

The Latin Office of the Dead in Medieval Manuscripts from the Territory of Slovakia

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Abstract

The contents and the surviving part of medieval manuscripts in Europe were influenced by the Christianization process. Monophonic liturgical chant, the *cantus planus*, or plainchant, which accompanied the liturgical celebrations, was a dominant representative of musical culture. Migrations of cultural, religious, and artistic stimuli, which influenced the religious centres, institutions, towns, and individuals, were a frequent phenomenon in medieval society. The transfer of stimuli, inspirations, and artistic models led to liturgical music and its components (musical content, liturgy, notation) becoming firmly established. As part of the stratification of local elements and transregional connections, in the research process on the components of chant, we identified a specific repertoire of the medieval Office of the Dead in manuscripts from the territory of Slovakia. Based on the analysis of the chants of the responsories of the Matins, we traced the provenance and musical characteristics of selected manuscripts from the territory of Slovakia.

Key words

Slovakia, Middle Ages, medieval, *cantus planus*, plainsong, *officium defunctorum*, Office of the Dead

Medieval written sources constitute one of the basic pillars of our cultural world heritage. In Europe, their contents and surviving part were influenced by the Christianization process, which was instrumental in shaping medieval society, culture, and scholarship. Monophonic liturgical chant, the *cantus planus*, or plainchant, was the core manifestation of musical culture in the Middle Ages. It formed an indispensable part of the cultural and artistic manifestations of the lives of individuals and of various social groups over a long period of time.

In the field of research on medieval music culture and scholarship, there has recently been an increased interest worldwide in detailed and complex processing and assessment of primary sources.¹ In this regard, it is extremely important and topical to process in detail the medieval sources of music in Slovakia and those of Slovak provenance abroad, which form an integral part of our cultural, artistic, and scholarly identity.

In the historical context, and based on scientific reflection, it is necessary to identify and determine the local elements and the foreign specificities, or transregional connections, of each material. Migrations of cultural, religious, and artistic stimuli, which influenced the religious centres, institutions, towns, and individuals (mainly Church officials, but also kings, noblemen, and burgesses), were a frequent phenomenon in medieval society. The transfer of stimuli, inspirations, and artistic models reflected in the field of liturgical music and its components (musical content, liturgy, notation). As part of the stratification of local elements and transregional connections, we identified the musical repertoire of the medieval Office of the Dead (*officium pro defunctis* in Latin²) in manuscripts from the territory of Slovakia.³ We assessed some selected chants, namely responsories of the Matins, of this feast.

From the territory of Slovakia, notated Offices of the Dead survived in four complete manuscripts: *Bratislava Antiphonary III*,⁴ the *Psalter of Canon Blasius*,⁵ the *Prešov Psalter*,⁶

1 Valuable information, a large number of manuscripts available online, and detailed comparative analyses have recently appeared e.g. on <http://cantusindex.org>; <http://cantus.sk>; <https://gams.uni-graz.at/context-cantus> and elsewhere. [accessed on 27/10/2021]

2 <https://www.mediaevalist.net/hourstxt/deadv.htm> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

3 The surviving manuscripts from the medieval period are often non-dated and created by anonymous scribes and we are often unable to accurately determine the place of their origin and use. For a precise specification of the unknown facts of their origin and provenance, it is generally very efficient to comprehensively analyse and assess their musical and liturgical contents.

4 State Archives in Bratislava, EC Lad. 6. <http://cantus.sk/source/14018>. [accessed on 27/10/2021]. JANAČEK, Luboš – MELIŠ, Jozef. *Zbierka cirkevných písomností [A church collection documents] 1180–1912* (rkp.). Bratislavský antifonár IIIa EC Lad VI. Bratislava: MV SR Štátny archív v Bratislave, 2019, č. 282/EC Lad VI/89, č. škatule 16, s. 56. SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach [Medieval Latin Codices in Slovak Libraries]*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1981, No. 7. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku [Medieval Sources of Church Music in Slovakia]*. Bratislava: Slovenská muzikologická spoločnosť – Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, 2017, pp. 68–83.

5 National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Clmae 128. The psalter formed part of the Library of the Bratislava Chapter. SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku [Mediaeval Latin Codices of Slovak Provenance in Hungary and Romania]*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1982, No. 212.

6 State Scientific Library in Prešov, sine sign. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 149–151.

and the *Košice Psalter*.⁷ In two cases, the chants of this feast are, unfortunately, incomplete. Part of the chants of the Matins (the end of the first and the beginning of the second Nocturns) are missing in *Bratislava Antiphonary III*. An even larger part of the chants is missing in the *Prešov Psalter*. A non-notated Office of the Dead figures also in *Carthusian Gradual – Psalter J 538* (ff. 64r-67r).⁸

The Office of the Dead – *Officium pro Defunctis*

The sets of the chants of the Office of the Dead varied significantly among the liturgical traditions of Europe (in dioceses or monastic environments, in smaller ecclesiastical centres or localities).⁹ The Office consists of three main parts: the Vespers, the Matins, and the Lauds.¹⁰

In every liturgical tradition, in local ecclesiastical centres, convents, and monastic communities, the responsories of the Matins had a characteristic version, set, and unique sequence within the Office of the Dead. Consequently, the provenance assessment of both complete and fragmentary sources, based on the analysis and comparison of the set of chants (responsories) of this liturgy, is accurate and crucial for the identification of the place of origin, use, or model of the copied codices. The aim of this study is to analyse in detail the liturgical and musical elements of the responsories of the Matins of the Office of the Dead from the territory of Slovakia in the European context.

The Office of the Dead began to appear in European sources in the eighth century. It was part of the liturgy used for particular life situations, i.e. wherever death appeared. The inner structure of this liturgy remained unchanged throughout the liturgical year and alternative formulas occurred rarely.¹¹ The importance of the arrangement of the responsories of the Office of the Dead in particular locations, convents, or monastic

7 East Slovak Museum in Košice, inv. no. F 9232. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIK-OVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 126–128.

8 Slovak National Library in Martin, Inc B 235. VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIK-OVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 154–161.

9 OTTOSEN, Knud. *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*. Copenhagen: Aarhus University Press, 1993. https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/, interactive database of Offices of the Dead: “Responsories of the Latin Office of the Dead”.

10 The Divine Office (*liturgia horarum*, *officium*, or *officium divinum* in Latin) is a cycle of prayers and chants throughout the day and the night (breviaries, antiphonaries, psalters). The chants of the Divine Office consist of antiphons, responsories, and versicles. Responsories have the most elaborate music. On the whole, the material of the Divine Office is a lot more diverse set than the repertoire of the chants of the Holy Mass. The chants are linked to the rendering of the psalms. In general, the Divine Office has two basic types: the secular (Roman) Office, used in diocesan parishes and churches, and the monastic Office, which was used in Slovakia e.g. by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Benedictines, the Carthusians, and others. The chants and the prayers are arranged into larger liturgical units (Matins, Lauds, Little Hours: Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones, Vespers, Compline, all prayed at fixed times). Cf. *Liturgia hodín na posvätenie času [The Liturgy of the Hours to Sanctify Time]*. *Posvätné officium [The Divine Office]*. Roma: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1989.

11 OTTOSEN, Knud. *The Responsories*, op. cit., p. 3.

communities, was first recognized and processed by Dom Gabriel M. Beyssac,¹² whose research was further developed in more detail by Knud Ottosen.¹³

The Office of the Dead was present in various types of liturgical books. In earlier times, it would figure in rituals or psalters, at times even in sacramentaries, missals or graduals. In later times (in the High Middle Ages from the eleventh century to the early sixteenth century, in some cases even later), it formed part of antiphonaries, psalters, and breviaries, occasionally even horaria).

The Latin Office of the Dead in Manuscripts from the Territory of Slovakia

In the Esztergom liturgical tradition, the Office of the Dead appeared in several notated and non-notated manuscripts. Within the Matins of Sundays (or generally of the Liturgy of the Dead), there are three Nocturns. On weekdays, this liturgy was chanted only with one, selected Nocturns. Contrary to the other Divine Offices, the basic structure of the Office of the Dead was: first Vespers, Matins, Lauds. In the manuscripts, the basic repertoire of three Nocturns within the Matins (i.e. 3x3 responsories) is usually followed by a series of other responsories selected to be chanted on weekdays.

No major differences are documented in the European liturgical traditions in the set of chants for the Vespers, antiphons for the Matins, or the Lauds.¹⁴ On the other hand, the sets of responsories are unique and specific not only for the main liturgical traditions, but also for their smaller, local versions (e.g. Spiš, Zagreb, Transylvania, or even the smaller localities).

12 Beyssac's methodology of processing manuscripts was adopted by Viktor Leroquais, too. LEROQUAIS, Victor. *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. 1. Paris: the Author, 1937. The comparative processing of liturgical manuscripts and the methodology of the comparison was further developed by Antoine Baumstark. BAUMSTARK, Antoine. *La liturgie comparée. Principes et méthodes pour l'étude historique des liturgies chrétiennes*. Bernard BOTTE (ed.). Paris: Chevetogne, 1953 (3rd edition).

13 In his research, Ottosen drew on the works of Gabriel M. Beyssac, Victor Leroquais, Michel Huglo, Jean-Baptiste Molin, Pierre-Marie Gy, Raymond Étaix, and others. He gradually processed, in printed or computerised (later online) form, two thousand and twenty-six responsories of the Office of the Dead from a period ranging from the late ninth century to the early seventeenth century (from the territory of former Czechoslovakia, he assessed fourteen manuscripts). He arranged the series of responsories into a numeric system (3 x 3 responsories, with a number assigned to each tune in alphabetical order; a specific number for the responsory, 138, and another number for the responsorial verses: 469). OTTOSEN, Knud. *The Responsories*, op. cit., pp. 4, 97–201, 386–394.

14 In Paulinian manuscripts, *Regem cui omnia vivunt* (in mode VI) appears instead of the invitatory. In the Spiš tradition, the *Ne derelinquas me* antiphon (II?) is used as the first antiphon of the third Nocturns.

Table 1 The Office of the Dead in Esztergom, Prague, Kraków, and Salzburg liturgy (ideal characteristics of its sequence based on the analysis of the *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* edition).¹⁵

	Esztergom	Prague	Kraków	Salzburg
V1/A1	Placebo Domino	+	+	+
V1/A2	Heu mihi quia	+	+	+
V1/A3	Dominus custodit	+	+	+
V1/A4	Si iniquitates	+	+	+
V1/A5	Opera manuum tuarum	+	+	+
V1/W	In memoria aeterna	Audivi vocem	Audivi vocem	–
V1/Am	Omne quod dat mihi	+	+	+
M/I	Circumdederunt me	+	+	–
M/ N1/A1	Dirige Domine	+	+	+
M/ N1/A2	Convertere Domine	+	+	+
M/ N1/A3	Nequando rapiat	+	+	+
M/ N1/W	Dirige Domine Deus	+	+	+
M/ N1/R1	Putasne mortuus	+	Credo quod	Redemptor meus
M/ N1/V	Ecce in pulvere	+	Quem visurus	Lauda anima
M/ N1/R2	Manus tuae Domine	+	Qui Lazarum	+
M/ N1/V	Dum veneris	+	Qui venturus	+
M/ N1/R3	Cognoscimus Domine	Quomodo confitebor	Domine quando	Memento quaeso
M/ N1/V	Vita nostra in dolore	Licet peccavi	Comissa mea	Vitam et misericordiam
M/ N2/A1	In loco pascuae	+	+	+
M/ N2/A2	Delicta juventutis	+	+	+
M/ N2/A3	Credo videre bona	+	+	+
M/ N2/W	Delicta juventutis	+	+	+
M/ N2/R1	Domine qui plasmasti	Ne tradas Domine	Heu mihi	Absolve Domine
M/ N2/V	Domine quicquid vitiorum	Memorare quae	Anima mea	Si quae illis
M/ N2/R2	Memento quaeso	Deus aeternae	Ne recorderis	Ne tradas
M/ N2/V	Vitam et misericordiam	Qui in cruce positus	Dirige Domine	Memorare quae
M/ N2/R3	Quomodo confitebor	Rogamus te Domine	Peccantem me	Rogamus te

15 DOBSZAY, László. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae I/A Salzburg (Temporale)*. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988, pp. 211–212; CZAGÁNY, Zsuzsa. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae III/A Praha (Temporale)*. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1996, pp. 182–184; KOVÁCS, Andrea. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae V/A Strigonium (Temporale)*. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2004, pp. 59, 236–240. KUBIENIEC, Jakub. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae VIII/A Kraków (Temporale)*. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities of the HAS, 2018, pp. 46, 324–329.

	Esztergom	Prague	Kraków	Salzburg
M/ N2/V	Licet peccavi	Misericors et miserator	Deus in nomine	Misericors
M/ N3/A1	Domine abstraxisti	Non derelinquas	Ne derelinquas	Ne derelinquas
M/ N3/A2	Sana Domine animam	+	+	+
M/ N3/A3	Sitivit anima mea	+	+	+
M/ N3/W	Anima mea turbata	+	+	+
M/ N3/R1	Rogamus te Domine	Absolve Domine	Redemptor meus	Deus aeterne
M/ N3/V	Misericors et miserator	Si quae illis	Lauda anima	Qui in cruce
M/ N3/R2	Deus aeterne	Memento quaeso	Libera me ...de viis	Quomodo confitebor
M/ N3/V	Qui in cruce positus	Vitam et misericordiam	Clamantes	Tibi soli
M/ N3/R3	Loquar in amaritudine	Libera me Domine... de morte	Libera me...de morte	Libera me...de morte
M/ N3/V	Qui quasi potredo	Deus vita viventium	Dies illa dies	Dies illa dies
L/A1	Exsultabunt Domine anima	+	+	+
L/A2	Exaudi orationem meam	+	+	+
L/A3	Me suscepit dextera	+	+	+
L/A4	A porta inferi	+	+	+
L/A5	Omnis spiritus Laudet	+	+	+
L/W	Audivi vocem	In memoria aeterna	In memoria	-
L/Ab	Absolve Domine animas	Animas fidelium	Ego sum resurrectio	Ego sum resurrectio

A – antiphon

Ab – antiphon for Benedictus

Am – antiphon for Magnificat

L – Lauds

M – Matins

N – Nocturns

R – responsory

V – responsorial verse

V1 – Vespers

W – versicle

In medieval Esztergom liturgy, the ideal set and sequence of the responsories of the Office of the Dead was *Putasne mortuus, Manus tuae, Cognoscimus Domine* in the first Nocturns (Knud Ottosen's numbering: 70–44–10), *Domine qui plasmasti, Memento quaeso, Quomodo confitebor* in the second Nocturns (27–47–76), and *Rogamus te Domine, Deus aeterne, Loquar in amaritudine* in the third Nocturns (83–18–43).

This system of the arrangement of the responsories is used also in the only notated codex from the territory of Slovakia which contains an Office of the Dead, *Bratislava Antiphonary III*.¹⁶

16 VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 68–83.

Besides the specific set of the *Putasne mortuus* responsories (70–44–10, 27–47–76, 83–18–43), there were two other peculiar places in the Esztergom rite. What was specific to it was the *Circumdederunt me* invitatory (mode VI, with parallelisms in Aquileian liturgy and in Cambrai) and the *Absolve domine* antiphon for the Benedictus canticle for the Lauds (mode IV, parallelisms documented in Austria in manuscript A-Gu 29 from Graz and in Germany, D-KA Aug. LX).¹⁷



Fig. 1 Bratislava Antiphonary III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, 156r



Fig. 2 Bratislava Antiphonary III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, 161v

Besides Esztergom, the *Putasne mortuus* chant (so-called group type 70) appears in Bohemia and Moravia (Prague + Olomouc), Austria (e.g. Klosterneuburg, Vienna, and elsewhere), Germany (Passau, Freising, Regensburg, Augsburg, Eichstätt, Zwiefalten, Reichenau, and elsewhere),¹⁸ Italy (Brixen/Bressanone, Florence), present-day Croatia (Zagreb), and Romania (Alba Iulia).¹⁹ The latter example from Alba Iulia refers to Codex 1/34 from the Franciscan Library in Güssing, transferred to Austria from the Alba Iulia library. However, we are of the opinion that it might have belonged to an ecclesiastical

17 KOVÁCS, Andrea. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae V/A Strigonium (Temporale)*, op. cit., pp. 59, 236–240.

18 Most of the manuscripts come from southern Germany, from the sphere of the influence of Hirsau. Cf.: DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.). *Responsories*. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2013, No. 2128, p. 89.

19 OTTOSEN, Knud. *The Responsories*, op. cit., pp. 348–352.

library in the territory of Slovakia (Levoča). What points to this is the identical sequence of the responsories for the dead in the *Košice Psalter*.

But for four exceptions (*Klosterneuburg manuscripts CCl. 1011*²⁰ and *CCl. 987*,²¹ *Olomouc manuscript* from 1499,²² and *Manuscript Res. B. 584* in the National Library in Paris²³), the whole group of type 70 agrees in the set and sequence of the first two responsories of the first Nocturns, *Putasne mortuus* (70) and *Manus tuae* (44).²⁴ The set and sequence of the rest of the responsories differ significantly. The third responsory in the Esztergom, Prague, and Paulinian manuscripts is *Cognoscimus Domine* (10). The two subsequent Nocturns are different in these dioceses, too.

The only responsory situated in the same place in the whole series is *Putasne mortuus* (Book of Job 14:14: “If a man die, shall he live again? all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come.”²⁵) as the first responsory of the first Nocturns. It is taken from the Liturgy of the Hours for September (Sunday). It emphasises faith in the resurrection of the dead and the conviction that we are waiting for true freedom in eternity every day of our lives. The *Ecce in pulvere* verse (Job 7:21: “For now shall I sleep in the dust; and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be.”²⁶).

From among the Hungarian manuscripts, this responsory survived only in three notated versions. It figures in *Bratislava Antiphonary III* (EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava)²⁷ and in the *Istanbul Antiphonary* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 42).²⁸ In a fragmentary version, it is documented in the University Library in Budapest (F 726 /+ 724, 725/ Inc. 530, Manuscripts and Rarities collection).²⁹ In the manuscripts, the mode of this chant is mode I (*Istanbul Antiphonary*), II (*Bratislava Antiphonary III*, from the note *c*),³⁰ or VII (*Klosterneuburg Antiphonaries CCl. 1018* and *CCl. 589*).³¹

20 Series: 70–79–44, 47–83–1, 58–76–18.

21 Series: 70–85–44, 76–47–83, 79–18–27 (1, 93, 89, 58, 10, 38).

22 London, British Museum Library IA 1487 (BL 1487/ B 1132): 70–47–83, 76–58–1, 18–10–38.

23 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Res. B. 584 (NB 584/ B 206): 70–47–79, 76–83–1, 44–58–18 (38).

24 Knud Ottosen considers the Antiphonary of Florence (Archivio Arcivescovile, sine sign. B 694) from the eleventh century to have been the oldest model for these first two responsories, OTTOSEN, Knud. *The Responsories*, op. cit., p. 351.

25 <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Job%2014%3A14&version=KJV> [accessed on 22/03/2022]

26 <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Job%207&version=KJV> [accessed on 22/03/2022]

27 On the folio, the incipit of the *Putasne mortuus* responsory is stated erroneously. Instead of the first initial, *P* (*Putasne*), the scribe wrote the initial *B* (*Butasne*). <http://cantus.sk/image/14331>

28 SZENDREI, Janka (ed.). *The Istanbul Antiphonal (about 1360)*. Musicalia Danubiana 18. Budapest: MTA Zemetudományi Intézet, 2002, f. 284v.

29 <http://fragmenta.zti.hu/en/psalterium-hymnarium-s-15-1-csonka-bifolio-budapest-egyetemi-konyvtar-inc-530-boritoja/> [accessed on 22/10/2021]

30 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 89.

31 <http://cantusindex.org/id/601919> [accessed on 27/10/2021]



Fig. 3 Bratislava Antiphony III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, 156v

The second responsory, *Manus tuae Domine*, is in mode III (from the note *g*).³² In total, only two responsories of the Office of the Dead are in this mode.³³ It figures among responsories which differed from the part with the Old Roman repertoire. It is one of the compositions which appeared in the European repertoire very rarely, and in localities quite distant from each other.³⁴ The *Manus tuae Domine* responsory was usually in mode III or IV.



Fig. 4 Bratislava Antiphony III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, 156v

As mentioned above, the end of the first and the beginning of the second Nocturns is missing in *Bratislava Antiphony III* because the respective folio is cut out. The third responsory of the first Nocturns, *Cognoscimus Domine*, and the first three antiphons and the first responsory of the second Nocturns, *Domine qui plasmasti*, is missing in the codex. In a notated version, the *Cognoscimus Domine* responsory figures only in a single medieval manuscript from Hungary, the *Istanbul Antiphony* (f. 285r). It is composed in mode IV using a set of notes from *e* to *a* with a prevailing motif of *e-g-a*, and it has characteristic recitative sections with short melismata.³⁵ The Cantus Index database lists this responsory

32 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 105.

33 The second responsory, *Libera me Domine de viis*, is an optional responsory for weekdays.

34 <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/node/266033> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

35 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 121.

in three other manuscripts (*Responsoriale Ms. 0234* in McGill University in Montreal, Rare Books and Special Collections – Manuscript Collection; *Antiphonary Mus 40047* in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and the Benedictine *Breviary Ms. 215* in the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Cologne).³⁶

The tune of *Domine qui plasmasti* is in mode VII and it belongs to a group of responsories composed in the so-called “new style” (beginning on the note *c*). The tune contains a long melisma on the first syllable of the word *bo-nitatiem*. It occasionally appears in manuscripts from Austria, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, Canada, and Slovenia.³⁷

Memento quaeso is in mode IV (beginning on the note *e*). It is one of the responsories which contain several sections with large intervallic leaps (e.g. leaps of fourths: *Me-men-to, qui sic-ut, fe-ceris, ca-seum*). A long melisma appears on the first syllable of the word *com-pegisti*. The tune of the responsory is composed in the range of a ninth instead of the usual octave.

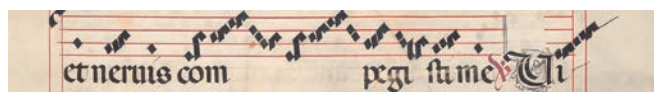


Fig. 5 Bratislava Antiphonary III EC Lad. 6,
State Archives in Bratislava, melisma of the *Memento quaeso* responsory
on the word *compegisti*, f. 160r

The last responsory of the second Nocturns, *Quomodo confitebor*, is in mode I (with an incipit of *(c)-d-a*). Its melodic progression has a syllabic character. Shorter melismatic sections appear only on the words *cor-poris* and *pre-cor*. A leap of a fifth appears several times in the melody (7x). The melody even shifts a sixth lower twice (in the responsory, between the words *meam* and *in*, in the verse between *negavi* and *ideoque*). This responsory often appears in Austrian and German regions (e.g. Klosterneuburg: CCl. 1011, 1015, 1018, 589, etc.).³⁸

The third Nocturns start with the *Rogamus te Domine* responsory in mode I, just like *Quomodo confitebor* (incipit: *(c)-d-a*). Typologically, it has a similar, syllabic tune. In Europe, this responsory was widespread mainly in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Slovenia (twenty-seven manuscripts online).³⁹

The *Deus aeternae in cuius humana* responsory is in mode II, with an incipit of *d-c-a*.⁴⁰

36 <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/node/266035> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

37 <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/node/266041> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

38 <http://cantusindex.org/id/007504> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

39 <http://cantusindex.org/id/007548> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

40 On the folio, the incipit of the responsory is stated erroneously. Instead of the first initial, *D* (*Deus*), the scribe wrote the initial *B* (*Beus*).



Fig. 6 Bratislava Antiphony III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, incipit of the *D/B/eus aeterne* responsory, f. 161r

This responsory has quite a long melodic progression, divided before the repetend (**ut penitentiae*) into two sections. Larger melismatic sections appear in it. The longest melisma is on the word *non* (eighteen notes). The monotonous melody moves around the final and the cadences end only on the notes *c* and *d*.⁴¹ In most European manuscripts, the tune is in mode VIII. In mode II, it is documented only in *Antiphony Ms. 29* (olim 38/8) in the University Library in Graz from the Abbey of St. Lambrecht; in *Antiphony G 20* from the Collegiate Church of the Virgin Mary in Aachen (Domarchiv), the tune is in both mode II and mode VIII.⁴²

The last responsory of the third Nocturns is *Loquar in amaritudine* in mode II.⁴³ This relatively short responsory has a rich, melismatic melody (the melisma on the first syllable of the word *con-demnare* has twenty-eight notes in the range of a seventh). The melody contains several descending and ascending multi-note series. In a notated form, this responsory is known only from *Bratislava Antiphony III* and the *Istanbul Antiphony*.⁴⁴



Fig. 7 Bratislava Antiphony III EC Lad. 6, State Archives in Bratislava, melisma of the *Loquar in amaritudine* responsory on the word *condemnare*, f. 161r

Next come chants for the Lauds (five antiphons), the *Audivi vocem* versicle, and an antiphon for the *Absolve Domine* Benedictus.

41 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 86.

42 <http://cantusindex.org/id/006417> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

43 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 89.

44 <http://cantusindex.org/id/604977> [accessed on 27/10/2021]

Table 2 The modal structure of the Office of the Dead in the Esztergom liturgical tradition (*Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi/ Antiphonae* edition, hereinafter referred to as *A*,⁴⁵ and the *Responsories* edition, hereinafter referred to as *R*,⁴⁶ with the identification number of the <http://cantusindex.org> database and Knud Ottosen's system).

	Chant	Mode	Cantus ID	Ottosen's ID	A + R
V1/A1	Placebo Domino	3	004293	-	3001
V1/A2	Heu mihi quia	2	003038	-	2024
V1/A3	Dominus custodit	8	002402	-	8058
V1/A4	Si iniquitates	8	004899	-	8057
V1/A5	Opera manuum tuarum	2	004159	-	2023
V1/W	In memoria aeterna*	-	008096	-	-
V1/Am	Omne quod dat mihi	7	004115	-	7133
M/I	Circumdederunt me	6	100089	-	6040
M/ N1/A1	Dirige Domine	7	002244	-	7041
M/ N1/A2	Convertere Domine	8	001921	-	8063
M/ N1/A3	Nequando rapiat	8	003875	-	8061
M/ N1/W	Dirige Domine Deus*	-	800107	-	-
M/ N1/R1	Putasne mortuus	2	601919	70	2128
M/ N1/V	Ecce in pulvere	2	601919a	82	2128
M/ N1/R2	Manus tuae Domine	3	007127	44	3068
M/ N1/V	Dum veneris	3	007127a	80	3068
M/ N1/R3	Cognoscimus Domine	4	006301	10	4086
M/ N1/V	Vita nostra in dolore	4	006301a	240	4086
M/ N2/A1	In loco pascuae	8	003250	-	8106
M/ N2/A2	Delicta juventutis	8	002146	-	8059
M/ N2/A3	Credo videre bona	4	001948	-	4127
M/ N2/W	Delicta juventutis*	-	800090	-	-
M/ N2/R1	Domine qui plasmasti	7	600627	27	7159
M/ N2/V	Domine quicquid vitiorum	7	600627a	72	7159
M/ N2/R2	Memento quae	4	601410	47	4100
M/ N2/V	Vitam et misericordiam	4	601410a	242	4100
M/ N2/R3	Quomodo confitebor	1	007504	76	1128
M/ N2/V	Licet peccavi	1	007504za	129	1128
M/ N3/A1	Domine abstraxisti	8	002325	-	8032
M/ N3/A2	Sana Domine animam	2	004696	-	2017

45 RAJECZKY, Benjamin – SZENDREI, Janka – DOBSZAY, László (eds.). *Antiphonen. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, Band V/I-III. Kassel – Basel, 1999.

46 DOBSZAY, László – SZENDREI, Janka (eds.) *Responsories*, op. cit.

	Chant	Mode	Cantus ID	Ottosen's ID	A + R
M/ N3/A3	Sitivit anima mea	8	004972	-	8062
M/ N3/W	Anima mea turbata*	-	007949	-	-
M/ N3/R1	Rogamus te Domine	1	007548	83	1127
M/ N3/V	Misericors et miserator	1	007548a	147	1127
M/ N3/R2	Deus aeternae	2	006417	18	2104
M/ N3/V	Qui in cruce positus	2	006417a	184	2104
M/ N3/R3	Loquar in amaritudine	2	604977	43	2127
M/ N3/V	Qui quasi potredo	2	604977a	186	2127
L/A1	Exsultabunt omnia ossa	4	002810.1	-	4114
L/A2	Exaudi orationem meam	8	002767.1	-	8056
L/A3	Me suscepit dextera	7	003725	-	7004
L/A4	A porta inferi	1	001191	-	1274
L/A5	Omnis spiritus Laudet	7	004154	-	7001
L/W	Audivi vocem*	-	007957	-	-
L/Ab	Absolve Domine animas	4	001211	-	4221

From the territory of Slovakia, notated Offices of the Dead survived in three other complete manuscripts, too. The above-mentioned *Bratislava Antiphonary III* documents the fundamental, ideal set of responsories according to the Esztergom rite. In the other codices, the set is either modified or follows a completely different tradition. The *Psalter of Canon Blasius*,⁴⁷ the *Prešov Psalter* (sine sign., State Scientific Library in Prešov),⁴⁸ and *Košice Psalter inv. no. F 9232* (East Slovak Museum in Košice) contain one Office of the Dead each.⁴⁹ In two cases, the chants of this feast are incomplete. While the end of the first and the beginning of the second Nocturns is missing in *Bratislava Antiphonary III*, an even larger part of the chants is missing in the *Prešov Psalter*. A non-notated Office of the Dead figures also in *Carthusian Gradual – Psalter J B 538* (Inc B 235) in the Slovak National Library in Martin (ff. 64r-67r),⁵⁰ in the *Book of Hours of Ilona Andrassy* in the Betliar Museum of the Slovak National Museum, and in some other non-notated breviaries from the regions of Spiš and Šariš, which were exported from the territory of

47 National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Clmae 128. The psalter formed part of the Library of the Bratislava Chapter. SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 212.

48 VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 149–151.

49 VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 126–128.

50 VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 154–161.

Slovakia to Hungary or Romania in the modern period.⁵¹ The texts of the Office of the Dead can be found in *Spiš Breviary R III 94*, Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, *Breviary R I 110* from Bardejov, Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, the non-notated *Spiš Breviary R II 149*, Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, *Spiš Breviary R II 125* from Levoča, Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, *Spiš Breviary 63.74.1 C* from Bardejov, Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, and *Spiš Breviary 63.84.C* from Bardejov, Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.

Table 3 Sequences of responsories in selected Hungarian manuscripts with their identification numbers in Knud Ottosen's database.

	Esztergom/ Paulinian ideal tradition Bratislava Antiphonary III		Alba Iulia /Güssing/+ Psalter from Košice		Spiš R III 94		Psalter of Canon Blasius		Carthusi- an Psalter from Martin	
M/ N1/R1	Putasne mortuus	70	Putasne mortuus	70	Redemptor meus	79	Redemptor meus	79	Credo quod	14
M/ N1/V	Ecce in pulvere		Ecce in pulvere		Lauda anima		Lauda anima		Quem visurus	
M/ N1/R2	Manus tuae Domine	44	Manus tuae Domine	44	Manus tuae Domine	44	Manus tuae Domine	44	Induta est caro	36
M/ N1/V	Dum veneris		Dum veneris		Dum veneris		Dum veneris		Dies mei velocius	
M/ N1/R3	Cognoscimus Domine	10	Si facta mea	89	Rogamus te Domine	83	Ne tradas	58	Memento mei quia ventus	46
M/ N1/V	Vita nostra		Si ascendero		Misericors et miserator		Memorare quae		Cutis mea aruit	
M/ N2/R1	Domine qui plasmasti	27	Domine qui plasmasti	27	Memento quaeso	47	Memento quaeso	47	Paucitas dierum	67
M/ N2/V	Domine quicquid vitiorum		Domine quicquid vitiorum		Vitam et misericordiam		Vitam et misericordiam		Manus tuae	
M/ N2/R2	Memento quaeso	47	Rogamus te Domine	83	Quomodo confitebor	76	Quomodo confitebor	76	Ne abscondas	51
M/ N2/V	Vitam et misericordiam		Misericors et miserator		Tibi soli		Tibi soli peccavi		Parce mihi	
M/ N2/R3	Quomodo confitebor	76	Quomodo confitebor	76	Ne tradas	58	Rogamus te Domine	83	Homo cum dormierit	33

51 On the fate of these manuscripts, see: SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a Rumunsku*, op. cit., pp. 5–6; SELECKÁ, Eva. *Stredoveká levočská knižnica [The Medieval Library of Levoča]*. Martin: Matica slovenská 1974; SELECKÁ MÁRZA, Eva. *A középkori löcsei könyvtár [The Medieval Library of Levoča]*. Szeged: Scriptorum KFT, 1997; PAPAĞAGI, Adrian – DINCĂ, Adinel-Ciprian – MÁRZA, Andrea. *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România: Censuș*. București: Polirom, 2018.

	Esztergom/ Paulinian ideal tradition Bratislava Antiphonary III		Alba Iulia /Güssing/ + Psalter from Košice		Spiš R III 94		Psalter of Canon Blasius		Carthusian Psalter from Martin	
M/ N2/V	Licet peccavi		Licet peccavi		Memorare que sit		Misericors et miserator		Cum mortuus fuerit	
M/ N3/R1	Rogamus te Domine	83	Memento quaeso	47	Absolve Domine	1	Absolve Domine	1	Nocte os meum	60
M/ N3/V	Misericors et miserator		Vitam et mi- sericordiam		Si quae illis		Si quae illis		Nunc autem	
M/ N3/R2	Deus aeterne	18	Absolve Domine	1	Deus aeterne	18	Deus aeterne	18	Versa est in luctum	95
M/ N3/V	Qui in cruce positus		Si quae illis		Qui in cruce positus		Qui in cruce positus		Cutis mea denigrata	
M/ N3/R3	Loquar in amaritudine	43	Loquar in amaritudine	43	Libera me Domine de morte	38	Libera me Domine de morte	38	Ne intres	53
M/ N3/V	Qui quasi potredo		Qui quasi potredo		Dies illa		Dies illa		Velociter exaudi me	

The *Košice Psalter* contains a modified version of the *Putasne mortuus* series, notated only partially. The set of the chants differs from their Esztergom sequence in the position of the third responsory of the first Nocturns, the third responsory of the second Nocturns, and the first and the second responsory of the third Nocturns. On the contrary, the set completely agrees with the sequence of chants in *Codex 1/34* from the Franciscan Library in Güssing, Austria (the so-called Alba Iulia series: 70–44–89, 27–83–76, 47–1–43).⁵² The manuscript from Güssing is not an Austrian medieval liturgical book, but comes from Alba Iulia, Romania, and it was presumably carried to Romania from the territory of Slovakia (probably from Levoča). Although the *Košice Psalter* contains the complete texts of the Office of the Dead, we do not know the music of these responsories from this manuscript because the staves are, unfortunately, left blank. Several scribes wrote in the manuscript additionally (various hands, various types of notation, and probably also various liturgical traditions; from among the notations, the Messine, the Bohemian, the square, and the mensural one all appear in it; it also contains the so-called *cantus fractus*). Only the opening antiphons of the Vespers of the Feast of the Dead are notated. The notation is the Bohemian cursive one (by a non-professional scribe). The codex formed part of the parish library, later the episcopal library, from where it got to the municipal archive and, in 1939, to the East Slovak Museum in Košice. According to Július Sopko, its use in Košice is evidenced by the added hymn *Gaudent caeli nova luce* for the Feast of St. Stephen I of Hungary on folio

52 OTTOSEN, Knud. *Responsories*, op. cit., p. xvi.

70v.⁵³ A few notated antiphons with Bohemian and Messine notation come from the late fifteenth century.⁵⁴

The Hungarian National Library in Budapest holds the *Psalter of Canon Blasius Cl-mae 128*, written before 1419. It was deposited in the Library of the Bratislava Chapter, to which it had been left in his testament by Canon Blasius. Its folio 150vb reads “*Hic notata est ultima voluntas domini Blasii, canonici Pisoniensis, conscripta per manum domini cutodis eiusdem ecclesie presentibus testamentariis videlicet dominis Symoni et Michaelis Choler de Tyrnavia. Item psalterium pertinet cum textu litera completo habere debet dominus prepositus Pisoniensis tali condicione tamdiu, quamdiu circa ecclesiam sancti Martini residenciam fecerit, ubi autem repeccierint plebanus seu vicegerentes ecclesie Budensis, representent seu representare habeant et teneantur glosam ordinariam super Marcum et Lucam, que manu (domino Blasii) propria existit et iste liber perpetue maneat ecclesie Pisoniensis vel istud Psalterium. Obitus ipsius domini Blasii feria vi. post festum Corporis Christi (16. 6.) anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo nono. Deus misereatur anime sue.*”⁵⁵ In the early nineteenth century, the codex was transferred to the Hungarian National Museum along with the other manuscripts of the Bratislava Chapter. Canon Blasius was presumably a brother or relative of Provost Ján from Ústí nad Labem (*Iohannes de Uski*, provost in Bratislava from 1402 to 1406?).⁵⁶ The owner and creator of the psalter must have come from Bohemia, as the Bohemian system of notation used throughout the manuscript reveals. In this psalter, the Office of the Dead follows the liturgical order of 79–44–58, 47–76–83, 1–18–38. This sequence belongs to group 79, which starts with the *Redemptor meus* responsory. This group of responsories has as many as eighty subsections (variants), whose character is determined by the second responsory of the first Nocturns.⁵⁷ The text of the opening responsory of the series is from the Book of Job 19:25–26. In the *Psalter of Canon Blasius*, the second responsory in the series is the *Manus tuae Domine* chant from Job 10:8 + 14:1a. This type of the Office of the Dead appeared in German-speaking countries, especially in Bavaria, Passau, and Salzburg (Münster: 3 codices, Naumburg: 1, Erfurt: 2, Regensburg – St. Emmeram: 1, Chiemsee: 1, Salzburg: 1, Passau: 1, Blaubeuren: 1, Heidenheim: 1). In its overall set of responsories, the psalter is closest to manuscripts from Naumburg from 1492 (today: Paris, S. 1932-15, B 1131) and from Fulda AA 71 (Hessisches Landesbiblio-

53 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*, op. cit., no. 161; RADÓ, Polycarp. *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limetropharum regionum*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973, pp. 263–264, no. 63; KARDOSOVÁ, Lýdia. *Rukopisy 14.–15. storočia a tlače 16. storočia* [Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts and Sixteenth-Century Prints]. In *Gotické umenie košických zbierok*. Košice: Východoslovenské múzeum Košice – Slovenská národná galéria, 1995, p. 191; SZENDREI, Janka. *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai* [Notated Sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages]. Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981, C 54.

54 The latest research results on the Košice Psalter were published by SZOLIVA, Gabriel. *Egy késő középkori kassai pszalteriumról* [On a Late Medieval Psalter from Košice]. In „*Mestereknek gyengyének*“. *Únnepi kötet Madras Edit hetvenedik születésnapjára*. Budapest: National Szechenyi Library – Szent István Társulat, 2020, pp. 427–441.

55 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 212.

56 HLAVÁČKOVÁ, Miriam. *Kapitula pri Dóme sv. Martina. Intelektuálne centrum Bratislavy v 15. storočí* [The Chapter at St. Martin's Cathedral. The Intellectual Centre of Bratislava in the Fifteenth Century]. Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2008, pp. 58–60.

57 OTTOSEN, Knud. *Responsories*, op. cit., pp. 192–196, 352–360.

thek, KO259). However, the sequence is the same only in the case of the first Nocturns; the other two differ from each other. The set of responsories, however, is identical to that in Codex B1131 from Naumburg from 1492. It is close also to the ideal Salzburg tradition (79–44–47, 1–58–83, 18–76–38).⁵⁸

Group 79 also includes *Spiš Breviary "H" R III 94* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 435rb-439ra),⁵⁹ which agrees with the Bratislava psalter in the sequence of the first two and the last two responsories. It documents the *Redemptor meus* 79–44–83, 47–76–58, 1–18–38 series. From among the European manuscripts, they are close to codices from Münster. This group also includes the non-notated *Breviary R I 110* from Bardejov (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 435rb-439ra),⁶⁰ where the last two responsories of the Office are, unfortunately, torn out. The Office of the Dead contains the *Redemptor meus* series with a sequence of 79–44–47, 83–76–58, 1–?–?). An extremely close sequence is documented also in two breviaries from Bardejov, *63.74.1. C* and *63.84. C*, in the Hungarian National Museum, which differ from each other only to the minimum. *Breviary R I 110* also resembles the series in *Bardejov Breviary 63.84. C*, which contains 79–44–47, 83–76–58, 18–1–38. A different sequence in the second and the third Nocturns, 79–44–47, 76–58–83, 1–18–38, figures in *Bardejov Breviary 63.74.1 C*.

An identical set of responsories can also be found in *Spiš Breviary "F" R II 125* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia) from Levoča,⁶¹ which, similarly to the previous manuscripts from Spiš and Šariš, belonged to the *Redemptor meus* 79 group with the 79–44–47, 58–83–76, 1–18–38 series. From *Bardejov Breviary 63.74.1 C*, it differs only in the sequence of the responsories of the second Nocturns.

58 DOBSZAY, László. *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae I/A Salzburg (Temporale)*, op. cit., pp. 211–212. *Psalter R I 42* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 179r-186r from 1423), which contains the 79–44–47, 1–83–18, 76–58–38 series in its main text, is also close to this series of the *Redemptor meus* group (79). The Dominican series of *Credo* (14) 14–72–24, 32–57–28, 68–46–38 is added to the lower or upper margin of the manuscript. Cf.: OTTOSEN, Knud. *Responsories*, op. cit., pp. 108–110. The manuscript contains the texts of two series of the Office of the Dead and must have been therefore used in a Dominican convent of medieval Hungary. However, since several chants are written with Messine-Gothic notation, the manuscript was certainly not produced in a Dominican convent, because square notation was prescribed for the Dominicans. It must have made its way to the Dominicans later. Cf.: PAPA HAGI, Adrian – DINCĂ, Adinel-Ciprian – MĂRZA, Andrea. *Manuscrisele mediaevale*, Psalterium cum antiphonis notatis et hymnis, op. cit., No. 31, p. 37.

59 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 411. The codex was part of the collection of the Parish Library of Levoča.

60 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 330. The codex was part of the collection of the Parish Library of Bardejov – *Ex libris Regiae Liberae Civitatis Bartpha sub N^o 80*. Cf.: *Breviarium cum calendario a. u. Eccl. Hung.* PAPA HAGI, Adrian – DINCĂ, Adinel-Ciprian – MĂRZA, Andrea. *Manuscrisele medievale*, Psalterium cum antiphonis notatis et hymnis, op. cit., No. 91, p. 55.

61 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 398. PAPA HAGI, Adrian – DINCĂ, Adinel-Ciprian – MĂRZA, Andrea. *Manuscrisele mediaevale*, Psalterium cum antiphonis notatis et hymnis, op. cit., No. 211, p. 91.

Table 4a Sequences of responsories in selected manuscripts from Spiš and Šariš with their identification numbers in Knud Ottosen's database.

	Spiš/ideal tradition	Spiš R II 125	Spiš R III 94	Bardejov R I 110	Bardejov 63.74.1 C	Bardejov 63/84 C	Spiš (?) R II 149	
M/ N1/R1	Redemptor meus	79	70	Redemptor meus	79	Redemptor meus	Redemptor meus	79
M/ N1/R2	Manus tuae	44	44	Manus tuae	44	Manus tuae	Manus tuae	44
M/ N1/R3	Memento quaeso	47	47	Memento quaeso	47	Memento quaeso	Memento quaeso	47
M/ N2/R1	?	?	58	Rogamus te Domine	83	Rogamus te Domine	Absolve Domine	1
M/ N2/R2	?	?	83	Quomodo confitebor	76	Quomodo confitebor	Rogamus te Domine	83
M/ N2/R3	?	?	76	Ne tradas	58	Ne tradas	Deus aeterne	18
M/ N3/R1	Absolve Domine	1	1	Absolve Domine	1	Deus aeterne	Quomodo confitebor	76
M/ N3/R2	Deus aeterne	18	18	Deus aeterne	?	Absolve Domine	Ne tradas	58
M/ N3/R3	Libera me... de morte	38	38	Libera me... de morte	?	Libera me... de morte	Libera me... de morte	38

Table 4b Knud Ottosen, *Responsories*, pp. 193–194.

Passau	1496	PAS1496A	79	44	47	1	58	83	18	76	38
Salzburg	1497	GEN828A	79	44	47	1	58	83	18	76	38
Münster	1490–1495	CPHV906A	79	44	83	47	1	18	58	10	38
Münster	1497	BN6289A	79	44	83	47	1	18	58	10	38
Münster	1537	MUNST(1)A	79	44	83	47	1	18	58	10	38

The Prešov *Psalter* (sine sign.) in the State Scientific Library cannot be definitively assigned to any liturgical group. Seventy folios of the codex survived to this day. The manuscript comes from the latter half of the fourteenth century (1350–1375; an additionally written dating figures on folio 65r: m°ccc°lxxxviii°).⁶² The codex uses the Messine-Gothic notation. Part of the psalter is damaged due to frequent use. The final part of the Matins of the Office of the Dead is written on folios 68r-70r. Part of the second (R. *Heu michi* /32/ and R. *Peccantem me cotidie* /68/) and third Nocturns (R. *Absolute domine* /1/, R. *Libera me domine de viis* /40/, R. *Libera me domine de morte* /38/) survived in the manuscript. The origin of the manuscript is unknown. The sequence of the last five responsories of the second and third Nocturns does not enable us to assign them to a specific liturgical tradition, but the *Heu mihi* and *Peccantem me* responsories appear in the second Nocturns in Polish (Kraków, Wrocław, Gniezno, Płock), Moravian (Olomouc), Esztergom, Paulinian, and Zagreb manuscripts.⁶³ The same applies for the responsories *Libera me...de viis* and *Libera me...de morte* at the end of the third Nocturns. The *Prešov Psalter* presumably used the *Credo quod* (14) series. A similar sequence of responsories appears in German regions (Seebach: 14–72–24, 57–32–68, 18–40–38).⁶⁴

Table 5 Knud Ottosen, *Responsories*, p. 127.

KRAKÓW	1400–1500	VAT4751	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
ESZTERGOM	1400–1500	BN8879B	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
ZAGREB	1484	VAT16B	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
PŁOCK	1498	S.1932–4	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
OLOMOUC	1499	BL1487B	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
WROCLAW	1521	BLSN(4)	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
ESZTERGOM	1524	MIL1633B	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
GNIEZNO	1540	VAT472	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38
PAULINIANS	1540	MIL1856B	14	72	24	32	57	68	79	40	38

62 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy v slovenských knižniciach*, op. cit., no. 196.

63 The latest description of this series of the Office of the Dead was published by Gabriel Szoliva. SZOLIVA, Gabriel. *Hymnualet ecclesiae Zagradiensis*. Ed. *Resonemus pariter* 2. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute for Musicology Department of Early Music, 2019, pp. 76–78. In *Hymnary MR 21* in the Metropolitan Archbishopial Library in Zagreb, the Office of the Dead figures at the very beginning, on folios 1r-8v.

64 OTTOSEN, Knud. *Responsories*, op. cit., p. 142. The first responsory of the third Nocturns, *Deus aeternae* (18), is different.

The *Credo quod* (14) group also includes the non-notated *Spiš Breviary R II 149* (Bathyanum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 45r-48rb),⁶⁵ which contains the Premonstratensian series of 14-72-24, 57-32-40, 68-18-38. This codex from Spiš can be definitively assigned to one of the Eastern Slovak Premonstratensian convents (Leles, Jasov).

Table 6 Knud Ottosen, *Responsories*, pp. 141-142.

Premonstratensians	1100-1200	MUN17010	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1170-1200	VERD125	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Hildesheim	1200-1300	BERL319B	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1200-1300	ASS599	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1200-1300	BL27407	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1200-1300	OXF402	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1280-1330	CHARL42	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1300-1400	ROME462	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1300-1450	MUN17004	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1400-1430	NUE4984	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1400-1450	SCHL258	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1400-1500	BN10496	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1400-1500	EDINB48S	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1505	BN27979	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1506	B1155	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1547	BN27979	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38
Premonstratensians	1200-1300	COLM434	14	72	24	57	32	40	68	18	38

Non-notated responsories of the Carthusian liturgical tradition survived in *Carthusian Gradual – Psalter J B 538* (Inc B 235) in the Slovak National Library in Martin. This manuscript comes from the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and was transferred to Martin from the Seminary Library in Spišská Kapitula. It originally belonged to the Carthusians of Skala útočiska, the present-day Kláštorisko, in Slovak Paradise. A note about its owner figures on its rear pastedown: *Sion Lapis Refugii omnis tempore*.⁶⁶ The manuscript is a product of several scribes of various quality. The first part of the codex is a psalter, which contains an Office of the Dead, too. Responsories of the 14-36-46, 67-51-33, 60-95-53 series are written on its folios 63v to 67r. The texts of the Office of the Dead were written by at least two hands (Humanistic rotunda on 64r, gothica textualis on 63v, 64v-67r). It follows the Carthusian liturgy, uniformly used in Carthusian monasteries throughout Europe.⁶⁷

65 SOPKO, Július. *Stredoveké latinské kódexy slovenskej proveniencie v Maďarsku a v Rumunsku*, op. cit., no. 401.

66 VESELOVSKÁ, Eva – ADAMKO, Rastislav – BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, Janka. *Stredoveké pramene cirkevnej hudby na Slovensku*, op. cit., pp. 154-161.

67 Ottosen lists nineteen Carthusian manuscripts with an identical sequence. OTTOSEN, Knud. *Responsories*, op. cit., pp. 101-102, 221-223.

A non-notated series of the Office of the Dead according to Roman liturgy can be found in *The Book of Hours of Ilona Andrassy* in the Library of the Betliar Mansion.⁶⁸ The manuscript is of a miniature, “pocket” size, and exemplifies personal, individual devotion. It contains the liturgical texts of the major feasts of the ecclesiastical year from Pentecost onwards. Marian prayers, an Office of the Dead (184v-185r), and a calendar at its beginning form an integral part of it. The *Book of Hours of Ilona Andrassy* from Betliar documents Roman liturgy. Its author was an unknown Flemish illuminator from the circle of the workshop of Willem Vrelant.

Conclusion

From the territory of Slovakia, notated Offices of the Dead survived in four complete manuscripts. *Bratislava Antiphonary III EC Lad. 6* in the State Archives in Bratislava documents the fundamental, ideal set of responsories according to the Esztergom rite (series: *Putasne mortuus* 70-44-10, 27-47-76, 83-18-43). In the other codices, the fundamental series is either modified (Esztergom liturgy: *Putasne mortuus* series) or follows a different liturgical tradition (Spiš: *Redemptor meus* series in *Spiš Breviary “H” R III 94* 79-44-83, 47-76-58, 1-18-38).

Besides these two fundamental liturgical traditions, the Esztergom and the Spiš one, other liturgical traditions are also documented but, unfortunately, without notation (Carthusian: *Carthusian Gradual – Psalter J 538 Inc B 235* in the Slovak National Library in Martin, *Credo quod* 14-36-46, 67-51-33, 60-95-53 series, Premonstratensian: *Spiš Breviary R II 149*, Baththyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, *Credo quod* 14-72-24, 57-32-40, 68-18-38 series).

The *Psalter of Canon Blasius Clmae 128* (National Széchényi Library in Budapest; *Redemptor meus* 79-44-58, 47-76-83, 1-18-38 series), the *Prešov Psalter* (sine sign., State Scientific Library in Prešov, probably the *Credo quod* ?-?-?, ?-32-68, 1-40-38 series), and *Košice Psalter inv. no. F 9232* (East Slovak Museum in Košice, *Putasne mortuus* 70-44-89, 27-83-76, 47-1-43 series) also contain a notated Office of the Dead each.

In two cases, the chants of this feast are incomplete. The end of the first and the beginning of the second Nocturns is missing in *Bratislava Antiphonary III*, and the initial part of the chants is missing in the *Prešov Psalter*.

Košice Psalter inv. no. F 9232, whose liturgy is arranged in the same way as *Manuscript 1/34* in the Franciscan Library in Güssing, Austria (*Putasne mortuus* series), is the closest to *Bratislava Antiphonary III*, which represents the Esztergom liturgical and musical tradition. The chants are identical only in the case of the first two responsories of the opening Nocturns. The set and sequence of the other responsories follow their own, local subgroup. Therefore, it is not an identical series.

68 BURAN, Dušan (ed.). *Kniha flámskej gotickej miniatúry. Kniha hodínok Ilony Andrassyovej* [A Book of Flemish Gothic Miniature. The Book of Hours of Ilona Andrassy]. Bratislava – Betliar: OZ Andoras, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum Betliar, Slovenská národná galéria, 2019.

In the *Psalter of Canon Blasius*, the Office of the Dead follows the liturgical order of the *Redemptor meus* 79–44–58, 47–76–83, 1–18–38 series. Responsory series with *Redemptor meus* as the opening chant have as many as eighty subgroups (sections), and their character is determined by the second responsory of the first Nocturns. In the *Psalter of Canon Blasius*, the second responsory is *Manus tuae Domine*. This type of the Office of the Dead appeared in German-speaking countries. The set of responsories (not their sequence, though) is identical to *Codex B1131* from Naumburg from 1492. The notator of this codex must have come from Bohemia, as its Bohemian system of notation reveals.

The *Redemptor meus* series is used mainly in breviaries from Spiš and Šariš, currently deposited in Hungary and Romania. Group 79 also includes *Spiš Breviary “H” R III 94* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 435rb-439ra), which agrees with the Bratislava psalter in the sequence of the first two and the last two responsories. It documents the *Redemptor meus* 79–44–83, 47–76–58, 1–18–38 series. From among the European manuscripts, they are close to codices from Münster. This group also includes the non-notated *Breviary R I 110* from Bardejov (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 435rb-439ra), where the last two responsories of the Office are, unfortunately, torn out. The Office of the Dead contains the *Redemptor meus* series with the sequence of 79–44–47, 83–76–58, 1–?–?). An extremely close sequence is documented also in two breviaries from Bardejov, 63.74.1. C and 63.84. C, in the Hungarian National Museum, which differ from each other only to the minimum. *Breviary R I 110* also resembles the series of *Bardejov Breviary 63.84. C*, which contains 79–44–47, 83–76–58, 18–1–38. A different sequence in the second and the third Nocturns, 79–44–47, 76–58–83, 1–18–38, figures in *Bardejov Breviary 63.74.1 C*.

An identical set of responsories can also be found in *Spiš Breviary “F” R II 125* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia) from Levoča, which, similarly to the previous manuscripts from Spiš and Šariš, belonged to the *Redemptor meus* 79 group with the 79–44–47, 58–83–76, 1–18–38 series. From *Bardejov Breviary 63.74.1 C*, it differs only in the sequence of the responsories of the second Nocturns.

The *Credo quod* (14) group also includes the non-notated *Spiš Breviary R II 149* (Batthyaneum Library, Alba Iulia, ff. 45r-48rb), which contains the Premonstratensian 14–72–24, 57–32–40, 68–18–38 series. This codex from Spiš can be definitively assigned to one of the Eastern Slovak Premonstratensian convents (Leles, Jasov).

A non-notated Office of the Dead figures also in *Carthusian Gradual – Psalter J B 538* (Inc B 235) in the Slovak National Library in Martin. Responsories of the *Credo quod* 14–36–46, 67–51–33, 60–95–53 series are written on its folios 63v to 67r. It follows the Carthusian liturgy, uniformly used in Carthusian monasteries throughout Europe.⁶⁹

69 This study forms part of the APVV-19-0131 *Ars moriendi. Fenomén smrti v stredovekom Uhorsku* [*Ars Moriendi. The Phenomenon of the Death in Medieval Hungary*] project (Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences). Translated by Mgr. Monika Dorna, PhD.

Table 7 Knud Ottosen's numbering of the responsories (in alphabetical order).⁷⁰

no responsory	0	Libera me domine de viis	40	Relaxentur vincula	81
Absolve domine	1	Libera me domine deus in die	42	Requiem aeternam	82
Accepimus bona	2	Loquar in amaritudine	43	Rogamus te	83
Adesto dolori	3	Manus tuae domine	44	Scio domine	84
Anime eorum	4	Memento mei deus quia	46	Scio enim	85
Animas quas redemisti	5	Memento quaeso domine	47	Septuagies septies	86
Antequam commedam	6	Misericordissime deus	49	Si bona suscepimus	87
Antequam nascerer	7	Mundi redemptor	50	Si facta mea recogitare	88
Beati mortui	8	Ne abscondas me	51	Si facta mea recompensare	89
Caligaverunt oculi	9	Ne derelinquas me	52	Subvenite	90
Cognoscimus domine	10	Ne intres	53	Suscipe domine animam	91
Commissa mea	11	Ne perdas me	55	Te quem venisse	92
Congregati sunt	12	Ne perdidisti me	56	Tuam deus piissime	93
Credo quod	14	Ne recorderis	57	Velociter exaudi me	94
Credo quod...et renovabitur	15	Ne tradas domine	58	Versa est in luctum	95
Da veniam domine	16	Nocte os meum	60	Abscondi tamquam	101
Deus aeternae	18	Non intres	61	Ad te domine levavi	102
Deus in te speravi	19	Non timebis anima	62	Audiam domine	103
Domine deus qui intueris	21	Nonne cognoscit	63	Cogitavi dies	104
Domine cum/dum veneris	22	Numquid dominus	64	Cum ceciderit	105
Domine Jesu Christe suscipe	23	O pie deus	65	Devastavit vineam	106
Domine quando veneris	24	Oculi mei	66	Ego dixi	107
Domine qui creasti	25	Paucitas dierum	67	Exaudi deus deprecationem	108
Domine qui plasmasti	27	Peccante me	68	Peccata mea	109
Domine secundum actum	28	Peccavi super numerum	69	Misericordia tua domine	110
Ego sum resurrectio	29	Putasne mortuus	70	Deus in cujus	111
Exaudi nos domine	30	Qui consolabatur me	71	Eripi domine animas	112
Heu me domine	31	Qui Lazarum	72	In paradisum	113
Heu mihi	32	Qui solus in mortuis	73	A facie fuoris	115
Homo cum dormierit	33	Qui suscitasti Lazarum	74	Auditu auris	116
In manus tuas	34	Quis mihi hoc tribuat	75	Confitebor tibi	118
Inclinans	35	Quomodo confitebor	76	Domine exaudi	119
Induta est caro	36	Recordare domine	77	Fluctus tui	120
Libera domine animas eorum	37	Redemptor meus	79	Desiderium meum omnipotens	126
Libera me domine de morte	38	Relaxentur ante te	80	Absolve domine...ut in resurr.	138

70 https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/ [accessed on 27/10/2021]

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