TOWARD A POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE "MISSALE ROMANO-SPALATENSE"

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Izvleček: Narodna knjižnica v Budimpešti hrani t. i. missale romano-spalatense, rimski misal, ki so ga uporabljali dominikanci v Dalmaciji in je obenem pomemben vir za t. i. Korčulske glose in za Lekcionar s Korčule v hrvaškem jeziku. Avtorica predstavlja nekatere nove argumente za možno provenienco rokopisa. Na podlagi primerjalne raziskave značilnih svetniških imen iz Zadra ter prisotnosti maše v čast ogrskohrvaškega kralja Ludvika Velikega nakazuje, da bi bil možen prostor nastanka in uporabe rokopisa širše območje Zadra.

Ključne besede: dalmatinski misal, sanktoral zadrske provenience, praznik sv. Domnija, dominikanci, Ludovicus Magnus Abstract: The codex known as the Missale romano-spalatense kept in Budapest is a Roman missal that was used by Dominicans in Dalmatia. It is important as a source for the Korčulanske glose (Korčula Marginalia) and the Korčulanski lekcionar (Korčula Lectionary) in Croatian. The author develops some new arguments for its possible provenance. Based on comparative research on significant saints' names from Zadar – Simeon, Anastasia, and Chrysogonus – and the presence of the mass for Louis the Great, the author hints that the Zadar area is potentially a place where the manuscript might have been in liturgical use.

Keywords: Dalmatian missal, Zadar layer of sanctorale, feast of St. Domnius, Dominicans, Ludovicus Magnus (Louis the Great)

Introduction

This contribution offers a more concrete answer about the possible provenance of the missal called the Missale Spalatense. It is kept in Budapest, in the Hungarian National Library, and is known as Codex OSzK (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár / National Széchényi Library) Clmae 334 (RISM H-Bn Clmae 334). It was probably written in the fourteenth century.¹ Based on a general overview of its contents, my research was directed primarily toward rethinking whether it actually originated in Split, as first suggested by Polycarpus Radó.²

See description of the source in Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti, 136–139. See also www.zti. hu/earlymusic/cd, RZ 00623/2 (Microfilm: Z 175).

² Radó, (ibid., 136) describes this manuscript as a Dalmatian missal: "Missale romano-spalatense cum kalendario O.P." – See also Radó, "Nagy Lajos dalmáciai uralmának."

The manuscript is well known to Croatian linguists,³ especially for the parts that contain the *Korčulanske glose* (Korčula Marginalia) and a fragment of a lectionary in Croatian.⁴ The designation *korčulanski* ("from Korčula") is added and used even today in Croatian literature because it describes the place where Frano Radić found this manuscript at the end of nineteenth century: in the archive of the Franciscan monastery on Badija Island near Korčula. According to its linguistic features this part of manuscript actually represents part of a ritual from the first half of the fourteenth century in the Čakavian dialect of Croatian, which belongs to the broader region of Zadar, or mid-Dalmatia. This has been recently demonstrated by Dragica Malić.⁵ A general insight into Radó's description of the codex having "notae musicae 4 linearum" and "praefaciones cum notis musicis" hints clearly that it is not only liturgical but also a musical manuscript.

In addition to this feature, one other description (although it might be a hypothetical one), the assumption that it is connected with Split and its Dominican order, suggested an important direction for further research into the origin and destination of this fourteenth-century liturgical mass book.

Sources for liturgical music of the Dominican order in Croatia, especially in Dalmatia, are still unknown, like those of other repertories from Dominican European sources.⁹ Ennio Stipčević commented that current knowledge about Dominican music in medieval Croatia is something that is more an anticipation or a notion than actual knowledge.¹⁰

What do we know about music of the Dominican order in Dalmatia in the fourteenth century, and what are its principal musical sources?¹¹ Two recently published articles shed new light on this topic, which is little known in the Croatian context. The first of these, a work about a collective manuscript from Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, elucidates and compares the oldest polyphonic items in Croatian to the broader European context, especially the context of Italian sources.¹² The other article is a study of the antiphoners from Dubrovnik that were part of the archive of the Franciscan monastery on the island Badija near Korčula.¹³ Those investigations offered concrete evidence about the features and profile of the Sanctorale in Dubrovnik manuscripts and those belonging to the heritage of Dominicans on the island of Hvar. Table 1 shows the general contents of the Budapest missal, especially of the parts with notated chants.

³ Malić and Fališevac, *Najstariji hrvatski latinički spomenici*.

Malić, "Rječnik Odlomka Korčulanskoga lekcionara"; Rešetar, "Primorski lekcionari," vols. 49 and 50; Kapetanović, "Hrvatska srednjovjekovna latinica," 470.

⁵ Malić, "Glasovne pojave," 103–104.

⁶ Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti*, 136; Radó, "Nagy Lajos dalmáciai uralmának."

⁷ See Marinković, "Kultovi dominikanskih svetaca."

⁸ Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti, 136.

^{9 &}quot;Das Musikleben der Predigermönche hat bis zur Gegenwart jedoch noch keine zusammenfassende Behandlung erfahren." Hüschen, "Dominikaner," 1336. Regarding Croatian Dominican medieval chant books, see Breko Kustura, "Dominikanci i glazba," 236–237.

¹⁰ Stipčević, "Dominikanci i glazba," 238.

¹¹ For a general survey of the history of the Dominican order in Croatia see Šanjek, *Dominikanci i Hrvati*; see also Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*.

¹² Breko Kustura, "Iz rukopisno-glazbene riznice."

¹³ Beban, "Dominikanski antifonarij."

Table 1: Liturgical contents of the Budapest missal, especially the parts with notated chants. ¹⁴

Folio	LITURGICAL CONTENTS		
1	Part of the Gospel for Vigil of St. John the Baptist		
1–2	Gloria, Credo		
2	Credo in unum deum dicitur omnibus diebus dominicis		
3-4v	Dominica prima de adventu domini [Mass proper]		
5-10v	Calendar		
11-22v	Adventus et feriae quatuour temporum		
23-50	Proprium de tempore: Sanctorale		
50v-67	Ordo missae		
51v-53	Offertory Ave Maria, gratia plena		
53-61	Notated Prefaces for different parts of liturgical Calendar [square notation]		
67v-103v	Proprium de tempore et de sanctis [from Easter through Sundays after Easter]		
102v-103	Missa Sancti Grisogoni mr.		
103v-122v	Commune apostolorum et sanctorum		
122v-124v	In anniversario dedicationis ecclesiae		
124v	In honore sanctorum quorum corpora habentur (Missae votivae)		
125	In honore angelorum		
125–125v	In honore apostoli Petri et Pauli		
137-140	In commemoratione BMV		
140-146	In agenda mortuorum		
146-148	Missa pro peccatis		
148-156v	Dominica in palmis, Korčula Marginalia		
156v-165	Benedictions		
168v	Missa de sancto "Ladislao rege Hungarie"		
169–189v	Passio domini		
191–191v	Missa pro rege [Ludovicus Magnus]		
192	Gloria		
193–200v	Benedictio aquae – Korčula Lectionary		
201–202v	Missa in honore beati Honofrij confessoris		
203-204v	Missa sancti Symeonis Justi		
205–206v	[Notated chants:] Kyrie, Gloria and Ite missa est		
	Benedicamus domino		

Significant parts of the Calendar and later additions in the Sanctorale

This book can be categorized as a *missale plenum*. It contains 206 folios of the dimensions 237×177 mm. The gradual is incorporated into the main text of the missal.

This manuscript draws attention for two reasons. First, it contains marginalia and part of a ritual called the "Korčula Lectionary" that, due to the textual characteristics of the Čakavian dialect of Croatian that is used, is obviously a monument of Zadar liturgical

Source: Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti, 137–139. For Radó's writing on the Korčula Marginalia (fols. 148–156v in Table 1), see ibid., 139.

practice in the fourteenth century. Second, this liturgical and musical book is important as evidence of a mass dedicated to the Hungarian-Croatian king Ludovicus Magnus, as suggested by János Melich in 1903.¹⁵

The missal is written in Gothic Rotunda and is notated in square notation on four lines. ¹⁶ The type of notation is reminiscent of that in Italian chant codices from the Patriarchy of Aquileia, especially those copied at the Dominican monastery in Cividale. ¹⁷ The missal was copied by nine different scribes. ¹⁸ Each individual scribe wrote his own additions into the Calendar and the Sanctorale. This fact speaks in favour of a "transfer" of this chant book to different Croatian localities and contexts.

The missal was not originally meant for use in a Dominican monastery. However, the abbreviation "O.P." mentioned by Radó is not false. This is a typical diocesan book that was adapted through later additions for use in one Dominican (Dalmatian) monastery. This monastery, however, was probably not in the area of Split, as was previously believed.¹⁹ There are several points in support of this idea.

The main corpus of the book (fols. 1–4 and fols. 23–168) was written by the first scribe.²⁰ It was intended for a secular church, possibly the cathedral. This could be an explanation as to why there are no traces of typical Dominican saints in the main corpus of the missal. For example, there are no masses for SS. Dominic, Albert, Thomas, or Raymond.²¹ Later additions, however, testify that the manuscript could have been used by Dominicans.

Let us first consider Radó's argument for its Split destination. A mass for St. Domnius (Croat. "sv. Dujam"), the patron saint of Split,²² is celebrated in the Calendar on 7 May, and also on fol. 73 as a part of the Sanctorale. It begins with rubrics "Proprium de tempore et de sanctis": "In festo sancti Domnij pontificis et martyiris." Considering that St. Domnius was also celebrated in other mid-Dalmatian liturgical sources, his presence without the co-patrons of Split (Anastasius and Rainerius), which would be very typical of local liturgical practice, seems to be a rather weak argument for putting this codex in the list of manuscripts that originated in Split.²⁴ Masses for St. Domnius are found in a broader Dalmatian context. Interestingly, this feast is also celebrated in the medieval

¹⁵ Melich, "Misekönyv a XIV. századból."

The square notation in this chant book is similar to that used in codices from the Aquileian area. See Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, cod. 41, fol. 154, presented as Fig. 1a in Camilot Oswald, "Manoscritti liturgico-musicali," 211. See also Snoj, "Italian Influences in the Medieval Plainchant Manuscripts." About neumatic notation in the Middle Ages see Philips, "Notationen und Notationslehren."

¹⁷ Camilot Oswald, "Manoscritti liturgico-musicali," 198.

¹⁸ See descriptions of later additions in Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti*, 136.

¹⁹ Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti*, 136. For typical Split Sanctorale and the celebration of feasts for Split saints, see Facchin, "Santorale nell'antifonario."

²⁰ Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti*, 136

²¹ Hüschen, "Dominikaner," 1336.

²² See Heinzer, "Ex authentico scriptus."

²³ Radó, "Nagy Lajos dalmáciai uralmának," vol. 2; Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 1, 409.

²⁴ Radó, "Nagy Lajos dalmáciai uralmának," vol. 2.

calendar from fourteenth-century Trieste.²⁵ Therefore, I suggest rethinking the presence of the Domnius cult more in the sense that it hints at a liturgical context, or *where* this book was used: namely medieval Dalmatia. It would not be correct to consider Split as the definite destination of its liturgical use and as the place where it belonged. Namely, the analysis of other saints' names does not suggest a Split profile of Sanctorale. The typical Split saints are not all found, even as the "trio" of Domnius, Rainerius, and Anastasius.²⁶

Arguments for a Dominican context of use

The *ordo* of this chant book is not a Dominican one. However, later additions and the presence of some typical Dominican feasts offer clear evidence of its use by Dominicans, most probably in the broader area of the Zadar bishopric.²⁷ According to its contents and the typology of later additions, this manuscript came into Dominican possession in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Which of the Dominican monasteries in Dalmatia could have been the owner of this chant book, and where was it? One single trace in the Calendar seems important to me. Namely, in the month of October, after a feast of "Dionisij et sociorum eius," another hand wrote the following addition in red: "Consecratio ecclesiae sci Gregorij 9. X." Which church of St. Gregory is the one mentioned here? Could it be St. Gregory's in Šibenik? Or should one consider St. Gregory's in Vrana in the Zadar region? Or perhaps it is one of the other possible churches dedicated to this saint in the Zadar area? If so, it seems logical to place this book in the same context where the Croatian Korčula Lectionary belongs, namely in the context of the Zadar bishopric.

Excursus: A short excursus connecting the use of vernacular Croatian in the other Dominican chant books from Dalmatia: It is significant that the insertion of Croatian liturgical texts into the official Latin manuscripts was a standard practice of Dominicans in a broader Dalmatian context. It is demonstrated not only in this missal, but also in the fact that the oldest evidence of the sequence *Dies irae* in Croatian, known and written as *Sudac gnjivan*,³⁰ is documented by notation in a collective manuscript by Dominicans on the island of Hvar (Stari Grad). This is the

²⁵ The Trieste calendar calls its feast: "Domnij Episcopus et Confessor." See "Calendario di Sancta chiesa Tergestina."

²⁶ For a profile of a Split Sanctorale, especially the musical office for celebration of the patron saint Domnius, see Facchin, "Santorale nell'antifonario."

²⁷ For Dominican *ordo* see Mortier, *Liturgie dominicaine*; Gleeson, "Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts."

²⁸ For churches dedicated to St. Gregory see Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. – I express my gratitude to Tomislav Galović, who kindly shared information about churches to St. Gregory (Croat. "sv. Grgur") in Croatia with me for the purpose of publication in this article.

²⁹ Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*.

³⁰ For discussion of this sequence in the context of Glagolitic singing, see Doliner, *Glagoljaško pjevanje*, 44–46.

same manuscript that features the oldest Croatian example of simple polyphony, the rondellus *Evo je prišal* in vernacular (fifteenth/sixteenth century).³¹

After the rubric "Dedication of the church of St. Gregory," one other addition hints at the monastic character of the place where this manuscript was used: "Anniversarium ominum fratrum ordinis nostri" (Calendar, fol. 9v). Interestingly in the Calendar there is a later addition of a feast for St. Dominic, "Sancti Dominici," as well as his April feast, "Translatio beati Dominici." In the month of April in the Calendar there is also a feast for St. Peter Martyr († 1252), which is a clear hint that we are dealing with the second canonized Dominican saint "Petri martyris de ordine predicatorum." 32

A Dominican context is also confirmed by the text and chants (Introitus, Graduale, and Alleluia) of the mass for the feast "De Spinea Corona Domini" on fol. 189v–191.³³ The second scribe adds also some other feasts typical of the Dominican order. These include the feast of St. Bernardine the Confessor, but also, significantly, masses for the patron of the Kingdom of Hungary.

The large number of Hungarian saints included leads to the presumption that this chant book was in Dalmatia even before the foundation of the Dalmatian Dominican Province; that is, before the year 1380. This was a period when all Dominican monasteries in this region belonged to a unique Province of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom based in Buda.³⁴

Hungarian saints

Polycarpus Radó was the first scholar to hypothesize that this manuscript came into Dominican possession after 1357; that is, after Split recognized Louis the Great. This fact is supported by the Calendar of the manuscript. Namely, a second scribe enlarged the main corpus of saints' names, particularly by adding saints of Hungarian provenance to it. One of these examples is a mass for the Hungarian King Ladislaus on June 27, "Missa de sancto Ladislao rege Hungarie." It is written on folio 168v.

The Hungarian group of saints includes the following: the feast of St. Stephen on November 5, St. Henry the Confessor and St. Elisabeth, daughter of the Hungarian King Andreas, celebrated on November 19. They belong to a group called "Festa pecularia Hungariae."³⁵

A very significant part of the repertory of this chant book is a mass for King Louis the Great (1342–1382) written on fol. 191–191v under the rubric "Missa pro rege." This represents a direct argument regarding the period when this missal was used in the medieval Dalmatian region. It is clearly stated that Ludovicus (Louis) the Great was "regni Ungarie protector."

³¹ Breko Kustura, "Primjeri jednostavnog liturgijskog višeglasja"; Breko Kustura, "Iz rukopisnoglazbene riznice."

³² See the Calendar of this missal, fol. 6v.

³³ Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 114.

³⁴ Krasić, *Dominikanci*, 10–11.

³⁵ Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti, 17.

Yet another argument suggests the period when this book could have been written, namely the first half of the fourteenth century. A general Chapter of the Dominican order held in Pamplona in 1355 proposed the introduction of the feast for St. Adalbert in all Dominican communities. However, this manuscript does not feature a commemoration of this feast, either in the Calendar or in the Sanctorale, not even as a later addition. This fact supports the hypothesis that the book was written before the Chapter in Pamplona.

Connections with Zadar - Grisogono, Symeon, and Anastasia

The missal kept today in Budapest, OSzK Clmae 334, is similar in one aspect to the Breviary from Split dating from 1291 and kept at the Correr Museum. A comparison of the two sources reveals overlapping of the Sanctorale profiles and connections³⁶ between two Dalmatian cities: Split and Zadar.³⁷ In this particular case, Codex 334 clearly shows the presence of the typical Sanctorale from Zadar. Namely, in the main corpus of this liturgical book, in the hand of the first scribe on fols. 102v–103, we find a mass for St. Grisogono Martyr.³⁸ His name was also added as a later addition in the Calendar, on November 24 (fol. 10) which is the *dies natalis* of this saint.

Another saint typical of Zadar is Symeon Justus.³⁹ His feast was introduced by prayers⁴⁰ and chants under the rubric "Missa sancti Symeonis Justi," on fols. 203–204v. A feasts of Symeon and Grisogono have been added in the Calendar by the same scribe. An additional argument for this connection with Zadar and the hypothesis of the presence of this missal in the context of Zadar is the feast of St. Anastasia. Significantly, as is the case in the Split Breviary from the Correr Museum, her feast was celebrated on *dies natalis*, namely on December 25.⁴¹

These facts taken together make it evident that this chant book had a "journey" from one diocesan church toward the context of the Dominican order. Although it was discovered at the end of the nineteenth century as a part of the Archive of the Franciscan monastery in Badija near Korčula, it must have been used in Zadar or in the broader Zadar region. After Badija, this chant book was bought by Ludwig Rosenthal in 1893, and after this episode the missal came to Budapest.⁴² Its scribe declares himself on folio 206v as follows: "Quis scripsit scribat, semper cum domino vivat. Et iuuvat nobis ursinus in nomine felix."

³⁶ Delehaye, "Saints d'Istrie."

³⁷ Vildera, "Breviario di Split," 127.

³⁸ Camilot Oswald, *Liturgische Musikhandschriften*.

³⁹ About the presence of the Symeon feast in the broader Zadar region see Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5, 81–84. See also Fondra, *Istoria della insigne reliquia*, 69.

⁴⁰ Bruylants, Oraisons du missel Romain.

⁴¹ Vildera. "Breviario di Split," 127.

⁴² Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti*, 136.

Musical contents of the Missale

The musical contents of this manuscript consist of two groups of chants. The first is the group of notated Prefaces and one Pater noster with an incipit of the Sanctus melody. The interesting thing about the musical contents of the codex is the relatively large number of the notated Prefaces. Table 2 shows the list of incipits of Prefaces, Pater noster, and Sanctus.

Table 2: Incipits of the Prefaces, Pater noster, and Sanctus.

In Nativitate Domini Prephatio	TEXTUAL AND MUSICAL INCIPIT	Rubrics	
1. Aeterne deus- ffe-d-d-e Fol. 54 2. Aeterne deus- ffe-d-d e Fol. 54v 3. Aeterne deus- fe-d-d-e-e Fol. 54v 4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-a Fol. 55 Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-ef-ed-c-e Fol. 57 7. Deus quius et salutare ff-f-f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 57 Robert Grain Salutare ff-f-f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 58v In Nataliciis Apostolorum In Nataliciis Apostolorum In Nataliciis Apostolorum In Sollemnitatibus Beate virginis Mariae Robert Grain In Honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In Praefatio generalis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio Fol. 60 Readuale triplex, 756 Sanctus In Praefatio	Fol. 53	In Nativitate Domini Prephatio	
Fol. 54	1. Aeterne deus-	•	
2. Aeterne deus- ffe d d e e Fol. S4v	ffe- d-d e e		
2. Aeterne deus- ffe d d e e Fol. S4v	Fol. 54	In Epyphania Domini Prephatio	
Fol. 54v 3. Aeterne deus- f-ed-d-e-e Fol. 54v 4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-h-a Fol. 55v 5. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efedccde Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum edefedc Fol. 57 7. Deus quius et salutare f-f-f-f-ed-d-e-e-d Fol. 57v 8. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 58v 9. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 59 10. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 60 11. Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-d Fol. 61 Sanctus 12. Fol. 64v Preaefatio Fol. 65 Pare noster	2. Aeterne deus-	1	
3. Aeterne deus- f-ed-d-e-e Fol. 54v 4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-h-a Fol. 55v 5. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efedccde Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum ed ef ed c Fol. 57 Toleus quius et salutare f-f-f-f-e-d-d-e-e-d Fol. 57v In Nataliciis Apostolorum Pol. 57v In sollemnitatibus Beate virginis Mariae In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-e Fol. 60 In Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-d Graduale triplex, 756 Sanctus In Per onster	ffeddee		
3. Aeterne deus- f-ed-d-e-e Fol. 54v 4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-h-a Fol. 55v 5. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efedccde Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum ed ef ed c Fol. 57 Toleus quius et salutare f-f-f-f-e-d-d-e-e-d Fol. 57v In Nataliciis Apostolorum Pol. 57v In sollemnitatibus Beate virginis Mariae In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-e Fol. 60 In Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-d Graduale triplex, 756 Sanctus In Per onster	Fol. 54v	In Quadragesima Prephatio	
Fol. 54v 4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-h-a Fol. 55v 5. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efedccde Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum edefedc Fol. 57 7. Deus quius et salutare f-f-f-f-f-e-d-d-e-e-d Fol. 57v 8. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 58v 9. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 59 In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio Graduale triplex, 756 Sanctus 12. Fol. 64v Praefatio Pater noster	3. Aeterne deus-		
4. Deus quius et salutare c-c-h-a-a-h-h-a Fol. 55V 5. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efedccde Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum edefedc Fol. 57 In Nataliciis Apostolorum 7. Deus quius et salutare f-f-f-f-f-e-d-d-e-e-d Fol. 57V 8. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 58V 9. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 59 In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio 10. Aeterne Deus f-e-d-d-e-e Fol. 60 Fol. 60 Fraefatio generalis 11. Per omnia saecula seculorum ac-d-d-e-d Fol. 61 Sanctus 12. Fol. 64v Preaefatio Fol. 65	f-ed-d-e-e		
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Fol. 55v S. Per Christum Dominum, qui post resurrectionem ed-efe d c c de Fol. 56 6. Per Christum Dominum nostrum ed efe d c Fol. 57 Fol. 57 In Nataliciis Apostolorum Toeus quius et salutare f.f. f.f. f.e. d.d. e.e.d Fol. 57v S. Aeterne Deus f.e. d.d. e.e Fol. 58v In honore Sancte Crucis In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio In honore Sancte Trinitatis Praefatio Fol. 60 In Pertecostes Fol. 60 Fol. 60 Fol. 60 Fol. 61 Fol. 61 Fol. 61 Fol. 64v Fol. 65 Fol. 65	4. Deus quius et salutare		
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Sanctus Preaefatio 12. Fol. 64v Preaefatio Fol. 65 Pater noster	Fol. 61	Graduale triplex, 756	
Fol. 65 Pater noster	Sanctus		
	12. Fol. 64v	Preaefatio	
c-d-e-e-f-e-d-c	Fol. 65	Pater noster	
	c-d-e-e-e-f-e-d-c		

As shown in Table 2, the melodic incipits for Christmas, Epiphany, and Lent, as well as the one meant for use in the St. Trinity mass, are sung to the same melody. *Praefatio generalis* is sung to the formula in the plagal mode on D.

The Spiritus et alme trope

The presence of the trope *Spiritus et alme* for Gloria in excelsis Deo is very intriguing. The trope is written on fol. 192, which follows immediately after the mass for Louis the Great. Its importance in the context of the Dominican order lies in the fact that it is usually sung during Marian feasts, and was preferred by the Dominicans.⁴³

Hungarian codices are familiar with this trope from the thirteenth century onwards.⁴⁴ In the context of the Croatian medieval codices, the trope Spiritus et alme is present in almost all graduals and missals of the Zagreb bishopric, for example in codices kept in Zagreb Metropolitan Library, HR-Zda MR 13, MR 168, MR 170, and Codex HR-Zu R 3015 kept in Zagreb National Library. Interestingly, this trope is also present in the repertoire of the chant tradition in Croatian,⁴⁵ for example in Graduale from the Franciscan monastery St. Euphemia in Kampor on the island of Rab in the fifteenth century as: *Duše i Sveti sirotam utešitelju, prvorođeni Marije devi matere*.⁴⁶

Contents of the Kyriale and its features

This chant book has a small Kyriale notated on folios 205–206v. It consists of nine Kyrie eleison melodies, seven Gloria in excelsis Deo, eight Ite missa est and one almost unreadable chant for Benedicamus domino. All are in square notation.

The melodies in Table 3 are given according to the following catalogues: the Kyrie melodies are given according to the catalogue assembled by Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki,⁴⁷ and the Gloria melodies according to that of Detlev Bosse.⁴⁸ The catalogues by Czagány, Kiss and Papp have also been taken into account.⁴⁹

⁴³ Likewise, the oldest two-part trope for *Benedicamus domino* in Croatian, *Evo je prišal*, is probably of Dominican origin, and was meant for singing during the feast of Assumption. See Breko Kustura, "Iz rukopisno-glazbene riznice"; Breko Kustura, "Examples of Liturgical Polyphony."

⁴⁴ Schmid, Gloria-Tropus Spiritus et alme, 16.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 54. See also Tandarić, "Marienverehrung in den kroatisch-glagolitischen Liturgiekodices."

⁴⁶ Schmid, Gloria-Tropus Spiritus et alme, 16–19.

⁴⁷ Landwehr-Melnicki, Einstimmiges Kyrie.

⁴⁸ Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlichen Melodien*.

⁴⁹ Czagány et al., "Catalogue of the Ordinarium-Melodies"; Kiss, Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa.

Table 3: Kyriale and "detection" of melodies. 50

Missal H-Bn Clmae 334	Rubrics	MELODY ACCORDING TO	GRADUALE TRIPLEX
Mass ordinary		THE CATALOGUES	(PAGE NUMBER)
1. Kyrie eleyson (fol. 205)	In festis duplicibus	Kyrie <i>Fons bonitatis</i> Melnicki, 48	715
1. Gloria in excelsis			790
2. Kyrie eleyson	In festis duplicibus	Kyrie Cunctipotens genitor Melnicki, 18	725
2. Gloria in excelsis		Bosse, 56	Vaticana IV
3. Kyrie eleyson	In semiduplicibus	Kyrie <i>Rex genitor</i> Melnicki, 47	731
3. Gloria in excelsis		?	?
4. Kyrie eleyson	In semiduplicibus	Kyrie Jesu redemptor	757
4. Gloria in excelsis		The same as Gloria 3	?
5. Kyrie eleyson	In diebus dominicis	Kyrie <i>Orbis factor</i> Melnicki, 16	748 (Melody B)
5. Gloria in excelsis		?	741
6. Kyrie eleyson	In festis simplicibus	Kyrie <i>Cum iubilo</i> Melnicki, 171	741
6. Gloria in excelsis			742
7. Kyrie eleyson	In festis simplicibus	Melnicki, 58	Vatican XII
7. Gloria in excelsis			745
8. Kyrie eleyson	In festivitatibus	Melnicki, 111	
Benedicamus domino			

As demonstrated in Table 3, the repertory of this Kyriale is concordant with the known melodies from other European regions in the fourteenth century. This chant book uses relatively familiar melodies that were disseminated in a broader context. Many of those melodies are also present in the Eastern European codices from Hungary, Poland, and Czech Republic.⁵¹

Conclusion

Based on the arguments presented here, it can be preliminarily concluded that this chant book is a Dalmatian missal that reflects the liturgical practice from the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Zadar in the fourteenth century. This missal was meant as a diocesan codex. Facts that support this statement are: the "fingerprint" of the feast of Split patron St. Domnius, as well as a cult of the saints venerated primarily in the Zadar region: Symeon, Anastasia, and Grisogono.

Due to the later additions to the Calendar and Sanctorale, this manuscript is a precious source for the Dalmatian liturgy in the fourteenth century, but at the same time

⁵⁰ Melodies with uncertain provenance are marked by the question mark.

⁵¹ Czagány et al., "Repertory of the Mass Ordinary."

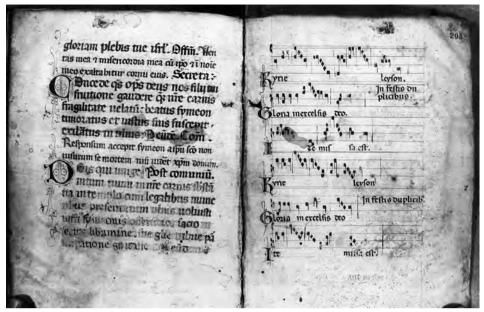


Figure 1
Dalmatian Missale from Budapest, fol. 205: Beginning of Kyriale (with permission).

also a testimony of the Dominican musical and liturgical rite, whose features we know only fragmentarily.

This manuscript is one of the oldest notated southern Croatian manuscripts. At the same time, it is a witness to how changes in political and ecclesiastical contexts of a particular region find their "resonance" in the contents of one liturgical and musical book. It has a unique position, representing a kind of a coexistence of several different contexts. It contains feasts typical of the Hungarian Sanctorale, then a mass for Louis the Great and Domnius, the patron saint of Split, but also a layer of the saint corpus typical of Zadar, as well as traces of use by Dominicans.

In greater measure than any other codex from this period, this manuscript also offers a Croatian ritual (the lectionary) that preserves linguistic features of the Croatian spoken in Zadar at that time. This manuscript is therefore a "new" and valuable contribution to the liturgical mass books of the Dominican order in Dalmatia, and at the same time one of the earliest musical sources from this order found and used in Croatian regions.

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K VPRAŠANJEM O NASTANKU IN IZVORU ROKOPISA "MISSALE ROMANO-SPALATENSE": KODEKS CLMAE 334 IZ NARODNE KNJIŽNICE V BUDIMPEŠTI

Povzetek

Raziskava se ukvarja z vprašanjem provenience v hrvaškem medievalističnem kontekstu sicer dobro znanega misala, ki ga pod signaturo Clmae 334 danes hrani Madžarska narodna knjižnica. Misal je notiran v kvadratni notaciji in ima notirane prefacije, kirial, speve za Benedicamus domino ter notiran trop speva Gloria in excelsis *Spiritus et alme*. S tem velja za enega najstarejših glasbenih virov, kar jih je za mašno bogoslužje na južnem Hrvaškem uporabljal dominikanski red.

Prvi se je s provenienco rokopisa ukvarjal Polycarpus Radó, ki je domneval, da misal pripada škofiji v Splitu in da so ga tam v 14. stoletju uporabljali dominikanci. Glavni argument za to hipotezo je bil praznik sv. Domnija (sv. Domniusa oz. sv. Duje) v koledarju in v osrednjem korpusu rokopisa. Ta svetnik je bil namreč zavetnik splitske škofije.

Na podlagi sodobne metode raziskav vseh različnih plasti sanktorala in koledarja rokopisa je avtorica pričujoče razprave podvomila v domneve o njegovi splitski provenienci. Namesto tega kot možen kraj izvora in uporabe rokopisa v razmislek predlaga zadrsko škofijo. Madžarska plast svetniških imen, maša *pro rege* v čast ogrsko-hrvaškega kralja Ludvika Anžujskega oz. Ludvika Velikega (1342–1382) ter plast značilnih zadrskih svetniških imen, kot so Symeon, Anastasia in Grisogono (Simeon, Anastazija in Krizogon), so možni argumenti za domnevo, da je bila ta mašna knjiga napisana na območju zadrske škofije v 14. stoletju.

Tudi kasnejši dodatek rokopisa, t. i. lekcionar s Korčule oz. lekcionar v hrvaškem čakavskem narečju zadrske provenience, je bil napisan na širšem območju Zadra. Pomemben argument, ki območje Zadra potrjuje kot možen kraj nastanka in uporabe rokopisa, je še en kasnejši dodatek – rubrika za posvečenje cerkve sv. Gregorja na 1. oktober. Na območju Zadra in Šibenika je sv. Gregorju namreč posvečenih veliko cerkva.