

JANKA BEDNÁRIKOVÁ

THE HYMN *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM*
IN NOTATED MISSAL MS. 387 AND ITS PARTIAL MEANING
IN THE SEARCH OF THE PROVENANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT¹

The Notated Missal 387 is a manuscript with dimensions 220 x 155 mm. It has a well-preserved leather cover with wooden tables filled with dark red leather. The decorating bucklers have the shape of rosettes. The written texts and the notated chants are recorded in one column (we observe some further hands in folios 1, 14r-15v, 252v-255, incl. marginal inscriptions). The decoration is relatively simple. It is made up of red and blue coloured initials, with pen-drawing *fleuronné*. The Missal contains the summer part of the liturgical year, i.e.: within the temporal cycle it is the time from Easter Sunday to the last (25th) Sunday after the Most Holy Trinity; within the sanctoral cycle it represents the feasts from mid-April until the end of November.²

On the basis of current researches concerning the calendar of the Missal, we observe that the ms. 387 is close to the family of calendars from the territory of modern Sweden (notably to calendars from the former archdiocese of Lund). We can find evidence of this in several local feasts, which are typical of this specific liturgical tradition. Let's think, for example, of the feasts of

Doc. PaedDr. JANKA BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, PhD.—Katólicka univerzita v Ružomberku, Katedra hudby, Pedagogická fakulta; korešpondenčná adresa: Nám. A. Hlinku 56, 034 01 Ružomberok; e-mail: janka.bednarikova@ku.sk.

Doc. PaedDr. JANKA BEDNÁRIKOVÁ, PhD.—Catholic University in Ružomberok, Music Department, Faculty of Education; address for correspondence: Nám. A. Hlinku 56, 034 01 Ružomberok, Slovakia; e-mail address: janka.bednarikova@ku.sk.

¹ This study was originated within the frame of management of the project VEGA 1/0105/17-*Missale Romanum sign. ms. 387 from the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences—research and source edition.*

² The first mentions about ms. 387: Sopko 148; Szendrei 103; Dobszay 11-22; Veselovská *Mittelalterliche* and “Choralnotationen” 92-93; Veselovská, Adamko, and Bednáriková 111.

saints like the martyrs' Knut and Olaf, the abbot Botulf or bishop Willead. The feasts linked to the above-mentioned saints are recorded in the calendar as *festas fori*, i.e. public rest days.³

During the studies concerning the provenance of the manuscript—by comparing a list of Sunday hallelujah chants *post Pentecosten*—it was shown that it is about a liturgical tradition spread not only in Bavaria (Seeon, Freising), but also in Sweden (Strängnäs). Indeed, starting from the 9th century, the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish missionaries were Benedictines (e.g. St. Oscar, † 865) who founded monasteries and implemented their own liturgical traditions in the given environment. Probably, as a consequence of this, several German liturgical common practices were introduced into the Missal—e.g. singing of hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* during the Pentecost Eve (Adamko, “Prispevok” 144-151). Jerzy Pikulík states that the Hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* is found notably in diocesan graduals (129); and we have had such statement confirmed even within the frame of our research. In the following part of our work, we shall pay specific attention to such chant.

In the Middle Ages, Pentecost Eve was a specific celebration with many elements identical to Easter Eve. In ms. 387 it is recorded on folios 50v-55v (*Missale Notatum*). Similarly to other manuscripts and prints, it contains four Old Testament readings without their “announcement” (*sine titulo*) with relevant Psalm hymns (*tractus*) and prayers (*collecta*).⁴ After their reading, the priests and their assistants went to the baptismal font by singing the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum*. Then, water blessing and baptism ceremony followed, with the Paschal intonation of chants *Kyrie eleison* and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Then, followed the invocation *Pax vobis, Dominus vobiscum*. And the ritual was ended with the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus ut claritatis*. The Holy Mass went on with the New Testament letter *Cum Apollo esset* and with the hallelujah chant *Confitemini Domino*.

³ Amongst the above mentioned feasts of Swedish saints, the sanctoral cycle reports only two of them (*Olavi regis* and *Willeadi ep. et cf.*), unfortunately without specific chants (Adamko, “Prispevok” 144-151).

⁴ The contents and the order were as follows: 1. lectio *Temptavit Deus Abraham* (Genesis)—collecta *Deus qui in Abrahae*; 2. lectio *Scriptis Moyses* (Deuteronomium)—tractus *Attende celum* with verses *Expectetur sicut pluvia, Date magnificentiam deo, Deus fidelis in*—collecta *Deus qui nobis per prophetarum*; 3. lectio *Apprehendent septem mulieres* (Isaiah)—tractus *Vinea facta est* with verses *Et maceriam circumdedit, Et torcular fodit in ea*—collecta *Deus qui nos ad celebrandum*; 4. lectio *Audi Israel mandata* (Baruch)—collecta *Deus in commutabilis virtus et lumen*; and then the following tractus *Sicut cervus desiderat* with verses *Sitivit anima mea, Fuerunt michi lacrimae*—collecta *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollemnitatem*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WATER BLESSING RITUAL
ON THE PENTECOST EVE

Saturday's Pentecost Eve (i.e. 50 days after Easter) is a specific day not only for its multiple readings and chants, compared to other ordinary feasts but also, because—to a certain extent—it copies the Easter Eve celebrations, incl. the rituals between the liturgy of the Word and the Eucharistic liturgy. In Roman Church, water is blessed twice a year (source, baptismal font): on Easter Eve and on the Pentecost day. The rituals and prayers are narrowly related to ancient baptism manner. Notably, during the Pentecost Eve, believers invoke the strength and gifts of the Holy Spirit to come down into baptismal water, so that souls can be born again, have their sin taken away, and return to primary innocence. The celebrant also immersed the Paschal Candle in water. Through its light, this candle symbolises the ray of goods, actions and virtues that every Christian should practice. Such baptismal font blessing ritual is quite old. It is mentioned already by St. Cyprian who dates it back to 3rd century (Bergier 151).

The water blessing ritual (*ad fontem*) was inserted after the fourth reading, followed by the tractus *Sicut cervus* and by the prayer *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollemnitate doni sancti spiritus...* Consequently, the priest and his assistant⁵ moved from the sanctuary to the baptismal font by singing the litanies. At the end of the water blessing ritual, the priest and his assistants went by to the sanctuary (by singing the litanies again). In this moment, the cantor sang loud *alta voce* the solemn paschal version of “Lord have mercy on us—Christ have mercy on us—Lord have mercy on us.” Then, followed the chant “Glory to God in the Highest.” The rubrics almost always report the expression “as for Easter Eve” (*sicut in Vigilia Pasche*), as well as instructions concerning further continuation of the Holy Mass, by reminding some chants—e.g. *offertorium*, *alleluia*, *tractus*, *Agnus Dei* or *communio*. Instructions also mention the omission of the repentance act (*per missa confessione*), or—in certain cases—the rubrics warn about candle lights before reading the Gospel as well as for expression of the sign

⁵ *The Missale Warmiense* in the relevant rubric of Pentecost Eve contains different instructions. Indeed, instead of the litanies, the celebrants had to sing the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum: Notandum qui hic non dicitur letania sed loco letanie cantatur ymnus* (*Missale Warmiense* 102, f. CVIIIr). Similarly, even the *Missale Miskolci* instructs that the priests must walk to/from the baptismal font by singing the hymn: *et procedant cum processione ad fontem cantantes rex cantorum (...) reddeant ad chorum cantantes Rex sanctorum* (*Missale Miskolci* 764, f. 96r).

of peace (*ante evangelium etiam portantur lumina et pax datur*). The description of the ritual in the Notated Missal 387 is as follows:⁶

*Deinde descenditur ad fontem cum Letania Rex sanctorum angelorum
Deinde fons benedicitur et baptizato uno infante reditur in chorum letania
Qua finita imponat cantor sollempnitur Kyrieleison Christeleison Kyrieleison
Kyrieleison Gloria in excelsis deo Ipsa quoque missa per oram sicut in vigilia
pasche propter quod habet cantum offertorii et agnus dei et communio Ante
evangelium etiam portantur lumina et pax datur
Collecta cum salutatione Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut clamavi me
super nos...*

As mentioned in the rubric, the ritual was followed by chants *Kyrie eleison* and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, as well as other parts and relevant chants of the Holy Mass. Almost all the rubrics of the analysed manuscripts indicate this in a similar way. One fact interested us particularly: some water blessing ritual rubrics also mention the baptism of a child. Apart from our ms. 387, this instruction is contained in two Danish prints: *Missale Hafniense* (1510) and *Missale Lundense* (1514). After the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum*, the concerned rubrics describe the baptism of a child (*baptizato uno infante*), followed by a procession with the triple litany.⁷ This fact might be an important clue supporting the Danish origin of ms. 387, which could have become a model for the two more recent Danish prints.

TEXT ANALYSIS OF CHANT *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM*

In the Notated Missal 387, our hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* is recorded with his full lyrics and melody. Within the frame of our research, we tried to search for this chant in many other missals or graduals. We mostly focused on manuscripts or prints from Southern Germany, Poland, and

⁶ Available online: “Rex sanctorum angelorum totum mundum adjuva”. *Slovak Early Music Database*, cantus.sk/chant/26488; *Digitalizované dokumenty ÚK SAV*, 147.213.131.4:85/digi/Rkp_zv_387/LKB__RKP_ZV_387____24TL/SK/1_1_0053V.htm. Accessed 17 March 2020.

⁷ *Collecta Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollempnitate doni spiritus... Finita hac oracione descenditur ad fontem cum letania Rex sanctorum angelorum Require put habetur in vigilia pasce. Qua finita baptismus benedicitur et baptizato uno infante processio cum trina letania regreditur. Qua usque Christe audi nos Finita imponat cantor Kyrieleison Gloria in excelsis In ipsa quoque missa agatur a per omnia sicut in vigilia pasche. Propter qui habet cantum offertorii et Agni dei et communio. Ante evangelium etiam portantur lumina et pax datur. Collecta Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui claritatis super nos... Compare: Missale Lundense 45, f. CXIIv and Missale Hafniense 843, f. 137r.*

Scandinavia. We have studied more than 40 sources and we have found out that—apart from Missal 387—the complete lyrics records with notation (for Pentecost Eve) were present in two Cologne graduals. The remaining missals (mostly non-notated or partially notated) showed complete records of lyrics. They are all reported in the following table.

Table 1. View of the analysed manuscripts and prints with complete chant lyrics *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in the Pentecost Eve context

Name of manuscript / printing	Sign.	Date of writing of the manuscript / printing	Place of origin	Hymn <i>Rex sanctorum</i>
Graduale Wiślica	RL 1	14 th cent.	Wiślica, Poland	f. 124
Graduale Sandomierz	Sak 40	14 th cent.	Sandomierz, Poland	f. 48
Missale Göttingen	AB III 9	1400	Göttingen, Germany	f. 128
Missale Gnesnense	99*	1492	Gniezno, Poland	f. CIIIIr-v
Missale Cracoviense	100*	1493	Cracow, Poland	f. CXVIIv
Missale Traiectense	96*	1495	Utrecht, Netherlands	f. XCVIv
Missale Warmiense	102*	1497	Lidzbark Warmiński, Poland	f. CVIIIr
Graduale Köln 1	229	1498	Cologne, Germany	f. 146-147
Missale Aquileiense	164*	1517	Aquileia, Italy	f. 76v
Missale Plocense	8*	1520	Płock, Poland	f. 99v
Graduale Köln 2	220	16 th cent.	Cologne, Germany	f. 126-127

* the signature is referred to numbering in the database www.usuarium.elte.hu

Apart from the aforementioned manuscripts and prints reported in the table, we know about the presence of our hymn also in some other manuscripts. Unfortunately, we didn't have a chance to get them during the preparation of this article. Similarly, we were not able to verify some detected clues in the collection *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*. In particular, we are thinking about two manuscripts from Sankt Gallen with signatures 381 and 382, or the manuscripts *Emmeramense*, *Garstense* and *Augustanum* (Dreves 242-243). In near future, in order to have a more precise study, we would like to include also the *Graduale Strigoniense* by Ferenc Futaki (1463, Istanbul, Topkap Seray, sign. 2429), the *Graduale Wladislai II.* (16th cent. in,

Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, sign. Mss. I. 3) or the *Graduale Brassoviense* (14th cent. Brasov, sign. ms. I. F. 67).

In the following lines, we report a complete transcription of the text of the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* and all text variants of these sources, as stated in the previous table.

*Rex sanctorum angelorum totum mundum adjuva*¹

¹ Płock, Kraków, Gniezno adds: *Chorus Rex sanctorum*
Wiśl., Köln1 adds *Rex*, Sandomierz: *Rex sanctorum*

Ora primum tu pro nobis virgo mater germinis et ministri patris² summi³ ordines⁴ angelici Rex sanctorum⁵

² Utrecht, Köln2: *regis*

³ Lidzbark, Wiślicki: *summi patris*

⁴ Utrecht: *ordinis*

⁵ Lidzbark, Płock uvádzajú: *Totum mundum*, Sandomierz, Wiśl.: *totum*
Köln2: *Rex*
Aquilaia, Kraków, Gniezdo, Utrecht do not report: *Rex sanctorum*

Supplicate christo regi cetus apostolici⁶ supplicetque per magnorum sanguis fusus⁷ martyrum Totum mundum⁸

⁶ Wiślicki: *apostolicus*

⁷ Wiślicki: *fusus sanctis*

⁸ Lidzbark, Sand., Wiśl., Köln2 report: *Rex*, Płock, Köln1: *Rex sanctorum*
Aquilaia, Kraków, Gniezdo, Utrecht do not report repetendum

Implorate⁹ confessores consoneque¹⁰ virgines quo¹¹ donetur magne¹² nobis tempus indulgencie Rex¹³

⁹ Gött.: *Implorate*

¹⁰ Kraków, Płock: *consonentque*

¹¹ Lidzbark: *ut*

¹² Sandomierz: *magnum*

¹³ Köln1 uvádza: *Rex sanctorum*,
Lidzbark, Płock, Sandomierz, Wiśl. report: *Totum*
Aquilaia, Kraków, Gniezdo, Utrecht do not report repetendum

Omnes sancti atque justī vos¹⁴ precamur cernui ut purgetur crimen omne¹⁵ vestre¹⁶ sub vivamine¹⁷ Totum mundum¹⁸

¹⁴ Köln1: *nos*

¹⁵ Gniezno, Kraków, Lidzbark, Płock, Gött.: *omne crimen*

¹⁶ Aquilaia, Kraków, Lidzbark, Płock, Sandom., Köln1, Köln2, Gött.: *vestro*
Gniezno: *nostro*

¹⁷ Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht, Lidzbark, Płock, Gött.: *sub oramine*

¹⁸ Lidzbark, Sand., Wiśl., Köln2 report: *Rex*, Płock, Köln1: *Rex sanctorum*
Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht do not report *repetendum*

*Hujus christe rector alme vota plebis*¹⁹ *suscipe qui plamasti*²⁰ *prothoplastum*²¹
*et genus gignencium*²² *Rex*²³

¹⁹ Aquil., Krak., Gniezno, Utrecht, Lidz., Płock, Sand., Wiśl., Köln1, Köln2, Gött.:
plebis vota

²⁰ Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht, Lidzbark, Płock, Köln1, Gött.: *plasmasti*

²¹ Utrecht: *prothoplaustum*

²² Utrecht: *gignencium*

²³ Lidzbark, Sand., Wiśl. report *Totum*, Płock: *Totum mundum*
Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht do not report *repetendum*
Utrecht adds the rubric:

Nota qui ubi est fons adduntur versum sequentes

Płock adds the rubric:

Post eam per latus supra fontem stans integrebo tres versus canat

Wiślicki adds the rubric:

Tunc fontem consacret et pueros baptiset per omni aut sabato pasce et crismum
insignat quibus finitis redeant ad chorum repetendo letaniam Mitte sanctum

*Fac*²⁴ *interna*²⁵ *fontis hujus sacratum*²⁶ *mysterium qui profluxit cum cruore*
*sacro christi corpore*²⁷ *Totum mundum*²⁸

²⁴ Utrecht, Płock, Sand., Wiśl., Köln1: the it follows: *Mitte sanctum*

²⁵ Gött.: *in terra*

²⁶ Utrecht: *sacrum*

²⁷ Utrecht: *latere*

²⁸ Lidzbark, Sand., Wiśl. report *Totum*, Płock: *Totum mundum*

Köln1: *Rex sanctorum*, Köln2: *Rex*

Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht do not report *repetendum*

*Et*²⁹ *letetur mater sancta*³⁰ *tota nunc ecclesia ex profectu*³¹ *renascentis tante*
*multitudinis Rex sanctoru*³²

²⁹ Aquil., Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht, Lidzbark, Płock, Sand. Wiśl., Köln1,
Gött.: *Ut*

³⁰ Utrecht, Wiśl.: *nostra*

³¹ Utrecht, Köln1, Köln2: *profectu*

³² Lidzbark, Płock, Sandomierz, Wiślicki, Köln2: *Rex*

Płock adds the rubric: *Pueri hunc versum concludant*

*Mitte*³³ *sanctum nunc*³⁴ *amborum spiritum paraclytum in hanc plebem quam*³⁵
*recentem*³⁶ *fons baptismi parturit Totum*³⁷

³³ Köln2 does not have the verse *Mitte*

³⁴ Sandomierz: *nunc sanctum*, Utrecht nemá *sanctum*

³⁵ Aquileia: *quem*

³⁶ Gniezno: *recenter*, Köln1: *recentis*

³⁷ Lidzbark, Sadnomierz report *Rex*, Wiśl., Köln1: *Rex sanctorum*
 Płock: *Chorus Rex sanctorum*
 Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezdo, Utrecht do not report repetendum

*Presta*³⁸ *patri*³⁹ *atque nati*⁴⁰ *compar sancte spiritus ut te*⁴¹ *solum semper omni diligamus tempor*⁴²

³⁸ Utrecht, Płock, Sand., Wiśl. have first the inserted verse: *Fac interna*

³⁹ Gniezno: *pater*, Wiśl., Köln2: *patris*

⁴⁰ Lidzbark: *nate*

⁴¹ Gniezno: *voto*

⁴² Lidzbark adds: *Totum mundum. Rex sanctorum*, Wiśl.: *Rex*
 Płock adds: *Totum mundum Post ea recipiant Rex sanctorum*
 Aquileia, Kraków, Gniezno, Utrecht, Sand. do not report repetendum

According to comparison of the aforementioned sources, we can observe that the chant *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in ms. 387 is more or less autonomous. For example, amongst the compared sources, it is the only manuscript that includes the variants no. 17—*sub iuvamine* and 20—*plamasti*. Although at first sight, it might look like a writer's mistake, we have indirectly found the first variant in the manuscript from Sankt Gallen 381 (Dreves 242).

The German manuscript from Göttingen (from 14th century) has got relatively few variants in which we can observe analogies with the Polish sources. Only the autonomous variant no. 9 *Inplorate* can be considered as a graphic mistake.

A significant similarity with our missal is shown notably by the Cologne gradual (Köln2, sign. 220), which can be distinguished especially because of three variants (2—*regis*, 31—*provectu*, 39—*patris*) in compliance with some other German or Polish manuscripts. A typical feature of this codex is the fact that—after each single verse—we notice the same repetendum (*Rex*), whereas the chants never include the verse *Mitte sanctum*. On the other hand, it is the only manuscript that is compliant with our missal—specifically under numbers 19—*plamasti*, 27—*Et* and in the exact order of verses. The older gradual from Cologne with sign. 229 (Köln1, 1498) is quite different than its more recent version from the 16th century; and it resembles more to Polish manuscripts.

The higher extent of differentness is shown by the Dutch manuscript from Utrecht, as it is shown by the largest number of autonomous variants (2—*regis*, 4—*ordinis*, 21—*prothoplaustum*, 22—*gingnencium*, 26—*sacrum*, 27—*latere*). In most of the cases, the changes are intentional. They are not simple mistakes due to distraction. It means that the print contents were probably influenced by a different tradition.

The Polish manuscripts from Gniezno, Kraków, Lidzbark, Płock, and Sandomierz show mutual similarity, although some of them present their own autonomous peculiarities (Gniezno: 36—*recenter*, 41—*voto*; Lidzbark: no. 40—*nate*; Wiślicki: 6—*apostolicus*, 7—*fusus sanctis*). It is interesting that even the Italian missal from Aquileia is compliant with them (compared to them, it shows only one autonomous distinction—the variant no. 35— *quem*).

And there is also another noteworthy element: in two sources, we observe rubrics in the middle of the chant (specifically, after the verse *Huius christe rector alme*). The Utrecht missal warns about the fact that—in the relevant place—it is necessary to add the following verse (*Nota qui ubi est fons adduntur versum sequentes*). The Płock manuscript indicates that (by standing aside over the baptismal font) it is necessary to sing three verses (*Post eam per latus supra fontem stans integrebos tres versus canat*).

OCCURRENCE OF THE CHANT *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM* IN OTHER MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS

During the search of comparative material, we have found our hymn much more often in manuscripts and prints only in its incipit form. In some other manuscripts and prints it is completely absent. In order to provide a more complete view, in the following table we also report details about such manuscripts and prints (less relevant for our research).

Table 2. View of the analysed manuscripts and prints with incipit form of chant *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in the Pentecost Eve context

Name of manuscript / printing	Sign.*	Date of writing of the manuscript/ printing	Place of origin	Hymn <i>Rex sanctorum</i>
Codex Pray, sacramentary, not.	710	1190-1200	Budapest, Hungary	f. 60r
Missale Istanbul, not.	303	about 1300	Istanbul, Turkey	photo 211**
Missale Strigoniense, not.	840	before 1341	Bratislava, Slovakia	f. 86r
Missale Miskolci	764	1394	Eger, Hungary	f. 96r
Missale Lincöpense, not.	336	1400-1500	Stockholm, Sweden	f. 79r
Missale Strengnense	104	1487	Stockholm, Sweden	f. E XVr

Missale Quinqueecclesiense	91	1487	Pécs, Hungary	f. CXLIIIv
Missale Quinqueecclesiense	532	1499	Budapest, Hungary	f. CXXXVIII
Missale Hafniense	44	1510	Copenhagen, Denmark	f. 137r
Missale Lundense	45	1514	Copenhagen, Denmark	f. 120v

* the signature is referred to numbering in the database www.usuarium.elte.hu

** the description of rituals is integrated in the left border by a younger hand

A relatively high number of studied manuscripts do not contain the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum*. For example, we took a look at eight specimen editions from the collection *Paléographie Musicale*, but we didn't find this chant in any of them.⁸ It can be an important clue for us: the concerned hymn appeared in the liturgy of Pentecost Eve mostly in the later epoch.⁹

Table 3. List of the of the analysed manuscripts and prints where the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in the Pentecost Eve context is completely absent

Name of manuscript / printing	sign.*	Date of writing of the manuscript / printing	Place of origin	In vigilia Pentecosten
Missale Troianum, not.	1137	1100-1200	Troia, Italy	f. CXVII
Missale Vercellense, not.	1142	1146-1155	Vercelli, Italy	**
Missale de Nemetújvár, not.	692	1200-1300	Zagreb, Nemetújvár (Güssing) Austria	f. 147v
Missale Rigense	560	about 1450	Riga, Latvia	f. 95
Missale Dominorum Ultramontanorum	434	1480	ODU, Hungary	f. 182
Missale Benedictinum	469	1481	OSB, Italy	f. XCVII
Missale Romanum	95	1481	Roma, Italy	f. 106v

⁸ *Paléographie Musicale. Collection fondée en 1889 par Dom André Mocquereau. Le principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican publiés par les moines de Solesmes.* We have consulted the following specimen editions: I. *Saint-Gall, Le codex 339*, 1992; II. *Cantatorium de Saint-Gall*, 1988; IV. *Le codex 121 d'Einsiedeln*, 1992; VII-VIII. *Codex H. 159 de Montpellier*, 1995; X. *Le codex 239 de Laon*, 1992; XI. *Antiphonale Missarum Chartres 47*, 1997; XIII. *Graduel de Saint-Yrieix*, 1992; XV. *Le codex VI 34 de Bénévent*, 1992.

⁹ An exception is represented by some manuscripts reported in the *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi*, as for example the Graduale of Sankt-Gallen 381 and 382. Unfortunately, as we have already mentioned, we were not able to find the concerned chant in the online version.

Missale Lubucense	101	1484-1491	Lebus, Poland	photo 120
Missale Olomucense	752	1488	Olomouc, Bohemia	f. CXXIX
Missale Romano-Bursfeldense	220	1498	Bursfelde, Italy	f. CVIv
Missale Pragense	2	1498	Praha, Bohemia	f. CXIII
Missale Messanense	382	1499	Messina, Italy	f. CXIX
Missale Romano-Mellicense	379	about 1499	Melk, Italy	f. LXXXIII
Missale Casinense	751	1506	Casino, Italy	f. 121
Missale Upsalense	652	1513	Upsala, Sweden	f. 109r
Missale Paulinum	472	1514	OSPPE, Hungary	f. 141r
Missale Nidrosiense	97	1519	Trondheim, Norway	f. CXIXv

* the signature is referred to numbering in the database www.usuarium.elte.hu

***Missale notatum Vercellense* does not include Pentecost Eve

COMPARISON OF CHANT *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM* IN DOMESTIC SOURCES

The medieval musical heritage preserved in the territory of Slovakia is currently represented by 18 manuscripts. Apart from ms. 387, the analysed chant is also present in other domestic manuscripts.¹⁰ The first of them is the already mentioned Bratislava Notated Missal I, also known with the Latin name of *Missale notatum Strigoniense* (Szendrei and Rybarič). For the Pentecost Eve, it only records the incipit form of the hymn. For Easter Eve, the whole hymn is reported in its entirety. Paradoxically, this doesn't happen in the main corpus of the manuscript, but in its extracted part (preserved in the Budapest State Archive under sign. EC Lad 3).

An originally domestic manuscript (the *Graduale Cassoviense*) is long-time preserved in Budapest. Theoretical analysis of this codex was performed by Rastislav Adamko and Eva Veselovská. Unfortunately, due to a source defect, it is not clear whether the chant was used even during the solemnity *In vigilia Pentecoste*. By the way, it got preserved in the part of the Easter Eve (Adamko and Veselovská 75).

¹⁰ It is worth to remind that: out of the above mentioned 18 manuscripts, only 11 manuscripts were studied and made accessible through publication. Therefore, the above reported number is not relevant (publications include: 3 graduals, 6 antiphonaries, and 2 missals; and one of these missals is ms. 387 under research).

The Esztergom gradual (Szendrei, *Graduale Strigoniense* 117-118) is not actually our domestic source, but it certainly belongs to the Esztergom tradition which concerns also the Bratislava Notated Missal I. For this reason, we have classified it in the comparison of domestic sources.

The other manuscript that records the chant both in its text and in its melodic form (but only in the context of Pentecost Eve) are the Spiš gradual by George from Kežmarok from 1426 (Akmijak, Adamko and Bednáriková f. 31; *Graduale Scepusiense*) and the Nitra gradual from the 16th century (Adamko, *Graduale Nitriense* 100-103). The hymn is also reported in the *Cantione sacrae*, sign. MUS I 92, f. 40, though only with its incipit form (*Cantionae sacrae*, f. 40).

Apart from the above-mentioned manuscripts, the analysed chant is also preserved in the Fragment no. 6 located in the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava (Veselovská 66-67). Unfortunately, this version is not complete, due to fragment damage. Despite slight deviation from established criteria of searching and comparison, we have mutually compared the texts of the aforementioned sources with the Notated Missal ms. 387. We report the single variants in the following passage.

*Rex sanctorum angelorum totum mundum adjuva Rex sanctorum*¹

¹ ECL3: *Rex*, NiGr does not have repetendum

*Ora primum tu pro nobis virgo mater germinis et ministri patris summi*²
*ordines angelici Rex sanctorum*³

² NiGr: *sumpni*

³ SpGr, NiGr report repetendum *Totum mundum*, ECL3: *Totum*

Supplicate christo regi cetus apostolici supplicetque per magnorum sanguis
*fusus martyrum Totum mundum*⁴

⁴ SpGr report repetendum *Rex sanctorum*, ECL3: *Rex*
NiGr does not have repetendum

*Implorate confessores consoneque*⁵ *virgines quo*⁶ *donetur magne nobis*⁷
tempus indulgencie Rex

⁵ NiGr: *consonentque*

⁶ SpGr, GrStr, Fr6: *ut*

⁷ SpGr: *nobis magne*, NiGr: *consonentque*

⁸ SpGr reports repetendum *Totum mundum*, ECL3: *Totum*
NiGr does not have repetendum

Omnes sancti atque iusti vos precamur cernui ut purgetur crimen omne vestre⁹ subiuvamine¹⁰ Totum mundum¹¹

⁹ SpGr, NiGr: *omne crimen vestro*, ECL3, GrStr: *vestro*

¹⁰ SpGr, NiGr: *sub oramine*

¹¹ SpGr, ECL3 reports repetendu *Rex*, NiGr does not have any

Hujus christe rector alme vota plebis¹² suscipe qui plamasti¹³ prothoplastum¹⁴ et genus gignentium¹⁵ Rex

¹² SpGr, NiGr, ECL3, GrStr: *plebis vota*

¹³ SpGr, NiGr, ECL3: *plasmasti*

¹⁴ NiGr, ECL3: *prothoplaustum*

¹⁵ NiGr: *gygancium*

¹⁶ SpGr reports repetendu *Totum mundum*, ECL3: *Totum*
NiGr does not have repetendum

Fac¹⁷ interna¹⁸ fontis huius sacratum mysterium qui profluxit cum cruore sacro christi corpore¹⁹ Totum mundum²⁰

¹⁷ SpGr, NiGr, ECL3 continues with the verse *Mitte sanctum*

¹⁸ NiGr, ECL3, GrStr, Fr6: *in terra*

¹⁹ GrStr, Fr6: *sanguine*

²⁰ ECL3: *Totum*, NiGr does not have repetendu

Et²¹ letetur mater sancta tota nunc ecclesia ex profectu²² renascentis tante multitudinis Rex sanctorum²³

²¹ SpGr, ECL3, GrStr: *Ut*

SpGr before this word includes the rubric ***Deinum pueri***

²² SpGr: *profectu*

²³ ECL3: *Rex*, NiGr does not have repetendum

Mitte²⁴ sanctum nunc amborum spiritum paraclitum in hanc plebem quam recentem fons baptismi parturit Rex²⁵

²⁴ SpGr: before this word includes the rubric ***presbiter***

²⁵ NiGr does not have repetendum

Presta patris atque nati²⁶ compar sancte spiritus²⁷ ut te solum semper omni diligamus tempore Totum Rex

²⁶ NiGr: *pater atque nate*

²⁷ ECL3: *spirite*

On the basis of the comparison of single versions, we must notice that the elements that were different in the ms. 387 (with regard to compared versions from the first table) are almost identical also in the Spiš and in the Nitra

graduals. It is confirmed—for example—by the relevant repetenda. Indeed, in the Bratislava Missal they are reported reversely, whereas in the Spiš gradual they are identical to those of the other sources (in the Bratislava Missal it is adapted after the change of verses). The Spiš manuscript was probably more subject to the influence of Polish manuscripts, whereas the Missal 387 shows resemblances rather with German models and artworks.

The Nitra gradual seems to be half a way through it. It partially “reproduces” the text of the Spiš gradual or of the Bratislava Missal (variants no. 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18); but, in other parts, it includes independent and different variants (no. 15, 26); and it also shows identical features as in the Scandinavian manuscripts, unlike the other domestic sources (consistency in no. 6, 21).

The Bratislava Missal EC Lad 3 is relatively consistent with ms. 387 (a more significant and autonomous distinction is presented only in variant no. 27), although it is sometimes close to the variants of both graduals (no. 9, 12, 13, 17, 18). The partially preserved Fragment 6 has got only three variants (no. 6, 18, 19). Unfortunately, due to its incompleteness, it does not have full plausibility.

The Hungarian manuscript *Graduale Strigoniense* shows variants that are—in most of the cases—consistent with domestic codices (n. 6, 9, 12, 18, 21). A noteworthy element is the replacement of the word *corpore* with the word *sanguine* (variant no. 19—in compliance with Fragment 6), as we did not find in any of the studied sources.

CONCLUSION

The hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* is one of the Pentecost Eve chants that were sung during the water blessing ceremony, before the solemn baptism of catechumens. This chant was even more considerable in the context of the Pentecost Eve, which was almost entirely identical to the Easter Eve liturgy. The presence of this hymn in medieval manuscripts is not completely normal. So far, no great attention was paid to this topic. We started to be interested in this topic with regard to the fact that the Notated Missal located in Bratislava (ms. 387) and likely to be originated in Scandinavia, reports the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* even on the Pentecost Eve—in its full lyrics and music version.

In order to get more information about the provenance of this manuscript, we began to investigate the presence of the aforementioned chant in several

medieval codices. We have analysed a total of 46 manuscripts from Southern Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, and Kingdom of Hungary; and we have ascertained that the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* is reported in the context of Pentecost Eve only in 11 manuscripts (6 from Poland, 3 from Germany, 1 from Italy, and 1 from the Netherlands). Only in 4 cases out of 11 the chant is reported with its melodic record (2 from Germany and 2 from Poland). We have found the hymn in its incipit form in 10 manuscripts (6 from the Kingdom of Hungary, 2 from Sweden, and 2 from Denmark). As for the other analysed sources, this chant is not reported on the Pentecost Eve (or it is recorded only on Easter Eve).

The textual analysis of the chant *Rex sanctorum angelorum* in the Notated Missal ms. 387 shows that its version draws apart from the majority of manuscripts. Amongst the aforementioned variants, our Missal has got some specific features that are seldom found in other sources or are inexistent in other sources: indeed, only in our missal—instead of the expression *sub oramine* in the fifth verse we observe the words *sub iuvamine*; the word *plamasti* is recorded only in three other sources; and at the beginning of the last but one verse we observe the word *Et*, (which can be found in the same position only in four other sources). Apart from that, our Missal is one of the rare manuscripts (together with the more recent Cologne manuscript from the 16th century) showing an inverted order of verses: after the verse *Huius christe* we observe the words *Fac interna*, whereas the other manuscripts report the words *Mitte sanctum*. With regard to studied manuscripts, our chant shows the most of analogies with the Cologne print from the 16th century (Köln2) and the least of analogies with the Dutch Missal from Utrecht (edited by printing). We might assume that ms. 387 followed rather the German tradition than the Polish or Italian or Hungarian traditions.

With regard to domestic sources (or sources from the Kingdom of Hungary) containing the analysed hymn only within Easter Eve, we can observe that they take several influences—often relating to their geographical position. For example, the Spiš gradual by George from Kežmarok is more influenced by Polish models, whereas the Nitra gradual inclines to the Esztergom manuscripts. The Bratislava Missal EC Lad3 has the highest number of analogies with the Scandinavian manuscript, although it also presents some variants identical to those of Polish manuscripts.

Within the frame of total research on chant and relevant rubrics concerning the ceremony *ad fontem* we have discovered further interesting matters. One of them is, for example—the fact that two analysed sources (*Missale*

Hafniense and *Missale Lundense*, originally under the administration of Denmark) report about the baptism of one child after water blessing; this act was not practiced elsewhere, or at least there are no mentions about it. This fact is recorded in the Notated Missal ms. 387 showing a strong connection with Scandinavian (notably Danish) tradition. And this may support—or underline—the idea of a Danish origin of our manuscript.

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HYMN *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM* W *MISSALE NOTATUM* SYGN. RKP. 387
I JEGO ZNACZENIE W POSZUKIWANIU PROWENIENCJI RĘKOPISU

Streszczenie

Hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum* jest śpiewem Wigilii Paschalnej przeznaczonym na błogosławieństwo wody przed chrztem katechumenów. Obecność tego śpiewu w średniowiecznych rękopisach nie jest powszechna. W *Missale notatum* zanotowano go również na wigilię uroczystości Zesłania Ducha Świętego. Jego wersja różni się jednak od większości przebadanych manuskryptów. W porównaniu z nimi rkp. 387 zachowuje w większym stopniu tradycję niemiecką. Biorąc pod uwagę niektóre zawarte w nim obrzędy, np. związane z chrztem dziecka, wielce prawdopodobne jest duńskie pochodzenie tego rękopisu.

Słowa kluczowe: rękopisy średniowieczne; chorał gregoriański; tradycja liturgiczna; mszał; hymn.

THE HYMN *REX SANCTORUM ANGELORUM* IN NOTATED MISSAL MS. 387
AND ITS PARTIAL MEANING IN THE SEARCH OF THE PROVENANCE
OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Summary

Amongst the 18 notated manuscripts (today located in Slovak depositories as part of our precious cultural heritage), we can find Notated Missal ms. 387 from the former Evangelical College Library in Bratislava. It is preserved in the Central Library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. Currently it is the subject of deeper research. Its most disputable aspect is its provenance. According to many scholars, it dates back to the 13th century, because it does not include the Feast of Corpus Christi. On the basis of a later note in the calendar (f. 5) we may also assume that the manuscript was written (or, at least, utilised) in the city of Lund, Sweden. For confirmation or refutation of such a hypothesis, the author will take into account the considerations regarding the hymn *Rex sanctorum angelorum*, that may represent one of the clues in order to get closer to the truth.

Key words: medieval manuscripts; Gregorian chant; liturgical tradition; missal; hymn.