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**THE MOST SIGNIFICANT MUSICAL SOURCE
OF THE PREMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEY IN JASOV:
AN ADIASTEMATIC FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN BREVIARY,
SHELFMARK KF OF INC 164¹**

Abstract

Slovak medieval musicology saw its remarkable revival at the beginning of the third millennium. It could draw on the fundamental research on medieval Latin sources carried out by the codicologist Július Sopko in the 1980s and on the specialized articles of the musicologists Konštantín Hudec, Richard Rybářič, Ľubomír Vajdička, and Zuzana Czagányová. Systematic in-depth research on medieval notated sources held by Slovak archives, museums, and libraries was started by the musicologist Eva Veselovská of the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava in collaboration with Rastislav Adamko and the author of this study, both lecturers at the Department of Music of the Faculty of Education of the Catholic University in Ružomberok. Thanks to the twenty-year-long research – tracking down, digitalizing, studying the sources, and making them accessible – a number of monographs, catalogues, scholarly studies, and specialized articles have been published on this topic. In this study, we will zoom in on a recently discovered fragment with staveless notation, deposited in the archive of the Premonstratensian Abbey in Jasov in eastern Slovakia. The original manuscript was used in a diocesan environment. The textual and neumatic analysis and comparison of the chants of the Jasov fragment and the comparative sources has revealed a high percentage of their reciprocal similarity and we may consequently presume that the original

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breviary from which the respective bifolio was removed originated in a South German region and was probably later imported to the territory of Slovakia.

Keywords: Premonstratensian Abbey; Jasov; Breviary; Musical Source; Slovakia

The earliest notated sources extant in the territory of present-day Slovakia consist of twenty-four fragments with adiastematic, i.e. staveless notation. All were removed from unknown manuscripts dating back to a period ranging from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries and survived thanks to their use as reinforcement of the bindings of younger, printed books. Some of them (the Levoča, the Košice, the Bardejov, and both the Dolný Kubín fragments) fulfil this role to this day. The size of the fragments varies from complete folios, or even bifolios, to small fragments reinforcing the corners of younger bindings. Some of them were cut into narrow strips for unknown reasons. Most of the fragments are held by archives, museums, or libraries in various towns. They are mostly deposited in state archives and their branches (Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Košice), in the Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin, and in ecclesiastical institutions (Lutheran lyceum libraries in Kežmarok and Levoča). They come mainly from breviaries, graduals, and missals, and the fewest of them from antiphonaries, as can be seen in the table below. A half of all the adiastematic sources is deposited in Bratislava.²

The notation of all the adiastematic fragments deposited in Slovakia exhibits elements of the German staveless system, therefore the original manuscripts presumably come from the territory of present-day Germany, Switzerland, or Austria.

We are delighted that this latest find can now also be added to the fragments listed in the table above, which makes the total number of musical sources with the earliest neumatic notation twenty-five.

² Specialist literature regarding the pieces of research on individual fragments, their analyses, and publications is listed at the end of this study.

Table 1. Overview of the Known Fragments with Adiastematic Notation in Slovakia

Place of deposition	Type of fragment				Number of fragments
	Antiphonaries	Breviaries	Graduals	Missals	
Bratislava State Archives	0	1 (2)	2 (3)*	0	3 (5)
Bratislava Slovak National Archive	0	2 (4)	2 (3)	1	5 (8)
Bratislava – Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences	0	0	0	2 (3)*	2 (3)
Bratislava – Music Museum, Slovak National Museum	0	2*	0	0	2 (3)
Bratislava State Archives, Modra Branch	0	1*	0	0	1 (2)
Banská Bystrica State Archives, Kremnica Branch	0	1*	0	0	1 (2)
Martin – Literary Archive, Slovak National Library	1	2 (3)	1	0	4 (5)
Dolný Kubín – Čaplovič Library, Orava Museum	0	0	1	1	2
Levoča – Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession	0	0	0	1	1
Kežmarok – Library of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession	0	1	0	0	1
Bardejov State Archives	0	1	0	0	1
Košice Košice City Archives	0	1	0	0	1
Total	1	12 (19)	6 (8)	5 (6)	24 (34)

* denotes a bifolio (2 ff. in total)

the actual number of fragments (fractions) forming one unit is stated in brackets ()

The Jasov Fragment

This horizontally cut bifolio with adiastematic notation of German origin can be found in the Archive of the Jasov Abbey of the Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré³ and is deposited in an envelope marked KF (denoting codex fragments) Inc. 164. Just like other, younger fragments, it was part of the professionally restored incunabula of Jasov. The bifolio comes from a breviary of unknown origin of the early thirteenth century. It contains a rare Office of Saint Lawrence, the only one in our territory, and an Office of the Invention of the Relics of Saint Stephen.

The technical parameters of the parchment bifolio are 317 x 443 mm. It contains a complete text area of 241 x 168 mm, and the width of its right column is 78 mm. The contents are written into two columns on fine lines of brown colour: ff. 1r and 1v contain an incomplete first, a complete second, and an incomplete third nocturn of the Feast of *Inventio S. Stephani*; ff. 2r and 2v contain one responsory of the second nocturn and a complete third nocturn with Lauds of the Feast of *In S. Laurentii*. Along with the chants, this precious notated source also brings the respective texts of the readings. The prevailing ink is of black colour, while the respective rubrics and the specifications of the chants are indicated in red. The initials, of the Roman type, are also red and finely ornamented. Majuscles of red colour alternate with black ones with tiny red filling. The script represents advanced early Gothic minuscule⁴ with a traditional distinguishing in size: the texts of the readings are larger than the texts of the chants. The blank space between the syllables of the chants is filled in with straight red lines.

The analysis and comparison of the extant chants of the adiastematic source of Jasov stemmed from their confrontation with the earliest surviving texts recorded in *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii III, IV*⁵ and with the available breviaries of a similar neume type, which served for musical comparison, too. The latter consisted of two German manuscripts of the twelfth century: *Breviarium Franconicum* (Cologne)⁶ and *Breviarium Ms. Laud Miscelanea 284* (probably from Würzburg)⁷ which follows a diocesan structure (*cursus romanus*). A fragment of a thirteenth-century

³ For their utmost efforts to help us study the fragments, we owe thanks to the abbot of the Jasov Abbey, Prelate Prof. PaedDr. ThDr. Ambróz Martin Štrbák, PhD, OPraem, and to the employees of the archive, Mgr. Mária Baranová and Mgr. Veronika Timuľáková of the Department of Processing of the Collection of Historical Books.

⁴ Cf. J. Šedivý, *Písmo na pergamene napísaných, celistvo alebo fragmentárne zachovaných textov v Archíve literatúry a umenia SNK*, in: *Knižnica*, 2010, vol. 2–3, pp. 39–52; J. Šedivý, *Gotische Minuskel in Handschriften aus dem Königreich Ungarn*, in: Nemerényi E. (ed.), *Magistrae discipuli: tanulmányok Madas Edit tiszteletére*, Budapest 2009, pp. 279–289.

⁵ R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, vol. III, *Invitatoria et antiphonae*, Roma 1968; vol. IV, *Responsoria, versus, hymni et varia*, Roma 1970.

⁶ *Breviarium Franconicum*, Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 215, 12th cent. *Inventio corporis protomartyri Stephani*: ff. 120v–123r, *S. Laurentius*: ff. 123r–124v. Available online 25.3.2023: <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/zoom/185202>.

⁷ *MS. Laud Misc. 284*, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. An antiphonal-responsorial (part A) combined with a Lectionary and Capitulary (part B) over time, and with later additions (part C) to form a breviary. Date: 1190–1400, prov. Germany, Würzburg (?). *Inventio S. Stephani*: ff. 70r–71v; *S. Laurentius*: ff. 73v–74v. Available online 10.3.2023: <https://iiif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iiif/view->

breviary deposited under shelfmark F–e57b in the Weberbach State Library in Trier,⁸ which contains both these feasts, was also used for comparison. Two further breviaries with staveless notation, also consulted for comparison, follow the *cursus monasticus*: these are the Austrian manuscript *Breviarium Linz*⁹ and an interesting Benedictine manuscript from the first third of the thirteenth century, *Breviarium antiquissimum* from Engelberg in Switzerland.¹⁰ The latter is remarkable for the fact that, for the chants, the outer margins of the folios contain their particular *differentiae* (various endings of the psalm tones) and also the given Gregorian mode. This breviary contains both the above feasts but, unfortunately, just like the breviary from Linz, only the incipit in the case of *Inventio S. Stephani*.

***Inventio S. Stephani* – The Invention of the Relics of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr**

The ancient feast of the Invention of the Relics of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr is tied to the date of 3 August 415. The priest Luciano of Caphar Gamala near Jerusalem, to whom Gamaliel, the teacher of Saint Paul the Apostle, showed in visions the place where the relics of Saint Stephen could be found, figures in the office forms in the context of this event. Descriptions of these visions survived in several letters, including the writings of Saint Augustine. As they reveal, it was Gamaliel who took care of the decent burial of Saint Stephen. The above events are also incorporated into the contents of the antiphons and responsories of the respective liturgy of the hour. The liturgical reforms of the 1960s abolished this feast for being sort of a duplicate devotion (the same Saint Stephen has his feast in the liturgical calendar on 26 December), but it was soon returned to the contemporary liturgical calendar by practically the same liturgists (in 1960).¹¹

er/?iif-content=https://iif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iif/canvas/b7b68301-3363-4aa5-849c-3ec4d0092884.json#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=144&r=0&xywh=-5185%2C-542%2C15781%2C7532.

⁸ Four incomplete folios and three incomplete bifolios are deposited under shelfmark F–e57v. They date to the years 1201–1300, and their dimensions are CE 277 x 190 mm. Place of deposition: Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach Trier, Fragmentenbox 12b, Fragment 01-22, N° 22b. *Inventio S. Stephani*: f. 5r–v; *S. Laurentius*: f. 7v. Available online 16.4.2023: <https://fragmentarium.ms/overview/F-e57b>.

⁹ *Breviarium Linz*. Linz, AT–OOeLB, Hs.–290. *Breviarium*, 1439, 1310. *S. Laurentius*: ff. 337r–339r. Available online 15.3.2023: <https://digi.landesbibliothek.at/viewer/image/290/677/>. Unfortunately, this manuscript does not contain the feast of *Inventio S. Stephani*.

¹⁰ *Breviarium Antiquissimum* (Major sections: *Lectionary*, *Litany*, *Neumed Antiphoner*, *Partial Hymnary*, *Calendar of Saints*, *Capitulary*, *Collectar*), Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 103, 13th cent., 200 ff. *Inventio S. Stephani*: f. 140v–141r, the incipit form contains the neumes, too. *S. Laurentius*: ff. 141r–142r. Available online 27.3.2023: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/it/bke/0103/141r/0/>.

¹¹ Near the relics of Saint Stephen, those of Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Abibon were also found. Cf. <https://modlitba.sk/?p=14051>; <https://www.ecclesiadei.it/linvenzione-delle-reliquie-di-santo-stefano/>.

Textual Analysis

f. 1ra

R. [Vade Luciane et dic joanni episcopo ie]rosolimitano usquequo clausi sumus usquequo non aperis nobis tuis etenim temporibus revelandi sumus (ID 007815, DFSL)

V. Aperi nobis locum sepulchri¹ ut per nos ostium misericordie sue humano generi aperiat deus Tuis et[enim] (ID 007815a)

1 – DFSL: *velocius*

A. Vir dei gamaliel ait luciano non mei solummodo causa sollicitus sum sed potius pro illis qui mecum sunt (ID 005430, FSL) Ps. Verba

A. Isti etenim maximo digni sunt honore venerari in terris quos in celo rex regum immensa cumulavit gloria (ID 003436, FSL) Ps. Domine deus noster

A. Cum ergo sint aput deum meritis excelsi apud homines loco tenentur humili (ID 001997, FSL) Ps. Domine quis habitabit

lectio Respondit mihi Ego sum Gamaliel, qui Paulum apostolum Christi nutriv, et Legem docui in Jerusalem. Et qui mecum est in orientali parte monumenti jacens, ipse est dominus meus Stephanus, qui lapidatus est a Judaeis et principibus sacerdotum in Jerusalem pro Christi fide foris portam quae est ad aquilonem, quae ducit ad Cedar: ubi die ac nocte jacuit projectus, ut sepulturae non daretur, secundum mandatum impiorum principum, ut a feris consumeretur corpus ejus. Ex Dei autem voluntate non tetigit eum unum ex his, non fera, non avis, non canis¹²

R. Lucianus presbiter dixit domine tu quis es aut qui sunt tecum at ille ego sum Gamaliel Pauli quondam doctor apostoli qui autem iuxta me quiescit ipse

f. 1rb

est dominus Stephanus (ID 007107, DFSL)

V. Qui a iudeis hierosolimis lapidatus ad lacerandum bestiis et avibus expositus¹ per dei providentia² permansit intactus Ipse est dominus³ (ID 007107a)

1 – DFL: *est positus*

2 – DFL: *providentiam*

3 – SL: *Qui autem*

Ego gamalihel compatiens christi ministro, et festinans habere mercedem et partem cum sancto viro in fide, misi per noctem quantos noveram religiosos, et in christo jesu credentes, habitantes in jerusalem in medio judaeorum, et hortatus sum eos, et necessaria substantiae ministravi, ac persuasi illis ire occulte, ut portarent corpus ejus meo vehiculo in villam meam, hoc est in caphargamala (quod interpretatur villa gamalielis), viginti millia a civitate habens, et ibi feci illi planctum fieri diebus quadraginta et praecepi cum in meo monumento poni in orientali theca, et praecepi eis quaecumque necessaria erant pro ejus planctu de meo dari.¹³

R. Cum scirem ego gamaliel sanctitatem christi athlete [stephani et fidem eius ac devotionem] credens me in resurrectione partem [habitu]rum cum eo feci eum [sepeli]ri¹ in monumento meo novo (ID 006373, DFSL)

¹² Cf. Lucianus presbyter, *Epistola ad omnem Ecclesiam*, sec. V., *Admonitio in subsequentem epistolam*. Available online 7.1.2023: https://la.m.wikisource.org/wiki/Epistola_ad_omnem_ecclesiam.

¹³ Ibidem.

V. Auditor domini nichodemus ibidem sepultus est abibas filius meus mecum est repositus ubi iacet² beatus stephanus (ID 006373a)

1 – DFL: *sepelire*

2 – DF: *requiescit*, L: *requiescet*

Ipse etiam dominus nichodemus

f. 1va

in alia theca positus est, qui venit ad Salvatorem Jesum nocte, et evangelizatus est ab eo, audiens: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum coelorum (Joan. III, 5). Et exiens baptizatus est a Christi discipulis. Et cognoscentes Judaei amoverunt eum a principatu suo, et anathematizaverunt eum, et de civitate exsiliaverunt. Et hunc ego Gamaliel quasi persecutionem pro Christo passum, sustuli eum in meum agrum, et alui et vestivi eum usque ad finem vitae ejus, et defunctum honorifice sepelivi juxta domnum Stephanum.¹⁴

R. Sacerdos dei lucianus prostravit se in oratione laudans deum et dicens domine ihesu christe si est hec visio ex te presta ut iterum et¹ tercio manifestetur michi (ID 007555, DFSL)

[V. Ut] confisus fiducialiter annuntiet² revelationem sanctarum reliquiarum³ Presta (ID 007555a)

1 – DFSL: *ac tertio*

2 – DFSL: *annuntiem*

3 – DFSL: *servorum tuorum*

A. In ieiuniis et orationibus constituto apparuit iterum sanctus gamaliel luciano presbitero [dicens quare dissimulasti frater et non retulisti] que dicta sunt tibi johanni episcopo (ID 003248, DFSL) Ps. Euouae

A. Nonne vides quanta sit siccitas [et] tribulatio in toto mundo et tu [negli]genter agis (ID 003951, FSL) Ps. Domini est terra

A. Surge ergo et vade et¹ dic iohanni episcopo ut aperiat [nobis] et faciat locum orationis ut per nostram intercessionem misereatur dominus popu

f. 1vb

lo suo Ps. Beati quoniam (ID 005071, DFSL)

1 – DFSL: *et is absent*

Matheum (Mt 23,24) In illo tempore dicebat ihesus turbis iudeorum et principibus sacerdotum: Ecce ego mitto ad vos prophetas et sapientes et scribas ex illis occidetis et crucifigetis et ex eis flagellabitis in synagogis vestris Et R lectio Om[ilia] b[eat]i Iheronimi p[...]

Ecce ego mitto ad vos prophetas, et sapientes, et scribas, et ex illis occidetis, et crucifigetis, et ex eis flagellabitis in synagogis vestris, et persequemini de civitate in civitatem. Hoc quod antea dixeramus, Implete mensuram patrum vestrorum, ad personam Domini pertinere, eo quod occidendus esset ab eis, potest et ad discipulos eius referri, de quibus nunc dicit: Ecce ego mitto ad vos prophetas, et sapientes, et scribas, et ex illis occidetis, et crucifigetis, et flagellabitis in synagogis vestris, et persequemini de civitate in civitatem, ut impleatis mensuram patrum vestrorum.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

Simulque observa iuxta Apostolum scribentem ad Corinthios, varia esse dona discipulorum Christi; alios prophetas, qui ventura praedicant; alios sapientes, qui noverint quando debeant proferre sermonem; alios scribas in Lege doctissimos, ex quibus lapidatus est Stephanus, Paulus occisus, crucifixus Petrus, flagellati in Actibus apostolorum discipuli: et persecuti eos sunt de civitate in civitatem; expellentes de Iudaea, ut ad gentium populum transmigrarent.¹⁵

R. Sanctus gamaliel in visu dixit luciano diligenter animadver[te] (ID 007612, DFSL)

Table 2. Order of the Chants for the Feast of *Inventio S. Stephani*

Frag. Jasov, Inc 164, f. 1r–v	<i>Breviarium franconicum</i> ff. 121r–122r	MS. Laud Misc. 284, f. 70r–74v	Frag. Trier, F–e57b, f. 5r–v	<i>Breviarium Linz</i> ff. 336r–337r	<i>Breviarium antiquissimum</i> ff. 140v–141r
In I nocturno					
	R. Beatus gamaliel R. Igitur discumulata	R. Beatus gamaliel R. Igitur discumulata		R. Stephanus autem* R. Videbant omnes* R. Intuens in celum*	R. Stephanus autem* R. Videbant omnes* R. Intuens in celum*
R. Vade Luciane et dic V. Aperi nobis locum	R. Sacerdos dei Lucianus V. Ut confessus	R. Vade Luciane et dic V. Aperi nobis locum	R. Vade Luciane et dic V. Aperi nobis locum	R. Gloria et honor	R. Gloria et honor*
A. Vir dei gamaliel ait Ps. Verba	A. Luciano venerabili Ps. Beatus	A. Vir dei gamaliel ait Ps. Verba mea	A. Vir dei gamaliel ait Ps. Verba	A. Beatus Stephanus jugi A. Constitutus	A. In lege Ps. Cum
A. Isti etenim maximo Ps. Domine dom. nost.	A. Dum adhuc pene Ps. Quare fremuerunt	A. Isti etenim maximo Ps. Domine dom. nost.	A. Isti etenim maximo Ps. Domine dom. nost.	A. In tribulatione A. Lumine vultus tui	
A. Cum ergo sint aput Ps. Domine quis habit.	A. Vidit igitur assistere Ps. Dom. quid multipl.	A. Cum ergo sint aput Ps. Domine quis habit.	A. Cum ergo sint aput Ps. Domine quis habit.	A. Benedictio- nis tue A. O quam admirabile	

¹⁵ Cf. Hieronymus, *Monumenta*, caput XXIII, para. 33–34. Available online 7.1.2023: http://www.monumenta.ch/latein/text.php?table=Hieronymus&rumpfid=Hieronymus,%20Commentarii,%20in%20Matthaeum,%204,%20%20%202023&level=5&domain=&lang=1&id=&hilite_id=&links=&inframe=1&hide_apparatus=1.

In II nocturno					
R. Lucianus presbiter V. Qui a iudeis hieros.	R. Vade Luciane V. Aperi nobis velocius	R. Lucianus presbiter V. Qui a iudeis hieros.	R. Lucianus presbiter V. Qui a iudeis hieros.	R. Exclamantes*	R. Exclamantes*
R. Cum scirem ego V. Auditor domini	R. Lucianus prespiter V. Qui a iudeis iherosolimis	R. Cum scirem ego V. Auditor domini	R. Cum scirem ego V. Auditor domini	R. Impetum fecit*	R. Impetum fecit*
R. Sacerdos dei lucianus V. Ut confisus fiducial.	R. Sanctus gamaliel V. Unus ex tribus	R. Sacerdos dei lucianus V. Ut confisus fiduc.	R. Sacerdos dei lucianus V. Ut confisus fiducial.	R. Lapidabant* R. Lapidés torrentis*	R. Lapidés torrentes* R. Posuisti domine
A. In ieiuniis et oration. <i>Ps. Euouae</i>	A. Vir dei gamaliel <i>Ps. Cum invoc.</i>	A. In ieiuniis et oration. <i>Ps. Conferma</i>		A. In domino deo suo A. Sine macula	A. Justus Dominus <i>Ps. Cum invoc.</i>
A. Nonne vides quanta Ps. Domini est terra	A. Isti etenim maximo <i>Ps. Verba mea</i>	A. Nonne vides quanta Ps. Domini est terra		A. Domine virtus et letitia A. Omnes intuentes*	A. Justus dominus <i>Ps. Cum</i>
A. Surge ergo et vade <i>Ps. Beati quoniam</i>	A. Cum ergo sint apud Ps. Dom. dom. noster			A. Sicientes eum* A. Lapidés torrentis*	
In III nocturno					
R. Sanctus gamaliel in visu	R. Vides o frater luciane	R. Sanctus gamaliel in		R. Impii super iustum*	R. Lapidabant Stephanum*
	R. Cum scirem ergo R. Sanctus iohannes	R. Vides o frater luciane R. Sanctus iohannes		R. Stephanus servus dei* R. Patefacte * R. Sancte dei pret*	R. Impii super* R. Stephanus servus* R. Patefacte sunt*

The above overview reveals that the content of the Jasov fragment is identical to that of the Trier fragment and manuscript Laud Misc. 284. Although the content of the Cologne breviary is also the same as that of our fragment, the sequence of the antiphons and responsories is slightly different: the chants of the first and the second nocturn are exchanged. The remaining chants of the office, which do not figure in the Jasov fragment, are identical among the German manuscripts except for one responsory, in whose place the Austrian manuscript lists the chant incipits

of the Feast of *In Natale Sancti Stephani* (the death of the protomartyr, not the invention of his relics).

The liturgical content of the parchment bifolio from Jasov clearly reveals that it comes from a diocesan breviary, since the number of the antiphons and the responsories in the surviving nocturns of the night matins (three antiphons and three responsories) corresponds to the structure of *cursus romanus* (*diocesanus*).¹⁶ Paradoxically, the monumental *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii I* (CAO) collection of chants of the Divine Office, which brings an overview of the texts of the earliest manuscripts of diocesan structure, does not contain the feast of *Inventio S. Stephani*. However, it figures in four manuscripts of the monastic tradition in the CAO II collection:¹⁷ *L'Antiphonaire de Saint-Denis* (*Sandionysianus* – D), *L'Antiphonaire de Saint-Maur-les-Fossés* (*Fossatensis* – F), *L'Antiphonaire de Silos* (*Silensis* – S), and *L'Antiphonaire de Saint-Loup de Benevent* (*S. Lupi Beneventani* – L). Compared to the monastic scheme (six antiphons plus four responsories for each nocturn), the chants of the notated source from Jasov are, naturally, ordered differently. Nevertheless, the contents and the sequence of the antiphons of the first and the second nocturn correspond to manuscripts FSL (D states only one antiphon for each nocturn). The responsories, however, are identical and follow the same sequence (as both DSL and the German codices). The above contentual variants do not represent significant differences or changes.

The Feast of Saint Lawrence – *In sancti Laurentii*

The Feast of Saint Lawrence is another ancient liturgical feast. Although the biography of the saint did not survive, facts about his life were handed down by live and trustworthy tradition and appear also in the antiphons and responsories of the respective liturgy of the hour. Originally a Spaniard, Saint Lawrence became a deacon of Rome appointed by the newly elected Pope Sixtus II (257–258), whom he practically substituted. That was a time when Emperor Valerian began to persecute Christians, the first victim having been Sixtus's predecessor, Pope Saint Stephen I (254–257). Lawrence's task was to collect the treasures of the Church and distribute them to the poor. He did so faithfully, while greatly encouraging all in the faith. The prefect of Rome captured him and demanded from him to turn over the treasures. Lawrence then gathered all the indigent, crippled, elderly, widows, and orphans, and presented them to the prefect as the treasures of the Church. For this audacity, he was tortured in several ways, but he kept praying and his example made many pagans convert, apparently including a hundred and fifty soldiers. Lawrence refused to give up his faith despite the cruel tortures to which he succumbed on 10 August 258.¹⁸

¹⁶ R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii. I. Manuscripti „Cursus romanus”*, Roma 1963, N°. 102, 103, pp. 274–280.

¹⁷ R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii. II. Manuscripti „Cursus monasticus”*, Roma 1965, N°. 102, 103, pp. 499–501, 508–513.

¹⁸ The converted soldiers included the high-ranking officers Romanus, Crescencius, and Claudius Severus, who were immediately beheaded by the prefect. Available online 7.1.2023: <https://www.zivotopisysvatych.sk/vavrinec-diacon/>.

Textual Analysis

f. 2ra

[Carnifices tamen] urgentes ministrabant carbones mittenter subter cratem et desuper comprimente eum furcis ferreis. Sanctus Laurentius dixit: discite miser quanta est virtus dei mei. Nam carbones tui mihi refrigerium prestant tibi eternum supplicium quia ipse dominus novit quod accusatus non negavi interrogatus christum confessus sum assatus gratias ago. Et vultu pulcherimo dicebat: Gratias tibi ago domine ihesu christe qui me confortari dignatus est. Et elevans oculos in Decium dixit: Ecce miser assasti unam partem regira aliam et manduca. Gratias tibi ago domine ihesu christe quia ianuas tuas ingredi merui. Et statim emisit spiritum.¹⁹

R. Beatus laurentius clamavit et dixit deum meum colo et illi soli servio et ideo non timeo tormenta tua (ID 006213, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

V. Mea nox obscurum non habet sed omnia in luce clarescunt Et ideo (ID 006213a)

A. Strinxerunt corporis membra posita super¹ craticula ministrantibus² prunas exsultat³ levita Christi (ID 005035, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

AV. Carnifices vero urgentes⁴ ministrabant carbones⁵ subter cratem ferream (ID 005035a)

1 – Linz: *in*

2 – Linz: *subicientibus*

3 – CVDLSL: *insultat*

4 – CEMVDSL: *urguentes*

5 – Linz: *no carbones*

A. Igne me examinasti et non est inventa in me iniquitas (ID 003167, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

AV. Probasti domine cor meum et visitasti nocte (ID 003167a)

AV. Exaudi domine iustitiam meam at (no ID, not even in CAO)

A. Interrogatus te domine¹ confessus sum assatus gratias ago (ID 003381, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

AV. Gratias tibi ago domine² quia ianuas tuas ingredi merui (ID 00381a)

Ps. Domine in virtute (inc.)

1 – CEDFSL: *dominum*

2 – BEMVHRDFSL, BrFr, Tr: add *ihesu christe*,

Linz adds: *meus ihesu xriste*

AV. Magna est gloria eius (inc.)

S. Johannem Amen dico vobis nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum adfert (Jn 12, 24–25)

¹⁹ Cf. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina, Sive, Bibliotheca..., Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 123, p. 325. Available online 7.1.2023: https://books.google.sk/books?id=6CFAAQAAAMAA-J&pg=PA325&lpg=PA325&dq=urgent+ministrabant+carbones&source=bl&ots=4xx-nEA5s6e&sig=ACfU3U11C6d812wIEB2VZ04B8qFsIW1_RQ&hl=sk&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewgjI-uWjbb8AhX3_rsIHRg4DxMQ6AF6BAghEAM#v=onepage&q=urgent%20ministrabant%20carbones&f=false.

f. 2rb

Dominus et Salvator noster fratres ... semina iaciendo dilatabant

R. Beatus Laurentius dixit ego me obtuli sacrificium deo in odorem suavitatis (ID 006215, C/HRDF)

[V.] Quoniam ad te orabo Domine mane exaudies vocem meam Ego me¹
(ID 006215a)

1: HRDF, BrFr, LaMisc, Tr – *In odorem*

Qui amat animam quem ad modum

f. 2va

sit amor hominis ... custodit animam suam

R. In craticula te¹ deum non negavi et ad ignem applicatus te dominum ihesum christum confessus sum (ID 006896, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

V. Probasti domine cor meum et visitasti nocte Et ad ignem² (ID 006896a)

1: LaMisc: no *te*

2: BrFr, Linz: *In odorem*

Seguitur. Si quis ? ministrat ... hoc est Christo ministrare

f. 2vb

R. Beatus vir laurentius qui post aurum non abiit nec speravit in thesauris pecunie fecit enim mirabilia in vita sua (ID 006229, CB/RDF)

V. Qui potuit transgredi et non est transgressus¹ facere mala et non fecit
Fecit enim (ID 006229a)

1: Tr adds: *a facere*

R. Beatus laurentius oravit et dixit domine ihesu christe pastor bone suscipe spiritum meum (ID 006216, BV/HRDSL)

V. Gratias tibi ago domine quia [ia]nuas tuas ingredi merui Domine ihesu¹
(ID 006216a)

1 – Linz: *Suscipe*

R. Hic est vir qui non est derelictus a deo in die certaminis sui et ipse conculcavit caput serpentis antiqui modo coronabitur quia fideliter vicit in mandatis domini (ID 006831, CEM/HRDFSL)

V. Probasti domine cor meum et visitasti nocte (ID 006831a)

– this verse is present only in HR; CAO III contains only the words *Probasti domine*, with no reprise

Laudes

A. Laurentius ingressus est martyr et confessus est nomen domini ihesu christi (ID 003598, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

A. Laurentius bonum opus operatus est qui per signum cru[cis] cecos illuminavit (ID 003597, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

A. [Ad]hesit anima mea post te quia caro mea igne cremata est pro te deus meus (ID 001271, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

A. Misit dominus angelum suum et liberavit me de medio ignis et non sum estuatus (ID 003784, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

A. Beatus Laurentius orabat dicens gratias tibi ago domine quia ianuas tuas ingredi merui (ID 001643, CBE/HRDFSL)

Cap. Fratres qui parce seminat parce et metet et qui seminat in benedictionibus de benedictionibus et metet (2 Kor, 9,6)

A. In craticula te deum non negavi et ad ignem (ID 003216, CBEMV/HRDFSL)

Table 3. Order of the Chants for the Feast of Saint Lawrence

Jasov Fragment	<i>Breviarium franconicum</i> ff. 124r–124v	MS Laud Misc. 284 ff. 74r–74v	Trier Fragment, F–e57b f. 7v	<i>Breviarium antiquissimum</i> ff. 141r–142r
R. Beatus laurentius clamavit et dixit V. Mea nox obscurum	R. Puer meus noli R. Strinixerunt corp R. Beatus laurentius clamavit et dixit V. Mea nox obscurum	R. Beatus laurentius clamavit V. Mea nox obscurum	V. Mea nox obscurum	R. Noli me derelinquere R. Beatus laurentius clamavit et V. Mea nox obscurum R. Beatus laur. dixit R. O Yppolite
In III noct.				
A. Strinixerunt corporis AV. Carnifices vero Ps. In domino confido	A. Strinixerunt corporis AV. Carnifices vero Ps. Domine quis hab.	A. Strinixerunt corporis AV. Carnifices vero	A. Strinixerunt corporis AV. Carnifices vero	A. Nisi granum frumenti Ps. Beatus vir
A. Igne me examinasti AV. Probasti domine Ps. Exaudi domine	A. Igne me examinasti AV. Probasti domine Ps. Exaudi Dom.	A. Igne me examinasti Ps. Exaudi Domine AV. Probasti dom	A. Igne me examinasti Ps. Exaudi Domine	
A. Interrogatus te AV. Gratias tibi Ps. Domine in virtute AV. Magna est glor.	A. Interrogatus te V. Gratias tibi Ps. Domine in virtute	A. Interrogatus te Ps. Domine in virtute V. Gratias tibi	A. Interrogatus te V. Gratias tibi Ps. Domine in virtute	
R. Beatus laurentius dixit V. Quoniam ad te orabo domine	R. In craticula te deum non negavi V. Probasti domine	R. In craticula te deum non negavi V. Probasti domine	R. Beatus laurentius dixit V. Quoniam ad te orabo domine	R. Hic est vir qui V. Probasti domine cor

Jasov Fragment	<i>Breviarium franconicum</i> ff. 124r–124v	MS Laud Misc. 284 ff. 74r–74v	Trier Fragment, F–e57b f. 7v	<i>Breviarium antiquissimum</i> ff. 141r–142r
R. In craticula te deum non negavi V. Probasti domine	R. Beatus vir laurentius oravit et V. Gratias tibi ago	R. Beatus laurentius dixit ego me obtuli V. Quoniam ad te	R. In craticula te deum non negavi V. Probasti domine	R. Beatus Laurentius oravit V. Gratias tibi
R. Beatus vir laurentius qui V. Qui potuit	R. Beatus vir laurentius qui V. Qui potuit	R. Beatus vir laurentius qui V. Qui potuit	R. Beatus vir laurentius qui V. Qui potuit	R. Beatus vir Laurentius V. Qui potuit
R. Beatus laurentius oravit V. Gratias tibi	R. Beatus laurentius dixit V. Quoniam ad te			R. In craticula V. Probasti
R. Hic est vir qui non est derelictus V. Probasti domine				
Ad laudes				
A. Laurentius ingressus est martyr	A. Laurentius ingressus est martyr	A. Laurentius ingressus est martyr		A. Laurentius ingressus est martyr
A. Laurentius bonum opus operatus	A. Laurentius bonum opus operatus	A. Laurentius bonum opus operatus		A. Laurentius bonum opus operatus
A. Adhesit anima mea post te	A. Adhesit anima mea post te	A. Adhesit anima mea post te		A. Adhesit anima mea post te
A. Misit dominus angelum suum	A. Misit dominus angelum suum	A. Misit dominus angelum suum		A. Misit dominus angelum suum
A. Beatus Laurentius orabat dicens	A. Volo pater ut ubi ego sum (In ev.)	A. Volo pater ut ubi ego sum		A. Beatus Laurentius clamavit et dixit
Ad Benedictus				
A. In craticula te deum non negavi	A. In craticula te deum non negavi	A. In craticula te deum non negavi		A. In craticula deum non negavi

A comparison of the sequence of the chants for the Feast of Saint Lawrence reveals that the Jasov and the Trier fragments are completely identical, with the absence of two verses of the antiphons and one psalm incipit, which is of little significance. There is an obvious similarity also between the Jasov fragment, the Austrian diocesan manuscript, and the two German manuscripts. The antiphons of the third nocturn agree completely and, except for the last antiphon, even those of the Lauds. The responsories exhibit more mobility, but they are also mostly identical. The only chant absent from the comparative sources is the responsory *Hic est vir qui non est*.

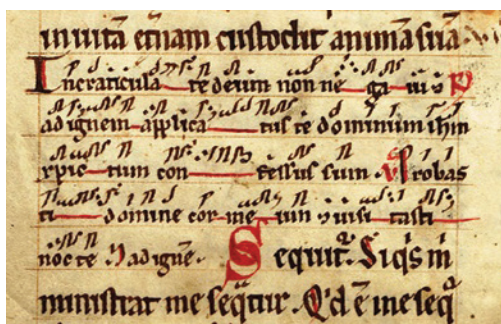
Neume Analysis

As stated above, the surviving chants of the parchment bifolio from Jasov contain adiastematic notation of the German type. The ductus of the neumatic script is slightly slanted to the right and is very neat. Single-note neumes are represented by the punctum and the virga. The punctum, and the tractulus, end in a fine hairline directed to the right, created by the outstroke of the writing implement. On the contrary, the virga has a small, fine line at its beginning, caused by the instroke of the neume (slightly from the bottom). Such initial line is obvious also in the case of the two-note clivis: the notator first wrote the virga, to which he then added the remaining part of the neume downwards while creating a fine, pointed arch. In the lower part of the outstroke of the quill, there is another fine line directed to the right. The correctus is formed in the same way and, naturally, a virga is added to the clivis. The pes and the torculus begin with a closed loop. The scandicus and the climacus are written in their typical way. Interestingly, however, the climacus, as well as the pes subbipunctis and the scandicus subbipunctis, have a strophæ instead of a punctum as their final element. In compound neumes, the oriscus, the quilisma, and strophic groups appear, and the virga strata, pressus maior, pressus minor, and the trigon are also present. From among the liquescent neumes, the chants contain the cephalicus in the form of a virga with a small initial line from the left and an added loop from the right (in its upper part). The ancus also occurs. Other liquescences are also present; the liquescent pes, for example, is written in a remarkable, ornamented way, with a loop both at its beginning and end.

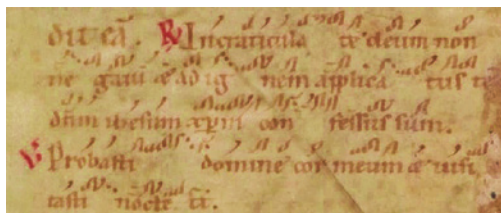
A comparison of the neume lines of the surviving chants reveals that they are identical, or individual neumes differ to the minimum extent. The differences are more of an exception, as the responsory *In craticula*, presented below on details of all the comparative sources, documents. As can be seen, for example, the torculus is the last neume element above the final syllable of the word *craticula* in all the comparative sources, whereas in the Jasov fragment, it is the pressus maior, whose first two notes are, contrary to the torculus, unisono. Another minor difference appears above the last syllable of the word *applicatus*, where the Jasov fragment has a torculus resupinus, whereas the other sources only have a torculus. At the end of the second line, the Jasov fragment contains a special neume, virga strata, above the first syllable of the word *ihesum*, whereas the other manuscripts contain a regular virga, at the most with an episema (*Brev. franconicum*). In the fourth line of the Jasov fragment, the last neumes above the first syllable of the

word *meum* are a scandicus flexus and an oriscus, whereas the oriscus is absent from the other sources. In the previous word, *cor*, the last source (*Brev. antiquissimum*) shows a difference, bringing an ancus instead of the cephalicus present in the Jasov fragment and in the other sources (except for MS Laud Misc. 284, which has a different verse). It follows from the above that, in all the variants, the differences are minor and do not alter the progression of the melody significantly.

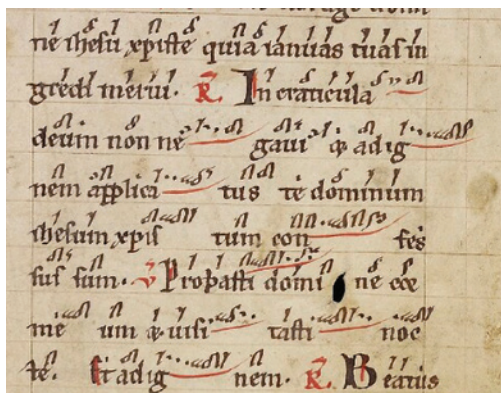
Based on the comparison of the adiastematic source from Jasov with the other staveless fragments in our territory, we may point out a certain similarity of the neume script with a bifolio of an unknown breviary, deposited without shelfmark in the Kremnica Branch of the State Archives in Banská Bystrica. This can be seen mainly from the way the virga and the two-note clivis are written, the latter with a hint at the letter “n”. Since the type of the script of the notated source in Kremnica is more Gothic, however, the similarity between them is minimal.



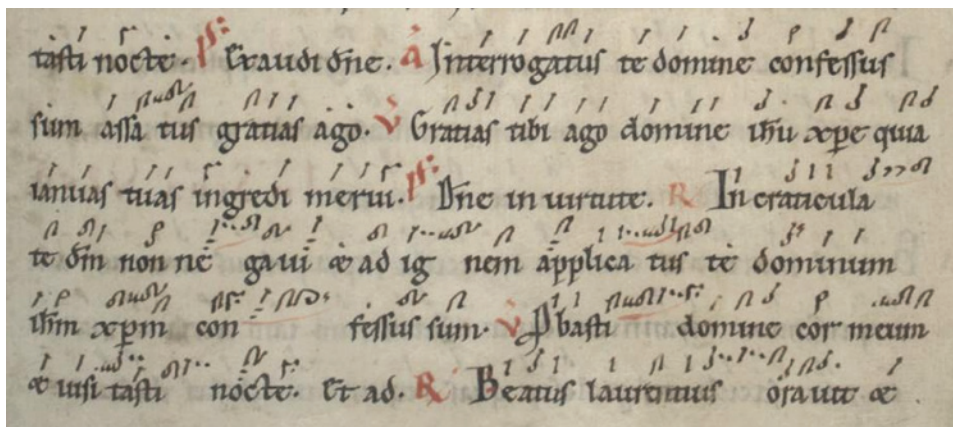
Resp. *In craticula*: Jasov Fragment, f. 2va



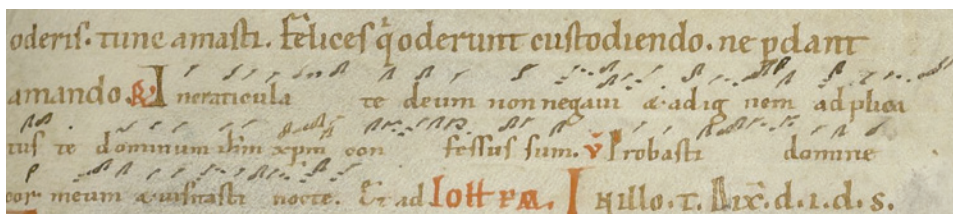
Trier Fragment, F-e57b, f. 7v



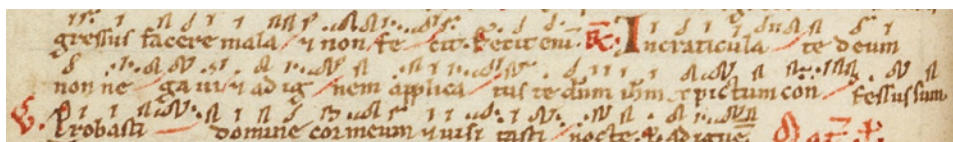
Resp. *In craticula*: MS Laud Misc. 284 Breviary, f. 153r



Resp. *In craticula: Breviarium Franconicum*, Cod. 215, f. 124r



Resp. *In craticula: Breviarium Linz*, AT-OOeLB, Hs.-290, f. 339r



Resp. *In craticula: Breviarium antiquissimum*, Cod. 103, f. 141v

Résumé

The notated parchment bifolio of an unknown breviary of the early thirteen century, deposited in the Archive of the Jasov Abbey of the Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré, is a unique musical source for containing the earliest staveless notation and for its contents of the Feast of the Invention of the Relics of Saint Stephen and the Feast of Saint Lawrence. The original manuscript was used in a diocesan environment and that is why we compared the content of the bifolio primarily with two manuscripts following the *cursus romanus* (the Breviary of Cologne and another breviary, which probably comes from Würzburg). A fragment deposited under shelfmark F-e57b in the State Library in Trier, which turned out to be almost identical to the Jasov fragment, also became a significant comparative

material (it differs from the Jasov fragment by the absence of the incipit indications of two psalms and one verse of the antiphon of the second nocturn). Although two other comparative manuscripts come from a monastic environment (*cursus monasticus*), their contents – apart from their slightly different structures – are also very similar, since the offices in question are of an ancient tradition.

The four diocesan sources agree with each other, the fragments completely. In the breviary manuscripts, the arrangement of the responsories or antiphons differs only in some places. The textual and neumatic analysis and comparison of the chants of the Jasov fragment and the comparative sources has revealed a high percentage of their reciprocal similarity and we may consequently presume that the original breviary from which the respective bifolio was removed originated in a South German region and was probably imported to our territory later.

Translated by Monika Dorna

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NAJWAŻNIEJSZE ŹRÓDŁO MUZYCZNE OPACTWA PREMONSTRATENSÓW W JASOVIE: ADIASTEMATYCZNY FRAGMENT NIEZNANEGO BREWIARZA, SHELFMARK KF OF INC 164

Streszczenie

Słowacka muzykologia średniowieczna przeżyła niezwykle odrodzenie na początku trzeciego tysiąclecia. Mogłaby czerpać z podstawowych badań nad średniowiecznymi źródłami łacińskimi, które przeprowadził kodykolog Július Sopko w latach 80. XX wieku oraz ze specjalistycznych artykułów muzykologów Konstantína Hudeca, Richarda Rybariča, Ľubomíra Vajdički i Zuzany Czagányovej. Systematyczne, dogłębne badania średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych, przechowywanych w słowackich archiwach, muzeach i bibliotekach rozpoczęła muzykolog Eva Veselovská z Instytutu Muzykologii Słowackiej Akademii Nauk w Bratysławie we współpracy z Rastislavem Adamko i autorką niniejszego opracowania, wykładowcami Katedry Muzyki Wydziału Pedagogicznego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu w Ružomberku. Dzięki dwudziestoletnim badaniom – wyszukiwaniu, digitalizacji, badaniu źródeł i udostępnianiu ich – opublikowano na ten temat szereg monografii, katalogów, opracowań naukowych i artykułów specjalistycznych. W niniejszej publikacji przybliżono niedawno odkryty fragment z notacją bezkropkową, zdeponowany w archiwum

opactwa Norbertanów w Jasovie we wschodniej Słowacji. Oryginalny rękopis był używany w środowisku diecezjalnym. Analiza tekstowa i neumatyczna oraz porównanie śpiewów fragmentu z Jasova i źródeł porównawczych wykazało wysoki procent ich wzajemnego podobieństwa, w związku z czym można przypuszczać, że oryginalny brewiarz, z którego usunięto odpowiednie *bifolio*, pochodził z regionu południowoniemieckiego i prawdopodobnie później został sprowadzony na terytorium Słowacji.

Słowa kluczowe: opactwo premonstratensów; Jasov; brewiarz; źródło muzyczne; Słowacja