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## **THE MIDDLE AGE SACRED MUSIC SOURCES FROM SLOVAKIA**

Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied

Bratislava

Supported by the project Nr. ITMS 26240120035 European Dimensions of the  
Artistic Culture in Slovakia / Európske dimenzie umeleckej kultúry  
Slovenska, 2011-2013, directed by Ivan Gerát, Institute of Art History of SAS

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## INTRODUCTION

Medieval musical culture from the territory of Slovakia can be reconstructed through written sources from the late 11<sup>th</sup> until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. All preserved manuscripts and fragments contain church music, which served the liturgical needs of the medieval church so called CANTUS PLANUS. Unfortunately, a very small number of complete manuscripts have been preserved in Slovakia. Most codices come from a time period of the 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries of church funds (episcopal, chapter, parish, monastery, school or town libraries belonging to important religious institutions). A small number of manuscripts were part of private collections (e.g. L. Egkenfelder, J. Derschvam). Medieval codices and fragments that were preserved in the territory of Slovakia formed only a small part of the liturgical books used in the medieval Slovakia. Complete manuscripts are now found in the funds in Bratislava, Spiš Chapter, in Martin, Košice and Prešov. Fragmentary preserved sources are in archive, museum or library institutions. The largest number of the fragmentary preserved manuscripts comes from bindings of town official books, incunabula and prints from the late 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> century. About 600 medieval notated fragments currently registered are stored mainly in the state archives of the Slovak Republic, the funds of Protestant libraries (former Lyceum Library in Bratislava - Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences, Protestant libraries in Kežmarok and Levoča), the state libraries (state scientific libraries in Prešov, Košice, University Library in Bratislava, Pedagogical Library in Bratislava, Slovak National Library in Martin, St. Adalbert Association Library in Trnava) or museum departments (Slovak national Museum - Music Museum, Western Slovakia Museum in Trnava, Bratislava City Museum, Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice). Several historical factors influenced a small number of preserved medieval liturgical codices. The earliest sources were probably destroyed at the time of medieval military conflicts, fires and unstable church - political situation (the onset of the Reformation and subsequent Catholic revival). A large part of unused manuscripts were mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century used as a suitable material for reinforcement of bindings and covers of town official books and manuscripts from the younger period. Many valuable manuscripts were exported outside the territory of Slovakia (manuscripts from Bratislava, Levoča, Bardejov, Leles and other). Part of codices was lost after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, when many medieval manuscripts ended up in foreign private collections. Most medieval manuscripts and fragments are preserved in Bratislava institutions (Slovak National Archive, Bratislava City Archive, University Library, Central Library of SAS, Slovak National Museum - Music Museum, Bratislava City Museum, State Archive in Bratislava, Slovak Pedagogic Library). There are 7 complete notated manuscripts in total (5 Bratislava antiphonaries, 2 missals) and dozens of fragments (about 140 units). Two manuscripts of Spiš provenance are still stored in its original location - in Spiš Chapter. Two codices are located in the Slovak National Library in Martin (the gradual and early modern laments), the State Scientific Library in Prešov (a psalter and a notated breviary from 1375). Complete codices with notation are preserved also in Košice. In the Eastern Slovakia museum are stored two manuscripts (a psalter and a notated missal from 1379). In the Episcopal Library in Nitra is stored the oldest notated manuscript from the territory of Slovakia, so called *Nitra Codex*. The largest numbers of notated fragments are found in state archives in Modra (70 units), Banská Štiavnica (75), Banská Bystrica (53), Kremnica (46), Levoča (25), Bardejov (20), Poprad (19), Trenčín (18). Concerning the library institutions the most medieval fragments with notation is in the Library of the Evangelical Church of the A. C. in Levoča (60), in the collection of the former Lyceum Library in Bratislava - today's Central Library of SAS (52), the Slovak National Library in Martin (34 +7) and in the collection of the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok (31). Evaluation studies in the field of music palaeography showed a few basic points. The oldest notational system from the territory of Slovakia is so called German non-lined (adiastematic) notation, which is documented by a fragmentary preserved manuscripts from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century and one manuscript (*Nitra Codex*). The basic and dominant notation type from the territory of Slovakia in the time period of the late 13<sup>th</sup> until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century was the Messine-gothic notation, which was brought to our country from the French-German-Austrian environment. It acquired a specific internal structure in our territory, which differs from the surrounding countries (today's Poland, Bohemia, Austria, Germany, Hungary) very clearly (4 Bratislava antiphonaries, 2 Spiš codices, a *Psalter* and a *Notated Breviary* from the State Scientific Library in Prešov, a *Psalter* and a *Missal* from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice). The second most widely used system in our

territory was a quadratic notation, which is represented by two manuscripts (a *Carthusian Gradual* from the SNL in Martin and a *Notated Missal* from the Central Library of SAS in Bratislava) and dozens of fragments of the period from the late 13<sup>th</sup> to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was used in a monastic environment, since it was required in several religious communities (e.g. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carthusians in our territory). The third most used notation was a Bohemian notation, and preserved materials from the territory of Slovakia document the great influence of Bohemian cultural environment mainly from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century (1 codex - *Bratislava Antiphonary V* and nearly a hundred fragments). Extremely important notational system of medieval musical culture from our territory was an Esztergom notation, which originated as a home, specific product of scribal workshops of a main ecclesiastical centre of medieval Hungary - Esztergom. Despite the fact that it has been preserved only in two manuscripts (*the Pray Codex, the Bratislava Missal I ante 1341*), which were used in Bratislava, 1 early modern gradual (*the Gradual SNA 17*) and dozens of fragments (Bratislava, Levoča, Nitra, Banská Bystrica, Kremnica, Košice), is a unique document of a unique scribal tradition. In the Slovak sources minimally present is the German Gothic choral notation, which got to our territory only via exports from the German lands. A modern manuscript *AXXX V 1-52 Lamentations of a Prophet Jeremiah* from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century /1564/ from the Slovak National Library in Martin comes from Germany and German Gothic notation is also used in the *Bratislava Missal R II 134* from Batthyaneum Library in Alba Julia in Romania from 1377).

Not every question about the origin and use of medieval notated manuscripts and fragments in the territory of Slovakia is always completely answered. The fragmentary condition of some sources prevents any concrete academic statement. Concerning fragments for instance only a tiny scrap of the manuscript was used for the bindings of younger books or town hall records and print volumes (one folio, half of a page, sometimes a totally small strip to strengthen the back of the binding etc. For large-scale codices in particular, it has not always been possible to identify the exact liturgical content of the fragment. The frequent anonymity of the scribe is another fact which must be taken into consideration within the context of medieval written culture. The most frequently preserved information related to the date of a manuscript regards its commissioner, scribe or illuminator. Illuminators put their names mainly in their own illuminations, or they dated these illuminations (For instance, the *Bratislava Antiphonary II* Bratislava City Museum A/5 contains a chronology of illumination with a text „*Loquebantur variis linguis app/ostoli/ 1487*“. A unique record about the wages payment for a notator who notated an antiphonary can be found in visitations from Klosterneuburg. In Klosterneuburg there was a clear division of labour among scribes, illuminators and notators making codices of a 4-bundle antiphonary in the 20's of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, even in nearly completely preserved manuscripts, the name of a notator is not stated.

One of the aspects of the music palaeographer's work is to examine minute differences between basic elements of the music notation in its specific cultural context, which does not always allow an ultimate identification of the scribe or even time period of the manuscript. A notation sign might have been used for more than five hundred years in the same formal shape. While a particular manuscript illumination workshop or master illuminator can be identified with great accuracy in the field of art history, the analysis concerning individual structural features of the music writing indicates only provenance or the scribe's origin. However, some accordance between palaeographic identification and the liturgical content within the concrete liturgical tradition might be possible at certain points. The huge growth in online information extremely accelerated the process of identifying, processing and evaluating particular fragmentary surviving manuscripts. In many databases are absent substantial and extremely critical data for comparisons of sources in Central Europe. For this reason, the priority methodology solution is edition and access of medieval notated codices and fragments from the territory of Slovakia also within the online database of the Institute of Musicology SAS - *Slovak Early Music Database – Cantus Planus in Slovacia* (<http://cantus.sk>). We believe, that based on our comparative research and databases of several European research institutions (e.g. the Austrian Academy of Sciences: <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kmf/cvp/>, Hungarian Academy of Sciences: <http://gradualia.eu/>), we will manage to identify larger groups of notating hands and scribal workshops

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<sup>1</sup> HAIDINGER, Aloip. Bemerkungen zur Entstehung des *Großen Antiphonars* Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 65-68. In *Codices Manuscripti*. Supplementum 6. Edp. RISCHPLER, Susanne – THEISEN, Maria. Purkersdorf :Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 2012, p. 73-80.

especially in fragmentary surviving manuscripts, which are connected with the medieval tradition from the territory of Slovakia in the near future.

## 2. HISTORICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

### 2. 1. Medieval Church in the Territory of Slovakia with Emphasis on the Reconstruction of Church – Music Traditions

First contacts of pre-Slavonic population of our territory with Christianity were mediated by an expansionary policy of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> They go back to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when Roman armies represented by Christians reached our land. The oldest evidence of penetration of Christianity on Slovak territory is an archaeological find of the Roman burner with the Christ's monogram XP on it from the Trenčín castle hill. Similar findings were uncovered in the Roman cemetery in Rusovce. Archaeological research in Bratislava - Rusovce shows that the former Roman station Gerulata was an important ancient village. According discovered material monuments with early Christian motifs (burners with fish and anchor), it is assumed that there existed a Christian community in Gerulata.<sup>3</sup> In late Roman graves in Bratislava - Rusovce were found several coins with Christ's monogram. Since the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century an influence of Rome and Roman provinces (Pannonia) had a declining tendency in our territory because of a large migration of European ethnics. Migration period resulted in significant ethnic changes in our area. From the 5<sup>th</sup> century the dominant ethnic group in the territory of Slovakia was gradually becoming the Slavs.<sup>4</sup> Slavic tribes, settled in Pannonia, have adopted some Christian knowledge from the residues of Roman and Romanized population. Archaeological finds document it by changes in the way of burying the dead. Avars occupation in our territory caused the almost complete eclipse of Christian culture. Since the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century Christian missionary circles in the West began Christianization of Slavs. One of the supposed Christianizing streams was the activity of Irish and Scottish missionaries, which is in Slovakia indicated by isolated finds of material culture<sup>5</sup>. Christianization process was accelerated after Franks - Avars wars, when in the summer of 796 a synod was held at an unknown place near the banks of the Danube (*ad ripas Danubii*), where the bishops discussed the problems of the Christianization of Slavic and Avar population.<sup>6</sup> A crucial role in our geographic area had the Archbishopric of Salzburg, led by Bishop Arno, a follower of Charlemagne and the Bishopric of Passau.<sup>7</sup> In the 9<sup>th</sup> century the western Christianization stream got in relation with the newly-constituted state of West Slavs<sup>8</sup> - Great Moravia. Interests and influence of Frankish rulers and church officials, promoted by the spread of Christianity north of the Danube, were gradually changing due to the strengthening of the position of early-medieval Great Moravia. Main stream of Christianization from the West „*via Metz – Aachen and Salzburg – Passau*”,<sup>9</sup> represented by Frankish - Germanic priests met the interests of the Christianization from the East (Constantinople). During the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when we record a huge cultural, religious and political growth of the Great Moravia, two liturgies and two liturgical languages existed and were used in our territory. Latin liturgy and Latin liturgical singing was promoted by Frankish priests especially in the higher social classes. The local population did not find the ceremonies in foreign languages very popular, as evidenced by a statement from the Synod of Mainz in 852 that Christianity in Great Moravia is still rough<sup>10</sup>. In the mission areas, hence the Slovak territory were used only reduced extracts from Latin sacramentaries, so called „*libelli missae*”. They

<sup>2</sup> RATKOŠ, Peter: Kristianizácia Veľkej Moravy pred misiou Cyrila a Metoda. In *Historický časopis* XIX/1. Bratislava 1971, p. 71 – 83.

<sup>3</sup> PICHLEROVÁ, Marta: *Gerulata Rusovce*. Rímske pohrebisko II. Bratislava 1981.

<sup>4</sup> KOVÁČ, Dušan a kol.: *Dejiny Slovenska*. Praha 1998.

<sup>5</sup> RUTTKAY, Andrej: Počiatky kresťanskej sakrálnej architektúry v archeologických nálezoch. In *Pamiatky a múzeá* 4. Bratislava 1995, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> RATKOŠ, Peter: *Pramene k dejinám Veľkej Moravy*. Bratislava 1964, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: Hudobnokultúrna problematika Veľkej Moravy. In *Hudobný archív* 4. Martin 1981, p. 27-30.

<sup>8</sup> RATKOŠ *Pramene k dejinám Veľkej Moravy*. p. 72, pozn. 11. ČAPLOVIČ, Dušan: *Včasnostredoveké osídlenie Slovenska*. Bratislava 1998, p. 27

<sup>9</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: Hudobnokultúrna problematika Veľkej Moravy. In *Hudobný archív* 4. Martin 1981, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> VAVŘÍNEK, Vladimír: *Cirkevní misie v dějinách Velké Moravy*. Praha 1963, p. 42 – 43.

were minor liturgical books, which had been prepared in accordance with the specific pastoral needs of the country where the mission took place.<sup>11</sup> Music during celebration of worships was probably more simple and modest. The second used liturgy in our territory was the Slavic liturgy. The Slavic liturgy and liturgical singing in the Great Moravian period exist in a much narrower time-space as a Latin chant. More massive use of the Slavonic liturgy dates back to 869, when Pope Adrian II consents to serving the liturgy in the Slavonic language. The pope's endorsement was applied in practice probably only after the return of Methodius from the Ellwangen prison in 873, when he takes office in Moravian-Pannonia church province.<sup>12</sup> Questionable, however, is the geographic area where the Slavic liturgy was used. E.g. in Nitra, the seat of the Frankish priest and later a bishop Wiching the Latin liturgy was used. Svatopluk, the actual ruler of Great Moravia was in the papal bull *Industriae tuae* (880), issued by Pope John VIII guaranteed the possibility celebrate the liturgy in Latin, if it he desired so.<sup>13</sup> From the point of view of music and history interesting is an report from the Life of Constantine about the approval of the pope who formally authorized the use of the new Slavic liturgy in Roman churches in 869 "*When the Pope received Slavonic books, consecrated and placed them in the church of St. Mary, called Fatne and sang over them (holy) liturgy. Then he commanded two bishops Formosus and Gauderich to consecrate Slavic disciples and as soon as they were consecrated they sung liturgy in St. Peter's the Apostle cathedral in Slavonic language. And the next day they sang in the church of St. Petronilla. And on the third day they sang in the church of St. Andrew and then again in the temple of the great teacher of the world Apostle Paul and they were singing (hymns) in Slavic the whole night (and again in the morning) the liturgy over (his) holy grave and they had the assistance of a Bishop Arsenius, one of the seven bishops and a librarian Anastasius.*". The origin and structure of the Slavonic liturgy may be only assumed due to the absence of primary sources. Constantine and Methodius resorted first their own tradition but after arriving in Great Moravia later decided to translate the Western rite, while the important role played so called liturgy of St. Peter.<sup>14</sup> The oldest preserved liturgical manuscripts (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries), which to some extent can be considered a musical sources are so called *Kiev letters* (10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>) and *Nitra Codex* (12<sup>th</sup> century). Both these liturgical sources contain lesson signs to guide the intonation of liturgical texts recitation. Therefore, manuscripts are not directly notated materials that would contain neumatic notational system but contain ecfonetic signs.

Despite records of the Synod in Mainz 3<sup>rd</sup> Oct 852 that Christianity in Great Moravia is rough, not profited, or not developed<sup>16</sup> we cannot say with certainty what liturgical acts were performed in the Great Moravia basilicas. One can only assume that in the main centres of Great Moravia were ceremonies performed according to relationship of a ruler to Frankish or Byzantine Empire. This dualism influenced the orientation of religious institutions in Great Moravia. Position of Latin culture in Pannonia during the reign of Pribina can be seen in a file „*Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*” (The Conversion of the Bavarians and Carinthians), where the Archbishops of Salzburg Liupram and Adalwin built a large church organization and consecrated 32 churches.<sup>17</sup> In connection with the Church of Our Lady *Conversio* notes that the Archbishop of Salzburg allowed Pribina's priest Dominic sing a mass „*litentiam concessid in sua diecesi missam canendi*” in his diocese.<sup>18</sup> Concerning the Pannonia fortress Mosaburg there is the donation deed which mentions notated codices and is connected with the history of our territory. According to it, in 903 a chorepiscopus Madalwin, subject to the Passau jurisdiction, takes away the Mosaburg library. Among the manuscripts were also „*bene notati*” books. This is a contract between Madalwin and a Passau

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<sup>11</sup> DVORNÍK, František: *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*. Praha 1970, p.125. Časť „*libelli missae*” predstavuje podľa mienky bádateľov aj zlomok *Kyjevských listov*.

<sup>12</sup> MARSINA, Richard: Štúdie k slovenskému diplomatáru I. In *Historické štúdie XVI*. Bratislava 1971, p. 46 – 47.

<sup>13</sup> MARSINA, Richard: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae I*. Bratislava 1971, p. 25. „*Et si tibi et iudicibus tuis missas Latina lingua magis audire, precepimus, ut Latine missarum tibi solemnna celebrantur.*”

<sup>14</sup> VAŠICA, Josef: Slavische Petrusliturgie. In *Anfänge der Slavischen Musik*. Bratislava 1966, p. 23 – 34.

<sup>15</sup> KOVÁNR. *Kronika Slovenska*. p. 104.

<sup>16</sup> ČAPLOVINR. *Včasnostredoveké osídlenie* p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> RATKOŠ. *Pramene k dejinám Veľkej Moravy*. p. 402 – 405.

<sup>18</sup> RYBARINR. *Hudobnokultúrna problematika*. p. 17.

Bishop Burkhart, whereby Madalwin in exchange gives nominal assets, as well as 56 books of spiritual and secular content.

Despite the lack of primary sources that could give us an idea about the religious life in our country by the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century, it can be stated that Christianizing mission and cultural - historical significance of Great Moravia were undeniable factors that influenced the life of medieval man. The presence of the main musical element, Latin chant, can be assumed even after the fall of Great Moravia. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, there is a certain cultural - religious - historical vacuum in our territory, which lasted until the creation of religious institutions of Arpad Hungary

The process of Christianization of Hungarian population was influenced by several streams. Hungarian tribes had faced Christianity in southern Russia, later acquainted with it under the influence of domestic Slavic population (from Greece - Eastern rite) and through missionaries from Germany (Latin liturgy). Legendary Hungarian chieftains Bulcsu and Gyula of Transylvania received the baptism in Constantinople and brought with them a Greek priest Hierotheos (missionary bishop<sup>19</sup>). In the 10<sup>th</sup> century there were established several Greek monasteries (Oroszlámos - male monastery and a women convent in Veszprém). Greater influence among the Hungarian population was gradually gaining Christianity stream from the west. After the defeat of the Hungarians in Lech in 955 German missionaries, sent by Passau Bishop Pilgrim, were emerging the territory of the establishing Hungarian State at the request of the Hungarian princes. According to a legend, Prince Géza is also baptized (972-997). The process of Christianization was greatly affected by the Prague bishop St. Adalbert, who himself or via his missionaries baptized (maybe only confirmed) Géza's son Vajk - the future King St. Stephen I. Probably on the initiative of St. Adalbert Geza established a Benedictine monastery in Pannonhalma. To a newly established Abbey Bakonybél came certain Günther from Bavaria with relatives Walther, Ulrich and others. Probably also in other newly established monasteries the first monks were Germans. Bonipert, the first bishop of Pécs, Georg - an Archbishop of Kalocsa, Lieduinus - a Bishop in Bihar came to Hungary from Wallonia, Flanders and the French territory. St. Gerhard and his companions came from Italy.

Upper Hungary, as a new medieval state formation, was formed in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Stephen I, the first Hungarian king created a new Hungarian religious organization. Around 1000 he based Archbishopric in Esztergom with 10 dioceses (Kalocsa, Eger, Vác, Győr, Pécs, Veszprém, Csanád, Várad, Székesfehérvár). The first archbishop became a friend of St. Adalbert, an abbot of the Břevnov monastery Anastasius (Astriek Radla), who stayed in Hungary when St. Adalbert along with ten fellows left for Poland. During his reign St. Stephen supported the establishment of monasteries, parishes, schools, appointed bishops, issued the Book of Laws, which formed the basis of government and guaranteed the freedom of the Church.<sup>21</sup> During the reign of King Koloman I (1095 - 1116) was in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century reorganized and restored the former Bishopric of Nitra, which was in the territory of today's north-western Slovakia and central Považie<sup>22</sup> and the Bratislava Provostry is established at the same time. It was recorded as „*maior prepositura*”<sup>23</sup> in the Book of Laws of King Koloman I. In the late 12<sup>th</sup> century was established the Spiš Provosty on the north. Both provostries belonged to the Archdiocese of Esztergom. Dioceses were divided into archidiaconates (Šaštín, Trenčín, Hont, Gemer, Novohrad, Komárno), where belonged large parishes (so called great-parish organization).<sup>24</sup> Most of the pastoral work was carried out by monasteries. The canonical election took place at the archbishop of Esztergom, or a bishop or a prepositure. Archbishop of Esztergom was elected by the Esztergom chapter with suffragan bishops and a candidate was approved by a ruler and endorsed by the Holy See. Bishops were elected by a Chapter (with a ruler's approval and papal endorsement). The Spiš provost was approved by the Chapter and endorsed by the Archbishop of Esztergom. Monastic abbots and provosts were approved by a convent (chapter), endorsed by the king, the archbishop of Esztergom

<sup>19</sup> SZIGETI, Kilián: Denkmäler des Gregorianischen Choralp. In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4. Budapest : MTA Zeneudományi Intézet, 1963, p. 129 – 172.

<sup>20</sup> MARSINA, Richard: Nitrianske biskupstvo a jeho biskupi od 9. do polovica 13. storočia. In *Historický časopis* 41/5–6. Bratislava 1993, p. 530 – 540.

<sup>21</sup> ŠPIRKO, Július: Cirkevné dejiny I. Martin 1943, p. 236 – 237.

<sup>22</sup> MARSINA, Richard: Nitrianske biskupstvo a jeho biskupi od 9. do polovica 13. storočia. In *Historický časopis* 41/5–6. Bratislava 1993, p. 537.

<sup>23</sup> OSLANSKÝ, František: Cirkev v stredovekej Bratislave. In *Historický časopis* 41/2. Bratislava 1993, p. 114.

<sup>24</sup> ŠPIRKO, Július: *Cirkevné dejiny I.* Turčiansky sv. Martin 1943, p. 364 – 365.

and sometimes even the Pope. Canons were appointed by the archbishop, bishop or provost. Cities had the right to vote a pastor.

In Hungary was in the early Christianization process used the “*Carolingian liturgy*“.<sup>25</sup> It was the liturgy used in the entire Carolingians Empire and its cultural environment. In addition to the secular clergy it was used with amendments by the Dominicans, Carmelites and Premonstratensians. During the 12<sup>th</sup> the liturgy of the papal curia, so called curial („*liturgia secundum ordinem Curiae Romanae*“) came to the fore beside the Carolingian liturgy. In 1241 Pope Gregory IX introduced it for use by the Franciscans with little modification and in 1244 Pope Innocent IV introduced it for the Augustinians. A third kind of liturgical book was a monastic breviary, respectively antiphonary, according to the rules of St. Benedict. In addition to the Benedictines they were used with little nuances also Carthusians and Cistercians. These three liturgies were used in Hungary until the “*Trnava Synod*” in 1630, where the Archbishop Pázmány proposed the use of Roman liturgical books.

## 2. 2. *Scriptors and Medieval Sources Scriptoria from the Territory of Slovakia*

The first flowering of culture and education in the territory of medieval Slovakia has been recorded in times of Great Moravia (9<sup>th</sup> century). Byzantine mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius provided the Slavic population with number of new religious and cultural impulses. The Slavonic population met the Christianity earlier before (German missionaries). At the time of constitution of our first state formation, the pagan customs and religion dominated our territory. The massive process of Christianization of population began after the arrival of the mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius at the invitation of the Prince Rastislav, when Christianity was received firstly by ruling class in society. In addition to the Byzantine mission and activities of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, activities of German priests and missionaries intensified (Latin liturgy) in our area in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After the decline of the Great Moravia a period of disruption of the development of culture and art begins in our country.

Another period of development of education occurs at the time of inclusion of the territory of Slovakia into the emerging Hungarian State during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Benedictine convents in Zobor and Hronský Beňadik, along with the Nitra Chapter belonged to the first publishers of documents besides the Esztergom chapter (i.e. there were in the first scribal workshops).<sup>26</sup> For the development of the scribal work a decree of Stephen I on the formation of parish churches was certainly of great importance. Concerned bishops were responsible for liturgical books in these churches.

Besides the newly founded monasteries the centres of education and religious life were also chapter and diocesan centres and major Hungarian cities. Probably the oldest Hungarian chapter scriptorium existed in Esztergom, which was the main centre of new cultural influences, which were coming from western countries (mainly Germany, France and Italy) to Hungary.

Activity of many scribal workshops can be expected as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At the time of the Mongol invasion many of books, liturgical aids and notated codices probably from this period were destroyed. Only a small number of notated sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> century have been preserved in Slovakia.

### 2. 2. 1. *Chapter and Town Scriptoria in Medieval Slovakia*

Several chapters, which have become centres of religious, cultural and educational life, existed on the territory of Slovakia within the church organization and hierarchy in the middle ages. Centres of musical life with favourable opportunities for the emergence and development of scribal workshops were collegiate chapter in Bratislava, Spiš Chapter, in Nové Mesto nad Váhom (Augustinians), seat chapter in Nitra, Trnava, etc. In the first scriptoria were made mostly liturgical books (regulations of the first rulers St. Stephen and Koloman).<sup>27</sup> The oldest written reference from our territory to the church provided with liturgical books is from 1156 from the village Bratka (Tekov). It is a document of the Esztergom archbishop Martirius, issued on the occasion of the ordination of the church, commissioned by certain Eusidinus.<sup>28</sup> Secular donor took care not only about the physical facilities of

<sup>25</sup> SZIGETI. *Denkmäler*. p. 129 – 172.

<sup>26</sup> SOPKO, Júliup. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1981, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 8.

<sup>28</sup> MARSINA. *Codex diplomaticus* I. nr. 82, p. 79 – 80.

the church but also the liturgical books.<sup>29</sup> Many of the Hungarian Chapters had the function of authoritative places (Bratislava, Nitra and Spiš chapter). Near were built the libraries that served the liturgical needs, the development of school education and also practical work (legal codices, issuance of documents).

One of the most important scribal workshops that existed in medieval Hungary at the institution of the chapter was the Bratislava chapter workshop. In the middle ages the Bratislava Chapter belonged to the most important religious institutions in the territory of today's Slovakia. We do not know exactly when it was established, but it is mentioned during the reign of Koloman (1095 - 1116) in the royal decrees<sup>30</sup>. The oldest manuscripts of the Bratislava Chapter were probably destroyed during the invasion of Ottokar II of Bohemia (1271 - 1273), as almost no codices have been preserved from the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (except for the *Pray Codex*,<sup>31</sup> part of the *Bible* from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Bratislava missal I* and several fragments, which are now kept in the Bratislava City Archive).<sup>32</sup> From the scribal workshop of the Bratislava Chapter is a group of codices from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Clmae 209, 220 and 225. In the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century four anonymous scribes and a Bratislava canon Václav Ganoys rewrote a missal that was decorated by two other illuminators. During 1330 - 1340 an anonymous Bratislava scribe rewrote another illuminated missal.<sup>33</sup> From the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1377) has been preserved the Missal of Henrik, called Stephen from Westphalia, who wrote, bound and also illuminated the codex.<sup>34</sup> At the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries Michal from Trnava who was a Bratislava Chapter canon during 1381 - 1403 works in Bratislava as an illuminator.<sup>35</sup> According to Sopko, he is the author of two *missals* (No. 33: it is missing and Clmae 222). Activity of the Bratislava scribes is undeniable also in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Period of greatest expansion of cultural activities in the chapter according to Juraj Šedivý was a period of provost Juraj Schomberg and Academia Istropolitana.<sup>36</sup> The town priest and canon Jan Han and private donors from Bratislava (a townsman Pottenberger, widows Listová and Rosenthalová) initiated great scribal activity in 70's and 80's of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A group of codices, which are still a representative component of musical material from medieval Hungary (*Bratislava Antiphonaries Ila and Iib*<sup>37</sup>) were created under the influence of the Austrian book painting in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Bratislava. In case of Bratislava it is very strange that with the exception of the oldest manuscripts of the Bratislava Chapter (Esztergom notation – the *Pray codex*, the *Bratislava Missal I*) the development of music palaeography of Bratislava scriptorium notated manuscripts went in a different direction in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. Notated manuscripts and fragments of the former Bratislava Chapter library from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries were in fact for nearly 200 years notated mostly with the Messine - gothic or Bohemian notation (the *Bratislava Missal " H "* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine – Gothic notation, the *Bratislava travel Missal* from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine - Gothic notation, the *Bratislava Missal VI* from 1403 with the Messine - Gothic notation, the around 1430 with the Bohemian notation, the *Psalter* before 1419 with the Bohemian notation and *Bratislava antiphonaries I, II, IV* from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine - Gothic notation, the *Bratislava Missal " G "* from 1488 with the Messine - Gothic notation) . One can indeed allow the possibility that the extemporaneous production of new liturgical books for Bratislava a century earlier, there could work a notator, trained in the Esztergom scribal workshop. Much more likely, however, is the possibility that the production of liturgical manuscripts in the Bratislava Chapter scriptorium started up around the 30's of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (the *Bratislava Missal " H "* comes from about this period). The second most important system of medieval Bratislava is surprisingly the Bohemian

<sup>29</sup> „... plenarium unum deauratum, missale unum, nocturnale unum, psalterium unum, graduale unum“. MARSINA. *Codex diplomaticus I*. p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Skriptorium Bratislavskej kapituly – písmo rukopisov zo 14. – 15. storočia. In *Pamiatky a múzeá I*. Bratislava 2003, p. 10 – 13.

<sup>31</sup> HULKOVÁ, Marta: Prayov kódex. In *Pamiatky a múzeá 4*. Bratislava 1999, p. 52 – 53.

<sup>32</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Skriptorium Bratislavskej kapituly. p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> KUZMÍK, Jozef: *Knižná kultúra na Slovensku v stredoveku a renesancii*. Martin 1987, p. 36.

<sup>34</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982, nr. 400.

<sup>35</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: Skriptorium Bratislavskej kapituly. p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> BURAN, Dušan: Antifonár kanonika Jana Hana, misál knižnice Battyaneum a iluminované rukopisy Bratislavskej kapituly na sklonku 15. storočia. In *Galéria – Ročenka SNG 2000*, p. 45 – 66.

notation. This notational system is used in several codices of Bratislava Chapter (Bratislava Missal " D, the *Missal of canon Blasius* from 1419, the *Bratislava Antiphonary V*<sup>38</sup>) and a large number of fragments from archive institutions around Slovakia (Bratislava, Kežmarok, Kremnica, Modra, Trenčín). The Esztergom notational system is almost completely disappearing in the source base of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and especially from the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Bratislava.

From the Spiš Chapter medieval library only materials in fragments have been preserved. Information about its book collection is found in the testament of provost Mutimír from 1273, in which he willed all his books to the St. Martin's cathedral. Among the manuscripts are for example collections of canon law, theology books and a passion.<sup>39</sup> The library was enhanced and developed by provost Ján and provost Stock. Own scribal activities of the Spiš Chapter are documented in work of the Spiš canon Pavol Benedikti (around 1357), who created a *breviary (Liber diurnialis cum necrologio)*<sup>40</sup> and also the *Spiš Gradual of Juraj from Kežmarok* and the *Spiš Antiphonary* from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to chapter and monastic scriptoria existed also non-professional scriptoria in medieval Hungary. Cathedrals in important Hungarian cities had amateur scribes, so called cathedral scribes called „*Stuhlschreiber*“.<sup>41</sup> In the Bardejov town hall records survived several names of scribes who were active in this city. From the early 15<sup>th</sup> century is familiar a name of Bardejov scribe *Christian*. Certain *Joannes* made a gradual for St. Egidius cathedral in Bardejov in 1435 - 1437. From the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century names of two scribes are known *Jakob* and *Gregorius*. Similar records are preserved in the eastern Slovakia town Prešov. In 1447 the city of Prešov ordered one missal at a scribe *Michal*. About 20 years later the name of a scribe *Nicolaus* has been preserved. The most significant was *Balthasar*, who in 1493 - 1494 worked on preparation of the antiphonary from St. Egidius cathedral in Bardejov.<sup>42</sup> In the eastern Slovakia is also known name of a scribe *Georg Hänckel* from Prešov, who was a member of the rich and famous family. He worked for towns Spišská Nová Ves and Košice.<sup>43</sup> An interesting is a detail from 1457 – 1458 of the medieval use of paper and parchment in Bratislava. In this city paper was imported for a total of 278.50 golden guldens and parchment for 21 guldens (customs tariff was - 2 groschen for 2 sheets).<sup>44</sup>

In particular chapters chapter schools existed where music and singing was taught. According to rules a *cantor canonicus* who led the chorus in singing psalms also took care of singing. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century this function was performed by a *sukcentor*, who was also a teacher of singing and music. He rehearsed songs for special occasions and celebrations with children.<sup>45</sup> Different foundations and societies contributed on handling offices and masses. One of them, at the Spiš Chapter, was founded by Hedviga, a widow of Štefan Zápoľský, and her sons. The Chapter had this foundation to sustain 5-6 chaplains and 4 pupils, who were supposed to sing at masses and the anniversary of the death of her husband.

In many towns book complexes existed at churches (e.g. Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Bardejov, Kremnica, Košice, Levoča, Spiš towns – Spišská Sobota, Spišské Vlachy, Poprad, Odorín, Vrbové, Spišská Belá etc.).

It can be expected that in medieval Bratislava all parishes had their own library (besides the main parish office at the Cathedral of St. Martin<sup>46</sup> it was the parish office at the church of St. Lawrence<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *Bratislavský antifonár V*, UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ, Slovenská národná knižnica Martin 2007.

<sup>39</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982, nr. 307.

<sup>41</sup> SZIGETI. *Denkmäler*. p. 160 – 161.

<sup>42</sup> Zachoval sa jeho list pre bardejovskú mestskú radu. Hovorí v ňom, že na žiadosť bardejovského farára mal tento Baltazár notovať v Prešove práve napísaný antifonár pre bardejovský chrám. Tento antifonár však má podľa neho veľa chýb a chýbajú mu i niektoré oficiá, ktoré pôvodný kódex z Prešova, z ktorého bol antifonár odpisovaný, mal. V liste ďalej žiada o peniaze pre iluminátora. ÁBEL, J.: *Die Geschichte der Bibliothek der Bartfelder St. Aegidius – Kirche*. Budapest 1885, p. 46.

<sup>43</sup> SZIGETI. *Denkmäler*. p. 161.

<sup>44</sup> ORTVAY, Theodor. *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*. Zv. II/4. Pozsony 1894, p. 353.

<sup>45</sup> ZAGIBA, František. *Dejiny slovenskej hudby od najstarších čias až do reformácie*. Bratislava 1943, p. 65.

<sup>46</sup> ORTVAY, Theodor: *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*. Zv. I. Pozsony 1892, p. 173.

<sup>47</sup> ORTVAY, Theodor: *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*. Zv. II/4. Pozsony 1894, p. 497 – 514.

and St. Michal), schools, town halls and spiritual fraternities (besides the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi the Brotherhood of Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Sebastian were in Bratislava). „*Academia Istopolitana*” also had a library.<sup>48</sup> It’s image is difficult to reconstruct because part of the manuscript texts were taken by lecturers (some were members of the Order of Dominicans)<sup>49</sup> after leaving the university. In an urban environment existed also private book funds (Mikuláš Pachrad - 1439 and Gašpar Romero - 1515), and was one of the richest was a manuscripts collection of Bratislava notary Liebhard Egkenfelder in 1441-1456 (37 codices, 17 of which were his own scribal work).<sup>50</sup> In addition to the Bible, rhetoric, and dogmatic codices, part of the collection was a small group of philosophical, legal, medical, historical documents and two liturgical codices: a hymnal book and a notated gradual.<sup>51</sup> After his death his books were distributed to various institutions and a chant book from his collection got the monastery in Marianka.

Important position among urban cultural centers had also medieval Levoča.<sup>52</sup> It shows a preserved collection of manuscripts, while the owners of codices were not only private persons (collectors) but also Levoča churches and chapels.<sup>53</sup> Preserved were for example ownership records of St. James cathedral (8),<sup>54</sup> the spital church with the altar of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine (12) and the church of St. Elizabeth (5). In Levoča were preserved guilds statutes from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which organized music in town and according to them was paid a cantor and those who sang chants along with the priests on the choir loft.

In the various religious centers and major cities were built libraries that often contained considerable number of books in the high middle ages (the Bratislava chapter had 83 codices in 1425,<sup>55</sup> in Bardejov 9 missals, 6 psalters, 4 graduals, 3 antiphonaries were registered at the church of St. Egídius in 1460, according to census in 1604, 160 manuscript books,<sup>56</sup> incunabula and old prints were in Košice, 3 antiphonaries, 2 graduals, 2 specials, 3 hymnals are mentioned in Trnava in 1495).<sup>57</sup> In 1435 - 1437 Bardejov paid 28 ducats for preparing a gradual and in 1493-1495 paid an unfamiliar Prešov scribe 105 florins.<sup>58</sup> A fraternity of 24 priests from Spiš towns had its own book collection with a commission responsible for administering a library, and the ownership library records are preserved in 11 codices and two incunabula. In the Middle Ages central Slovakia mining town, especially Banská Bystrica,<sup>59</sup> Banská Štiavnica and Kremnica were important centers of culture and education. Admirable book collections were owned by Renaissance scholars, for example notary Baltazár Steck in Banská Štiavnica (1478 - 1522), humanist scholar Ján Dernschwam in Banská Bystrica (half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>60</sup> In Kremnica there was probably one of the oldest Latin schools in our area,<sup>61</sup> and also thanks to the study contacts was in Kremnica established a manuscript file, which now has 26 volumes.

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<sup>48</sup> JANKOVIČ, Vendelín: Stredoveká Bratislavská univerzita vo svetle nových prameňov. In *Historický časopis*, ročník 40, nr. 2. Bratislava 1992, p. 145 – 170.

<sup>49</sup> FRIMMOVÁ, Eva: Podiel dominikánov na kultúrnom vývoji v Bratislave v druhej pol. 15. storočia. In *Dejiny a kultúra rehoľných komunití na Slovensku*. Trnava 1994, p. 181 – 182.

<sup>50</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> ORTVAY. *Geschichte* II/4. p. 356 – 360.

<sup>52</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 11.

<sup>53</sup> SELECKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveká levočská knižnica*. Martin 1974. Kódexy z Levoče sú súčasťou v poradí druhého súpisu Júliusa Sopka: SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982.

<sup>54</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> SOPKO, Súpis knih bratislavskej kapitulskej knižnice z r. 1425. In *Slovenská archivistika IV*. Bratislava 1969, p. 83 – 103.

<sup>56</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 13. 26. Časové vrstvy fondu sa však nedajú presne určiť.

<sup>57</sup> KAČIC, Ladislav: Od stredoveku po renesanciu. In *Dejiny slovenskej hudby* (ed. Oskár Elschek). Bratislava 1986, p. 58.

<sup>58</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 14.

<sup>59</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 1981, nr. 1.

<sup>60</sup> HULKOVÁ, Marta: Hudobniny v knižnici Johanna Dernschwama. In *Banská Bystrica – Osobnosti v dejinách mesta. Historicko – etnologické štúdie II*. Banská Bystrica 2001, p. 91 – 102.

<sup>61</sup> LAMOŠ, Teodor: *Vznik a počiatky mesta Kremnice*. Bratislava 1969, p. 224.

### 2. 2. 2. Medieval Monastic Scriptoria in Slovakia

Various types of medieval notation can be found in the codices and fragments from Slovak territory are. The earliest sources of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries are notated with to Slovakia imported German adiaematic neume notation. They reflect the main church impact of the given period. It can be assumed that they were imported to Slovakia from German or French environment, or were possibly written in a Hungarian Benedictine monastery. We expect a developed scribal activity in the upper Hungary monasteries, especially Zobor convent - St. Hypolite Abbey on Zobor near Nitra (880)<sup>62</sup> and the monastery in Hronský Beňadik - St. Benedict Abbey (1075).<sup>63</sup> From Zobor monastery is a document with the name of the first teacher Valter in it, who probably at the invitation of Bishop Gerhard left for Csanád in 1030s, where he taught grammar and music at the chapter school (*lectura et cantus*)<sup>64</sup>. With the two Benedictine monasteries is also connected one of the earliest notated work of the Hungarian provenance the *Pray codex*. According to László Mezey it was made for the Benedictine monastery in Jánošovce /today Rimavské Janovce/<sup>65</sup>. On the basis of the record from 1203 (*Monasterium b. Iohannis Baptistae comburitur iuxta Buldvam situm*) a historian Peter Ratkoš presumes that the codex was probably also used in Jasov Monastery. According to Sopko the *Nitra Evangelary*<sup>66</sup>, which is our oldest surviving manuscript (turn of 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Benedictine scriptorium) was made for the Benedictine monastery in Hronský Beňadik. There haven't been preserved records about the scribal activity in other Benedictine monasteries<sup>67</sup> in the territory of Slovakia (Bíňa - 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>68</sup>, Deákovce - 1228, Ilija near Banská Štiavnica, Jánošovce – the St. John the Baptist Abbey, Klíž – The Blessed Virgin Mary Abbey - the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Lekír /today Hronovce/ - since 1340 the Holy Redeemer Abbey, Ludanice - St. Cosmas and Damian Abbey founded at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Pohranice near Nitra – the Blessed Virgin Mary Abbey - since 1075, Skalka near Trenčín - St. Benedict Abbey, since 1224, St. Cross over Hron Abbey – ceased to exist after the Battle of Mohács, in Hrabkov - St. Spirit Abbey - Benedictines have abandoned before 1333, in Krásna near Košice – The Blessed Virgin Mary Abbey - founded in 1143 during the reign of Géza II<sup>69</sup> and in Trnava). One of the few exceptions is a monastery in Štôla under the Tatras – The Blessed Virgin Mary Abbey (founded in 1314),<sup>70</sup> which was an affiliate of the abbey in St. Beňadik. In 1410, Peter, a member of the monastery wrote and illuminated the codex with the work of Malogranat, an unknown Zbraslav monk.<sup>71</sup> There are no records about the notating activity of this monastery.

The Premonstratensian monasteries in Jasov (second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a provostry – around 1220<sup>72</sup>), in Leles (late 12<sup>th</sup> century, 1214<sup>73</sup>) and in Kláštor pod Znievom in Turiec have become credible places (*loca credibilia*)<sup>74</sup> at least in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Other monasteries and convents were

<sup>62</sup> MARSINA, Richard: Nitra vo včasnom a vrcholnom stredoveku. In Nitra. Bratislava 1977, p. 31 – 32. SOPKO, Július: Skriptori a skriptoriá kláštorov na Slovensku. In *Dejiny a kultúra rehoľných komunit na Slovensku*. Trnava 1994, p. 85 – 96. HODÁL, Juraj: Staré benediktínske kláštory na Slovensku. In *Katolícke Slovensko*. Trnava 1933, p. 170 – 177.

<sup>63</sup> FUXHOFFER, Damianus: Benedictini Pannonii monasteriologiae regni Hungariae libri duo totidem tomis comprehensi. Tomus I – II. Pestini 1858 – 1860, p. 193, 217.

<sup>64</sup> SOPKO. Skriptori a skriptoriá. p. 86.

<sup>65</sup> MEZEY, László: A Pray kódex keletkezése. In *Magyar Könyvszemle* 87, nr. 2 – 3. Budapest 1971, p. 109 – 123.

<sup>66</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 1981. p. 6, nr. 195. Faksimilové vydanie: *Nitriansky kódex*. SOPKO, Július – VALACH Július (ed.). Martin 1987.

<sup>67</sup> HODÁL. p. 170 – 177.

<sup>68</sup> KOVÁNR. *Kronika Slovenska I*. p. 120.

<sup>69</sup> KOVÁNR. *Kronika Slovenska I*. p. 120.

<sup>70</sup> SLIVKA, Michal: Eremitické, kontemplatívne a žobravé rády. In *Archeologia historica*, 10, 1981, p. 343.

<sup>71</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 8 – 10.

<sup>72</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 8. *Štátny Slovenský ústredný archív v Bratislave. Sprievodca po archívnych fondoch I*. Oddelenie feudalizmu. Spracovali: SEDLÁK, František – ŽUDEL, Juraj – PALKO, František. Bratislava 1964, p. 329. FEJÉR, György: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae IV/ 2*, p. 299.

<sup>73</sup> *Štátny Slovenský ústredný archív v Bratislave I*. p. 333. MARSINA. *Codex diplomaticus I*. nr. 190, p. 144 – 150.

<sup>74</sup> MARSINA, Richard: Vývoj listinného písma v stredoveku na Slovensku. In *Slovenská archivistika*, 1991, p. 26.

founded in Bzovík (around 1130<sup>75</sup>), in Šahy (turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries), Bína (13<sup>th</sup> century), in Myšľa (late 13<sup>th</sup> century) and the prepositure of St. Eustach in Žitný Ostrov<sup>76</sup>. The breviary<sup>77</sup>, written after 1389 in Jasov<sup>78</sup> has been preserved from Jasov monastery. The ornamentation system of the codex is under strong influence of the Bohemian illuminating school according to Sopko.

Rich scribal activity can be presumed also in the Dominican convent<sup>79</sup> in Košice<sup>80</sup>. From the late 50s of the 15<sup>th</sup> century are also 3 liturgical manuscripts – missals, which originated in the Košice Dominican scriptorium.<sup>81</sup>

Banská Štiavnica Dominicans had also favourable conditions for scribal activity.<sup>82</sup> Július Sopko believes that the vast majority of the preserved part of the Banská Štiavnica parish library inventory (when Šimon Kecko took over the parish in 1504), as well as the Kremnica collection of manuscripts,<sup>83</sup> comes from scribal activity of members of Banská Štiavnica Dominican order. However, in both cases the liturgical notated codices have not been preserved. Despite this fact, it is likely that the fragments with square notation, which have been preserved in the Banská Štiavnica, could come from the Dominican scriptorium (possibly from Kremnica Franciscan convent). Dominican monasteries in Slovakia were also founded in Gelnica (1288), in Trnava (1303), in Brehov and in Komárno.<sup>84</sup> Although there is not direct information about the scribal activity of these Dominican monasteries, it can be assumed that a scribal workshop could have existed at least in Trnava.

The Franciscan order monasteries belonged to the oldest ones in our territory. Franciscans settled in Slovakia already during the life of their founder St. Francis of Assisi around 1220.<sup>85</sup> Their first monasteries were in Trnava (1238), in Nitra (1248), in Okoličné (it was founded by Zvolen district governor, a knight Donč in 1314),<sup>86</sup> in Bratislava (1397), in Čachtice – later in Beckov, in Skalica (1467), in Kremnica, in Levoča (end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), in Trenčín, in Hlohovec, in Filákov, in Vranov. Poor Clares convent was built in Trnava in 1239, in Bratislava and Kežmarok in 1292. From 1454 has been preserved the regulation of father Fabian de Igál, a Franciscan provincial superior. In this constitution he obliges brothers to diligently cultivate choral singing.<sup>87</sup> We have only mediated information about the used liturgical books of the Franciscan convent in Bratislava (complete codices have not been preserved, Franciscan scribal activity is evidenced only in notated fragments without clear provenance classification)<sup>88</sup>.

Significant scribal centres in Slovak territory were also Spiš Carthusian monasteries in Lechnica – so called Červený kláštor (since 1319<sup>89</sup>) and in Skala Útočišťa (Lapis refugii, Letanovce – today Kláštorisko in Slovenský raj, since 1305 – 1307<sup>90</sup>). Direct data on their scribal activity are documented

<sup>75</sup> KOVÁNR. *Kronika Slovenska I*. p. 120.

<sup>76</sup> *Štátny Slovenský ústredný archív v Bratislave I*. p. 327.

<sup>77</sup> *Katolícke Slovensko*. Trnava 1933, p. 180. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy* 1982. Univerzitná knižnica Budapešť, *Jasovský breviár*, Cod. Lat. 36.

<sup>78</sup> SOPKO. *Skriptori a skriptoriá*. p. 87.

<sup>79</sup> HODÁL, Juraj: Rád sv. Dominika. In *Katolícke Slovensko*. Trnava 1933, p. 182.

<sup>80</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy stredoslovenských banských miest*. In *Historické štúdie XIX*. Bratislava 1974, p. 151.

<sup>81</sup> Romania, Library Batthyaneum Alba Iulia (Sign. 23, 24, 25). SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy II*, 1982.

<sup>82</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 23.

<sup>83</sup> SOPKO. *Kódexy stredoslovenských banských miest*. p. 149–179.

<sup>84</sup> *Katolícke Slovensko*. Trnava 1933, p. 182 – 183.

<sup>85</sup> OREL, Dobroslav: *Hudební památky františkánske knihovny v Bratislavě*. Bratislava 1930, p. 8. ZAGIBA. p. 56.

<sup>86</sup> KULLA, Valerián: *Stručný prehľad dejín a pôsobenia františkánov na Slovensku*. In *Katolícke Slovensko*. Trnava 1933, p. 189 – 194.

<sup>87</sup> „... et si non potest cantari, legatur cum maxima devotione cum punctis“. p. 56.

<sup>88</sup> In Franciscan Library was in 1878 this manuscripts: 1. *Antiphonary* 15th century, black Notation (55 ff.); 2. *Breviarium* 15th century (218 ff.), Hungarian Officium; 3. *Diurnale* 16th century, Psalms, 1561; 4. *Expositio Psalmorum* 1445; 5. *Missale* – 1459 (175 ff.); 6. *Missale cum missis votivis* 14th century (9 ff. + 135 folios); 7. *Codex Manipulus Florum* 1380 prayer „Mária, matko má“. CSONTOSI, János: A pozsonyi sz. Ferencziek tartományi könyvtárának codexei. In *Magyar Könyvszemle*. Budapest 1878, p. 44 – 54.

<sup>89</sup> WAGNER, Carolus: *Analecta Scepusii sacri et prophani I*. Posonii 1777, p. 403 – 404.

<sup>90</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 7.

in the case of the monastery on Lapis refugii<sup>91</sup>. First members of the order came from the Austrian Seitz<sup>92</sup>. Carthusian prior Conrad is known, who renounced the rank of prior in 1310 to devote himself to scribal work. At the time of chant decline directed the members of the order to diligently cultivate choral singing and to write notes exactly to the rows and on rows<sup>93</sup>. According to the chronicler of the monastery two missals, a gradual, a collectary and obituaryum, which unfortunately have not preserved were made there. When a new monastery in Lechnica was founded in 1352 brothers from Skala útočišťa donated the monastery all liturgical books (*Martyrologium, Graduale, Antiphonale, Pasionale*)<sup>94</sup>. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century is known the name of the scribe Jodok of Vondrišiel (Telgárt), who made two antiphonaries and two graduals<sup>95</sup>. The Chronicle also states that both were written on paper. It is quite likely that one of the aforementioned graduals of Jodok of Vondrišiel (Telgárt) is the gradual Inc. B 238 from the Matica Slovenská fund<sup>96</sup>. It is notated with quadratic notation of the late 15<sup>th</sup> - early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Quite the damaged manuscript is unfortunately very hard to read even after its renovation. According to Sopko it was made in early 16<sup>th</sup> century and from this period also comes a proprietary record „*Lapis Refugii omni tempore. Si rapies librum, rapiat tua viscera corvus.*” Unfortunately there are no written records about Lechnice monastery scribes. Their activities cannot be doubted. Both monasteries were burned between 1430 – 1450 by Hussites and part of the library collections of both monasteries were likely to be burnt then as well.

Augustinians of eastern Slovakia, who had monasteries under Šariš Castle (around 1270), later in Hrabková and since the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Bardejov, have shown their scribal skills in two graduals, now deposited in the University Library in Budapest<sup>97</sup>. According to Sopko it is obvious that these codices come from Bardejov scriptorium. They got to Budapest after the suppression of orders by Joseph II similarly to other convent codices from Slovak territory. Cod. Lat. 34 provides guidance on the method of copying the notated liturgical books. It contains principles for writing the notated graduals, antiphonaries and other liturgical books, describing the system of quadratic notation, specifying the number of lines and alerts for accuracy of copying and position of notes with an appropriate text<sup>98</sup>. In western Slovakia they were in Nové Mesto nad Váhom, where in 1414 Ctibor of Ctiborice founded the provostry for them. 12 canons lived there with the provost Peter, and according to Zagiba this number could be evidence of fostering the Gregorian chant along the lines of time and order.<sup>99</sup> Concerning western Slovakia they were also present in St. Jur (1279).<sup>100</sup>

The Pauline order (in Slovak territory they had monasteries in Marianka near Bratislava since 1377,<sup>101</sup> in Lefantovce and Beckov since 1430) deserves special attention among all the Hungarian orders, because as the only order used the diocesan script in Hungary - *Esztergom notation*.<sup>102</sup> The order did not pay much attention to education of its members. Perhaps due to this fact it is possible to prove the existence of Esztergom notational system during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Even in this period of chant's decline Paulines strictly adhered to Esztergom notation system. Preserved codices of this order document in every detail (even the liturgical and musical aspect) of Esztergom rite and are consistent with Esztergom diocesan sources.

<sup>91</sup> WAGNER, Carolus: *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani II*. Posonii 1777, p. 72 – 78.

<sup>92</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 7. WAGNER. *Analecta Scepu sii II*. p. 72.

<sup>93</sup> ZAGIBA. *Dejiny slovenskej hudby*. p. 55.

<sup>94</sup> WAGNER, Carolus: *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani III*. Posonii 1778, p. 179 – 190. „... *Nomina autem librorum, qui dati sunt ad supradictam Domum Valis p. Antonii, sunt haec: biblia, manualia, martyrologium, graduale et antiphonale, passionale, homiliae b. Gregorii super Ezechielem prophetam, Augustinus super Epistolas Ioannis, Compendium theologiae veritatis ...*“.

<sup>95</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 7. WAGNER. *Analecta Scepu sii II*. p. 78. „... *scripsit enim duo antiphonaria et duo gradualia in papyro et quamplures alios libros ecclesiasticos*“.

<sup>96</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. nr. 191.

<sup>97</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982. Cod. Lat. 34, Cod. Lat. 35.

<sup>98</sup> SOPKO. Skriptori a skriptoriá. p. 85 – 96.

<sup>99</sup> ZAGIBA. *Dejiny slovenskej hudby*. p. 56.

<sup>100</sup> ŠPIRKO. *Cirkevné dejiny I*. p. 368.

<sup>101</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982. nr. 269. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, p. 8.

<sup>102</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, p. 8.

Cistercians male order was settled in Spiš, in Spišský Štiavnik (founded around 1223),<sup>103</sup> in Lipovník near Krásna Hôrka, in Lučenec and Bardejov. The initial convent members came from Polish Waschok, Koprzywnica and Sulejów<sup>104</sup> and were Polish, French and German nationality.<sup>105</sup> They obtained books mainly from more developed French convents.<sup>106</sup> However, according to Sopko their scribal activity can be assumed as well as mediation of books for other religious institutions (e.g. Cistercians could get over the codex no. 354 to Ján Stock, the provost of the Spiš Chapter).<sup>107</sup> Women Cistercians order has already worked in Bratislava in 1135<sup>108</sup> (church of St. Catherine), but in 1292 Poor Clares took over the site of action of this order.

We have no written reports<sup>109</sup> about the scribal activity of Carmelites in Prešov (founded in 1288), Antonites from Dravce in Spiš (late 13<sup>th</sup> century) and Bratislava, Crusaders - also called regulation canons of St. Tomb from Chmeľov (provostry from 1212), Lendak, Huncovce (1232) and Rychnava.

### 3. CANTUS PLANUS IN MEDIEVAL SLOVAKIA AND MEDIEVAL NOTATIONAL SYSTEMS

The oldest layer of musical culture in Slovakia, which is supported by primary sources, is called *CANTUS PLANUS* (Latin liturgical chant) – i.e. Gregorian chant. The notated materials of Latin monophony, which were part of religious ceremonies (a mass, prayers of consecration of the time) that have been preserved in our territory, are from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Medieval notational systems used in Europe, were created as an aid to remember the liturgical melodies (notation: from Latin *notare* = record, label, write). The oldest entries appear from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>110</sup> Individual notation symbols so called neumes (from the Greek νεῦμα *neuma* = instruction, gesture, advice), signified graphical record of music content directly above the liturgical text. Individual tones and melodies movement were initially reported without identifying of the exact tone lengths and heights, and copied the basic hand movements of the choir leader. The earliest notational systems are referred to as adiaستمatic neume notation. Considering the form extremely diverse notational systems were created in different countries and in different monastic communities. In Slovakia examples of the non-lined adiaستمatic notation have been preserved in case of *Nitra Codex* (Passion) and fragments from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century. These manuscripts come from the Benedictine scribal workshops of German - Austrian circle, respectively impact. The more enriched was the repertoire of Gregorian chant, the more sophisticated was becoming the system of music writing. Gradually, individual notation signs began to be written in different height positions – i.e. diastematic principle. Two coloured lines were added (indicating *f* and *c* tones), which should assist in identifying of *ef* and *hc* halftones.

A revolutionary milestone in the history of musical notation was an invention of a lined staff by Italian scholar Guido of Arezzo in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. Adding a third line *a* between lines *f* and *c* music signs were included in an accurate, in thirds organized pitch system. Due to the scale of choral chants Guido recommended to add a further line. In 1028 Guido presented his reform views to Pope John XIX (1024-33).<sup>111</sup> Guido's organization of musical notation subsequently applied in many regional notation schools in 4 - and 5 - line form. In the territory of Slovakia the notational system begins to appear in sources from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. These are unique examples of advanced monastic (Cistercian) scriptoria or scribal workshops in important religious centers of the country (Esztergom). However, these are only fragmentary preserved manuscripts whose place of origination is questionable. They are mostly on bindings of town hall records (all over Slovakia) or old

<sup>103</sup> ŠPIRKO. *Cirkevné dejiny I.* p. 367.

<sup>104</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy.* 1981, p. 7. ZAGIBA. *Dejiny slovenskej hudby.* p. 61.

<sup>105</sup> VENCKO, Ján: *Dejiny štiavnického opátstva na Spiši.* Ružomberok 1927, p.25 – 33.

<sup>106</sup> SOPKO, I, 1981, p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> VENCKO. *Dejiny štiavnického opátstva na Spiši.* p. 72 – 73.

<sup>108</sup> ŠPIRKO. *Cirkevné dejiny I.* p. 367.

<sup>109</sup> ŠPIRKO. *Cirkevné dejiny I.* p. 390.

<sup>110</sup> *Musica disciplina* Aurelianus from Réôme (about 850). APEL, Willi. *Gregorian chant.* Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1958, p. 76.

<sup>111</sup> HOPPIN, Richard. *Hudba v stredoveku.* Bratislava : Hudobné centrum, 2007, p. 72.

prints (mainly Protestant libraries in Bratislava, Kežmarok and Levoča) in their secondary function (cover or binding of a younger book). Interesting materials from the 13<sup>th</sup> century that document the impact of notational tradition of Poland and the main ecclesiastical center of medieval Hungary - the archdiocese of Esztergom have been preserved in Spiš and Košice. Based on fragmentary preserved liturgical content or notation it is unfortunately not possible to determine whether the manuscripts originated or could be used in Spiš (the SSL in Prešov and Košice).

Notation practice of manuscripts, which were unquestioningly used in Slovakia, is represented mainly by material from the late middle ages. A number of notated material from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries comparing the 13<sup>th</sup> century increased extremely and the preserved liturgical codices from Bratislava, Spiš Chapter and fragments from the whole territory of Slovakia (Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Bardejov, Bratislava, Bytča, Dolný Kubín, Kežmarok, Kláštor pod Znievom, Košice, Kremnica, Levoča, Martin, Modra, Nitra, Poprad, Rožňava, Spišská Nová Ves, Stará Ľubovňa, Trnava, Trenčín, Zvolen, Žilina) point out that a type of so called Messine notation dominates the manuscripts in this period. Several notational systems coexisted in the middle ages in Hungary. Individual types of notation were used, sorted by institutions, organizations and cultural places. Only centralized orders did not have their own choral notation, but often notators from larger dioceses and archdioceses stuck to their own notational image.

There has been preserved 6 notational systems in the territory of Slovakia from middle ages:

**The German adiaematic neume notation** is the oldest notation from our territory. Preserved are only fragments from the late 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century (Bardejov, Bratislava, Košice, Kremnica, Levoča, Martin).

*The Slovak National Library Martin, J 555.*

**The Messine – gothic notation** is the most representative symbol system (sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century), of which there are 10 codices: 4 Bratislava antiphonaries, 2 Spiš codices, 2 Prešov codices and 2 Košice codices). We consider most of the manuscripts with the Messine - gothic notation the product of medieval scriptoria from the territory of Slovakia.

*The Notated Breviary of Dambno from 1375, the State Scientific Library Prešov.*

**The Esztergom notation** is in tens of fragments and one codex (the Bratislava Missal I) from the late 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was initiated in Hungarian scribal workshops from Esztergom environment. Presumably no scriptorium in our territory (except Pauline monasteries and possibly the scriptorium in Nitra) was using this notation.

*The antiphonary fragment MUS I-11 from the Museum of Music of SNM.*

**The quadratic notation** is the second largest system, maintaining almost around 100 fragments and 2 codices (the Carthusian Gradual from the Slovak National Library in Martin, the Notated Missal from the Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences). The provenance of notated manuscripts is uncertain due to the uniformity of the system.

*The Antiphonary No. Inv. 608 from the State Archive in Banská Štiavnica*

**The Bohemian notation** is documented on more than 80 fragments and one codex (the Bratislava Antiphonary V). It was whether imported to the territory of Slovakia or it is possible, that the Bohemian sriptors worked here.

*The Antiphonary No.741 from the SA in Modra*

**The German gothic – choral notation** is the least used notation in our territory. It is represented by several dozen fragments and one manuscript (the Bratislava Missal R II 134 of Henrik Stephani from Veľké Tŕnie from 1377, Alba Julia). It was preserved mainly in the territory of western Slovakia (Bratislava, Modra). It was imported to our territory and it is the only notational system that is not documented in Slovakia.

#### 4. SOURCES. CODICES

Medieval liturgical codices with notation from the territory of Slovakia can currently be evaluated and interpreted only on the basis of context and comparison with medieval notated manuscripts of the former medieval Hungarian state. Slovakia was the northern part of Arpad Hungary since the beginning of the constitution of this central European state formation in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. During the reign of King Stephen I Hungarian church hierarchy was established. The Archdiocese of Esztergom was legally exempt from any interference of secular power; while it had its own authority of institution with the adjective „*Primatus*”. 7 of the 13 dioceses of medieval Hungary belonged under Esztergom. Most of them complied with customs of Esztergom as „*mater et caput omnium ecclesiarum Hungariae*”<sup>112</sup>. Concerning the use of a liturgical or musical material a younger Hungarian church province of the archdiocese Kalocsa (ecclesia Colocensis) was not so united with Esztergom. Esztergom rite is documented by manuscripts, which are mostly dated in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, some of them in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Younger manuscripts represent a continuous liturgical tradition from the 12<sup>th</sup> century or even of an older period. Preserved manuscripts from middle ages to a greater or lesser extent document domestic tradition or are influenced by other countries. Esztergom rite liturgy manuscripts preserve the value of assets quoted from Slovakia in an extremely precise form. Foreign elements presents particular notation (German environmental impact, at the end of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century Czech) and illumination codes (impact and activity Austrian and French workshops).<sup>113</sup>

In the early days of establishing the early medieval ecclesiastical institutions of Hungary several streams played a big role. The missionary activity, which affected the basic constitution and forming of religious traditions of Hungary, influence the work of several personalities - Pruno (Prunwald) from St. Gallen, Bruno of Querfurt, St. Adalbert, Radlo, Astrik-Anastasius and St. Gerhard.<sup>114</sup> Formation of early medieval Hungarian church was also influenced by great Benedictine monasteries of Sankt Gallen and Monte Cassino.<sup>115</sup> György Györffy expresses the belief that the surviving liturgical books from the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> indicate the origin of the Hungarian liturgy. Manuscripts document the strong influence of the Rhine area, especially the liturgy of Cologne Archbishopric and Archbishopric of Trier. Extraordinary popular were local saints of St. Gallen and Mainz (Gallus, Othmar, Martin),<sup>116</sup> which also points to the role of these two areas in building the liturgical practice of the Hungarian church.<sup>117</sup>

The liturgical tradition of Esztergom was therefore built on the foundations of Western liturgy. During the pontificate of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) there appeared the efforts to unify the liturgy in accordance with Rome, but despite this fact numerous specific elements (in particular, liturgy of the hours provided tremendous opportunities) appear in individual liturgical traditions.<sup>118</sup>

Fundamentals of own Esztergom liturgical tradition can be reconstructed today on the basis of existing liturgical manuscripts of different character from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest manuscripts of early medieval Hungary include the *Hahót Codex (Sacramentary of St. Margaret, the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, designed for the Hahót Benedictine abbey in Veszprem diocese)*,<sup>119</sup> the *Esztergom benedictional*

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<sup>112</sup> DOBSZAY, László: Introduction. In *Antiphonae. Momumenta Monodica Medii Aevii*. Kasel – Basel. 1999, p. 13 – 34.

<sup>113</sup> GÜNTHEROVÁ, Alžbeta – MIŠIANIK, Ján: *Stredoveká knižná mal'ba na Slovensku*. Bratislava 1961. BURAN, Dušan a kol.: *Gotika*. Slovenská národná galéria. Bratislava 2003.

<sup>114</sup> SZÁNTÓ, Konrád: *A katolikus egyház története I*. Budapest 1984. GYÖRFFY, György: *König Stephan der Heilige*. Budapest – Gyormaendröd 1988, p. 61-76. 112-113.

<sup>115</sup> GYÖRFFY. *König Stephan*. p. 130-131.

<sup>116</sup> CAO – ECE, V/B *Strigonium (Sanctorale)*, KOVÁCS, Andrea (ed.). Budapest 2006.

<sup>117</sup> GYÖRFFY. *König Stephan*. p. 196.

<sup>118</sup> MÚCSKA, Vincent: *Osobitosti uhorského liturgického kalendára v 11. storočí*. In: Nitra slovenských dejinách. MARSINA Richard (ed.), Nitra 2002, p. 181-189.

<sup>119</sup> University library Zagreb, MR 126. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Hahóti kódex*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 62, Budapest 1938, p. 97-112.

(benedictional and pontifical, end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>120</sup> *Hartvik's Agenda - Agenda pontificalis* (the ritual made for a bishop Hartvik, end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>121</sup> and the *Nitra Codex* (Benedictine lectionary - J. Sopko dates it to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, J. Nemeš dates it back to the thirties of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, seeking the origin in the Benedictine Abbey of St. John the Baptist in German Burtscheid).<sup>122</sup> Based on the analysis of the liturgy in these oldest manuscripts the basic and characteristic features of the Hungarian liturgy are the feasts celebrations of the first domestic Hungarian saints, whose canonization took place in 1083 during the reign of King Ladislaus I (St. Svorad - Andrew and Benedict, St. Gerard, St. Stephen, St. Emeric). A group of saints with extraordinary devotion in the early medieval Hungary (St. Adalbert, St. Alexius, St. Venceslaus, St. Margaret, St. Demetrius and St. Nicholas) also belongs here. Preserved manuscripts from the Middle Ages document to a greater or lesser extent Esztergom tradition (especially antiphonaries and breviaries containing the liturgy of the hours show many typical elements of Esztergom rite) or are influenced by other countries (in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century appears for example mixing Esztergom liturgical tradition with Polish customs of Krakow circuit in Spiš). Esztergom rite liturgy is kept in a highly accurate form in the Bratislava notated manuscripts. Esztergom liturgy was also used in two monastic communities. Pauline liturgical manuscripts and prints document Esztergom liturgical tradition even in late medieval manuscripts and modern prints. Despite the lack of preserved medieval liturgical books, the office and liturgical sources (fragments) of Augustinian eremites also represent the Esztergom rite.<sup>123</sup>

#### **4. 1. The Bratislava Codices.**

There are 8 more or less completed medieval notated codices deposited in Bratislava today. The *Notated Missal* from the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is not of the domestic provenance, is deposited in the former Lyceum library (today the Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences – History section). The *Bratislava antiphonaries I – V* (*the Bratislava Antiphonary I, the Bratislava Antiphonary IIa, the Bratislava Antiphonary IIb, the Bratislava Antiphonary III, the Bratislava Antiphonary IV, the Bratislava Antiphonary V*) and *the Bratislava Missal I* from the former Chapter library in Bratislava, which were used in medieval Bratislava, are today deposited in the Bratislava City Archive, in the Bratislava City Museum and in the Slovak National Museum.

##### *4. 1. 1. THE NOTATED MISSAL Rkp. 387 from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava*

*The Notated Missal Rkp. 387* of the former of the Protestant Lyceum Library in Bratislava, now the Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, is one of those manuscripts where history is shrouded in mystery. According to J. Sopko the origin of this source should be looked for in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Austria monastic environment<sup>124</sup>. Hungarian music historians J. Szendrei and L. Dobszay hold the different opinion. According to them the manuscript originated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in northern Germany or Denmark.<sup>125</sup> E. Veselovská is inclined to the latter opinion and states that the missal might have been made in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the monastic

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<sup>120</sup> University library Zagreb, MR 89. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Esztergomi benedictionale*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 65, Budapest 1941, p. 213-231.

<sup>121</sup> University library Zagreb, MR 165. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Hartwich györi püspök Agenda pontificalip*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 65, Budapest 1941, p. 103.

<sup>122</sup> *Nitriansky kódex*, SOPKO, Július - VALACH, Júliup. (edp.). Martin 1987. NEMEŠ, Jaroslav: *Nitriansky kódex a jeho posolstvo. Aachen. Óbuda. Nitra*. Prešov 2006. NEMEŠ, Jaroslav: *Kodex von Neutra, Geistige Erbschaft der italienisch-griechischen Mönche und ihrer Nachfolger von Aachen*, Győr 2007.

<sup>123</sup> *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae V/A a V/B Esztergom/ Strigonium (Temporale, Sanctorale)*. A preliminary Report, László DOBSZAY – Gábor PRÓSZEKY, Budapest 1988. CAO – ECE, V/A Strigonium (Temporale), DOBSZAY, László - KOVÁCS, Andrea (ed.). Budapest 2004. CAO – ECE, V/B Strigonium (Sanctorale), KOVÁCS, Andrea (ed.). c.d.

<sup>124</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981. p. 148.

<sup>125</sup> DOBSZAY, László: *Niekoľko aspektov skúmania stredovekých hudobných kódexov Bratislavy*, in: Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia. Vol. 18. Bratislava 1989, p. 20-21. SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest 1981, p. 70, C 103.

environment of north-west Europe.<sup>126</sup> The missal's 387 kinship with the sources of this environment was also affirmed by a complex quantitative analysis of the feasts listed in the calendar of the manuscript.<sup>127</sup> The absence of the Corpus Christi feast in the source confirms the belief that the manuscript had to be made not later than in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>128</sup> The missal is a parchment manuscript with dimensions 220 x 155 mm. It has a period leather-binding with wooden boards coated in dark red leather with decorative pulics in the shape of roses. It is surviving in good condition. Text and music are written in one column. The main body of the manuscript is written with one hand in gothica textualis formata. To the codex were added another 10 hands on the initial (ff 1, 14r-15v), and the final folios (ff 252v-255) as well as in the form of letters on the margin. The decoration is limited to the initials coloured red and blue, added with fleuroné line drawing which presses a mirror.<sup>129</sup>

The notated missal contains so called summer part of the liturgical year, which in the temporal included days from Easter Sunday to the last (25<sup>th</sup>) Sunday after Holy Trinity and feasts from mid-April to end of November in the sanctoral.

Content:

Introductory folios comprise a calendar (ff 1r-7V) with 260 items. A specific feature of this calendar are additions in the form of added feasts, that have been made at least by two different hands and a few necrology records, made by another author (64 feasts were added). In addition, in *Proprium de Sanctis* are 23 celebrations that were not listed in the calendar. The reconstructed calendar of both items thus offers 283 feasts.

From 8 to do 14 is present *Ordo missae* with six prefaces of which only one is notated, with a canon, a sequence *O beata beatorum* on the Holy Trinity feast and two melodies *Pater noster*. On ff 14v-16r are forms written afterwards by another hand: on feast of St. Elisabeth of Hungary together with the sequence *Gaude Sion quod egressus* and on the feast of John the Apostle and Evangelist, where there is only the sequence *Verbum Dei Deo natum*.

*Proprium de sanctis* is comprised of mass forms from the feast of St. Tiburtius, Valerianus and Maximus the Martyrs (14<sup>th</sup> April) to the feast of St. Catherine (25<sup>th</sup> November), 131 feasts in total, 41 of which are without chants, thus only with the text of prayers.

From f 192r begins *Commune sanctorum*, containing one form for a vigil and for a feast of one apostle, in which there are 9 Alleluia chants, 4 offertory chants and 3 communion chants. *All. Vos estis lux* which uses the melody SchlagKat 77 excels among these chants. Such a combination of text and melody is not present in the Schlager's catalogue. The form of several apostles is without chants. From f 199 the texts and chants of holy virgins who underwent martyrdom forms are, starting with the form for the one first: 7 introits, 5 graduales (+ 2 incipits), 10 alleluias, 4 offertories (+ 2 incipits) and 7 communions. The text of the one from alleluia chants is not present in the Schlager's catalogue - *All. Iste sanctus pro Christo* with the SchlagKat 140 - *All. Christus resurgens* melody. The chants on feasts of martyrs follow (from f 208r): 13 introits, 8 graduales, 11 alleluias, 7 offertories and 10 communions. Confessors forms are from f 220v, begging with one confessor feast: 5 introits, 5 graduales, 13 alleluias, 2 offertories and 3 communions. Interesting here is the chant *All. Ornavit hic sanctus tempora*, a melody of which is not recorded in the Schlager's catalogue. From f 228 there are chants on virgin feasts: 6 introits, 6 graduales, 11 alleluias, 4 offertories and 6 communions. Two alleluia chants are exceptional - *All. Haec est virgo sapiens quam* and *All. Audi filia et vide*, which are yet unrecorded variant of the chant recorded in the second part of the Schlager's catalogue on page 202. *Commune sanctorum* is interrupted by three votive mass forms for the last three days of the week: for love on Thursday, about St. Cross on Friday and about the Virgin Mary on Saturday (ff 236-237). From f 236 to f 239v the communal continues with different forms: of one and several apostles, of one of several martyrs, of one and several confessors and of several virgins, all with relevant vigil. After the communal (ff 239v-246v) a rich collection of votive masses begins (44 forms) on diverse

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<sup>126</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgiup.* Vol. I. Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bratislava 2008, p. 34-36.

<sup>127</sup> ADAMKO, Rastislav: *Pripsevok k problematike kalendára v Misáli R. 387*, in: *Slovenská hudba. Revue pre hudobnú kultúru.* ISSN 1335-2458, ročník 32, nr. 2 (2006), p. 144-151.

<sup>128</sup> KUNZLER, Michael: *Liturgia Kościoła.* Pallotinum, Poznań 1999, p. 680.

<sup>129</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*, 1981, p. 148.

intentions, revealing a large pastoral care of the period in which the manuscript originated (e.g. in suffering, temptation, for the sick, friends, peace, rain, king, ruler, bishop etc.). Varied and rich are also masses for the dead forms, where the wealth of chants is remarkable. Chants are present in the first three forms. In the first general form, which was used on the day of the funeral, interesting is the communion chant. Instead of the traditional chant *Lux aeterna* there is a little known chant *Pro quorum memoria*.<sup>130</sup> The second form with chants intended for requiem mass for the bishop and the third for annual mass for the dead. In addition to these forms with chants 14 another are here, intended for specific groups of the dead (e.g. for several bishops and priests, for the abbot, for monks and nuns, laity, father and mother, members of the Marian Congregation, etc.). The last four folios are written by other hands. Various texts of prayers, lessons and two sequences: *Virgini Mariae laudes* and *Gloriosae virginis votiva* (with musical notes) are present here.

Comprehensive quantitative analysis of several European calendars revealed that the studied calendar of the *Missal Rkp. 387* is close to a family of calendars from today's Sweden, especially the calendars coming from the former archdiocese of Lund. Several local feasts, typical only for this liturgical tradition show the fact: Kanuti mr. (7<sup>th</sup> January), Botulfi abb. et conf. (17<sup>th</sup> June), Translatio s. Kanuti mris (25<sup>th</sup> June), Kanuti reg. et mr. (10<sup>th</sup> July), Olavi reg. et mr. (29<sup>th</sup> July), Willeadi ep. et conf. (8<sup>th</sup> November).

All the feasts are written in the calendar as *festas fori*, i.e. non-working days. However, it is important to note that from the listed Swedish saints feasts there are only two in *proprium sanctorum* (Olavi regis and Willeadi ep. et cf.), even without their own chants.

In addition, in own section of the saints several feasts are present, coming and widespread mainly in Western Europe countries:

1.5. Walburgis ab. – the feast of transferring the relics of abbess, daughter of the King of England (+779), celebrated in England and in Saxony on 1<sup>st</sup> May. In Germany (especially in Eichstädt) the day was celebrated on 25<sup>th</sup> February and the translation on 12<sup>th</sup> October.

18.7. Arnulphi – the feast of saint bishop of Metz, widespread in Germany and France.

5.8. Oswaldi regis. It is the feast of King of Northumbrien in England (604-642). In addition to England his veneration was widespread also Ireland and Germany (Hildesheim).

3.9. Serapiae virg. This saint was venerated especially in Eichstädt, Narbonne, and Tours.

1.10. Remigii ep. He is a bishop of Reims (436-533), who is considered the apostle of Franks. He was venerated in France, Germany and also England.

2.10. Leodegarii mr. The feast of a martyred bishop of Autun, (+677), venerated especially in France and Germany.

9.11. Theodori mr. He is a martyr from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, who was venerated in Rome, Venice and also Bavaria.

12.11. Cuniberti ep. A bishop of Cologne (590-663), where he was extensively venerated.<sup>131</sup>

The following forms document the importance of the celebration of certain feasts:

6.5. Johannis ante Portam Latinam – the form contains the special alleluia chant with the yet not recorded text in the Schlager's catalogue *Virgo Johannes a Domino electus* with *Christus resurgens* melody<sup>132</sup>.

26.6. Johannis et Pauli – the form with the chant *All. Isti sunt duae olivae*, the text nor the melody of which are not present in the Schlager's catalogue.

22.7. Mariae Magdalенаe. Two alleluia chants are present here: *All. Maria haec est illa*, the melody *Domine in virtute contrafactum*, known in Germany and the Central Europe countries<sup>133</sup> and *All. Conversus Jesus ad Mariam*, where the text's form shows affinity with German sources, though it was widespread also in Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia and medieval Hungary.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> *Graduale Sarisburiense* (13th century), other Melody Variant.

<sup>131</sup> Ökumenische Heiligenlexikon [online]. (2012-11-09): [www.heiligenlexikon.de](http://www.heiligenlexikon.de).

<sup>132</sup> MMMA VII, p. 70, ThK nr. 140.

<sup>133</sup> MMMA VII, p. 133, ThK nr. 222.

<sup>134</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 123, 616.

3.8. Inventio s. Stephani. Interesting here is the presence of the chant *All. Ecce inquit Stephanus* with the *All. Veni Sancte Spiritus* melody.<sup>135</sup> This chant appears rarely, in Western Europe (Bamberg, Cambrai, Volterra) and also Tyniec manuscripts.<sup>136</sup>

Presence of some chants excludes the possibility that the missal came from Austria (e.g. the resp. *Christus resurgens* on Easter procession was not in Austrian sources, but in sources from Germany and Central Europe; the chant *All. Nonne cor nostrum* on Monday in the Easter Octave was also not present in Austrian sources. Comparison of alleluia chants list on *Post Pentecosten* Sundays shows the liturgical tradition spread in Bavaria (Seeon, Freising), but also in Sweden (Strängnäs). The Benedictines (St. Oskar +865) were the missionaries in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, establishing monasteries and introducing their liturgical traditions in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Many of German liturgical traditions, such as singing the hymn *Rex sanctorum* during the liturgy of Pentecost vigil could get there this way. Quadratic notation is used in the manuscript, drawn in black ink on red lines of the four-lined stave. At the beginning of each stave there are C, F or unusually also D keys. Custos is not used. Individual squares of irregular shapes retained a short foot from the right as a remnant of the original form *virgi jacens*. Liquescent forms are fully represented. Present are *ancus*, *epiphonus* and *cephalicus*, which has a thin capillary lines down both sides of the square, but the right is generally longer. *Epiphonus* is of the shape of an elongated letter u. *Ancus* is also formed with a thin capillary vertical line. *Clivis* retained *virga* and individual *puncti* of two- and three-tone a compound neumes are connected by thin capillary lines.

*The Notated Missal 387 from the Central Library SAS, f. 18r*

#### 4. 1. 2. THE BRATISLAVA MISSAL I

*The Bratislava Missal I* of the former Chapter Library in Bratislava (in Slovak musicological literature called the *Bratislava Notated Missal*) and in the Central European area known as the *Missale Notatum Strigoniense*, belongs to the most significant manuscripts of medieval music from Slovakia. Along with other manuscripts it was part of collegiate chapter library at the Cathedral of St. Martin in Bratislava. The place of the manuscript's origin was probably the Esztergom scriptorium circle. Notation of the codex documents the domestic, regional - *Esztergom notation*, the existence of which could be traced between the late 12<sup>th</sup> and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>137</sup> *The Bratislava Missal I* uses easily gothized calligraphic notation which crystallized from neumatic forms preserved in the *Pray Codex*. By type of notation Janka Szendrei places the date of origin between years 1324-1341. The fact is that the *Bratislava Missal I* was certainly used in Bratislava in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The added tractus „*Rex regum*” notated with the Messine notation (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) supports the fact. This notational system is a typical system of the Bratislava scriptorium, present in the majority of the Bratislava Chapter codices from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The mass chants repertory presents Esztergom music and liturgical tradition.<sup>138</sup> By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the owner of the *Bratislava Missal I* was a Bratislava canon and provost Josef Dankó. Circular seals on some pages, where we read „*Ex libris S. T. D. Jos. Dankó*”<sup>139</sup> support the idea. After 1918, when Bratislava became part of the newly-constituted the First Czechoslovak Republic, the codex has disappeared for some time. Between 1930 - 1940 it got to the Bratislava City Archive in parts via antiquarian Stampfel (some of the folios have a cataloging number from this period).<sup>140</sup> The largest part of the manuscript is now in Bratislava City Archive with storage signatures EC Lad. 3 (249 ff., 241 numbered pages and 8 unnumbered) and EL

<sup>135</sup> MMMA VII, p. 519, ThK nr. 13.

<sup>136</sup> PIKULIK, Jerzy: *Śpiewy alleluia o świętych*, Wydawnictwa Akademii Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1995, p. 135-136.

<sup>137</sup> *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio*. SZENDREI, Janka – RYBARIČ, Richard (ed.). *Musicalia Danubiana I*. Budapest 1982 (MNS).

<sup>138</sup> *Graduale Strigoniense*. Ed. SZENDREI, Janka. *Musicalia Danubiana 12*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet 1993(GS).

<sup>139</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, p. 49. SOPKO, Júliup. *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1986, p. 67 – 68. DANKÓ, Joseph: *Vetus hymnarium ecclesiasticum Hungariae*. Budapest 1893.

<sup>140</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: Der älteste notierte Kodex in der Slowakei. In *Musicologica Slovaca VIII*. Bratislava 1982, p. 12.

18 (44 ff., 42 unnumbered pages) and EC Lad. 1/21 (2 ff.).<sup>141</sup> Eight other fragments of the *Bratislava Missal I* were found in the Guild of St. Adalbert in Trnava. They were found along with fragments of various medieval liturgical books in the folder no. 200 c. 15. TR. A. 61 (2 ff. are unnumbered pages of the liturgical calendar and other folios have their own numbering: xxxi, xxxii, cxxiii, cxxv, cxxvii a cxxciii). The research from 2000 added to the number of today known manuscript parts one more folio with its own numbering: c, which is stored in the folder no. 322/10. Two other folios are in a vault of the Bratislava City Museum with under the signature A/9. These fragments contain part of *proprium de tempore* with incomplete liturgy of the second and third Christmas mass, the mass on Saturday after the third Sunday of Lent and on the fourth Sunday of Lent. The script style ranks the manuscript among the ones written in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. Composition of the *sanctoral* and liturgical particularities prove that the codex was written in Central Hungary for bigger and probably important religious institution. The *Bratislava missal I* takes the special place in history of the mass liturgy particularly because it is the oldest, almost completely preserved manuscript of the mass unison singing in Hungary.

Content of the Bratislava Missal I:

Tempus Adventus ff. 1r– 10r

Nativitas Domini ff.10r– 13v

Infra octavam Nativitatis ff. 13v– 18v

Epiphania 18v– 20v

Dominicae post Epiphaniam ff. 20v– 25r

Dominica in Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima ff. 25r– 29v

In capite jejunii ff. 29v– 33r

Tempus Quadragesimae ff. 33r– ? (ff.34r– 48v, 50r– 53v, 56r– 99v, 101r– 109v are missing)

In Parasceve ff. ?– 133r

In Sabbato Sancto ff. 113r– 126r Ordo Baptismi (119v– 125v) (f. 126r– v is missing)

Praeparatio ad Missam ff. 127r– 130v

Ordo Missae ff.130v– 139r

Pascha Domini cum Octava ff. 139r– 148v

Dominicae post Pascham 148v– 154r

In letania majori ff. 154r– 161v

Ascensio Domini ff. 161v– 164v

Pentecostes cum Octava 164v– 174v

Dominica Trinitatis, De Corpore Christi ff. 174v– 176v

Dominicae post Pentecosten ff. 176v– 201r

Dedicatio Ecclesiae ff. 201v– 203r

Proprium de sanctis ff. 203r– 299r (Missa sancti Joseph prophetae, de sancto Joseph „nutritore Domini“, de sancto Lazaro, de sancta Maria ff. 203r– v, Missa sancti Silvestri 203v– 204v etc.)

Commune Sanctorum ff. 299r– 300r

Missae peculiare (votivae) ff. 300r– 310r

Ordo ad faciendum nuptias (missa pro sponsis) ff. 310r– 312v

Missa et orationes pro defunctis ff. 312v– 319r

Orationes de sancto Petro martyre, de sancta Clara 319r

Benedictio pabuli et salis et aliorum 319r

Collectio alleluiarum ff. 319v– 323r

Kyriale ff. 323r– 328r

Sequentiale (Prosarium) ff. 238v– 364v

Lectioes (cum tropis) ff. 365r– 367v

Sequentiae, tropi et alleluia in appendice ff. 365v– 369v

The basic liturgical content and repertory of the codex is based on Frankish-Roman tradition. Although most of the liturgical and musical elements follow the Western tradition *Graduale Romanum*,<sup>142</sup> several specific passages that are typical for Esztergom liturgy also appear in the

<sup>141</sup> SOPKO. *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy*. p. 49. 67 – 68.

<sup>142</sup> *Graduale sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis*. Parisii – Romae, 1938.

manuscript. The first remarkable part of the liturgical material is represented by lessons for Advent and Christmas (3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent, Christmas readings from the books of the prophets). Commonly used medieval tradition is also represented by the Introitus *Memento nostri* of the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent. A rare example of the Hungarian repertoire is also represented by alleluia chant *Rex noster* on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Advent with the New Testament text and *Et Pax*. A unique chant is also the alleluia chant *Natus est* of the first Christmas Mass, which is present in e.g. the *Missal of "Five Churches"* (Pécs)<sup>143</sup> during the third Christmas Mass. This is a chant that is present in Europe only in Italian sources.<sup>144</sup> There are several other interesting places in the *Bratislava Missal I* in the period after Christmas. The chant *Laus tibi Christe* replaces the alleluia chant on 28<sup>th</sup> December, two mass forms are also different on 1<sup>st</sup> January (the Marian form or the form per octave) and a vigil on the feast of Epiphany also has a specific liturgical material (The Genealogy of Jesus Christ according to Luke's Gospel, prayers, lessons, procession), with all these examples representing a distinctive medieval versions, which do not appear in the later period. Lent is unfortunately preserved only in fragmentary form, with scarce evidence of the preserved liturgical schedules on Ash Wednesday. The material of the before-Easter period (Wednesday in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Lent week) contains the unique and for the medieval Hungary typical chant - tractus *Rex Regum*,<sup>145</sup> which does not appear in other European sources. Yet, it is not part of the main body in the *Bratislava Missal I*, but is only added by another type of notation (Messine notation) as the main body (Esztergom notation) on the lower margin of the folio 55v. On Good Friday the procession chants are included: *Laudes omnipotens* hymn, *Dum fabricator, locatio sepulchri* antiphon and on the Easter Vigil there are hymns *Inventor rutili* and *Rex sanctorum Angelorum* with litanies (Hungarian saints) and a complete ceremony of baptism. Easter period also contains some interesting places. On Easter Sunday (*Pascha nostrum, Epulemur*) and on Saturday of Easter Octave (*Haec dies, Laudate pueri, Sit nomen domini*) alleluia chants contain several verses and additional chants to great litany (*litanía maior*) document rare musical material. The unique chants of this period include hymns *Humily prece* and *Ardua spes*, which appear only sporadically in other European sources.<sup>146</sup> Added verses with the major saints and patron saints of Esztergom (St. Thomas Becket, St. Adalbert, St. Stephen, and St. George) support the argument of L. Dobsay and J. Szendrei that the codex was originally made directly for the main religious center of medieval Hungary – archbishopric of Esztergom.<sup>147</sup> For Esztergom liturgical tradition is typical the ordering of Easter period alleluia verses which vary greatly in different liturgical traditions. Ordering of alleluia chants in the *Bratislava Missal I* is identical with the order in the *Bakócz Gradual*<sup>148</sup>. In the next section of the codex, the Feast of the Holy Trinity provides an extremely rare alleluia chant *Honor virtus*, which is already in the *Pray Codex* on ff. 116v – 117r (marginal notes from the 13<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>149</sup> Alleluia chants of the ordinary time create also a specific 'Esztergom' series which is identical with the *Bakócz Gradual* and printed Esztergom and Pauline missals from a later period.

The order of Ordinary Time alleluia verses:

Liturgical celebration	<i>The Bratislava Missal I</i>	<i>The D. Hiley database</i> <sup>150</sup>
Dom. 1 post Pent.	<i>Verba mea</i>	005
Dom. 2	<i>Domine Deus meus in te speravi</i>	007a
Dom. 3	<i>Deus iudex justus</i>	007b

<sup>143</sup> *Missale Quinqueecclesiense*. Venezia 1499.

<sup>144</sup> SCHLAGER, Karlheinz. *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts : ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*. München : W. Rieke - Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft ; Bd. 2, 1965, nr. 244.

<sup>145</sup> *Graduale Erdélyi* (OSzK 3815, 1534, proveniencia: Transylvánia, f. 31r), v *Graduáli z Paty* (OSzK 3522, 16. storočie, Gyöngyöspata, f. 31 r) a v *Bakóczovom graduáli* (Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Msp.I.1., Msp.3b., 15./16. storočie, f. 63r). [www.gradualia.eu](http://www.gradualia.eu).

<sup>146</sup> DANKÓ, Josephup. p. 293-294.

<sup>147</sup> *MNS*, p. 28-29.

<sup>148</sup> *GS*, ff. 151v-158.

<sup>149</sup> AIV. *Honor virtus* isn't in the Edition K. Schlager.

<sup>150</sup> [http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil\\_Fak\\_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/](http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/)

Dom. 4	<i>Diligam te Domine</i>	017
Dom. 5	<i>Domine in virtute</i>	020
Dom. 6	<i>In te Domine speravi</i>	030
Dom. 7	<i>Magnus Dominus</i>	047
Dom. 8	<i>Eripe me de inimicis</i>	058
Dom. 9	<i>Te decet hymnus</i>	064
Dom. 10	<i>Attendite popule meus</i>	077
Dom. 11	<i>Exsultate Deo</i>	080
Dom. 12	<i>Domine Deus salutis</i>	087
Dom. 13	<i>Domine refugium</i>	089
Dom. 14	<i>Venite exsultemus</i>	094a
Dom. 15	<i>Quoniam Deus magnus</i>	094c
Dom. 16	<i>Domine exaudi</i>	101a
Dom. 17	<i>Paratum cor meum</i>	107
Dom. 18	<i>In exitu Israel</i>	113a
Dom. 19	<i>Dilexi quoniam</i>	114
Dom. 20	<i>Dextera Dei</i>	117
Dom. 21	<i>Qui confidunt</i>	124
Dom. 22	<i>De profundis</i>	129
Dom. 23	<i>De profundis</i>	129
Dom. 24	<i>De profundis</i>	129
Dom. 25	<i>Qui sanat</i>	146b

The sanctoral of the *Bratislava Missal I* begins with the feast of St. Sylvester (f. 203v). In the spring part of the sanctoral on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (Purificatio BMV) is a schedule typical for medieval Hungary. Alleluia chant *Salve crux sancta salve mundi gloria* from the feast of Exaltation of the Cross (Inventio Crucis), which does not occur in a similar form in European sources at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is very rare. For Esztergom liturgical tradition are important forms of the main of Hungarian saints St. Gerard and St. Adalbert in the spring part. In the summer part of the sanctoral also appears several rare chants (on feast of St. John the Baptist: alleluia verse *puer in missa prima*). Specific prayers (oratio)<sup>151</sup> appear in the missal on feasts of St. Ladislaus and St. Stephen King and alleluia verse *Sancte rex Stephane* on the feast of St. Stephen. In the autumn part on the feast of St. Adalbert (*Translatio s. Adalberti*) is a reference to alleluia verse *Sancte Adalberte* without giving the foliation, which could be part of added (missing) parts at the end, or alleluia verse of the feast of St. Stephen King with the change in name could have been sung on that day.<sup>152</sup> Rare are also some alleluia chants on feasts of St. Michael (*Concussus est*), All Saints (*Vox exsultationis*), St. Catherine (*Aemulor enim*), St. Nicholas (*Sancte Nicolae*) and St. Thomas (*Jam non estis*). There are various passages intended for archbishop within the saints feasts prayers (*pro archiepiscopo*), which may confirm the original purpose of the codex directly for Esztergom. Among the very rare liturgical material belong the pilgrims consecration ceremony (*benedictio super baculos et peras peregrinorum*) and wedding ceremony (*ordo ad faciendum nupcias*, specific is for example introitus *Dominus Israel*). Part for the dead (*pro defunctis*) also contains a number of unique chants that are typical for Hungarian liturgical tradition and are used only occasionally in European sources (offertory *O pie Deus*, communions *Tuam Deus deprecimus*, *Amen dico vobis veniet hora*, *Animas de corpore* and three verses of the offertory *Domine Jhesu Christe*). An interesting part of the manuscript is formed by closing part which contains a collection of alleluia chants for different occasions. In Europe, the rare chants include e.g. *Primus ad Sion*, *Dorsa eorum a Culminis angelici*. The brand new compositions include alleluia verses *Salve Ducis about Maria*, *O consolatrix pauperum*, *Virga Jesse* and *Recole virgo Maria*. Some specific melodic variants are also present in another part of the codex,

<sup>151</sup> Podobne jedinečná modlitba je i v jesennej časti na sviatok sv. Imricha.

<sup>152</sup> MNS, p. 34.

so called *Kyriale* with mass ordinary chants.<sup>153</sup> The sequentionary (*Sequentionale* al. *Prosarium*) contains 78 units. Benjamin Rajeczky described the repertory as typical medieval Hungary material.<sup>154</sup> Sequences belonging late medieval compositions of Hungarian provenance (41 out of 78 can be viewed as a typical Hungarian repertoire) include, for example chants *Congaudete exsultemus*, *Corde voce magna pura*, *Gaude Sion quod egressus*, *Hodierna lux diei*, *Laetabundus exsultet*, *Lauda Sion*, *Laudes crucis*, *Mane prima sabbati*, *Mittit ad virginem*, *Novae laudis extollamus*, *Plausu chorus laetabundo*, *Quem invisibiliter*, *Spe mercedis* etc. At the end of the codex are recorded tropes (*Laudem Deo – Populus Sion*, *Adest nobis – In omnibus requiem quaesivi*) and final liturgical material (The Genealogy of Jesus Christ according to Matthew, other sequences). In the end, there are the rare and in Europe sporadically occurring tropes *Sanctus A quo sunt omnia* and *Deus Pater cujus praesentia*. Last chant of the manuscript is the alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus* with a new melodic course.

#### *The Bratislava Missal I*

#### *4. 1. 3. The Bratislava Antiphonaries*

From the former Bratislava Chapter library 5 notated antiphonaries from the 15<sup>th</sup> and the early 16<sup>th</sup> century are today in Bratislava archives. It is the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* (the Bratislava City Archive), the two-volume *Bratislava Antiphonary IIa* and *IIb* (the Bratislava City Archive, the Slovak National Archive, the Bratislava City Museum), the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* (the Bratislava City Archive), the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* (the Slovak National Archive, the Bratislava City Archive) and the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* (the Slovak National Archive). In terms of content 4 preserved antiphonaries of the former Chapter Library in Bratislava are belong to domestic provenance: the *Bratislava Antiphonary I*, the *Bratislava Antiphonary IIa* and *IIb*, the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* and the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV*. They were created by professional notators – scribes in the territory of medieval Hungary. The *Bratislava Antiphonary V* is of Czech origin. The provenance of individual antiphonaries is determined primarily by the fact, to what extent they followed the selection and sorting of liturgical chants of a certain local rite or local tradition. For centuries the Bratislava chapter was as important church institution of medieval Hungary, a bearer of liturgical tradition of the main church center of the country - the archdiocese of Esztergom.

Medieval churches in Bratislava followed the liturgical and musical practice of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. Variants of the used musical melodies in the Bratislava antiphonaries correspond with later printed versions of Esztergom breviaries. The *Bratislava Antiphonaries I, IIa* and *IIb, III* and *IV* document the Esztergom liturgical tradition in the extremely accurate form. Codicological parameters related to scripture, illumination (Austrian workshops) and notation (the Messine - gothic notation unlike the Esztergom one) suggest an independent and distinct development. Independence from Esztergom liturgical tradition is obvious in case of the *Bratislava antiphonaries* notation. The codices were made by professional scribes, paid by the city or ecclesiastical institution (a cathedral scribe). Manuscripts of the most important religious centers of medieval Hungary (Bratislava, Spiš Chapter, Banská Štiavnica) document different variations of the Messine - gothic notation.

#### *4. 1. 3. 1. THE BRATISLAVA ANTIPHONARY I*

*The Bratislava Antiphonary I* (the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad. 3, 223 ff.) contains the office chants of the summer – autumn part of the liturgical year. It begins with the added folio with the Marian antiphons "Nigra sum sed formosa", "Sancta est speciosa", "Florens rosa", "Salve regina". The main part of the codex follows (a notator's hand A: ff. 2r – 210v) and the several added folios (7 further scribal hands).<sup>155</sup>

Content:

Proprium de tempore (from the 6<sup>th</sup> Easter Saturday ff. 1r-47r to the feast *In Dedicacione ecclesiae* ff 47r-52v)

<sup>153</sup> MNS, p. 36-37.

<sup>154</sup> RAJECZKY, Benjamin. *Hymny et sequentiae*. In *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi*. Tom. I. Budapest . Zeneműkiadó Vállalat, 1956.

<sup>155</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, p. 48, nr. 4.

Proprium de sanctis (from the feast *Iohannis ante portam Latinam* to the feast of St. Catharina ff. 52v-186v)

Commune sanctorum (ff. 186v – 209v)

Invitatoriale (invitatoria: 209v – 215r)

Varia (215r-223)

Younger scribes added some chants at the end. Notators were certainly schoolmasters, who worked upon the practice needs and added mostly the missing chants or those recorded only as rubrics (“in rubro”). It is the absent office of St. Anna (212v - 214r, the C notator) which should have been located in the main corpus between the feasts of St Mary Magdalene and Throne of St. Peter, then the responsory *Admirans Christi* (214r, Bohemian notation, the D notator), the antiphon (214r - 214v, the E notator), the invitatory (214v, the F notator), the invitatory (215R - 217r, the G notator), the antiphon for second Vespers on the feast of one or more martyrs (in the main part of the codex were chants recorded only in rubrics, 217r - 217v, the G notator), St. Gerhard (*A progenie in progenies* 217v), antiphons *Spes nostra*, *Per signum crucis*, *Sancta Dei genitrix*, *Petrus apostolus et Paulus*, *Martinus adhuc*, *Sancti Dei omnis terre* (219v, the G notator), the invitatory (219v - 221v, the G notator) and antiphons on different feasts (221v - 222R, the H notator).

Liturgical and musical content of the codex follows the medieval practice of the Esztergom archdiocese. Slight deviations from Esztergom rite can be observed only in ordering of some antiphons for example on the feast St. Trinity (10r Lauds), St. John and Paul martyrs (60r Lauds), St. Ladislaus (66r Lauds), Assumption (105v first Nocturne antiphons), Commune Apostolorum (189r Lauds) and different incipits of some chants. The first antiphon of the second nocturne on the feast of St. Ladislaus *Invocantem exaudivit* instead of *Invocantem in dilectum* is on f.63r. Similarly, as the third Lauds antiphon on the feast of St. Lawrence *Adhaesit anima mea* instead of *Adhaesit anima igne* is used on f. 103r.

Different chants occur only in case of All Saints feast. As the Compline antiphon is used *Gloriae haec est omnibus* instead of *Omnes electi Dei* on f.153v. Omnes Electa Dei. Twice is listed the antiphon *Regem omnium sanctorum* (153r, 154r). In the history of *de martiribus* is on the feast of St. Adalbert (f.167r third antiphon of the third Nocturne begins with *Dux gentis dux* instead of *Dirae gentis dux*) as the Invitatory antiphon present *Regem martirum* instead of *Exultent in Domino* on the folio 191v.

For the study and comparative research extremely important are notated offices on the feasts of major Hungarian saints and Bratislava churches patrons - St. Ladislaus (61r - 66v), St. Stephen King (113r - 119r), St. Andrew and Benedict (90v – 91v, complete office is not preserved), St. Margaret (91v – 98r), St. Lawrence (99r - 103r), St. Stephen King (113r - 119r), St. Emeric (159r - 164r), St. Adalbert (Translatio 164v - 168v), St. Martin (168v - 173v), St. Elizabeth (175v – 180v). Large space in the codex is dedicated to Marian feasts - In Visitatione Sancte Mariae Virginis (77v – 88r), Assumptio Beatae Mariae Virginis 104r - 109r) In Commemoratione Beatae Mariae Virginis (109r - 112v) In Nativitate Sanctae Mariae Virginis (127v – 133r).

The codex is notated with the Messine - gothic notation of monumental type (2r - 212v, the A notator). Neumes are of regular shapes and symmetrical appearance. Single tone neume – the Punctum is of slightly elongated, vertical shape of approximately 5x5 mm. The pes is ended with the rhomb, the clivis is rectangular. The scandicus are two rising puncti and virga, rarely comprises of the pes and virga (14v, 6<sup>th</sup> stave line of the – “et”, 110v and 111r Esztergom two part scandicus in last, 10<sup>th</sup> line). Beginning of the climacus is bipunctual, followed by a descending puncti tilted to the right. The torculus consists of the pes and rectangular clivis, porrectus consists of the virga and pes. Folios 2r – 210v were probably written by one notator. The entire codex uses the custos and gothic shapes of c and f keys. The added g key is of cursive character. On the most of the folios are 10 lines of the 4-lined red stave with double red framing. Used are the c, g and f keys. Accidentals are mostly inserted by the later hand. From the folio 77v a liturgical text together with a stave is present on Visitation vigil. On the folio 78v is the stave divided into two columns. The added chants from a later period notated with various types of notation (the Messine-gothic, the Messine-gothic - mixed, the Esztergom, the Bohemian) appear in multiple places in the codex. The added notation is in places where only the incipit of the chant was mentioned in the main text. These are mostly the antiphons *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus*. The whole notation was likely to be in the first volume of the antiphonary and the notator did not assume it important to write it one more time. Additional adding of chants took place either because of practice (it was more convenient for the schoolmaster to conduct or

teach the schola from one liturgical book), or the first part of the antiphonary was not present in the second volume. The whole folio 53r is without notation (just empty staves with the text of the feast *Johannis ante portam Latinam*, but the next page continues with chants of St. John the Baptist; the scribe probably mistook the indication of the saint).

The added text at the end of the manuscript is written mostly by G and H notators. Different types of notation and considerable wear of the codex indicates that the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* was used for extremely long time in the musical practice of the Bratislava Chapter (the added text is in the range 300 years).

When evaluating the notation the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* and *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* have particularly similar realization of notation signs. Both manuscripts use 4-lined red stave, red double framing showing a mirror of pages, custos and the like c and f keys. This pair of codices is definitely renounced round German clivis and the separate virga. Of the German characters in the antiphonaries are only climacus and scandicus.

*The Bratislava Antiphonary I, f. 23v.*

4. 1. 3. 2. *THE BRATISLAVA ANTIPHONARY IIa – IIb (Han Codex)*

The two-volume parchment codex *Antiphonarium Bratislavense II* (IIa: 100 + 2 ff., 500 x 350 mm, IIb: 307 + 18 ff., 530 x 380 mm) of the Bratislava Chapter Library, today deposited in the Bratislava City Archive (AMB, EC lad. 4), in the Slovak National Archive (SNA, the Chapter Library codices no. 4) and in the Bratislava City Museum (MMB A/5, A/49, 671/arch. 29a, 454/arch. 1928), was made by two scribes and illuminator between 1487 and 1488. Its commissioner was a Bratislava canon Johannes Han (Haan de Wep, Ispar), after whom the codex is known as the Han Codex. The both volumes of the manuscript were used in the Bratislava St. Martin Cathedral since their origination. They were deposited in its tower until 1920s. In Nándor Knauz's register is published an original record of the 1r folio: *Hoc opus fecit fieri magister Iohannes Han de Wep, alias de Ispar, quondam canonicus et plebanus ecclesie s. Martini in Posonio, anno domini 1488, qui tandem vita functus est anno 1500, feria sexta post festum s. Iohannis ante portam Latinam, cuius anima deo vivat.*<sup>156</sup>

Presently the IIa volume, deposited in the Bratislava City Archive (BCA), has from original 404 only 102 folios, 4 folios and several fragments are deposited in the Bratislava City Museum. In the Bratislava City Archive are deposited 18 folios of the IIb volume, which is, together with the whole manuscript collection of the Chapter Library, deposited in the Slovak National Archive (SNA, sign. 4). The content:

IIa: Proprium de tempore (Sunday on the Feast of Pentecost – 16<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time (ff. 1r-87v)

Proprium de sanctis (ff.88r-97v, St. Peter and Paul the antiphon *In plateis ponebantur infirmi* – St. Catherine the antiphon *Virginis eximiae Catharinae*)

Commune sanctorum (ff. 98r-100v)

IIb: Proprium de tempore (ff. 1r-241v, Feast of the Nativity, the antiphon *O regem caeli cui talia* – vigil on the feast of Pentecost, the invitatory *Ascendens Christus*)

Proprium de sanctis (ff. 242-307v, St. Andrew – the feast *Purificatio BMV*)

The Messine-gothic notation of the codex documents the stylized features of this notation system, with different neume shapes approaching the notation practice of Moravian manuscripts of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The notator of the both codices was not identical. Nevertheless, the sign system of both parts of the antiphonary is similar. It uses red 4-lined stave, red double framing, custos, keys c and f. German signs of the Messine-gothic notation are disappearing. Virga in most cases disappears from the beginning of climac. It was replaced by tractulus, which is marked with a thin vertical line. The only witness of German origin remained the shape of scandicus.

*The Bratislava Antiphonary IIa, f. 23v*

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<sup>156</sup> KNAUZ, Nándor. *A pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratái*. Esztergom: Horak, 1870, Nr. 5.

Some deflection towards the Bohemian notation is recorded in work of the second notator of the *Bratislava Antiphonary IIb*. Neume forms with their elongated shape and heads of individual neumes tend more to the *Bohemian* notation.<sup>157</sup>

*The Bratislava Antiphonary IIb, f. 112v*

#### 4. 1. 3. 3. THE BRATISLAVA ANTIPHONARY III.

The Bratislava Antiphonary III (EC Lad. 6)<sup>158</sup> of the Bratislava City Archive is an important source of the medieval Hungary central codices group from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is regarded as Buda manuscript. Some fragments of the Bratislava Antiphonary III (21 folios)<sup>159</sup> were located in the inheritance of Nándor Knauz, and were marked by Esztergom Archive Signatures. Today are deposited in the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest (A 23/III, V).<sup>160</sup>

From the large-format codex only the temporal was preserved (*pars temporalis*). According to Szigeti<sup>161</sup> and Dobszay<sup>162</sup> the antiphonary comes from the Buda scribal workshop (the style of the codex, its miniatures, script and especially notation). Unlike Sopko, assuming the codex originated in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, Szendrei and Dobszay date its origination in the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (generally in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>163</sup> In our opinion, the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* originated in the third or fourth quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It is evident in particular from the degree of gothisation of individual neume elements, compared with fragmentary preserved sources from Slovak territory, which were notated with the same notation type. Its liturgical and musical content does not differ from the codices used in Bratislava,<sup>164</sup> which codified the Esztergom tradition in extremely precise form. Melodic variations of the antiphonary almost completely agree with the *Esztergom Antiphonary* (*Mss. I. 3*) from the Metropolitan Archbishop Library in Esztergom. Formally, (especially the notation and script) so called "*Buda Psalter*" from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century and fragments from the State Archive in Trnava are the closest to the *Bratislava Antiphonary III*.

*The Bratislava Antiphonary III* contains office chants of winter - spring and summer - autumn part of the liturgical year (the temporal - „*proprium de tempore*“) without the sanctoral chants („*proprium de sanctis*“). The codex is preserved in considerably damaged condition. The introduction is missing units with Advent chants and part of Christmas period office chants (Feast of the Nativity, antiphons of the octave of the Nativity, the first vespers and matins introductory part of the feast of St. Stephen Martyr). There appear gaps („*lacuna*“) several times in the main corpus of the manuscript, and some units are moved incorrectly and do not belong in the arranged place according to liturgical content.

The codex begins with the third antiphon of the second nocturne on the feast of St. Stephen Martyr „*O quam admirabile*“(Christmas time)<sup>165</sup> and the first responsory of the second nocturne „*Intuens in caelum*“ (f.1r). The manuscript ends with the antiphon to Benedictus from Lauds of the Office for the

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<sup>157</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: Notové písmo v stredovekej Bratislave. In „Hudobné tradície a ich tvorcovia“ (Zv. 18). Zborník z muzikologickej konferencie Hudobný život Bratislavy od stredoveku po barok. Bratislava 1989, p. 23 – 31.

<sup>158</sup> KNAUZ. *A pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratái*. Kn 1. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, nr.7. VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizep*. 2002, nr. 27.

<sup>159</sup> SZENDREI, JANKA, Janka. *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, F 146.

<sup>160</sup> DOBSZAY, László. A „Budai antifonále“ megtalált töredékei. In *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1978, p. 35-39. *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevii*. Antiphonae. Band V/I – III. RAJECZKY, Benjamin – SZENDREI, JANKA, Janka - DOBSZAY, László (ed.). Kassel – Basel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1999, p.17.

<sup>161</sup> SZIGETI. *Denkmäler*. p.162.

<sup>162</sup> DOBSZAY. *A pozsonyi antifonálék*. p.271-275.

<sup>163</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy* 1981, nr.7, p.51-52.

<sup>164</sup> DOBSZAY, László. Niekoľko aspektov skúmania stredovekých hudobných kódexov Bratislavy. In *Hudobný život Bratislavy od stredoveku po barok. Zborník príspevkov z konferencie BHS* (Zv.18). Bratislava 1989, p.17-18

<sup>165</sup> DOBSZAY, László – PRÓSZÉKY, Gábor. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. A preliminary Report. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988, p.294, nr. 11320 /Nat Ste N2 a3/.

Dead for „*Absolve Domine animas*“and responsory on the second vespers „*Absolve Domine animas*“ (f.161v)<sup>166</sup>. Several offices are incomplete or missing in the preserved manuscript<sup>167</sup>.

The notation of the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* documents the most significant impact of Esztergom notational system on the original Messine forms. Individual neumatic elements of the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* tend not only to the Messine (less German) but also the Esztergom shapes unlike the unified style in the Messine-gothic notation in the *Bratislava Antiphonary I*, *Bratislava Antiphonary IV*, *Bratislava Antiphonary IIa* and *IIb*, which represents a typical, local Bratislava tradition. Notation of the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* belongs to the sources notated with the Messine - gothic - mixed (Esztergom) system. At the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century music notation of the manuscripts from the territory of medieval Hungary reached the important development phase.<sup>168</sup> Not only changed the technique of notation (gothized neume shapes caused by the use of broad pens) but the notation systems used in our scribal workshops was under heavy foreign influence (especially the Bohemian and German). Reforms in notation were not adopted by all scribal schools identically. Efforts to convert old, united neumatic forms (a typical feature of Esztergom notation are tied, continuous shapes - especially the scandicus) to the new gothic notes appear in the central scriptoria already in the late 14th century. Individual notes (puncti) increased, what corresponded to the requirements of the then practice a musical life. Choral books had to be clearly legible from a distance in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Improved readability of codices caused different direction of initially vertical, puncti series (a typical sign of Esztergom notation, where a typical Esztergom climacus consisted of initial biPunctum a series of vertical decreasing puncti) to the right (the Messine notation is characterized by right direction, even in case of the climacus). As part of the reform process in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century a separate notation was created, which can be regarded neither Esztergom, nor the Messine notation, because it contained strong Esztergom elements.<sup>169</sup> Janka Szendrei called it the Messine-gothic Esztergom mixed notation.<sup>170</sup> The emergence of a new notation reflects the educational level of the Hungarian scriptoria which, although building on an old tradition, were not refusing foreign influence (especially during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg and in the later period). The first representatives of the Messine-gothic mixed notation are two volumes of the antiphonaries with the Esztergom rite from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century (the *Esztergom Antiphonary (Mss. I. 3)*)<sup>171</sup> from the Metropolitan Archbishop Library in Esztergom.<sup>172</sup> The sign and form structure of the *Esztergom Antiphonary* is also connected with the neume shapes of the fragment of the Gradual no. 20 from Modra and fragments of the graduals no.1, 2 and 3 from Trnava, which originated in the third or fourth quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly to the *Esztergom Antiphonary*, the fragments from Modra and Trnava also present the Messine-gothic-mixed system, which was influenced by the Bohemian notation (scandicus is created in Bohemian distinctive style; it consists of the punktum and pes). These manuscripts are the only sources which prove the assimilation of Bohemian elements in Esztergom notational school. Other manuscripts that use the loose technique of the Messine-gothic mixed system are the *Buda Psalter* (according to Szendrei both codices originated in Buda scribal workshop)<sup>173</sup> and choral books, which are attributed to the activity of the Zagreb bishop Osvát Thuzo (MR 1, MR 10).<sup>174</sup> The codices notated with this notation were mostly large-format, richly decorated liturgical books.

The sign system of the *Bratislava Antiphonary III* is characterized by a double red frame, providing the mirror of pages (277x440 mm, complete dimensions of each folio are approximately 415x605

<sup>166</sup> DOBSZAY – PRÓSZÉKY. A preliminary Report, p. 370, nr. 37750 /Ann Mort L Ab/.

<sup>167</sup> DOBSZAY – PRÓSZÉKY. A preliminary Report, p. 282, 310.344.

<sup>168</sup> SZENDREI, Janka. Graner Choralnotation. In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988, p.9 - 154.

<sup>169</sup> SZENDREI. Graner Choralnotation. p.157.

<sup>170</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch. Stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. Dizertačná práca. Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV. Bratislava 2004, p. 26.

<sup>171</sup> CD Catalogue – RZ 00114-115/1. <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cd-catalogue/00000096.htm>

<sup>172</sup> SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. 1981, C 8, C 9, F 40 (Maďarská akadémia vied T 308) a U.Fr.I.m.236 University Library Budapest. RADÓ, Polycarp. *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*. Budapest 1973, p. 528-529.

<sup>173</sup> SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*. 1981 C7.

<sup>174</sup> SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*. 1981 C 55 a C 57. KNI EWALD, Dragutin. *Illuminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih rukopisa*. Záhreb 1944, p.82-83.72-76.

mm). The number of red 4 - lined stave systems is 11. The height of stave is 20 mm (gap: about 5.5 mm). The codex uses c, f, g keys, accidental b and the custos. Dimensions of the Punctum are about 5x5 mm.

*The Bratislava Antiphonary III, f. 3r*

4. 1. 3. 4 THE BRATISLAVA ANTIPHONARY IV

*The Bratislava Antiphonary IV* (the Slovak National Archive 2, 228 ff., the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad. 2/47 4 ff.)<sup>175</sup> is one of the most significant medieval notated sources from our territory. It contains the most authentic form of perennial office chants practice in the collegiate chapter in Bratislava along with the *Bratislava Antiphonary I*. It preserves liturgical - musical traditions of the most important ecclesiastical center of medieval Hungary - Esztergom.<sup>176</sup> Based on the content of the notation and internal layout features, Szendrei and Dobszay date the codex back in the 1430'. Sopko ranks the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* among the manuscripts, which emerged in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (even the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). The antiphonary was made for the needs of the Bratislava Chapter, where it has been used for a long time. The numerous added notation and script from the 16<sup>th</sup> and the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (scheduled names of feasts, Sundays, chants, etc.) support the fact. On the folio 1r (upper margin) maintained an inscription „*Joannes Coller Anno 1586*“ and „*Anno 1602 die 7. septembris sub iecanatu Andreae Wasuarij, praepisiti maioris Wesprimiensis et canonici Posoniensis, praesens graduale renovatum*“. The scribe of another record probably added some missing - damaged folios of the codex (text, stave and also the notation, for example f.8r) and chants on f.228r-v on the feast of Resurrection of the Lord (ferial antiphons *De Resurrectione Domini*) and the Transfiguration (antiphons on Lauds *De Transfiguratione Domini*). The *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* with the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* make a pair of major sources of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that originated directly in the Bratislava Chapter scribal workshop. Both antiphonaries capture the melodic and liturgical tradition of Esztergom rite in extremely precise form (like the *Breviarium Zagrabiansae MR 67* from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Breviarium Strigoniense* from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Istanbul Antiphonary* - 1360/1370, the Pauline antiphonaries from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the printed normative *Breviarium Strigoniense* from 1484 etc.). The *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* contains chants of winter - spring period. The temporal and sanctoral have been preserved (as in the case of the *Bratislava Antiphonary I*). Between the two manuscripts there exist overlaps on the Feast of the Ascension and Pentecost, thus they cannot be identified a pair of codices belonging together. Despite this fact, it is clear that the notators created both manuscripts under the influence of the same scribal tradition and probably in the same scribal workshop. It is even possible to accept the hypothesis that both antiphonaries could be the work of the same scribe.

The main body of the codex begins with the antiphon *A diebus antiquis* (f. 1v) of the first Vespers of the first Sunday of Advent,<sup>177</sup> like the *Istanbul Antiphonary* (around 1360, f. 1r). It ends on f. 227v with chants from the feast of St. Barbara - *Historia de s. Barbare – Gratulemur regi digna* (f. 224v). The last notated chant is the Magnificat antiphon of the second Vespers on the feast of St. Barbara *Rex in caena* (f. 227v). Then follow the incipit notated introductions of invitatory antiphons of different feasts *Ecce venit rex, Regem magnum, In honore beatissimae, Confessorum, Agnum sponsum, Corde et voce a Venite exultemus* (this invitatory is not notated, the text is under an empty stave, f. 227v). Chants from the folios 1r and 228r-v are added by the later hand from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Advent chants are sorted by the Archdiocese of Esztergom habits. The responsory *Festina ne tardaveris* of the third Advent week Ember days (Friday) contains two verses *Veni Domine* and *Excita potentiam* (f. 17r). For Esztergom is also typical the following inclusion of antiphons in the Advent

<sup>175</sup> GÜNTHEROVÁ, Alžbeta – MIŠIANIK, Ján. *Stredoveká knižná maľba na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1961, nr. 57. KNAUZ. Kn 2; SOPKO. *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy*. 1981, nr. 29, SOPKO. *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy*. 1986, nr.476.

<sup>176</sup> Okrem ostrihomskeho rítu sa v stredovekom Uhorsku používali ešte dve odlišné liturgické tradície – v okolí arcibiskupstva v Kaloči a na juhovýchode Uhorska v okolí Alba Iulie.

<sup>177</sup> *Antiphonary of Istanbul* (about 1360, f. 1r), IA. *The Istanbul Antiphonal* (about 1360). Ed. SZENDREI, Janka. *Musicalia Danubiana* 18. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999. 2002.

period: the antiphon *Dies Domini sicut fur* (f. 17r) at Friday Vespers in the third week of Advent, the antiphon *Dabit illi Dominus* (f. 17v) at the first Vespers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent and the antiphon *Dixerunt pharisaei* (f. 20v) on Lauds of the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent. At the second Vespers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* has the responsory *Egredietur virga* with the verse *Rorate caeli* (f. 20v-21r) like the *Breviarium Strigoniense* of the Premonstratensian monastery library in Prague.<sup>178</sup> The two antiphons of last 7 days of Advent period are specific for the Esztergom rite: the invitatory antiphon *Praestolantes* (f. 21r), which occurs only in Normandy<sup>179</sup> and the antiphon *Domine Deus virtutum* (f. 21r) as a “*sola*” antiphon on Matins of the 4<sup>th</sup> Advent week.<sup>180</sup> The occurrence of so-called *Clama* series of the last Advent week responsories (f.21r-23r) is rare on a European scale. The so-called “O” antiphons (f. 26v-27v) are arranged at the end of Advent period, following after antiphons on Lauds on the Saturday before the feast of Nativity. They are scheduled in the following order: *O Sapientia*, *O Adonai*, *O Radix Jesse*, *O Clavis David*, *O Oriens*, *O Rex gentium*, *O Emmanuel*, *O Virgo virginum*, *O mundi Domina*, *O Gabriel nuntius*, *O Thoma*<sup>181</sup>. The responsory *De illa occulta* follows at the first Vespers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Advent week Saturday. In Hungary, the first Vespers of the feast of the Nativity were starting with a special entrance ceremony, during which the procession antiphon *Ave spes nostra* (f. 29v) has been sung. A group of children (boys)<sup>182</sup> and a choir sang it in turns. Children stood at three different points of a temple, held candles and after singing of the first three exclamations (each invocation was sung by the two of them), passed through the middle of the church to the middle of a choir. The fourth invocation was sung by the choirmaster (so called *choratores*). Then children joined again and together with the choir sang the whole antiphon.<sup>183</sup> For the Esztergom liturgy circuit typical was the conclusion of the first Vespers psalm entry. After the final antiphon *Dum ortus fuerit* (antiphons are on f.30r-30v ordered: *Scitote quia prope*, *Rex pacificus*, *Magnificatus est rex*, *Orietur sicut sol*, *Dum ortus fuerit* and the antiphon *Gaude et laetare* without a psalm has been added. This sixth antiphon, referred to as the antiphon “*sola*” (f. 30v), occurs in Prague rite as antiphon at the first Vespers in Advent (this is a typical and for Prague rite significant antiphon).<sup>184</sup> Within the Christmas period, the feasts from the sanctoral - the feast of St. Stephen, St. John the Apostle, St. Innocents and St. Thomas Becket were exceptionally placed in temporals of the late medieval codices. The inclusion of the feast of St. Thomas Becket in the Christmas period temporal is the Esztergom particularity once again because St. Thomas was a patron of the Esztergom Archdiocese and the celebration of his cult had a special status in Esztergom liturgy. The office chants from the feast of the Epiphany, the octave and beyond (Circumcisio, Epiphania, Tempus Epiphaniae) are of international character. The exceptions are the Benedictus and Magnificat chants in the octave of the Epiphany. Their ordering was unstable throughout Europe (the following antiphons are scheduled except Friday: *Ab oriente venerunt*, *Tria sunt munera*, *Caeli aperti sunt*, *Vox de caelis*, *Venient ad te*, *Videntes stellam*, *Baptizat milles regem*, *Christo datus est*, ff.62r-63r). The antiphon *Quid est quod* (f. 63r) is added. The Esztergom rite, like the German dioceses circuit, did not sing a hymn during Matins. It was assigned at the end of the hours. At the first Vespers *Dominica Septuagesimae* most of Esztergom sources mentions special chants with alleluia text: the responsory *Alleluja judica judicum* (f. 79r) and the Magnificat antiphon *Hymnum cantate* (f.80r). The responsory *Ecce Adam* (f. 82R) which provides three verses (including doxologies) with poetic text has an interesting content In European sources the responsory *Convertimini ad me* (f. 91r), which in the

<sup>178</sup> MNS, f.8r-v. IA contains Responsory with Vers *Et requiescet*, f.14r.

<sup>179</sup> IA, f.12r, MNS, p. 50.

<sup>180</sup> Third Antiphon *Dicite pusillanimes* isn't in the BA IV.

<sup>181</sup> IA contain. „O“ Antiphons in a different order (f.16r-17r): *O Sapientia*, *O Adonai*, *O Radix Jesse*, *O Clavis David*, *O Rex gentium*, *O Oriens*, *O Emmanuel*, *O Gabriel nuntius*, *O Rex pacifice*, *O Jerusalem civitas*, *R. De illa occulta*. V. *Ex Sion*. A. *O virgo virginum*.

<sup>182</sup> *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis* 1509. DOBSZAY, László (ed.). *Musicalia Danubiana Subsidia*. Budapest 2000, 60, p. 30. „Ad vespas duo iuvenes incipiant *Ave spes nostra*, iterum duo cantant: *Ave illud...*, et duo similer *Ave concipiemp*. Item, choratores incipiant *Ave casta* choro prosequente. Deinde pontifex incipiat: *Deus in adiutorium*. Cetera, ut habentur in libro, dicantur. *Benedicamus Magne Deup*.

<sup>183</sup> MNS, p. 50.

<sup>184</sup> CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Das Prager Offizium*. Sonderstellen des *Pars temporalip*. In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40/1-3. Budapest 1999, p.1-17.

*Bratislava Antiphonary IV* is referred to as the third Matins responsory, is extremely rare.<sup>185</sup> The Vesper antiphon “sola” *Advenerunt nobis* (f. 92v) was accompanied by psalm singing in Esztergom liturgy during the Lent period. The complectory responsories “breve” (*Illumina oculos* (f. 93r), *In pace idipsum* (f. 103v) and *In manus tuas* (f. 117r) have often form of the “prolixum” responsory and are musically very sophisticated. Every two Lenten weeks different big antiphons are present in the complectory: *Vigilate ergo nescitis* (first and second Sunday of Lent, f. 93r), *Media vita* (third and fourth Sunday of Lent, 103v), *O Rex gloriose* (fifth and sixth Sunday of Lent, f. 117v - 113). The antiphon *Gregem tuum* (f. 119r) is used during the week. One of the most notable features of Esztergom office is the order of the Lenten hymns. There appear new hymns at Vespers and Lauds, while in most of manuscripts the repertoire increased of Prudentius hymns on Morning Office of Lenten Sundays: 1<sup>st</sup> week of Lent/Vespers: *Ex more docti* (f. 92v), 1<sup>st</sup> week of Lent/Morning Office: *Clarum decus* (f. 97r), 2<sup>nd</sup> week/Vespers: *Audi benigne conditor* (f. 98v), Morning Office: *Aures ad nostras* (f. 101v), 3<sup>rd</sup> week/Vespers: *Jam ter quaternis* (f. 103r), Morning Office: not stated, in Esztergom sources is a hymn *Jam Christe sol*, 4<sup>th</sup> week/Vespers: *Jesu quadragenariae* (f. 110v), Morning Office: *Summi largitor praemii* (f. 113v). The first to fourth Sunday of Lent schedules the hymn *O Nazarene dux* (f. 96r) on Morning Office. In the Esztergom office the Vespers antiphon “sola” is changed every day in the Paschal triduum. For Esztergom antiphons on small Office Prayers are also characteristic: *Mittens haec mulier* (marginal added text, f. 122v), *Quid molesti estis* (f. 123v), *Ancilla dixit Petro* (f. 124r), *Rogabo patrem meum* (f. 124v). Rare is the use of an archaic responsory *Vadis propitiator* (f. 124v),<sup>186</sup> which occurs only sporadically in European sources. In the Esztergom Office also appear two variants of the antiphon *Simon dormis* (f. 126v). The longer is used in the Holy Week Wednesday complectory (f. 128v), the shorter is scheduled on the Holy Week Tuesday Vespers (f. 126v). After the Benedictus antiphon *Traditor autem dedit* (f. 133v)<sup>187</sup> on Maundy Thursday follow litany verses V1. *Qui ex passis* (f. 133v), V2. *Jesu Christe qui passurus* (f. 134r), V3. *Qui propheticę*, V4. *Vita in ligno* (ff. 133v-134r) and a graduale *Christus factus est* (f. 134r). By Esztergom practice a procession followed, during which a hymn *Rex Christe* (f. 134r) was sung. The Esztergom Office on Easter Sunday of Resurrection of the Lord corresponds with the general European diocesan conventions.<sup>188</sup> Excellent comparative material of various European traditions is the mass liturgical daily chants schedule in the Easter Octave: *Pascha nostrum*, *Angelus Domini*, *Surgens Jesus*, *Christus resurgens*, *In die resurrectionis*, *Crucifixus surrexit* (the *Bratislava Missal I*, ff.141-147). Throughout the Easter period an antiphon “sola” *Pax vobis* (it is scheduled only *in rubro*, f.146v) is used in Vespers office. The Esztergom rite is characterized by ordering of antiphons for small Office prayers (i, iii, vi, ix): *Surgens Jesus*, *Jesum qui crucifixus est*, *In Galilea*, *Cito euntes*. These antiphons are scheduled only *in rubro* in the *Antiphonary IV* and except the last one they differ from Esztergom customs: *Angelus autem Domini*, *Erat autem aspectus*, *Prae timore autem ejus* and *Cito euntes* (f. 145r). The Temporal differs in the office liturgy on the 7<sup>th</sup> Easter Sunday of Pentecost (f. 159v). The last notated chant is the Benedictus antiphon *Rogabo Patrem meum* from Saturday in 7<sup>th</sup> week of Easter (Pentecost Vigil). The Sanctoral begins on f.160r with the antiphon *Ambulant Jesus* (divine office of the feast of St. Andrew). Then the office chants of the feast of Nicholas (161r), St. Lucy (161r), St. Thomas (162v), St. Fabian and Sebastian (163r - 164v), St. Agnes (164v), St. Vincent (169v), the Conversion of St. Paul (171r), Purificatione B.M.V. (172r), St. Agatha (176v), St. Dorothy (181v), St. Scholastica (183v), Chair of St. Peter (183v), St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist (184r), St. Gregory (184v), In Annuntiatione B.M.V. (187r), St. Adalbert (191v), St. George (195r), St. Mark Evangelist (196v), St. Philip and James the Apostles (196v), Inventione s. Crucis (197v), St. Alexandra (198r), *Johannis ante portam latinam* (202r) continue. On fractions from the Bratislava City Archive (EC Lad 2/47, 4 ff.) are chants on the feast of St. Fabian and Sebastian, and the feasts of the Virgin Mary (de BMV).<sup>189</sup> The manuscript ends with the Commune Sanctorum: with chants de

<sup>185</sup> *MNS* . V2.

<sup>186</sup> *IA*, f. 83v.

<sup>187</sup> *IA* , f. 87v.

<sup>188</sup> *MNS*, p. 52.

<sup>189</sup> A. *Dixit autem Maria*, *Ideoque et quid* and A. *Dixit autem Maria* are from the feast Annuntiatione B.M.V. – 3N (f. 3r-v). A. *Haec est quae nescivit*, *Gaude Maria virgo*, *Post partum*, R. *Postquam impleti sunt* are from the feast Purificatio B.M.V. – 3N (f. 4r-v). Sopko J. 1981, nr. 29. Sopko J. 1986, nr. 476. SZENDREI, Janka. 1981 F 336. Veselovská Eva. 2002, nr.17.

martyribus (f.201v), Commune apostolorum (203v), Commune plurimum martyrum (208r), de uno martyre (212r), continued Commune plurimum martyrum (216r), Commune confessorum (216v), de virginibus (221r) and a history *de s. Barbara* (f.224v-227v, the office *Gratulemur regi digna* (the notated hymns!)<sup>190</sup>.

The main body of the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* is notated with the Messine - gothic notational system from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (main body: f.1v: - 5 - lined red colour stave, 256x380 mm, 9 lines, stave's height: 30 mm, a gap: 8 mm, the Punctum: 5x7 mm, 5x6 mm; f.2r: - 4 - lined red stave, 10 lines, 256x400-412 mm, stave's height: 24 mm, a gap: 7 mm, the Punctum: 5x6 mm; c clef: 5x9 mm, f clef: 15x5 mm, b: 3x8 mm - in number 6 shape, a natural: 2x10 mm – letter h shaped), the custos: 5x5 mm).

Individual neume shapes are already marked by gothisation and monumentalisation, which participated in magnification of neumatic shapes in all notation types in Europe since the first third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The notational system of the antiphonary builds on the Messine - gothic notation of the *Bratislava Missal "H"* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest)<sup>191</sup> and the *Bratislava Missal VI* from 1403 (the Bratislava City Museum)<sup>192</sup>. The system is placed in 10 lines of a red 4-lined stave with double framing and using the custos (f.1v has 9 lines of the stave). The custos is of diamond shape with a long capillary line extending to the right. The notational system of the antiphonary uses *c*, *f* and *g* keys. F - key is created from gothized tractulus with the slanted top and the bottom in conjunction with two puncti arranged in a third under each other. The comprehensive view of the overall ductus of neumes shows the Messine - gothic notational system of the antiphonary in vertical direction. Neumatic signs themselves are created with stylized rhombic heads (the writing material impact). The antiphonary's main body notation belongs to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). A single tone neume – the Punctum is of slightly calligraphic, elongated diamond shape in the vertical position. The Pes is made up of separate Punctum and Virga, which is also of a vertical direction. The Clivis is rectangular - the Messine. It is ended with a mannerist, regularly drawn rhombic head. The Scandicus consists of two rising facing right Puncti and Virga. It retains the original German form, without any Esztergom impact on the original shape. The Climacus consists of an initial bipunct, followed by a descending Puncti, facing right. The opening of the Climacus in the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV* could be influenced by the Esztergom notational system for which a bipunctual opening of the Climacus was one of the defining and significant features of the Esztergom notation. This element can be considered as the sole witness of the possible impact of this notation on the form of the sign system of the *Bratislava Antiphonary IV*. The Torculus is created from Pes (with the separate initial Punctum), which is connected with Virga. The Virga is like Clivis ended by a rhombic head. The Porrectus is formed by the Clivis in conjunction with Virga, while both signs only matched to each other.

The added text of the codex is written with the Esztergom or the the Messine - gothic notational system.<sup>193</sup>

#### *The Bratislava Antiphonary IV, f. 2v*

#### 4. 1. 3. 5 THE BRATISLAVA ANTIPHONARY V

*The Bratislava antiphonary V* (Slovak National Archive 17<sup>194</sup>) differs from the four-volume *Bratislava antiphonaries* (I–IV) not only in its use of the Bohemian notational system but also in its liturgical content. The liturgy of the antiphonary documents the Prague rite. On the basis of its content, this

<sup>190</sup> Office *Gratulemur regi digna – Vesperale*, Wien Diözesanarchiv A-Wda D-4 a *Codex from* Kopenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl.Kgl.Samling 3449, I-XVII /DK-Kk 3449.

<sup>191</sup> OSzK Clmae 94, SZENDREI, Janka. 1981 M3, Sopko J. 1982, nr.209.

<sup>192</sup> Ciry Museum Bratislava – A/2. Sopko Júliup. 1986, nr.489, Kn 8, Veselovská Eva. 2002 nr.48.

<sup>193</sup> Esztergom Notation – 16th century (f. 22r, f. 57r, 195v). Messine Notation 15. – 17th century (f. 1r, f. 26v, f. 63r, 121r-v, 130r, 220v, 224r). Messine mixed Notation 16.-17th century(f. 8r-v, f. 112r, f. 115r, f. 155r-v, f. 228r-v).

<sup>194</sup> KNAUZ. *A pozsony káptalánnak kéziratái*. 1870, nr. 17. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, nr. 39. SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*.1981, C28. CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonalium – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. III/A* (Temporale). Budapešť 1996, p. 38.

codex is classified as a representative notated source capturing the medieval liturgical practice of the Archdiocese of Prague.<sup>195</sup> Mainly the two reform initiatives contributed to the emergence and development of the Prague Office. The first is associated with the name of Dean Vitus (he became the dean of St. Vitus Cathedral at the Prague castle in 1235), which took place in the 30's of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The second initiative arose from the reform efforts of the Prague Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>196</sup> After the establishment of the Prague Archbishopric 30 April 1344 two suffragan bishoprics - Litomyšl and Olomouc had to over the Prague metropolitan liturgy. Among the prescribed feasts in Prague liturgy were scheduled the following holidays by Arnošt of Pardubice: Feast of the Nativity, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, Circumcision of the Lord, Epiphany - Three Kings, Presentation of the Lord, St. Matthias, Annunciation, Holy Week and the Feast of the Resurrection of the Lord, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi. From the Sanctoral it was the feast of St. Adalbert, St. Philip and James, Finding of the Holy Cross, St. Vitus, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Procopius, St. Margaret, St. James, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, Assumption, St. Bartholomew, The Birth of the Virgin Mary, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, St. Ludmila, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Matthew, St. Wenceslas, St. Simon and Jude, All Saints, St. Martin, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas and St. Thomas. The feast of temple dedication (in *Dedicacione templi*) and the day of the patron saint of the parish church (this date could be also connected with a local pilgrimage) were a special liturgy. Special position had Marian Liturgy cult. In addition, 6 other feasts were celebrated specifically in the Prague rite (St. Mark, St. Lukas, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Jerome).<sup>197</sup> In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century were established feasts of St. Sigismund (Czech patron saint, May 2) and the Visitation in Prague Liturgy. *The Bratislava Antiphonary V* does not contain all office chants, but mostly chants for the vespers. Occasionally the chants for the first nocturne of some holidays are listed (on the feast of the Nativity there are also listed chants of the second and third nocturne). A more appropriate title for this codex would therefore be *Vesperale*. Because the source does not keep the Esztergom liturgical tradition, nor does it contain melodic material typical for medieval Bratislava manuscripts, it cannot be included among the codices of the domestic provenance.

Content:

Proprium de tempore (ff. 1r– 63v) form the Nativity feast office (Advent period chants are missing) to the 25<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Ordinary Time (*per annum*), the *Corpus Christi* feast office, *Dedicacione ecclesiae* Proprium de sanctis and Commune Sanctorum (ff. 63v– 115v).

The antiphonary begins with the chant *Gloria pie Trinitatis* (f. 1r), which is the third verse of the third responsory *Descendit de caelis* of the Nativity feast first nocturne.<sup>198</sup> The last chant of the codex is the responsory *Ductus est Ihesus* with the *Et cum jejunasset* on the feast of St. Virgins (commune virginum).

Several defining features that are typical of the office chants of the rite (most of the features are unfortunately typical of Advent period) appear in the Prague liturgy temporal. The Bratislava Antiphonary V contains the following features: first and second Vespers contain a great responsory, so-called *responsorium prolixum*; 5 antiphons are sung with psalms – e.g. the practice of Western and Central European sources uses only one antiphon on the Feast of the Holy Trinity – so-called the *antiphona sola*;<sup>199</sup> in the Prague rite though 5 antiphons are mentioned: *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, *Laus et perennis*, *Gloria laudio*, *Laus Deo Patri* and *Ex quo omnia* (ff. 42r-43r). Unlike the typical Prague rite in the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* the second nocturne responsories of the Nativity feast are listed in reverse order: *O magnum mysterium* (f.1v) and *Quem vidistis pastores* with the verse *Dicite quidnam* (f. 2r). Prague sources as the first responsory indicate *Quem vidistis pastores* with the verse *Natus est hodie*. The third responsory of this feast's third nocturne, *Verbum caro*, where instead of the first verse *Puer natus*, *In principio erat* (f. 4v) is listed, deviates from Prague practice. The second verse is not

<sup>195</sup> CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa: *Corpus Antiphonalium – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. III/A (Temporale)*. Budapešť 1996.

<sup>196</sup> CZAGÁNY. *Das Prager Offizium*. p.1-17. NEJEDLÝ, Zdeněk: *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách*. Praha 1904.

<sup>197</sup> NEJEDLÝ. *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu*. p. 41-45.

<sup>198</sup> CZAGÁNY. *CAO-ECE* 1996, 10550.

<sup>199</sup> Salzburg – *Adesto Deus*, Passau – *Te invocamur*.

written. Second Vespers antiphons are listed on the next folio (f. 5r-v). As the big antiphon *O mundi Domina* (f. 4v) is written.<sup>200</sup> Then the Nativity Feast second Vespers antiphons follow (f.5r-v). An extra antiphon *Maria intacta* (f. 6r) is listed on the Magnificat. In the Central European material this antiphon is listed only in the *Esztergom Istanbul Antiphonary*<sup>201</sup> (in a slightly more decorative form than in the *Bratislava Antiphonary V*) and the Vienna manuscript of the Diocesan Archive in Vienna (D 4,<sup>202</sup> C 11<sup>203</sup>). A responsory *Patefacte sunt* follows with a verse *Vidit beatus Stephanus* and two antiphons of the feast of St. Stephen (*Stephanus autem plenus* and *Sepelierunt Stephanum*, f. 6r-v). From the first vespers of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist Feast the responsory *Vox tonitruui* (a verse *Victo senatu*) and the Magnificat antiphon *Valde honorandus* are listed. In the second Vespers *In medio ecclesiae* occurs as the Magnificat antiphon, which is in Prague rite used as the Benedictus antiphon of Lauds of this feast (f. 7v). The first Vespers liturgy of the Feast of Holy Innocents follows. A responsory *Centum quadraginta* uses *Isti sunt qui* (f. 8r) instead of the verse *Sub throno Dei*. Listed are also both Magnificat antiphons for the first and second Vespers of the feast, followed by the Magnificat antiphon at the first Vespers of the Presentation of the Lord feast, antiphon for Lauds and the Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers (f.8v - 10r). The first Vespers chants of the Epiphany feast follow (a responsory *Illuminare illuminare*, a verse *Et ambulat gentes*, the Magnificat antiphon *Magi videntes Stellam*, f. 10v-11r). Then the invitatory *Christus apparuit* (f. 11r) follows, in the Prague rite listed in the octave of the feast and three antiphons of the first nocturne of the Nativity octave (*Afferte Domino*, *Fluminis impetus* and *Psallite Deo*). After a responsory *Hodie in Jordane* with a verse *Caeli aperti sunt* a responsory *In columbae specie* with a verse *Caeli aperti sunt* (first and third responsory of the third nocturne) and the Magnificat antiphon *Tribus miraculis* at the second Vespers (f. 12v) are listed. A series of antiphons on Magnificat at Vespers on Sundays after the feast of the Epiphany (within the octave, the first, second and third Sunday after the feast of the Epiphany - *Puer Jesus, Deficiente vino*, *Domine si tu vis*, *Domine salva nos*) follow. First Vespers of *Septuagesimae* Sunday contain a responsory *Cantate Deo* with a verse *Date gloriam* (f. 13r - v) instead of the responsory *In toto corde* with a verse *Vide humilitatem* used in Prague. A responsory *Ubi est Abel* of the *Sexagesimae* Sunday first Vespers coincides with the Prague rite is followed by the Magnificat antiphon *Conventione autem* (f. 14v) which is probably listed as an alternative antiphon on *Septuagesimae* Sunday. Only then the antiphon *Plantaverat autem* for the *Sexagesimae* Sunday first Vespers follows. First Vespers of *Quinquagesimae* Sunday contain a responsory *Benedicens ergo* with a verse *Hoc erit signum* and the Magnificat antiphon *Qui Verbum Dei*. The last in this liturgical section is listed an alternative antiphon *Caecus magis* on the *Quinquagesimae* Sunday Magnificat (f. 15v). First and second Vespers chants on the particular Sunday of Lent period (a responsory with a verse and a Magnificat antiphon) are listed in the *Bratislava Antiphonary V*. The Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday offices contain also chants from the first nocturne and Lauds. Lent begins with a responsory *Angelis suis mandavit* with a verse *Super aspidem* (f. 15v) from the first Vespers. Then the Magnificat antiphon *Ecce nunc tempus* follows. Listed is also the Compline responsory *Convertimini ad me* with a verse *Auferte vestrarum* (f. 16r-v). Further on the chants at first and second Vespers of the second Lenten Sunday are listed. The Magnificat antiphon *Mulier magna est* (f. 17v) of the second vespers used instead of the antiphon *Vade mulier* used in the Prague rite deviates from Prague practice.<sup>204</sup> This version of the antiphon's text is not listed in the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* edition (J.P. Hesbert, a database: [www.cantusdatabase.org](http://www.cantusdatabase.org)). In European sources it appears with an exclamation *O mulier magna* (Cantus ID 004046 or cao4046).<sup>205</sup> Concerning melody it is almost identical (there are only small deviations) with the version of the *Istanbul Antiphonary* (*O, fiat, sicut*). The used responsory on the third Sunday of Lent first Vespers *Salus nostra* with a verse *Vivat anima* (f. 18r, cao7559, 7559a) deviates from Prague practice. A responsory *Videns Jacob* with a verse *Vide si tunica* is listed in this place in Prague.<sup>206</sup> The third and fourth Sunday of Lent chants are identical to

<sup>200</sup> IA, f.17r. Cao 4048.

<sup>201</sup> IA, f.23r. Cao 3104.

<sup>202</sup> Vesperale from Kirmberg 15./16th century. Wien, Diözesanarchiv, D-4, f.25r.

<sup>203</sup> Nocturnale from Kirmberg. Wien, Diözesanarchiv, C-11, f.37v – Liturgy from Passau.

<sup>204</sup> CZAGÁNY. CAO-ECE 1996, 21470.

<sup>205</sup> IA, f.64r.

<sup>206</sup> CZAGÁNY. CAO-ECE 1996, 21 630, 21 640.

Prague practices. Different is only the Magnificat antiphon text of the fourth Sunday of Lent *Illi autem homines* (f. 20r), instead of *Illi ergo homines*. A version of the antiphon from the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* appears only in the Danish codex of Copenhagen, (Dk-Kk 3449),<sup>207</sup> where this antiphon is listed in the office of the 25<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Ordinary Time. Instead of the Magnificat antiphon *Ego sum lux* (cao2592) used in Prague, an antiphon *Ego sum qui testimonium* (cao2600) appears in Vespers of the fifth Lenten Sunday, followed by the antiphon on compline *Signatum est super nos lumen*, which appears at the same place only in English manuscripts in so-called Barnwell Antiphonary GB-Cu Mm.ii.9 of the University Library in Cambridge and in so-called Penpont Antiphonary GB-AB 20541 E of the National Library of Wales.<sup>208</sup> The Compline also contains an antiphon *Judicasti Domine* (f. 21r, cao3518 in European sources the antiphon usually appears in Lauds of Palm Sunday), while in Prague an antiphon *Media vita* was used. Other chants of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Lent (ff. 21v-23r) are consistent with the Prague use, as well as the liturgy of Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday (ff. 23v-31r). Kyrie eleyson (f. 26r) is listed with a text: *Kyrie eleyson. Domine miserere. Christus. Kyrie eleyson. Jesu Christe qui passurus advenisti*. In the Bratislava Antiphonary V Easter period begins with the antiphon *Alleluja alleluja* at first Vespers (f. 31r). Liturgy of the Resurrection of the Lord Sunday, ferias of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> octaves of Resurrection, Ascension Day and Pentecost almost completely agree with Prague practices (ff. 31r-38r, the hymns are not listed though). In addition to Vespers chants, the first nocturnes on the feasts of Resurrection and Ascension of the Lord and Pentecost are notated. The Magnificat antiphon of second Vespers of Pentecost feast (or Vespers in the Octave of the Pentecost, feria 5) *Hii qui liguis* (cao3041, f. 42r) departs from Prague. Ordinary Time chants begin with an antiphon *Gloria tibi Trinitas* (f. 42r) at first Vespers of the Holy Trinity feast. The office of this feast coincides with the Prague sources. Then the feast of *Corpus Christi* with a cycle *Sacerdos in aeternum* follows.<sup>209</sup> The order of responsories of the feast's first nocturne deviates from Prague rite. As the second responsory *Respexit Elias* is listed and *Comeditis carnes* is the third one (ff. 46v-47r, Prague shows the opposite position and a text *Comeditis*). Then the first Vespers chants of the Temple Sanctification feast office follow (ff. 48v-51v). The Prague office lacks a verse *Conserva Domine*<sup>210</sup> of the *Benedic Domine domum* first nocturne third responsory (Prague office uses a verse *Domum tuam Domine*) within the chants of this feast. Then follows the liturgy *Historia de Regum*, which coincides with the Prague office. Listed is only the responsory *Planxit autem David* with the verse *Montes Gelboe* and four Magnificat antiphons (f. 52r-52v). Then follow the Magnificat antiphons on First and Second Vespers of the 1<sup>st</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time (ff. 53r-54r). The following are listed the chants *Historia de Sapientia*. Only a reverse order of the first two Magnificat antiphons deviates from the Prague practice. As the first is listed *Sapientia clamitat* followed by *Sapientia aedificavit*. Then there are the antiphons on the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time, which are succeeded by a responsory and the Magnificat antiphon *Historiae de Job*. Then follow the antiphons on the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time (the antiphon *Donne decem mundati* is probably a mistake of a scribe instead of *Nonne decem mundati*, f. 57v), which are succeeded by the responsory *Nos alium Deum* with the verse *Exspectemus humiles* (cao7237b)<sup>211</sup> from *Historia de Judith* (but *Historia de Tobia* should follow). Then the antiphon *Ne reminiscaris* from *Historia de Tobia* (f. 58r) follows, which is followed by the Magnificat antiphon of the 15<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time. Then follow a responsory and antiphon from *Historia de Judith*, which is replaced by the Magnificat antiphon of the 16<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time. Then the responsory and antiphon from *Historia de Esther* are listed. The responsory *Spem in alium* has unlike the Prague office (*Domine Deus caeli*) listed the verse *Qui regis Israel*. Then follows the Magnificat antiphon of the 17<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time replaced by the office from *Historia de Machabaeis* with the responsory *Ornaverunt faciem* and antiphons *Adaperiat Dominus, Da pacem, Tua est potentia* and *Tu Domine universorum* (in Prague order the last antiphon is the fifth in order). Then continue Magnificat antiphon of the 18<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time, which are succeeded by the responsory and antiphons from *Historiae de Prophetis* (the last two antiphons *Sustinuimus pacem* and

<sup>207</sup> København (Copenhagen), Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. Samling, 3449, I-XVII. Cao 3177.

<sup>208</sup> Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru – National Library of Wales, 20541 E („Penpont Antiphonale“).

<sup>209</sup> In the Liturgy of Prag - *Jesum lauda ecclesia*.

<sup>210</sup> IA f.120r.

<sup>211</sup> IA f.130v.

*Muro tuo* have the opposite order as in Prague office). At the end of the Ordinary Time period the Magnificat antiphons of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> Sunday (f. 63r-v) and 24<sup>th</sup> (*Si tetigero*) and 25<sup>th</sup> (*De quinque panibus*<sup>212</sup>) Sunday in Ordinary Time are listed.

The Sanctoral of the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* contains selected chants (especially responsories and Magnificat antiphons at Vespers, possibly antiphons and responsories on the first nocturne) only on certain feasts of saints. It starts with an antiphon *Ambulans Jesus* at Vespers of the feast of St. Andrew (f.63v), followed by the responsory *Homo ei ducebatur* with the written verse *Cumque carnifices*, the Magnificat antiphon *Mox ut vocem Domini* (it is listed within the first Vespers in Prague office), the first antiphon of Lauds *Salve crux* and the Magnificat antiphon of the second Vespers *Maximilla Christo* (ff. 63v-65r). Then the part of the office *O pastor aeterne* on the feast of St. Nicholas (the antiphon *Sancte Nicolae confessor*, the responsory *Beatus Nicolaus* with the verse *Ut apud Christum* and the Magnificat antiphon *O pastor aeterne*, f. 65r-v) is listed. Then follows the office *Ave decus virgineum* on the feast of the Immaculate Conception (*Conceptio Mariae*), where except Vespers responsories on the first nocturne are listed (the third responsory of the first nocturne is replaced by the third responsory of the third nocturne *O Maria clausa porta*), followed by the chant *Sospitati dedit aegros Mariae*, the antiphon *Conceptus hodiernus* of Lauds and the Magnificat antiphon at second Vespers *Magnifica Christi mater* (ff. 66r-70v). Marian feasts had a special status in Prague and Hungarian sanctoral. The liturgical reform of Ernest of Pardubice and John of Jenštejn had been promoting Marian cult in the daily liturgy (for example, so-called *maturas* were very popular - daily morning sung holy mass). Then the antiphon *In tua patientia* of the eponymous office of St. Lucia (f. 70v) follows. One antiphon *Christi virgo* (first Vespers, the Magnificat antiphon) represents also the office on the feast of St. Agnes. The feast of the Conversion of St. Paul is represented by the antiphon *Sancte Paule apostole*, the responsory *Magnus sanctus Paulus* and the Magnificat antiphon *O gloriosum lumen* (f. 71r-71v). Then the extensive office *Senex puerum* on the feast of *Purificatione BMV* (ff. 72r-75r) follows, where in addition to Vespers chants the antiphons and the responsories of the first nocturne are listed. The following is the part of the office on the feast of St. Dorothy *Ave gemma virtuosa* (antiphon, responsory, Magnificat antiphon, ff. 75v-76r). Then the antiphon *Simon Bar Jona* at the first Vespers of *Cathedra Petri* and part of the office *Gloriosa sanctissimi* on the feast of St. Gregory (the antiphon *Gregorius ortus Romae*, the responsory *Vere felicem* and the Magnificat antiphon *Gloriosa sanctissimi* (f. 77r-v). The office *Igressus Angelus* follows, on the feast of *Annuntiatio BMV*, and the first Vespers, Compline, antiphons and responsories on the first nocturne and the Magnificat antiphon are listed (ff. 80v-78r). The Antiphon, the responsory and the Magnificat antiphon of St. George office are listed (f. 81r-v) and St. Mark the Evangelist (f. 81v-82r). Then the office *Non turbetur* of the feast of St. Philip and James follows (antiphon, responsory and Magnificat antiphon, f. 82r-v) and the office *Helena desiderio* of the feast of *Inventio s. Crucis* (first Vespers, nocturne and second Vespers, ff. 82v-85r). On f. 85r the antiphon *In ferventis olei* of the feast of *Johannis ante Portam Latinam* is listed. Then the first Vespers chants of the feast of St. John the Baptist from the office *Ingresso Zacharia* follow (first Vespers, first nocturne with two responsories, the first antiphon at Lauds and the Magnificat antiphon *Puer qui natus*, ff. 85v-87v). Then part of the office *Oravit sanctus* of the feast of St. Vitus follows (the responsory *Dum complexset sanctus* with the verse *Justi autem* and the Magnificat antiphon *Oravit sanctus Vitus*, ff. 87v-88r). In Prague liturgical order the offices of St. John the Baptist and St. Vitus are listed in reverse order. Then *Simon Petre* office chants of the feast of St. Peter and Paul the Apostles follow (first Vespers chants, first nocturne with the first and second responsory, Magnificat antiphon, f. 88v-90v). The feast of St. Margaret office starts with the chant *O Margaretha caelorum*, which is only rubred in Prague sources (the antiphon *O Christi martyr* appears here). The first Vespers with the responsory *Quadam die Olymbrius*, the first nocturne with two responsories and the first antiphon *Martyr insignis* at Lauds (ff. 91r-93r) are listed. Then the first Vespers of the office *Diligebat autem* of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene follow. From the feast of St. James are listed the first Vespers and the Magnificat antiphon *Congaudendum est* (ff. 94v-95r). Then follows part of the office on the feast of St. Lawrence with the first Vespers, the first antiphon on Lauds and the Magnificat antiphon *Beatus Laurentius dum in* (ff. 95v- 96v). *Exaltata es* office of the feast of *Assumptio BMV* provides the first Vespers with the five antiphons, first nocturne with the responsory *Vidi speciosam*. Other parts of the office are missing

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<sup>212</sup> *Vesperale* from Kimberg Wien, Diözesanarchiv, D-4, f. 107r.

because there are probably torn folios in the codex (*lacuna* f. 98v). The sanctoral follows with the office of the feast of St. Martin (f. 99r, antiphons *Dixerunt discipuli* and *O beatum pontificem*), the office *Laetare Germania* of the feast of St. Elizabeth (the first Vespers, f. 99v-100r) and the office *Ave gemma claritatis* of the feast of St. Catherine (first Vespers with five antiphons, the first nocturne with three responsories, the trope *Aeterne virgo*, the antiphon on Lauds *Passionem gloriosa* and the Magnificat antiphon *Voce cordis* ff. 100v-104r), which is actually a conclusion of this part of the codex.

Office chants of the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* sanctorale in most cases approach the Austrian sources of Klosterneuburg and Vienna circle, which may be of Bohemian origin after all (Klosterneuburg – Augustiner – Chorherrenstift – Bibliothek, 589, 1010, 1015; Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, 287 /olim XXIX/; Wien, Diözesanarchiv, C– 10, C– 11, D– 4, Wien Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Musiksammlung, 1799; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 30 /olim 38/9 fo/).

*Commune Sanctorum* comprises of: de apostolis (ff. 104v-107r), de myrtyribus (ff. 107v-110v), de uno martyre (ff. 110v-113r), de uno confessore (ff. 113v-114r), de virginibus (ff. 114v-115v). Mostly all offices contain chants on the first Vespers, first nocturne with antiphons and two responsories, 5 antiphons on Vespers and Magnificat antiphon of the second Vespers. From Prague practice the Magnificat antiphon *Estote fortes* (f. 107v) deviates, on the feast of St. Apostles on second Vespers, which is used in Prague as antiphon on Benedictus.<sup>213</sup> *Commune sanctorum* and the whole codex ends on f. 115v with the responsory *Ductus est Jhesus* with the verse *Et cum jejunasset* on the feast of St. virgins (*commune virginum*).

#### Dimensions of the Bratislava Antiphonary V:

Dimensions of the folio: 270x385 mm, mirror: 180x290 mm, height of stave: 23– 25 mm, gap: 6 mm, punctum: 5x5, 6x6 mm, custos: 3x4 mm.

The notation of the *Antiphonary* is placed on eight lines of the five-lined red colour stave<sup>214</sup> (on some folios is a part added on the ninth line of the stave) with a double red frame. The height of the stave is about 25 mm (the gap between separate lines are about 6 mm). The notator of the codex used the C clef, F clef (two diamond rhombi), G clef, and also a custos of square shape with dimensions of about 3x4 mm. The general ductus of the notation is tilted to the right. The punctum is written without any capillary lines. The pes is of a typical Bohemian shape, and it is made up of two diamond rhombi (*puncti*), connected by a thin capillary line. The *clivis* is of the Messine rectangular shape, as in the case of the Messine-gothic notation in the *Bratislava antiphonaries I–IV*, and its slope is vertical. The *torculus* and *porrectus* are written with thin ligature lines. The *climacus* consists of two related *clivises*. Accidentals were used by a notator, namely, flats and naturals.

The *Bratislava Antiphonary V* is notated with the Bohemian notation with a typical rhombic ending on individual neumes and the right-facing ductus of the notation.

This notation of the representative codices appeared quickly in many Eastern European countries and was even released from the liturgical links. The Bohemian influence is reflected also in the notated parts of the Bratislava manuscripts from the former Bratislava Chapter Library, which are now located in Budapest – the *Bratislava Missal "D"* (prefaces) and the *Psaltery of canon Blasius* (Blaise).<sup>215</sup> The added texts with Bohemian notation from the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries are located in the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* (214r). The notation of the antiphonary is approaching a notational system. The notation of the antiphonary was placed on the 5-lined notational system similarly to the notation of the *Psalter of canon Blasius* from the former Chapter Library in Bratislava (d. 1419).<sup>216</sup>

The *Bratislava Antiphonary V* resembles the sign system of the *Prague Gradual XII A 21* from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, now in the National Library in Prague. The C clef and F clef have similar constructions. Additionally, a square custos is of the same shape in both the codices. The appearance of the Messine *clivis* is also related. In both cases, *clivis* is built vertically and ends with the pictured rhombic head.

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<sup>213</sup> CZAGÁNY. *CAO-ECE* 2002, 5.1301.0500.

<sup>214</sup> 5-linajkový systém sa v českých prameňoch objavuje už napr. v Agende Tobiáša z Běchyne (Cod.bibl.Capit.p.Viti, Praha P/3) a v Misáli zo Sv. Jiří (Cod.bibl.Nat.Mup.Boh., Praha, XIII.B,17).

<sup>215</sup> SZENDREI, Janka. *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest 1981, M 4 (vznik okolo roku 1402) a C 24. SOPKO, Júliup. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1982.

<sup>216</sup> OSzK Clmae 128.

Regarding the similarity of the sign system in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century *Bratislava Antiphonary V* to the *Gradual of King Vladislaus Mss.I.3* from the Esztergom Cathedral Library, we even consider that both codices could be the work of the same scriptorium at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The two notational systems are in fact consistently placed on a red five-lined staff system with double framing, and the construction of individual signs of the Bohemian system is almost identical, although *Bratislava Antiphonary V* version of pes is slightly more cursive, being more tilted to the right.

*The Bratislava Antiphonary V, f. 3r*

The added text with *Bohemian notation* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century is present in the *Bratislava Antiphonary I* (214r).

*The Bratislava Antiphonary I, the added text with Bohemian notation, folio 214 r.*

#### 4. 2. THE NITRA CODEX

The sole Nitra Codex, belonging to the Nitra medieval ecclesiastical institutions fund, has been preserved in its original location up to present times (the Benedictine Lectionary; Julius Sopko dates it to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Jaroslav Nemeš dates it back to the 30's of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). The manuscript contains ecfonetic features - features of German adiaستمatic neume notation.<sup>217</sup> This oldest liturgical book from the Slovak territory comes from Aachen, Germany (Burtscheid, a Benedictine monastery dedicated to John the Baptist) according to recent research of Jaroslav Nemeš. The first document about the existence of the codex is from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (1577), when it was mentioned in the testament of the Nitra bishop Paul Bornemisa. We have no written reports about the manuscript four centuries before this time.<sup>218</sup> It is one of the most precious works of medieval liturgy, education and scribal activity from our territory.<sup>219</sup> It is the oldest completely preserved manuscript. It consists of 50 folios, while it is not the notated codex in the true sense. It contains lesson feature that notify the change of intonation when reading the Passion. The sanctoral of the codex comes from the Byzantine environment of southern Italy. It contains an unusually large number of feasts (140 feasts with 244 celebrations). Among the feasts of the sanctoral, which are typical of Esztergom rite, are in addition to the feast of St. Adalbert also included feasts of St. Alexej (17 July, the celebration of the feast in Hungary is currently attributed to St. Adalbert), St. Vaclav (28 September), St. Demeter (26 October) and St. Nicholas (6 December). These feasts were not added the full text of readings, vigil or octave though.<sup>220</sup>

Content:

Proprium de tempore (ff. 1r-35r, Dominica Paschae ev. Mk 16,1-7– ev. Mt 3,13)

Proprium de sanctis (ff. 35r-45v, s. Hylario, ss. Fabiano et Sebastiano, s. Blasio, s. Benediito, s. Adalberto, s. Georgio, Translatio s. Martini, vigilia s. Benedicti, in die sancto, s. Margareta, octava s. Benedicti, s. Wencezlao, Translatio s. Benedicti, vigilia s. Thomae ap., in die sancto...)

Commune sanctorum (ff. 45v-54v)

In Dedicatione ecclesiae (54r)

Pro defunctis

#### 4. 3. THE PSALTER from the State Scientific Library in Prešov

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<sup>217</sup> Július SOPKO – Július VALACH (edp.). *Nitriansky kódex*, Matica slovenská, Martin, 1987. NEMEŠ, Jaroslav: *Nitriansky kódex a jeho posolstvo : Aachen. Óbuda. Nitra*, Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, Prešov 2006. NEMEŠ, Jaroslav: *Kodex von Neutra : Geistige Erbschaft der italienisch-griechischen Mönche und ihrer Nachfolger von Aachen*, Palatia Nyomda és Kiadó Kft. : Győr 2007. KÁČERÍK, Adrián: *Codex Nitriensis latinus*, Edizione critica del codice, Pontificium Athenaeum P. Anselmi de Urbe Pontificium Institutum Liturgicum, Romae 1998.

<sup>218</sup> TAKÁCS, Sándor: *Archaeologiai értesítő* 22, 1902, p. 202 – 211. NEMEŠ. *Nitriansky kódex*, p. 17.

<sup>219</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 195. SZIGETI, Kilián: A Szelepchényi kódex. In *Magyar Könyvszemle*. Budapest 1961, p. 363 – 370

<sup>220</sup> NEMEŠ. *Kodex von Neutra*. p. 17.

*The Psalter* (sine sign.) currently has 70 folios. It is written on parchment, whilst respecting the original binding (top wooden board is broken off). Overall dimensions of the manuscript are 220x160 mm; complete mirror is about 190x115 mm. Height of stave is movable from 7 to 8 mm, gap is 2 mm, punctum is about 2x1, 2x2 mm. Red-blue and red-green-brown lombards with rich fleuronée are used as a decoration (7v: *D-ixit*, 26r: *E-xultate*, 56v: *C-antate*, 47r: *D-ixit*, 51v: *B-enedictus*). Manuscript's notation is the Messine-gothic of a vertical direction. C and f keys are used (custos is not used). Neumatic signs are placed into a black four-lined stave (different numbers of lines, depending on the length of chants). A whole page with staves has been added to f. 67v (*In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis anne: Qui operate gloriosa*). The codex was made in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Part of the manuscript is destroyed by frequent use. On f. 25 margin is a record written by a later hand *Meyn futach*, on f. 28v upper margin *Anno domini millesimo tricen(tesimo...)...frater*, on f. 60v margin is a note *Item festum Ladislai quarta feria*, on f. 65r upper margin is a record *Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>LXXXVIII frater...*<sup>221</sup>

Content:

f. 1r: *...//conservet eum et vivificet eum et beatum faciet eum in terra...*

f. 65r: *Te deum laudamus*

f. 67v: *In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis. Imperatrix gloriosa potens.*<sup>222</sup>

neúplné officium Pro defunctis (ff. 68r-70r):

R: Heu michi (32)

R: Peccantem me cotidie (68)

R: Absolve domine (1)

R: Libera me domine de viis (40)

R: Libera me domine de morte (38)

Laudes: Exultabit... A. Deus credi...deum (70r: zadné prídoštie)

A sequence *Imperatrix gloriosa* intended for the Virgin Mary feasts is mentioned in the following text version: *...//Imperatrix gloriosa potens et imperiosa Ihesu Christi generosa mater atque filia. Radix Yesse speciosa virga flore fructu et frondosa quam /pro/duxit copiosa deitatis pluvia. Auster lenis te perflavit et perflando fecundavit aquilonem dum fugavit sua cum potentia. Florem ergo genuisti exquo fructum protulisti Gabrielis dum fuisti paranimpho credula. Joseph iustus vir expavit ista dum consideravit sciens quod non temeravit florecentem virgulam. Bene tamen conservavit archanum nec divulgavit sponsam sed magnificavit honorans ut dominam. Celi quondam roraverunt//... :*

*The Psalter from the SSL in Prešov, f. 67v*

#### 4. 4. THE NOTATED BREVIARY from 1375 from the State Scientific Library in Prešov

*The Notated Breviary* (sine sign.) from 1375, which is the property of the Collegiate Evangelical Library in Prešov and presently deposited in the State Scientific Library, has 230 folios.<sup>223</sup> Leather binding is from the 16<sup>th</sup> century (white leather with a blind print decoration and luxurious fittings with figures of birds, with a rose in center, clips are shaped like the heads of bearded men). Dimensions of the manuscript are 468x330 mm, complete mirror is of 374x245 mm, the width of one column is 115-118 mm, height of staves is about 10-11 mm, gap of 3 mm and punctum: 3x3 mm. Decoration of the breviary is characterized by lombards with rich fleuronée filling, often with figural decoration (portraits). The codex was made in 1375 for the St. Margaret Church in the Polish village Dambno in Lesser Poland Voivodeship, 22 km from Tarnow.<sup>224</sup> St. Margaret Church was built probably in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is mentioned in medieval written sources (*Denarius Sancti Petri*) in 1326 and in *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis* by John Długosz (*Ioannes Dlugossius Longinus*) from 1470-

<sup>221</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. p. 226, nr. 196.

<sup>222</sup> RAJECZKY, Benjamin. *Hymni et sequentiae*. Ed. Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi. Tom. I. Budapest : Zeneműkiadó vállalat, 1956, nr. II/7, p. 161. *Graduale King Vladislaus II*. (1490-1516) Metropolitan Archbishop Library Esztergom, MNS (f. 349r) and SG (f. 215v).

<sup>223</sup> SOPKO I. 1981, p. 226-227, nr. 197

<sup>224</sup> [http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C4%99bno\\_%28powiat\\_brzeski%29](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/D%C4%99bno_%28powiat_brzeski%29)

1480.<sup>225</sup> The liturgical content of the breviary documents Krakow liturgical rite. The manuscript contains several liturgical links and guidelines (f. 16vb: *...Responsorium et antiphona secundum ordinem Cracouiensem ecclesie... cantatur* etc.). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was owned by the Franciscan Library in Košice (f. 1r upper margin: *Conventus Cassoviensis Ord(inis) Min(orum) str(ictae) obs(ervantiae) 1773*).<sup>226</sup>

The codex begins with a calendar (1ra - 3vb, it contains typical Polish, Bohemian and Hungarian saints: St. Venceslaus, St. Adalbert, St. Stanislaus, St. Florian, Translatio s. Stanislai, St. Margit), followed by a section with invitatory chants (*Invitatoriale*, 4ra- 6vb). The main body begins with proprium de tempore chants of the first week of Advent (5 antiphons introductory set is typical of the Krakow liturgy from the 13<sup>th</sup> century: *A diebus antiquis, Dominus salvatorem, Gabriel angelus apparuit, Maria dixit putas, Respondit angelus*, 7ra and is consistent with the Liturgy of Esztergom<sup>227</sup>)<sup>228</sup> until 25<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time (139va); then the Ember Days homilies follow (139vb-40rb) and sanctoral chants (140rb-230ra, from the feast of St. Andrew). The last folio of the codex is from commune sanctorum (230ra). The breviary is notated with the *Messine-gothic* system, which is located on the 4-lined red color stave with a simple framing (usually 19 lines in two columns). The codex was notated by successive notating hands. Custos is not used. Keys are c and f. Gothisation of neume forms is at an advanced stage. Punctum is of elongated, wavelike shape. Pes and torculus start with a separate punctum, scandicus is made up of two rising puncti and virga. Clivis is rectangular, with a delicate end without a rhombic head. Porrectus is smooth, formed from clivis and tractulus - virga. Climacus is without an initial tractulus.

Content:

Kalendarium (ff. 1ra – 3vb)

Invitatoriale (ff. 4ra – 6vb: Nativitas Christi...Venite exultemus...Ave stella matutinum)

Proprium de tempore (ff. 7ra – 139va: Dominica prima Adventus usque Dominicam XXV. post Pentecosten)

Iste omelie subsequentes dicente sunt ante festum beati Michaelis in quattuor temporibus...( ff. 139vb – 140rb)

ff. 140rb – 230ra: Proprium sanctorum (ff. 140rb – 230ra: sv. Andrej, f. 164rb: Translatione b. Wenczeslai, f. 170rb: s. Adalberti, f. 174ra: s. Iohanne ante portam Latinam, 180rb: s. Margarethae, f. 200r: *in imo margine ...Sciendum est quod dedicacio ecclesie in Dambno celebratur die dominico primo post festum s. Bartholomei apostoli. Anno domini M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>LXXV hunc librum compilavit Petrus Ade Canziurz et plebanus de Dambno in honorem s. Margarethe gloriose virginis ibidem in Dambno pro ecclesia humiliter inplorans. Oretur pro anime eius et pro animabus patri set matri eius*, f. 208vb: s. Stanislao, f. 211rb: s. Wenceslay, f. 159 r: officium s. Dorotheae – prázdna linajková notová osnova f. 226ra: s. Elyzabeth)

Commune sanctorum (f. 230ra: Incipiunt Communes sanctorum et primo evangelistis)

*The Notated Breviary from 1375 from the State Scientific Library in Prešov*

<sup>225</sup>[http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ko%C5%9Bci%C3%B3%C5%82\\_%C5%9Bw.\\_Ma%C5%82gorzaty\\_w\\_D%C4%99bnie](http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ko%C5%9Bci%C3%B3%C5%82_%C5%9Bw._Ma%C5%82gorzaty_w_D%C4%99bnie). URDOVÁ, Sylvia. Poznámky k hudobnému repertoáru adventnej časti notovaného breviára (1375) vo fonde Kolegiátnej knižnice v Prešove. In *Z dejín knižnej kultúry východného Slovenska I*. Ed. Marcela DOMENOVÁ. Prešov : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 2009, p. 7.

<sup>226</sup> URDOVÁ, Sylvia. Poznámky k hudobnému repertoáru adventnej časti notovaného breviára (1375) vo fonde Kolegiátnej knižnice v Prešove. In *Z dejín knižnej kultúry východného Slovenska I*. Ed. Marcela DOMENOVÁ. Prešov : Štátna vedecká knižnica, 2009, p. 7-20. URDOVÁ, Sylvia. Notovaný breviár z Prešova z pohľadu hudobnej ikonografie. In *Hudobná ikonografia na Slovensku*. Ed. Dana DRLIČKOVÁ. Bratislava : UK, 2008, p. 70-77.

<sup>227</sup> KOVÁCS, Andrea. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. V/A Strigonium. Temporale*. Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2004, p. 47. Toto radenie je okrem Ostrihomu a Krakova typické v Poľsku aj pre Plock. Uvádza sa aj v niektorých neskorostredovekých rukopisoch zo Salzburgu a Passau (*ad libitum*).

<sup>228</sup> KUBIENIEC, Jakub. *Uniwersalizm i swoitość w średniowiecznych antyfonarzach krakowskich*. Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis XIV. Kraków : Musica Iagellonica, 2006, p. 47. URDOVÁ, Sylvia. Spevy pvej adventnej nedele Notovaného breviára vo fonde Štátnej vedeckej knižnice v Prešove. In *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slovensku začiatkom 21. storočia I*. Ed. Marta HULKOVÁ. Bratislava : Katedra hudobnej vedy FFUK, 2007, p. 241 – 249.

#### 4. 5. THE SPIŠ ANTIPHONARY

In the Spiš Diocesan Archive in Spiš Chapter are preserved two medieval notated codices. *The Spiš Antiphonary*<sup>229</sup> and the *Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok* (1426)<sup>230</sup> come from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Both codices belonged to the oldest library fund of the Spiš Chapter.

*The Spiš Antiphonary* is currently deposited in the Spiš Chapter Diocese Archive in Spišské Podhradie. It originally belonged to the collection of books of the Chapter Library, which was located and after the reconstruction is still located in the right tower of St. Martin's Cathedral. It is testified in a work of J. Hradzsky dedicated to the history of the Spiš Chapter.<sup>231</sup> He uses the term *Psalterium* for the manuscript, as well as Hungarian codicologist Z. Fábry, who assigned the codex with a signature № 2 and called it *Antiphonarium* from the 15<sup>th</sup> century from the Spiš Chapter Library. J. Sopko described the source as the *Spiš Antiphonary (Antiphonarium Scepusiense)*.<sup>232</sup> This name was adopted in Slovak musical historiography.

According to J. Sopko the manuscript originated in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. J. Šedivý argues that *Spiš Antiphonary* originated in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely in the third quarter. He argues that the manuscript was made by three hands with different character of the script. The main and largest part of the text was written by A scribe (ff. 1r-112v, 116r-259v) and his script can be described as conservative compared with two other scribes (presence of certain box shapes and the absence of typical late Gothic features). As a slightly more advanced can be described B scribe (ff. 113r-115v), whose script carries signs typical of the second third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The most modern is a hand of C scribe (f. 188r and 188v) with elements typical of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, especially in orthography, revealing foreign (Italian) humanistic influences. "We are likely to find mutual time penetration of all three hands, which worked at the same time, in the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when in one scriptorium met a conservative (older?) scribe with a modern scribe of a foreign (Italian?) training."<sup>233</sup>

The codex is made of the thick parchment, worked out from both sides (*charta theutonica*). Damaged corners and lower margins as well as numerous subsequent additions made by later users indicate that the manuscript was used in daily liturgical practice. The binding consists of two wooden boards with dimensions 575 x 390 mm coated with white leather which was decorated with blind print technique. The front board is filled with four frames, arranged from the largest to the smallest. In the last one a digit 1568 is inscribed. Fields between the frames are filled from the center first with flowers, then the Greek gods Apollo with a lyre, Thalia with a lute, Kaliope with a cimbalom and Euterpe with a horn or reed-pipe, and finally the flowers. The corners of the boards are protected by metal corners with bulged stars in the center. In the middle they are decorated by perforation and the serrated motives on edges. There are also traces of two buckles, which served to protect the codex from destruction. The digit 1568 may indicate a year the present binding was made. This is confirmed by an entry on the last sheet of the manuscript: *In Leuowie per Georgium W. ... anno Christi 1568*, which reveals name of a bookbinder and the city in which he worked (Levoča). The next entry: *De novo ligatum 1712*<sup>234</sup> is probably related to repairing of an older binding. Two foliations, placed in the upper right corner of the recto folios, both in Arabic numerals, are present in the codex. Older begins with number 53 and ends with number 323. Newer from 1 to 259 is made by a pencil. There are several folios missing in the codex: 52 at the beginning, 15 in the middle and a few more cards at the end. On the front and rear binding are stuck parchment leaves of the breviary and four free notated fragments of paper and parchment. The Spiš Antiphonary's decoration can be described as typical of the gothic liturgical manuscript. It is implemented in coloured lombards, black cadels (one of the most beautiful – line art of a girl - is on f 152r). The higher form of decoration is visible on lombards accompanied by fleuroné (e.g. f. 98r: *C-onfessor*, f. 133r: *V-idi*, then for instance *E-xcelsi*, *L-aus C-onfessor*) and the

<sup>229</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*.1981, nr. 199.

<sup>230</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*.1981, nr. 198.

<sup>231</sup> HRADZSKY, Jozef: *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli Scepusiensis*, Spišské Podhradie, 1901, p. 209n.

<sup>232</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*.1981, p. 229.

<sup>233</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Písmo Spišského antifonára v stredoeurópskom kontexte. Paleografická analýza*, In *Spišský antifonár*. Rastislav Adamko, Eva Veselovská, Juraj Šedivý. Pedagogická fakulta Katolickej univerzity v Ružomberku, Ružomberok 2008, p. 7-13.

<sup>234</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*.1981. p. 229.

highest form in case of difficult fleuroné initials (f. 34v *P-ax*, f. 66v *A-ccedunt*), where decorated is not only the letter's surrounding, but also the body itself. The *Spiš Antiphonary* is the second part of the codex that was originally the two-volume. It contains *pars aestiva* of the breviary. The first part - *pars hiemalis* - was not preserved. In addition, numerous defects in the codex caused that the repertory of surviving chants is greatly curtailed. On the missing initial folios were probably forms from the feast of Pentecost.

Proprium de tempore (ff 1r-34)

Corporis Christi (od druhého respozória v III. nocturne): ff 1r-2r

Dominica prima post Octavam Penthecostes in Vesperis primis (Historiae Regum, Historiae Sapienntiae): ff 2r-11r

Dominica in septembri (!) ad Magnificat (Historiae Hiob) : ff 11r-15r

Dominica in medio septembris (Historiae Tobiae, Historiae Judith): ff 15r-17v

Ultima dominica in septembri (!) (Historiae Ester): ff 17v-20r

Dominica in octobri ad Magnificat (Historiae Maccabeorum): ff 20r-21v

Dominica in novembri (!) canitur usque ad ... (Historiae Prophetarum): ff 21v-25r

(Antiphonae ad Magnificat) Dominica I post Trinitatem ... Dominica XXV: ff 25r-34v

Proprium de sanctis (ff 34v-222r)

Sanctorum Tiburtii et Valeriani mr. (f 34v) ... Katherinae virg. (f 215r)

De sancto Ladislao historia: ff 222r-228r

In Dedicacione templi (ff 228r-233v)

Commune sanctorum (ff. 234r-259v)

De Apostolis: ff 234r-240r

Commune martyrum: ff 240r-246r

De uno martyre: ff 246r-251v

De confessore: ff 251v-257v

De confessore non pontifice: ff 257v-258r

De virginibus: ff 258r-259v

The repertory of the *Spiš Antiphonary* incorporates melodies and lyrics of antiphons and responsories. Hymns, psalms and short responsories are listed as incipits. Psalm terminations and doxologies (E u o u a e) are recorded after antiphons. Only in one case the scribe wrote a whole hymn with the melody. It is a hymn *Laudetur sancta Trinitas* (f 116va) on the first Vespers of the Transfiguration feast (6 August) in one of two forms listed in the *Spiš* codex. The *Spiš Antiphonary* belongs to the so-called Germanic group of manuscripts, which are based on the liturgical tradition of Reichenau in the oldest layer of offices. Part of the office forms also reveals the impact of the Messine tradition. These ancient offices transformed mostly in their structure and order of individual parts of the office in local traditions. Comparison of the structure, construction and order of individual parts of the office showed the strong influence of Esztergom liturgical tradition in the *Spiš* office. However, a variant of a typical Esztergom central rite is present in the *Spiš Antiphonary*, so we can talk about another peripheral rite of Esztergom – the *Spiš* one. Hungarian liturgical tradition influence, especially the Esztergom and Transylvania rite, is obvious in younger layer of offices, but many of the offices in the *Spiš Antiphonary* have individual construction with certain Hungarian elements.

The typical Hungarian elements may be:

1) The incidence of some rare chants (e.g. the invitatory *Laudabilem virum* in *Historiae prophetarum*, which is considered a typical feature of Esztergom rite, formed mainly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>235</sup>)

2) The classification of the offices typical of Hungarian sources (e.g. the second form *Sunt de hic stantibus* on the Feast of the Transfiguration, which is written by a B scribe, is in its structure typical of Hungarian manuscripts; P. Radó argues that only the second office of this feast was known in medieval Hungary<sup>236</sup>).

<sup>235</sup> *Breviarium notatum Strigoniense saeculi XIII*. Janka SZENDREI (ed.), Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest 1998, p. 53.

<sup>236</sup> RADÓ, Policarpus: *Enchiridion liturgicum. Complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et leges iuxta novum codicem rubricarum*, Herder, Romae. 1961. p. 1305.

3) The presence of Hungarian rhymed offices – on the feast of St. Stephen, and Elizabeth and Ladislaus of Hungary, St. Demeter. However, there is an interesting fact that the first three of them (apart from the form on the feast of St. Elizabeth of Hungary) are in the Spiš manuscript listed in the wrong place from the chronological point of view.

4) The order of individual chants in numerous offices on feasts of the Lord, the Virgin Mary and the Saints (e.g. the feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Assumption and Nativity of Mary, Nativity of John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, All Saints, St. Martin). Impact of this tradition is found also in the forms belonging to *Commune sanctorum*.

5) Melodic variants typical of Hungarian sources.

However, other than Hungarian influences occur here as well. Very interesting is the first of two forms on the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord *Assumpsit Jesus* that appears in antiphonaries from Western Europe and from Prague and Gniezno. Another example is a rhymed office *Accedunt laudes* on the *Visitatio B. V. Mariae* feast, which has its origin and occurrence in Western sources. French elements are visible in a rhymed office on the feast of St. Anna *Terra pontus astra mundus*. As German influence can be seen the presence of two rhymed offices: *Sanctus Aegidius natione Grecus* in honor of St. Giles and *Gloriosus Deus in sanctis* on the *Undecim milium virginum* feast. In addition, influence of Bohemian and Polish traditions are visible in rhymed offices. One example is the office *Gloriosa splendet orbi* on the feast of St. James the Apostle.

Mirror of pages of the antiphonary has a red double framing; the number of systems on a single folio is 10. A 5-lined red stave is used. Separating lines between individual neumes suggest that the notation was written only after the writing a text. The main body of the Spiš Antiphonary is written with the Messine-gothic notational system from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century with the involvement of probably two notators (R1: ff. 1-92r, R2: ff. 92v-112v, 116r-259v). In addition there can be also found the third notator in the manuscript who made notation on three folios (113r-115v).<sup>237</sup>

Notational system of the Spiš Antiphonary has many features in common with the notation of several fragments of our territory (Banská Štiavnica, Poprad) as well as manuscripts from the Cracow diocese of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>238</sup>

#### *The Spiš Antiphonary, a detail.*

#### 4. 6. THE SPIŠ GRADUAL

*The Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok* was completed and put into use at the Vespers prayer time on vigil of the Holy Trinity feast, on Saturday 25<sup>th</sup> May in 1426, what is recorded in the manuscript colophon on f. 222v. It was made by an anonymous scribe or and notator on commission of the Spiš provost George from Kežmarok. The manuscript was used in daily liturgical practice, as evidenced by wear of letters and binding of the manuscript. The Chapter library collections were previously kept in one of the two towers of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spiš Chapter, where the presented codex was also found. In the 40s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the gradual was considered lost. It was found only in 1957,<sup>239</sup> in a baroque clock tower near St. Martin's Cathedral probably, where it was hidden together with other valuable books during World War II and the post-war years, because church libraries were plundered then and documents and books were destroyed. The manuscript is currently in renewed Chapter Library in Spiš Chapter, in the right tower of St. Martin's Cathedral. Clemens Blume calls the *Spiš Gradual Graduale ms. Montis Sancti Martini anni 1426*.<sup>240</sup> In 1957 (June 27<sup>th</sup>) Zoltán Fabry and Richard Rybáříč named the studied manuscript a *Gradual* from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and attributed it a signature ms. Mus. No1, while cataloging found collections. In 1960 R.

<sup>237</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Notácia. Hudobnopaleografická analýza kódexu*. In *Spišský antifonár*. Rastislav Adamko, Eva Veselovská, Juraj Šedivý, (ed.). Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, Ružomberok 2008, p. 14-23.

<sup>238</sup> SZENDREI, J.: *Notacja liniowa w polskich źródłach chorałowych XII-XVI wieku*. In: *Notae musicae artis : Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI-XVI wieku*. Kraków : Musica Iagelonica, 1999, p. 187-281.

<sup>239</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: *Sekvence Spišského graduálu Juraja z Kežmarku*, in: *Hudobnovedné štúdie*, 1960, nr. 4, p. 105.

<sup>240</sup> AH 34, p. 118, 231.

Rybarič named the book the Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok, and this name is commonly used today.

Rough parchment of northern type – so called *charta theutonica*, which was also widely known as the German parchment was used for the codex.<sup>241</sup> Dimensions of one page are 574 x 360 mm.<sup>242</sup> In addition to defects arising during the actual treatment of the leather, for example holes or sewed places there are also cut or torn corners, cut lower margins and bird droppings staining. On some folios there are permanent large contaminated surfaces, resulting from poor storage in the past. On the code is visible excessive exposure to sunlight, but also cold and moist air, and probably it was even affected by rain water, which would confirm the presumption about the storage in the Baroque tower with nesting birds and the leaky roof.

Binding of the codex consists of two wooden boards of 600 x 380 mm and a thickness of 15 mm. The boards are coated with originally white, now yellowing leather and on the corners and in the middle are protected by metal pieces that are decorated with perforations on the edges and have the protective disks in shape of dull pyramid in the middle. Originally, before the binding's reconstruction held in 2000, two corner pieces and two clips were missing on the back board. Leather is decorated with blind print. Today not very much visible decoration consists of vertical and horizontal lines that are defined by the rectangular shape fields and they are filled with a variety of decorative motifs. In the first field from the center are pairs of figures of Greek gods: Apollo with a lyre and Thalia with a lute, Kalliope with a cimbalom and Euterpe with a horn or a shawm. The second field is filled with a floral motif, the third with a plant motif and the last, greatest, is decorated with another kind of flowers. Decoration thus corresponds to early renaissance style, as J. Sopko states.<sup>243</sup> Preserved binding is not original, as evidenced by cut handwritten notes and supplements on the margins of some sheets. J. Sopko claims that the binding of the gradual is identical with the binding of another codex, which is located in the same library. It is the Spiš Antiphonary from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>244</sup> Both bindings are very similar, but differ in details. The differences are not significant enough for us to exclude the possibility that the two bindings originated in the same introductory workshop. It is possible that this workshop was located in a nearby Levoča, which may be revealed by a remark entered with already faded ink at the end of the antiphonary: *In Leucowie per Georgium W. ... anno Christi 1568*. The year also appears on the leather of the antiphonary's upper board. George W. could therefore be a bookbinder, who made the bindings of the both codices in 1568. The manuscript is missing reclamants and custodes, i.e. denoting the order of individual strands. They were probably cut later, during making the binding.

The codex has 222 folios. Originally it consisted of 220 numbered and more than 90 unnumbered folios. Today the manuscript contains two foliations, and both are written *in folio recto*. The original foliation was made with Roman numerals which are located in the middle of the upper margin. It begins with LXIIIr and end with CCXX. Another 87 sheets were not numbered. Later foliation was made with Arabic numerals, written in pencil in the upper right corner. It is a continuous foliation, which ignores the missing folios, which means that it was made after the damage had been done to the codex. The title page of the manuscript is missing. It also lacks the first 62 folios. In addition to defects in the beginning of the manuscript another 23 numbered and several unnumbered folios are missing.

A substantial part of the text of the manuscript (1r-209v, 211r-220r) was written by one scribe with gothic script, which was designed for important documents and liturgical books (*Gothica textualis formata*). The same script was used on f 210 by other hand. A third scribe, who made folios 220v-222r is known, because he wrote a note in the end, of which we know that the author of the text is Daniel Fábry, a rector of the chapter schools in Spiš Chapter. The fourth hand of the same period filled the remaining two-thirds of f 222r. The manuscript contains a lot of marginalia written by its later users. Particularly *Proprium sanctorum* contains fragments or whole liturgical texts with notation (ff 74, 113v-114, 126v, 127v-128, 148r) added mainly on lower margins.

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<sup>241</sup> SEMKOWICZ, Władysław: *Paleografia łacińska*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Kraków 1951, p. 50.

<sup>242</sup> Stav pred generálnou opravou rukopisu, pri ktorej bola repasovaná väzba a orezané margá.

<sup>243</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké rukopisy na Spiši*, in: *Spišské mestá v stredoveku*. Ľudovít Holotík, Richard Marsina (ed), Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, Košice 1974, p. 105.

<sup>244</sup> *Antiphonarium Scepusiense*, Diecézny archív v Spišskej Kapitule, sign. mp. M° 2.

Paleogeographic studies of the script and music notation point to close relation between the authors of the manuscripts and the Krakow scribal workshops. The decoration is quite simple. It consists of alternating the red and blue initials with yellow-black gothic introductory letters. Both are sometimes richly decorated by line drawing in the fleuron style. In addition, there often appear drawn mascarons (a man's head with a stuck out tongue, figures of saints - men and women praying saints – so called orants).

#### Content of the source

Proprium de tempore: ff 1r-70v

[lacuna]

Tempus Quadragesimae – (od Hebdomada IV, Feria V): ff 1r-21v

Triduum Paschale: ff 21v-32r

Dominica Resurrectionis cum octava: ff 32r-41v

Tempus Paschale: ff 41v-48v

Dominica Pentecostes cum octava: ff 49r-52v

[lacuna]

Corporis Christi: ff 53-54v

Tempus per annum – (Dominicae I-XXI): ff 55r-70v

[lacuna]

Commune sanctorum: ff 71r-99v

[lacuna]

De apostolis: ff 71r-72r

De uno martyre: ff 72r-77v

De pluribus martyribus: ff 77v-87r

De confessoribus: ff 78r-92v

De virginibus: ff 93r-99v

Proprium de sanctis: ff 99v-130r (from St. Lucia to St. Catherine)

Missae pro defunctis: ff 130v-134r (2 forms)

Ordo qualiter debeat cantari de illis sanctis qui non habent propria officia: ff 134r-138v (from St. Barbara on 4<sup>th</sup> December to St. Augustine relics transfer on 11 October)

[lacuna]

Sequentiae: ff 139r-220r (65 sequences)

Missa de passione Domini: ff 220r-221r

Sequentiae: ff 221r-222r (2 sequences)

Colofon: 222v

Sequentia: (1 sequence)

The Spiš gradual belongs to the so-called peripheral Hungarian sources, which in addition to Esztergom liturgical elements contain also the implications of other traditions, especially German, Bohemian and Polish. The typical Hungarian element is the structure of some offices (e.g. order of Palm Sunday procession chants or selection and arrangement of gradual chants in *Sabbato Quatuor temporum* after the 17<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time), the occurrence of special chants on certain days (e.g. a hymn *Laudes omnipotens* that was sung on Good Friday as a chant during the communion, a hymn *Rex sanctorum* in the Easter Vigil form during procession to the baptistery, arrangement of the *Inventor rutili* hymn stanzas, known only from Hungarian manuscripts), modal form of some chants (e.g. *Off. Custodi me Domine* – 4<sup>th</sup> mode, *Comm. Christus resurgens* - 6<sup>th</sup> mode, *Intr. Miserere mihi... ad te* - 7<sup>th</sup> mode) or several text or melodic variations (e.g. melodic variation in *Intr. Exaudi Domine ... tibi dixit*).

There are also typical Hungarian feasts: s. Adalberti ep. (23 April) with an entire form in form of incipits, coinciding with the central Esztergom sources, except for *All. In die resurrectionis*, s. Ladislai reg. (June 27<sup>th</sup>) with the entire form in form of incipits, coinciding with the central Esztergom sources, including a sequence *Novae laudis attolamus* (ff 166r-168v) of Hungarian origin; s. Emerici reg. (5 November) with a Hungarian sequence *Stirps regalis* (ff 193r-194r); s. Stephani reg. with a complete list of chants in form of incipits consistent with Esztergom tradition, except for alleluia chant, which is absent here, but a sequence *Corde voce mente pura* (ff 183r-184v) of Hungarian provenance is present

and s. Gerhardi m. (24 September) with the entire form, in form incipits, which, however, differ from those which are located in the central Hungarian sources. For two sequences that are of Hungarian and perhaps Spiš provenance, the Spiš gradual is the oldest source: *Gloriosus Christus rex humilis* on the feast of St. Martin (11 November) with the original text and melody and *O Maria virgo dia* with the original text and the traditional melody *O beata beatorum* on the Marian feasts. As the Hungarian sources only the Spiš Gradual contains tropes *Jesu salutis hostia* (to *All. Ave verbum incarnatum* – f 53v) and *O salutare corpus Domini* (to *Off. Sacerdotes* - f 54r appendix). The first has the original text and popular melody in E mode, the second occurs in the southern German sources. In addition, there are three other tropes appearing in several Hungarian, but also other central European sources: *Jam domus optatas* (to *All. Confitemini* – f 31v), *O virgo gloriosa mater gratiosa* (to *Tr. Laus tibi* - f 120r) and *Ab hac familia* (to *Off. Recordare* - f 123v). Probably of Hungarian origin is also a rhymed alleluia chant *All. Transit ad aethera* (f. 123r), known from four Hungarian sources. Other than Hungarian elements come from the area of Western and Central Europe, especially Germany, Bohemia and Poland. These include 1) certain feasts of the saints: *Translatio s. Stanislai ep.* is on 27 September in the Spiš source, hence the tradition of Gniezno and Cracow. In Esztergom was this feast celebrated on 6<sup>th</sup> October.<sup>245</sup> The codex provides a complete form that is different than in Hungarian sources and is closer to Polish manuscripts. The feast *Elisabeth vid.* (11 November) provides a complete form as well as in the *Košice gradual* (National Szechenyi Library in Budapest, Clmae 172a-b) with the alleluia verse *All. Sponsa veri Zachariae* that expanded from East Germany to Austria, Switzerland, Bohemia and Poland.<sup>246</sup> From other Hungarian sources the *Košice Gradual* mentions it. The feast of St. Wenceslaus *Wenceslai mart.* (28 September) contains the form without alleluia, but with the sequence *Christe tui preclari militisa Wenceslai* (f 187v), which is of Czech origin and occurs even in Upper Hungarian sources.<sup>247</sup> The feast of *Margarethae virg.* (13 July) is evidenced by the incipits of the complete form with the sequence of Czech origin *Margaritam pretiosam* (f 171r).

2) Late Middle Ages rhymed alleluia chants:

*All. Ave benedicta Maria* (f 122v) – the text originally from Western Germany, melody is a contrafact of *Ave Maria gratia plena* melody, known from St. Gallen source.<sup>248</sup>

*All. O consolatrix pauperum* (f 122r) is a chant, which often appears in German, Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian sources. It is a part of a new Schlager's catalogue.<sup>249</sup>

*All. O Maria rubens rosa* (f 121v) – an alleluia verse without tropes, which originated in West.<sup>250</sup> Melody draws on melodies, very popular in the territory of southern Germany, and by musicologists today called the chant E-melody.<sup>251</sup>

*All. In Maria benignitas* (f 90v) – an alleluia chant of German origin, which does not occur in Hungarian sources.<sup>252</sup>

*All. O pia regis filia* (f 128v) – a chant originating in German area.<sup>253</sup>

*All. Qui creavit omnia* (f 130r). It is a chant published by Schlager<sup>254</sup> and which spread mainly in countries of Central Europe and in Southern Germany.

3) Arrangement of alleluia verses on Sunday after the Holy Trinity respects the tradition spread in Eastern (Bursfeld) and Southern Germany (Regensburg, Einsiedeln), which came to Silesia (Breslau), Bohemia (Prague) and then Spiš area.

<sup>245</sup> JÁVOR, Egon: *Hét kéziratoss Pozsonyi missale a nemzeti múzeumban*, Kiadja a Magyar nemzeti múzeum orsz. Schéchényi könyvtára, Budapest 1942, p. 90.

<sup>246</sup> MMMA VII, p. 496, 795.

<sup>247</sup> OREL, Dobroslav: *Hudební prvky svatováclavské : Svatováclavský sborník na památku 1000 výročí smrti knížete Václava Svatého*. Vol. 1, nr. 3, Praha 1937, p. 170-171.

<sup>248</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 58, 594.

<sup>249</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 310-311, 703-711.

<sup>250</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 351-353, 727-733.

<sup>251</sup> Gábor KISS: *The „Liedhafte E-Melodik“*, in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*. Vol. 40, nr. 4 (1999), p. 315-324.

<sup>252</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 230, 667.

<sup>253</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 310, 703.

<sup>254</sup> MMMA VIII, p. 416, 757.

4) Modal (e.g. *Comm. Videns Dominus flentes* – 1<sup>st</sup> mode; *Ant. Cum audisset* – 3<sup>rd</sup> mode), melodic (e.g. *Comm. Quotiescumque* - as in the Southern German sources) and textual variants (e.g. *Off. Sicut in holocausto* – Eastern German and Polish tradition).

5) Structure of the office (e.g. *All. Spiritus Domini replevit* on the Feria II post Pentecosten or *All. Verbo Domini + Emitte Spiritum* on the Feria IV post Pentecosten – according to East German tradition; *Off. Sacerdotes incensum* - melody known in the Southern German sources and unknown in Hungarian and Bohemian ones). The *Spiš Gradual* has many common elements with the *Košice Gradual*, especially in the field of chants selection, their modal arrangement or text or melodic variations.

The codex is notated with the Messine-gothic notation. On each sheet of the manuscript are 9 staves. The exception is f. 210, where the scribe placed 12 staves. On both sides are the staves joined to a single block with 2 thin black lines. Notation in the *Spiš Gradual* is placed on the 5 red lines. C and F, or G keys open each stave. Music in the main part of the manuscript was created by one hand (ff 1r-209v, 211r-220r). Another four notators were writing the notation on individual folios (B hand - f 210, C hand - f 220r-222r, D hand – a sheet of paper stuck to book binding from within). All notators used the Messine-gothic notation, which is a fusion of the German and the Messine sign system with a gothic script ductus.<sup>255</sup> With this form of musical notation is present in musical manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Austria, Poland, Hungary and also in Slovakia,<sup>256</sup> especially in the liturgical books used by diocesan clergy.<sup>257</sup> The manuscript documents the process of abandonment of German neume forms.<sup>258</sup> From the basic German neumes the German scandicus is present. Round German clivis occurs sporadically only in clusters. Climacus is mostly of the Messine shape, but in the form with the previous note (*climacus praepunctis*) begins with virga. The Messine notation elements are reflected in using the punctum in recitatives and forms of the majority of used neumes (clivis, climacus, porrectus and torculus). Notation of the *Spiš Gradual* is related to notation in manuscripts from Banská Štiavnica, but especially to notation of Krakow codices, from the same period.<sup>259</sup> This similarity is not complete however. The difference in the shape of custos could point to the impact of different variants of the Messine-German notation on a scribe or the entire scribal school, specifically the impact of Silesian notation (Wrocław - custos in romboid shape).<sup>260</sup>

#### 4. 7. The Košice Manuscripts

In addition to Bratislava and Spiš manuscripts medieval written sources of Kosice are of exceptional importance for the history of written culture in medieval Slovakia.<sup>261</sup> A significant part of medieval manuscripts from Košice ecclesiastical libraries were moved to foreign institutions. Despite this fact extremely interesting materials are today in archives, library and museum institutions of this eastern Slovakia city. City of Košice was one of the most important trade, religious and cultural centres of medieval Hungary. Its strategic location at the crossroads of trade routes predetermined profiling of the city, which has become a major intellectual centre for the northeastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Janka SZENDREI: *Notové písmo v stredovekej Bratislave*, in: *Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia*. Vol. 18. Bratislava 1989, p. 24.

<sup>256</sup> Richard RYBARIČ: *Vývoj evropského notopisu*, Opus, Bratislava 1982, p. 59.

<sup>257</sup> Andrzej SUTKOWSKI: *Cechy paleograficzne notacji muzycznych w polskich rękopisach średniowiecznych*, in: *Musica Medii Aevi*. Vol. 1. Jerzy Morawski (ed.), Kraków 1965, p. 65.

<sup>258</sup> Janka SZENDREI: *Notacja liniowa w polskich źródłach chorałowych*, in: *Motae musicae artip. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI-XVI wieku*, Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, *Musica Jagellonica*, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Kraków 1999, p. 213.

<sup>259</sup> Wawel: *Graduale* KrK 45, 1415, *Antiphonarium Cracoviense*, Wawel KrK 47, ½ 15th century, *Pontificale Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego* KrK 12, 15th century, *Missale* KrK 4. SZENDREI, 1999, p. 218, 265-267.

<sup>260</sup> SZENDREI, 1999., p. 225-229.

<sup>261</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Najstaršie košické rukopisné knihy*. In: *Kniha 75*. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1978, p. 77-104.

<sup>262</sup> SLEZÁKOVÁ, Miroslava – NÁDASKÁ, Katarína: *Košice*. In Martin ŠTEFÁNIK – Ján LUKAČKA et al. *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2010, p. 194-212. KOVÁČ. *Kronika Slovenska*. p. 133

The oldest centres of education and culture of medieval Košice were religious institutions, which belonged to the bishopric of Eger since their establishment, and the bishop of Eger appointed a town priest who administered the parish church of St. Elizabeth. In 1283 originated the instrument „*Ecclesie Sancte Elisabet, de Cassa*“ with the first information about the church and patronage in Kosice.<sup>263</sup> Košice parish had a significant position in the Diocese of Eger.<sup>264</sup> Already in 1216 the Spiš Chronicle mentions a monastery in the Košice area „*Ist dasz Caschawer Kloster in der Vorstadt erbawet*“. The first written mention of Košice in a document from 1230 (MOL DL 83127) mentions „*Symon, filius Gregorii, sacerdotis de villa Cassa*“, while patronage of the church to which it is linked is not known.<sup>265</sup> From 1283 is the first mention of the parish church existence.<sup>266</sup> Activity of the older church, though, can be assumed already since the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the parish church premises were deposited liturgical books mainly, which served to celebrate the liturgical rites. We do not know whether the oldest part of the manuscripts was burned during a parish church fire in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, but during the construction of a new three-nave church is observed the development of the medieval parish library. Partial picture of the library's content is captured in the inventory of Eger chapter from 1604, which was prepared in connection with the takeover of the St. Elizabeth cathedral and his possessions from Protestants.<sup>267</sup> In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the library consisted of 160 manuscript books, incunabula and old prints. Ján Illéssy mentions the liturgical books which included 20 missals, 10 graduals, 8 psalters, 2 lectionaries, 1 breviary and 1 antiphonary.<sup>268</sup> At the time of the Protestant town municipality (within 70's of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), some folios of the parish library codices were moved among the town hall documents. Parchment folios of the notated liturgical books were used as binding and covers on town protocols from 1471-1618.<sup>269</sup> Another parish church library inventory was completed in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>270</sup> From sacristy of the St. Elizabeth's cathedral the books have been transferred to the parish office in 1763, where the inventory was drawn up in 1781. 125 books are mentioned at that time. This part of the former parish library became part of the episcopal library. The first inventory of the Episcopal library was published in 1891.<sup>271</sup> Today the medieval manuscripts of the former parish library are also in the Eastern Slovakia Museum; part of the fragments is used as covers for the official books in the Košice City Archive and bindings of younger period book in the State Scientific Library. Abroad, part of the materials is kept in the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest (from the notated manuscripts it is the *Košice Gradual Clmae 172a - b* and the *Missal Clmae 395*). With the parish church of St. Elizabeth was also administratively

<sup>263</sup> Archív mesta Košice: TA C-Hospitale 48: 7.3. 1283.

<sup>264</sup> SLEZÁKOVÁ, Miroslava – NÁDASKÁ, Katarína: Košice, p. 205.

<sup>265</sup> SLEZÁKOVÁ, Miroslava – NÁDASKÁ, Katarína: Košice, p. 205.

<sup>266</sup> ILLÉSSY, János: *A kassai szt. Erszébet székesegyház könyvtárának jegyzéke 1604-ből*. Magyar Könyvszemle 1890, p. 23-28. KEMÉNY, Lajos: *A kassai parochiális könyvtár jegyzéke 1781-ből*. Magyar Könyvszemle 1891, p. 323-336. RÉCSEI, Viktor: *A kassai püspökségi könyvtár codexeinek és incunabulumainak jegyzéke*. Budapest 1891.

<sup>267</sup> ILLÉSSY. *A kassai szt. Erszébet*. p. 23-28.

<sup>268</sup> „... *Graduale magnum, in quo aliquot folia in cap. desunt de pergamena. Aliud eiusdem qualitatis. Aliud, non pergamena. Aliud. Speculum exemplorum, cum ferrea catena... Duo gradualia in pergamena. Psalterium in folio... Enarrationes in psalterium. Tertium graduale in pergamena. Psalterium in pergamena. Missale in pergamena. Psalterium vesperale in pergamena. Psalterium in pergamena. Aliud. Antiphonarium. Missale in pergamena. Breviarium in pergamena... Septemdecim missalia Strigoniensia... Antiphonale. Psalterium monachale... Psalterium... Psalterium parvum. Duo gradualia. Antiphonale imperfectum... Duo gradualia magna in choro superius (?) inventa... Lectionale de sanctip...*“

<sup>269</sup> Inventory of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and fragments from Kosice processes in her dissertation Mgr. Andrea Meščanová. MEŠČANOVÁ, Andrea: *Renaissance historical sacred music works in Slovak territory*. <http://www.gregoriana.sk/2010/04/andrea-mescanova-renaissance-historical-sacred-music-works-in-slovak-territory/> MEŠČANOVÁ, Andrea: *Košické zborníky vokálnej polyfónie*. [Diplomová práca] Bratislava : Filozofická fakulta UK, 2001; MEŠČANOVÁ, Andrea: Rukopisné hudobné pamiatky Košíc z konca 16.storočia. In: *Kniha 2008*. Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2008, p.70-78; MEŠČANOVÁ, Andrea: Košické polyfónne zborníky zo 16. storočia a ich využitie v dobovej liturgickej praxi. In: *Zmapovanie liturgicko-hudobného dedičstva na Slovensku*. Zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie. Prešov : Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, 2010, p. 99-116.

<sup>270</sup> KEMÉNY. *A kassai parochiális könyvtár*, p. 323-336.

<sup>271</sup> RÉCSEI. *A kassai püspökségi könyvtár*.

connected the spital church, which was dedicated to the Holy Spirit.<sup>272</sup> From the 13<sup>th</sup> century Dominican church and monastery (before 1241) dedicated to Virgin Mary became another important intellectual centre of Košice. Several members of Košice convent studied at Italian universities. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century they maintained close relations with the Buda convent, which was the most important educational centre of Hungary during the reign of Matthias Corvinus. From among Dominicans came many copyists, illuminators, book-binders who very probably had a good reputation in Hungary.<sup>273</sup> Part of the former Dominican library was owned by the parish and later the Episcopal Library in Košice (the inventory from 1604: *Libellus fratrum praedicatorum Cassoviensium*). Part of the manuscripts was even found in the Levoča parish library (in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, probably due to the activities of John Henckel (?)) and later, together with the complete Levoča collection, was transferred to the Bibliotheka Batthyanea library in Alba Iulia in Romania.<sup>274</sup> From now known manuscripts of the Dominican library one manuscript 424 (added volume to incunabulum) is in the Episcopal Diocesan Library in Košice, one codex (*U III 8*) is in the Episcopal Library in Eger, 4 codices are in the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest: *Clmae 45, Clmae 317, Clmae 363, Clmae 395*),<sup>275</sup> 9 manuscripts in Alba Iulia: *R I 24, R I 25, R I 30, R I 77, R I 112, R I 156, R II 28, R III 106, Inc V 95* and 2 codices in Germanisches Museum Norimberg. Július Sopko acknowledges the existence of Dominican manuscripts from Košice even in Vienna or Krakow.<sup>276</sup> In the Eastern Slovakia Museum (department of art and history) is stored the *Košice Psalter* from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>277</sup> It is notated with the *Messine-gothic* and the *Bohemian notation*, the added text of Kraków origin is in the *Messine-gothic mixed* system. According to the content it tends to the provenance of Poland (St. Stanislav). At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> century it has been used in Košice. The codex was part of the parish, later episcopal library (later got into the town archive and then after 1936 to the present Eastern Slovakia Museum).<sup>278</sup>

#### 4. 7. 1. THE MISSAL from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice from 1379<sup>279</sup>

The *Košice Missal* (inv. no. Col. 87) from 1379 is written on parchment. At present it has 263 folios (several sheets are cut out). The manuscript has brown leather binding with blind print (a 5-petal rose and lily pattern). Dimensions of the manuscript are about 320x220 mm. The text is written in two columns (complete mirror: 230x166 mm, width of 1 column: 74-76 mm). Height of stave on a folio 135v is 16-17 mm (gap: 4-5 mm, punctum: 2x2 mm).

The manuscript was used in Košice. The first description of its calendar was made by father V. Blaho (1766, f. 255v), later belonged to Rákóczi Museum in Košice (now Eastern Slovakia Museum). In 1919 it was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum. On 1 October 1967 the Missal was returned Slovak Republic - namely the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice. The original signature of Hungarian National Szechenyi Library Clmae 451 is placed on the front and back part of the codex.

The manuscript documents the two types of quick, cursive notation. The notation of prefaces on the folio 135v represents the classic shapes of the Messine-gothic notation. The second type of notation –

<sup>272</sup> The first written mention comes from 1283. Archív mesta Košice, TA, C-Hospitale 48: 7.3.1283.

<sup>273</sup> SOPKO. Najstaršie košické rukopisné knihy, p. 80-81.

<sup>274</sup> SOPKO. Najstaršie košické rukopisné knihy, p. 77-104.

<sup>275</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982.. nr. 237.

<sup>276</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Najstaršie košické rukopisné knihy*. c.d., p. 77-104. Benjamin RAJECZKY (ed.), Budapest 1956, nr. 43 - Biskupská knižnica v Košiciach – Žaltár kostnickej diecézy: 15. stor.; nr. 44 – Východoslovenské múzeum v Košiciach – Žaltár: 15. stor.; nr. 46 - Knižnica dominikánov: Aristoteles, 2 ff., 14. stor.: *Angulare fundamentum, Leta stupet thuringia. Nouum sydux emicuit, Urbs beata Iherusalem, Gaude felix ungaria* (sv. Alžbeta); nr. 83, 84 – *Košický graduál Clmae 172a-b*.

<sup>277</sup> SOPKO, Júliup. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, nr. 161.

<sup>278</sup> RADÓ, Polykarp. *Libri liturgici manu scripti bibliothecorum Hungariae*. Budapest 1944, p. 263 – 264, nr. 63.

<sup>279</sup> KARDOŠOVÁ, Lýdia: Rukopisy 14.-15. storočia a tlače 16. storočia. In *Gotické umenie košických zbierok*. Východoslovenské múzeum Košice – Slovenská národná galéria : Košice, 1995, p. 190-191. RÖSSLER, Elemér: A kassai múzeum nyilvános könyvtárának czímjegyzéke. Kassa 1904, p. 540, P2. RADÓ, Polycarp: *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum hungariae. Tomus I*. Libri liturgici manuscripti ad missam pertinent. Budapest : Egyetemi nyomda, 1947, nr. 24, p. 111-114. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: Stredoveké notované rukopisy z Košíc. In *Ad honorem Richard Rybarič : zborník z muzikologickej konferencie Musicologica historica I. venovanej nedožitým 80. narodeninám Richarda Rybariča (1930-1989)*. Janka Petőczová ed. - Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2011, p. 225-244.

black color adiastematic notation is complemented by a subsequent hand. The Messine notation is placed on the black, 5-lined stave using c and f keys. Stave of both keys are marked in red. Custos notation is not used.

Content:

ff. 1r-3v: Orationes. *Sabbatis diebus de domina...De sancto Nicolao...* tres orationes. *Oratio sacerdotis* (Praeparatio ad missam) etc.

ff. 4r-9v: Kalendarium

ff. 10r-133v: Proprium de tempore. In adventu domini.

ff. 134r-144v: Ordo missae. *In festo pasche prefacio*. Canon.

ff. 144v-183v: *De sancta Trinitate*. Proprium de tempore usque Dom. XXIV. *Post sanctam Trinitatem*

ff. 183v-185: *In dedicatione templi*

ff. 185r-208r: Proprium de sanctis (usque 29. 11. Saturnini). *In vigilia sancti Andree*.

ff. 208r-232r: Commune sanctorum.

ff. 232r-253r: Secuntur misse votive et primo de sapientia.

ff. 253r-256v: Pro defunctis

ff. 256v-263v: Sequentiarum

The missal is the oldest completely preserved liturgical manuscript of contemporary Košice. In our opinion it's the same missal, as mentioned in the parish library fund in the inventory from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century („*Missale MS. in membrana, uti ex festis apparet, secundum chorum Strigoniensis ecclesiae. Initial! tertio colligitur scriptum, esse anno 1379. Gothicus. In folio minori.*“).<sup>280</sup> The manuscript is in very good condition. Notation is only on one folio at prefaces (135v). It is written with a quick, cursive notation, characterized by the classical Messine forms. In parallel with brown ink the second notator appears with black ink and tiny black shapes. The brown ink notator uses a separate punctum. Pes is made up of punctum and perpendicular virga. Clivis is rectangular, the Messine type. Scandicus consists of two rising puncti and virga. Climacus is created without initial virga. It consists of a series of to the right declining puncti. Used are c and f keys. Occasionally occurs also b. The second and fourth lines of a five-lined notational system are red. The text of litanies appear with small notation signs again (punctum, pes, clivis) without the stave to promote the recitation of prayers.

Particularly in terms of its liturgical content and art history analysis the missal deserves special attention.

Scheduling in the calendar indicates the use of the codex in Central Europe (appear mainly Bohemian saints, less Polish, among Hungarian St. Stephen King, St. Ladislaus or St. Emeric are not mentioned). There are 356 feasts in total in the calendar, where among the *festum fori* feasts (57 feasts) are for example the feast of St. George and St. Adalbert (23 April, the feast of St. Adalbert has also its own octave celebrated), St. Stanislaus (8 May), St. Erasmus (2 June), St. Margit (13 July), St. Stanislaus (27 September), St. Wenceslaus (28 September), St. Hedwig (15 October), St. Elizabeth (19 November). Within regular feasts appear the feasts of Bohemian saints St. Sigismund (2 May), St. Kunhuta (10 September), St. Ludmila (16 September), St. Procopius (4 July), St. Hieronymus. Among so called *translatio* feasts appear Czech feasts St. Wenceslaus *Translatio* (4 March), St. Ludmila *Translatio* (10 November). Among the characteristic feasts of the Prague diocese, which for example were not celebrated in Moravia (or appear much later) in the missal appear the feast of St. Dorothy (6 February, *festum fori*),<sup>281</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas (7 March), St. Kastulus Martyr (26 March), St. Peter of Verona (29 April, a Dominican, martyr), St. Sigismund King (2 May, became part of the Bohemian calendar since 1365, when part of his remains were received by king Charles IV), *Decem milium martyrum* (22 June, *festum fori*), St. Anne, the Mother of the Virgin Mary (26 July, *festum fori*), St. Martha (29 July, in Bohemia appears after 1375), St. Victorinus (5 September, this feast has been declared as obligatory in Prague diocese not until 1392, the remains of St. Victorinus were gained by

<sup>280</sup> KEMÉNY, *A kassai parochiális könyvtár*, nr. 7, p. 335.

<sup>281</sup> DRAGOUN, Michal: *Kalendáře liturgických rukopisů jako datační pomůcka*. <http://www.vkol.cz/cs/aktivita/konference-a-odborna-setkani/7--rocnik-odborne-konference/clanek/kalendare-liturgickych-rukopisu-jako-datacni-pomucka/4.3.2011>.

Bishop Albert of Sternberg, occurs sooner in Prague manuscripts), St. Francis (4 October, in Prague manuscripts occurs after 1370), St. Hedwig (15 October, *festum fori*), 11,000 virgins (22 October, *festum fori*), “5 brothers” feast - Benedicti cum fratribus (12 November).

From the liturgical point of view an important element of provenance inclusion of the manuscript is analysis and comparison of scheduling the alleluia verses on Sundays after Pentecost.

Despite the damage to the manuscript – there is a missing part of the codex between 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Sunday in Ordinary Time and 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> Sunday, the use and order of alleluia verses corresponds with the Bohemian (Prague) and Polish (Krakow - or Wroclaw) diocesan liturgical tradition. Within the compared manuscripts of the University of Regensburg cantus database<sup>282</sup> the *Košice Missal* has the following numerical arrangement (I.-XXV. Sunday in Ordinary Time): 007a, 007b, 017, 020, 030, 046, 058, 064, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 094c, 101a, 107, 113a, 114, 116a, 129, 124, 117, 145, 0, 0. Liturgical arrangement of alleluia verses is the closest to the *Košice Gradual* and the *Missal of Kielce*. Except for the verse on XX and XXII Sunday they agree totally.

Comparison of the *Košice Missal* with the central European manuscripts:

Manuscript		KeM	KeGr	Ki	P1	SpGr	Wroclaw
Liturgical period	Verse(D.Hiley database number)						
Dom. I.	Domine Deus meus 007a	+	+	+	+	-	+
Dom. II.	Deus iudex iustus 007b	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. III.	Diligam te Domine 017	+	+	+	+	-	+
Dom. IV.	Domine in virtute 020	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. V.	In te Domine speravi 030	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. VI.	Omnes gentes 046	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. VII.	Eripe me de inimicis 058	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. VIII.	Te decet hymnus 064	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. IX.	Attendite popule 077	-	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. X.	Exultate Deo 080	-	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XI.	Domine Deus salutis 087	-	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XII.	Domine refugium 089	-	+	+	-	+	+
Dom. XIII.	Venite exultemus 094a	-	+	+	-	+	+
Dom. XIV.	Quoniam Deus 094c	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XV.	Domine exaudi 101a	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XVI.	Paratum cor meum 107	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XVII.	In exitu Israel 113a	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dom. XVIII.	Dilexi quoniam 114	+	+	+	Qui timent	Qui timent	+

<sup>282</sup> <http://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft...>

					Dominum	Dominum	
Dom. XIX.	Laudate Dominum 116a	+	+	+	Dilexi quoniam	Dilexi quoniam	+
Dom. XX.	De profundis 129	+	-	Dextera Dei	Laudate Dominum	Laudate Dominum	Dextera Dei
Dom. XXI.	Qui confidunt 124	+	+	+	Dextera Dei	Dextera Dei	+
Dom. XXII.	Dextera Dei 117	+	De profundis	De profundis	Qui confidunt	-	De profundis
Dom. XXIII.	Lauda anima mea 145	+	+	+	De profundis	-	Confitebor tibi
Dom. XXIV.	-	-	-	-	De profundis	-	Lauda anima
Dom. XXV.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

KeM – the Košice Missal from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice  
KeGr – the Košice Gradual Clmae 172a-b Hungarian National Szechenyi Library in Budapest  
Ki – Gradual wiślicki sign. RL 1 Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, Kielce  
Prague XVI C7 – the Missal, National Museum Library in Prague  
SpGr – the Spiš Gradual of Gerge from Kežmarok Mss.I Spiš Chapter  
Wroclaw – Poznan (D. Hiley)

The Sequentionary listed in the end (ff. 256r-263r) contains 22 sequences. The first sequence *Psallite regi nostro psallite* is from the feast of John the Baptist (256r) and the last *Uterus virgineus thronus* (De BMV) forms the very end of the manuscript. For Hungarian manuscripts the specific is the sequence at the feast of St. Stanislaus (*Omnnes odas nunc melodas*), that the Hungarian manuscripts do not mention. Compared with the three manuscripts – the *Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok* (19), the *Bratislava Missal I* (11) and the *Sequentionary of Arnošt from Pardubice* (15) the repertory of sequences is closest to the Spiš manuscript.

The Sequentionary on ff. 256r-263v in the end of the manuscript contains the following sequences:

the Košice Missal 1379	the Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok	the Bratislava Missal ante 1341	the Sequentionary of Arnošt from Pardubice
Psallite regi nostro psallite (AH 50-270) In Decollacione s. Iohannis B.	185r	-	137r
Stirpe Maria Regia (AH 53-95) In Nativitate BMV	186v	353v	151r
Omnis odas nunc melodas (AH 9-342) De s. Stanislao	-	-	-
Christe tui praeclari militis Wenceslai (AH 54-83) De s. Wenceslao	187v	-	166r
Summi regis archangele Michael (AH 53-192) De angelis/ De s. Michaele	188r	354v	174v
Virginalis turma sexus (AH 55-333) XI. milium virginum	190r	-	183r
Omnnes sancti Seraphyn (AH 53-112) De omnibus sanctis	192r	355v	190r
Sacerdotem Christi Martinum (AH 53-181)	194r	356r	192r

Gaude Sion quod egressus (AH 55-120) De s. Elisabeth	195r	356v	-
Sanctissimae virginis votiva festa (AH 55-203) De s. Katherina	197r	-	-
Deus in tua virtute sanctus Andreas (AH 53-122) De s. Andrea	198r	-	204v
Congaudentes exsultemus vocabi (AH 54-66) De s. Nicolao	200v	358r	210v
Jucundare plebs fidelis (AH 55-7) De ewangelistis	202v	-	-
O beata beatorum martyrum sollemnia (AH 55-14) De martyribus	204v	-	225v
Hic sanctus cuius /quorum hodie (AH 55-37) De q. sanctorum	205v	-	-
Exultent filiae Sion in rege suo (AH 50-271) De virginibus	207v	-	234r
Mittit ad virginem (AH 54- 191) In adventu	217v	350v	316v
Ave praeclara maris stella (AH 50-241) De BMV	212r	350r	239r
Hodierna lux diei celebris (AH 54-219) De BMV	214v	348v	268v
Gaude Maria templum summe (AH 54-213) De BMV	-	-	-
Gaude mater luminis (AH 54-225) De BMV	214r	349v	265v
Uterus virgineus thronus (AH 54-248) De BMV	-	-	-

According to specification by Dr. Mílada Studničková from the CAS the manuscript's decoration is oriented to Bohemian workshops and similar ornamental system occurs also in Silesia at the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century. Stylization of the acanthus leaves and nature of faces brings the missal nearer to the *Master Samson's history* Prague ring manuscripts of the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The missal from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice from 1379 is one of the very interesting and valuable written culture materials of the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which were used in the territory of Slovakia. Despite the overlap between the Polish and Bohemian elements it is a major source of medieval education and art. The manuscript was used in our country, as evidenced by some added texts. One of them is a prayer on f. 206r on the feast of St. Stephen King. On f. 255v is written the text of Vincent Blaho, the Franciscan.

#### 4. 7. 2. THE NOTATED PSALTER from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice

*The Notated Psalter* inv.no. F 9232 from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is written on parchment. 73 folios are preserved (folio dimensions are 365x275 mm, full mirror: 270x200 mm, width of 1 column: 90-95

mm, height of stave: 13 mm, gap: 4 mm, punctum: 2x4 mm).<sup>283</sup> The codex was part of the parish, later episcopal library, and then it got to the town archive and thence in 1939 to the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice. It was used in Košice, as according to J. Sopko evidenced by the added hymn *Gaudent caeli nova luce* on the feast of St. Stephen King on f. 70v. The psalter contains several notational systems from different periods. The notated antiphons and part of the notated office for deceased with Bohemian and Messine notation are from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The psalter is notated more likely additionally by several scribing hands. The most frequently occurring notation is the Messine-gothic notation (e.g. the hymn *Ave Katherina*). Some added texts are notated with the Bohemian system (e.g. the hymn *Dies venit victorie*, the office *Pro defunctis: Putasne mortuus*). Classic shapes of Bohemian notation are evidenced by Bohemian pes, scandicus, torculus, porrectus and frequent use of bipunctum. Concluding younger hands (as the mentioned added hymn *Gaudent caeli nova luce*) were using quadratic or even mensural notation (*Stabat mater dolorosa*). Liturgical content of the manuscript does not support J. Sopko's opinion of the psalter's Polish origin. Scheduling of the office for the dead responsories shows the fact, that the content of the codex is related to the group of *Putasne mortuus* offices for the dead, which occurs in Central Europe (Bohemia, Moravia, Austria) and southern Germany (Bavaria, Swabia). A detailed comparative analysis of the office to the dead *Pro defunctis* by Knud Ottosen set a very precise identification of the provenance of the manuscripts on the basis of the office for the dead.<sup>284</sup> Scheduling and order of responsories in the *Košice Psalter* is entirely consistent with the only one manuscript of K. Ottosen's database. In the *Codex 34a* from the Franciscan library in Güssing order of responsories is entirely consistent with the *Psaltery* from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice (numbering from the Knud Ottosen's catalogue: 70-44-89 27-83-76 47-1-43). Alba Iulia has been stated by Ottosen the provenance of the manuscript GUS 1-34A from 1462 - 1463. However, since in the library Batthyaneum in Alba Iulia many manuscripts from the territory of Slovakia (mainly from Levoča, Košice, Spiš) occur, another hypothesis can also be presented. More likely, both manuscripts might be of eastern Slovakia provenance.

Content:

Psalterium (1ra-42vb)

Psalmi vesperarum (43rb-55r)

Canticum cum trium puerorum. Te Deum (55r-57vb)

Hymnarium (51vb-65vb)

Additamenta – Officium defunctorum, Hymni: O pater sanctae mitis, Lucis huius festa, Lux mundi beatissima Maria, Gaudent caeli nova luce, Adest dies celebris, Stabat mater dolorosa (66ra-73r)

#### 4. 8. THE PSALTER – GRADUAL from the Slovak National Library in Martin

*The Psalter – Gradual* of monastic, Carthusian origin is located in the Archive of Literature and Art of the Slovak National Library in Martin.<sup>285</sup> The manuscript from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries is currently deposited under the sign. J 538, Inc B 235. It was moved to Martin from the Seminary Library in Spiš Chapter. From the note on back side of the codex "*Sion Lapis Refugii omnis tempore*", originating in the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the character of the notation and content is obvious that it originated and was used in the Carthusian convent at Letanovce (*Lapis Refugii – The Rock of Refuge*, today's Kláštorisko in Slovak Paradise). The codex with dimensions of 297 x 225 mm consists of 171 paper folios, which are more or less destroyed from the f. 1 through f. 35. After the last general restoration in 1966 (Conservation Laboratory of the Slovak State Archive in Bratislava), the decomposition process of destroying of the fragile material stopped. Binding of the codex, which consists of two wooden boards covered with light brown leather, which is glued to the original dark brown leather, decorated with blind print was also reconstructed. The front board has a double framing. A medium rectangle is divided into three fields, in which are stylized flowers and

<sup>283</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 161. RADÓ. *Libri liturgici*. p. 263-264, nr. 63. Kardošová. *Rukopisy 14.-15. storočia.*, p. 191. SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*, C 54.

<sup>284</sup> OTTOSEN, Knud: *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*. Aarhus : University Press, 1993. Internetová verzia je uverejnená v rámci databázy *Responsories of the Latin Office of the Dead* [http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil\\_Fak\\_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/](http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/)

<sup>285</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 191.

bouquets of flowers. Decoration of the back board is formed by one frame. Inside are diamonds, and in each of them is a rosette. The rosettes are also on the outer space behind the frame. Boards are joined by two leather buckles to protect the folios from destruction. The text was written by several scribes, who, with the exception of one, were using *gothica textualis formata* script. The first one created most of the manuscript (ff 1r-36v, 69r-131v, 133v-138v, 139v-158v), others wrote from one to several sheets (B hand 37r-40r, C hand 40v-63v, D hand f 64r, E hand ff 64v-67r, G hand ff 159v-163r, H hand ff 165r-171v). Four sheets (F hand ff 132r-133r, 139r, 159r) are written with humanistic rotunda. The scribes were writing more or less at the same time, the manuscript thus testifies the fact that on the Rock of Refuge was a scribal workshop with several scribes.

The manuscript's decoration is limited to the red-green and red-black initials which are decorated with plant motifs, usually with the stylized clover leaf. In some initials appear black lined mascarons, resembling the head of monks (on f. 81v there is a woman's head).<sup>286</sup>

The content of the source:

[Psalterium]

Ad primam Feria II – Sabbato: Psalms 1-19 (ff 1r-16r)

Antiphons - unreadable (ff 16v-19v)

Mass form De Beata Virgine Maria (ff 20r-22r)

Hymn Jam lucis orto sidere (f 22v)

Dominica ad horae minores et Feria II ad tertiam, sextam et nonam – Psalm 118 with relevant antiphons (ff 23-32)

Per hebdomadam ad tertiam – Psalms 119, 120, 121 with antiphon (ff 32v-33v)

Per hebdomadam ad sextam – Psalms 122, 123, 124 with three antiphons (ff 34r-35r)

Per hebdomadam ad nonam – Psalms 125, 126, 127 with three antiphons and hymn *Rerum Deus tenax vigor* (ff 35-36v)

Dominica ad vespervas – Psalms 109, 110, 111, 112 with relevant antiphons, capitulum, responsorium brevis, hymnus and versiculum (ff 37-39v)

Antiphonae feriales ad Magnificat (ff 39v-40r)

Feria II ad vespervas – Psalms 113, 114, 115+116, 128 with relevant antiphons (ff 40r-42v)

Feria III ad vespervas – Psalms 129, 130, 131, 132 with relevant antiphons (ff 43r-44v)

Feria IV ad vespervas – Psalms 134, 135, 136, 137 with relevant antiphons (ff 45r-46v)

Feria V ad vespervas – Psalms 138 A, 138 B, 139, 140 with relevant antiphons (ff 47r-49v)

Feria VI ad vespervas – Psalms 141, 143 A, 143 B, 144 A with relevant antiphons (ff 49v-51v)

Dominica ad I vespervas – Psalms 144 B, 145, 146, 147 with relevant antiphons, responsorium brevis, and versiculum (ff 51v-53v)

Hymns - 24 hymns in different periods and celebrations (ff 54r-63v)

Lectiones officii defunctorum cum responsoriis prolixis – 9 readings with long responsories without notes (ff 64r-67r)

[Graduale]

Proprium de tempore (ff 69r-93r)

Dominica resurrectionis Domini (ff 69r-70v)

Ascensio Domini (ff 71v-73v)

Alleluia de Spiritu Sancto (f 73v)

Nativitas Domini (ff 74r-76r)

De Trinitate (ff 76v-78v)

Corporis Christi (ff 78v-80v)

Alleluia de resurrectione (f 81v)

Missae votivae: Pro peccatis (82r-84r), Pro pace (87v-89v), Pro paganos (90r-92v)

Alleluia tempore pascae (ff 92v-93r)

Proprium de sanctis – from St. Andrew feast to All Saints feast (ff 94r-148v)

Commune sanctorum in two parts: 1) De apostolis (ff 96v-99v), De pluribus martyribus (ff 100r-102r), De uno martyre (ff 102v-104v), De pluribus confessoribus (ff 105r-107v), De simplici confessore (ff 108r-109r), De virginibus (f 109), 2) De Beata Virgine Maria (ff 149r-152r)

Kyriale – two couples Kyrie and Gloria, Credo, two couples Sanctus and Agnus (ff 152v-158r)

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<sup>286</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, p. 148.

Missa pro defunctis (ff 159r-161v)

Pro benefactoribus (ff 161v-162v)

[Psalterium]

Cantica Dominicis diebus (ff 165r-171v)

The manuscript is an unusual combination of two different liturgical books – the psalter, which was used in liturgy and prayer and the gradual, used during the celebration of the Eucharist. It was probably required by the liturgical practice of monks, who after the morning office prayer smoothly passed to the celebration of the Mass liturgy. The codex was only one of several liturgical books, which were used in the daily liturgy. Certain selection of celebration is visible there. The psalter lacks some parts, for example Sunday psalms from the vigil (P 20 to 31), through Laudes (selected psalms). Missing are also psalms for night hours at Feria (Feria II Psalms 32 – 44, Feria III Psalms 45-58, Feria IV Psalms 59-72, Feria V Psalms 73-84, Feria VI Psalms 85-100, Sabbato Psalms 101-108). Repertory of the gradual in turn is limited to sanctoral, which is enriched with the most important feasts of the Lord from the temporal.

In the Carthusian prayer practice monks pray together every day the night, morning and evening office. The so-called small hours (prime, terce, sext and none) pray alone in a cell on ferial days, on Sundays and feasts they pray together in a temple.<sup>287</sup> This practice gives the reason for the absence of notes in some psalms (e.g. Psalms ad primam ff 1r-16r).

One day a week the monks pray the office for the dead. Part of this office is present in this source. It is a part of matins, i.e. night prayer, limited here to nine lessons with appropriate long responsories. Several of these responsories were unknown in the diocesan liturgical practice. In addition, the Carthusians emphasize Marian devotion, therefore, one day a week is reserved for Marian office (Saturday). Perhaps this is the reason for placing the Marian mass office without the specification to some feast in psalms ad primam, which were prayed after the celebration of the Eucharist.

In Proprium de Sanctis are primarily the feasts of the universal Church, which are present in all the Carthusian calendars. There is also own feast of the Order - transfer of relics of St. Bruno (6 October) - called *Festum reliquiarum* (f 148v). However, there also occur Hungarian saints' feasts: Ladislai regis (f 140v), Stephani rege (f 145v), Elisabeth viduae (f. 148v). Their forms, however, are taken from the communal (*Os justi meditabitur* with the kings) or other feast (*De sancta Agatha* with Elizabeth of Hungary), thus lacking typical Hungarian chants. Moreover, relatively important position has the feast of St. Barbara who was especially venerated in Saxony, Silesia and Bohemia as a patron of miners, but even this form is composed of traditional chants. Another feast of local character is *Undecim milium virginum*, celebrated mostly in Cologne diocese. None of the feasts listed is in the Carthusian Gradual of Seitz from the 15<sup>th</sup> century or currently valid in the Carthusian calendar.<sup>288</sup> For Carthusian monasteries in Central Europe was also typical the feast of St. Catherine. These elements can be considered as the impact of local, diocese, in this case Esztergom liturgy. In the composition of mass chants forms for various celebrations and feasts is visible strict adherence to ancient traditions that haven't actually changed until now. The basis is the ancient tradition, recorded in the oldest missal chants sources.<sup>289</sup> Carthusian Order still retains its liturgical traditions, which are entered in their liturgical books. Concerning melody it is the oldest layer of the Gregorian repertoire, as shown by liturgical sources from the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly from southern France and Germany. The manuscript lacks late medieval chants (alleluia with verses, tropes, sequences). Even later feasts, introduced in the late Middle Ages, use ancient Gregorian chant of communal or other related feasts. Influence of the southern French liturgical tradition can be seen in the structure of several offices and in the choice of individual chants, especially alleluia. A typical French habit can be considered choosing a chant *All. Adorabo ad templum* for the feast *Purificatio Mariae*, and *All. Tu puer propheta* to *Nativitas Johannis Baptistae* feast form. As the element of the Carthusian chant itself can be considered a chant *All. Epulemur in azymis* appointed for the feast of Philip and James, the Apostles, the text of which is not present in the Schlager's catalogue and is associated with the melody *Fundamenta eius* (SchlagKat 345).

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<sup>287</sup> Statuten. Buch 3, Kap. 21, nr 6. <http://chartreux.org/de/text/statuten-buch-3.php#haut> [cit. 14.11.2012]

<sup>288</sup> *Diurnale Cartusiense*, Typis Cartusiae Pletriaci 2008. <http://www.chartreux.org/la/scriptum/liturgia.php>

<sup>289</sup> *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, René-Jean Hesbert (ed.), Bruxeles 1935.

Southern German elements are visible in modal, melodic and text versions of some chants. All. *Benedictus es Domine* (SchlagKat 302).

The quadratic notation of the manuscript is placed on the four-lined staff of black (ff 1r-34r, 159r) and red colour (ff 35r-158v, 159v-163r). Individual notes (puncta) are elongated, which was the result of a monumentalisation process of notation. Due to the large size of notes some classic neumes changed their shape. Instead of imposing building elements above each other (*pes*, *scandicus*), it moved here to the position next to each other. Visible are several different notating hands. First notator created ff 16v-22v. Notes are rectangular in shape, massive shapes of c and f keys are rounded. Notator no. 2 (ff 37r-53v) rarely used custos, he wrote pes in two ways - one above the other or side by side and used specific shapes of c and f keys. Notation on ff 54r-62v was created by a third hand that wrote music of bigger sizes with short capillary lines from the right and left sides, rhombic kustos with a shorter foot from the right side facing up on the edge of the sheet, pes mainly in the form next to each other. The largest part of the codex was created by a fourth hand (ff 23r-36v, 69r-158r). Notes on these folios are of rectangular shape with the long side capillary lines, custos of a long tail on the entire edge of the right side, c key in form of two narrow rectangles, connected by a thin line on the left side. Of similar character is the f key with additional separate element. Keys are written in front of the red side line defining mirror's borders. There are vertical separating lines of red and black colour across the whole staff to separate individual expressions. The sheet 159r was written by the fifth notator. It is revealed by the shape of the c key, custos and notes themselves. Notes on the last part of the manuscript (ff 159v-163r) were written by a sixth hand, which is visible on the shape of keys and custos with a shorter tail.

Maintaining traditions led Carthusians to the precise and rigorous rewriting of melodies also in terms of way of writing notes, neumes and compound neumes. When comparing melodies present in the Spiš source with melodies in today binding Carthusian gradual, we find almost absolute compliance even in the shape of notes, keys or even dividing lines.<sup>290</sup> Only thing in which the Spiš manuscript departs from tradition and where effects of diocesan the Messine-gothic notation can be observed are rhombic shapes of descending notes in a neume, *clivis*. The notator of the Spiš source, unlike in the Gradual of Seitz,<sup>291</sup> does not use the flat b, naturals or ligatures. Using similar notational system he documents only a single fraction. It is a fragment of the Psalter from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, from the Prešov town hall book of accounts from 1538.<sup>292</sup> Quadra of both sources has related, slightly elongated, irregular character. This type of quadratic notation came from Carthusian scriptorium.

## 5. SOURCES. FRAGMENTS

A very large number of fragmentary preserved medieval sources with notation are currently in the Slovak archives. Most of them served as a strengthening material (top cover) on the town hall records (books). These medieval sources with notation in this secondary function are commonly found hitherto. Despite this situation, it is necessary to conduct research and carry out an evaluation of these sources from individual archives in Slovakia because of the great lack of the complete notated manuscripts from the middle ages.

The most accurate indicator of provenance classification of newly discovered fragments became especially palaeographic component of the preserved sources. Thus, we pay the closest attention to evaluation of historical background and notation identifying the sources of medieval codices and fragments from the territory of Slovakia. Several notational systems coexisted in the middle ages in Hungary. Individual types of notation were used, sorted by institutions, organizations and cultural places. Only centralized orders did not have their own choral notation, but often notators from larger dioceses and archdioceses stuck to their own notational image.

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<sup>290</sup> *Graduale Cartusiense*, Typis Cartusiae Pletriaci 2008. <http://www.chartreux.org/la/scriptum/liturgia.php>

<sup>291</sup> *Graduale Graz Universitätsbibliothek*, Cod. 376. <http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Mp.0200-0399/Mp.0376/index9.html>

<sup>292</sup> MATUŠ, František. *Hudobná kultúra v historickom vývine východoslovenských miest*. Dizertačná práca. Prešov 1985, p. 101 – 107, nr. 6.

### 5. 1. *Adiastematic Fragments – The German Neume Notation*

Over a long period of gradual profiling of Gregorian chant a difficult process of Roman Church singing editorial processing took place in the oral tradition. Over the 2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries, it presented particularly prayer and simple singing, while the repertory was still consolidating and naturally subject to modifications until the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It fixed and stabilized in the coming period and the process was finished by the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. Particular creativity started to be strongly applied in the new chants, which were related to the introduction of new liturgical feasts, especially in tropes and sequences.<sup>293</sup>

In the first centuries of written musical tradition (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> centuries) the manuscripts didn't serve the reading of melodies in vocal performance. They were only devices that had more or less didactic character and were used sporadically. This means that oral and written tradition co-existed: without the oral every written expression would be incomprehensible, unnecessary, even absurd.<sup>294</sup> In the following period (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century) written record gained an important role in maintaining traditions for future generations, but not in interpreting the chants themselves. Also later (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century) manuscripts served as a guide in selecting chants during the liturgical year, while the notation of individual chants was only reminding a melodic line. From the manuscripts themselves was not expected other function, because the singers were educated to be included in a living oral tradition that was spread and strengthened by the choirmasters.

The oldest manuscripts with notation are from the late 9<sup>th</sup> century. However, it is conceivable that the first written testimony with notation could occur as early as around the year 800. To indicate the melody the notators used signs - neumes, which were then known in literary texts. Paleogeographic signs of neumes represent fundamental indication of reconstruction of the original relationship between word and sound. The earliest music manuscripts contain adiastematic neumes, i.e. signs freely written over liturgical text, as in open space between the lines. Adiastemacy thus inherently lacks precise interval determining individual tones. Nevertheless, thanks to a wide range of graphic variants and options for each sign it offers rich indication in determining rhythmic dynamism.

Every cultural centre in Latin Europe developed its own graphics system, whereby hundreds of different neumatic graphs which naturally brought numerous adaptations and modifications of the basic sign system, could originate during the 9<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries. In different areas where the Gregorian chant was fostered, notations with highly individualized strokes, which were consequently subject to various changes, had developed. Several of these differences affect only the outer calligraphy character of signs, but some extend to the very identity of neumes.<sup>295</sup> The essence of the oldest preserved notation remains the fact that the neumes determine only the orientation, course of melody (unison, movement upwards or downwards), or rhythmic change (tones more or less shorter or longer), but describe neither the pitch nor the exact length or intervals. Under such conditions music had to be handed down by word of mouth.<sup>296</sup> Who didn't know a given melody by heart, it was not possible to read it from neumatic record. When Quido of Arezzo (died around 1050) placed the signs to the system of lines, separated by a third interval, it was finally possible to distinguish the exact position of individual signs on a line or the space around it. However, even after the 11<sup>th</sup> century Gregorian chant was still written in adiastematic notation.

The earliest neumatic notation, which is still preserved, originated probably in the northern part of France and is called Paleofrank. Its signs are distinctive because virga corresponds with two tones unlike other notations that understand only one tone under this sign. Among the dozens of notational traditions that developed in France between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, two notations have eminence: the Messine and Sanktgallen. Both are rich in various signs, expressing particular interpretive diversity. The Messine, or also Laon or Lorraine notation developed in cultural centers area of Metz

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<sup>293</sup> BAROFFIO, Giacomo: *Il canto gregoriano*. In *Iter. Ricerche fonti e immagini per un territorio*. Acqui Terme, Giacomo BAROFFIO – Leandra SCAPPATICCI (ed.), Acqui Terme I. (2005), nr. 4, p. 45.

<sup>294</sup> BAROFFIO. 2005, p. 46.

<sup>295</sup> APEL, Willi: *Il canto gregoriano (Liturgia, storia, notazione, modalità e tecniche compositive)*, Libreria Musicale Italiana, Lucca 1998, p. 145-136.

<sup>296</sup> BAROFFIO, Giacomo – KIM, Anastasia Eun Ju: *Cantemus Domino gloriose* (Introduzione al canto gregoriano. [pro manuscripto]). Cremona 2003, p. 27.

and Laon, however, it was also fostered in Northern Italy (near the town of Como). In the German area Sanktgallen notation developed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (by its centre - the monastery of Sankt Gallen), which was in the next century transferred into several zones of today's Italy (Valle d' Aosta, Bobbio, Monza). This notational system, more than other notation, reflects graphically the melodic movement, respectively movement of the conductor's hand (cheironomy). The most important manuscripts with adiastematic notation belong to those very notations: the Sanktgallen is represented by for example *Cantatorium 359*, the *Gradual Einsiedeln 121* or the *Gradual 339*, the Laon is represented by the only preserved manuscript – the *Gradual Laon 239* (many chants of these manuscripts are published in the liturgical book *Graduale Triplex* from 1979 and its latest edition the *Graduale Novum* from 2011).

During the 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> centuries some scribal northern Italian centres developed neumatic systems with significant graphical differences (*novalicense* and *emigliano-bolognese* areas). Similarly, it was also in the centre of Italy, where there are written testimonies of Benevento, Tuscan and Umbrian notation. A special place among them belongs to the Benevento notation, which developed its own written and music form as well as its own liturgy. This notational system accurately preserves the original melodic line, as evidenced by the preservation of sensitive halftones (*e* and *h*), which in other traditions passed on stronger tones (*f* and *c*). Further proof of the uniqueness of this system is the extensive use of liquescent signs that pointed to the comprehensive pronunciation of the Latin text.

Since the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts in which neumes acquired shapes of puncti – dots,<sup>297</sup> distributed in space and suggesting interval position (often using dry-etched lines in parchment) began to appear. Thus, the notation recorded this way is called diastematic or lined notation. Although such a system can locate precisely each tone, it is very difficult to express its additional values (length, strength or phrase). In this regard, some manuscripts are not as valuable as adiastematic, but are essential for the restitution of many Gregorian melodies, which were recently published with errors and inaccuracies.

Between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century the lined notation, which has rapidly become a universal notation system in all parts of Europe with the exception of the Germanic countries, which preferred so-called gothic German notation (*Hufnagelschrift*), had spread. The Franciscans, who in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century rejected the use of neumatic notation, practiced in central Italy, and decided to adopt a universal quadratic notation, started the initiative of establishing a uniform system of notation. Its advantage was clear and precise determination of individual tones in a melody, but it does not contain any indication in determining the rhythm or expression of the same tones. When in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century liturgical books started to be printed, typographers tried to imitate the script in manuscripts perfectly, not excluding even the size of the script in relation to neumes and also preserving the colour of a 4-lined stave, which may be red or black.<sup>298</sup>

Based on many years of study of notational systems, several typologies of notational systems with the manuscripts have been developed. As the first we present the categorization by Luigi Agustoni and Johannes Berchmans Göschl.<sup>299</sup> The greatest percentage has the German adiastematic notation, called Sanktgallen notation (surviving in graduals with sign. C 359, G 339, G 376, E 121, B 6 and also in the Hartker's Antiphonary – sign. H 390/391). Other adiastematic notations follow: the Laon, resp. Messine (the Laon Gradual – sign. L 239), the Bretagne (the Gradual of Chartres – sign. CH 47), the French (the Mont Renaud Gradual + Antiphonary – sign. MR), the Benevento (the Missal Bv 33) and the central Italian notation (the Gradual + Troparion from the Biblioteca Angelica Vatican Library – sign. An 123). A diastematic, thus lined notational system is represented by notations: the Aquitaine (the Saint-Michel-de-Gaillac Gradual – sign. A 776, the Gradual of Saint Yrieix – sign. Y 903), the Benevento (the diastematic is represented by the graduals with sign. Bv 34, Bv 40), the Messine (the diastematic is represented by the Gradual of Klosterneuburg near Vienna – sign. Kl 807 and the Missal of Verdun – sign. Ver 759) and the French (a not published gradual with traces of Messine notation of Pré a Rouen – sign. Rou O v 16, the Gradual tonar of Montpellier with dual – French and letter notation – sign. Mp 159).

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<sup>297</sup> ŠTRBÁK, Martin: *Význam neúm notácie St. Gallen v gregoriánskom chorále, Adoramus te* (2002), nr. 2, p. 12-14.

<sup>298</sup> BAROFFIO – KIM. 2003, p. 35.

<sup>299</sup> AGUSTONI, Luigi – Johannes Berchmans GÖSCHL, Johannes Berchmans: *Introduzione all'interpretazione del canto gregoriano I*. (Principi fondamentali), Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, Roma 1998, p. 111-114.

In older literature can be found a categorisation of neume signs according to Peter Wagner,<sup>300</sup> which differentiates between Mozarabic neumes (*Liber Ordinum* von Silos, 11<sup>th</sup> century), Italian (Cod. Vatic. 4770 – a plenary missal from the 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century, Benevento ?, Abruzzo; Ang. 123 – a gradual and troparion, 11<sup>th</sup> century, Rome; Cod. 16 – Perugia; south Italian neumes – Nonantola), French (Cod. Lat. 12601 – Paris, Bibl. Nat.), Irish-Anglo-Saxon (Cod. 473 – the Troparion of Winchester, 11<sup>th</sup> century, Cambridge), Messine (Cod. Regin. 466 – Vatican, 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century; Cod. Lat. 360 – Trier, 1200), north German (Cod. 169 – cca 900, Lipzich; Cod. Palat. Lat. 489 – Vatican, 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century; Cod. 9 – Wurzburg, 10<sup>th</sup> century), Sanktgallen (SG 381 – 11<sup>th</sup> century; Cod. theol. qu. 11 – Berlin, 11<sup>th</sup> century), German neumes after the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Pfarrei Rolle am Genfersee – the antiphony, 12<sup>th</sup> century, Cod. 55 – Zürcher Kantonsbibl., 13<sup>th</sup> century) and gothic neumes (Cod. 23 – Zürcher Kantonsbibl., 14<sup>th</sup> century).

Regarding the classification of adiastematic notations Willi Apel claims that numerous manuscripts of Gregorian chant are divided into groups according to calligraphic characteristics and recognizable neumatic details. However, even in the midst of the same country there were different notation schools, especially in monasteries, where they in a special way cultivated this liturgical chant. In France we distinguish between e.g. manuscripts from Metz (east of the country), Chartres (west) and San Marziale and Limoges (south, Aquitaine). In Italy, a different notation is from Novara (northwest), Nonantola and Bologna (north-east) and Benevento (south).<sup>301</sup>

Internal classification of neumatic signs themselves and their effect in the melodic context examines the Gregorian semiotics. A French scientist, Benedictine and professor Eugene Cardine placed the foundations of the discipline in the 80's of the last century in his pioneering work *Semiologia gregoriana*.<sup>302</sup> The term *neume* denotes all the notes above one syllable. If a single-tone neumes correspond to a relation one syllable = one note, and poly-tone neumes then can be expressed mathematically as one syllable = two or more notes. In terms of the use of neumatic signs so-called neumatic articulation is an important phenomenon: in melodies, especially in melismas, where rhythmic expressiveness is not tied to the text, but on one or more important notes, the individual neumatic elements (tones) are emphasized by extension, stressing, while others are interpreted easily and smoothly. It is a phenomenon that results from the very nature of neumes, and indicates the particular importance of the articulated note, after which a certain moment of mild tension or extension naturally comes. This is also underlined by the fact that to highlight important notes some scribes used a little comma – episema, on which the articulation is made.

At this point it is necessary to emphasize the fact that any classification of neumes is basically just a kind of conventional means of didactic aim, as neumes arose to designate an existing musical reality and in essence were the backbone of the oral tradition. It would be very difficult to prove whether their own terminology and classification accompanied the birth of neumes. Only during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries the musical theorists have begun to compile tables of various musical signs, but only several of those really basic neumes were appropriated names.<sup>303</sup>

The oldest musical sources, stored in Slovak archives, museum and library collections are represented by a low number of adiastematic fractions (18), originating from unknown liturgical manuscripts. They were probably imported to our territory from German or Austrian environment, through Franconia - Bavaria, later Benedictine missionaries. But we even do not rule out the possibility that they were copied in one of the domestic scribal workshops. Adiastematic notation, preserved on all 18 fragments, presents characteristic signs of German, respectively Germanic notation. It was used during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and is the oldest notational system that was used in our area. Unfortunately, in addition to the above-mentioned fragments, in Slovak funds no complete manuscript has been preserved with this type of notation. Moreover, some of the fragments either lost or were transported outside the territory of Slovakia in the past. This fact is supported for example by existence of 4

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<sup>300</sup> WAGNER, Peter: : *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien III. Neumenkunde*, Leipzig 1912, p. 174-221.

<sup>301</sup> APEL. 1998, p. 159.

<sup>302</sup> CARDIN, Eugène: *Semiologia gregoriana*, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, Roma 1968.

<sup>303</sup> HUGLO, Michel: *Les noms des neumes*, Études grégoriennes (1954), nr. 1, p. 53-57.

adiastematic bifolios of Slovak origin, which are currently located in the *Batthyaneum* Library in Romanian Alba Iulia.<sup>304</sup>

In the following section we will present 18 adiastematic fragments. We divided them into two groups: the first consists of 8 fragments, which are stored in the archives of Bratislava; the second consists of 10 fragments, deposited in the archives outside Bratislava. A small proportion of those fragments were from the 50's of the last century gradually published in scientific articles and studies, the authors of which were Konštantín Hudec,<sup>305</sup> Ľudovít Vajdička,<sup>306</sup> Július Sopko,<sup>307</sup> Richard Rybarič,<sup>308</sup> Zuzana Czaganyová<sup>309</sup> and František Matúš.<sup>310</sup> From about 2000, the research of medieval musical sources renewed and deepened considerably. On the basis of a new source research, supported by the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, Eva Veselovská revealed the existence of five previously unknown and unpublished fragments with adiastematic notation: two fragments are found in the archive of the Central Library of Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava,<sup>311</sup> two in the Music Museum of the Slovak National Museum in Bratislava<sup>312</sup> and one covers a registration form book in Modra.<sup>313</sup> Viera Sedláková found four adiastematic fragments earlier in the Slovak National Library in Martin.<sup>314</sup> The last fragment, originating from an unknown missal was found by the author of this chapter during the research in the Protestant Church Library in Levoča.<sup>315</sup> It has to be noted that the folios from Modra, Bardejov and Levoča still make the covers of younger books, respectively registers, while other fragments have been separated, restored at best. The fragments are generally in good condition, most of them are clearly legible. The study problems appeared mainly with Bardejov and Levoča fragments, because they are still not expertly edited. While all eighteen oldest notated units, respectively 21 parchment fragments contain adiastematic notation of German type, differences in notation of fragments result from individual handwriting,

<sup>304</sup> SELECKÁ: *Stredoveká levočská knižnica*. SELECKÁ MÁRZA, Eva: *A középkori löcsei könyvtár*, Scriptum KFT, Szeged 1997. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Adiastematické fragmenty gregoriánskeho chorálu v knižnici Batthyaneum v Alba Iulii*, in: *Musica mediaeva liturgica*, zborník prednášok z muzikologickej konferencie, Ružomberok, 4. – 5. mája 2010, Rastislav ADAMKO (ed.), VERBUM, Ružomberok 2010, p. 68-92. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Diastematické fragmenty gregoriánskeho chorálu v knižnici Batthyaneum v Alba Iulii*, in: *Ad honorem Richard Rybarič*, zborník príspevkov z vedeckej konferencie, venovanej nedožitým 80. narodeninám Richarda Rybariča (1930-1989), Bratislava, 12. – 13. mája 2010, Janka PETŐCZOVÁ (ed.), Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, Bratislava 2011, p. 258-275. VÁROŠ, Milan: *Stratené slovenské poklady*, 2 zv., Matica slovenská, Martin 2006, 2007.

<sup>305</sup> HUDEC, Konštantín: *Vývin hudobnej kultúry na Slovensku*, Slovenská akadémia vied a umení, Bratislava 1949, p. 19-20.

<sup>306</sup> VAJDIČKA, Ľudovít: *Neumový zlomok z 12. storočia v knižnici Matice slovenskej v Martine*, in: *Kniha 77'*, zborník pre problémy a dejiny knižnej kultúry na Slovensku 4, Martin 1977, p. 99-105.

<sup>307</sup> SOPKO.: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy III*. 1986, p. 42-43, nr. 434.

<sup>308</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: *Slovenská neuma*. In *Hudobnovedné štúdie* (1955), nr. I, p. 151-170.

<sup>309</sup> CZAGÁNY, Zuzana: *Dva neumové fragmenty v archíve mesta Bratislavy*. In *Hudobné tradície Bratislavy a ich tvorcovia* (1989), zv. 18, p. 32-45.

<sup>310</sup> MATÚŠ, František: *Hudobná kultúra v historickom vývine východoslovenských miest* [dizertačná práca], Prešov 1985, p. 101-107.

<sup>311</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizep*. p. 60-61. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Novoobjavené hudobné pamiatky v archíve ÚK SAV v Bratislave*, Slovenská hudba (2006), nr. 2, p. 171-183.

<sup>312</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes II*. p. 55, 67, 68. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Najnovšie objavy stredovekých notovaných fragmentov z Ústrednej knižnice SAV v Bratislave*, in: *Hudobnohistorický výskum na Slovensku začiatkom 21. storočia*, FF UK, Bratislava 2007, p. 26, 51.

<sup>313</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *K novým objavom prameňov gregoriánskeho chorálu*, Slovenská hudba (2001), nr. 4, p. 564-576. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva. *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Gregorius*, Bratislava 2008.

<sup>314</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*, Norbertinum, Lublin 2009, p. 102-109. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Notované pergamenové zlomky v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine*, in: *Hudobný archív 16*, Viera SEDLÁKOVÁ (ed.), SNK, Martin 2009, p. 13-89. BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Najnovší výskum v Archíve literatúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice v Martine*, in: *Pramene hudobnej kultúry II.*, pripravovaný zborník, Martina Božeková (ed.), SNK, Martin 2012 (v tlači).

<sup>315</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: *Stredoveké hudobné pamiatky Knižnice Evanjelického a. v. cirkevného zboru v Levoči*, VERBUM, Ružomberok 2010, p. 19-23.

inclination and hand moves, which results in partial differences in form, nature or size of the script. Generally, we can also say that all manuscripts are characterized by an inclined slope of neumatic script.

In Slovak archive, museum and library collections are located 18 adialematic fragments, one of which comes from the antiphonary, nine from the breviary, four from graduals and four from missals. These fragments form a complex group of 25 folios since four of them are bifolios (no. 5, 7, 9, 10 [Bratislava – SAS 1, SNM 351, Modra, Kremnica – the breviary]) and two signatures include more than one parchment unit (no. 1, 14 [Bratislava EC Lad 1/2, Martin B I/17]). Six units of these are incomplete fragments (no. 1, 13, 14, 15 [Bratislava – EC Lad 1/2 – f. 2, Martin – B I/16, B I/17a,b,c, AL X]), six fragments have been preserved with a complete mirror (no. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 17 [Bratislava – SNA 40, SAV 2, MUS I 352, Modra, Kremnica – a breviary, Bardejov]) and 5 fragments contain almost complete folios (no. 4, 5, 7, 12, 16 [Bratislava – SNA 92, SAS 1, MUS I 351, Martin – an antiphonary, Levoča]). The remaining units are in terms of a preserved surface bigger, but incomplete.

All manuscripts date back predominantly to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The oldest we consider the folio from the missal (no. 6 [Bratislava, SAS 2]), which comes from the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the youngest fragment is the Košice breviary from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (no. 18). The most commonly used script is *gothica textualis primitiva* (5,) *carolino-gotica* (4), *carolina posterior* (4), *gothica textualis* (3) also occurs and the least represented script is *carolina* (2). Clearly the best preserved manuscript is bifolio from the Kremnica Breviary (no. 10) and in terms of illumination the most significant folio is from the Martin Antiphonary (no. 12). The most legible fragment is the folio from the Levoča Missal (no. 16), the Bardejov Breviary (no. 17) and the fragment from the Martin Gradual (no. 13).

The largest number of adialematic fragments is preserved in the archives of Bratislava. It is also explained by the fact that Bratislava, previously called *Istropolis*, *Posonium*, *Poszony*, *Pressburg*, *Prešporok*, was known and developed city with vivid and frequent contacts with other cultural centres, especially Vienna. Other important towns, like Levoča and Košice in the middle ages, unfortunately, were deprived of numerous liturgical manuscripts, which were transferred to Hungary and Romania, or were gradually destroyed. This fact could partially explain the low number of surviving fragments. In the Slovak National Library in Martin are deposited five fragments, of which four were found only recently.

From the notational point of view all manuscripts contain adialematic notation of German type. Three of the presented fragments (no. 2, 12, 18 [Bratislava – EC Lad 1/3, Martin – an antiphonary, Košice]) connects a similar neumatic notation, which is reflected not only in inclination and placing individual signs, but mainly in size and shape of clivis, elements of which are connected by significantly elongated nose tilted to the right. We assume that they could be written in the same scriptorium, or the original manuscripts could be copied from each other. Another group consists of manuscripts that are also connected by the same notation of clivis: this time, however, two of its elements are linked by almost horizontal connecting line, and shape of this neume reminds a small letter "n" (no. 7, 9, 15 [Bratislava – SAV 2, Modra, Martin – AL X]).

Number of adialematic fragments, preserved in Slovak archive institutions is low. There are several causes that explain this fact: unstable Church and political situation, medieval military conflicts, various disasters, especially fires, hauling of valuable monuments outside Slovakia (especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), losses and transfers to private collections (especially after the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic)<sup>316</sup> and finally indifference or even destruction of religious monuments during the communist establishment. For many centuries the Slovak nation was part of various political and geographic structures in the context of which it could not freely and autonomously develop its culture either. Nevertheless, the preserved fragments with adialematic notation are important historical testimony to the presence and connection with European social and spiritual events, as well as tangible proof of our sense of belonging to the Church of Rome.

## 5. 2. *The Messine – Gothic Notation.*

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<sup>316</sup> VESELOVSKÁ., *Štruktúra stredovekých notačných systémov.* p. 339.

The Messine or Lorraine notation<sup>317</sup> was in its oldest adiaستمatic and diastematic form used in the 10<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in the northeast of France, especially in the territory of the archbishopric of Reims and the bishopric of Metz (the Archbishopric of Trier). The oldest complete manuscript is the codex *Laon 239* (F - LA 239), which was written around the year 930.<sup>318</sup> The hallmarks of this notation were a small dot (*punctum* or *uncinus*), *clivis* in the form of Arabic numeral 7 and *cephalicus* in the form of Arabic numeral 9. Diastematic Messine notation adopted Guidon system during the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The sign system was simplified after the introduction of a stave and mainly the complicated decorative shapes of adiaستمatic and diastematic notations were replaced by smaller group neumes (e.g. the use of *quilisma*, which is replaced by *scandicus*, fades away gradually). Some scriptoria stopped using most of liquescent forms (only *cephalicus* and *epiphonus* occur). The basic structure of the notation became punctum (*punctum* or *uncinus* = a dot), form of which differed from scriptorium to scriptorium. Similarly, the regionally variable shape had also a three-tone neumes *scandicus* and *climacus*. According to the territorial habits they differed and specified in their direction (vertical, diagonal, punctual version, with a separate virga in the beginning, etc.). Especially at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century a diagonal, to the right heading form of *climacus* stabilized under the influence of French and German scriptoria (main difference from Esztergom notation). Since the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Messine notation became extremely expansionary notational system that has established itself in almost all over Central Europe. Various forms and often extremely rare variants of the Messine system appear in in the diocesan (chapter, town, parish scriptoria) and Premonstratensian scriptoria of today's France, Germany, Czech Republic, Moravia, Poland, Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Slovenia and Croatia. Despite the relatively uniform structural construction of basic neumatic shapes (a single-tone neume: *punctum*, two-tone neumes: *pes* and *clivis*, three-tone neumes: *scandicus*, *climacus*, *torculus* and *porrectus*) the individual scribal centres (Prague, Krakow, Olomouc and other) begin to differ in use of specific versions of neumatic shapes. In the preserved codices and fragments from the territory of Slovakia it is the most widely used notational system. More than ¾ of all manuscripts document the Messine notational system of the late 14<sup>th</sup> and mainly the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to gothisation of individual neumatic structures during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, this smaller in dimension notation changes to a large-format liturgical codices notation, which are preserved in the former Chapter libraries in Bratislava, Spiš or the eastern Slovakia towns (Prešov, Košice).<sup>319</sup> The Messine notation from the territory of Slovakia shows a clear stylistic structure that can be territorially divided into two major circles. Western circle of preserved manuscripts (the Bratislava Chapter - Bratislava, western and central Slovakia), tends to scribal tradition of Austrian and German scribal workshops (the *Bratislava Antiphonaries I, II, IV*<sup>320</sup>, the *Bratislava Missal "H"*<sup>321</sup> and other). Eastern circle around the Spiš Chapter (Eastern Slovakia: the Spiš Chapter, Levoča, Košice, Prešov, part of central Slovakia: Banská Štiavnica) in style and form approaches some Polish manuscripts and Polish notation practice (especially around Krakow). From single-tone neumes only *punctum* was used. From the sign system almost entirely disappeared *virga*. It appears only in combination, within the group neumatic structures (*pes*, *scandicus*, *climacus*, *porrectus*). *Pes* was created from a single punctum and virga with a head facing to the right. *Clivis* was typical Messine, rectangular. *Scandicus* consisted of two rising,

<sup>317</sup> HILEY, David – SZENDREI, Janka. Notation, §III, + (iv): Plainchant: Early Palaeo – Frankish notations, 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> c., (f) Messine (Lorraine, Laon) notation. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley SADIE. Volume 18. Oxford etc. : Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 96 – 97. HILEY, David – SZENDREI, Janka. Notation, §III, + (v): Plainchant: Pitch – specific notations, 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c., (f) Messine (Metz, Lorraine, Laon) notation. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley SADIE. Volume 18. Oxford etc. : Oxford University Press, p. 103 – 105. SZENDREI, Janka. Staff notation of Gregorian Chant in Polish Sources of 12<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century. In *Notae musicae artip. Musical Notation in Polish sources 11<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century*. Ed. Elżbieta WITKOWSKA – ZAREMBA, Kraków : Musica Iagellonica & Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2001, p. 187–281.

<sup>318</sup> *Le Codex 239 de la Bibliothèque de Laon*. Ed. Paléographie Musicale X. Solesmes – Bern: Abbaye Saint-Pierre & P. Lang, 1992.

<sup>319</sup> SZENDREI, Janka. Choralnotationen als Identitätsausdruck. In *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1985, p. 139 – 170.

<sup>320</sup> Bratislavský antifonár I – V [CD – ROM]. Ed. Pamäť sveta UNESCO. Július SOPKO – Dušan BURAN – Eva VESELOVSKÁ – Ľubomír JANKOVINR. Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2002 – 2007.

<sup>321</sup> OSzK Clmae 94. Messine Notation: *Exultet, Prephationes, Genealogia Christi*.

heading to the right *puncti*. The uppermost tone was *virga*, with head facing to the right. *Climacus* occurred in two forms, in the introduction with *virga*, followed by a number of declining, facing to the right *puncti*. Sometimes *climacus* appeared only as a number of to the right descending *puncti*, without *virga*. *Torculus* consisted of an initial *punctum* and *virga* joined with *clivis* (it was of a slightly box shape). *Porreectus* was created from *clivis* and *virga*. The keys c and f were often used, sometimes also g occurs. In our territory *custos* was used (unlike in Esztergom notational system). The notation was placed in a 4 or 5-lined system predominantly of red colour, which is mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century placed in the double framing, which determined the mirror of pages.

The two complete manuscripts with the notation from the 14<sup>th</sup> century were preserved in Spiš: the *Spiš Breviary H R III 94* (Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia, the codex belonged to the Levoča parish library fund, only two fragments with the Messine notation of Polish provenance are notated<sup>322</sup>) and the *Spiš Necrologiary R I 61* (Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia),<sup>323</sup> two from the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> /15<sup>th</sup> centuries – the *Spiš Breviary D R II 46* (Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia, on f. 242v is the responsory *Quae est ista quae ascendit*<sup>324</sup> notated with the Messine-gothic notation, with a verse *Ista est speciosa*, from the folio 261v the complete notated office with an introductory antiphon *Ecce tu pulchra es amica*<sup>325</sup> on the feast of the Assumption is listed) and the *Missal Clmae 92* (Hungarian National Szechenyi library) and two codices from the 15<sup>th</sup> century from the Spiš Chapter: the *Spiš Gradual of George from Kežmarok* from 1426 Mss. Mus. No. 1<sup>326</sup> and the *Spiš Antiphonary* Mss. Mus. No. 2.<sup>327</sup>

Both manuscripts from the Spiš Chapter were made and used for liturgical ceremonies in the Church of St. Martin in the Spiš Chapter. Since the use of both manuscripts in the Spiš Chapter cannot be doubted, these notated codices can be considered a standard source for determining the basic typology of musical palaeographic structures that were typical for medieval manuscripts of the Spiš region. On the basis of a rigorous analysis of neumes in the *Spiš Antiphonary* and the *Spiš Gradual* and extremely large number of preserved fragments of various archive institutions in Spiš and eastern Slovakia some interesting information on practices of the Spiš notating practice in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries can be traced. Apart from the two codices of the Spiš Chapter, manuscripts from the State Scientific Library in Prešov (the *Notated Breviary from Dambno* from 1375<sup>328</sup> and the *Psalter* from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>329</sup>), the *Missal Clmae 92* of the Szechenyi Library in Budapest,<sup>330</sup> the *Missal* and the *Psalter*<sup>331</sup> from the Eastern Slovakia Museum in Košice and the *Spiš Breviary D R II 46* (the Batthyaneum Library in Alba Iulia) were notated with the related Messine-gothic sign system. Several common elements appear in the *Missal Clmae 92*, the *Spiš Gradual*, the *Spiš Antiphonary* and dozens of fragments from the Lyceum Library in Kežmarok, the State Archive in Banská Štiavnica, the State Archive Poprad, Spišská Nová Ves and the State Archive in Levoči from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Notational system of these codices is somewhat uniform in the case of sharp, truncated shapes of the

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<sup>322</sup> *Veni redemptor gentium ostende partum virginis miretur omne saeculum talis decet partus deum* (<http://cantusdatabase.org>: Cantus ID 9408a, Nativitas Domini) a *Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium alpha et omega vocatus ipse fons et clausula omnium quae sunt fuerunt quaeque post futura sunt* (Cantus ID 8289, Purificatio BMV); zadné prídoštie: *Conditor alme siderum aeterna lux credentium Christe redemptor omnium exaudi preces supplicum* (Cantus ID 8284, Dominica 1 Adv.) a *A solis ortus cardine et usque terrae limitem Christum canamus principem natum Maria virgine* (Cantus ID 8248, Assumptio BMV).

<sup>323</sup> *Christe fili dei vivi miserere nobis* (Cantus ID 6276, V. *Resurrexisti...miserere nobis* a s doxológiou.

<sup>324</sup> Cantus ID 601925.

<sup>325</sup> Cantus ID 002547.

<sup>326</sup> *Spišský graduál Juraja z Kežmarku* (1425). Ed. AKIMJAK, Amantius – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. Ružomberok : Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2006.

<sup>327</sup> *Spišský antifonár*. Rastislav ADAMKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ – Juraj ŠEDIVÝ. Ružomberok : Pedagogická fakulta Katolíckej univerzity v Ružomberku, 2008.

<sup>328</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 197. URDOVÁ. Spevy prvej adventnej nedele. p. 241 – 250.

<sup>329</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 196.

<sup>330</sup> Szechenyi národná knižnica v Budapešti Clmae 92. SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*. M 1. GÜNTHEROVÁ – MIŠIANIK. *Stredoveká knižná malba*. nr. 6, p. 37 – 38.

<sup>331</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kodexy*. 1981, nr. 161. SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*. C 54. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva. Stredoveké notované rukopisy z Košíc. In *Ad honorem Richard Rybarič : zborník z muzikologickej konferencie Musicologica historica I. venovanej nedožitým 80. narodeninám Richarda Rybariča* (1930-1989). Ed. Janka PETŐCZOVÁ. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2011, p. 225-244.

extremities of some neumes. *Clivis*, *torculus* and *porrectus* are at the end written without any rhombic ending. This standardized structure occurs in the geographically close, Polish manuscripts.<sup>332</sup> It is not used in Bratislava sources and in the source base of Banská Bystrica, where a slightly different, clearly rhombised, mannerist type of the Messine-gothic system with rhombic endings of neumes appears (the *Bratislava Antiphonaries I, II, IV*) appears. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century a 5 - lined notational system (it is most probably the influence of the Polish scribal tradition), which was used in connection with the double red framing and using *custos* (all of these features are common for the *Spiš gradual* and the *Spiš Antiphonary*) became a particularly typical feature for the Spiš region. Notation of the *Spiš Antiphonary* and the *Spiš Gradual* is comprised of contact neumatic structures that were created by mixing the Messine and German notation over the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is not a primary type notation, but the mixed system, which occurs in the territory of Slovakia during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It spreads rapidly across our country and is independent from the neighboring Bohemian and Esztergom scribal traditions. Mirror of pages in the two manuscripts is defined by a red double framing; the number of systems on a single folio is mostly 9 in the gradual and 10 in the antiphonary. A 5 - lined red stave is used, *custos* in 2 forms (*punctum* with prolonged capillary end line or *rhombus* with decorative, mannerist vertical ending) and c and f keys (e.g. the f - key has three basic forms: 1. vertical, gothized *virga* without a head with two by the third lower placed *rhombi* - the most widely used form in the Spiš Antiphonary; 2. gothized *virga* without a head with three *rhombi* that are vertically aligned and ranked in second intervals - this is the unique shape of this key, which is documented only in the *Spiš Antiphonary*;<sup>333</sup> 3. two vertically aligned puncti in a third interval - the most common type of f key in the Spiš Gradual), g (square -shaped figure 9), accidentals b and a natural. General ductus of the script in both manuscripts is vertical. *Punctum* is used predominantly as a single-tone neume. A separate *virga*, like in other medieval codices and fragments from the territory of Slovakia almost doesn't appear. It is used only as part of a multi-tone neume structures (*pes*, *scandicus*, *climacus*, *porrectus*). Two-tone neumes *pes* (two rising tones) and *clivis* (two falling tones) are of the classic Messine shape. *Pes* is made up of separate *punctum* and *virga*, had of which is inclined to the right. *Pes* is not present in the bound, S-shape as in the case of Esztergom notational system. *Clivis* is rectangular, without a rhombic ending (unlike the Bratislava manuscripts). It has clearly truncated ending, like some Polish manuscripts.<sup>334</sup> Initial *punctum* of *clivis* in the *Spiš Antiphonary* is sometimes almost as long as the lower tone of this neumatic shape (unlike *clivis* that occurs in the *Spiš Gradual*). The three-tone neume *scandicus* is composed of two rising, heading to the right *puncti*. The uppermost tone is made by *virga* with a head tilted to the right. In the case where between the first and third tone is greater than second period (there are also cases, however, with the possible second period), the second *punctum* is extended into *virga* form without a head. *Climacus* appears in three forms. The most common is present with the initial *bipunctum* followed by the decreasing, heading to the right *puncti*. The second form of *climacus* is created alike. Topmost tone is replaced by a simple *punctum*. The third form is with the uppermost tone in *virga* shape. *Torculus* is used in a box form with a separate initial *punctum*. The *Spiš Antiphonary torculus* on ff. 1r - 92r slightly differs from the form used in the *Spiš Gradual*. Smooth transition of this three-tone neume (*punctum*, *virga* in conjunction with *clivis*) has a rectangular vertical - horizontal and then vertical direction. In the *Spiš Gradual* the horizontal line of a middle tone is not respected strictly, but it is facing downwards. This form of *torculus* is used in the *Spiš Antiphonary* from f. 92v. *Porrectus* in both manuscripts comprises of independent *clivis* and *virga*. In both manuscripts are frequently used combinations of multi-tone neumes (*torculus resupinus*, *porrectus flexus* and other). Notation of the *Spiš Antiphonary* often uses *bipunctum* which does not occur at all in the *Spiš Gradual*. It's an interesting phenomenon, which may reflect the strong influence

<sup>332</sup> SUTKOWSKI, Adam. Cechy paleograficzne notacji muzycznych w polskich rękopisach średniowiecznych. In *Musica Medii Aevi I*. Krakow : Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1965, p. 53 – 68. SZENDREI. *Staff Notation*. p. 211 – 224. 237.

<sup>333</sup> Using a similar structure in sources from Slovakia occur..

<sup>334</sup> SZENDREI. *Staff Notation*. obrazová príloha III/27 – 33. *Antifonár MS 47* z Archívu katedrálnej kapitulskej knižnice v Krakove; *Graduál MS 45* z Archívu katedrálnej kapitulskej knižnice v Krakove; *Pontifikál MS 12* z Archívu a katedrálnej kapitulskej knižnice v Krakove; *Antifonár MS 48* z Archívu katedrálnej kapitulskej knižnice v Krakove; *Graduál MS 46* z Archívu katedrálnej kapitulskej knižnice v Krakove; *Antifonár MS 97* z Katedrálnej knižnice Gniezno, *Graduál MS 1* Duchovného seminára Włocławek.

of the Bohemian environment at the time when the *Spiš Antiphonary* was made (Bohemian notation uses *bipunctum* very often).

Sources of medieval liturgical music in the Slovak territory of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries document multicultural base of scribes and notators who were trained or came from many religious, cultural and educational centres of Europe. Besides the dominant influence of Esztergom (religious centre of the country) on the liturgical content of the codices (especially the Bratislava Chapter manuscripts) and fragments from the whole territory of Slovakia, a close contact and interaction of Bohemian, Austrian, and Polish scribal workshops can be observed on the preserved notated material production.

### 5. 3. The Esztergom Notation

A notational system that a Hungarian musicologist Janka Szendrei calls the Esztergom or Hungarian notation<sup>335</sup> started to be formed in the early medieval Hungary during the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The term Esztergom notation did not exist and was not used in the older Slovak musicology literature.<sup>336</sup> Manuscripts with this type of notation were classified as the sources with the rhombic – Bohemian or the Messine notation. We therefore deemed it necessary to present this type of notation as a separate musical paleographic component with a typical neume structure within the dissertation *Medieval Liturgical Codices with the Notation from the Territory of Slovakia*.<sup>337</sup> This notational system played an important role in the development of medieval musical culture. During the huge time space (about 500 years), the Esztergom notational system was one of the major documents of the unique scribal tradition of medieval Hungary.

For the definition of Esztergom notation as an independent, original notation of medieval Hungary, an important role played the ability, when the abstract structure of notation became the bearer of identity and stability. This choral script was used in Hungary since the 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>338</sup> Structural construction of the notation remained the same during the entire period.<sup>339</sup> Comparative analyses of different developmental stages showed two important aspects of forming and building the signs. The first aspect demonstrates independence and organic continuity of the notational system. On the other hand, influences and streams, which in varying strength and in different time periods appear in the sources of Esztergom notational system appear here.

While until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the establishing church structures (we particularly pay attention to liturgy and scribal activity in our case) of early medieval Hungary prevailed influences from the West (Germany, Austria), from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century we can talk about a gradual change in orientation of political - cultural - religious influences towards French and Italian sources and models. At this time Hungary receives knowledge about the establishing of a stave (Guido of Arezzo invention) and use of diastematic principle in musical notation. At the same time in the manuscripts emerge elements of diastematic notational systems of France (the Messine notation) and Italy (the northern Italy notation schools). In the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century gradually began formation of a separate notation around the main ecclesiastical center of the country - Esztergom on the basis of several foreign notational systems (French, Italian, German elements). It was a diastematic notation from the beginning that distinguished different tonal heights (Italian, French sings). Under the influence of German scribal technique this contact notation was characterized by strike smoothness and fixation of basic shapes. The Esztergom notation of medieval Hungarian scriptoria accepted and assumed the lined system as one of the first countries in Central Europe (like the Cistercian scriptoria reform streams in Austria, Bohemia and the nascent Bohemian [rhombic] notation at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>340</sup>

<sup>335</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. In: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30, Budapest 1988, p. 5-234.

<sup>336</sup> PETŐCZOVÁ, Janka: *K problematike výskumu pôvodných prameňov k starším dejinám Slovenskej hudby.*, In: *Súzvuk* 2, Prešov 2004, p. 95-120. PETŐCZOVÁ, Janka: *Vedecké bádania a edičné aktivity súčasnej hudobnej historiografie*. In: *Súzvuk* 3, Prešov 2005/6, Prešov 2007, p. 131-148.

<sup>337</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch : stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. [diz.]. Ústav hudobnej vedy : Bratislava, 2004.

<sup>338</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Choralnotationen in Mitteleuropa*. In: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30, Budapest 1988, p. 439.

<sup>339</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. p. 66 - 69.

<sup>340</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*. Budapest 1983, p. 189-191.

As the most typical features of Esztergom notation several elements are considered today: the top note in the two-tone neume pes is always on the right side of the sign's feet, scandicus was connected in all intervals and all its parts inclined to the right, punctum row of climacus was always vertical. Custos was not commonly used in the Esztergom sign system. Only rarely were preserved fragments, where custos occurs probably due to influence of the Messine system of notation. Individual nature of Esztergom notation was based on the construction of neumatic system, represented by the contact neumes of the Messine - northern Italy sign system and the German scribal technique.<sup>341</sup> The Esztergom notation has not developed into a monumental script of the representative illuminated codices as the Messine or Bohemian notation (e.g. the *Bratislava Antiphonaries I-IV*, the *Klosterneuburg Antiphonaries /Cod. 65-68/*, the Bohemian notated manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries (e.g. the *Luzern Gradual Zentral - und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern P.19/*, the Bohemian Utraquist codices from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries/ e.g. the *Kutná Hora Gradual* from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). Although in the late middle ages conservative Paulines used it in its monumentalized, gothized form, the manuscripts were never significantly decorated. The Esztergom notation had the most decorative form in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, when it occurs also in the territory of Slovakia (the *Bratislava Missal I*, the *Notated Breviary A/13* of the Bratislava City Museum<sup>342</sup>). In the late Middle Ages the Esztergom notation had an important role of the practical, quick cursive script (liturgical books – the *Nitra Gradual*, school manuals, theoretical treatises). It has never been expansionary during its existence. Boundaries of its occurrence coincided with the diocesan framework of medieval Hungary.

Esztergom notation in medieval Hungary occurred in parallel with other types of notation. It was used mainly in manuscripts, which are regarded as the product of Esztergom scriptorium. However, the dominant notational system from territory of Slovakia throughout the Middle Ages was the Messine – gothic notation, which is documented by 10 complete codices and several hundred fragments). The quadratic notation was the second most widely used system considering the surviving manuscripts and fragments.<sup>343</sup> Based on recent research, surprisingly, the Bohemian notation, which was the latest to reach our territory (after 1350) is on imaginary third place.<sup>344</sup> The fourth notational system from the territory of Slovakia is the Esztergom notation. Surprisingly, the Esztergom liturgy was strictly followed in manuscripts from the Slovak territory and Bratislava in particular. The notation of the manuscripts, however, proves the notation autonomy of the scribal workshops of the medieval Slovakia territory. Since an extremely small number of complete notated codices and fragmentary materials have been preserved in Slovakia because in most cases they had been moved from their place of origin and use (the notated fragments often form bindings of books from younger period, or they were used to consolidate town hall official books, for example in Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Kremnica, Košice and others), the reconstruction of medieval scribal habits of individual religious and cultural centres of the country is very difficult. The number of individual codices and fragments in a certain area with a particular notation is clear, but unfortunately not always absolutely relevant criterion for inferring possible conclusions considering the scribal practice in the territory of Slovakia. The most accurate indicators for the classification of manuscripts are always colophons or other marginal (mostly of obituary) records of a commissioner, user or owner of the manuscript. Since except for the part of the Bratislava Chapter Library, the Spiš Chapter Library and Levoča book collections there haven't been preserved other complex medieval book collections in Alba Iulia (manuscripts of monastic libraries are unfortunately in various collections in Hungary, Romania, or

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<sup>341</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka: Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia. Lublin : Norbertinum 2009.

<sup>342</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*, Martin 1986, nr. 499. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche Liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*. Slovenské národné múzeum – Hudobné múzeum : Bratislava, 2002, nr. 51, p. 90-91.

<sup>343</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Štruktúra stredovekých notačných systémov z územia Slovenska. : pomer domácich a zahraničných prvkov*. In: Slovenská hudba : revue pre hudobnú kultúru. – Bratislava, Ronr.XXXIII, nr. 3-4 (2007), p. 339-360. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Choralnotationen der Mittelalterlichen Liturgischen Kodizes des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Slowakischen Archivbeständen*. In: De musica disserenda. Let. V, št. 1 (2009), p. 85-106.

<sup>344</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Die böhmische Notation in der Slowakei im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Musicologica Istropolitana VI (editor Marta Hulková). Bratislava : FFUK : STIMUL, 2007, p. 9-56.

the younger - secular library or archive institutions in Slovakia, where they got after communist feeder), this form and the principal method of precise identification and localization is not very usable. Despite the large number of question marks we consider the preserved manuscripts with the Esztergom notational system rather products of the scriptoria which did not lie in the territory of Slovakia. These manuscripts were brought to our territory in the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, probably due to historical events such as donations or orders for specific religious institutions (e.g. losses or burnt libraries of chapters or monasteries, the need to provide basic liturgical books for a particular church). It is extremely strange in the case of Bratislava, that with the exception of the oldest manuscripts of the Bratislava Chapter (the *Pray Codex*,<sup>345</sup> the *Bratislava Missal I* – the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad 3, EL 18, EC Lad. 21, the Bratislava City Museum A/9, St. Adalbert's Guild (SSV) Fasc. 322/10<sup>346</sup>), the development of musical paleography in the notated manuscripts of the Bratislava scriptorium went different direction from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. The notated manuscripts and fragments of the former Bratislava Chapter Library from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries were in fact nearly 200 years notated mostly with the Messine-gothic or Bohemian notation (the *Bratislava Missal "H"* from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine-gothic notation,<sup>347</sup> the *Bratislava Travel Missal* from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine-gothic notation,<sup>348</sup> the *Bratislava Missal VI* from 1403 with the Messine-gothic notation,<sup>349</sup> the *Bratislava Missal "D"* from 1430 with the Bohemian notation,<sup>350</sup> the *Psalter of Canon Blasius* (before 1419) with the Bohemian notation<sup>351</sup> and the *Bratislava Antiphonaries I, II, IV* from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the Messine-gothic notation, the *Bratislava Missal "G"* from 1488 with the Messine-gothic notation<sup>352</sup>).

One can indeed allow the possibility that in times of a need for production of new liturgical books for Bratislava a century earlier, a scribe, trained in Esztergom scribal workshop could had been working here. Much more likely, however, is the possibility that the production of liturgical manuscripts in the Bratislava Chapter scriptorium started only around the 30's of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (the *Bratislava Missal "H"* originated then).

The Bratislava chapter was undoubtedly one of the most significant scribal workshops that existed in Hungary at the institution of the chapter. We do not know exactly when it was founded, but during the stay of King Solomon and his court in the 70's of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in Bratislava, the decisive impulse started the subsequent rebirth of originally missionary centre to the institution of priory, according to a Slovak paleographer Šedivý.<sup>353</sup> A mention in the decrees of King Koloman (1095 - 1116) is a reaction to the newly established chapter.<sup>354</sup> Questionable is the time of foundation of the functional scriptorium at the Bratislava Chapter. In addition to a diplomatic production of documents, which was certainly paramount for the chapter and no doubt very close in time to the foundation of the chapter, the scriptorium could also produce copies of the liturgical books. We assume, however, that it was a little later. Anyway, the origin of the first liturgical books used by the Chapter is not clear. The most likely possibility of providing Bratislava with necessary liturgical books we consider the main

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<sup>345</sup> SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku*. Martin 1982, nr. 201. Szechenyho národná knižnica v Budapešti MNY 1.

<sup>346</sup> KNAUZ, Nándor: *A Pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratai*, Esztergom 1870, Kn 10. SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin 1981, nr. 5. SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. c.d., nr. 495. SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest 1981, C 17, C 98. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche Liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava*, c.d., nr. 23, nr. 50, p. 73. 89-89.

<sup>347</sup> OSzK Clmae 94.

<sup>348</sup> OSzK Clmae 435.

<sup>349</sup> MMB A/2+AMB EC Lad.2/34.

<sup>350</sup> OSzK Clmae 216.

<sup>351</sup> OSzK Clmae 212.

<sup>352</sup> OSzK Clmae 219.

<sup>353</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*. Bratislava 2007, p. 35 – 36.

<sup>354</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Skriptorium Bratislavskej kapituly – písmo rukopisov zo 14. – 15. storočia*. In: *Pamiatky a múzea 1*, Bratislava 2003, p. 10 – 13.

ecclesiastical centre of the country Esztergom, as it was at the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century for the newly established bishopric in Zagreb.<sup>355</sup>

Today the oldest manuscript from the Bratislava Chapter Library in which the emerging Esztergom notational system appeared, is the *Pray Codex*. It is almost a century older than the *Bratislava Missal I* (originated around 1192 - 1195, a part is from the 13<sup>th</sup> century). It certainly did not originate in Bratislava but it was used here since the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (a book entry on f. 15r).<sup>356</sup> It is quite surprising that during the invasion of Ottokar II. (1271, 1273), this manuscript was not destroyed. The majority of historians and codicologists use the argument that the Bratislava Chapter suffered great losses during the Přemyslid invasion (the minimum number of manuscripts that originated before 1300 is preserved). The existence of the *Pray Codex* in Bratislava before but also after this invasion indicates the fact that not all of the Bratislava Chapter liturgical manuscripts were destroyed. Anyway, the question is whether there existed an active scriptorium for copying and production of liturgical manuscripts in Bratislava before 1273 ever. Interesting is also the question of notational systems in the *Pray Codex*.<sup>357</sup> In this sacramentary the notated sections are located in certain places only, because it was not the codex with the musical content in the first place. Notation was written only as a form of notes. There are three versions of notations used in the manuscript. The adiastrumatic and the diastematic notation from the 90's of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and a few years younger Esztergom notation created under strong French – Messine influence (20's of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). The diastematic notation without a stave indicates the Benedictine origin of the manuscript. In the older literature it was referred to as a German or St. Gallen notation. However, Janka Szendrei pointed out that actually only the German clivis is used in the diastematic notation of the *Pray Codex* out of the German adiastrumatic system.<sup>358</sup> More frequent use of a separate virga is connected with the German script to some extent. In case of the *Pray Codex* though, it is the notational system, which cannot be fully called the Esztergom notation yet, but its fine, vertical shapes document clear form structure of Esztergom notational system used in the same form until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The second notation variant of the *Pray Codex* is the oldest example of the diastematic notational system of medieval sources in Hungary. It is already a crystallized Esztergom system (R. *Domine Jesu Christe* f. 132r-v Cao 6997 HR, s. Galli, A. *Vidi aquam* f. 55v Cao 5403 CBVHDF, Trop. *Clemens et benigna* f. 144v), which demonstrates the application ability of the diastematic principle of Esztergom neume structures on stave. Janka Szendrei assumes that normative manuscripts with the new notational system appeared in Hungary few decades before the *Pray Codex* was created (20-25 years earlier). The first notators were certainly the domestic scribes, whereas the oldest examples of Esztergom notation demonstrate a pentatonic melodic dialect used in Hungary (domestic melodic elements) and the Esztergom liturgy repertoire. The reform notation could only spread from the main ecclesiastical centre of the country - Esztergom. The third notation of the *Pray Codex* is the notation created in the Messine scribal technique style (*Exultet*, prefaces ff. XXVIIIv-1r; a mass on the feast of the Holy Trinity ff. 99v-100r: Intr. *Benedicta sit*, Gr. *Benedictus es Domine*, All. V. *Benedictus es Domine*, Off. *Benedictus sit Deus Pater*, with a verse *Benedicamus Patrem et Filium*; a Marian mass ff. 101v-102r, 103v-104r: All. V. *Dulcis mater*, Seq. *Mira mater*, Off. *Recordare*, Com. *Beata viscera*; a mass *de sancta Trinitate super*

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<sup>355</sup> MR 126, MR 89, MR 165 MÚCSKA, Vincent: *Osobitosti uhorského liturgického kalendára v 11. storočí*. In: Nitra slovenských dejinách. MARSINA Richard (ed.), Nitra 2002, p. 181-189. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Hahóti kódex*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 62, Budapest 1938, p. 97-112. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Esztergomi benedictionale*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 65, Budapest 1941, p. 213-231. KNIEWALD, Károly: *Hartwich györi püspök Agenda pontificalis*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 65, Budapest 1941, p. 103.

<sup>356</sup> O vzniku a pôvode kódexu sa vedú polemiky (P. Ratkoš – L. Mezey.). Vznikol v benediktínskom skriptóriu. Je notovaný 3 typmi notácie: nemecká bezlínajková neuma, ostrihomská notácia, métska notácia. Podľa záznamov na f. XXVI bol však kódex v rokoch 1203-1216 v šomodskom kláštore. Do Bratislavy sa dostal okolo r. 1241, o čom svedčí zápis, ktorý sa vzťahuje na bratislavskú rodinu Chucar: „*Uxor Iohannis occiditur et uxor Chucar a Cumanis captivatur*“. SOPKO, Július: *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku*, c.d. p. 17-20. MEZEY, László: *A Pray kódex keletkezése*. In: Magyar Könyvszemle 87, Nr. 2-3, Budapest 1971, p. 109-123. RATKOŠ, Peter: *Nový pohľad na vznik a funkciu Prayovho kódexu*. In: Slovenská archivistika I, Bratislava 1966, p. 98-119.

<sup>357</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *A Pray – kódex vonalrendszeres kottái.*, In: Zenetudományi dolgozatok III, Budapest 1980, p. 183-213. HULKOVÁ, Marta: *Prayov kódex*. In: Pamiatky a múzea 4, Bratislava 1999, p. 52-53.

<sup>358</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. p. 28-32.

*sponsum et sponsam* ff. 116v-117r: All. V. *Honor virtus*), originating in French (Lorraine) circuit Nevers and Troyes. The use of virga disappears completely. Other forms of neumes document the Esztergom structures, influenced by French (Lorraine) schools. A similar notational expression of the Esztergom system is documented in the Bardejov fragment of the antiphony from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Next layer of the Bratislava Chapter Library manuscripts comes from the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It is a part of the *Bible* from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>359</sup> the *Bratislava Missal I*, a fraction of the *Breviary* from the Bratislava City Museum,<sup>360</sup> a fragment A 23/4 of the National Szechenyi Library in Budapest<sup>361</sup> and several fragments, which are now kept in the Bratislava City Archive.<sup>362</sup> They did not originate in the Bratislava scriptorium but were used by the chapter in half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century already. Recent research and publications of Juraj Šedivý confirm the earlier claims of Janka Szendrei and Richard Rybarič of the *Bratislava Missal's I* origin. It can safely be stated that the scribe of the codex came from Esztergom environment. According to Juraj Šedivý the script of the codex was based (gothic minuscule) on Italian designs, and he dates the emergence of the manuscript somewhere around the year 1300. The decoration of the codex includes Italian (miniatures of initials) but also domestic elements (acanthus forms of fleuronée).<sup>363</sup> Notation of the codex presents the supreme stage of Esztergom notation using all the typical components of the system (smooth strokes, S-shaped form of pes, undivided scandicus, vertical climacus with bipunctual introduction, etc.). The system of signs is placed in two columns on the red 4 - lined stave, keys follow in fifths, custos is not used. Climacus is featured in the variant with initial bipunctum or tractullus.

*The Bratislava Missal I*, Spolok sv. Vojtecha (St. Adalbert's Guild) in Trnava

In the Esztergom scribal workshop was also created a *Notated Breviary A/13* from the Bratislava City Museum,<sup>364</sup> which was unfortunately preserved only in the fragmentary form.<sup>365</sup> Juraj Šedivý assigns the breviary's script to the one in the *Bratislava Missal I*, whilst conceding the same scribal patterns, or even the same scribal workshop.<sup>366</sup> His arguments are confirmed by the Esztergom notation of the fraction without the Messine effects. Individual neume shapes are about 10-20 years younger than shapes of the *Bratislava Missal's I* notation (other writing material, faster strokes of a scribe, pes, scandicus and torculus are of a bound form, with a clear tendency to the right, climacus is not vertical). Italian influences of palaeographic component of both codices relate to the historical assumptions and new educational circles representatives of the Hungarian royal court from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The structure and form of neumes belong among the representative examples of calligraphic form of Esztergom notation in the most important codices of Hungary from 1290-1360 (the *Esztergom Notated Breviary* from the Strahov Library in Prague,<sup>367</sup> the *Bratislava Missal I*, the *Istanbul Missal*,<sup>368</sup> the *Istanbul Antiphony* from 1360<sup>369</sup>). The oldest among the aforementioned codices, the

<sup>359</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur*. p. 55 – 56. p. 244. Clmae 50.

<sup>360</sup> Múzeum mesta Bratislavy A/13. SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. Martin 1986, nr. 499. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes*, c. d., nr. 51, p. 90 – 91. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur*, c. d., p. 92-95.

<sup>361</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. F 346. SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. p. 94. 98.

<sup>362</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Skriptorium Bratislavskej kapituly – písmo rukopisov zo 14. – 15. storočia*. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá 1*. Bratislava 2003, p. 10.

<sup>363</sup> BURAN, Dušan / ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Bratislavský misál I*. p. 779.

<sup>364</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizep*. c. d., nr. 51, p. 90-91. ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur*, c. d., p. 92-95.

<sup>365</sup> Nándor Knauz vo svojom súpise kníh kapitulskej knižnice uvádza 3 kompletne breviáre zo 14. storočia. KNAUZ, Nándor: *A Pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratai*, c. d., p. 36, 92, 244.

<sup>366</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur*. c.d., p. 93.

<sup>367</sup> Strahovská premonštrátska knižnica v Prahe DE. I. 7. *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense (saec. XIII)*, Janka SZENDREI (ed.), (Musicalia Danubiana 17), Budapest 1998.

<sup>368</sup> Notovaný misál zo 14. storočia z Múzea Topkap Seray v Istanbuli, Deismann 60. [www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cd-catalogue/cd-catalogue.html/RZ00271/1](http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cd-catalogue/cd-catalogue.html/RZ00271/1).

*Esztergom Notated Breviary DE.I.7*, is most probably the closest to a fraction of the Bratislava breviary considering the form. Content, however, surprisingly varies in tune of the antiphon *Salva nos Domine*, which is in the *Bratislava Breviary A/13* the same as in the *Istanbul Antiphony* (f.44v, incipit in the form: g, a-c, c, d, c, c, h etc.). It is interesting that the *Esztergom Notated Breviary* contains vastly different melodic tune (e-f-g-f-e, d-e, e, f, d, d-c etc.), which appears however on f. 79r of the *Bratislava Antiphony IV*. This tiny fact reaffirms our presumption that manuscripts written in Bratislava (the *Bratislava Antiphonaries I, II, IV*) tend to musical content of the *Esztergom Notated Breviary* from Prague.<sup>370</sup>

Of the other, fragmentary preserved manuscripts from Bratislava, the *Esztergom* sign system from the 14<sup>th</sup> century is documented in 5 fractions. The *Missal EC Lad. 1/16* from the Bratislava City Archive, the *Antiphony EL 8* from the Bratislava City Archive, the *Antiphony MUS 1-11* from the Slovak National Museum - Museum of Music, the *Antiphony* from the binding of the manuscript *Postilla studentium Universitatis Pragensis* of Konrad Waldhauser SNA 86 from the Slovak National Archive (Kn 90) and the fragment of the notated missal from the binding of the manuscript 482 *Libellus contributionis de Selleyensi captivitate etc.* of Peter Šimigin from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.<sup>371</sup>

*The Notated Missal EC Lad. 1/16* from the Bratislava City Archive is preserved in extremely damaged and hardly readable form. Notation of the fragment is close to *Esztergom* forms that were created under French influence, like the notation of the main body of the *Zagreb Notated Missal* from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (the Franciscan Library Güssing, sign.1/43).<sup>372</sup> *Pes* is not a monolithic, sigmoid character, it is rather under the influence of French patterns. The initial punctum is slightly elongated. *Clivis* is French (Messine) rectangular. *Scandicus* is in a two-part form. It is almost vertical. *Torculus* and *porrectus* are also of smooth, negothized shape. *Climacus* is of *Esztergom*, vertical shape with initial bipunctum.

*The Antiphony EL 18* from the Bratislava City Archive represents the calligraphic form of *Esztergom* system with a clear and typical *Esztergom* structure of notational forms. The notation of the fragment approximates the notation of the representative codices from the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

*The Antiphony EL 8* from the Bratislava City Archive

A fragment of the antiphony from the binding of the manuscript *Postilla studentium Universitatis Pragensis* of Konrad Waldhauser SNA 86 from the Slovak National Archive (Kn 90) has almost identical form structure of *Esztergom* notation as the *Antiphony EL 18* from the Bratislava City Archive. It can be concluded that both fragments come from the same scribal workshop. Neume forms are of exceptionally related shapes. Slightly different is only a shape of *torculus* (the antiphony from the SNA is of more arch shape, *torculus* on the fraction from the BCA is of more box shape). On the antiphony from the SNA is also *climacus* in form without the initial bipunctum. Interesting are also punctual lines, which are connected to a chain, bound shape.

A fragment of the notated missal from the binding of the manuscript 482 *Libellus contributionis de Selleyensi captivitate etc.* of Peter Šimigin from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences represents also the calligraphic form of *Esztergom* system.<sup>373</sup> On a fragment of *Commune Sanctorum* (the feast of St. Adalbert) also appears a typical Messine element. *Pes* is initially created with a separate punctum, a vertically constructed *virga* with a head facing to the right follows. For the

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<sup>369</sup> *The Istanbul Antiphonal (about 1360)*, Janka SZENDREI (ed.), (Musicalia Danubiana 18), Budapest' 2002. Topkap Seray Istanbul, Deismann 42. DEISSMANN, Adolf: Forschungen und Funde im Serai. Mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul. Berlin und Leipzig 1933.

<sup>370</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Lamentatio Jeremiae v stredovekých prameňoch so vzťahom k územiu Slovenska*. In *Lament v hudbe* (URBANCOVÁ Hana ed.). Bratislava 2009, p. 146-180.

<sup>371</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizep*. c. d., nr. 6, nr. 21, nr. 37, nr. 46. nr. 64.

<sup>372</sup> CD katalóg Oddelenia starej hudby Maďarskej akadémie vied v Budapešti (RZ 0094): <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cd-catalogue/00000077.htm>. SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. c.d., C 47.

<sup>373</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizep*. c. d., nr. 6, nr. 21, nr. 37, nr. 46. nr. 64.

Esztergom notational system clearly speaks compact scandicus and vertical climacus with introductory bipunctum. Bivirga is often used. The type notation suggests it may be an example of Esztergom notational system from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1360-1380) under the influence of constantly strengthening Messine notation.

*The Notated Missal rkp Libellus contributionis de Selleyensi captivitate etc. of Peter Šimigin 482* from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences

*The Antiphonary MUS 1-11* from the Slovak National Museum - Museum of Music represents already gothized form of Esztergom notation from the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some major structural changes in primary neume forms, which show great influence of Messine system on the production of notated manuscripts in Hungary scriptoria of that period, start to appear during this period.

Advancing trend of mixing Esztergom and Messine shapes is demonstrated by scandicus that appears in the two-part form.

*The Antiphonary MUS 1-11* from the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Music

In Banská Bystrica have been preserved two sources notated with Esztergom notational system from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – a fragment of the gradual (cca 1350, the Messine official book from 1591)<sup>374</sup> and of the antiphonary (cca 1370, Guilds 1636).<sup>375</sup> Both manuscripts are written on a four-line staff of red colour. Interestingly, the fraction of the gradual uses custos. Punctum is in both cases in initially with the fine capillary line (like clivis). Esztergom pes is smooth, S-shaped (tilted to the right). Scandicus is also smooth - compact. Vertical climacus is with bipunctum. Torculus and also porrectus are of a smooth shape. All shapes of neumes represent a calligraphic stage of Esztergom notation from the half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1350-1370). A younger fragment of the antiphonary presents a special form of clivis, of which initial, horizontal arm is almost straight, with no sign of a mannerist arc.

*The Gradual (A Town-hall Official Book from 1591)* from the SA in Banská Bystrica

From the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries comes a printed fraction of the missal (Bergrechnungen Anno 1576) from Banská Štiavnica.<sup>376</sup> Notational system is the same as in the fragment of the sequentiary J 2013 from the SNL in Martin. We assume that it was certainly notated in a Pauline scriptorium. Custos, is used again, Esztergom shapes are in all forms strictly kept. Pes is smooth and S-shaped. Similarly scandicus is one-part, heading to the right. Climacus is with initial bipunctum and vertically aligned, descending puncti. Clivis is Messine, classic, rectangular, with a clear rhombic ending. Torculus and porrectus are smooth, also with rhombic endings.

*The Printed Missal (Bergrechnungen Anno 1576)* from the SA in Banská Štiavnica

In the SA in Kremnica are kept three late-medieval fragments probably from the Pauline scriptorium (the *Antiphonary Tomus 1/ Fons 42/ Fasc.1/ Nro.13, 1588-1593 Weinungelt Register 1588-1593*; Gradual Copier Buech 1622-1628, Copier Buech 1629-1630). Gradual fragments come from the same liturgical codex (identical dimensions of notation: height of stave: 30-31 mm, gap: 10 mm, punctum: 9x7-9mm).

A fragment of the antiphonary is from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>377</sup> Esztergom notation presents some typical elements of Esztergom notation with Messine system. Messine pes is used with separate initial

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<sup>374</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch : stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. c.d., p. 159-160.

<sup>375</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch : stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. c.d., p. 164.

<sup>376</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch : stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. c.d., p. 192.

<sup>377</sup> A. *Quid est quod me querebatis* (cao4521 HRD), A. *Clamavi et exaudivit* (cao1824 EVHSL), A. *Auxilium meum a domino* (cao1536 EVH), A. *In domum domini laetantes* (cao3229 EVHR), *feria tertia* A. *Qui habitas in caelis* (cao4473 EVHSL),<sup>377</sup> - compare: *Antiphonary Hartker* (about 1000, St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 390-391).

punctum. In case of scandicus and torculus smooth form begins to split, when a sign is written with two or three strokes of quill instead of one. Shapes of notation approximate notation system in a fraction of the *Antiphonary - Kammerrechnung* (Municipality of Modra, *Register beeder Stadtcammerer als Abraham Labrovitz und Daniel Sixt 1665*) from the SA in Modra.

*The Antiphonary Tomus 1/ Fons 42/ Fasc.1/ Nro.13, 1588-1593 Weinungelt Register 1588-1593*“ from the SA in Kremnica.

The fragments of graduals are from the same liturgical codex (identical dimensions of notation: height of stave: 30-31 mm, gap: 10 mm, punctum: 9x7-9mm) from the Pauline scriptorium. Esztergom notation strictly follows all the typical forms of this system similarly as in the case of a fraction of the *Gradual - Sequentiary J 2013* from the Slovak National Library in Martin.

*The Gradual Copier Buech 1629-1630* from the SA in Kremnica.

Probably from the same scriptorium comes also a fragment of the *Gradual* (+ a fraction of the *Antiphonary*) *H III/2 mac 50 (1610-1611)* from the Košice City Archive. Esztergom notation of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century is located on the four-line stave with simple black framing. C and F clefs are used, custos is not present. A later hand added genre classification to melodies (off, co etc.) and accidental b. Notation of the fragment represents the classical Esztergom type with massive gothisation of shapes. Ductus of notation is vertical. Clivis is with initial bipunctum. Pes is S-shaped. Scandicus is smooth, undivided. Notation of the fragment is identical to Kremnica fragments of graduals (*Copier Buech 1622-1628*, *Copier Buech 1629-1630*), a Martin fraction J 2013 and a gradual of Western Slovakia Museum in Trnava (without sign.).

In the Košice City Archive Esztergom system is also documented in a fraction of the *Antiphonary H III/2 re 6 (1621-1645)*. The fraction comes from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Notation uses typical Esztergom shapes. It is placed on 6 lines of the red four-line stave without using Custos.

From the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century is an *Antiphonary - Kammerrechnung /Register beeder Stadtcammerer als Abraham Labrovitz und Daniel Sixt/, 1665* from the SA in Modra that uses custos rarely in its system (probably under the influence of production of scribal workshops from the territory of Slovakia).<sup>378</sup> A slight deviation from typical Esztergom elements is documented in scandicus which is not in a smooth form, but in a three-part form (punctum, tractulus, virga), which is documented also by Messine - gothic mixed system of the *Bratislava Antiphonary III*. Climacus is not strictly vertical. Shapes of pes and torculus (initial punctum is sometimes smoothly mixed with the following notes) are affected by gothisation of shapes and tend rather to Messine form. Clivis is formed from vertically arranged rhombi (puncti)<sup>379</sup>. Porrectus even tends to Bohemian Notation schools.

*The Antiphonary - Kammerrechnung* (Municipality of Modra, *Register beeder Stadtcammerer als Abraham Labrovitz und Daniel Sixt 1665*) from the SA in Modra, a detail.

A fraction of the Missal 4925 (Municipality of Modra, *Rechnung des Kirchenvaters -/, 1610 – 1615*) also represents gothized, mixed form of Esztergom notation.<sup>380</sup> It is using custos again. Pes is smooth, vertical with a slight inclination to the right and is terminated by a clear rhombic head. Scandicus is two-part, initial punctum with tractulus forms a compact element, the uppermost note is virga. Climacus heads to the right, it is without bipunctum and also without tractulum.

*The Missal 4925* (Municipality of Modra, *Rechnung des Kirchenvaters -/, 1610 – 1615*, SA in Modra.

In the SNL in Martin are two fractions notated with Esztergom: a *Gradual - Sequentiary J 2013* and *Antiphonary J 2027 Gradual - Sequentiary J 2013* represent classical Esztergom notation, with gothized shapes from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>381</sup> The system is placed on four-line stave of red

<sup>378</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch : stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. c.d., p. 225.

<sup>379</sup> *Graduale F 591* z Františkánskej knižnice v Güssingu 4/ 177. SZENDREI, Janka. p. 154, nr. 28a.

<sup>380</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy*. p. 233-234.

<sup>381</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy*. p. 210.

colour with double red framing using custos. Ductus of notation is vertical. Clivis is with initial bipunctum. Pes is S-shaped. Scandicus is smooth, undivided. C and F clefs are used and accidental b. The fragment may have been made in some Hungarian Pauline scriptorium, which in its outsized codices maintained not only Esztergom liturgical tradition but also Esztergom notational system particularly in late middle ages. Notation of the fragment is identical to Kremnica fragments of the graduals (Copier Buech 1622-1628, Copier Buech 1629-1630). It is likely that together with the fragment from Martin they are from the same liturgical book.

A specific scribal activity of Hungarian Paulines conserved Esztergom notation elements as strictly as closely they followed Esztergom liturgy in the late Middle Ages and even in modern times. Paulines are the only ones who adapted the sign system of Esztergom notation to monumental, gothized form. Interestingly, the dimensions of the Pauline codices are identical to the representative manuscripts of the Bratislava Chapter from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>382</sup>

*The Gradual – Sequentiary J 2013* from the SNL in Martin.

The fraction from Martin is close to Pauline notation schools of manuscripts (a gradual F 21, a gradual F 333, an antiphonary C 56, a missal M 21, a Cantuale C 46),<sup>383</sup> a fragment of unknown origin and content of the Romanian Miercurea Ciuc, which published Janka Szendrei in her publications *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* and *Középkori hangjegyrészek Magyarországon*.

*The Antiphonary J 2027* is notated with Esztergom notation with mixing Messine elements. It dates back to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>384</sup> The system is placed in 10 rows of the four-line stave of red colour, which includes a section of the office songs on the feast of St. John the Baptist, according to the Esztergom liturgical tradition.<sup>385</sup> In the notational system of the fragment Esztergom elements prevail over the Messine. Composite neumes are often used. The antiphonary documents typical Esztergom smooth S-shaped pes, two-piece scandicus (composed of the joint, S-shaped pes without upper head and virga). Clivis is rectangular, with a slight rhombic ending or without a rhombic head. Torculus and porrectus are of a smooth, bound form. Climacus is with initial bivirga. The strong Messine tradition is evident from the use of custos and heading to the right, descending puncti of climacus (typical Esztergom shape of clivis is strictly vertical).

*The Antiphonary J 2027* from the SNL in Martine.

On the recommendation of Assoc. Prof. Ivona Kollárova from the Central Library of the SAS we recently studied an unpublished fragment of the *Gradual* (sine sign.), which represents typical Esztergom system of the late Middle Ages, in the Western Slovakia Museum in Trnava. The fragment comes from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and it probably was not from the Pauline scriptorium.<sup>386</sup> Esztergom forms of notation are without Messine influence. Surprisingly, custos is also used. The fraction approximates the notation in Kremnica fragments (Copier Buech 1622-1628, Copier Buech 1629-1630) and the fraction J 2013 from Martin.

The fragment of the gradual from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century from the Western Slovakia Museum in Trnava.

In eastern Slovakia Esztergom notation was preserved on a fragment of the *antiphonary* that Dr. Janka Petőczová found during a research in the State Archive in Bardejov. It is a rare example of an early stage of forming the basic elements of Esztergom notational system (the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) in combination with French influence (Cistercian scribal workshops from France or Poland).

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<sup>382</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. p. 5-234.

<sup>383</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. c.d., p. 143, nr. 24, p. 146, nr. 25a, nr. 25b, p. 147, nr. 25d, p. 148, nr. 25e.

<sup>384</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy*. p. 211.

<sup>385</sup> *The Istanbul Antiphonal (about 1360)*, Janka SZENDREI (ed.), *Musicalia Danubiana* 18, Budapešť : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2002, f. 180r-v.

<sup>386</sup> Otázku pôvodu komplikuje iluminovaná iniciála s bohatým fleuronée. Keďže paulíni svoje kódexy nevyzdobovali, je otázne, či napriek paulínskym formám notácie, kódex v paulínskom prostredí naozaj vznikol.

The sign system of the fragment is close to the second diastematic notation of the *Pray Codex*, the fragment notation of the *Gradual OSzK E 76*<sup>387</sup> and the main body of the *Zagreb Notated Missal* notation from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (the Franciscan Library Güssing, sign.1/43).<sup>388</sup> Pes does not have a compact, S-shaped character but it is clearly influenced by the French patterns (Cistercian notational element in Esztergom notation). However, it is created by a smooth stroke.

However, initial punctum is extended as in Polish Cistercian manuscripts. The initial punctum has somewhat isolated, horizontal character, which is then directed right by virga with its head right. Clivis is French (Messine) rectangular. Scandicus is in Esztergom, smooth, one-part form with similar initial punctum like pes. It is slightly tilted to the right (the same shape as the mentioned *Zagreb Notated Missal*). Torculus and porrectus are of smooth, negothized shape. Climacus is Esztergom, vertical with initial bipunctum.

The fragment of the *Antiphonary* from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century from the SA in Bardejov, a detail.

When evaluating the codices and fragments with the Esztergom notation, the city of Nitra has a special status. This city does not have its medieval notated material edited yet. Only the *Nitra Codex* has been preserved in its original location, when talking about the medieval fund of Nitra ecclesiastical institutions. Unfortunately, the liturgical books (codices or fragments) from other centuries (12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries), verifiably connected with Nitra, have not been preserved (they have not been edited or registered yet). More surprising is the fact than, that in addition to early modern codex - so-called *Nitra Gradual*, 6 fragments with Esztergom notational system from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries appeared in the Nitra Diocesan Library in the recent past.

Thus, in Nitra was Esztergom notation preserved in one early modern manuscript – so-called *Nitra Gradual* (the Slovak National Archive 67).<sup>389</sup> Cursive form is of vertical shape, Esztergom forms are supplemented by some elements of the Messine notation. The Messine pes is used with a separate initial punctum, followed by virga with a head to the right, which has a vertical shaft. Throughout the codex is used custos, which can also be considered the Messine element, which is typical for manuscripts of scribal workshops from the territory of Slovakia. Thanks to mixing elements of the dominant notational system of the manuscript - Esztergom notation with Messine elements we assume that the manuscript could indeed originate not only for the needs of the St. James church in Nitra (it was used in Nitra since 1588) but also in Nitra scriptorium.

*The Nitra Gradual*, the Slovak National Archive 67.

This hypothesis could be clarified on the basis of a deeper analysis of the fragmentary preserved manuscripts in the Nitra Diocesan Library, which has not been implemented yet due to time constraints.

From the whole territory of Slovakia in fact only in Nitra, possibly in Bratislava could be applied this notational system due to scribes trained in Esztergom scriptoria. We may concede the possibility that Esztergom system was used in Nitra thanks the mentioned, latest extremely rare findings of notated fragments from the Nitra Diocesan Library. We have been able to process these manuscripts due notice of MA. Marek Ďurčo, presently the assistant at Department of History at the Catholic University in Ružomberok, who sent us 12 photo-reproductions of probably 3 antiphonaries (6 folios) from the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century (liturgy of Advent, Feast of the Nativity, *Assumptio BMV*).

Fragments of the oldest antiphonary demonstrate rare stage of Esztergom system in the last third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Esztergom notation elements are of S-shaped, smooth shape and are marked by gothisation of basic shapes. They are affected by period, fashion elements, which are in Esztergom system taken from Messine notation (in some cases there was a splitting of scandicus into two parts, occasionally a strictly vertical row of descending puncti in climacus is not kept but puncti are heading

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<sup>387</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. c.d., F 197.

<sup>388</sup> CD katalóg Oddelenia starej hudby Maďarskej akadémie vied v Budapešti (RZ 0094): <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cd-catalogue/00000077.htm>. SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. c.d., C 47.

<sup>389</sup> KNAUZ, Nándor: *A Pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratai*. c.d., Kn 71. SOPKO, Július: *Kódexy a neúplne zachované rukopisy v slovenských knižniciach*. c.d., nr. 509.

to the right). The four oldest fragments surprisingly use custos, a 5-line stave and C, F, G clefs (G clef is over the C clef in the fifth position). A split of Esztergom form of scandicus is documented by a second, slightly younger scribing hand that made another 3 related folios (6 photo-reproductions). The notation does not use custos (!). Instead of smooth, sigmoid shape of pes and scandicus, the Messine, two-part form is used. Climacus hardly appears in vertical form but rather with bipunctum and a series of decreasing, heading to the right puncti. Notation is surprisingly located on a 5-line stave, and this fact may suggest adaptation of Esztergom system in the scriptorium in Nitra. In Esztergom manuscripts was applied rather a 4-line system without the use of custos. Extremely similar system is in the *Esztergom Capitular Clmae* 408,<sup>390</sup> which is from 1370. Notational system is placed in 11 lines of the stave, as in the case of Nitra fragments.

The last pair of fractions (antiphons from the feast of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary) is from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Notational system of Esztergom notation is retained in the same form as in the case of the *Nitra Gradual*. We believe it could be the same scribe. A cursive form is of vertical shape, Esztergom forms are supplemented by some elements of Messine notation. Messine pes is used with separate initial punctum, followed by virga with a head to the right, which has a vertical shaft. Throughout the codex is used custos, what we can consider a typical element of manuscripts from the scribal workshops from the territory of Slovakia again.

#### 5. 4. The Quadratic Notation

The second most widely used system of medieval Hungary was the quadratic notation. The basic feature of the quadratic notation (*notatio romana, notatio quadrata*), used mainly in western and southern Europe (France, England, Spain, Italy), was a square. All other neumes originated as linking of these squares. The conversion process of national notations to quadratic system in Europe was the fastest in France and England, where the quadraticization of neumatic systems was completed around 1200.<sup>391</sup> In 1277 - 1280 Pope Nicholas III ordered to burn all liturgical books in Rome and replace them by new ones, notated with the quadratic notation (the one by the Franciscan order). The square notation extended to our territory via activity of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Carthusians. Concerning our territory, the sources with this notation are from the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century (as well as of a later period, but our work contains only medieval materials). The Hungarian orders that lived in the territory of Slovakia, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carthusians, and Augustinians were using the quadratic system. Cistercians were sometimes using quadratic, and sometimes the Messine-gothic notation<sup>392</sup>. The Slovak archives preserve the two complete codes. The *Notated Missal of the former Lyceum Library in Bratislava* from the 13<sup>th</sup> century is of unknown provenance. The *Carthusian Gradual from the Archive of Literature and Art in Martin* comes from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and was created and used in the Slovak territory.

The quadratic notation is found on fragments of liturgical books in archival institutions throughout Slovakia. Many fractions with quadratic notation of the monastic origin were influenced by the diocesan script. It is assumed that each notating workshops knew their products, practices and influenced each other. While in Latin countries, this notation has evolved into a quadratic system of notation, in German and Eastern European countries remained in their original forms, only increased, thanks to the gothic direction of a pen.<sup>393</sup>

#### 5. 5. The Bohemian Notation

Recent research of Slovakian medieval notated codices and manuscript fragments raised an important fact: the written culture of the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in Slovakia was strongly influenced by education from Czech lands. Particularly between 1370 and 1520, the direct impact of the scribal notation tradition from Czech lands to Slovak area can be detected in a number of Slovakian music sources. Codices and dozens of manuscript fragments documenting Bohemian notation in the Slovak

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<sup>390</sup> SZENDREI, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. C 99. SZENDREI, Janka: *Graner Choralnotation*. p. 124.

<sup>391</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: *Vývoj európskeho notopisu*. Bratislava 1982, p. 52.

<sup>392</sup> SZIGETI. *Denkmäler*. p. 148.

<sup>393</sup> SZENDREI. *Choralnotationen in Mitteleuropa*. 1988, p. 445.

geographical area have become the subject of research, along with the systematization, analysis and evaluation of all currently known and edited medieval notated sources from Slovakia. The main purpose of this research is to organise the information gained from these sources, and to determine the general structural features of Bohemian notation in Slovakia.

The Bohemian notation system appears in a number of medieval sources coming from several ecclesiastical and cultural centres in Slovakian area, such as Bratislava, Trenčín or Kremnica. The manuscripts are surviving complete (Chapter Library in Bratislava manuscripts: *The Bratislava Antiphonary V*,<sup>394</sup> *The Psalter of Canon Blasius*,<sup>395</sup> *The Bratislava Missal „D“*,<sup>396</sup> *The Trnava Manuscript*<sup>397</sup>) or in fragments, used for the bindings of town hall records or other manuscript and print volumes in Slovak archives, museums and libraries.

In the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* the Prague liturgy is written in Bohemian notation. Conversely, there are occasional occurrences of a particular notation type being used for a different origin of the liturgy, or instance as appears in the *Zalka codex* where a Transylvanian liturgy from Várad is written in Bohemian notation.<sup>398</sup> Medieval manuscripts containing Bohemian notation from Slovak territory are important for the music culture of almost two centuries (1370–1520). Despite the impossibility of determining the exact date of the examined material, we succeeded in dating the manuscript fragments within about twenty five years. Realisation of this was possible with kind help of Doc. Juraj Šedivý from the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, for which we are extremely grateful. Most of the manuscripts containing Bohemian notation fall mainly within the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest fragments from the State Archives in Kremnica and Banská Štiavnica are from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The latest sources, being fragments of exceptionally large manuscripts, are surviving in the State Archive in Modra, the National Archive in Bratislava, the University Library in Bratislava and the Košice City Archive.

The regional notation in Bohemia crystallized in a chapter scriptorium of the central church of the Prague diocese – St. Vitus Cathedral at Prague Castle – during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The massive expansion of this system was part of the Prague religious and secular authorities' efforts to reform during the last third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Strict implementation of the Bohemian notation in the diocesan environment of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the form of a model collection of nine liturgical books was realized by Arnošt of Pardubice as a manifestation of the powerful position of the king and his church. Typical features of the Bohemian rhombic notation of the Arnošt manuscripts are based on the notation in manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the Bohemian environment during the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, these features developed gradually. New contact choral notation appears in several manuscripts used in Prague in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. *St. Vitus Troparion Cim 4* from 1235 and *Tobias's agenda P 3* from 1294 from the Metropolitan Library of St. Vitus Cathedral). It was represented by the neume signs adopted from German adiastematic system of the Messine notation and under influence of scribal notating tradition of the manuscripts from St. Jiří monastery. The extraordinary influence of French diastematic neume schools is particularly evident in the the *Gradual from Bellelay*, where the notation system uses neumes containing one, two, or three tones.<sup>399</sup> Thanks to the reform efforts of Dean Vitus (1241–1271) and Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice (1343–1344 Prague bishop, Prague archbishop 1344–1364), from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century one regional, specific notation (St. Vitus Cathedral at the Prague castle) gradually became the notation of many manuscripts throughout the whole territory of Bohemia. Some of the liturgical illuminated codices ended up outside the territory of medieval Bohemia, for instance by donation, purchase orders, spoils of war, or when moving or saving rare manuscripts during the Hussite wars in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to the exceptional quality of

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<sup>394</sup> Slovenský národný archív 17.

<sup>395</sup> Maďarská národná Szechényiho knižnica v Budapešti, Clmae 128.

<sup>396</sup> Maďarská národná Szechényiho knižnica v Budapešti, Clmae 216.

<sup>397</sup> Maďarská národná Szechényiho knižnica v Budapešti, Clmae 243.

<sup>398</sup> Andrea KOVÁCS: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii–Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VII/A Transylvania-Várad (Temporale)*, Budapest 2010. Andrea KOVÁCS: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii–Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VII/B Transylvania-Várad (Sanctorale)*, Budapest 2010. V súčasnosti pripravuje pramennú edíciu tohto rukopisu Z. Czagány.

<sup>399</sup> *Graduál z Bellelay*, napr. <http://bellelay.enc.sorbonne.fr/feuille/11.jpg>. Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne à Porrentruy (Švajčiarsko) mp. 18. HUGLO, Michel: *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du Moyen âge occidental, fasc. 52, Brepols, 1988.

the Bohemian illumination workshops (or their work), manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries with Bohemian notation appear in many foreign religious centres.

In Czech musicological literature, the term 'Bohemian notation' is largely absent. This type of notation is called 'rhombic notation'<sup>400</sup> or 'nota choralis' ('rhombika') in Czech.<sup>401</sup> Richard Rybarič adopts the Czech terminology rhombic notation.<sup>402</sup> Western European palaeography (Solange Corbin) ranks Bohemian notation among the notation of one group (Eastern European countries – former Czechoslovakia,<sup>403</sup> Poland, Hungary), and their development from the original Messine system is described as the same as in the German countries.<sup>404</sup> Bruno Stäblein refers to the Bohemian notation in two ways: either as 'eastern' notation (version of the Messine notation in Slavic and Hungarian territory) or as 'die böhmische Notation'.<sup>405</sup> Janka Szendrei uses the term 'Prague notation', according to the major religious centre of the country (Prague).<sup>406</sup>

Bohemian notation system is built on the foundations of the Messine (Lorraine) notation system. Earlier, at the beginning of the system's development, a number of German ornamental neumes appear. However, this foundation crystallised into a unique coherent system with semantically well-defined neume forms. The fundamental feature of the system had gradually become the rhomb - Punctum, which was the only used single neume. The single virga no longer appears in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the use of Bohemian notation is at its peak. The pes is created from two right-inclining, vertically placed puncti, while the middle arm is considered only as a connecting line between two puncti without tonal significance. The clivis is rectangular, in the manner of Messine notation. Considering selection and forms of liquescent neumes, the Bohemian notation does not differ from the praxis of neighbouring countries. The pressus major is completely absent; it is not used due to the omission of the virga.<sup>407</sup> However, the bistropha appears frequently. In comparison to foreign conventions, the Bohemian notational system favours the use of the three basic clefs (F, C, and G), and also accidentals (flats and naturals). The G clef is frequently used, especially in connection with the C clef, as evinced by the major tonality often found in Czech medieval melody. Generally, the neume script slope in the Bohemian notation is tilted to the right, with evidence in 13<sup>th</sup> up to 18<sup>th</sup> century sources. Monumentalization of the individual neume forms took place during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as in Arnošt of Pardubice's manuscripts: Punctum measures 10×8 mm, stave height is 24 mm, and gap 7–8 mm. Late medieval manuscripts from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century achieved even greater dimensions: the Punctum measures 15×15 mm, stave height is 45–47 mm, and the stave gap about 15 mm.<sup>408</sup> The Bohemian notation system belonged to the diocesan territory (parish churches, chapters, cathedral churches and schools). An exception in this was two Benedictine

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<sup>400</sup> HUTTER, Josef: *Česká notace I, Neumy*, Praha 1926. HUTTER, Josef: *Česká notace II, Nota choralis*, Praha 1930. MUŽÍK, František: *Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu*, in: Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et historica 3, 1962, Praha 1962. Kolektív *Hudba v českých dějinách : od středověku do nové doby*, Ed. Jaromír ČERNÝ, Praha 1983, p. 48. Doplnené vydanie: *Hudba v českých dějinách : od středověku do nové doby*, Ed. Jaromír ČERNÝ, Praha 1989. Základné charakteristiky notačných systémov sa vyskytujú aj v prácach Zdeňka Nejedlého: NEJEDLÝ. *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu*. NEJEDLÝ, Zdeňek: *Dějiny husitského zpěvu za válek husitských*, Praha 1913. Další práce české muzikologie sa orientovali najmä na súpisové práce a na výskum liturgie (V. Plocek, D. Eben, J. Novotná-Vozková, H. Vlhová-Wörner, J. Kozina, M. Kozinová, M. Horyna)

<sup>401</sup> MUŽÍK. *Úvod do kritiky*. p. 29.

<sup>402</sup> RYBARIČ, Richard: *Vývoj európskeho notopisu*, Bratislava 1982, p. 28.

<sup>403</sup> CORBIN, Solange: *Die Neumen*, in: Palaeographie der Musik, Bd I. Fasc. 3. Köln 1977, kapitola 3.70-3.73. Corbin nehovorí vyslovene o Československu (nem. Tschechoslovakei) ale o historickom názve Čechy (nem. Böhmen), pričom v samostatnom odstavci spomína pražské pramene z práce J. Huttera. Paleografická klasifikácia a hodnotenie európskych notačných systémov podľa P. Corbin patrí dodnes k najuznávanejším terminologickým kategóriám hudobnej paleografie. Porovnaj: CORBIN, Solange: *Neumatic notation*. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Volume 13*, London etc. : Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 128-154.

<sup>404</sup> CORBIN. *Die Neumen*.3.70, 3.71.

<sup>405</sup> STÄBLEIN. *Schriftbild*. p. 206-207.

<sup>406</sup> SZENDREI. Choralnotationen. p. 437-446.

<sup>407</sup> *Slovník české hudební kultury, Notace*, Praha : Supraphon, 1998, 1035.

<sup>408</sup> Napr. *Antifonár Matrikel 1087, Sv. Jur 1672/1687, MNSZ-2*) zo Štátneho archívu v Bratislave. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava II.*, Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2006, p. 56, nr. 76.

monasteries in Brno,<sup>409</sup> which used the Bohemian notation in their scriptorium instead of the square as was the custom and regulation in their monastic environment. Thanks to the stylization of representative sumptuous manuscripts, the Bohemian notation gained an individual character during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. According to Janka Szendrei, it differs from the other types of notations not in its often-mentioned rhombic note form, but in its lack of thick gothic ligatures and use of thin connecting lines between rhombi.<sup>410</sup> Szendrei considers the crucial differences between the Esztergom and the Bohemian/Prague notation to be the construction of climacus and scandicus and the notation script slope. At the turn of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the Bohemian and the square notation meet, creating a mixed sub-system of those two notational systems (fragments from the State Archive in Trenčín). Under the influence of the square notation, the scandicus and the torculus are modified in some manuscripts. Some of the dominant neumes of the Bohemian notation are also present in the system of the Messine-gothic notation, used in some Slovakian scriptoria (fragments from the State Archive in Banská Štiavnica).<sup>411</sup> The Bohemian pes often occurs in concurrence with a rising second, or occasionally a rising third.)

Incomparably more manuscripts from middle ages have been preserved in Bohemia, Moravia or different foreign institutions than in Slovakia. While in Slovakia there are only 15 completely preserved medieval manuscripts with notation from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century of different provenance, several tens of notated liturgical books from the late 11<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century from the diocese and also monastic environment is documented today in Bohemian archive and library institutions.

The Bohemian notation was extremely expansive, particularly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Famous Bohemian, usually Prague-based scriptoria also received commissions from distant European locations. In some cases even chant books for medieval Hungary were made in the Bohemian environment.<sup>412</sup> Fragments from the State Archive in Modra,<sup>413</sup> Bratislava,<sup>414</sup> Trenčín, from the University Library in Bratislava,<sup>415</sup> the Central Library of SAS,<sup>416</sup> the Slovak National Library, SA in Kremnica,<sup>417</sup> the Košice City Archive, SA in Levoča and SA in Bardejov are certainly works of Bohemian scriptoria workshops or Bohemian notators.

Bohemian notation in representative codices during the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries soon emerged in neighbouring countries (Poland, today's Slovakia, and today's Hungary). The influence of the Bohemian notation school was reflected particularly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Bratislava manuscripts. It is

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<sup>409</sup> *Graduale OSB 1313*, University Library Brno R 19. SZENDREI. Choralnotationen. p. 441.

<sup>410</sup> SZENDREI. Choralnotationen. p. 437-446.

<sup>411</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Stredoveké liturgické kódexy s notáciou v slovenských archívnych fondoch, Stredoveké notačné systémy z územia Slovenska*. [Dizertačná práca], Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2004, nr. 43-45: antifonár No. Inv. 629, antifonár No. Inv. 630, antifonár No. Inv. 631. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Schemnitziensis. Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia. Tomus II*. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2011, nr.27, 42, 55, 64.

<sup>412</sup> Szendrei uvádza ako príklady *Zalka antifonár* z Győru (Knižnica bohosloveckého seminára, bez signatúry), pričom sa jedná o bohato iluminovaný kódex Varadinskej katedrály (okolo r. 1490), ktorý bol objednaný biskupom Jánom Filipeczom. SZENDREI. *A magyar középkor*. p. 40-41.

<sup>413</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva: *Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi e civitatibus Modra et Sanctus Georgiup. Catalogus fragmentorum cum notis musicis medii aevi in Slovacia. Tomus I*. Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy, 2008, nr. 7, nr. 10, nr. 26, nr. 27, nr. 28, nr. 29, nr. 33, nr. 34, nr. 54, nr. 55, nr. 61, nr. 62, nr. 63. Z inej liturgickej knihy – ale pravdepodobne rovnakého pôvodu je *Graduál* nr. 60. Za pomoc pri identifikácii ďakujem Dr. Z. Czagány.

<sup>414</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes II*. antifonár (Matrika 1087-nr.76), antifonár (Ms 232, Rkp.185-88), breviár (Frag.9-97), breviár (V. teol. 3691-109), misál (Anabapt. nr. 9-114), graduál (ÚK SAV-M 2910-115), antifonár (BB 122-118), antifonár (Lyc E 46-128), antifonár (R 15301-129), antifonár (Lyc F I 210-131), antifonár (Lyc B III 414 c-132).

<sup>415</sup> Antiphonary (Ms 232, Rkp.185), nr. 88.

<sup>416</sup> Graduale (M 2910), nr.115.

<sup>417</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, Eva. *Stredoveké notované fragmenty zo ŠA v Levoči – pobočka Poprad*. In *Musica Scepusii Veteris – Stará hudba na Spiši*. (Ed.) Janka PETŐCZOVÁ. Prešov – Bratislava : Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, Prešovský hudobný spolok *Súzvuk*, 2008, p. 45-70. Antifonár (Spišská Sobota – Marec/k Buch, 18/kniha zmlúv 1660-1700, Magistrát mesto Spišská Sobota). Podobný typ notácie a výzdobný systém má napr. *Kódex z Debrecenu* (Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára R 508a, f. 1. DOBSZAY, László: *A gregorián ének kézikönyve*. Budapest : Editio Musica – Zeneműkiadó, 1993, p. 161.

questionable whether the notated parts of the Bratislava codices from the former Library of the Bratislava Chapter, which are now in Budapest (prefaces in the *Bratislava Missal „D“*<sup>418</sup> and the *Psalter of canon Blasius* before 1419<sup>419</sup>) were created on commission in Bohemian scriptoria. Added text with Bohemian notation from the 16th century also appears in the *Bratislava antiphonary I* (214r)<sup>420</sup> and in the *Bratislava missal „H“*.<sup>421</sup> According to Janka Szendrei, no scriptorium using the Bohemian notational system existed in Hungary. On-going research, however, may not confirm this opinion. Slovak archives are continuously revealing new fragmentary sources containing the Bohemian notation. Number of these sources far exceeds even the number of preserved medieval manuscript fragments with the Esztergom notational system, which should appear in our country much more frequently according to the liturgical context. Several questions therefore emerge here. The first is whether codices (for instance those of the Bratislava Chapter from the first half of the 15th century) were indeed notated by commission in the Bohemian scriptoria, or by Slovakian notators trained in the Bohemian environment, or alternatively, whether the scribes were Czech scholars working in Slovakia during the time of religious instability in Bohemia.<sup>422</sup> Considering the scribal notated production of liturgical codices of the 15th century in Bratislava and western Slovakia, the Bohemian scholarly circles certainly are more influential than the Esztergom scriptorium. When considering the appearance of preserved medieval notated materials from the territory of Slovakia, according to the latest field research, Bohemian notation is the third-most prevalent after the Messinegothic notation, followed by the square notation.

In Slovakia there is one preserved fully-notated codex with the Bohemian notational system of the late 15th century. This is the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* from the Slovak National Archive.<sup>423</sup> It is questionable whether it was created in Slovakia, but it certainly was used by the Bratislava Chapter. There were 84 medieval notated fragments with the Bohemian notational system identified altogether during the source research in Slovak archive, museum and library institutions. The final number of preserved materials will probably be higher, since we assume the existence of notated manuscripts in some inaccessible institutions (for instance the Bratislava City Archive) and continuation of the research of the Slovak provenance sources abroad (Hungary, Romania). The Bohemian notation type is well-represented in western Slovakia, namely, in Bratislava (Museum of Music of the Slovak National Museum, in the Slovak National Archive, in the State Archive in Bratislava, in the University Library in Bratislava, in the Central Library of SAS: 1 codex and 13 fragments), in the State Archive Modra (13 fragments), in SA Trenčín (17 fragments) and in SA Trnava (1 fragment). In the central part of Slovakia, 23 fragments can be found in SA Kremnica and 6 fragments in SA in Banská Štiavnica. In the Slovak National Library in Martin, 4 fragments (of different provenances from the communist dispersals in the 1950s). In eastern Slovakia, materials with the Bohemian notation occur more rarely (in SA in Poprad are deposited 2 fragments, 1 in the SA in Levoča, 2 in the SA in Bardejov, 2 in the Košice City Archive and 1 fragment in the State Scientific Library in Košice). The only archive department where has not been preserved example of Bohemian notation system is SA in Banská Bystrica.

*The Bratislava Missal „D“* (National Szechenyi Library in Budapest, Clmae 216)

*The Bratislava Missal „D“*, along with other manuscripts of the former Library of the Bratislava Chapter, was sent to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest as a gift in 1813. Its Hungarian provenance is evinced by several saints feasts in the calendar and in the *proprium de sanctis* (St. Stephen the King, St. Emeric /+ *translatio*/, St. Adalbert /+ *translatio*/, St. Gerard, St. Ladislaus

<sup>418</sup> Clmae 216. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982, nr. 222.

<sup>419</sup> Clmae 128. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. nr. 212.

<sup>420</sup> EC Lad. 4. KNAUZ. *A Pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratái*. nr. 3; SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy*. 1981, nr. 4; VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes*, nr. 25; *Bratislavský antifonár I*.

<sup>421</sup> Clmae 94. SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. nr.209.

<sup>422</sup> HLAVAČKOVÁ, Miriam: *Oltárne benefícia v bratislavskom Dóme sv. Martina v 15. storočí*. In *Galéria 2001. Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie*. Bratislava : Slovenská národná galéria, 2001. p. 85-100. HLAVAČKOVÁ, Miriam: *Kapitula pri Dóme sv. Martina. Intelektuálne centrum Bratislavy v 15. storočí*. Bratislava : Historický ústav SAV, 2008.

<sup>423</sup> *Bratislava Antiphonary V* Slovenský národný archív 17.

/+ *translatio*/, St. Elizabeth of Hungary). Proprietary records of the Chapter appear in different pages of the manuscript (f. 1r: *Liber ecclesie Posoniensis*, f. 2r: *Capituli Posoniensis 1633*). Slovak codicologists and paleographers give different datings of the manuscript. While Sopko moves the origination of the missal to 1403,<sup>424</sup> Šedivý inclines towards a claim that the codex originated in the 1430s.<sup>425</sup> During the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg in Bratislava, a large number of foreigners in educational circles appear at the court. At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, a certain Michal of Dürnstein was working as a scribe in Bratislava; he was not identical to the figure of the Bratislava canon Michal of Trnava, as Julius Sopko claims.<sup>426</sup> According to Sopko, Michal of Trnava was the author of two missals.<sup>427</sup> This statement is corrected by Juraj Šedivý, who considers Michal of Trnava to be the author of the *Bratislava Missal VI*, which was explicitly dated in 1403. The missal's prefaces are notated with the Messine-gothic system with classic shapes of basic neumes without influence of Esztergom. According to Juraj Šedivý, the author of the *Missal „D“* is Michal of Dürnstein (Tyrnstein, Lower Austria), who was a professional notator in Bratislava in the 1420s and 1430s.<sup>428</sup> However, the notation in this codex's prefaces is of Bohemian origin. Based on differences in the notational systems we can thus confirm the claims of Juraj Šedivý: these two codices were not copied by the same person. They were certainly notated by two scribes with different musical educations. The notation of the *Missal „D“* is arranged in two columns. Fully notated folios usually contain ten lines of the four-lined stave with a simple framing on one side. The shapes of the neumes show the Bohemian notation in its typical forms. The Punctum is diamond-shaped. The notator of the codex used the C clef and F clef in the shape of tractulus and two diamond rhombi, which are a different shape from clefs in the *Psalter of Canon Blasius* or *Bratislava Antiphony V*. The custos is never used here; this again differs from the *Psalter of Canon Blasius* or *Bratislava Antiphony V*. The complete ductus of the notation is tilted to the right. The pes is of a typical Bohemian shape, and it is created from two diamond rhombi (puncti), connected by a thin capillary line. The clivis is of the Messine rectangular shape. As the only basic neume, the clivis is written in a vertical line. The torculus and the porrectus have thin ligature lines. The scandicus consists of a Punctum and a pes. The clivis is created of a biPunctum and two decreasing puncti tilting towards right. The notator used the flat sign as an accidental.

*The Psalter of Canon Blasius* (National Szechenyi Library in Budapest Clmae 128)

*The Psalter of Canon Blasius* was bequeathed to the cathedral of St. Martin on 16th June 1419 by a canon of the Bratislava Chapter, Blasius, before his death.<sup>429</sup> Along with other manuscripts of the former Library of the Bratislava Chapter, the psalter was donated to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest as a gift in 1813 or 1814. Notation is used almost throughout the whole manuscript, and a number of staff systems diverge on different folios. Script and notation are arranged in two columns. Where a part of the folio is fully notated, eight lines of the five-lined stave are located on one side without framing. The shapes of neumes reveal Bohemian notation with a gentle mixture of square notation forms (such as for instance fragments from the SA in Trenčín). The Punctum is diamond-shaped. A notator of the codex used C clef and F clef, shaped similarly to the *Bratislava Antiphony V*: two diamond rhombi placed above each other. The custos is in the shape of a small rhomb. The overall direction of the notation is vertical. Only the pes is clearly tilted to the right; in some cases, it does not have a typical Bohemian shape. Sometimes, the pes is created of two diamond rhombi (puncti), connected by a thin capillary line, and the lower tone is shaped rather as a horizontal

<sup>424</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982, nr. 222, p. 46-47.

<sup>425</sup> ŠEDIVÝ, Juraj: *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur im Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel*, Bratislava : Chronos, 2007, p. 146-148.

<sup>426</sup> SOPKO. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy II*. 1982, nr. 222, p. 46-47.

<sup>427</sup> Okrem *Bratislavského misála „D“* považuje Sopko za prácu kanonika Michala z Trnavy aj *Misál VI* (Múzeum mesta Bratislavy A/2).

<sup>428</sup> F. 287ra: „Explicit liber missalis de tempore et sanctis per manus Michaelis de Tyrnstain et cetera“. ŠEDIVÝ. *Mittelalterliche Schriftkultur*, p.146-148.

<sup>429</sup> F. 150vb: „Hic notata est ultima voluntas domini Blasii, canonici Posoniensis, ---Obitus ipsius domini Blasij feria vi. Post festum Corporis Christi anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo nono. Deus misereatur anime sue“.

rectangle. However, a typical Bohemian rhombic shape is used in most cases. The clivis is of the Messine rectangular shape with a vertical slope. The torculus and the porrectus are made with thin ligature lines, differing slightly from the Bohemian forms with a square shape appearing in the mid-tone of the porrectus and in the final note of the torculus. The scandicus is created from three continuously-joined rising rhombi. The clivis is created from a biPunctum and two decreasing, right-heading puncti.

Fragmentary of preserved manuscripts with the Bohemian notational system from the second half of the 14th and early 16th century are present in 15 library, archive and museum institutions. The Bohemian notation type is well-represented in western Slovakia, namely, in Bratislava (Museum of Music of the Slovak National Museum,<sup>430</sup> in the State Archive in Bratislava, in the University Library in Bratislava and in the Central Library of SAS (13 fragments), in the State Archive in Modra (13 fragments), in SA in Trenčín (17 fragmentov) and in SA Trnava (1 fragment). In the central part of Slovakia, 23 fragments can be found in SA Kremnica and 6 fragments in SA in Banská Štiavnica. In the Slovak National Library in Martin, 4 fragments of different provenances from the communist dispersals in the 1950s.<sup>431</sup> In eastern Slovakia, materials with the Bohemian notation occur more rarely. In SA Poprad are deposited two fragments, one in SA in Levoča 1,<sup>432</sup> 2 in SA in Bardejov, 2 in the Košice City Archive and one in the State Scientific Library in Košice.

A few manuscripts have several common features. The notated fragments can be generally divided into four large groups. The first coherent group with the same structural composition consists of the fragments from the SA in Modra (thirteen fragments from the *Zalka Antiphonary*, now deposited in the Seminary Library in Győr),<sup>433</sup> to be associated with fragments of the originally large-scale codices (e.g. from the SA in Bratislava, University Library in Bratislava, SA in Bardejov, the Protestant Library in Levoča). These fragments are of a similar type to that in notated liturgical books, which come from the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. Based on analysis of the illuminations (fragments from Modra and Levoča), they are the work of the Bohemian scriptoria and illuminating workshops which follow the work of Valentin Noh and Janíček Zmílelý. The notation is placed in a large-sized stave, comparable to the manuscripts of Bohemian provenance from the late 15th and early 16th century, e.g. the *Gradual from Kutná Hora Mus. Hs. 15501* from the Austrian National Library in Vienna<sup>434</sup>, or other manuscripts from the National Museum in Prague XII A 20: the *Plzeň Gradual of Martin Stupník* (1491), XII A 22, XII A 21 the *Kolín Antiphonary* (before 1477), XII A 23 *Plzeň Antiphonary of Pavel Mělnický* (1527), XII B 1 the *Psaltar from Králův Dvůr* (around 1490), XIII A 2 the *Gradual of Martin Bakalář from Vyskytná* (1512), XV A 5 the *Plzeň Missal of Vít Soukeník* (1485). The *Antiphonary RHKS 817* from the Slovak National Library in Martin has similar dimensions to the thirteen fragments from the SA in Modra. The same scribal and notational customs are also presented in fragments from the State Archive in Bratislava (a cover of the Register 1087 between 1672 and 1687 from Svätý Jur),<sup>435</sup> from the Central Library of SAS (Lyc B III 414c),<sup>436</sup> from the University

Library in Bratislava (Ms 232),<sup>437</sup> the Košice Town Archive (the *Antiphonary /?/ III/2 mac 44 Protocollum Delesminationum Magnatium Neo Civium Anno 1602* and the *Antiphonary H III/2 mac 53 Protocollum Magistr. 1617–1618*) and from the State Archive in Levoča, Poprad branch (Spišská Sobota Municipality, Mare/c/k Buch 1660–1700). The stave height in all the aforementioned

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<sup>430</sup> Tieto notované fragmenty boli pôvodne uchovávané v trezore Ústavu hudobnej vedy SAV v Bratislave, odkiaľ boli v r. 2004 darované Hudobnému múzeu Slovenského národného múzea.

<sup>431</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. *Frammenti gregoriani in Slovacchia*.

<sup>432</sup> BEDNÁRIKOVÁ. *Notované fragmenty*. 2010.

<sup>433</sup> *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VII/A Transylvania - Várad (Temporale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest 2010, p. 41. Antifonár dal objednať pravdepodobne v rokoch 1477-1490 váradský biskup Ján Filipecz (1431-1509). *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VII/B Transylvania - Várad (Sanctorale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest 2010.

<sup>434</sup> VESELOVSKÁ, E. – KLUGSEDER, R. *Mup. Hp. 15501 GRADUALE (Kuttenberger Cationale)* sine ISBN <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kmf/cvp/beschreibungen/15501.pdf>

<sup>435</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes II*. nr. 76.

<sup>436</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes II*. nr. 115.

<sup>437</sup> VESELOVSKÁ. *Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes II*. nr. 88.

manuscripts is about 45 mm. The stave gap size reaches approximately 15 mm. The Punctum measures about 15×15 mm. The basic notational shapes of the Bohemian notation are of enormous dimensions and the internal structure does not include elements from other notational systems. The second group of fragments with Bohemian notation includes the fragments from the State Archive in Kremnica that came from at least four liturgical books. These fragments are: a missal fragment with two columns, an antiphonary fragment containing records of two notation schools (different use of clefs and custos), and the gradual sequentionary fragment with the Messine-gothic and Bohemian mixed notation. The original dimensions of these manuscripts were almost half the size of those in the first group (stave height: about 16–18 mm, gap: 6–8 mm, Punctum: about 4–7×4–7 mm). All of the fragments of the antiphonaries present the Prague liturgical tradition; for example, the *Antiphonary Tomus 2/Fons42/Fasc.1/Nr.23,1609* contains a responsory *Benedictus es Domine in firmamento* with the verse *Domum tuam* (caoX, ist0687, Cz 46360), used within the Esztergom but also the Bohemian liturgical tradition. It is assumed that the antiphonary was commissioned by Kremnica's inhabitants. Already from the 10th century, gold and silver were mined in this town and its surroundings. A mining boom occurred in the early 14th century, when the Hungarian king Karol Robert of Anjou gave Cremnychbana village the privileges of a free royal mining and minting town on 17 November 1328. Kremnica ducats (florins) belonged to the most valuable and popular currency in Europe. The first minters in Kremnica were masters from Kutná Hora, who minted high-quality silver groschens and denarii. At the beginning of this robust business development in Kremnica, in addition to a business class from Florence, Vienna, and Regensburg, we can also find a large representation of minter masters from Bohemia here. Therefore, it is highly possible that a Bohemian scribal, illuminating or notating master could also have worked in Kremnica in this period. Particularly valuable is a fragment of the *Antiphonary Tomus 1/Fons36/Fasc.14/Nr.689,1595* containing a part of the office on the feast of St. Catherine (a patroness saint of the parish church in Kremnica), but the antiphons clearly respect the Prague liturgical tradition. The only fragment containing both the Prague as well as the Esztergom rite, is the *Antiphonary* (Tomus 1/ Fons 32/ Fasc.11/ Nro.126a), which contains chants on the Exaltation of the Holly Cross feast (antiphons *Praeveniat faciem domini* caoX, ist0127,<sup>438</sup> *Signum crucis semper oportet* caoX, ist0588 and *Crux est sancta nostrae signaculum* caox, ist0589, *Exaltatio s. Crucis*, M/I, A1-2). It is possible that the Bohemian scribe could have copied part of the antiphonary from the domestic liturgical book that contained the Esztergom liturgical tradition. With the exception of the *Missal Tomus1/Fons32/Fasc.9/Nro.83*, the notation of the Kremnica fragments is almost uniform. The Punctum is the only basic neume used. The single virga does not appear, but a bistropha occurs frequently. The pes is created from two vertically placed puncti with right-tilting slopes. The clivis is of rectangular Messine shape. Často sa objavuje bistropha. The scandicus is created from a single Punctum and a pes, and the climacus consists of three puncti tilting towards the right. The torculus (pes and Punctum positioned vertically below the middle tone) and the porrectus (clivis and pes) have a typical Bohemian shape in which individual neumatic structures are connected by a thin capillary line. Occasionally, a torculus with a smooth, homogeneous second and third tones (e.g. *Antiphonary Tomus1/Fons36/Fasc.14/Nr.689, 1595*) appears. Two clefs appear: the C clef and the F clef which consists of tractulus and two, vertical-stacked rhombi. B flats and naturals are used. The notational system uses a four-lined red stave with double red framing, using the custos; this is possible to see, for instance, in the fragments of the gradual (nine four-lined staves on a folio and custos in square form) or in fragments of the antiphonary (ten four-lined staves on a folio, and custos in rhomb shape). The majority of fragments can be dated to the second half or possibly the end of the 15th century. The sign system is extremely similar to that of the *Bratislava Antiphonary V*. The only fragment fragment in which the notational system differs from other Kremnica manuscripts is the aforementioned *Missal Tomus1/Fons32/Fasc.9/Nro.83*. In this manuscript, the system is placed in two columns of a four-lined red stave with a simple framing without a custos. Only the C clef is used. Since this is a notated *Exsultet*, the melody is syllabic, without using multi-tonal neumes. The manuscript is dated in the first half or, likelier, the beginning of the 15th century. The third group consists of the seventeen fragments from the SA Trenčín written at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, using the Bohemian notational system. There are the fragments of three liturgical books: the antiphonary, the gradual and the codex. The fragments of the antiphonary are contained in

<sup>438</sup> *Istanbulský antifonár* f. 232v-233r.

the books of town hall records: MMTN – Kn/I-8, 1596–1597; MMTN – Kn/I-11, 1601; MMTN – Kn/I-12, 1602–1603; MMTN – Kn/I-13, 1604; MMTN – Kn/I-14, 1605–1606; MMTN – Kn/I-15, 1607–1608; MMTN – Kn/I-16, 1609–161; MMTN – Kn/I-17, 1613; MMTN – Kn/I-18, 1614–1615; MMTN – Kn/I-/?/ 1630; MMTN – Kn I /?/ 1637–1642. The antiphonary uses a system of twelve four-lined red colour staves with double red framing. The C clef and F clef are used; the custos is of a square shape. The notation is at an advanced stage, as represented by the more gothic shape of the neume signs and their more cursive ductus. The shapes of the torculus and the porrectus resemble variants of the square notation. The folio mirror of the manuscript measures about 370×252 mm. The height of the staff is about 16–17 mm, the gap is about 6 mm and Punctum (rhomb) 6×6 mm. The antiphonary probably originated in the late 15th or the early 16th century; the sign system is very much closer to the notation of the initial folio of the *Gradual from Luzern P.19* (around 1410) and the *Gradual XIII B 2* from the National Museum Library in Prague. The notation of the gradual's fragments is contained in: 10-MMTN Kn/I-19?, a book of town hall records 1616; 11-MMTN Kn/I-20, a book of town hall records 1618; 12-MMTN Kn/I-21, a book of town hall records 1619; 13-MMTN Kn/I-22, a book of town hall records 1620–1621; 14-MMTN Kn/I-23, a book of town hall records 1622. It uses twelve lines of a five-lined red staff with double framing. The C clef and F clef are also used here. With regard to the gradual's fragments, the custos is of a diamond rhomb shape. Gothisation of the shapes is at an advanced stage, but has a softer character than that of the antiphonary's fragments. The codex is from the late 15th century or the early 16th century, with notation resembling that in the *Bratislava Antiphonary V* and the *Esztergom Gradual of King Vladislaus Mss.III* from the Esztergom Metropolitan Episcopal library. The dimensions of the folio are 441×341 mm. The gradual's mirror is 360×274 mm big. The staff's height is 21 mm; the gap is 6 mm and Punctum 6–7×6, 5 mm. In the Collection of Music Pieces, ZH-A (15th–20th century), State Archive Trenčín is deposited a parchment fragment of the gradual (17-12/a?) from the late 15th century, with dimensions of 268×378 mm (full mirror 286×220 mm, staff's height: 15,5–16 mm, m: 5 mm, p: 6×4,5 mm). The Bohemian notation is placed in ten lines of four-lined red staff with double red framing. The C clef, F clef, b flat and a custos appear in shape of square. The mannerist forms of the Bohemian notational system rather resemble the notation of the antiphonaries' fragments from the Trenčín archive. One line of staff with *Kyrie* text is added from a later hand.

The last group consists of the remaining fragments (Slovak National Library in Martin, Central Library of SAS, Museum of Music of the Slovak National Museum, SA in Banská Štiavnica, SA Poprad, Košice) which to a greater or lesser degree tilts toward the first, second or third group of manuscripts with Bohemian notation in Slovakia.

### 5. 6. The Gothic Choral Notation

The gothic - choral notation developed from earlier German non-lined notational system during the 13<sup>th</sup> century (around 1270). The vertically standing and often used virga was the characteristic sign of the gothic notation. The neume heads were gothized and the shafts of individual notational shapes were thickened. During the 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, so called “*hufnagel*” – “*a hammer*” notation emerged from this notational system.<sup>439</sup> It was used in area with the German cultural influence (Germany, Austria, Central, Eastern, South-Eastern Europe - Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Croatia). In Slovakia it survived on several fragments from Bratislava, Banská Štiavnica, Martin and Pezinok. It is not documented in all archival institutions. It is most likely that in the Middle Ages no scriptorium operating in Slovakia used this notational system. It was only imported to our territory and the fragments served only as parchment reinforcement of the books' and codices' bindings of younger period.

*The Antiphonary Lyc B. III. 352 from the CL SAS in Bratislava*

*The Antiphonary Lyc B. III. 352* of the Lyceum Library of SAS from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century forms a binding of *Effigies Regum Francorum omnium...* “print from 1622. The German gothic choral notation

<sup>439</sup> HILEY, David: Notation. History of Western notation. III. v. Gothic and square notation. In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Stanley Sadie (ed.). Volume 13. London etc. 1980, p. 347 – 348.

comes from the German environment. It uses all the basic features of this system – the rounded clivis, the independent virga. The fragment contains Matins chants from the feast of St. Augustine. Ordering corresponds with the generally established order, which is indicated by the Esztergom rite. Anyway, it is a fraction of German provenance.

## SOURCES

### CODICES

- The Bakócz Gradual* (the Metropolitan Archdiocese Library Esztergom, Mss.I.1, 3b)  
*The Bratislava Antiphonary I* (the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad.3)  
*The Bratislava Antiphonary II* (the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad. 4 + the Slovak National Archive No. 4, the Bratislava City Museum A-5, A-49, 671/arch. 29a, 454/arch. 1928)  
*The Bratislava Antiphonary III* (the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad.6)  
*The Bratislava Antiphonary IV* (the Slovak National Archive 2)  
*The Bratislava Antiphonary V* (the Slovak National Archive 17)  
*The Bratislava Travel Missal* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 435)  
*The Bratislava Missal* (Baththyanum R II 134 of *Henrik Stephani* from Veľké Trnčie from 1377, Alba Julia)  
*The Bratislava Missal I* (the Bratislava City Archive: EC Lad. 3, EL 18, EC Lad. 1/21; the Bratislava City Museum: A/9, St. Adalbert Association: Fasc. 322/10, Fasc. 200 c.15c TR.A.61)  
*The Bratislava Missal VI* (the Bratislava City Museum A/2, the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad.2/34)  
*The Bratislava Missal „D“* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 216)  
*The Bratislava Missal „G“* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 219)  
*The Bratislava Missal „H“* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 94)  
*The Buda Psalter* (the Metropolitan Archdiocese Library Esztergom, Mss.I.3c)  
*Cantuale* (Szendrei C 46, Częstochowa 583 R.I.-215)  
*The Gradual of František Futaki* (the Museum Topkap Seray Istanbul 2429, Deissmann 68)  
*The Hahóts Codex – the Sacramentary of St. Margit* (the University Library Zagreb MR 126)  
*The Hartvik Agenda – Agenda pontificalis* (the University Library Zagreb MR 165)  
*The Istanbul Missal* (the Museum Topkap Seray Istanbul, Deissmann 60)  
*The Istanbul Antiphonary* (the Museum Topkap Seray Istanbul, Deissmann 42)  
*The Jasov Breviary* (the University Library Budapest, Cod. Lat. 36)  
*The Klosterneuburg Antiphonaries* (Stiftsbibliothek Augustiner-Chorherren Klosterneuburg Cod. 65–68)  
*The Kutná Hora Gradual* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.15501)  
*The Kyjev Letters* (the Kyjev Central Library of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences)  
*The Luzern Gradual* (Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, P. 19)  
*The Missal M 21* (Szendrei M 21, *the Pauline Missal*, the State Archive Sopron Inc. 80)  
*The Nitra Evangeliary* (The Nitra Chapter Archive)  
*The Nitra Gradual* (the Slovak National Archive 67)  
*The Esztergom Antiphonary* (the Metropolitan Archdiocese Library Esztergom, Mss. I. 3)  
*The Esztergom Benedictinal* (the University Library Zagreb MR 89)  
*The Esztergom Capitulary* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 408)  
*The Esztergom Notated Breviary* (the Strahov Premostratensian Library, Prague DE.I.7)  
*The Pauline Antiphonary* (Szendrei C 56, the University Library Zagreb, MR 8 )  
*The Pray Codex* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Mny 1)  
*The Zagreb Antiphonary MR 1* (the University Library Zagreb MR 1)  
*The Zagreb Antiphonary MR 10* (the University Library Zagreb, MR 10)  
*The Zagreb Notated Missal* (the Franciscan Library, Güssing, sign. 1/43)  
*The Psalter of Canon Blasius* (the National Szechény Library in Budapest, Clmae 212)

### FRAGMENTS:

- The Antiphonary EL 18* (the Bratislava City Archive)  
*The Antiphonary MUS 1-11* (the Museum of Music of the Slovak National Museum)  
*The Antiphonary J 2027*(the Slovak National Library Martin)  
*The Antiphonary* (*Postilla studentium etc.* of Konrád Waldhauser, the Slovak National Archive 86)  
*The Antiphonary* (the State Archive in Banská Bystrica, the Guilds 1636)  
*The Antiphonary* (the State Archive in Kremnica, *Tomus 1/Fons 42/Fasc.1/Nro. 13* (*Weinumgelt Register 1588–1593*))

*The Antiphonary* (the State Archive in Modra, the Municipality of Modra, *Kammerrechnung -Register beeder Stadtcammerer als Abraham Labrovitz und Daniel Sixt 1665*)  
*The Antiphonary* (the State Archive in Bardejov, sine sign.)  
*The Bratislava Missal VI* (the Bratislava City Museum A/2, the Bratislava City Archive EC Lad.2/34)  
*The Gradual J 2012* (the Slovak National Library Martin)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Banská Bystrica, the town official records from 1591)  
*Misál* (the State Archive in Banská Štiavnica, *Bergrechnungen Anno 1576*)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Kremnica, *Copier Buech 1622–1628*)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Kremnica, *Copier Buech 1629–1630*)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Modra, the Municipality of Modra, *Kammerrechnung 3112* from 1660)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Trnava, the Municipality of Trnava, the Guilds – bricklayers /*Meisterbuch/ 1653–1870*)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Trnava, the Municipality of Trnava, IIIId/598 /*Liber taxarum 1605–1669*)  
*The Gradual* (the State Archive in Trnava, the Municipality of Trnava, IIIId/599/*Liber restantiarum 1659–1676*)  
*The Gradual* (the Western Slovakia Museum Trnava, sine sign.)  
*The Gradual* (Szendrei F 21, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Budapest T 292)  
*The Gradual* (Szendrei F 197, the National Szechény Library Budapest E 76)  
*The Gradual* (Szendrei F 333, Országos Levéltár E 159/1571/20)  
*The Gradual – the Sequentiary J 2013* (the Slovak National Library Martin) *the Lectionary* (Szendrei F 346, the National Szechény Library, Budapest A 23/IV)  
*Misál J 2010* (the Slovak National Library Martin)  
*The Missal* (the State Archive in Banská Štiavnica, *Bergrechnungen Anno 1576*) *the Missal 4925* (the State Archive in Modra, the Municipality of Modra, *Rechnung des Kirchenvaters -/, 1610–1615*)  
*The Notated Breviary A/13* (the Bratislava City Museum)  
*The Notated Missal EC Lad. 1/16* (The Bratislava City Archive)  
*The Notated Missal (Libellus contribulationis etc.* Peter Šimigin, sign. 482, the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences

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## EDITIONS

- AH* *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, Guido Maria DREVES – Clemens BLUME. I – LV, Leipzig : Fues's Verlag, 1886–1922.
- AK* *Antihonarium ecclesiae parochialis urbis Kranj*, hrsg. von Jurij SNOJ – Gabriella GILANYI (Eds.), *Musicalia Danubiana* 23, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2007.
- BA I* *Bratislavský Antiphonar I* [Bratislavaer Antifonale I] UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ, Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2004.
- BA II* *Bratislavský Antiphonar II* [Bratislavaer Antifonale II] UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO, Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2002.
- BA III* *Bratislavský Antiphonar III*, [Bratislavaer Antifonale III] UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ, Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2005.
- BA IV* *Bratislavský Antiphonar IV*, [Bratislavaer Antifonale IV] UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ, Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2007.
- BA V* *Bratislavský Antiphonar V*, [Bratislavaer Antifonale V] UNESCO – Pamäť sveta, Memoria Slovaciae Medii Aevi Manuscripta, Dušan BURAN – Ľubomír JANKOVIČ – Július SOPKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ, Martin : Slovenská národná knižnica, 2007.
- BNS* *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense (saec. XIII)*, hrsg. von Janka SZENDREI, Ed. *Musicalia Danubiana* 17, Budapest 1998.
- CA* *Codex Albensis*, Zoltán FALVY – László MEZEY (Eds.), (*Monumenta Hungariae Musica I.*), Budapest – Graz : Universitätsbibliothek Graz – Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963.
- Cao* *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii I-IV* (1963 – 1970), Jean René HESBERT (Ed.), Roma : Casa editrice Herder, 1963–1970.
- CAO – ECE* *A preliminary Report*, László DOBSZAY – Gábor PRÓSZEKY, Budapest . MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988.
- CAO – ECE I/A* *CAO – ECE, I/A Salzburg (Temporale)*, László DOBSZAY, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988.
- CAO – ECE II/A* *CAO – ECE, II/A Bamberg (Temporale)*, Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1994.
- CAO – ECE III/A* *CAO – ECE, III/A Praha (Temporale)*, Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1996.
- CAO – ECE III/B* *CAO – ECE, III/B Praha (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum)*, Zsuzsa CZAGÁNY, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2002.
- CAO – ECE. IV/A* *CAO – ECE, IV/A Aquleia (Temporale)*, Gabriela GILÁNYI – Andrea KOVÁCS,

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- CAO – ECE VI/A *CAO – ECE VI/A Kalocsa – Zagreb (Temporale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008.
- CAO – ECE VI/B *CAO – ECE VI/B Kalocsa – Zagreb (Sanctorale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008.
- CAO – ECE VII/A *CAO – ECE VII/A Transylvania – Várad (Temporale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2010.
- CAO – ECE VII/B *CAO – ECE VII/B Transylvania – Várad, (Sanctorale)*, Andrea KOVÁCS, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008.
- GS *Graduale Strigoniense (saec. XV/XVI)*, hrsg. von Janka SZENDREI, Ed. Musicalia Danubiana 12, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1993.
- GR *Le graduel romain*, Édition critique par les moines de Solesmes, II. Les sources, Solesmes 1957 (*Graduale Triplex*, Solesmes – Paris 1979).
- IA *The Istanbul Antiphonal (about 1360)*, hrsg. von Janka SZENDREI, Ed. Musicalia Danubiana 18, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2002.
- LOA *Liber Ordinarius Agriensis (1509)*, hrsg. von László DOBSZAY, Ed. Musicalia Danubiana Subsidia 1, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2000.
- MHMA I *Melodiarum Hungariae Medii Aevi I, Hymny et sequentiae*, hrsg. von Benjamin RAJECZKY, Budapest 1956.
- MNS *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341 in Posonio (ante 1341)*, hrsg. von Janka SZENDREI – Richard RYBARIČ, Ed. Musicalia Danubiana 1, Budapest : MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1982.
- MMMA/A *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevii, Antiphonae*, Band V/I – III, hrsg. von Benjamin RAJECZKY – Janka SZENDREI – László DOBSZAY, Kassel – Basel etc. 1999.
- NK *Nitriansky kódex [Kodex von Neutra]*, hrsg. von Július SOPKO – Július VALACH, Martin 1987.
- PM *Paléographie Musicale*, hrsg. von André MOCQUEREAU, Ed. Les principaux Manuscrits de Chant Grégorien, Ambrosien, Mozarabe, Gallican publiés en fac-similés phototypiques par les Bénédictins de Solesmes, 18. Bd. Solesmes etc. 1886-.
- R *Responsories*. hrsg. von László DOBSZAY und Janka SZENDREI, Budapest : Balassi kiadó, 2013.
- SA *Spišský antifonár [Zipser Antifonale]* hrsg. von Rastislav ADAMKO – Eva VESELOVSKÁ – Juraj ŠEDIVÝ, Ružomberok : Katolícka univerzita, 2008.
- SG *Spišský graduál Juraja z Kežmarku (1425) [Zipser Graduale des Georgius von Käsmark (1425)]*, hrsg. von Amantius AKIMJAK – Rastislav ADAMKO – Janka BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Ružomberok : Katolícka univerzita, 2006.

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- <http://cantusdatabase.org>
- <http://cantusindex.org>
- <http://gradualia.eu/>
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[www.zti.hu](http://www.zti.hu)

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Antifon /Antiphonae
Ab	Benedictus-Antifon
Adv.	Advent / Tempus Adventus
Al.	Alleluja / Halleluja
AlV.	Hallelujavers
Am	Magnificat- Antifon
AMB	Archív mesta Bratislavy (Archiv der Stadt Bratislava [Pressburg])
A	Antifon-Vers
B	Böhmische Notation
B.	Breite
Bd.	Band, Bände
BMV	Beata Maria Virgo
ca.	circa
Cao	Corpus Antiphonarium Officii
CAO – ECE	Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae
Cm.	Communio
Comm.	Commune
Decoll. Jo. Bapt.	Decollatio / Enthauptung des Johannes des Täufers
Dom.	Dominica
DCHN	Deutsche Choralnotation
DN	Deutsche Neumennotation
Conf.	Confessor (Bekenner)
ep.	episcopus (Bischof)
Ebda.	Ebenda (in Fußnoten bei der Wiederholung desselben Titels)
Eccl.	Ecclesia
ex.	exeunte saeculo
f., ff.	folium, folia / Folio, Folios
Fer.	Feria
Fk Kre	Farská knižnica v Kremnici/ Pfarrbibliothek Kremnitz
FrE	Fond rodu Erdődy (Ústředný archiv rodu Erdődy) – panstvo Smolenice/ Bestand des Geschlechts Erdődy – Grundherrschaft Smolenitz
FrP B	Fond rodu Pálfi – panstvo Bojnice / Bestand des Geschlechts Pálffy – Burgherrschaft Weinitz

FrP CK	Fond rodu Pálfi – panstvo Červený Kameň I/ Bestand des Geschlechts Pálffy – Burgherrschaft Bibersburg/Rotenstein
G	Graner Notation
GM	Gesamtmaße
Gr.	Graduale
GrV.	Graduale-Vers
SNM HM	Slovenské národné múzeum – Hudobné múzeum / Slowakisches Nationalmuseum – Musikmuseum
H.	Hymnus
Hebd.	Hebdomada
hl.	heiliger, heilige
Hm BK	Hodnoverné miesto Bratislavská kapitula / Locus credibilis Capituli Posoniensis / Glaubwürdiger Ort Pressburger Kollegiatkapitel
Hm L	Hodnoverné miesto Leleský konvent / Locus credibilis conventui praemostratensium de Leles / Glaubwürdiger Ort Konvent Leles
Hm SK	Hodnoverné miesto Spišská kapitula / Locus credibilis Capituli Scepusiensis / Glaubwürdiger Ort Zipser Kapitel
Hs., Hss.	Handschrift, Handschriften
i	Prim (kleine Hora)
I:	Illumination
iii	Terz (kleine Hora)
illum.	illuminatio, Illumination
in.	ineunte saeculo
In.	Introitus
InV.	Introitus-Vers
Inv. Nr.	Inventarnummer
IA.	Invitorium Antiphona
ix	Non (kleine Hora)
Jh.	Jahrhundert
Kk Ba	Kapitulská knižnica v Bratislave / Pressburger Kapitelbibliothek
Kn	Nándor KNAUZ: <i>A Pozsonyi káptalannak kéziratai</i> . Esztergom : Horák, 1870.
L	Laudes
LS.	Liniensystem
M	Matutinum
Maj.	Major
MG	Metzer-gotische Notation
MGM	Metzer-gotische Mischnotation
m./mm.	martyr /Märtyrer / mehrere Märtyrer
mm.	Millimeter
med.	medio saeculo
membr.	Membrane, Pergament
Ms., Mss.	Manuscriptum (Handschrift)
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia / Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften)
n.	numerus / Nummer
N	Nokturn
N:	Notation
not.	Notatio / Notation
Of.	Offertorium
OfV.	Offertorium-Vers
OSzK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Budapest / Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek Budapest
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
P.	Punctum
p.	post

pap.	Papyrus
perg.	Pergament
Pent.	Pentecosten
pp.	papa / Papst
Ps	Psalm
Q	Quadratnotation
r	recto
R.	Responsorium
s. (lat.)	sanctus, sanctis
S.	Schrift
S:	Seite
saec.	saeculum
SA	Staatsarchiv
SAV	Slovenská akadémia vied / Slowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften
SEMD	Slovak Early Music Database
sign.	signatúra, Signatur
SNK	Slovenská národná knižnica v Martine / Slowakische Nationalbibliothek Turz-Sankt Martin
Sopko I.	Július SOPKO: <i>Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach</i> [Lateinische mittelalterliche Kodizes in slowakischen Bibliotheken]. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1981.
Sq.	Sequenz
SNA	Slovenský národný archív / Slowakisches Nationalarchiv
Sp.	Schriftspiegel
šk. (K.)	škatuľa / Karton
T:	Text
Tab.	Tabelle
TP	Tempore Paschalis
Tr.	Tractus
Trop.	Tropus
UK	Univerzitná knižnica / Universitätsbibliothek
ÚK SAV	Ústredná knižnica Slovenskej akadémie vied / Zentralbibliothek der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ÚPA	Ústredný Pálfiiovský archív / Zentrales Pálffy-Archiv
uv. Sp.	unvollständiger Spiegel
v	Verso
V.	Versus / Vers
V	Vesperas
VEGA	Vedecká grantová agentúra / Wissenschaftsförderungsagentur
Ves. I.	Eva VESELOVSKÁ: <i>Mittelalterliche liturgische Kodizes mit Notation in den Archivbeständen von Bratislava</i> . Ed. Musaeum Musicum, Bratislava 2002.
vgl.	vergleiche
vi	sexta /Sext (kleine Hora)
virg.	virgo / Jungfrau
v. Sp.	vollständiger Spiegel
W	Versiculus / Versikel
Zwr.	Zwischenraum, Größe des Zwischenraums des Liniensystems, Notenlinienabstand
*	in rubro / nur Incipit