmi tak nie sú chybami, ale dôkazmi aplikácie hry na chorál. V tomto kontexte autor modifikuje vnímanie karolínskeho *correctio*, ktoré podľa tradičného výskumu zastáva významnú úlohu pri vzniku notácií. Podľa autora v ňom nešlo o fixovanosť melódií, ale skôr o hlboké porozumenie systému chorálu. Na záver varuje pred prílišným sústredením sa na očné vnemy a zdôrazňuje dôležitosť zvukového vnímania.

Leo Lousberg vo svojej kapitole *Guiding Silence* študuje súvislosť melódie chorálu s textom. Uvedomuje si totiž, že liturgický spev slúžil primárne náboženským potrebám a jeho podoba bola ovplyvnená obsahom spevov. Toto tvrdenie sa snažili muzikológovia dokázať už dlho, ale podľa Lousberga na to išli nesprávne. Podľa neho melodické formuly text nereprezentujú, ale k nemu len pasujú. Jeho metóda sa nezamerala na celé spevy, ale len na špecifické prvky, ktoré nazval signálne tóny. Zaradil k nim mikrotóny, dôrazové frázy, posuny v modusoch, likvescenciu, nediatonické semitóny, quilismy a repkusie. Hlavný dôraz sa v príspevku kladie na mikrotóny. Autor si vyšpecifikoval miesta ich výskytu, porovnal ich s obsahom a zistil,

že ich je možné nájsť v troch textových situáciách: 1. slová vyjadrujúce afekt, 2. gramatické prvky zvýrazňujúce význam syntaktických jednotiek, 3. exegetické a naratívne odkazy. Mikrotóny podľa neho nemajú hudobný ani estetický, ale skôr rétorický význam. Pomáhajú interpretovať význam spievaného textu. Stručnejšie sa zmieňuje aj o ďalších signálnych znakoch, pričom v závere trefne cituje Jeffreyho Hamburgera, ktorý hovorí, že cieľom klerikov pri modlitbe nebola umelecká produkcia, ale budovanie cnosti.

Luisa Nardini v kapitole *Reuniting Fragments and Reconsidering the Scribal History of the Beneventan Zone* predstavuje trojicu fragmentov z rovnakého rukopisu notovaného beneventskou notáciou. Jeden je uložený v Dubline, druhý v Madride a tretí v LAquile. Všetky pochádzajú z rovnakého misála z polovice 11. storočia napísaného v meste Capua. Autorka ich podrobne analyzuje a odкрýva osobnosť ich pisára, ktorý vedel používať beneventské písmo aj notáciu. Poznal miestnu liturgiu, pretože fragmenty zachovávajú niekoľko úplne jedinečných spevov. Zároveň dobre poznal spôsob notovania sekvencií používaný v kláštoroch Sankt Gallen a Reichenau. Použil ho nielen na nemecké sekvencie, ale dokázal ho adaptovať aj na miestne spevy. Porovnávaním písma Nardini zistila, že rovnaký pisár napísal aj *Tonár z Monte Cassina MC 318*, kde používal už notové klúče, čiže misál musel napísať ešte pred tým, ako sa dozvedel o ich existencii.

Zatiaľ čo predchádzajúca štúdia bola založená na rozbere písma, pretože beneventská notácia je veľmi stála, tak Anne Mannion sa pri analýze *Misála EXcl 3515* z anglického Exeteru z druhej polovice 12. storočia zamerala na tvary neum. Takisto si všimla písárske ruky a kodikologickú stránku rukopisu. Misál notovalo päť rúk a všetky už používali linajkovú osnovu. Mannion si vytypovala charakteristické znaky neum, ktoré sa snažila nájsť v ďalších rukopisoch. Začala v kódexoch exeterskej katedrály, kde našla jeden podobný fragment, a postupne sa prepracovala až

k prameňom z údolia rieky Loire. Tie pravdepodobne inšpirovali produkciu v južnom Anglicku. Na základe nájdeného exeterského fragmentu z podobného obdobia uvažuje aj o existencii miestneho skriptória.

Poslednú kapitolu monografie *The Scribe and the Notator as the Bearer of Identity* napísala Eva Veselovská. V jej úvode vysvetľuje vývoj notácií v strednej Európe, zamerala sa však predovšetkým na použitie českej notácie v rukopisoch, ktoré určite nevznikli pre české cirkevné inštitúcie a uvažuje, prečo tomu tak mohlo byť. Prvý z rukopisov vznikol pre augustiniánsky kláštor v Klosterneuburgu (Cod. 65–68), druhý pre Bratislavskú kapitolu (Bratislavský misál D) a tretí pre katedrálu vo Veľkom Varadíne (Varadínsky antifonár). Vo všetkých troch liturgikách nastáva kolízia medzi grafickou a obsahovou stránkou. Zatiaľ čo notácia aj výzdoba sú českého pôvodu, tak knihy liturgicky spadajú do kontextu inštitúcií, pre ktoré vznikli. Dokazujú tak silný kultúrny vplyv Českého kráľovstva koncom 14. storočia a behom celého 15. storočia, a to aj napriek prebiehajúcim husitským vojnám. Tie mali tiež nezanedbateľný vplyv na export notácie, pretože množstvo klerikov a remeselníkov ušlo do okolitých krajín, kde pokračovali vo svojej práci, tak ako boli naučení. Na základe použitia českej notácie v Uhorsku alebo v Dolnom Rakúsku je možné skúmať ich vplyv na miestnu rukopisnú produkciu.

Publikácia ponúka viacero náhľadov do súčasných výskumov európskych bádateľov. Približuje odlišné metodiky práce s hudobnými prameňmi a môže byť tak inšpiráciou pre nové smery bádania. Treba pripomenúť, že recenzovaná kniha je len prvým dielom. Druhý vyšiel v tomto roku (2025) a zaoberá sa byzantským liturgickým spevom, čo poskytuje zaujímavý priestor na komparáciu oboch hudobných tradícií.

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Brent Auerbach: Musical Motives: A Theory and Method for Analyzing Shape in Music

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Hudobná teória a analytické metódy sa neustále vyvíjajú v snahe lepšie pochopiť vnútornú logiku hudobných diel a procesov, ktoré formujú hudobnú percepciu. Jednou z dlhodobo diskutovaných tém v hudobnej analýze je problematika hudobných motívov a ich úloha pri vytváraní hudobnej koherencie a významu. Motivická analýza sa tradične opierała o intervalové a harmonické vzťahy medzi jednotlivými tónmi, avšak v posledných desaťročiach sa zvyšuje záujem o alternatívne analytické prístupy, ktoré reflektujú aj percepčné a kognitívne aspekty hudobného vnemu.

Kniha Brenta Auerbacha s názvom *Musical Motives: A Theory and Method for Analyzing Shape in Music*, ktorú vydalo vydavateľstvo Oxford University Press v roku 2021, predstavuje jednu z najkomplexnejších a najhlbšie spracovaných publikácií na túto tému za posledné desaťročia. Autor ponúka metodologicky precízny a konceptuálne inovatívny pohľad na spôsob, akým sa hudobné motívy formujú, vyvíjajú a ovplyvňujú vnímanie hudobnej štruktúry.

Publikácia je štruktúrovaná logicky: začína sa základnými konceptmi a smeruje k zložitejším aplikáciám predloženej teórie. Tvoria ju tri hlavné časti: prvá časť „Základy pre disciplínu motivickej analýzy“, druhá časť „Metódy motivickej analýzy“ a tretia časť „Analýza a záver“. Tie sú rozdelené do deviatich kapitol, v ktorých autor postupne rozvíja svoj prístup k analýze hudobných motívov. V prvých troch kapitolách definuje základné pojmy a teoretické rámce. Predstavuje všeobecnú teóriu úlohy motívu v hudbe, stručnú štýlovú históriu využitia motívov od renesancie po rok 1900 a dejiny motivickej teórie od roku 1600 po súčasnosť. V rozsiahlej strednej časti (kapitoly 4 až 7 + interlúdiá 1 a 2) sa venuje konkrétnym metodologickým postupom a ponúka dva originálne prístupy k motivickej analýze – základná motivická analýza a komplexná motivická analýza. Tie následne vedú k teórii hudobného naratívu, založenej na archetypochoch, ktoré Auerbach sám vytvoril. V poslednej kapitole (č. 8), pred zhrnúcim záverom (č. 9) aplikuje svoju metódu na širokú škálu hudobných príkladov od klasickej hudby až po populárnu hudbu. Väčšina metodologických kapitol sa zameriava na tradičný repertoár od Bacha po Brahmsa. V poslednej kapitole však Auerbach podrobne analyzuje *L'Ondine* od Cécile Chaminade, *Paranoid Android* od Radiohead a *At the Ballet* z muzikálu *A Chorus Line*, aby ukázal, že jeho teória je aplikovateľná aj na rôznorodejší repertoár.

Teoretický rámec knihy vychádza z klasických aj súčasných teórií hudobnej formy a motívu. Auerbach čerpá zo schenkerovskej analýzy, teórie množín a kognitívnej muzikológie na vytvorenie stabilného analytického modelu. Motivickú analýzu rozdeľuje do troch hlavných prístupov. Prvý je schoenbergovský, reprezentovaný Rudolfom Rétim a Josefom Ruferom. Druhý prístup

spája Schoenberga a Schenkera, pričom jeho hlavným predstaviteľom je David Epstein a jeho kniha *Beyond Orpheus*. Tretím prístupom, ktorý vychádza z práce Lawrencea Zbikowského *Conceptualizing Music*, je priamo inšpirované aj jeho chápanie komplexnej motivickej analýzy. V hodnoteniach predchádzajúcej literatúry sú zároveň obsiahnuté dva metodologické ciele, na ktoré Auerbach v knihe opakovane kladie dôraz. Prvým je systematickosť a druhým cieľom je zahrnúť do teórie čo najširší repertoár a čo najväčšiu rozmanitosť hudobných štýlov. Auerbachovou ambíciou je vytvorenie univerzálneho názvoslovie pre výškové a rytmické motívy, vďaka čomu názov motívu okamžite sprostredkúva množstvo informácií. Ďalším Auerbachovým cieľom je prekročiť hranice tradičnej motivickej analýzy, ktorá sa často zameriava iba na vzťahy medzi výškami tónov a intervalmi. Do svojej metódy preto integruje aj koncepty tvaru a transformácie, pričom jadrom Auerbachovej analýzy je segmentácia hudby na motivické jednotky a sledovanie ich transformácií. Identifikuje procesy augmentácie, diminúcie, inverzie či rytmických posunov ako kľúčové mechanizmy vývoja motívov v rámci skladby. Tento prístup rozširuje tradičnú motivickú analýzu tým, že zahŕňa prvky vizuálneho vnímania tvaru a pohybu, čím podporuje komplexnejšie chápanie motivického vývoja.

Jedným z kľúčových aspektov knihy je dôraz na vizuálnu a grafickú prezentáciu hudobných motívov. Auerbach používa moderné analytické nástroje, ktoré umožňujú vizualizovať tvar motívov v rôznych kontextoch. Tento aspekt je mimoriadne cenný pre muzikológov aj interpretov, pretože ponúka nový spôsob, ako vnímať a chápať motivickú prácu v hudbe. Okrem toho Oxford vytvoril webovú stránku www.oup.com/us/musicalmotives

ako sprievodný materiál ku knihe *Musical Motives*. Sú na nej dostupné doplnkové hudobné príklady, ktoré sú v texte označené špecifickým symbolom.

Auerbachova práca má široké implikácie pre muzikologický výskum aj pre hudobnú pedagogiku. Jeho analytická metóda umožňuje detailnejšie skúmanie hudobných štruktúr a poskytuje nové nástroje na identifikáciu a interpretáciu motivických vzorcov. Taktiež prispieva k interdisciplinárnemu dialógu medzi muzikológiou a kognitívnou psychológiou. Jednou z najväčších výhod tejto knihy je jej široký záber. Auerbach neobmedzuje svoju analýzu len na tzv. západnú klasickú hudbu, ale venuje pozornosť aj populárnej hudbe a jazzovým skladbám. To umožňuje lepšie pochopenie univerzálnych princípov motivickej práce v hudbe bez ohľadu na žáner alebo historické obdobie. Hoci Auerbachova metóda ponúka mnoho nových možností, v niektorých aspektoch môže byť príliš komplexná na praktické využitie. Navyše, niektoré koncepcie si vyžadujú ďalšiu empirickú verifikáciu, najmä pokiaľ ide o ich aplikáciu na hudobné diela rôznych kultúr. Celkovo je *Musical Motives: A Theory and Method for Analyzing Shape in Music* zaujímavou štúdiou, ktorá ponúka nový prístup k motivickej analýze. Auerbachov dôraz na tvar, kontúru a transformáciu rozširuje tradičné chápanie hudobných motívov, čím poskytuje vedcom, interpretom a skladateľom cenné analytické nástroje. Kniha predstavuje značný prínos do súčasnej muzikologickej literatúry venovanej hudobnej analýze a môže byť cenným zdrojom pre každého, kto sa zaujíma o štúdium hudobnej formy a motivického vývoja.

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