

ABSTRACT

Title: A CLUNIAC OFFICE OF THE DEAD
Suzanne M. Hilton, M.A., 2005
Directed By: Associate Professor Barbara Haggh-Huglo,
Department of Music

The medieval office of the dead has received only passing mention in studies of Western plainchant. Its rapid diffusion and increase in practical use throughout Europe is a consequence of priorities in worship at the Abbey of Cluny and the introduction of All Souls' Day to the Christian calendar. Gabriel Beyssac investigated the Cluny office of the dead, but his results were not published. Only Knud Ottosen, a professor of theology at the University of Aarhus, has described it within a book on the responsory and verse texts for known Western offices of the dead, which does not consider the music.

The place of the office of the dead in the liturgy of Cluny will be discussed. The musical structure of the office and its melodies will be identified. An edition of the office from the manuscript breviary, Solesmes (Sarthe), Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Bibliothèque, Réserve, Ms. 334, concludes the thesis.

A CLUNIAC OFFICE OF THE DEAD

By

Suzanne M. Hilton

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Advisory Committee:
Associate Professor Barbara Haggh-Huglo Chair
Professor Richard Wexler
Associate Professor Grayson Wagstaff,
Catholic University of America

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Preface

The office of the dead has become a familiar portion of the divine office to anyone who studies chant, but this is the limit of most research. Although Cluny maintained a reputation for its frequent celebration of the office of the dead, the Cluniac office of the dead has only been mentioned in passing in many chant studies.¹

Even the liturgy of Cluny is less well known than that of other monasteries. David Hiley remarked that “Cluny’s liturgy and chant have not received detailed attention in proportion to their fame. The tendency has been rather to assume Cluniac influence on liturgical music simply because it ‘must have been influential’.”² It has also been suggested that Cluny was “likely the most influential European musical venue in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.”³ Manuel Pedro Ferreira even declared that Cluny was the “single most influential Benedictine monastery in the history of the medieval Western church,” and “the study of its musical tradition needs no further justification.”⁴

Joachim Wollasch, through his synoptic study of “Cluniac” eleventh and twelfth-century necrologies, was able to provide some of the names of the monks who received thirty days of commemoration upon their deaths. Those who benefited from the commemorations had their names inscribed in the necrology followed by the

¹ Often, the Office of the dead is only mentioned with “other minor offices” such as the Little Office of the Virgin Mary. See *The New Grove*, second ed., s.v. “Cluniac Monks”, 64-65, paragraph 4.

² David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 575.

³ Bryan Gillingham, “The Centrality of the Lost Cluniac Musical Tradition,” in *Chant and its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, eds. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1998) 242.

⁴ Manuel P. Ferreira, “Music at Cluny: The Tradition of Gregorian Chant for the Proper of the Mass. Melodic Variants and Microtonal Nuances” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997), 5.

abbreviation *t.*⁵ This marking indicated that a chanted office of the dead would be performed by the Cluniac brothers for thirty days to commemorate them.

This important sung office, which is so closely associated with the necrologies of Cluniac monasteries and its dependencies, still remains unstudied. Previous scholars who have researched the music of the Cluny office of the dead include Gabriel Beyssac (d.1965), but Knud Ottosen, a professor of theology at the University of Aarhus, remarked in his book that Beyssac's theories were never published. Ottosen has written the only detailed study of the Latin office of the dead, but has not included any musical analysis. Edmund Bishop published several still useful articles on the early history of the office of the dead in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but gave credit to Antonia Maria Ceriani (1828-1907) as one of the first to devote a thorough investigation into the origin of this office in 1897.⁶

The loss of Cluniac manuscripts has been great. Consequently, few scholars have attempted the study of music at Cluny. Ruth Steiner and David Hiley are among the most prominent to have published their findings about Cluniac office chants of the Middle Ages. Michel Huglo has emphasized the necessity of studying Cluny's chant based on the chant of its dependencies,⁷ but this thesis will offer the reader an opportunity to observe the chant of Cluny from a primary source from Cluny.

The manuscript treated in this study is housed in Solesmes, France, in the library of the Abbaye St-Pierre as Ms.334, and is identified by Ottosen as Sol334. It

⁵ "A Cluniac Necrology from the Time of Abbot Hugh", in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (London: Macmillan, 1971), 151.

⁶ For further discussion of this matter, see Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 217, n3.

⁷ Michel Huglo, "Trois anciens manuscrits liturgiques d'Auvergne," in *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne* 77 (1957) : 81-104.

was written at Cluny between 1229 and 1314 according to Pierre Blanchard⁸ and is the earliest and only notated office of the dead from Cluny itself. The music of this manuscript has not been previously examined, but it has been cataloged by Ottosen and also by Ferreira, who mentioned a possible connection between the copyist and the Clermont diocese for which it was intended.⁹ According to Blanchard, however, this breviary was intended for a parish church in the city of Cluny and not in Clermont, as Ferreira suggested. The breviary was donated to the Abbey of St.-Pierre in Solesmes during World War II by the family of Thomas de la Pintièrre after he became a monk at the abbey.¹⁰

Veneration of the dead was central to monastic life at Cluny, more so than any other monastery. Their care for the dead brought the monastery notability and wealth by way of donations of the “faithful rich” at a time when controversies such as simony and investiture were at their height. Their spiritual nature prevailed, however with the creation of All Souls’ Day, in which all the dead were prayed for regardless of class.

I have sought to bring to light useful and historically accurate information about the Cluniac office of the dead, and even more importantly, as previous scholarly studies have only involved office of the dead texts, to contribute musical analysis of a previously unstudied aspect of chant scholarship in a clear and understandable format. This thesis will unveil the structure and melodic content of the earliest and only extant notated office of the dead from Cluny and will analyze and

⁸ Pierre Blanchard, “Un bréviaire de Cluny,” *Revue bénédictine* 57 (1947) : 201-209.

⁹ Ferreira, “Music at Cluny,” page 5, note 9. See also Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Blanchard, “*Un bréviaire de Cluny*,” p. 201, and personal communication from Michel Huglo, September 2005.

discuss each chant. This study also provides the first description of the place of the office of the dead in the votive liturgy of Cluny and its history. Because the same office was generally kept for centuries in one place, the later notated copies can be assumed to represent the earlier practice, and therefore the study of this music is useful in situating the Cluniac office in the history of the Office of the Dead, and in suggesting whether any offices pre-dating Cluny might have served as models.

Dedication

Muriel D. Sterling

University of Maryland, College Park

Class of 1954

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There are a number of people who contributed to the creation of this paper. I would not presume to believe that without their help, I would have come this far in my research. It is a pleasure to thank them here in commemoration of their hard work and time spent with nothing more than my welfare in mind. First and foremost, I must thank Barbara Haggh-Huglo for believing in me and believing I was capable of the research. This work would not exist without her support Period. Second, I thank Michel Huglo for always being available to me for questions and for his incredible knowledge of the subject, which contributed to my better comprehension of the Cluniac monks and their concern for the dead. I would like to thank Dr. Marilyn Smiley for her inspiration. Her love of music history and her dedication to teaching it have been my inspiration all these years. And I especially want to thank Carl Adams for working harder than anyone I know to allow me to write this paper and realize my educational goals. May I soon return the favor.

Suzanne M. Hilton

Table of Contents

Preface.....	ii
Dedication	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
PART I	1
Chapter 1: The Office of the Dead -- Early Evidence	1
The Foundation of Cluny's Monastery	6
Chapter 2: Donations to Cluny, Popular Beliefs in Purgation and their consequences for the Dead.....	13
The Donations to Cluny	13
The Influence of Purgatory on the liturgy at Cluny	16
Chapter 3: All Souls' Day	21
From All Saints' to All Souls' Day	21
Chapter 4: Cluny's Care for the Sick and Dying	26
The Role of the Individual	26
The Role of the Cluniacs as a Community	32
PART II.....	36
Chapter 5: The Office of the Dead -- History and Music	36
Melodies.....	38
Chapter 6: Conclusions	43
Appendix I	49
Editorial Remarks	49
<i>Differentiae</i>	68
Appendix II: Edition	73
Facsimile: Sol334.....	73
Facsimile: BN774C.....	87
Modern Notation Transcription: SOL334.....	100
Modern Notation Transcription: BN774C	123
Variants	146
Appendix III: Tables	154
Chant Text and Forms.....	154
Bibliography	161

PART I

Chapter 1: The Office of the Dead -- Early Evidence

The medieval monastic office of the dead is a special set of prayers and chants used by religious to commemorate the death and the anniversaries of the death of the departed. Commemorations for the dead have been remarked upon ever since the acceptance of Christianity. In the fourth century St. Cyril of Jerusalem described the Eucharistic celebration in which the lay faithful, upon completion of the Eucharistic rite would remain behind and say prayers that included those for the dead.¹¹

St. Cyril spoke of the value of these prayers when he questioned whether a soul could profit from prayers after having departed this world. He explained that the living may indeed intercede on behalf of departed souls, “Now surely if, when a king had banished certain [men] who had given him offence, their connexions should weave a crown and offer it to him on behalf of those under his vengeance, would he not grant respite to their punishments?”¹²

The value of commemorative prayer has always been recognized by the Church, but the developing concept of purgatory and the ways to diminish the duration of purgation were continuing subjects of debate in the Middle Ages. Early medieval penitentials (documents outlining methods of penitence) were first written by Irish monks in the seventh century, who, ironically, may have been influenced by Roman

¹¹ Frank Leslie Cross, ed., *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments: The Procatechesis and the Five Mystagogical Catechesis* (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977), 71-80.

¹² *Ibid.*, 75.

Christians, and spread these documents to the Saxon peoples of England. The documents were subsequently circulated on the continent by eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionaries, before they were undermined by Carolingian reform in the ninth century. The Irish penitential practices themselves depended on the degree of severity of the sin; one could substitute one type of penance assigned to a particular sin for another type. One form of penitence was the recitation of the entire psalter in three groups of fifty, which could be accomplished over the course of a year or in times of necessity, in a single day.¹³

Common assumptions about salvation that prevailed in the eighth century, coupled with an obligation of the faithful to confess and receive communion at least once a year, were concerns shared by all medieval peoples. Penitence could potentially take a lifetime or more if a sinner were unusually careless. Annual confession often left a balance of unfinished penitence, which would have to be completed before the soul could proceed to heaven. These beliefs could partially explain the eagerness of medieval nobles and leaders to endow and maintain monasteries. Financial interest in a monastery by the wealthy would result in the prayers by the religious for the soul of the donor, in which both the donation and the prayers would equal that of a long period of penance.¹⁴

During the late eighth century, Charlemagne began to show an interest in monastic discipline and structure.¹⁵ In 787 he requested an authentic copy of St. Benedict's

¹³ Peter Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 104-105.

¹⁴ Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman Group, 1989; reprint Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 66-67 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹⁵ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 74.

Rule from Abbot Theodemar in Monte Cassino in an effort to ensure proper understanding of the monastic rites. The concern that the Carolingian court showed for the daily functions of monasteries reflected the growing interests in salvation that could be achieved only through penance.¹⁶

The right to be prayed for upon death, which was a benefit of monastic confraternity, led to the idea to include special prayers (*missae speciales*) for the departed.¹⁷ The *missae speciales* were a significant part of the reforms put into place by Benedict of Aniane while at his monastery of Inden (known also as Cornelimünster, near Aachen) in the ninth century. This newly-established monastery, which was given to Benedict between the years of 814-815 by Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, was designed to allow Benedict an opportunity to put the desired reforms of his own making and those of the Carolingian Empire into practice.¹⁸

Synods held at Aachen in August of 816 and July of 817 instituted the Carolingian-Benedictine reform. Benedict of Aniane introduced rigid uniformity to the monastic liturgy, which included the performance of the special or votive services, and important commemorative prayers like the office of the dead as well as private masses, that were celebrated on a growing number of altars found in newly-constructed monasteries. Benedict's monastery in Inden was a position to subject all other monastic houses to his new uniformity and supplementary devotions.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1993), 31.

¹⁸ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 70-74.

As a result of the reforms, all Benedictine monastic houses were required to send representatives to observe and report the reforms to their abbot, while special *missi* were ordered by the Emperor to ensure and enforce observance of the reforms. One particular report was made by two monks from the Abbey of Reichenau, who traveled to Inden to record the daily practice of the Benedictine monks there in anticipation of the Abbey of Reichenau's own compliance with future reforms. Their report described twelve points of practice, including, "how the vigil of the dead is celebrated." The report continues with these details: "As soon as vespers of the day are over, they immediately say vespers of the dead, with antiphons, and after compline, matins of the dead, with antiphons and responsories, sung with full and sonorous voice and with great sweetness; next morning, after matins of the day, lauds of the dead."¹⁹

Their description of the office of the dead may be interpreted as a report of an already established practice at the Abbey of Inden, which they would have simply altered when returning home to Reichenau. This report has also been widely accepted as evidence of an entirely new addition to the daily office, which included a daily recitation of the office of the dead. Edmund Bishop suggested that it may in fact have been assembled early in 817 and perhaps even "a year or so earlier."²⁰ In other words, the report may pre-date the Aachen synods themselves.

But not all monasteries accepted the reforms, including the Abbey of Reichenau. Abbot Haito wrote, "I wish to avail myself of the authority of the Rule, which is not

¹⁹ Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," 217.

²⁰ Ibid., 213-217.

to be prejudiced by any new constitution.” It is clear from his remark that he did not feel the need for the reforms or some of the additional material.²¹

Defining the office of the dead as an addition to the daily divine office, and not just as an occasional special service or commemoration has been the focus of some scholarly debates. Scholars such as Edmund Bishop and Knud Ottosen, who have examined the office of the dead and its history, agree that influence concerning any sort of practiced celebration for the dead emanated from St. Benedict’s Aachen reforms in the ninth century, but Bishop acknowledged an even earlier practice within the monastery of St. Riquier, which was attested by Angilbert, who served as abbot between 793 and 814.²² In his *Ordo* Angilbert describes a daily recitation for the dead “in addition” to the daily office. The portion of Angilbert’s writings that describe the precise recitation was not preserved, but it does call for the daily recitation of matins, nocturns, and vespers of the dead.²³ Interestingly, Bishop discovered that this office was to be recited in an oratory and not in the church where the regular office was sung. It was his opinion, however, that this was, in fact, the “earliest witness to the practice,” pre-dating the Aachen synods and the report of the Reichenau monks by up to a decade or more.²⁴

Traditionally, the office of the dead and the commemorations and treatment of the dead have been linked to the monastery of Cluny, founded in 909, but Bishop’s evidence suggests that the practice of this office was already known before Cluny was

²¹ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 74-75.

²² For more information concerning this attribution see Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 33, n10; and Edmund Bishop, “Angilbert’s Ritual Order for Saint-Riquier,” *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 327.

²³ *Ibid.*, 327. Cf. Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, Institutio, 16, in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, ed. Kassius Hallinger et al. (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), 302.

²⁴ Bishop, “Spanish Symptoms,” *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 190.

founded. Therefore it would not have originated at the Abbey of Cluny, but in other Benedictine abbeys predating Cluny's foundation. It was the creation of AllSouls' Day by Cluny's abbot Odilo in the eleventh century and Cluny's well-known reputation for the treatment and care of the dead that led to common beliefs locating the creation of commemorations for the dead at Cluny.²⁵

The Foundation of Cluny's Monastery

What is left of the wealthy and highly influential monastery of Cluny is located in the region of Burgundy in central France; the abbey was founded in 909 by William, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Mâcon. That year William, who desired to found a monastery on his Burgundian estates, sought the advice of the Abbot Berno of Baume, and together they agreed upon a valley in Cluny. When William protested because he would no longer be able to use the land to hunt, Abbot Berno is said to have replied, "...which will serve you better at the judgment, O Duke, the prayers of the monks or the baying of hounds?"²⁶

Upon the death of King Boso of Burgundy and Provence in 887, the king's son journeyed to Italy to claim the Italian crown. William took advantage of the royal absence to grant episcopal immunity to the monastery -- a privilege usually exercised only by the king himself. It should be noted that monastic communities did not usually control their own internal affairs; this was done by an abbot-general, who would have been under the control of a secular government. It was precisely this type

²⁵ Bishop has observed with regard to borrowed Cluniac tradition: "It is not uncommon in a vague and general fashion to attribute the origin and spread of such accretions to the example of Cluny...but in the present case this is to attribute to Cluny an influence which it obtained only at a later date; the practices are too widely observed to admit such an explanation; and that the monastery, in this matter, only went along with the prevalent current." Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," 219-220.

²⁶ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 80.

of lay interference that William desired to avoid.²⁷ It is likely that internal issues that had plagued the medieval Church, such as lay investiture and simony, may have also contributed to William's desire to establish Cluny as an autonomous abbey, but reasons behind this type of donation can be as independently motivated as the donors themselves.²⁸

Spiritual focus was an important aspect of the Benedictine monasticism of the eleventh century, which sought new reforms to counter the lay domination of monasteries and lay morality so prevalent at the time. William's generous gift kept the monks of Cluny free from taxation and more importantly from lay control, which allowed them to focus on their contemplative and spiritual efforts.

Monastic endeavors, which included commemoration of the dead through perpetual prayer, were also factored into Williams' donation. The preamble of his charter to Cluny states: "Desiring to provide for my own salvation while I am still able, I have considered it advisable, indeed most necessary, that from the temporal goods conferred upon me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul..."²⁹ William's act, which subsequently abolished lay control of the abbot's office, brought Cluny very close to total independence. This arrangement laid a foundation for the well known "Gregorian" reforms under Pope Gregory VII in the eleventh century to which Cluny became a prime contributor. Through Cluny's established and close relationship with the papacy, the monastery was later able to

²⁷ Constance B. Bouchard, "Cluniac Monastic Renewal," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41:3 (1990): 372. Cf. Constance B. Bouchard, "The Bosonids: or Rising to Power in the Late Carolingian Age," *French Historical Studies* 15 (1988): 407-431.

²⁸ For a complete discussion of the donations to Cluny and their significance, see Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St. Peter* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

²⁹ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 67-68.

work in tandem with Gregory VII, whose reforms focused on the problems related to the investiture controversy of the eleventh century.³⁰ Some liturgical changes included a further integration of votive offices, such as the office of the dead, into the daily Divine Office.³¹

Many of William's desires for Cluny were not of his own invention, but were familiar practices of the era. First, William stipulated that the monks of Cluny were to follow the rule of St. Benedict, but this was already the standard practice of Carolingian monasticism. His method of ownership was not unique either, in that it had been used by other monastic founders in the past 50 years. The monastery of Vézelay, for example, had been declared dependent solely on the Pope fifty years before Cluny was founded.³² William's "vested proprietorship in the Apostles Peter and Paul" had been previously known as well; its result was a monastery and its abbot answerable only to Rome, without episcopal interference.³³ Noreen Hunt pointed out that the oldest known complete customary compiled by Odilo between 996 and 1030, was not an original document, but a redaction of an earlier Cluniac customary and an even older pre-Cluniac document, which she believes "provides good evidence of Cluny's reliance on inherited tradition."³⁴ Finally, as was pointed out above, the recitation of the office of the dead was not the unique practice of Cluniac monks, but

³⁰ Barbara Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), xvii.

³¹ Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 72-3. Cf. Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio*, 17, in *Initia consuetudinis*, ed. Hallinger et al., 302; *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus*, 1, ed. Joseph Semmler.

³² Bouchard, "Cluniac Monastic Renewal," 371.

³³ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 84.

³⁴ Noreen Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 33.

may have been the practice of Angilbert's monks at St. Riquier a century earlier.³⁵

However, the frequency with which the Cluniacs performed it, as well as their size and influence, would eventually make them famous for it.

Coincidentally, the veneration of Sts. Peter and Paul at Cluny had its own history associated with the commemoration of the dead. The anniversary of the Throne of St. Peter, which falls on February 22, shares its anniversary with *Cara cognatio*, the familial feast of the dead in Pagan Rome. Although pagan associations were carefully avoided, Pierre Jounel observed that "Saint Peter's associations were therefore funerary in nature long before they became episcopal."³⁶

Cluny's first abbot, Berno (909-926), was previously the abbot of the monastery at Baume. The traditions of Benedict of Aniane were strictly observed at Baume, and one may ask whether Benedict's office of the dead may have come from Baume, but no manuscripts survive.³⁷ Berno's successor, Odo (926-944), also came from Baume and contributed to the reform of Cluny's charters during his abbacy. Later in the tenth century, Abbot Odilo (994-1049) of Cluny made a significant contribution to the commemoration of the dead by instituting All Souls Day on November 2 between 1024 and 1033.³⁸

Around 980, the monastery of Cluny became the owner of important Roman relics. The first relics brought to Cluny were of Popes Marcellus and Gregory the

³⁵ Edmund Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," 189-90. Cf. Angilbert of Saint-Riquier, *Institutio*, 17, in *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae*, 302.

³⁶ Quoted in Dominique Iogna-Prat, "The Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks Around the Year 1000," *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, ed. Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 355.

³⁷ Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh*, 19-20.

³⁸ The earlier date of 998 was a subject of debate. On this previous date, see Jacques Hourlier, "Saint Odilon et la fête des morts," *Revue grégorienne* 28 (1949), 208-212.

Great, which were brought from Rome along with the relics of Sts. Peter and Paul.³⁹

The relics of Sts. Peter and Paul were transferred from St. Paul's Outside-The-Walls, a monastery reformed by Odo earlier. The very presence of the relics brought with them the presence of the saints themselves. Their intercession could assist the faithful in earthly or heavenly affairs, the latter being directly associated with Sts. Peter and Paul.

The acquisition of relics was pursued diligently and could change an ordinary place of worship into a holy place of pilgrimage.⁴⁰ Thus, Cluny was transformed into a place of pilgrimage for those unable to travel to Rome itself. Pilgrimages, which were accompanied by the delivery of relics, were considered more dangerous and therefore were considered an act of penance.⁴¹ One such pilgrim, William de Warenne, was unable to complete his pilgrimage to Italy, and instead journeyed to Cluny as an alternative place of worship at which to fulfill his vow of homage to St. Peter.⁴² By imploring St. Peter as "foundation of the church," as Odilo had also done in his "Sermon for the Vigil of Sts. Peter and Paul," de Warenne saw it as the best possible place of burial.⁴³

In 998 Odilo, the fifth abbot of Cluny, obtained permission from Pope Gregory V to refuse entry to any bishop who desired to say mass or perform ordinations without the express invitation of the abbot, and later, in 1024, he obtained a grant from Pope

³⁹Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 356. Cf. *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis*, ed. P. Dinter, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 10 (Sieburg, 1980).

⁴⁰Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 100.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²Noreen Hunt, "Cluniac Monasticism," *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. Noreen Hunt (London: Macmillan 1971), 8.

⁴³Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 356-7. Cf. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64) [hereafter PL], vol. 142.1022 B.

John XIX, that made Cluny exempt from the Bishop of Mâcon's jurisdiction. This exemption applied to all Cluniac monks "wherever they may be," or *ubicumque positi*. Subsequent dependent houses of Cluny also accepted authority only from Cluny's abbot.⁴⁴ This act signified Cluny's total and final declaration of independence from outside control.

Although many monastic houses became dependencies of Cluny, it does not follow that they were specifically reformed by abbots in the Cluniac fashion. Cluny eventually owned other houses, such as St. Martin in Mâcon, but these were considered possessions and could not be defined as influenced by or dependent on Cluny. If the abbot of Cluny was called on to assist in the reform of any other house, it would subsequently be considered dependent. Bouchard suggests that to consider a "Cluniac" house as one that has been influenced by the Cluniac order "is to apply the Cistercian concept of a monastic order two centuries too early."⁴⁵ The controversial topic of dependency versus reform is not within the scope of this thesis, but both surely had an effect on the dissemination of the Abbey of Cluny's office of the dead throughout European monasteries.⁴⁶

Although Cluny began humbly enough, its rapid growth and influential abbots contributed to the success of the monastery as one of the largest and richest in medieval Europe. Donations became central to the financial and spiritual growth of Cluny. The majority of the donations were made to Cluny in the eleventh century under Abbot Hugh. The exchange of donations for commemorative prayer steadily

⁴⁴ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 88.

⁴⁵ Bouchard, "Cluniac Monastic Renewal," 382.

⁴⁶ Barbara Rosenwein discusses this fascinating scholarly debate in her book, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*, in "Note on the Maps" and on pp. 17-18.

increased owing partly to the inclusion of the Cluniac monk *ubicumque positi* and to the rising status of Cluniac prayers for the soul. Requests for prayer coincided with the reforms practiced under Pope Gregory VII, which included an increase in the addition of special services. Later, as donations of land had less to do with social meaning than they did with power, the motivation and frequency of donations changed.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Rosenwein, *Neighbor of St. Peter*, 206-207.

Chapter 2: Donations to Cluny, Popular Beliefs in Purgation and their consequences for the Dead

The Donations to Cluny

Cluny's growth comes as no surprise when its powerful abbots and liturgical importance are considered along with the multitude of donations it received. Many churches and parcels of land were given to the monastery in exchange for its prayers commemorating the souls of the benefactors. The donations given as grants to the monasteries did not begin when Cluny was founded, but substantially increased when the prohibition of the rights of the non-religious were instituted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over churches and investitures. Cluny's autonomous position was well known, and those who donated did so with the knowledge that their donation was well protected from "worldly" interference.⁴⁸

The motivation for donating was not uniform for all donors. The request for spiritual rewards or devotion to monasticism as well as the knowledge that a donor was protecting his landed inheritance all contributed to a decision to give to a monastery. It has been suggested that the conversion of one's son to Cluniac monasticism, accompanied by a donation could protect the family's patrimony through continued monastic administration of the inheritance.⁴⁹ A grant also gave the donor the right to wear the monastic habit at death and receive prayers for his soul and the souls of his family. Subsequently, converts to monasticism at Cluny were so numerous that by the end of the eleventh century a sister house for women of noble

⁴⁸ Brian R. Kemp, "Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), 133-160.

⁴⁹ Rosenwein, *Neighbor of St. Peter*, 43.

rank was established, which offered refuge to the wives of the converted monks and the widows who wished to follow Cluniac rule.⁵⁰

As lay rights to ownership of proprietary churches fell under scrutiny, the increased instance of donations by the converted wealthy began to constitute a significant portion of Cluny's acquisition of lands and goods. Cluny in fact became a magnet for the donation of proprietary churches. In the eleventh century, Pope Nicholas II denied the lay owners of the churches any personal use of the mass and altar offerings. Protecting the right of inheritance through donation became even more necessary as the monasteries and donors became indebted to each other and the members of the families.⁵¹

The monks belonging to Benedictine orders in general disassociated themselves from the servicing of donated parish churches, because it was seen as a distraction to the monastic way of life. This view changed by the late twelfth century for several reasons, which included the diminishing role of the bishop (something Cluny was exempt from already) and the mass offerings of which the monastery could make full use.⁵²

The large donations of aristocratic families played a role in Cluny's financial growth. Many of the inhabitants as well as founders of subsequent Cluniac houses were wealthy and included nobility such as Empress Aelis, wife of Otto I, who took a first-hand role in the success of Cluny through financial support.⁵³ Many converted

⁵⁰ Bouchard, "Cluniac Monastic Renewal," 374.

⁵¹ Tellenbach, *Western Church in Europe*, 286-293.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 286-293.

⁵³ Gillingham, "The Centrality of the Lost Cluniac Musical Tradition," 242.

monks belonged to landed nobility and their donations upon entering the monastery reflected their wealth.

Land and church donations were not the only factors which assisted Cluny in soon becoming the largest and wealthiest monastery in all of Europe. Other donations were exchanged for the burning of wax candles, mention in ordinary prayers, and for commemorative prayers for individuals on the celebration of their anniversary. Rosenwein made an exhaustive study of donations and offered a wide variety of reasons for them.

Cluny's most rapid period of growth through donations came under Hugh, who was abbot of Cluny between 1049 and 1109, soon after the official inclusion of All Souls' Day by Abbot Odilo. Donations of land in exchange for prayers of remembrance became common, but they were not the only motive for giving. Other economic and social motives played a role as well, but devotion to God and the donation of one's land to Sts. Peter and Paul made the act of gift giving its own reward and perhaps the most spiritually important reason.⁵⁴

Requests specific to the prayers in honor of the souls of the departed and, with them, burial rights, increased in number after the foundation of Cluny in the tenth century and surely had an influence on the standardization of commemorative prayers for the dead, which culminated in the creation of All Souls' Day by Cluny's abbot Odilo in the eleventh century. In the twelfth century, the "Cluniac" care for the dead became well known via the large numbers of those cared for as a result of the deaths of others, and Wollasch was able to observe, "more than 10,000 dead brothers shared

⁵⁴ Rosenwein, *Neighbor of St. Peter*, 204.

the table of these 300-400 monks by the presence of 10,000 paupers who received 10,000 prebends in memory of the deceased brothers.”⁵⁵

The Influence of Purgatory on the liturgy at Cluny

Cluny’s creation of All Souls’ Day by its abbot “cleared the ground for the inception of purgatory.”⁵⁶ Although it was not an officially accepted doctrine of the Roman church until the thirteenth century, the faithful had already believed in a place of purgation between heaven and hell long before this period. It was said by Jacques Le Goff that,⁵⁷

A course of belief cannot be dated in the same way as an event, but the idea that the history of the *longue durée* is a history without dates is to be firmly rejected. A slowly developing phenomenon such as the belief in Purgatory may lie stagnant for centuries, or slowly ebb and flow, only to burst forth suddenly -- or so it seems -- in a kind of tidal wave that does not engulf the original belief but rather testifies to its presence and power.

This statement reflects the notion of a place of purgation (or *locus purgatorius* coined in the twelfth century), held by the faithful prior to the twelfth century.⁵⁸ Perhaps it could be equally noted, as Ottosen suggested, that the beliefs which related salvation from Purgatory to prayers of intercession led to an increasing awareness of purgatory and therefore, to an increased interest in being regularly prayed for and remembered

⁵⁵ Joachim Wollasch, “Les moines et la mémoire des morts,” in *Religion et culture autour de l’an Mil : Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, ed. J. –C. Picard and D. Iogna-Pratt (Paris: Picard, 1990), 47-54. Cf. Iogna-Pratt, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 360-361.

⁵⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 125.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

upon death.⁵⁹ It was believed that this end could be achieved through donation in exchange for prayers. Many acted on the belief that they could be relieved from Purgatory via Cluniac assistance prior to the papal decree defining Purgatory in 1254, but curiously by the time of the decree the percentage of donations to Cluny had dropped significantly.⁶⁰ The prayers that were recited on behalf of the dead, however, continued throughout the entire Middle Ages.⁶¹

During the Carolingian era, prayer for the dead was assumed for the entire Christian community and had a universal connotation. The Carolingian liturgy itself did not introduce the idea of the individual sinner's redemption of the soul while in Purgatory, but instead emphasized a growing fear of hell for all. Peter Damian, in a sermon for the feast of St. Nicholas in the eleventh century, described five places where the soul could be received. These places included this world, heaven and hell, *paradisus claustralis* (paradise on earth found in the cloister), and *regio expiationis* (the place of expiation; Purgatory).⁶² Damian's inclusion of *paradisus claustralis* as a place which received the soul may have represented growing interests in donating one's land and body -- before death -- to a monastery even without the aid of Cluniac intercessory prayers.

Narratives spread by oral tradition accompanied the spreading concept of Purgatory and played a powerful role in the general acceptance of this phenomenon among the laity and religious alike. During the early twelfth century a story was told

⁵⁹ Ottosen states that his sources indicate an awareness of purgation in southern France before the end of the eleventh century. He also believed that the practice of the office of the dead had a direct influence on the development of purgatory. See *Office of the Dead*, 48.

⁶⁰ Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh*, 67.

⁶¹ Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 122.

⁶² Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 362. Cf. Peter Damian, *S. Nicolao Episcopo Myrensi et Confessore* (PL 144.838).

about Bernard Legros, a contemporary of abbot Odilo of Cluny. In this narrative, Bernard died on the way back from a journey to Rome. Years later he appeared to the master of a Cluniac *demesne* and explained that he was expiating past sins, but that he needed specifically “Cluniac” suffrages in order to complete the task and proceed to heaven.⁶³ Another story was related by the Cluniac monk Jotsuald who wrote the life of St. Odilo in 1049. This vision was later repeated by many, including Peter Damian, Vincent of Beauvais, and James of Voragine in the *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis*:

The lord bishop Richard told me of this vision, which I had heard spoken about but without remembering the slightest detail. One day, he told me, a monk from Rouergue was on his way back from Jerusalem. While on the high seas between Sicily and Thessalonika, he encountered a violent wind, which drove his ship onto a rocky islet inhabited by a hermit, a servant of God. When our man saw the seas calm, he chatted about one thing and another with this hermit. The man of God asked him what nationality he was, and he answered that he was Aquitanian. Then the man of God asked if he knew a monastery which bears the name of Cluny, and the abbot of this place, Odilo. He answered: “I knew him, indeed knew him well, but I would like to know why you are asking me this question.” And the other replied: “I am going to tell you and I beg you to remember what you are about to hear. Not far from where we are there are places where, by the manifest will of God, a blazing fire spits with the utmost violence. For a fixed length of time the souls of sinners are purged there is various tortures. A host of demons are responsible for renewing these torments constantly: each day they inflict new pain and make the suffering more and more intolerable. I have often heard the lamentations of these men, who complain violently. God’s mercy in fact allows these condemned souls to be delivered from their pains by the prayers of monks and by alms given to the poor in holy places. Their complaints are addressed above all to the community of Cluny and its abbot. By God I beg of you, therefore, if you have the good fortune to regain your home and family, to make known to this community what you have heard from my mouth, and to exhort the monks to multiply their prayers, vigils, and alms for the repose of souls enduring punishment, in order that there might be more joy in heaven, and that the devil might be vanquished and thwarted.

Upon returning to his country, our man faithfully conveyed this message to the Holy Father abbot and the brothers. When they heard him, the brothers, their hearts running over with joy, gave thanks to God in prayer after prayer, heaping alms upon alms, working tirelessly that the dead might rest in peace. The holy father abbot proposed to all the monasteries that the day after All Saint’s Day, the first day of November, the memory of all the faithful should be celebrated everywhere in order to secure the repose of their

⁶³ Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 361.

souls, and that masses, with psalms and alms, be celebrated in public and in private, and that alms be distributed unstintingly to all the poor. Thus would hard blows be struck at the diabolical enemy and Christians suffering in Gehenna would cherish the hope of divine mercy.⁶⁴

Le Goff remarked on this, saying, “The story gives us a definite spot: a mountain that spits fire. And the monastery established a crucial ritual of commemoration: the dead, especially those in need of suffrages, now had a day of their own in the calendar of the Church.”⁶⁵ Such narratives could only ornament the already growing concern for one’s soul through the rumors of another place where the soul could dwell, and increase Cluny’s importance within that realm. The addition of All Souls’ Day to the commemorations for the dead at Cluny would permanently associate Cluny with care and concern for the dead. Commemorations by Cluniac monks changed the face and definition of prayer for the dead by individually naming those to be prayed for. Methods of recording those individuals for commemoration after death through prayer evolved throughout the Middle Ages. In the fourth century, hinged tablets known as *diptychs* contained the names of the living and the dead. Later in the eighth century these were replaced with mortuary registers or *libri vitae* (*libri memoriales*). These “books of life,” of which only a few are extant, were later replaced with “rolls” in which lists of the dead were written. These rolls were distributed to different monasteries or within the monastery to keep the brethren informed. The *Liber confraternitatum* developed from monastic confraternities and were grouped according to primary allegiance. The lists, which were often incomplete due to schismatic political omissions, included the names of the living as well as the dead. A

⁶⁴ Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 125-126. See Jotsuald’s text in PL 142.888-891 and Peter Damian’s in PL 144.925-944

⁶⁵ Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 127.

prayer found within an eleventh-century sacramentary illustrated the idea of being remembered after death.

Lord, to whom alone is known the number of the elect to be set in heavenly bliss, grant, I ask, that the names of those whom I have received for commendation in prayer and of all the dead faithful be kept written in the book of blessed predestination.

Necrologies, which appeared in the ninth century, were common by the eleventh century. These were lists kept in the margins of calendars that would later serve as reminders of the dead whose names would be read during the office of prime and during the chapter meeting.⁶⁶

From the *libri vitae* of the Carolingian era to the necrologies of the Cluniacs, the very nature of commemoration changed from a comprehensive one to an individual one between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ McLaughlin, *Consorting*, 91-92.

⁶⁷ Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 354.

Chapter 3: All Souls' Day

From All Saints' to All Souls' Day

In an important narrative Jotsuald, a ninth century Cluniac monk, reported that Pope Benedict VIII was able to escape Purgatory in the following manner:⁶⁸

A person in a magnificent habit, in a long and white procession[al], entered into the cloister of the monastery, and headed toward the chapter, where Master Odilo was in the company of the holy senate, and he kneeled down humbly before his father. The brother asked who this resplendent person was. It was answered that it was Benedict, the Roman pontiff, bishop of the first seat, giving thanks for his liberation; it was thanks to the intervention of Odilo and his brothers that he had been able to escape from monstrous chaos, and to fly toward the celestial beatitude.

This story offered descriptive evidence of Pope Benedict's own flight from Purgatory thanks to the particular prayers of Cluny. Although a narrative such as this certainly does not offer evidence to the modern scholar, we can be certain that medieval men religious accepted it as proof.

All Saints day developed from fourth -century commemorations of early Christian martyrs. The feast of All Holy Martyrs was introduced by Boniface IV in 615 and celebrated on May 13.⁶⁹ Gregory III made the important distinction between the martyred saints and the ordinary dead when in 741 he dedicated a chapel in St. Peter's to "all apostles, martyrs, confessors and all the just and perfect servants of God whose

⁶⁸ Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 358. Cf. Jotsuald, *Vita sancti Odilonis*, (PL 142, 928 D-929 A).

⁶⁹ This is also known as the feast of the Dedication of the Pantheon in Rome, where martyrs were buried. Cf. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1950), 438.

bodies rest throughout the whole world.”⁷⁰ Further evidence of growing practices for the dead include the *Proficiscere*, an exhortation known for the opening words, “Go forth from this world...” located in the Gellone Sacramentary (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12045), ca. 790-795, which indicates a rubric that made the prayer to be said for the soul of the departed obligatory.⁷¹

In the first half of the ninth century, Pope Gregory IV (827-844) requested of Louis the Pious (814-840) that the Feast of All Saints be introduced. Soon thereafter in 844, Gregory IV changed the feast date to November 1 for practical reasons, which included the ease of feeding the pilgrims who traveled to Rome for the occasion, after the harvest rather than in the spring.⁷²

As the commemorations spread throughout Louis’ empire in the ninth and tenth centuries, the celebration of the saints eventually became one with which the dead were also closely associated.⁷³ The monasteries of St. Gall and Reichenau shared a commemorative feast in the early ninth century, which included public as well as private ceremonies performed by the monks.⁷⁴ Several annual thirty-day commemorations also took place for the deceased at the Cluny monastery; one such *tricennarium* began on July 6. This date is significant in that it is the octave of the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul; the proprietors of Cluny.⁷⁵

In the tenth century, the commemoration of the dead was observed daily at Cluny. At a meeting held ca. 1002 for the bishops and abbots in France, Odilo proposed, and

⁷⁰ Francis X. Weiser, *Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs: The Year of the Lord in Liturgy and Folklore* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), 307-310.

⁷¹ Damien Sicard, “Christian Death,” in *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 3, *The Sacraments*, Aimé Georges Martimort, ed. by Robert Cabié, Jean Evenou, et al. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1984), 233.

⁷² Ibid., 307-310.

⁷³ McLaughlin, *Consorting*, 66-67, 75. Cf. Pseudo-Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, 23 (PL 103,572).

⁷⁴ McLaughlin, *Consorting*, 75.

⁷⁵ Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 348.

everyone agreed, that every Monday should be kept for the commemoration of the departed. Later Odilo ordered, with the consent of all members of Cluny's community, that on the day after All Saints' Day, there should be a solemn commemoration of all the faithful departed.

Between 1024 and 1033, Odilo, abbot of Cluny, finally ordered the official commemoration of the dead on November 2, calling it All Souls' Day, and specifically connecting it with All Saints' Day on November 1. The feast, which was soon called All Souls' Day, was celebrated with the illumination of candles in the church during vespers, matins and the morning mass, the ringing of the bells, and the offering of a meal for twelve poor people.⁷⁶ This feast was made obligatory for all Cluniac dependencies. The office of the dead, which was previously recited daily, was now also recited on All Souls' Day. A new office was not created for this day. However, some places did create a special office, like the abbey at Fleury and the abbey of St. Vedast.

The feast of All Souls was designed to give the dead a particular place of their own in the liturgical calendar. The noble heritage of many Cluniac monks who had donated land and proprietary churches upon entering the monastery warranted a place in the daily prayer of the other members of the community after their deaths. This "ruling class" found its way into the lists kept in necrologies in the chapel of names to be called out in commemoration, but All Souls' Day became a vehicle for

⁷⁶ This tradition may have originated in the fourth century when St. Augustine, in an attempt to suppress the practice of the *refrigerium* at the graves of the dead, recommended that the faithful take the food and drink prepared for the departed and distribute it to the poor. Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 184. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, VI, 2.

remembering all the dead regardless of class.⁷⁷ The necrology served as a reminder of the anniversaries of death and usually required some “services of mercy,” but the lists became too burdensome to be recited daily and All Souls’ day offered the monks a way to commemorate all of the departed at once.⁷⁸

One computation, suggested by J. Wollasch and repeated by Ludo Milis stated that the necrologies of Cluny contained the names of about 48,000 monks and benefactors.⁷⁹ Milis felt that this number clearly displayed Cluny’s close attention and care for the dead. But Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny in the twelfth century, instigated a limit on the numbers of names to be read from the necrologies, which had grown into a formidable and unmanageable list of more than 10,000 within the community of Cluny.⁸⁰ In his time, the necrologies were limited to a maximum of fifty to sixty names per calendar per day. Even so, the monks of Cluny celebrated the office of the dead more than monks in any other monastery in Europe.

It should be noted here that the Gothic cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris is said to have been at the center of musical dissemination in the Middle Ages, but its cornerstone was not laid until 30 years after the completion of Cluny III.⁸¹ Before the basilica of St. Peter of Rome was built, the monastery at Cluny contained the largest church in Christendom, and upwards of 1,400 other monastic houses may have been directly (or indirectly) linked with Cluny and thus have spread Cluniac-type liturgies. The growing reputation and influence of powerful Cluniac abbots rapidly spread the

⁷⁷ Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 125.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ludo J.R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 58. This is a twelfth-century figure cited by Wollasch which is based on 300-400 monks distributing 18,000 meals annually for deceased brethren. See J. Wollasch, “Konventssärke und Armensorge in mittelalterlichen Klöstern. Zeugnisse und Fragen,” *Saeculum*, 39 (1988), 184-99.

⁸⁰ Wollasch, “Les moines,” 47-54. Cf. Iogna-Prat, *Debating the Middle Ages*, 360-361.

⁸¹ Gillingham, “The Centrality of the Lost Cluniac Musical Tradition,” 255.

new commemoration of All Souls' Day throughout the monastic communities in France, England, Spain, and Italy.

Consequently, the fame of Cluny's care for the dead spread as well and offices of the dead were soon recited all over Europe. Even in the monasteries that Cluny did not "control," there were a significant number of monks who received Cluny's benefit of confraternity or the right to be prayed for upon death.⁸² These confraternities became important when they were redefined in the eleventh century under Abbot Hugh, as a way of connecting different monastic communities for the purpose of remembering the dead.⁸³ Although there is no evidence of a confraternity book in use at Cluny until Hugh's abbacy, it is very likely that Hugh deliberately used the confraternities to promote and further Cluny's influence over other monasteries.⁸⁴ Prayer for the dead was not limited to All Souls' Day. Eventually death became one of the most important factors in Cluny's success.

⁸² Ferreira, "Music at Cluny," 9.

⁸³ Giles Constable, "Commemoration and Confraternity at Cluny During the Abbacy of Peter the Venerable," *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. Giles Constable (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 254-256.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Chapter 4: Cluny's Care for the Sick and Dying

The Role of the Individual

The Rule of St. Benedict, written in the sixth century, stated that “before all things and above all things, care must be taken of the sick.”⁸⁵ Further, the rule described the persons of whom care should be taken: the sick, children, guests and the poor.⁸⁶ The rule made no mention of the dead, but death in the Middle Ages would have been seen as a natural extension of disease, and therefore great care was needed at the very onset of sickness.

The treatment of the dead at Cluny became well known throughout Christendom owing in part to the monastery's wealth and influence. Death among monastic brethren was the business of all Cluniac monks and included the entire Benedictine community. Caring for the sick and dying began when a member of the community asked for the “anointment of the sick” and would progress continually around the clock until recovery or until the body had been buried.

Even after the burial, the monks at Cluny continued to pray for their departed brother on a regular basis through a series of chants and prayers that we know as the office of the dead. Commemoration in the form of the office of the dead was repeated daily for thirty days, but exceptional situations such as an abbot's death began a round of prayer in addition to the office of the dead. The additional prayers traditionally recited for thirty-day commemorations such as the Lauds of All Saints and the psalm *Verba mea*, would be recited by all the monks in the monastery for an

⁸⁵ Francis Aidan Gasquet, trans. *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), 68.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

entire year.⁸⁷ Thirty days of commemoration had been known by much of Christendom throughout the Middle Ages and were believed to have been a remedy for purgation. Wollasch suggested that the thirty day commemorations were so well known, that they were even found in charters.⁸⁸

Cluniac infirmaries located apart from the community were accessible only to members of the monastery. Medical care for those not involved in the community was not generally undertaken by the Benedictines; that was a task taken on by the Augustinian friars of the later Middle Ages.⁸⁹ The placement of these infirmaries in a physically distant location, but within the walls of the community, allowed the sick a less rigid lifestyle as they were kept apart from the others. Some of the restricted conventions of monastic life, such as silence, the avoidance of meat, and no bathing were relaxed inside the infirmary. But contagion was always the primary factor in the separation of the sick from the healthy.⁹⁰

It was the duty of the entire community to care for the sick and dead, each following the assigned duties of their individual office. It is not within the scope of this thesis to explain monastic life in complete detail, but to provide the reader with information that is specific to the care of the infirm and dead. The level of community involvement at Cluny explains why their monks became so well known for their care of the dead. The following customs are largely taken from the *Constitutions* of Lanfranc, as they most closely resemble Cluny's daily structure and rules.⁹¹

⁸⁷ David Knowles, editor and translator, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 10-11 and 111-112.

⁸⁸ Wollasch, "A Cluniac Necrology", 151 n3.

⁸⁹ Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, 60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁹¹ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, xxxix-xlii. Knowles provides a translation of the entire text of the *Constitutions*, of which excerpts are summarized here.

The Prior

Cluny had two Priors, a Grand Prior and a Claustral Prior. While the Grand Prior was in charge of the abbey farms, the Claustral Prior was in charge of the abbey. He acted as an assistant to the abbot, who spent the majority of his time traveling between Cluniac dependencies and was rarely nearby. The Claustral Prior was charged above all with attending to the needs of the sick, whether they were spiritual or physical. He did this daily as he walked about the community to assure that all was in order. Much of his time was spent inspecting the activity of the monks at regular hours of the night with a lantern or walking about the monastery, including the infirmary, to ensure that all were asleep. During the day, he stood at the door of the church to be sure that all brothers entered properly and respected their vows of silence. The Claustral Prior was assisted by the *Circatores*, who made the nightly round of inspections at irregular hours.⁹²

The Cellarer

The cellarer was in charge of the monastery's food. He kept track of the coming fast and feast days in order to plan for the monastery's consumption of food. It was a part of his duties to keep track of the animals, meadows, fish ponds, dairies, and sheep-folds. Each morning at dawn, he went to the infirmary to find out the diet and care of the sick that was needed for the day. He would make his decisions with the aid of the infirmarer. Like the abbot, his primary duty was the care of the infirm. He was in charge of admitting the sick to the infirmary, and he sent out notices of death to other Cluniac houses. Under him were the keeper of the granary, the keeper of wine,

⁹² Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 113.

the gardener, and the keeper of the fish-pond. It is noted that the man in charge of the fish-pond was permitted to obtain and bring back the fish for preparation after vespers. This illustrates that the monks still participated in chapter, as well as at mass and the office, and that their duties were to be performed only after their primary obligation of prayer had been met.⁹³

The Guestmaster

The guestmaster received the guests, their servants and their horses. His job was to ensure that the guests had food, drink, and candles as were necessary for the night. He handled all of the incoming letters and distributed them to the abbot unless there were requests for prayers to be read in the chapter of the brethren who had died. The guestmaster also kept the obituary rolls, which were written requests of prayers for the dead brethren that were passed back and forth among monasteries. He gave these notices to the master of children for copying, or sometimes he delivered them to the chapter himself for addition to the necrology and to daily prayer.⁹⁴

The Infirmarer

The infirmarer was given his own kitchen and storeroom for herbs to be used as medicine. The rest of his food was provided by the cellarer. Just before the nocturns he would see which of the patients felt well enough to get up. At dawn, he and the cellarer went to each patient to determine their diet and treatment for the day. After compline, he sprinkled the beds with holy water and saw to it that those who had been up during the day taking part in prayer were in bed by the right time. The infirmarer

⁹³ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 127-129.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 129-133.

had two servants who slept in the infirmary and were summoned by a hand bell. A third servant was available to wash linen, light fires, and heat water. Upon the death of a patient, the infirmarer told the servants when to boil the water used to wash the corpse. The infirmarer also brought the hearse that transported the body to the church, where he was in charge of laying out fresh straw on which the body would be placed.⁹⁵

The Chamberlain

The chamberlain collected taxes and received money from the Cluniac estates which sold produce elsewhere. Most other money was given to the cellarer to pay for meat for the old and infirm. If gifts of gold were received, he gave these to the sacristan; otherwise, he handled the “books” himself. For those who could not afford a large donation, he set the few *sous* aside that were given for repair of pipes. It was his duty when selling to give more and ask less than market value. It is not surprising that doing business with a Cluniac monk became highly desirable. He also took care of acquiring any new clothes and bedding needed for the monks. When silence was not observed, all would come to him to let him know of their needs -- including the infirmarer. Upon the death of a monk, the chamberlain attended to the body by dressing it with the garments sewn for burial.⁹⁶

The Cantor

The cantor, music master of the monastery, not only supervised the office of the dead, but also the writing of the monastery’s own death-bills, which were sent out to

⁹⁵ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 133-135.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

other communities. As he performed this task he would continually add up the number of incoming notices in order to juggle present prayers with possible future notices for the coming weeks and years ahead.⁹⁷

The Sacristan and the Precentor

The sacristan, who took care of the Eucharistic meal, also governed the offerings made by visitors and pilgrims. A percentage of the money and bread went to the almoner, while offerings of kind went to the cellarer. He managed the *Horologium* and made sure the monastic day began at the proper time. He was in charge of the burial of monks and laymen upon their death. He decided what needed to be done to arrange each funeral and where the place of burial would be. The precentor was also an officer of the church along with the sacristan. He read in the refectory and the chapter room, and he set the pitch for chants and antiphons. He was responsible for the singing and reading of the oblates. When a dying brother received extreme unction and whenever there was a burial in the abbey, the precentor saw to it that the priest was properly vested and all was according to due form. He ordered the prayers for the Cluniac brethren from dependent houses whose deaths were announced.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 119-123. The subject of the role and office of the cantor has been thoroughly treated by Margot Fassler in the following articles: "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation" *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29-51, and "Psalmody and the Medieval Cantor: Ancient Models in the Service of Modern Praxis" In *Yale Studies in Sacred Music. Musicians for the Churches: Reflections on Vocation and Formation*, ed. Margot E. Fassler (Yale: Yale Institute of Sacred Music, 2001).

⁹⁸ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 123-127.

The Almoner

The almoner's duty was to locate the sick and needy and tend to their needs assisted by two servants. He would provide whatever means of comfort he could. Upon the death of a Cluniac monk, the almoner would receive a loaf of bread and food and drink for 30 days in remembrance of the deceased, which he would deliver to the lay infirm and needy.⁹⁹ Upon the death of an abbot, the almoner received his measure of wine, along with three dishes to be given to the poor every day for a year.

The Role of the Cluniacs as a Community

Steps were taken with great care by the community from the onset of sickness to the point at which the monk was clearly not recovering from his illness and death drew near. The following paragraphs are a brief overview of the actions taken by all members of the community.

When the sick asked to be anointed, those in the chapter were notified and the abbot or prior. The priest of the week, the sacristan, and four very young monks new to the community (*converses*) proceeded with the sick man to the infirmary while chanting the seven penitential psalms.¹⁰⁰ The psalms were completed in the presence of the sick man and were followed by additional prayers and collects.¹⁰¹

Daily prayers were said for him by the whole community, and when time permitted mass was sung the following day for him. By the time the brother approached death, he was never left alone. Two of his brethren in rotation read the Passion and portions

⁹⁹ Ibid., 109-143.

¹⁰⁰ Psalms 6, 31, 37, 51, 101, 130, 142, in *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version -- Catholic Edition*, Forward by Richard Cardinal Cushing (Princeton, N.J.: Scepter, 1966).

¹⁰¹ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 179.

of the Gospel to him around the clock. The complete psalter was also read to him when he was no longer able to recite the prayers himself. When the two assigned to read were needed elsewhere, two more brothers took over where the previous two had left off.

Just prior to the time of his passing, a monk may also have been laid on the floor on sackcloth that had been prepared with sprinkled ashes in the form of the cross. The dying man was then watched continually. When death was nearing, the community was notified and those who were available ran immediately to his side. The seven penitential psalms were then chanted by all of the available community as they stood around the dying monk.¹⁰²

When it seemed that death was imminent, one of the brethren would go to the door of the cloister and on it beat a wooden board rapidly until he knew that everyone had heard. Regardless of a monk's activity -- even his presence at mass or hours -- the entire community literally ran to the side of the dying brother while reciting the *Credo* en route; only a few were left behind to watch the young oblates. The seven penitential psalms were sung again in the presence of the dying monk followed by the litany, which was either shortened or lengthened, depending on the amount of time left. If death had still not approached, the entire psalter was chanted by all present from the beginning.

Upon death, the bells were tolled and the entire community began a series of commemorations. At this time, it was the duty of a brother, equal in rank to the dead, to wash the body. The chamberlain provided the grave clothes which were then placed on the cleansed body. The bells were tolled to instruct all to attend church and

¹⁰² Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 179-183.

the cantor sang the *Subvenite sancti Dei*. When the entire community arrived at the church everyone said the *Pater noster*. At no time was the corpse left without psalmody unless a common office was being celebrated in the choir. A Requiem mass was celebrated by anyone who was available on the day of death.

The following day the body was always accompanied by the brethren. They sang the psalter in order and began the prayers for the commendation of a soul. Meanwhile, the office of the dead was sung in the chapel, which included vespers, matins, and lauds and the additional psalm *Verba mea* following the office, in addition to the usual *Verba mea* found in matins first nocturn. The psalms were repeated by alternating right and left choirs for the duration of the night.

The bells were tolled to call the entire community to the funeral, and the psalm *Verba mea* was sung as each of the brethren approached the body. The sacristan gave candles to the abbot, prior, and celebrant and smaller candles to the rest of the community, who would then proceed to the grave. After the burial the entire community recited the seven penitential psalms as they walked back to the church. At the end of all the funeral rites they recited the *Requiem eternam dona ei Domine*, which consisted of the *Pater noster*, *Et ne nos*; *A porta inferi*; *Dominus uobiscum*, with the collect *Satisfaciat tibi*, and *Domine Deus noster*.¹⁰³

Beginning the day after the funeral, thirty Requiem masses were celebrated for the dead monk for thirty days, one mass per day, in addition to any public masses requested for his commemoration.¹⁰⁴ There were seven complete offices of the dead said in the choir each day for thirty days they included the additional psalm *Verba*

¹⁰³ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 191.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

mea after lauds. At the end of every hour of the office the psalm *Voce mea* was also sung. The Cluniac community as a whole also said prayers for the dead brother's soul for thirty days. If a monk died outside of the monastery, his death was announced in chapter, and the words "Let us go and accomplish what is his due and what is customary in our order" were said. vespers of the dead, the office with nine lessons, and lauds were then sung.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Knowles, *Lanfranc*, 177-195.

PART II

Chapter 5: The Office of the Dead -- History and Music

One of the earliest extant records of a practiced office of the dead created by Benedict of Aniane was recorded by two monks, c. 816 from the abbey of Reichenau who were sent to learn by practical experience the customs of the reformed Benedictine monastery of Inden. In their report they noted,¹⁰⁶

As soon as vespers of the day are over, they immediately say vespers of the dead, with antiphons, and after compline, matins of the dead with antiphons and responsories, sung with full and sonorous voice and with great sweetness; next morning, after the matins of the day, lauds of the dead.

The office of the dead has remained relatively unchanged since the time of this report. It typically contains three of the eight Divine Hours practiced daily by Benedictine monks. This gathering for commemorative prayer, which took place at prescribed hours of the day and night, was for the sole purpose of remembering the departed.

The office of the dead or commemorative prayer for the deceased was never a part of the usual Divine Hours, but instead (as above) an addition to those hours. As recitation of this office spread throughout Western Europe, it became well known to all who entered monastic life. In fact, this office became one of the most well known by the laity as well as the religious and was even found in the Books of Hours, a small devotional book owned by any faithful Christian who could afford to have one

¹⁰⁶ Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," 217.

copied for private devotions. By the time of the Reformation, the office of the dead was well known and recited by all Christians .

The office of the dead consists of vespers, matins, and lauds and was recited each and every day by the Cluniac community. The office began with the oldest of the hours known as vespers (*lucernarium* or lamp lighting), which took place shortly before dusk. In the winter this office may have occurred at 4:30 pm, but in the summer it could be as late as 6:30 pm.¹⁰⁷ The structure is similar to that of lauds (a series of paired antiphons and psalms).

Vespers were followed by compline, then later by matins, which took place throughout the night and were originally referred to as vigils. These are the longest and include three nocturns. Matins may have begun around 2:00 am and could last as long as an hour and a half. In the summer they may have started around 1:00 am and lasted only an hour. Differences can be found between the Benedictine and secular cursus in that the monastic version contains six psalms and antiphons for the first two nocturns while the secular rite used twelve psalms in the first nocturn and only three in subsequent nocturns.

This is not to say that all monasteries followed the same monastic formula. The monastery of Fleury, although reformed by Abbot Odo of Cluny, did not conform to the standard “Cluniac” cursus. A customary of Fleury of the eleventh century indicated that Cluniac customs as such were not imposed upon it, but that the

¹⁰⁷ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

recorded reforms of Odo may have only consisted of a strict observance of the Benedictine Rule.¹⁰⁸

The office concluded with lauds, which took place just before dawn, typically around 5:00 am in the winter and 2:00 am in the summer. This office consists of antiphons and psalms in alternation with an added Old Testament canticle.

The form of the office of the dead has been illustrated by John Harper for comparative purposes and is based on the *Breviarum romanum completissimum* (Venice, 1522); a later Roman source.¹⁰⁹ It can be concluded based on a comparison of Harper's layout and that of the office of the dead within Sol334 and Ottosen's table of responsories that the order of psalms and antiphons changed very little between uses and even centuries. The number of responsories and versicles for the dead also remained the same between centuries.

Melodies

The office of the dead has been found in antiphoners, breviaries, psalters, rituals, separate gatherings, and later in Books of Hours. It has even been found in books not usually containing the office such as sacramentaries, missals, and graduals. It is considered to be much older than its written record owing to its oral heritage.¹¹⁰ Its history was not one of invention, but of evolution. It cannot be traced to its earliest sources definitively, but it was described in written documents that date back to the ninth century and was not part of obligatory practices until the council of Trent. It has

¹⁰⁸ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 97.

¹⁰⁹ Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 105-108.

¹¹⁰ Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 5-6.

been thought to originate with Roman practices, but the strongest evidence for its origin points to monastic use.¹¹¹

Pierre-Marie Gyremarked upon an office of the dead from a twelfth-century *Ordo antiphonarum*.¹¹² The office of the dead examined by Gy presented traceable similarities to an old Roman feast in that the vigils were duplicated at great feasts.

Michel Huglo has also presented evidence that indicate some of the responsories of the office of the dead could be compared to Roman repertories.¹¹³ Huglo found that the chant was a blend of Roman text and Gregorian melodies. Huglo's findings attributed the changes in the Old Roman melodies to the possible introduction of the Old Roman office of the dead to the Frankish empire. The Roman chants had soon been "recomposed and provided with Gregorian music."¹¹⁴ These findings are important in reference to the earlier cited report of the Reichenau monks in the eighth century. Some of the differences the Reichenau monks reported to their abbot in c.816, according to Bishop, may have included a newly formed 'daily' recitation of the office of the dead. But Bishop also suggests that the mode of recitation itself may have been the noticeable difference.¹¹⁵ This mode of recitation, according to Ottosen, was most likely the new Gregorian melodies that were attached to an old practice.¹¹⁶

Huglo's research on manuscripts from France, Germany and England, indicated that several office of the dead responsories were melodically dependent on Old Roman compositions. While *Libera me, Domine, de morte* was not directly connected

¹¹¹ Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 31.

¹¹² Ibid., 40.

¹¹³ Ibid., 41.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," 217- 218.

¹¹⁶ Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 40-42.

with Old Roman sources, *Credo quod*, *Qui Lazarum* and *Ne recorderis* were, in fact all dependent on Old Roman compositions.¹¹⁷ These responsories are all present in Sol334 and were assigned the numbers 38, 14, 72, 57, and 90 respectively by Ottosen, based on their texts.

The music within the office of the dead typically includes several types of chant: antiphons, responsories, verses and versicles. The first melodies found in the beginning of each office are the alternating antiphons and psalms. The antiphons of the office of the dead were paired with each psalm, and were repeated or doubled when the office was celebrated solemnly, such as on the day of burial, the day following the announcement of death, the third, seventh and thirtieth day after death, and the anniversary days as well as on All Souls' day.¹¹⁸ The antiphon would be sung by one group or choir and the psalm verse would be sung by another. This arrangement would continue until the psalm was complete and the process would begin again for as many psalms as were required for that particular office. Studies of antiphons have been published by Richard Crocker, Ruth Steiner, and Andrew Hughes, and offer the scholar varying ways to comprehend the large assortment of them in the repertoire.

Ottosen's combines his notes and the notes of several prominent scholars taken from liturgical books across western Europe in an effort to study the responsories and versicles of the office of the dead. Ottosen sought to accomplish two goals: first, to isolate the peculiarities of local liturgies to enable scholars to identify the origins of the material and second, to advance general knowledge concerning the concepts of

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Liber Usualis* rubrics for the Office of the dead.

death over a period of 800 years. He identified Cluny's responsory series at matins as follows¹¹⁹:

<u>1st Nocturn</u>	<u>2nd Nocturn</u>	<u>3rd Nocturn</u>
14 72 24	90 32 57	68 28 46
36*	67*	46* 38*
60*	84*	

*Alternative responsories

Ottosen's comparison of responsories located in offices of the dead across Europe illustrated the similarities in structure by using a numbered sequence of responsories. By implementing his numbering system here, we can compare the responsories of the late thirteenth-century Cluny office to that of offices across western Christendom.

Over half of the manuscripts used for Ottosen's study have the responsory series 14-72-24 for the first nocturn. He further subdivided this group including those with a series from the second nocturn. There were 121 series which had series 14-72-24 for the first nocturn and 90-32-57 for the second nocturn. These series were found to be from Benedictine abbeys connected with the monastic reform of Cluny or that of William of Volpiano (962-1031).¹²⁰

Ottosen remarked that both the readings and the responsories were in *persona defuncti*; i.e., the 'voice' of the text was that of the deceased, except in Reading IX.

He classified Cluny's readings for the office of the dead as Group 1f, which included

¹¹⁹ Each number represents a responsory text. All of the texts are edited on pp 395-401 of Ottosen's *Office of the Dead*.

¹²⁰ William, god-son of Emperor Otto I, was an oblate at the monastery of St. Michael in Lucedio. In his early adult years, he requested and was granted acceptance to Cluny. He took part in monastic reforms and was elected Abbot of St. Bénigne. William's reforms became influential and inadvertently influenced the Liturgy of the Hours in many monasteries under his authority. See Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 281-288.

“the usual Job readings with 2 Maccabees 12, 42b-46 as Reading IX.”¹²¹ He also noted that Sol334 indicates that the alternative responsory 38, the last responsory in the third nocturn, should be sung *quando fit officium solempne* (when the office should be done solemnly). Ottosen suggested that the alternative responsories are later additions, but the main series is stable and “may date back into the tenth century, being perhaps the one celebrated in Cluny from the very beginning.” Ottosen also suggested that the original setting of the Office of the Dead was sung at the deathbed, but this concept changed by Odilo’s time to one that was performed in the Chapel.¹²²

An antiphoner from St. Ouen at Rouen, which was arguably reformed by William of Volpiano,¹²³ has responsory 46 and 38 as the alternative final responsories, just as in Sol334. It has a “tail” of seven versicles of which five are found in Sol334, all of which can be traced back to Otto of Riedenburg’s Pontifical with its 42 versicles attached to responsory 38. Finally, Ottosen reports that a rubric in Sol334 states that responsory 28 in position 8 should be left out on solemn occasions and responsory 46 sung instead.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 288.

¹²² Ibid., 289.

¹²³ Ibid., 292, cf. 263n.

¹²⁴ Ottosen, *Office of the Dead*, 294.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The fame of the Cluniac monks for their care and prayers for the dead was unmatched throughout the Middle Ages. Consequently, modern scholars believed them to have been responsible for the creation of the office of the dead. Noreen Hunt's findings that in fact Cluny borrowed and did not create their traditions have been reinforced here, where it is shown that the office of the dead used at Cluny and surviving in the manuscript Solesmes, Abbaye Saint-Pierre, Ms. 334 (Sol334) existed prior to the establishment of the monastery.

As has been demonstrated, the earliest references to an office of the dead date from the reign of Charlemagne. His attention to questions regarding rites and ceremonies of the church in the ninth century led to the elevation of monastic and secular clergy to new heights through the institution of uniform practices to be used in the Divine Office. His zeal for glorifying God and the instruction of regular religious could not be in doubt. Frankish intellectual circles likened Charlemagne to the "new" David, and he filled this role by convoking synods and gathering monks and abbots together to hear the recitation of the Rule of Benedict aloud.

Angilbert, councilor and mentor of Charlemagne's son Pippin, served as Abbot at the monastery of St. Riquier from 793- 814. His "Ordo" contains the earliest evidence of a daily recitation of prayer for the dead. Although the details of the practice are no longer extant, his mission was clear when he wrote, "...for the memory of all the faithful departed, should be eager to celebrate each day and night

vespers, nocturns, and matins [lauds] most devoutly...”¹²⁵ This document may pre-date the Aachen synods by up to a decade or more and should be considered when assigning a date to the addition of prayers for the dead to the monastic office.

Under Charlemagne’s son Louis the Pious, this tradition continued. Louis had the monastery of Inde (Cornelimünster) built to serve as a model for all Benedictine houses.¹²⁶ Benedict of Aniane, abbot of the monastery, became Louis’s spiritual counselor and the author of Benedictine reforms. It was Benedict of Aniane who instituted a stationary recitation of psalms for Matins within Louis’s monastery, which included fifteen psalms split into three groups of five, of which the second set was recited for all faithful dead and the third set for the recently deceased. Edmund Bishop suggested that Benedict of Aniane also recited a regular office for the dead, rather than prayer added to the existing hours, but that in the “face of opposition,” this practice may have been dropped.¹²⁷

A document written at the monastery of Fulda between the years of 811-812 offers further evidence of the early office of the dead:¹²⁸

For deceased brethren, a commemoration twice a day, after lauds and vespers, consisting of the antiphon *Requiem eternam*, the ‘first part’ of the psalm *Te decet hymnus Deus*, a verse and collect; on the first day of every month for the first abbot, Sturm, and the founders of the house, ‘a vigil and the whole psalter.

¹²⁵ “...verum quoque ob memoriam cunctorum fidelium defunctorum per singulos dies ac noctes vespertinos, nocturnos atque matutinos...” See Bishop, *Angilbert’s Ordo*, 327-328.

¹²⁶ Bishop, “On the Origin of the Prymer,” 212-213.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 214-215.

¹²⁸ Johann Georg von Eckhart, *Commentarii de rebus Franciae Orientalis et episcopatus Wirceburgensis* (1729), vol.2, p.72. See also Bishop, “On the Origin of the Prymer”, 216.

This office was believed to represent the practice of Italian monasteries such as Monte Cassino, the earliest of which was recorded in the middle of the eighth century. It included the recitation of seven penitential psalms with litanies after vespers at the burial of a monk.¹²⁹

Early models such as these advance our understanding of the office of the dead from that of one practiced only at the event of death, to one performed regularly after death to ensure the salvation of the deceased's soul. The care of the dead taken by the Cluniac monks further assisted in popularizing the benefits of prayer upon the soul after death.

Perhaps the manuscripts from the monasteries of Inde, Fulda, Reichenau and St. Riquier (as noted earlier), which provided the earliest evidence of the office of the dead, will yield further evidence or even the origins of Cluny's "borrowed material." We do not have the music or the liturgical texts for these early offices, but, as we have determined earlier, its structure was no different from the structure of later offices.¹³⁰ The Solesmes manuscript is all we have from the abbey of Cluny itself.

Later, the Cluniac addition of All Souls' Day, while requiring a reinterpretation of old texts for the community of the dead, did not involve the creation of new musical material. The existing office of the dead was simply recited in greater solemnity on All Souls' Day. New additions to the office of the dead were later found only in the versicles of different number added to the responsory *Libera me* and in the shortened

¹²⁹ 'Cum frater ad exitum propinquaverit, omnis congregatio ante eum psalmos decantet: illoque sepulto, post vesperum septem psalmos cum litanies omni corpore in terram prostrate decantent,' Herrgott, *Vetus Disciplina monastica* (Paris, 1726), 3. See also Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," 216.

¹³⁰ See chapter 5 above.

offices of Flanders, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia, which make their first appearance in the second half of the eleventh century.¹³¹

The structure and form of Cluny's office of the dead can be compared with the early sources from Fulda's monastery and from Inde to illustrate the unchanging nature of this office. For example, the office was always celebrated after the regular recitation of matins, lauds and vespers. Ottosen's exhaustive study of responsory and verse texts also illustrates the stable nature of the office structure. Chants for lauds such as the *Requiem eternam* antiphon and *Te decet* verse cited in the ninth century, however, continued to be used into the fourteenth century and the number of recited psalms remained constant as well.

Yet musical analysis included here also suggests that while some antiphons, such as *Nequando rapiat*, have melodies that do not change, others varied slightly from manuscript to manuscript. Here the Solesmes manuscript's office chant was compared with that in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. 774C, from St. Martial. The variants in the responsories mostly consist of added melismas and slight changes of pitch or melodic direction, but the liturgical structure remains the same.¹³² Antiphon melodies also contained changes similar to those of the responsories. Some groups of antiphons share their melodic structure, which suggests that they date from before the late ninth century, when tonal ordering in offices resulted in a greater variety of melodic construction.

Following the analyses and the transcription a diagram was composed, which contains the musical transcription of the termination to antiphon relationships. Willi

¹³¹ Ottosen, *Office of the dead*, 375.

¹³² See Appendix I for full descriptions of the antiphon, verse and responsory variants.

Apel examined these transitions in a similar way to discover whether they uniform. He concluded that they were not. The same results were obtained here, but the limited number of differentia used for a majority of antiphons led to the conclusion that some differentia located within the second nocturn of matins, which have not been found in the published CANTUS indices and may be local inventions, are compositions contemporary to the manuscript rather than the office. A thorough analysis of the music shows that generally it is older than the date of the manuscript. The antiphon melodies of lauds for example do not reach a full octave; coupled with finals on D and G suggest these chants may pre-date the composition of the ninth-century offices which have antiphons and responsories in ascending order of the mode.

Tables were constructed to outline many of the key points between the two manuscript sources. Indicated are the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO) identifying numbers, the text source, and chant type. Each chant of the Cluniac source has been described in detail. The descriptions include the chant genre, mode, final, and incipit (compared to other similar chants where applicable). Variants with the St. Martial manuscript are also described.

Finally, the place of the Cluniac office of the dead in its context within the monastic rituals for death and commemoration in the medieval period has been considered, and illustrates that the popular beliefs in purgatory and the donations which increased the power of the monastery of Cluny changed prayer for the soul after death immeasurably.

Given that the Abbey of Cluny established a network of dependencies over three centuries, the dissemination of the Cluniac liturgy has been of interest to

musicologists. Further study of the office of the dead of Cluny should address the offices in use in Cluniac dependencies. At the same time, more detailed study of the earliest chant and texts of the office of the dead might allow us to identify Gallican or Roman features in that office, which, as we have shown, was part of the project of Carolingian renewal.

Appendix I

Editorial Remarks

This section provides descriptions of the chants contained in both of the manuscripts used for comparison and also in the tables illustrating the tonal features of the Office of the Dead. Therefore, editorial remarks are appropriate.

In the transcriptions and tables that follow, each chant is assigned a “Hilton Ref #”. The numbering begins with the chants in Sol334 in the order of their appearance. The numbering continues with the chants in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 774 C (hereafter BN774C), similar order. This is a fragmentary liturgical compilation with an office of the dead of St. Martial of Limoges (late ninth-early tenth-century) on folios 36r-38v.¹³³ This office dates from the time when St. Martial was a Cluniac dependency.

This writer has employed Bryden and Hughes¹³⁴ thematic encoding to compare the incipits of the two manuscripts. Using this method, similarly composed chants could be located. They are discussed in this chapter, as are significant variants and differentiae, which are presented in tables at the end of the thesis.

Tables for each office are located at the end of the thesis and identify the antiphon and psalm sources along with Ottosen’s responsory and verse numbers, where applicable.

¹³³ Philippe Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latin*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1939), pp. 269-270.

¹³⁴ John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, compilers, *An Index of Gregorian Chant, Vol. II : Thematic Index*, (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1969).

Corpus Antiphonarium Officii identifying numbers –hereafter CAO -- ¹³⁵ numbers have been included to refer the reader to chants found in the earliest antiphoners, which include those of Monza (M), St. Lupi Benevento (L) and the Hartker Codex from St. Gall(H).

¹³⁵ Hesbert, Dom René-Jean, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963-79).

The following descriptions contain references only to the antiphons, responsories, and verses of Sol334.

1. *Placebo Domino*. Antiphon. SOL334 Mode 8. BN774C Mode 3. Text source: Ps. 114:9. Sung with psalm *Dilexi* Ps.116 (114). CAO4293 MDHL. The incipit remains the same in the later version (BN774C). Interval size (3rd) and pitch remain the same. (see table: Tonal features of the Office of the dead -- Vespers) Variant: SOL334 indicates a descent in pitch at “*regione*”. BN774C indicates an ascent in the same location. The final of this chant in the *Liber Usualis* is E. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

3. *Heu me*. Antiphon. Mode 2. Text source: Ps. 119:5. Sung with psalm *Ad Domino* Ps. 120 (119). CAO3038 MHDL. Bryden and Hughes -- hereafter BH -- encoding numbers applied to this chant for the sake of comparison indicate the following incipit: F -1 -2. This incipit is also found in *Opera manuum* (9., below) and remains fixed in the later adaptation (BN774C). The ambitus of C-A also remains unchanged between versions. There is no clear reciting tone found in SOL334 for this antiphon. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

5. *Dominus custodit*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: Ps 120:7. Sung with *Levavi* Ps. 120 (121). CAO2402 MHDL. The incipit remains fixed in BN774C. Ambitus of F-c remains unchanged between the two sources. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

7. *Si iniquitates*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: Ps. 129:3. Sung with psalm *De profundis* Ps. 129 (130). CAO4899 MHDL Ambitus of D-A remains unchanged in BN774C. Variant: A second “*Domine* ” is added to BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

9. *Opera manuum*. Antiphon. Mode 2. Text source: Ps. 137:8. Sung with psalm *Confitebor* Ps. 138 (137). CAO4159 MHDL. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. BH encoding applied to this chant for the sake of comparison indicate the following incipit: F -1 -2. This incipit is also found in *Heu me*. An ascending interval of a fourth (C F) in the word *despicias* can be found in SOL334, but this was changed to a descending third in BN774C.

11. *Audivi vocem*. Antiphon. Mode 2. Text source: Apoc. 14:13. Sung with canticle *Magnificat* 2 Luke 1:46-47. The incipit remains fixed in BN774C. Ambitus of C-G remains unchanged in BN774C as do the interval pitches of G-C and size of a fifth in between the words *mortui qui*. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. In fact this antiphon is the most stable of the chants located within the office of Vespers, which may suggest the age of this chant. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

13. *Dirige Domine*. Antiphon. Mode 7. Text source: Ps 5:9. Sung with *Verba mea* Ps. 5:2-3. CAO2244 MHSL. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. Variants: SOL334 contains a melisma on “*meus*”. This melisma does not occur in BN774C. “*Conspectu*” moves in an inverted arch but changes to an arch in BN774C.

15. *Convertere Domine*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: Ps 6:5-6. Sung with *Domine ne infurore* Ps. 6:1-2. CAO1921 MHSL. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. Variants: “*animam mea*” is represented by an ascending melody in SOL334. This melody has an arch shape in BN774C. “*Domine ne in furore*” is marked as “*Domine ne in ira*” in the Beneventan manuscript of St. Lupo. There are no indications of flat signs in BN774C.

17. *Nequando rapiat*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: Ps 7:3. Sung with *Domine deus meus* Ps. 7:2. CAO3875 MHSL. Many tonal features remain constant between the two sources, such as the intonations, reciting tone, final, and ambitus. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. In fact this antiphon is the most stable of the antiphons located within the 1st Nocturn of Matins between the two sources compared.

20. *Credo quod*. Responsory. Mode 8. Text source: Job 19:25-26. The final is the only commonality that BN774C and SOL334 share. CAO6348 MHSL Variants: “*die de terra*,” a melisma occurs at “*die*,” but not at “*terra*” but the opposite occurs in

BN774C: there is only a melisma at “*terra*.” This responsory is present in all sources compared within this study. The readings of this melismatic chant are similar in the two sources.

21. *Quem visurus*. Verse. Mode 8. Text source: Job 19:27. CAO6348a MHSL. This verse is not found within the office of the dead in the CAO sources. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. The melodies move in similar fashion, but are not exact matches.

22. *Qui Lazarum*. Responsory. Mode 4. Text source: unknown. CAO7477 MHSL. The ambitus (D-B flat) remains unchanged in BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C, but the chants move in similar fashion. This responsory is present in all sources compared within this study. There are no indications of flats in BN774C.

23. *Requiem eternam*. Verse. Mode 4. Text source: 4 Esdras 2:34-35. Incipit pitches, interval pitches and size, reciting tone, final, and ambitus remain similar in BN774C. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C, and the chants move in similar fashion.

24. *Domine dum veneris*. Responsory. Mode 8. Text source: unknown. CAO6507 MHSL. The text is indicated as “*Domine quando veneris*” in all other sources compared in this paper. This responsory is present in all sources compared within this

study. Variants: The elaborate melismas in BN774C at the words “*Domine*” and “*veneris*” are not present in SOL334. The interval size increases to a fifth (C-G) between the words *veneris iudicare* in BN774C.

25. *Commissa mea*. Verse. Mode 8. Text source: unknown. The largest interval of a fourth (F-B) at the word *erubesco* in SOL334 is not found in BN774C. This responsory is only present in BN774C and SOL334. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. The melodies move in similar fashion, but are not exact matches.

26. *In loco pascuae*. Antiphon. SOL334 Mode 7. BN774C Mode 8. Text source: Ps. 22:2. Sung with *Dominus regit* Ps. 22:1. CAO3250 HSL. Variants: SOL334 indicates a melodic descent on “*ibi*.” This descent is found in BN774C at “*pascuae*.”

28. *Delicta juventutis*. Antiphon. SOL334 Mode 4. BN774C Mode 8. Text source: Ps. 24:7. CAO2146 MHSL. Sung with *Ad te Domine* Ps 24:1-3. Variants: The text and melody at “*Domine memineris*” has been reversed in BN774C to “*memineris Domine*.” This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. It is the only common antiphon in the second nocturn among all sources compared. This melody is very similar between SOL334 and BN774C.

30. *Credo videre*. Antiphon. Mode 4. Text source: Ps 26:13. Sung with *Dominus illuminatio* Ps 26:1-2. CAO1948 CGBEMVHRDFSL. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C, but very little is common between

both sources. The beginning pitch, reciting tone, ambitus and interval locations vary between sources.

32. *Subvenite sancti*. Responsory. This SOL334 chant does not fit into a prescribed mode. BN774C Mode 4. CAO7716 MHS. Text source: unknown. BH incipit encoding is common in this responsory between SOL334 and BN774C: (3 -3 2 1 -1 1 2). There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

33. *Requiem aeternam*. Verse. This SOL334 chant does not fit into a prescribed mode. BN774C Mode 4. CAO8183 MHL. Text source: 4 Esdras 2:34-35. BH incipit encoding is common in this responsory between SOL334 and BN774C: (-2 2 -2 -2 2 2 -2). Both sources have an extremely long melisma on *Requiem*. SOL334 has a higher tessitura.

34. *Heu michi*. Responsory. Mode 2. Text source: unknown. CAO6811 MHSL. This responsory is present in all sources compared within this study. It is the only responsory in the second nocturn that is common to all sources. Variants: *Miser* becomes more simplified in BN774C with only a descent from G-F. *Fugiam nisi ad* in SOL334 does not contain the added material found in BN774C. The beginning pitch (C) , ambitus (C-A) and final (C) are all shared between the two sources (SOL334 and BN774C). The largest interval of a fourth (A-D) falls in between the words “*te Deus*” in SOL334.

35. *Anima mea*. Verse. SOL334 Mode 2. Text source: Ps 6:4-5. CAO7949 MS. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

36. *Ne recorderis*. Responsory. Mode 6. Text source: unknown. CAO7209 MHSL. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

37. *Non intres*. Verse. Mode 6. Text source: Ps 142:2. CAOwor0402. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C, but the beginning pitch (F) the ambitus (D-B) and the final (F) remain unchanged between sources. (SOL334 and BN774C).

38. *Paucitas dierum*. Responsory. CAO7367 CGBEMVHRDFS. Text source: Job 10:20 Sol334 shows incipit only.

39. *Scio Domine*. Responsory. Text source: unknown. SOL334 incipit only.

40. *Complaceat tibi*. Antiphon. Mode 2. Text source: Ps 39:14. CAO1861 MHSL. Sung with psalm *Expectans* Ps. 39:1 -4. The largest interval of a fourth (C-F) falls in between the words “*me ad*” in SOL334. There are no significant variants between SOL334 and BN774C, but the beginning pitch (D) the ambitus (C-G) and the final (D) remain unchanged between sources SOL334 and BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

42. *Sana Domine*. Antiphon. Mode 2. Text source: Ps. 40:5. CAO4696 EVHSL. Sung with *Beatus* Ps. 40:1-2. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C, but the melodies move in similar direction.

44. *Sitivit anima*. Antiphon. SOL334 Mode 2. BN774C Mode 8. CAO4972 MHSL. Text source: Ps 41:3. Sung with *Quemadmodum desiderat* Ps 41:2. Variants: *Sitivit* moves down a fourth at *si-ti* and *anima* ascends in SOL334 while it remains on G in BN774C. *Quando venia* is not in an arch shape in SOL334. There is a melisma on *apparebo* in SOL334 that is not present in BN774C. *Domini* moves up a third in SOL334, but remains on G in BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

46. *Peccantem me*. Responsory. Mode 1. Text source: unknown. CAO7368 MHSL. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C but the beginning pitch (F), the ambitus (C-B) and the final (D) remain the same in both examples -- SOL334 and BN774C. The largest interval of a fifth also remains the same between the two sources at the words *me quia*.

47. *Deus in nomine*. Verse. Mode 1. CAO7368a MHS. Text source: Ps 53:3. Variants: *Salvum me* contains an upward ascent, with a B-flat indicated at the word *me* in SOL334. The largest interval of thirds does not occur in BN774C. The largest interval is increased to a fifth (D-A).

48. *Domine secundum*. Responsory. Mode 8. CAO6512 HSL. Text source: unknown. Although the beginning pitch (G) remains the same, the ambitus (D-d) in SOL334 is increased to (C-D) in BN774C. The largest interval of a fifth (G-D) in SOL334 is also increased in BN774C to a sixth (C-A). They are not in the same location in both examples. Variants: *Egi* begins on an upward ascent in SOL334. The melody progresses downward in BN774C. *Ideo* also moves upward in SOL334 and in BN774C ends on a descent.

49. *Amplius lava me*. Verse. Mode 8. CAO6512a HL. Text source: Ps 50:4. The largest interval of a fourth (A-E) is not found in the BN774C example. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

50. *Memento mei*. Responsory. Mode 2. CAO7143 CGBEMVHRDFSL. Text source: 2 Esdras 13:14. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

51. *Et non revertetur*. Responsory. Mode 2. CAO7143c D. Text source: unknown. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. There is little change in melody between the two examples. The largest interval of a fifth (G-C) occurring between the words *oculus meus* is not found in BN774C.

52. *Libera me*. Responsory. SOL334 Mode 2. BN774C Mode 1. Text source: Joel 3:16. CAO7091 MHDSL. The beginning and ending pitch (D) remain the same between the two examples. The largest interval of a sixth (C-A) is reduced to a fifth in BN774C.

This responsory is the only one present in all sources compared within this study.

This is sung with the following verses: *Dies illa*, *Tremens facias*, *Quid ego*, *Plangent se*, and *Creator ominum*. All of the verses have the same beginning pitches with the exception of *Creator ominum*.

53. *Dies illa*. Verse. Mode 2. Text source: Zephaniah 1:14-15. CAO7091g MHSL.

The ambitus (C-B) and the final (D) remain unchanged between the examples.

Variants: *dies* ascends, *magna* is set syllabically, the melody at *amara valde* is slightly shifted in BN774C from SOL334. The two examples are very similar in melody. The largest interval of a fourth (G-D) falls between the words *et miserie* in both examples.

54. *Tremens facias*. Verse. Mode 1. CAO7091x MHDSL. Text source: unknown.

This verse is very similar in both examples. The word *sum* is added in BN774C.

There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

55. *Quid ego*. Verse. Mode 2. Text source: unknown CAO7091t MHSL. This verse is not located in BN774C.

56. *Plangent se*. Verse. Mode 2. Text source: unknown. CAO7091r MHDS. This verse is not located in BN774C. The largest interval of a fifth (D-A) occurs at the word *vix*.

57. *Creator ominum*. Verse. Mode 2. Text source: 2 Maccabees 1:24. CAO7793a CGBEMVHRDFSL. This verse is not located in BN774C. The largest interval of a fifth (C-G) occurs at the word *patriarche*.

58. *Exsultabunt Domino*. Antiphon. Mode 1. Text source: Ps 50:10. Sung with *Miserere mei* Ps 50:3-6. CAO2810 HD. BH encoding was applied to this chant for the sake of comparison with number 64: *Erusti Domine* which indicate the following incipit: D 2 1 2 -2 -1 -2 3 4. The melodies are the same within their source. BN774C has added melismatic material at *animam*. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

60. *Exaudi Domine*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: Ps 64:3. Sung with *Te decet* Ps 64:2-3. CAO2767 MHDL. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

62. *Me suscepit*. Antiphon. SOL334 Mode7. BN774C Mode 6. Text source: Ps 62:9. CAO3725 MHDL. Sung with *Deus Deus meus* Ps 62:2. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study.

64. *Eruisti domine*. Antiphon. Mode 1. Text source: unknown. Sung with *Ego dixi* Ps 40:5. CAO2674 H. BH encoding was applied to this chant for the sake of comparison with number 58: *Exsultabunt Domino* which indicates the following incipit: D 2 1 2 - 2 -1 -2 3 4. BN774C has added melismatic material at *animam*. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C. The largest interval of a third (D-F) occurs in BN774C between the words *Domine animam*.

66. *Omnis spiritus*. Antiphon. Mode 8. Text source: ps150:6. Sung with *Laudate Dominum* Ps 148:1. CAO4154 EMHDL. The largest interval of a third (B-G) located in BN774C occurs between the words *laudet Dominum*. This antiphon is present in all sources compared within this study. There are no significant variants to note between SOL334 and BN774C.

68. *Omne quod*. Antiphon. Sol334 Mode 8. BN774C Mode 7. Text source: 2 John 6:37. CAO4115 MHD. The largest interval of fourths (G-c) occur in SOL334 between the words *veniet et* and in the word *eiciem*. Variant: the word *pater* is elaborated on in SOL334. This elaboration is not found in BN774C.

Tonal Features of Vespers of the Dead

Ref #	SOL334	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
	Placebo					3	
1	Domino	A	C	G-c	G	thirds	8
						6	
3	Heu me	F		C-A	D	thirds	2
	Dominus					3	
5	custodit	F	G	F-c	G	thirds	8
						4	
7	Si iniquitates	G	G	D-A	G	thirds	8
						1	
9	Opera manuum	F	D	C-A	D	fourth	2
11	Audivi vocem	D	D	C-G	D	1 fifth	2

Ref #	BN774C	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
	Placebo					3	
1	Domino	A		E-c	E	thirds	3
						1	
3	Heu me	F	D	C-A	D	fourth	2
	Dominus					4	
5	custodit	F	G	F-c	G	thirds	8
						2	
7	Si iniquitates	G	G	D-A	G	thirds	8
9	Opera manuum	F	D	D-A	D	1 third	2
11	Audivi vocem	D	D	C-G	D	1 fifth	2

Tonal Features of Matins of the Dead - 1st Nocturn

Ref #	SOL334	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
13	Dirige Domine Convertere	d	d G-B	F-f	G	1 fourth	7
15	Domine	G	flat	D-c	G	5 thirds	8
17	Nequando rapiat	A	G	F-c	G	2 thirds 3	8
20	Credo quod	A	C-D-C	E-e	G	fourths	8
21	Quem visurus	A	C	E-d	G	8 thirds	8
22	Qui Lazarum	F	F-A-F	D-B flat	E	3 fifths	4
23	Requiem eternam Domine dum	A	G	E-A	E	1 third 7	4
24	veneris	B	A-C	D-d	G	fourths	8
25	Commissa mea	A	C-G	F-d	G	1 fourth	8

Ref #	BN774C	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
13	Dirige Domine Convertere	d	G	G-e	G	6 thirds	7
15	Domine	G	G	D-c	G	5 thirds	8
17	Nequando rapiat	A	G	F-c	G	4 thirds 2	8
20	Credo quod	G	C	F-e	G	fourths	8
21	Quem visurus	c	c	F-d	G	4 thirds	8
22	Qui Lazarum	F	F-G	D-B	E	1 fourth	4
23	Requiem eternam Domine quando	A	G	D-A	E	2 thirds	4
24	veneris	G	F-C	C-d	G	1 fifth	8
25	Commissa mea	c	C-G	F-d	G	5 thirds	8
N						9	
A	Induta est caro	G		E-d	G	fourths	8
N							
A	Dies mei velocius	c	c	F-d	G	7 thirds	8

Tonal Features of Matins of the Dead - 2nd Nocturn

Ref #	SOL334	Begins	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
26	In loco pascuae	A	d-A	G-e	G	2 thirds	7
28	Delicta juventutis	A	G	E-c	E	4 thirds	4
30	Credo videre	F		C-A	E	3 thirds	4
32	Subvenite sancti	A	c	F-f	B	3 fourths	
33	Requiem aeternam	e	c	G-e	A	2 fourths	
34	Heu michi	C	C	A-a	D	1 fourth	2
35	Anima mea	C	F	C-A	C	9 thirds	2
36	Ne recorderis	D	G	D-c	F	15 thirds	6
37	Non intres	F	A	D-B	F	1 fourth	6

Ref #	BN774C	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
26	In loco pascuae	A	c	F-c	G	5 thirds	8
28	Delicta juventutis	A	G	F-c	G	2 thirds	8
30	Credo videre	G	G	D-A	E	2 thirds	4
32	Subvenite sancti	D	F	B-b	E	10 thirds	4
33	Requiem aeternam	A	F-G-F	D-a	E	5 thirds	4
34	Ne perdidit me	F	A-B flat	D-d	F	14 thirds	6
35	Miserere mei	F		D-d	F	4 thirds	6
36	Heu michi	C		A-a	D	4 fourths	2
37	Anima mea	C		C-A	C	4 thirds	2
NA	Ne recorderis	D	A	C-c	F	1 fourth	6
NA	Non intres	F	A	D-B	F	5 thirds	6
38	Paucitas dierum	F		C-c	F	8 fourths	6
NA	Ecce in pulvere	F	C-A	D-d	F	6 thirds	6

Tonal Features of Matins of the Dead – 3rd Nocturn

Ref #	SOL334	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
40	Complaceat tibi	D	D-F	C-G	D	1 fourth	2
42	Sana Domine	A	A-G	E-A	F	1 third	2
44	Sitivit anima	E	D	AA-F	D	4 fourths	2
46	Peccantem me	F		C-B flat	D	1 fifth	1
47	Deus in nomine Domine	A	G-A	E-B flat	F	5 thirds	1
48	secundum	G		D-d	G	1 fifth	8
49	Amplius lava me	A	C-G	E-d	A	1 fourth	8
50	Memento mei	D	F	AA-A	C	12 thirds	2
51	Et non revertetur	D	D	C-G	C	1 fifth	2
52	Libera me	D	D-F	BB-B	D	1 sixth	2
53	Dies illa	D	D	C-B	D	1 fourth	2
54	Tremens factus	F	D	C-G	D	5 thirds	2
55	Quid ego	F	E-D	AA-A	D	7 thirds	2
56	Plangent se	D	D-A	C-B	D	1 fifth	2
57	Creator omnium	D		AA-C	D	1 fifth	2

Ref #	BN774C	Begins	Recites	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
						11	
40	Complaceat tibi	D	D-F	C-G	D	thirds	2
42	Sana Domine	F	E	C-F	D	2 thirds	2
44	Sitivit anima	A	G	D-C	G	5 thirds	8
46	Peccantem me	F	A-F	C-B	D	1 fifth	1
47	Deus in nomine Domine	A	A	C-c	D	1 fifth	1
48	secundum	G	G-C-D	C-d	G	1 sixth	8
49	Amplius lava me	C	C	F-d	G	4 thirds	8
NA	Scio Domine	F		C-d	F	4 fourths	6
NA	Tu quidem	F	A	D-d	F	5 thirds	6
52	Libera me	D	D-G	C-A	D	1 fifth	2
54	Tremens factus	F	E	C-G	D	5 thirds	1
53	Dies illa	F		C-B	D	1 fourth	2
NA	Vix iustus	D	A-F	D-B	D	1 fifth	1
50	Memento mei	D	D	AA-B-A	D	8 thirds	2
51	Et non revertetur	D	D-F	C-G	C	4 thirds	2

Tonal Features of Lauds of the Dead

Ref #	SOL334	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
58	Exsultabunt Domino	D	G	D-A	D	3 thirds	1
60	Exaudi Domine	A	G	F-d	G	6 thirds	8
62	Me suscepit	d	d	G-f	G	5 thirds	7
64	Eruisti Domine	D	G	D-A	D	3 thirds	1
66	Omnis spiritus	A	C	G-e	G		8
68	Omne quod	d-B	d-c	G-f	G	² fourths	8

Ref #	BN774C	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
58	Exsultabunt Domino	D	G	D-A	D	² thirds	1
60	Exaudi Domine	G	G	F-d	G	⁵ thirds	8
62	Me suscepit	c	c	G-e	F	⁵ thirds	6
64	Eruisti Domine	D	G	D-A	D	1 third	1
66	Omnis spiritus	d	d	G-e	G	1 third	8
68	Omne quod	d	d-c	G-e	G	⁹ thirds	7

Differentiae

Apel was able to make some general distinctions concerning the intervals from termination to antiphon by analyzing the connection between the antiphon, termination, psalm, and repeated antiphon.¹³⁶ He looked at 684 antiphons in the *Liber Usualis* and discovered a number of features of the connection. Apel reported such findings as, “the wider the interval is, the more rarely it is used” and “every interval is used much more often to make a downward connection than on leading upward.”¹³⁷

By conducting a small-scale version of Apel’s study using the chants of this office, one can draw some provisional conclusions concerning the use of *differentiae* to connect the antiphon in this, the earliest example of a Cluniac office of the dead. First, as in Apel’s study, there are no ascending fourths or fifths. Apel found only 27 descending fourths in 684 antiphons, while in this office of the dead there are 2 in 21. Interestingly, they are the same two that have their own distinctive *differentia*-*Exultabunt Domino*, and *Eruisti Domine*. The largest number of intervals used within this writer’s survey are unisons and ascending seconds. Apel’s figures indicated that the number of unisons and ascending seconds far outweighed the descending seconds. This office has an equal number of them. The *differentiae* listed in this writer’s survey all contain a final on D, E, or G, with the exception of *Sana Domine*, which has a final on F.

¹³⁶ Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1958), 217-226.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 221-222.

It is unfortunate there are no extant tonaries from Cluny. Future studies of Cluniac offices that include the connections from *differentia* to antiphon incipit will contribute significantly to our understanding of the methods of office chant construction within the monastery.¹³⁸ Only the antiphons *Placebo Domino*, *Credo videre*, *Exultabunt Domino*, and *Eruisti Domine* have unique *differentiae*. All other antiphons can be reduced to 3 categories; an indication that in fact, the majority of antiphons may be contemporary to the manuscript, owing to the reduction of *differentiae* in the later Middle Ages.

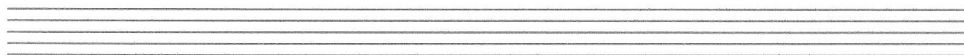
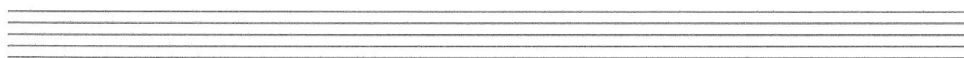
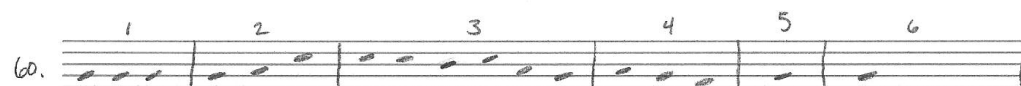
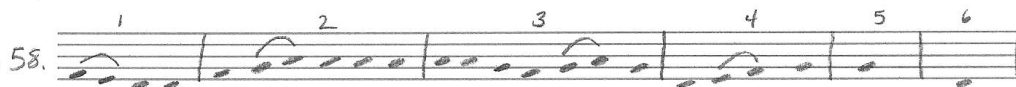
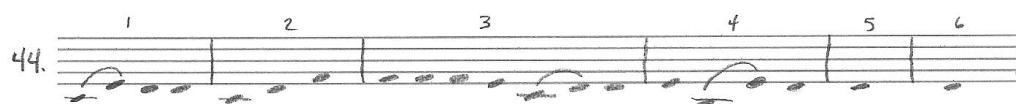
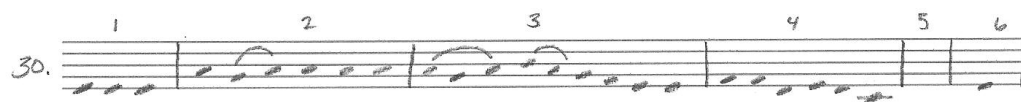
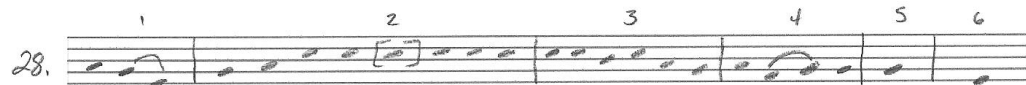
The following *differentiae* contain six numbered columns. The columns are identified as follows:

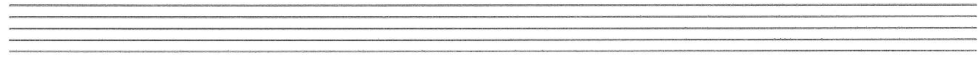
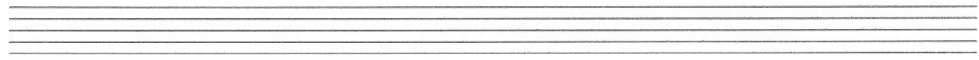
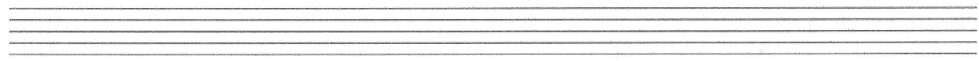
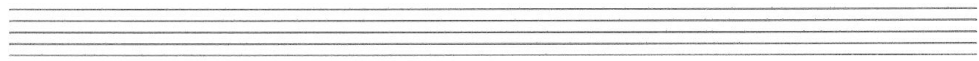
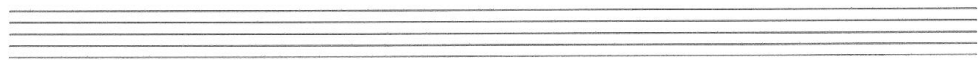
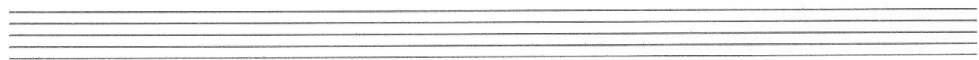
1. Termination of the antiphon
2. Psalm tone
3. Doxology-- *Seculorum Amen*
4. Antiphon incipit
5. Reciting tone
6. Final

¹³⁸ It is not within the scope of this paper to produce a thorough study of the relationship between *differentia* and antiphon.

Handwritten musical exercises on a page, numbered 1 through 26. Each exercise is written on a five-line staff and consists of six measures, labeled 1 through 6 above the staff. The exercises are as follows:

- Exercise 1:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending.
- Exercise 3:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 5:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 7:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 9:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 11:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 13:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with slurs over measures 2-3 and 4-5.
- Exercise 15:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 17:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with a slur over measures 4 and 5.
- Exercise 26:** Six measures of eighth notes, ascending and then descending, with slurs over measures 2-3 and 4-5.





Facsimile: Sol334

cente. A porta inf. Misuoval.

Deus uite dator ⁊ oratio
 humanorū corporū repa-
 tor qui te a peccatoribz adora-
 ri uoluisti exaudi preces q̄s
 spali deuotione p̄ anima fa-
 muli tui. ill. ⁊ lacrimabiliter
 fundimus ut lileare eam ab
 inferorum cruciatibz ⁊ collo-
 care inter agmina scōrū tuo-
 rum dignis. ueste quoq; cele-
 sti ⁊ stola immortalitatis
 indui ⁊ paradysi amenitate
 consorui uileas. *P.* alia oꝛo

Deus qui humanarū ani-
 marū eternus amator
 es animam famuli tui ill.
 quam uera dum in corpore
 maneret tenuit fides ab oī
 cruciatu inferorū redde ex-
 torrem ut segregata ab in-
 fernalibz claustris scōrum
 mereatur adunari p̄sotis
P. Hys dictis incipiente cano-
 re. *Re.* Subuenite s̄a dī. omnibus
 resonantibz signis deferatur ante
 altare sc̄e marie ubi post finē. *Re.*
 dicat abbas. A p̄cta m̄s. Do-

Dominus uoscum. oratio.
 Deus uenie largitor ⁊ hu-
 mane salutis auctor q̄s cle-
 mentia tuam ut n̄re cong-
 gationis fr̄em qui ex hoc se-
 culo transiit s̄a maria se-

per uirgine intercedente cū
 omnibz sc̄is tuis ad p̄petue
 beatitudinis consortiū p̄ueni
 concedas. *Per.* Post ha p̄uente
 p̄essione ducatur ad maiore eccl̄ie
 canendo. *Re.* Deu m̄ dñe. Ibiq; ser-
 uetur cū salmodia ut ad horam se-
 pulture in hora qua sepeliendus
 ē frater. stet om̄is congregatio in
 circuitu funis cum seris ⁊ lumi-
 naribz ⁊ incipiant duo cantores
kyrieleyson. x̄p̄e. kyrieleyson. Sequitur oꝛo

Non intres in iudicium al-
 teruo tuo domine. qm̄
 nullis apud te iustificabit
 homo nisi p̄ te om̄ium p̄tor
 tribuatur remissio. Non ḡ
 cum tua q̄s iudicialis sente-
 tia p̄mar quem ē uera sup-
 plicatio fidei xp̄iane cōmen-
 dat. s̄ gr̄a tua illi succurre
 te mereatur euadē iudicium
 ultionis qui dum uiuere i
 signatus ē signaculo t̄nita-
 tis. *Per.* *Re.* Deu m̄ dñe. *kyrieleyson.*

Nac q̄s dñe hanc oratio-
 cum seruo tuo defuncto
 ill. m̄iam ut scōr suoz in pe-
 nis non recipiat uitam qui
 tuam in uotis tenuit uo-
 luntate ut sicut hic eū uera
 fides uincit fidelis curatio
 ita eum illic tua misericordia

extuacat. non ideo prima ca-
thena constringat s; con-
sa sibi delictorū omniū uenia
optate quietis consequat
gaudia repromissa. Per.
Deinde incensato tumulto i defun-
to intus deposito. iterumq; aqua
bñda aspsō i incensato subseq-
tur sacerdos has orationes

Oremus fr̃es km̃i p spū
santi ñi. ill' quem do-
minus de laqueo huius
seculi liberare dignatus
ē cuius corpusculum hodie
sepulture traditur ut eū
pietas domini in sinu ab-
le ysaac i iacob collocare
digneatur ut cū dies iudi-
cij aduenit inter sc̃s q el̃cs
suis eum in parte dextera
collocandū resuscitari fa-
ciat p̃ante dño ihū xp̃o
qui cū p̃e r spū sc̃o u i r̃.

Deus qui iustis oratio-
bus supplicationib; semp
presto es qui pia uota dig-
nis intueri da famulo tuo
ill' cuius depositione hodie
officia humanitatis edi-
temus cum sc̃s atq; fide-
lib; tuis bñ munis porcone

Per alia oratio
debitum humani cor

poris sepeliendi officium fide-
lium more complentes dñi
cui omnia uiuūt fideliter des-
cemur ut hoc corpus cari ñi
ill' a nob in infirmitate se-
pultū in ordine sc̃or suoz
resuscitet. i eius sp̃m sc̃s ac
fidelib; aggregari uideat cū
quib; in enarrabili gl̃ia i
plenā felicitate p̃fui me-
reatur. p̃ante dño ño ihū
xp̃o qui cū p̃e r s. f. u. r. r̃.

Seminitatis quidē orō
est dñe ut homo h̃iem
mortalis mortuiū cuius
añem d̃ dño deo ño audeat
comendare s; quia tra susci-
pit tram i puluis conuēt
in puluē donec om̃s caro
in suam redigatur originem
inde tuam d̃s p̃ssime pater
lacrimabulter q̃s pietatem ut
huius famuli tui ill' animā
qm̃ de huius mundi uoz agie
tenulenta duas ad p̃nā
abraly amia tui sinu recipi-
as i refugerit iore perfunda
sit ab estuantis rehenne cu-
a incendio segregatus i se
requiet te donante conuinct
i si que illi sunt dñe digne
trauatib; culpe tu eas gr̃a
mitissime lenitatis indulge

super hoc sepulcrum amen
 et stabiliis dei patris uni
 geniti filii qui pro nobis
 humanitatem nostre fragili
 tatis assumens idem in sepul
 cro requiescere passus es ut nos
 de sepulcris uiciorum eiceret
 tuque resurrectionis glorie soci
 ares adesto supplicationibus
 nostris et faue uotis humilium
 quatinus hunc tumulum
 quem purificare curauimus
 per aspersionem salis et aque ad
 receptaculum funde carnis
 respectu tue benignissime
 pietatis intuenso scilicet
 incursum ab eo omnium acri
 tarum potentiarum disciores
 et temptamenta hostis cal
 lidi propiciatus elonges ut
 tam cum quam locum hunc
 in quo positus fuit quem
 in nomine tue potentis dedi
 cauimus tui ueri luminis
 impensione plustrans si
 ne ulla calligine priorum
 corpus quod in illo fuit reco
 ditum sancto quiescat remun
 ratione confouear et ex eo
 resuscitatum ad gloriam
 future examinationis de
 ducas. Qui uiuus ordes
 antequam sepeliatur

Obletamus misericordiam tuam
 omnipotens sempiternus deus qui
 hominem ad imaginem tuam
 creare dignatus es ut spiritum
 et animam famuli tui illi
 quem hodie die rebus hu
 manis exami et ad te acer
 si uisisti blande et miseri
 corditer suscipias non ei di
 mimentur umbræ mortis ne
 tegat eum caligo et caligo te
 nobis arum. Et exitas omni
 caminu late in sinu abra
 he per archam collocatus locu
 lucis refrigerii sed de panti
 ce gaudeat et cum diebus
 diu aduenit cum sanctis et
 electis tuis cum resuscitati
 uileas. Per alia oratio
Deus apud quem uiuunt
 diuini spiritus uiuunt in qui
 electorum anime de panti
 carnis onere plena scien
 tia letantur pia supplica
 tionibus nobis ut anima fa
 muli tui illis que templa
 li per corpus huius uisio
 nis luminis caruit uisu
 eterne illius lucis solatio
 potatur. Non enim tormen
 tum mortis attingat non
 dolor horrende uisionis af
 ficiat non penalis et mor

loquet angelica chorus. Per. R.
 Recordens. Kyrie. oratio
 Adina domine aure tuam
 ad preces nras quibz miam tu
 am supplices deprecamur:
 ut anima famuli illi quaz
 de hoc seculo migrare iussisti
 in pacis ac lucis regione co
 stituas et scorum tuorum ui
 veas et consortes. P. R. Lita
 me dne. Hys expletis ducatur ad
 tumulum feunte processione cum sa
 cerdote sublequente. Puentu et ad
 ultimum polindoraly suis. Item
 tactis omnibz signis canantur hy
 psalmi ai. A. In paradysum deducit
 te angelu in tuo aduentu suscipi
 ant te mres p. In exitu a. Aperte
 illi portas iusticie et ingressus me
 as confiteatur dno p. Confiteamr
 a. Ingrediar in locum tabnae ad
 admirabilis usqz ad domum dei p.
 Quemad m. a. Per requies nra
 in seculum seculi h. habetato qm
 elegi eam p. Oremus a. De terra
 plasmasti me et carne induisti me
 redemptor mris domine resuscita me
 in novissimo die p. Dne pbasti
 me. a. Non intres in iudiciu ai
 seruo tuo dne. p. Dne exaudi. g.
 a. Omnis sps laudet dnm p. Lauda
 te dnm a. Absolve dne anima
 famuli tui ab omni imaculo delicto

cum ut in resurrectionis gla nre
 scs tuos resuscitatus respicit p
 Auctus. Sacerdos veniens ad se
 pulcrum pntu bndicet illud huc
 orationem dicens. oratio.

Deus qui fundasti terram
 formasti celos qui om
 nia sps statuta fixisti qui
 captu laqueo mortis hntem
 alluvione repatas qui sepl
 tos abraham. ysaac. et iacob
 in spelunca duplici in libro
 vite atqz in totius glorie dig
 nitate principes aduocasti
 bndice dignis hunc tumu
 lum famuli tui illi et hic
 cum requiesce facias et in si
 nu abrahe collocare dignis
 qui dnm nrm ihm xpm fili
 um tuu de uictis laqueis i
 feroy resurge in se credentiu
 uoluisti salutem respice qs
 sup hanc fabricam sepulcra
 re descendat hic domine sps
 scs ut te uolente sit ei in hoc
 loco quiesca dormitio et tpe
 iudicij cum scs omnibus
 resurrectio. Deum dnm. n.
 in unitate eiusd. Deinde
 aspergat fossam aqua bñ
 da ita dicendo

Benedictio di patris et
 filij et sps scs descendat

nec p[ro]p[ri]a recipiat uicem s[ed] in
 indulgentie tue p[ro]p[ri]am sentiat
 bonitatem. Cumq[ue] finito
 mundi t[er]mino sup[er]nu[m] cum
 ctis illuxit regnu[m] o[mn]iu[m] sc[ilicet]
 rum ceterib[us] aggregatus c[um]
 cl[ar]is resurgat in parte dext[ra]
 coronandus. **P.** H[uius] d[omi]ni
 ueniat cum socijs in medio firmi
 et post finem ultime a[ge]ntis p[ro]misso p[er]
 nit. **dicat[ur].** Non intres in iudiciu[m]
 cum seruo tuo d[omi]ne. D[omi]ne uobiscum.

Sibi d[omi]ne c[om]menda o[mn]i
 bus anima[m] famili
 tu[m] ill[ud] ut defunctus sc[ilicet] d[omi]n[u]s
 uiuat et que p[er] fragilitatem
 mundane conuersationis
 p[ro]p[ri]a ad misit tu uenia mise
 ricordissime pietatis abster
 ge. **P.** Pro h[uius] qui sunt in am
 terno p[ar]te. **Orate m[un]do.** **P.** De n[ost]ra
 ne nos. A porta inf[er]ni. D[omi]ne uobiscum

Deus cui misera oratio
 t[ame]n anime fidelis requi
 escunt famulis et famulab[us]
 tuis o[mn]ib[us] hic et ubiq[ue] in
 xp[ist]o quiescentib[us] da p[ro]p[ri]us
 ueniam p[ro]p[ri]is uita cunctis
 reatib[us] absoluta tecum sine
 fine letentur. **P.** eundem.
 In agenda mortuorum
 ad v[er]o e[st] p[er]nas an
 tiphona

Placeto domino in regione unio
 nim. **Evangelium p[er] Dilecti. et H[uius]me**
 quia incolatus meus prolongatus e[st]
Evangelium p[er] Ad d[omi]n[u]m et Dominus
 custodit te ab omni malo custodi
 ar anima[m] tuam d[omi]ne. **Evangelium p[er]**
sciaui et Si iniquitates obsec
 uauis domine quis sustinebit
Evangelium p[er] De profundis et Op[er]e
 manuu tuaru d[omi]ne ne despicias
Evangelium p[er] Confitebor et Audiu
 uocem de celo dicentem beati
 mortui qui in d[omi]no moriuntur.

Pater n[ost]r
Evangelium p[er] exagimie p[er] lauda
 anima mea d[omi]n[u]m p[er] Nisi q[ui]a d[omi]n[u]s
Deus cui p[ro]p[ri]um orat[i]o
 e[st] misereri semp[er] et parte
 p[ro]p[ri]are animab[us] famuloz
 tuoz et omnia eorum p[ro]p[ri]a di

nutte ut mortis uinculis
absoluti cū sit mercantur
ad uitam. Per dñm. alia

Pra q̄s om̄s d̄s ut aīe
famulor̄ tuor̄ quorū
famularū depositionis di
em cōmemoram̄ indulgenti
am p̄ter i requiē capiant
sempiternam. P̄ alia

Om̄p̄ sempit̄ne d̄s cui
nūq̄ sine sp̄e m̄ie sup
plicatur̄ p̄p̄are anima
bz famulor̄ tuor̄ ut quide
m̄cūta in tui nominis cō
fessione decesserūt scōr̄ tuor̄
numero facias aggregari.

Deus ueniet largitor alia
humane salutis auc
tor q̄s dēn̄tiam tuam ut
aīe congregationis fr̄es q̄
ex hoc seculo trāserūt lā ma
trā semp̄ uirgine incedēte
cūm om̄ibz sc̄is ad p̄et̄e
uandūm consortiū p̄uē
re concedas. P̄. d̄. alia

Quesum̄ dñe p̄ tua p̄e
tate miserē animabz
famularū tuarū i a conta
gus mortalitatis excitas
in et̄ne saluationis p̄m̄

Restitue. P̄. d̄. alia
Deus cū miseratōne a
nime fidelū requiescunt

famul' i famulabz tuor̄
bz hīc i ubiq̄ in xp̄o quies
centibz da p̄p̄tatis uenia
p̄tor̄ ut a cunctis reatibz
absoluti sine fine letentur.

P̄ dñm. alia
Fidelū d̄s om̄iū condi
tor i redemptor animabz
famulor̄ famularū q̄ tu
arū remissionē cūctor̄ tribu
e p̄tor̄ ut indulgentiā q̄
semp̄ optauit p̄ys suppli
cationibz consequantur.

Per dñm.

Domine Deus

meus in conspectu tuo uiuam mea

Exome p̄. Vata mea a. Comue

p̄re domine i eripe animam mea

quonia nō ē m̄ morte q̄ memor sit

tu. Exome p̄. Domine. a. Requ

to sap̄at uos les anima mea du

ui faciat. Exome p̄. Domine deus

meus. Requie et̄na dona ei dñe

Dante in dñe nichil lē. i.
 enim sunt dies mei. Qd
 est homo quia magnificas
 eum: aut quid apponis erga
 eum cor tuum? Visitas eū
 diluculo: et subito probas il
 lum. Usq; quo non parcas
 in: nec dimittas me ut glu
 ciam saluam meam. Pec
 caui. Quid faciam t: Ocu
 los hominū quare posuisti
 me contraui tibi: et factus sum
 in mecipi gūis. Cur nō tol
 lis pccm meum: et quare nō
 auferis iniquitatē meā? Ecce
 nunc in puluē dormio: et si
 mane me querieris non sub
 sistā.

R. Credo q; redemptor meus
 uiuit et in nouissimo di
 e de terra surrectū rūsū sūm
 et in carne me a uite lo de
 um saluato rem
 meū um. **V.** Quem iustus sum
 ego ipse et non ali us et
 oculi mei conspectu re

Dederam lēo. ii. **Et in car**
 mā meā uite
 mee dimittam aduersum
 me eloquiū meū. loquar in
 amaritudine anime mee di
 cam deo. noli me condempna
 re. Indica m. cur me ita iu
 dices. Nunquid ē bonū ui
 detur si calumpnueris et opp
 mas me opus manū tuarū
 et consiliū impiorū aduersus
 Nunquid oculi carnei tibi
 sunt aut sicut uidet homo et
 tu uidebis Nunquid sicut dies
 hominis dies tui aut anni
 tui sicut humana sunt tē
 pa ut querias iniquitatē
 meam et pccm meū sauteris.
 Et scias quia nichil impiū
 fecim: cum sit nemo qui de
 manu tua possit eruire. **R.**
 Qui lazarū resuscitasti
 a monumento secū dum tu eis
 domine dona requiē em et lau
 indū genti e. **V.** Requie
 eternam dona eis dñe. **Et lau**
Danus tue dñe lē. ii.
 fecerunt me et plasma

uenerunt me totum in circuitu
 et sic repente peripitas me.
 Memoro queso quod sicut lu-
 tum fecis me et in puluerem
 reducos me. Nonne sicut
 lac mulsisti me et sicut case-
 um me coagulasti. Pelle et car-
 nibus uestisti me. Ossibus et ner-
 uis compegisti me. Vitam
 et misericordiam tribuisti mihi et iustitia
 tua custodiuit spiritum me-
 um.
 R. Domine dum ueneris iu-
 dicare terram ubi me abscondi-
 sti a uultu ire tuę quia
 peccavi nimis in uita mea.
 a. Comissa mea pa-
 uesco et ante te exulesco dum
 uenis iudicare noli me con-
 demnare. Quia sollemniter
 R. E. an illa historia
 R. Induta est si bona suscepimus
 aliud R. E. in
 R. n. R. R. p. forat hysp. R.
 a si bona suscepimus
 in. n. z. j. a. in loco pascue

ibi me collocauit. Exorae p. Dñs n. g.

a Delicta iuuentutis mee et igno-
rantias meas dñe ne meminis

Exorae p. Ad te dñe leuauit an-

Credo uidere bona dñi in terra

iuuentutis. Exorae p. Dñs illam

Animam meam etata euale. iij.

Responde mihi quantas le-
 uauit iniquitates et peccata et
 scelera et atque delicta ostende
 mihi. Cur faciem tuam abscon-
 dis mihi et arbitris me inimi-
 cum tuum. Contra solui quod
 uento rapitur ostendis po-
 tentiam tuam et stipulam sic-
 cam persequeris. Scribis enim
 contra me amaritudines et
 consumis me uis peccatis ad-
 lescencie mee. Posuisti in ner-
 uo pedem meum et obseruasti os
 semitas meas et uestigia pe-
 dum meorum confidisti. Qui quasi
 putredo consumendus sum
 et quasi uestimentum quod
 comeditur a tinea. R. n. l. o. r.

Subuenite sancti dei occurrere

ut angelus domini suscipientes
animas eorum offerentes eas
in conspectu altissimi. Requiem
eternam dona eis domine
et lux perpetua luceat eis.

Homo natus. V.
De muliere brevis. Offertentes.
ui iuuenis tempore repletur mul-
tis miseriis. Qui quasi flos
egreditur et conititur et fugit
uelut umbra. et nunquam in eodem
statu permanet. Et dignum
duas super huiusmodi aperire
oculos tuos. et aduocare eum
tecum in iudicium. Quis potest fa-
cere mundum de immundo conceptum
semine? Nonne tu qui solus
es. Breues dies hominis sunt.
Numerus mentium eius apud
te est. Constituisti terminos eius.
qui perire non possunt. Recede
ergo paruulum ab eo ut quiescat
donec optata ueniat et sicut
mercenarius dies eius. R.

Sai michi domine quia peccavi
nimis in uita mea quid faciam

mulier ubi fugiam nisi ad te deus
meus miserere me. Dum ue-
nis in nouissimo die. Anima
mea turbata est ualde sed tu domine
luc aure. e. i. Dum uenis vi-

Quis in hoc tribuat ut in
infernum protegat et ab-
scondas me donec pertransierit
furor tuus et constituat in
tempus in quo recordis mihi.
Putas ne mortuus homo
turbulenter uiuat? Cunctis die-
bus quibus nunc milito. expecto
donec ueniat imitatio mea
perabis me et ego respondebo
tibi. Opi manu tuarum porri-
ges dextera. Tu quidem gratias
meas dinumerasti. sed pro
peccatis meis.

R. **De recordens peccata**
mea domine. Dum ueneris
iudicabis seculum per ignem.
Non mares in iudici-
um animi seruis tuis domine

In officis sol
ne. Dum uenis lempnibz &
ali. **Ps.**
Paucitas dierum uidet. **Sao do**
Ps. **Re ambo in hypnauit**
mi ne. la. si bona suscepimus.
In. ut. **Ps.**
a. **Complacet tibi domi**
ne ut eruas me ad adiuuandum
me respice. **Exorac. p.** **Expectans**
a. **Sana domine anima meam**
quia peccauit tibi. **Exorac. p.** **Ps.**
qui intelligit a. **Sicut anima**
mea ad deum uiuam quando ueniam
i. apparet ante faciem domini. **Exo**
ne p. **Q. Audiu uocem**
domini p. **Q. Aud. de celo dicere. Vj**
Spiritus meus attenua
bitur. dies mei breuia
buntur. Et solum in superest
sepulcrum. Non peccauit
in amaritudinibus moratur
oculus meus. Libera me do
mine i. pone me iuxta te.
i. cuius uis manus pugnet
contra me. Dies mei transi

erunt. cogitationes mee ou
apate sunt torquentes cor
meum. Noctem uertebunt i. di
em. i. rursum post tenebras
spero lucem. Si sustinero
infernus domus mea e. i. i
tenebris strau lectulum meum
putredini dixi. Pater meus
es mater mea. i. soror mea
uerinibz. **Ubi e ergo nunc**
prestolatio mea. ut p. cae
tia mea. tu es domine deus meus

Ps. **Pecantem me co. ti. die. et**
non penitentem timor mortis
conturbat me quia in infernum
nulla e redemptio. **misere**
me i. deus i. salua me. **De**
us. in nomine tuo salua me
fac i. in uirtute tua iudica
me. **Quia in inferno. vii.**

Pelli mee consumptas car
nibus adhesit es meum.
et derelicta sunt tantum
labia circa dentes meos.
miseremini mei misere

mini saltem uos amici mei
 quia manus dñi tetigit me.
 Quare persequimini me si
 cur deus et carnibus meis sa-
 turamini. Quis enim retribu-
 at ut scribantur sermones
 mei. Quis enim det ut exaren-
 tur in libro stilo ferreo uel
 plumbilamina uel æste
 sculphantur in salice. Scio
 enim quod redemptor meus uiuit
 et in nouissimo die de terra re-
 surrecturus sum. Et rursum cir-
 cundabor pelle mea et in car-
 ne mea uidebo deum saluato-
 rem meum. Quem uisurus sum
 ego ipse et oculi mei conspectu-
 ri sunt et non alius. Reposi-
 ta est hec spes mea in sinu
 meo.

Kyrie Domine secundum ac-
 cusam me. ueni ueni me uidi
 ca re michi dignum in conspec-
 tu tuo. **G**loria in excelsis deo de pre-
 cior maiestatem tuam. **Vt**
 tu deus deus in
 quia res me as

Amplius laua me do-
 mine ab iniquitate mea et de-
 lictis meis. **O** munda me. **Vt**

Quidam collatione fecit
 duodecim milia dragmas
 argenti misit ierosolima
 offerre eas ibi pro peccatis mor-
 tuorum iuste et religiose de re-
 surrectione agitant. Nisi e-
 nim eos qui ceciderunt resu-
 ricturos speret. superfluum ui-
 deretur et uanum orare pro mor-
 tuis. Et quia considerabat
 quod hi qui cum pietate dormi-
 tione accipiant optimam
 haberent repositam gratiam.
 Scia ergo et salubris est agi-
 tatio pro defunctis exora-
 re ut a peccatis soluantur.

Memento mei deus quia
 uentus est uita mea. **N**on
 aspiciet me uisus homi-
 nis. **E**t non reuertetur oculus
 meus. **U**s me us ut ui de at

hic sciendū q̄ qm̄
 na. Accipit sic offitū sollep
 di lxx. & lxx me. & istud
 exemento di post. vult. lē
 Dñe scdm̄ actū dimittit. &
 uleta me do mine de morte
 ter na in die illa tremenda
 quando celi inuerti sunt et
 erit. Dum ue nens ui
 dica re se dulum p
 igitur. Dies illa dies ue
 calamitatis & miserie dies
 magna & amara ualde. Qñdo
 Tremens factus ego & timeo
 dum discussio uenerit atq̄ ue
 tura na. Dum. Quid ago
 miserrimus quid dicam ul' qd
 faciam dum nil boni pferam

Plangent se super se omnes ca
 bus terre uix iustus saluabitur
 et ego ubi apparebo. Dñe. Cita
 tor omnium rerū deus qui me de li
 quo terre formasti & mirabiliter
 pio sanguine recexisti corpul
 q̄ meū licet modo putrescat de
 sepulcro facias in die iudicij re
 sulcari. exaudi exaudi me ut
 animā meam in sinu abrahe
 pñarū tui uideas
 Qu
 collatū. & lxx me dñe. dum ao
 cem de celo dicentem in. Si mor
 Pater n'r. Et ne nos p. Ad do
 minū cū thur. p. Dñe quid
 multiplic. & lxx. Et quē eternam
 v. A porta inferi. & lxx. Deus
 au pñi & alie. & lxx. Exultabunt
 ut s. In l. a. & lxx. Exultabunt
 animo alla humiliata. Exultabunt.

ut
 Cita
 de li
 ter
 pul
 de
 ucyre
 e ut
 iah
 Qu
 dui ao
 h mox
 Ad do
 quid
 mam
 Deus
 bunt

p Misere mei a Gaude domine ora
 tionem meam ad te omnis caro ueniet
 Exorae p Te decet a Oye susce
 pit dextera tua, domine. Exorae p
 Ds Ds meus a Cuius dñe aiām
 meam ut non pīret. Exorae p
 Ego dixi a Omnis sps laudet to
 mini. Exorae p laudate d S. a.
 Omne qd dat michi patet ad me
 ueniet i cum qui uenit ad me n
 eciem foras. Exorae p Bñds.
 pñ nī p De pfundis p Usqueq.
 Requiem etiā v A porta mfi.
 orōnes Deus cui pūm ē
 et alie que secuntur ut su
 ma.

Exultate exultemus dño
 iubilemus deo salutari nro pñi

pe i in psalmis iubilemus
 Quomam deus magn
 et rex magnus sup omis de
 mām nō repellit dñs ple
 am quia in manu eius
 omis fines terre i altitu
 montui qe conspi cit
 nam spūs ē mare i ip
 illud i aridam fundau
 manus eius uenit a
 i pīcadam ante deū p
 poram dño qui fecit n
 ipē ē dñs deus nī nos
 pulus eius i oues pa
 Hodie si uocem eius



Dante michi sed pnia.
domine nichil enim
sunt dies mei. Quid
est homo quia mag
nificas eum. aut quid appo
nis erga eum cor tuum.
Vistas eum diluculo: et su
bito probas illum. usquequo
non parcas michi. nec dimitt
tis me ut gloriari saluam
meam. peccavi. Quid scia
tibi. Oculos hominu quare
posuisti me contrarium tibi.
et factus sum michi met ipsi
gravis. Cur non tollis peccatu
meum. et quare non auferas
iniquitatem meam. Ecce nunc
in puluerem dormiam. et si
mane quesieris non subsista

Redo quod redemptor
meus. in iudicet
in nouissimo deo de re in
surrexurus sum. et in carne
me a iude bo de um

saluato rem me
um. **L**uem iustus sum
ego ipse et non ali
us et oculi mei conspex

Tu. **E**t in carne. **E**t
ecce animam mea
uite mee: dimittam
aduersum me eloquium
meum. Loquar in amari
tudine anime me: dicam
deus. soli me condemnare
iudici michi. cur me ita
iudices. Nunquid bonum
tibi iudicet si calumpnie
ris. et opprimas me opus
manuum tuarum. et con
silium impiorum adiuues.
Nunquid oculi carni tibi sit
aut sicut iudex homo et tu
iudex. Nunquid sicut dies
hominis dies tu. et anni
tui sicut humana sit etate.
et quem iniquitate mea.
et peccatu meo sanctificas. Et

scias quia nichil impium
fecerim: cum sit nemo qui
de manu tua possit eruiere.

in la-zarum resisti

casti a monumento se ti

dum tu eis domi ne

dona requiem et locum

indulgentia et

quem eternam dona

eis domi ne. Et locum le-

gatus tue fecerit in

me et plasmaverit

me totum in carnis. Et

sic repente precepit me.

ayemento quod quod sicut

lucem feceris me: et in pul-

verem reduces me. Non ne

sicut hic misisti me: et

sicut misisti me cognoscere

De te et carnis vestigia

me: ossibus et nervis con-

pegisti me. Vitam et miseri-

cordiam tribuisti michi: et

in ista via tua custodisti spiritum

meum.

Domine quando ve-

neris mihi car-

terram ubi me abscon-

dam a miseria tua et

quia peccatum meum in-

veniat me a. V. Lou-

missa mea pauesco

et ante te erubescam domine

veniens iudicare nos me

condempna re. Quia

non est caro mea
 propter te deus et sordibus
 pulueris cinis meus
 in et contracta est
 mentio mea in domino
 quia uentus est in
 me. Dies mei
 uelocius transierunt quam a
 rexerit tela succidi. et con
 sumpti sunt absque illa
 spe. auermento. in loco

pasce ibi me resoluam. Deus
 regnauit. Delicta iuuentutis
 meas et ignorantias meas
 ne memineris domine.
 Ad te domine laus. Credo in
 deum. Deus illuminatus.
 Anima mea nichilum est uale.
Responde michi. le. in
 Quantas habeo iniu
 stitias et peccata scelera mea.
 et delicta ostende michi. Cur
 faciem tuam abscondis. et
 arbitraris me inimicum
 tuum. Certe scilicet quod
 uento rapitur ostendis po
 tentiam tuam: et stipulam
 siccam persequeris. Scabis

enim contra me amari-
tudines. et consumere me-
is peccatis adolescentie mee.
posui in nerno pedem meum.
et observasti omnes semitas
meas. et nebigia pedum
meorum considerasti. Quia qua-
si putredo consumendus sum.
et quasi vestimentum quod
comeditur a tineis. *ps.*

ps.
Iubente sancti dei. oc-
curre angelus domini
in suscipientes animas eo-
rum offerentes eas. In
conspectu al-
mi. *Requiem* eter-
nam dona eis domine et
lux perpetua in centesimam.

ps.
Offerentes. de alibi. *ps.* e per
dicens me domine
a. in iniquitatibus meis
Requiem in si nem in iustis
re ser ues
ma la me a. *ps.* Misere
re me i deus miserere
me i quoniam in te confidit
a nima me a. *ps.* Requiem
Homo natus de muliere
breui uiuens tempore.
repletus multis miseriis.
Quia quasi flos egreditur
et conteritur et sicut uelut
umbra. et nunquam in eodem
statu permanet. En dignum

ducas super huiusmodi ap-
pre oculos tuos. et adducere
eum tecum in iudicium.

Quis potest facere mundi
de mundo conceptum se-
mine? Nonne tu qui solus
es? Breues dies hominis
sunt numeris mensium
eius apud te est. Constitu-
isti terminos eius: qui pre-
teriri non poterunt. Recede
paullulum ab eo: quiescat
conce optata ueniat: et fiat
men-enna
in dies eius.

Deus michi

domine quia pecca- ui

inimis in uita mea quid fa-

ciam miser ubi fu- gi am in

si ad te- dens me- nis mise-

tere me- i Dum ne- ne-

domine ne- dum leniens

anima mea turba-

ta est ual- de set tu domine

hic- ante e- i. Du ne-

Quis michi hoc le- bi
tribuat ut in in fer-
num protegas me et abs-
condas me donec p-ans
seat furor tuus. et consti-
tuas michi tempus in quo
reuerteris mei. Quia ne-
mortuus homo iustitiam
inuat? Quibus diebus
quibus nunc mihi: ex-
pecto donec ueniat in mi-
tatio mea. docabis me: et
ego respondebo tibi. Op-
manuum tuarum: porrige
dexteram. Tu quidem gre-
sus meos dirigitasti.
set parte
peccatis
meis.

De reor- de

ris peccata mea

domine ne- dum leniens

iudicant se culum
 per as nem. Non
 intres iudici um
 am. seruis tu is do mi
 ne. Dum uisus. et alibi
 Placuit diuini
 meo. immi fin. tur bre
 in dimittit te do mi ne sine
 plagam pau in lina do
 lo rem me um Ante qua

nebra salu et optam mor
 ta li ne. V
 in puluere secco et
 in puluere domi o et si ma
 ne me quesieris non sub sis
 tam. Ante quia. a. Conpla
 ceat tibi domine ut eruas me
 ad adiuuandum me festina.
 Expectans. a. Sana domi
 ne animam meam quia per

innuit anima mea ad deum
num quando ueniam et ap
parebo ante faciem domini.

Quem admodum. V. Induam uocem
de celo dicentem. Ios. vii.
Spiritus meus attenua
bitur dies mei preua
buntur et solum michi su
per est sepulcrum. Non pec
cavi et in amaritudinibus
moratur oculus meus. Libera
me domine et pone me iux
ta te et cunctis uis manus
pugnet contra me. Dies mi
transierunt cogitationes
meae dissipate sunt. torque
res cor meum. florem uer
terunt in diem et tunc sum
post tenebras spero lucem.
Si sustinueris in firmis domi
na mea est. et in tenebris stui
in lectum meum. putredini
dixi. pater meus et mater
mea et soror mea uerbum.

ubi est ergo nunc prestola
tio mea et patientia mea
tu es domine deus meus.

Peccantem me cor die
et non me peniten tem
timor mortis conturbas me
quia in infer no nulla est
re tempus misere re
me i deus et salua me

Deus in nomine

trio saluum me fac et in
misericordia tua libera me.

Delli meo se vii. ann.
consumptis carnibus
adhesit os meum. et adhe
sit sunt tantum modo labia

mea cuncti dentes meos.
 Misereamini mei misereamini
 mei saltem nos amici
 mei: quia manus domini
 tetigit me. Quare persequi
 mini me sicut deus et cur
 mboz meis sicut animi.
 Quis michi tribuat ut scri
 bantur sermones mei.
 Quis michi det ut canē
 tur in lyro thilo fere. et
 plumbi lamina ul' celte
 suspentur in salice. Scio
 enim quod redemptor me
 us iuvit. et in novissimo
 die de terra surrecturus si
 et rursus circumdabor pel
 le mea: et in carne mea
 videbo deum saluatorem
 meum. Quem visurus si
 ego ipse et oculi mei consp
 tui sunt: et non alius. Re
 posita est hec spes mea:
 in finem meo. *ps.*

omnes secundum actum
 me. *an.* noli me in
 di. *an.* te nichil dig

in conspectu tuo
 si deo de prece
 magistatem tu am. ut
 tu deus deleas iniquita
 tem me. *an.* *ps.*
 plus lava me domine
 ab in iusticia mea et a delicto
 ro me o munda me. *ps.*
 de albi *ps.* *ps.* *ps.* *ps.*
 quia mori me tradidit
 rus es ubi conluta

est omnis dominus in
 nenti um spe ro in te
 domi ne quia non ad con
 sumptionem me am e
 mittis ma num tu am
 Et si in profun dum infer
 ni demer sis sue ro inde
 me libe ra bis
 Qui con gre gres sis
 meos di nume ra si set par
 te pec ca tis me is. Et si

397
Quoniam fortissimus l. ix
 uidas collatione fuit
 duodecim milia dragmas
 argenti misit iherosolima
 offerri ea ibi pro peccatis
 mortuorum. nunc et re
 ligiose de resurrectione
 cogitamus. scilicet enim eos
 qui ceciderant resurrec
 turos speraret. si p. flum
 uideretur et uanum gra
 re pro mortuis. Et quia
 considerabat quod hi qui
 cum pietate dormitione
 acceperant. optimam ha
 berent repositam gratiam.
 Sed ergo et salubris est
 cogitatio pro defunctis
 exorare. ut a peccatis soluantur.



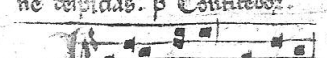
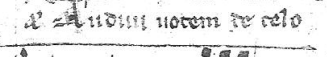
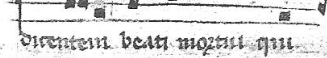
Libera me do mine
 de morte eterna in die
 illa tremen da. Quia
 coeli mouendi sunt et
 terra dum no

indicare se culum
 per ignem. **V** Tremens
 factus sum ego et timeo
 dum defunctio uene rit
 a nemine ui. **Quādo**
V dies illa dies de cilla
 mutans et misere dies mag
 na et amari uide. **Quādo**
V Dixit uisus saluabimur
 et ego ubi parebo. **Salu**
V emento mei te m

quia nemo est uita me
 a nec aspiciet me uisus
 hominis. **V** Et non reuer
 te tur oculus me us ut
 uideat bo na. **Secus**
 Reque etiam. **Pater** noster. **P**
 Ad dñm amercularer. **P**
 Dñe quid multipli. **In** laudi
V sultabimur domino ossa
 humiliata. **P** asserere. **V**
V laudi domine orationem
 meam ad te omnis caro
 nener. **Reuer.** **V** se

suscipiat dextera tua domine
 Deus deus meus. *Levisti*
 domine animam meam ne
 periret. *Ego dixi. Dominus*
 spiritus laudet dominum
 Laudate dñm de celis. *De*
 quem eternam dona eis domine.
Domine quod dat michi pa-
 ter ad me veniet et cum qui
 venit ad me non eriam foras.
 Pater noster.
 Et ne nos.
 De profundis.
Benedictus. Usquequo.

168
Domine latebo domino in
 regione iuniorum. *Dilexi.*
Ben me quia in colat
 meus prolongatus est. *Dilexi.*
 Ad dñm celi. *Domine*
 custodit te ab omni malo
 custodiat animam tuam do-
 minus. *Levavi.* *Domine*
 quitates observantes domi-
 ne domine quis sustinebit.
De profundis. Opera


 manuum tuarum domine

 ne desicias. p. Confitebor.

 et exaudi uocem de celo

 dicentem beati mortui qui

 in domino moriuntur. p.

pater noster. p. Lau
 da aia mea deo. p.
 magnificat. Si quis dñs. Re
 quem etiam. Apom mfer.

Presta dñe qđ ut orō
 anime famulor tuor
 quorum anniuersarium
 depositions diem celebra
 mus. hys purgate sacri
 cijs indulgentiam pariter
 et requiem capiant sempi
 ternam. p. orō

Omps sempitene deus
 cui nunquā sine spe
 misericordie supplicatur appa
 rare animabz famulorū
 tuorum ut qui de hac uita
 in tui nominis confessione
 recesserunt: scōrum tuor

numero facias congregari

Deus uenie largitor
 et humane salutis auc
 tor qđ elementiam tuam ut
 me congregationis. patres
 matres. fratres. sorores. auu
 cullos. magistros. socios. et bñ
 factores nřos qui ex hoc se
 cūlo transierunt beata semp
 qđ uirgine maria intercede
 te cum omnibz scīs tuis ad
 ppetue uirtutis consortium
 puenire concedas. p. orō

Deus in cuius miseratione
 ne diuina anime fide
 lum requiescunt famulīs
 et famulabz tuis omnibus
 hic et ubiq in xpo quiescen
 tibz da ppetuis ueniam peccorū
 ut a tunc tē reatibz absoluti.
 tecum sine fine letentur. p.

Intelium deus omnium qđ
 conditor et redemptor
 animabz famulorū famulabz
 qđ tuarum remissionem cunctis
 tor tribue peccatorum ut
 indulgentiam tuam semper
 obtulerint pīs supplicatio
 nibz consequantur. p. orō

Quesumus dñe pro tua
 pietate misere anima
 bz famulorū tuor et a cō
 tūguis mortalitatis exitis
 in eterne saluationis partē

Modern Notation Transcription: SOL334

Vespers

1. [with Ps. 114 Dilexi] Vespers - SOL334-1
 8 Pla-ce-bo do-mi-no in re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum
 8 [s]e[c]u[l]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

2. 8 Di-le-x-i

3. [with Ps. 119 Ad Domino]
 8 He-u me qu-ia in-co-la-tus me-us pro- lon-ga-tus [s+]
 8 [s]e[c]u[l]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

4. 8 Ad d[omi]n[u]m

5. [with Ps. 121 Levavi]
 8 Do-mi-nus cus-to-dit te ab om-ni ma-lo cus-to-di-at
 8 a-ni-ma tu-am d[omi]n[u]s
 8 [s]e[c]u[l]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

6. 8 Le-va-vi

Vespers-SOL334-2

7. with Ps.130 De profundis

8 Si in - i - qui - ta - tes ob - ser - va u[er]is do - mi - ne

8 quis sus - ti - ne - bit

8 [s]e[cu]l[us] o[r]u[m] a[m]e[n]

8 De pro - fun - dis

9. with Ps.137 Confitebor

8 op[er]a ma - nu - um tu - a - ru[m] a[m]i[ni]s do - mi - ne

8 de - spi - ci - as

8 [s]e[cu]l[us] o[r]u[m] a[m]e[n]

10. 8 Con - fi - te - bor

[with canticle Magnificat]

Vespers. Sol 334-3

11.

Au-di-vi vo-cem de ce-lo di-cen-tem be-a-ti

mor-tu-i qui in d[omi]no mo-ri-un-tur

[s]e[c]u[l]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

12.

Mag-ni-fi-c[at]

[Antiphon to the Benedictus of Lauds]

68.

Om-ne g[lo]ri-a dat mi-chi pa-ter ad me

ven-i-et e-um qui ven-it ad me

[i]n e-i-ci-em for-as

[s]e[c]u[l]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

69.

B[e]n[e]d[i]c[t]us

Matins

[Sung with Ps 5 Verba mea] Matins: 1st Noct. Sol 334-1

13. 
 8 Di- ri-ge do-mi-ne de- us me- us

 8 in con-spec-tu tu-o vi-am me-am

 8 [s]e[c]u[1]b[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

14. 
 8 Ver- ba me-a

[Sung with Ps 6 Domine ne in furore]

15. 
 8 Con- ver-te-re do-mi-ne ^[et] 7 cr-i-pe a-ni-mam

 8 me-a[m] qu-o-ni-a[m] no[n]e[st] in mor-te q[ui] me-mor sit tu-i

 8 [s]e[c]u[1]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

16. 
 8 D[omi]n- e ne i[n]furore



[Sing with Ps 7 Domine deus meus]

Matins: 1st Noct Sol 334-2

17. 8 Ne-qui-do ra-pi-at ut le-o a-ni-ma[m] me-a[m] du[m] no[n]

8 est qui re-di-mat ne-que[m] qui sal-vu[m] fa-ci-at

8 e u o u a e

18. 8 D[omi]n e de-us me-us

19. 8 Re-qui-e[m] et-ter-na[m] do-na ei[s] d[omi]n-e

[Sing with Vs. Quem visurus]

20. 8 Cre-do ~~quod~~ re-demp-tor me-us

8 vi-vit et in no-vis-si-mo

8 di-e de ter-ra su-rec-tu-rus

8 Sum et in car-ne me-a vi-de-bo

8 de-um sal-va-to rem

8 meu-um

Matins: 1st Noct. Sol 334-3

21.

Quem vi-su-rus sum e-go ip-se et

non a-li-us et o-cu-li me-i

con-spec-tu-ri sunt

[repetendum]

• Et in car-

22. [Sung with Versicle Requiem]

Qui la-za-rum re-sus-ci-tas-te

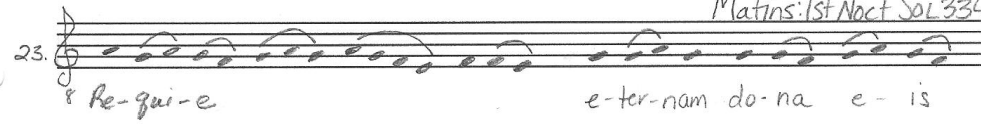
a-mon-u-men-to fe-ti-dum tu

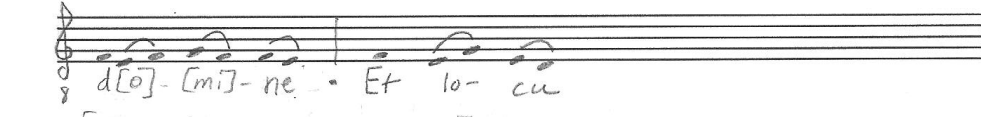
e-is do-mi-ne do-na re-qui-ern

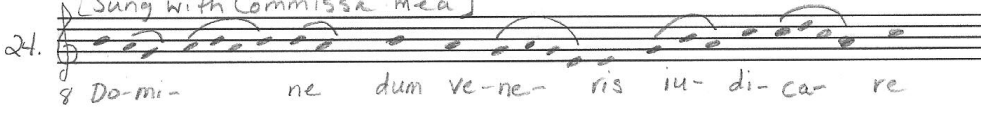
lo-cu in-dul-gen-ti-e

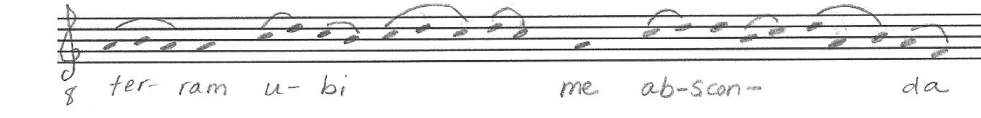
[et]

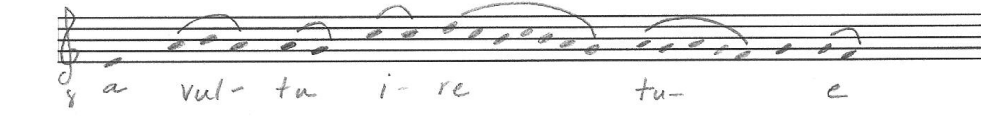
Matins: 1st Noct Sol 334-4

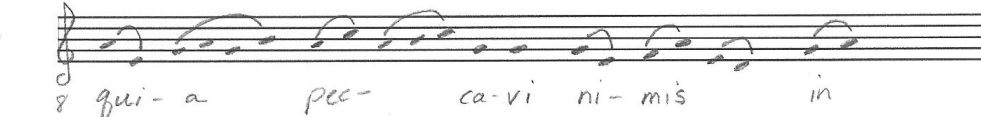
23. 
 8 Re-qui-e e-ter-nam do-na e-is



 8 d[ō]-[mī]-ne Et lo-cu

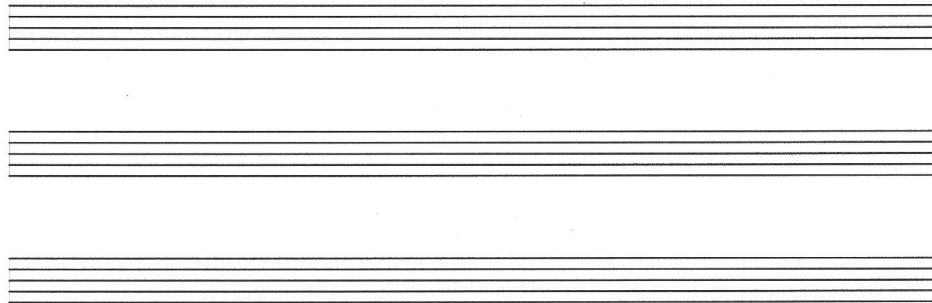
24. 
 8 Do-mi-ne dum ve-ne-ris iu-di-ca-re


 8 ter-ram u-bi me ab-scon-da

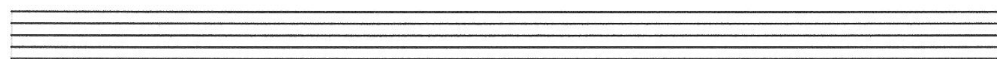
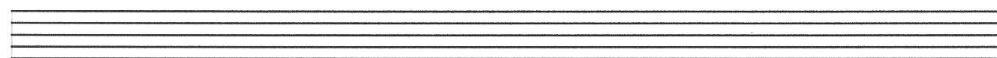
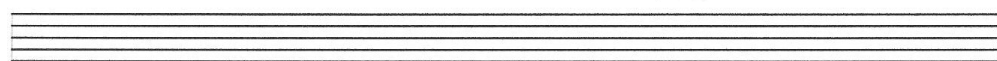
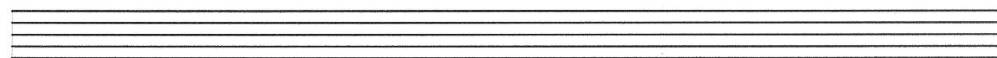
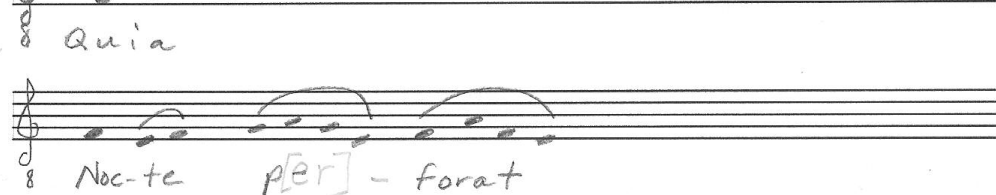
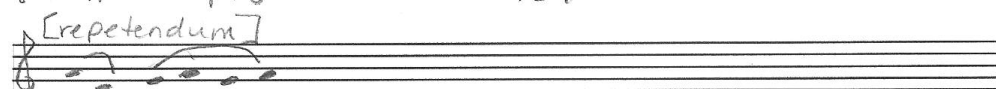
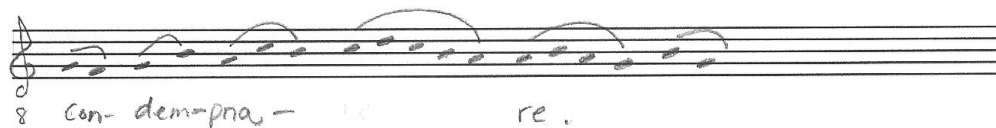
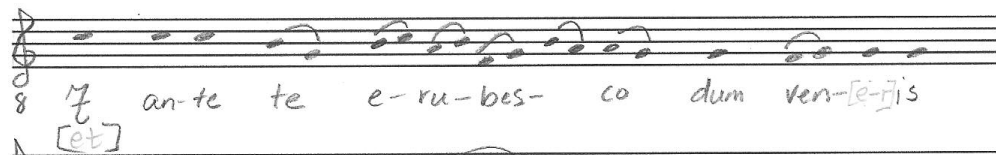
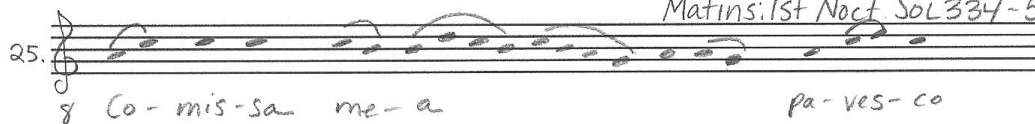

 8 a vul-tu i-re tu-e


 8 qui-a pec-ca-vi ni-mis in


 8 vi-ta me-a



Matins: 1st Noct. Sol 334-5



Matins: 2nd Noct Sol 334-1

26. [with Ps22 Dominus regit]

 8 In lo-co pas-cu-ae i-bi me col-lo-ca-vit

 8 [s]e[c]u[]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n].

27.

 8 D[omi]n[u]s reg[it]
 [with Ps24 Ad te Domine]

28.

 8 De-lic-ta iu-ventu-tis me-a 7 ig-no-ran-ti-as me-as
 [et]

 8 d[omi]n e me-mi-ne-r[is]

 8 [s]e[c]u[]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n].

29.

 8 Ad te d[omi]n e le-va-vi
 [with Ps26 Dominus illuminatio]

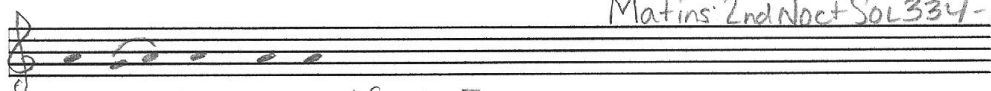
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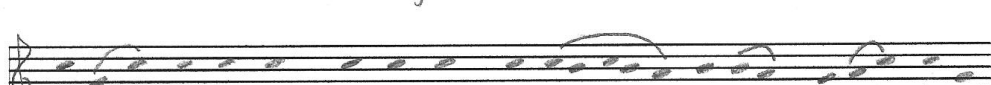

 8 Cre-do vi-de-re bo-na d[omi]n[] in ter-ra

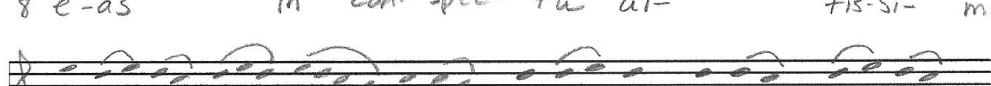

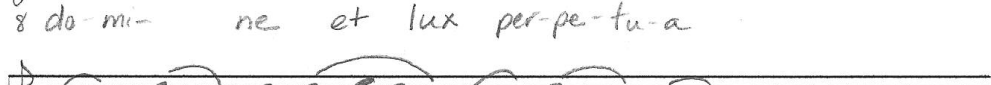

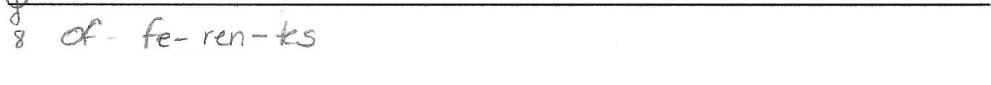
 8 vi-ven-ti-u[m].

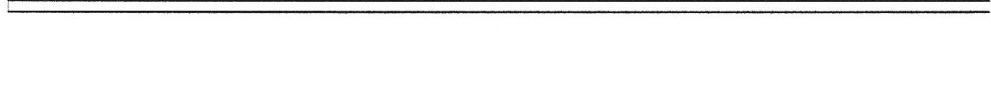
 8 [s]e[c]u[]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n].

Matins 2nd Noct Sol 334-2

31. 
 [Domi]n[u]s illumi[natio]
 [with verse Requiem aeternam]

32. 
 Sub-ve-nu-te Sanc-ti De-i

 oc-cur-ri-te an-ge-li do-mi-ni

 sus-ci-pi-en-tes a-ni-mas e-o-rum of-fe-ren-tes.

 e-as in con-spec-tu al-tis-si-mi

33. 
 Re-q[ui]em e-ter-nam do-na e-is

 do-mi-ne et lux per-pe-tu-a

 lu-ce-at e-is

 [repetendum]

 of-fe-ren-tes



34. [with verse Anima mea] Matins 2nd Noct Sol 334-3

He-u mi-chi do-mi-ne qui-a

pe-ca-vi ni-mis in vi-ta me-a

quid fa-ci-am mi-ser u-bi

fu-gi-am ni-si ad te de-us

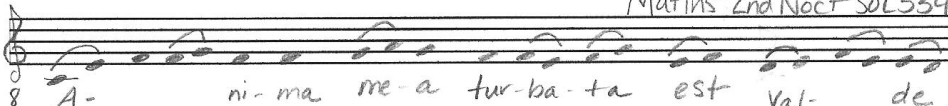
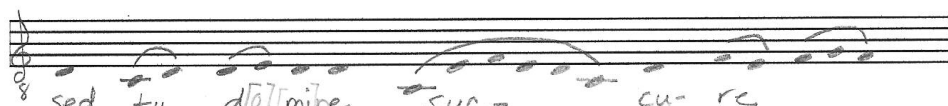
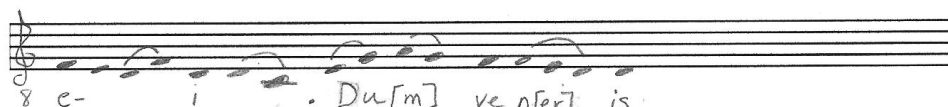
me-us mi-se-re-re

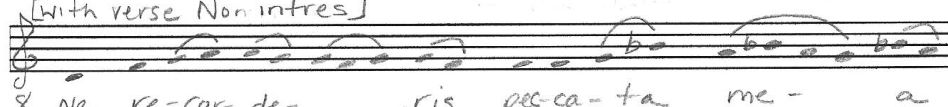

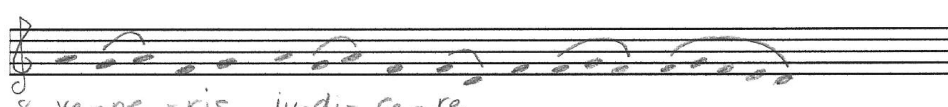
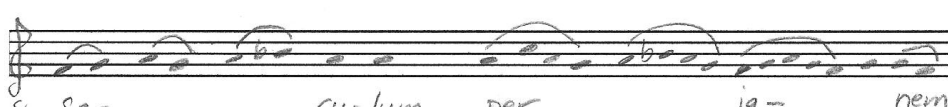
i dum

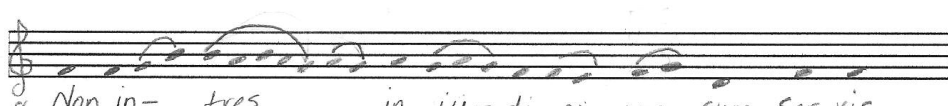
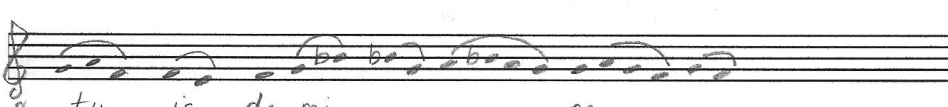
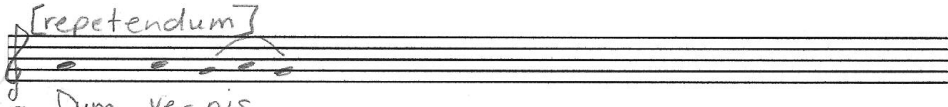
ve-ner-is in no-vis-si-mo

di-e

Matins 2nd Noct Sol 334-4

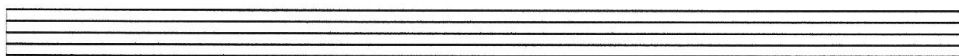
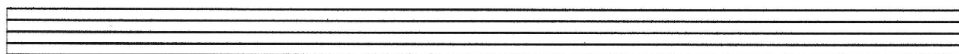
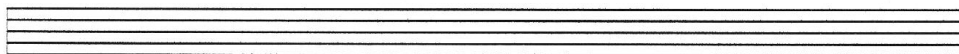
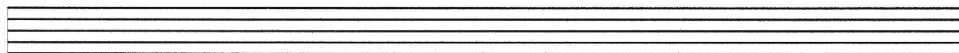
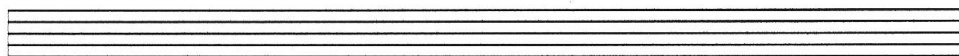
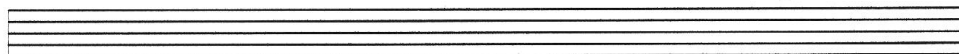
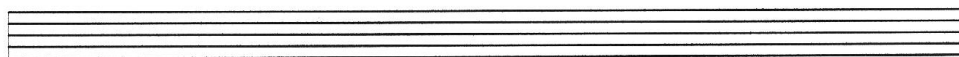
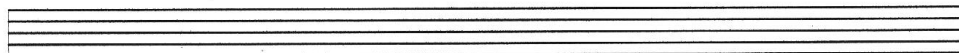
35.  A- ni-ma re-a tur-ba-ta est val- de
 sed tu d[omi]ne suc- cu- re
 e- i . Du[m] ve n[er] is
 [With verse Non intres]

36.  Ne re-cor-de- ris pec-ca-ta me- a
 domi- ne dum
 ve-ne-ris iu-di-ca-re
 se- cu-lum per ig- nem

37.  Non in- tres in iu-di-ci-um cum ser-vis
 tu- is do-mi- ne
 [repetendum]
 Dum ve-nis

38. [with verse Scio domine] Matins: 2nd Noct. SOL 334-5
Pau- ci-tas di-e- ru

39. Sci-o do- mi- ne



Matins: 3rd Noct Sol 334-1

40. [with Ps. 39 Expectans]

8 Com-pla-ce-at ti-bi do-mi-ne ut er-u-as me ad

8 ad-ui-van- dum me re-spi-ce

8 [s]e[u]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

41. Ex-pec-tans

[with Ps 40 Beatus]

42. 8 Sa-na Do-mi-ne a-ni-ma me-am quia pe-cav-vi ti-bi

8 [s]e[u]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

43. 8 B[ea]tus qui in-tel-li-git

[with Ps 41 Quemadmodum desiderat]

44. 8 Si-ti-uit a-ni-ma me-a ad de-u[m] vi-vu[m]

8 quan-do ve-ni-a[m] [et] ap-pa-re-bo

8 an-te fa-ci-em d[omi]n[i]

Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-2

8 [s]e[et]u[et]o[r]u[m]a[m] e[n]

45. 8 Qmad [Quemadmodum desiderat]
[with verse Deus in nomine]

46. 8 Pe-can-tem me co-ti-di-e et non
pe-ni-ten-tem ti-mor mor-tis
con-tur-bat me quia in in-fer-nu[m]
nul-la e re-dempti-o mi-se-re-re
me-i de-us [et] sal-va me
47. 8 De-us in no-mi-ne tu-o sal-vum
me fac [et] vir-tu-te tu-a iu-di-ca
8 me; • Quia in in-f[er]-na

48. [with verse Amplius lava me] Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-3

Do-mi-ne Se-cun-dum ac-tum me-um

no-li me iu-di-ca-re ni-chil

di-g-nu[m] in con-spec-tu tu-o

e-gi i-de-o

de-pre-cor ma-je-sta-tem

tu-am ut tu de-us

de-le-as

in-i-qui-ta-tes me-as

Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-4

49.

Am- pli- us la- va me

do- mi- ne ab lu- sti- ci- a me- a

a de- lic- to me- o mun- da

me- Ut tu

50.

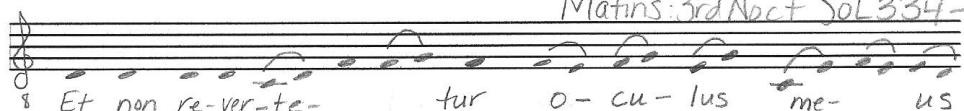
Me- men- to me- i de- us qui- a

ven- tus est vi- ta me- a

nec as- pic- i- et me vi- sus

ho- mi- nis

Matins: 3rd Noct Sol 334-5

51. 
 8 Et non re-ver-te-tur o-cu-lus me-us
 ut vi-de-at bo-na

[repetendum]

8 • Nec as-pi
 [with the following verses: Dies illa, Tremens factus, Quid ego, Plangent se, Creator omnium]

52. 
 8 Li-ber-a me do-mi-ne de-mor-te

8 e-ter-na in di-e il-la

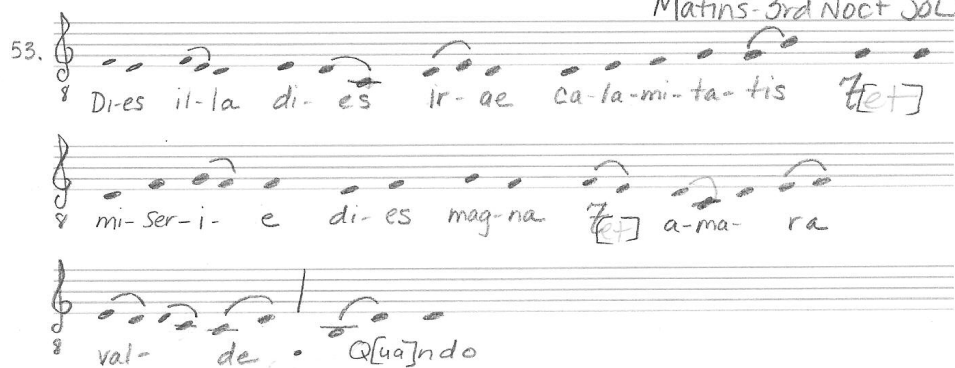
8 tre-men-da quan-do ce-li

8 mo-ven-di sunt et ter-ra dum

8 ve-ne-ris iu-di-ca-re

8 Se-cu-lum p[er] ig-nem

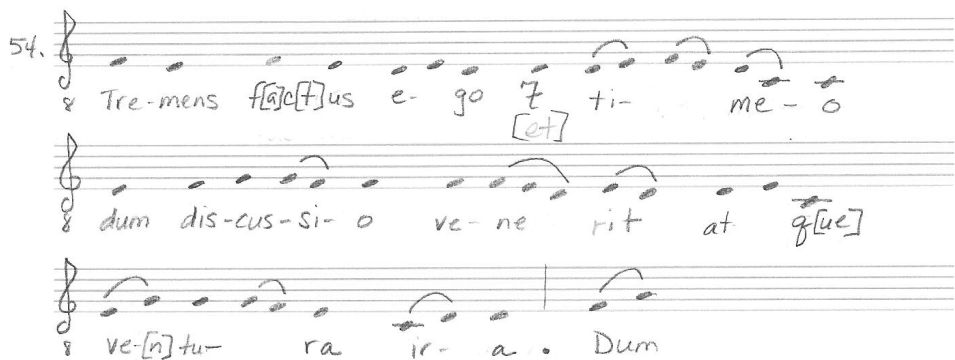
Matins-3rd Noct Sol 334-6

53. 

Di-es il-la di-es Ir-ae ca-la-mi-ta-tis [et]

mi-ser-i- e di-es mag-na [et] a-ma- ra

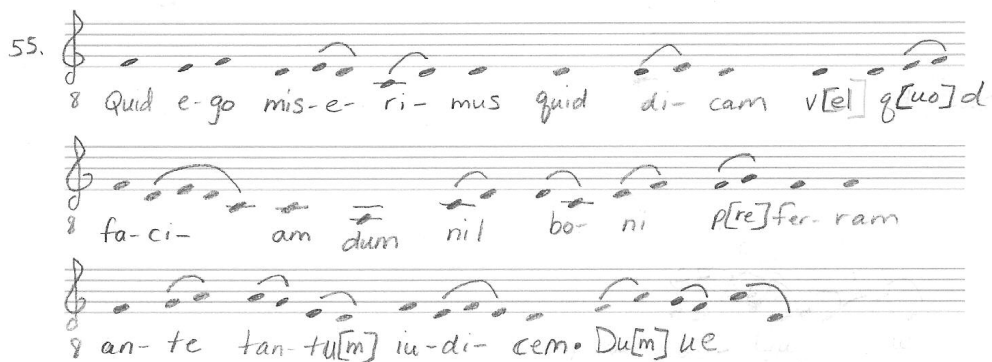
val- de . Q[ua]ndo

54. 

Tre-mens f[aci]t[us] e- go [et] ti- me- o

dum dis-cus-si- o ve- ne rit at q[ue]

ve-[n]tu- ra ir- a . Dum

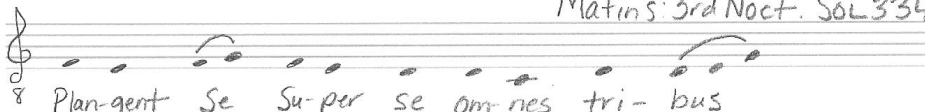
55. 

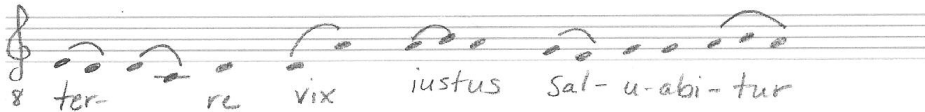
Quid e-go mis-e- ri- mus quid di- cam v[el] q[uo]d

fa-ci- am dum nil bo- ni p[re]fer- ram

an- te tan-tu[m] iu-di- cem . Du[m] ue

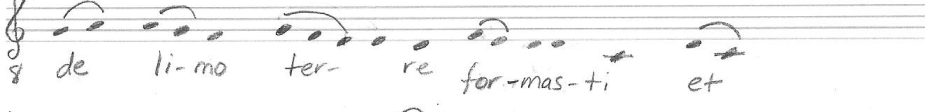
Matins: 3rd Noct. Sol 334-7

56. 
 Plan-gent se su-per se om-nes tri-bus


 ter-re vix iustus sal-u-abi-tur

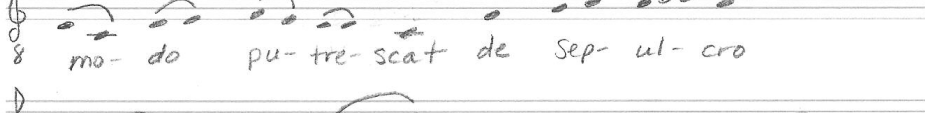

 et e-go u-bi ap-pa-re-bo, Du[m]

57. 
 Cre-a-tor om-ni-u[m] re-ru[m], de-us qui me

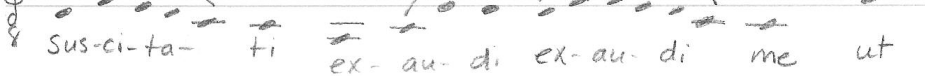

 de li-mo ter-re for-mas-ti et


 mir-a-bi-li-ter pro-pri-o san-gui-ne


 re-de-mis-ti cor-pus que me-u[m] li-cet


 mo-do pu-tre-scat de sep-ul-cro


 fa-ci-as in di-e iu-di-ci-i-re


 sus-ci-ta-ti ex-au-di ex-au-di me ut

Matins: 3rd Noct Sol 334-8

8 a-ni-ma[m] me-am in si-nu Ab-ra-he

8 Pa-tri-ar-che tu-i iu-be-as

8 Col-lo-ca-ri

[Repetendum]

8 Li-b[er]a me d[omi]ne

Lauds

[with Ps 50 Miserere mei] Lauds Sol 334-1

58.  Ex-ul-ta-bunt do-mi-no os-sa hu-mil-i-a-ta

 [s]e[c]u[1]o[r]u[m] a[m]e[n]

59.  Mis-e re-re mei

[with Ps 64 Te decet]

60.  Ex-au-di do-mi-ne or-a-ti-o-ne[m]me-am

 ad te om-nis car-o ven-i-et

 [s]e[c]u[1]o[r]u[m] a[m]e[n]

61.  Te de-cet


[with Ps 63 Deus deus meus]


62.  Me sus-ce-pit dex-ter-a tu-a do-mi-ne


 [s]e[c]u[1]o[r]u[m] a[m]e[n]

63.  D[eu]s d[eu]s meus


[with Ps. 40 Ego dixi] Lauds Sol 334-2


64.  Er-u-is-ti d[omi]n-e a-ni-man me-am ut non pe-ri-ret

 s[e]c[u]l[o]r[u]m a[m]e[n]

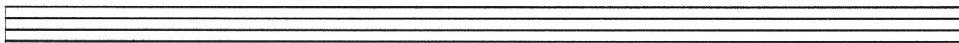
65.  E-go di-xi

[with Ps. 148 Laudate dominum]

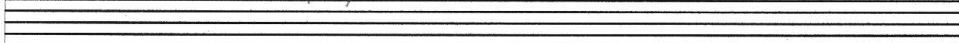
66.  Om-nis sp[iritu]s lau-det do-mi-nu[m]

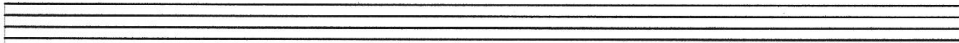
 s[e]c[u]l[o]r[u]m a[m]e[n]

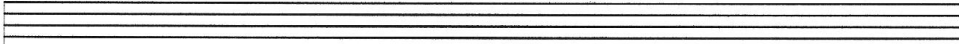
67.  Lau-da-te d[ominum]



* For 68 + 69 see page "Vespers Sol 334-3"







Modern Notation Transcription: BN774C

Matins

[Sung with Ps. 5 Verba mea] Matins 1st Noct. BN 774-1

13. 
 8 Di-ri-ge Do-mi-ne de-us me-us


 8 in con-spec-tu tu-o vi-am me-am.

14. 
 8 Ver-ba me-a.

15. [With Ps. 6 Domine ne in furore]

 8 Con-ver-te-re do-mi-ne et er-i-pe


 8 an-i-mam me-am quo-ni-am non est in


 8 mor-te quis me-mor sit tu-i.


16. 
 8 Domine ne in furore


17. [With Ps. 7 Domine deus meus]

 8 Ne quan-do ra-pi-at ut le-o a-ni-mam me-am



 8 dum non est qui red-i-mat neq[ue] qui sal-vum fa-ci-at.

18. 
 8 Dom[in]us d[eu]s me[us].


19. 
 8 Re-qui-em et-er-nam do-na e-i[s] d[omi]ne

20. 
 8 Cre-do quod re-demp-tor me-us


 8 vi-vit et in no-vis-si-mo

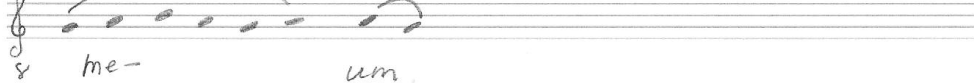

 8 die de ter-ra


 8 Sur-rec-tu-rus Sum et in car-ne


 8 me-a vi-de-bo


 8 de-um


 8 Sal-va-to-rem


 8 me-um

21. 
 8 Quam vi-su-rus sum e-go


 8 ip-se et non ali-us et


 8 o-cu-li mei


 8 con-spec-tu-ri.


 8 [repetendum] Et in car-ne.

22. 
 8 Qui La-zar-um re-su-sci-ta-sti

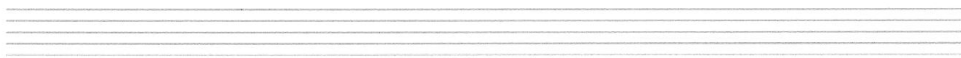
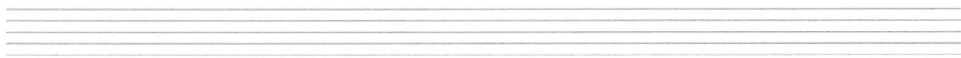
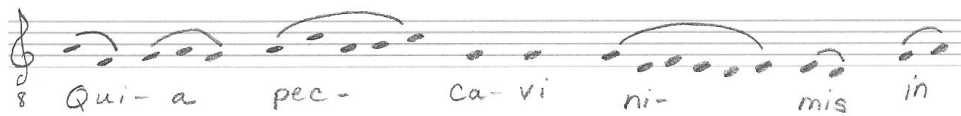
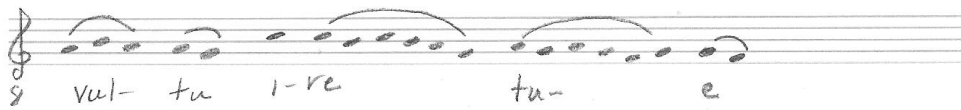
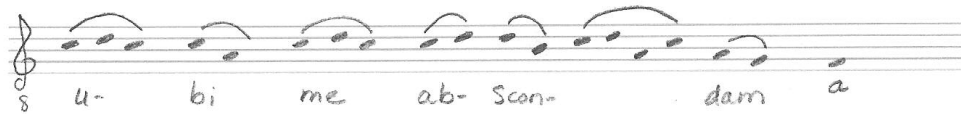
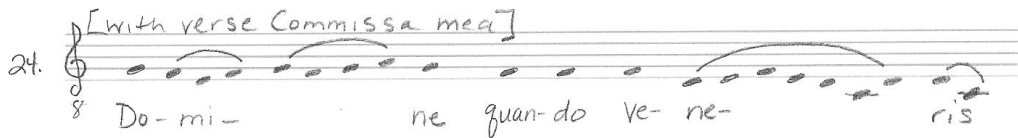
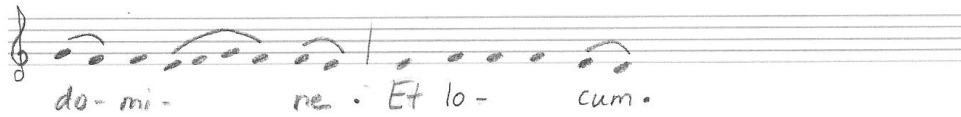

 8 a mo-na-men-to fe-ti-dum


 8 tu e-is do-mi-ne do-na


 8 re-qui-em e-lo-cum


 8 in-dul-gen-ci-e.

Matins 1st Noct BN774-4



25. 
 8 Com-mis-sa mea pa-ves-co


 8 et an-te te e-ru-bes-co dum ven-er-is


 8 iu-di-ca-re no-li me


 8 Con-dem-pna-re,


 8 Qu-ia


 8 In-du-ta est ca-ro me-a


 8 pu-tre-di-ne et


 8 sor-di-bus pul-ve-ris


 8 cu-tis me-a a-ru-it et


 8 Con-trac-ta est me-men-to

Matins Ist Noct - BN 774-6

me- i do- mi- ne qu-ia

ven- tus est vi- ta

me- a

Di-es mei ve-lo-ci-us

trans-si-er-unt quam a tex-en-te te-la

suc-ci-di-tur et con-sum-pti sunt

abs- q(ue) ul-la spe.

Me-men-to.

Matins 2nd Noct BN774-1

26. [With Ps. 22 Dominus regit]
 8 In lo-co pas-cu-ae i-bi me col-lo-ca-vit

27. [Domi]n[u]s reg-na-vit

28. [With Ps. 24 Ad te Domine]
 8 De-lic-ta iu-ven-tu-tis me-a et ig-no-ran-ti-as
 8 me-as ne me-mi-ne-nis do-mi-ne

29. Ad te d[omi]ne le-va

30. [With Ps. 26 Dominus illuminatio]
 8 Cre-do vi-de-re bo-na do-mi-ne in ter-ra
 vi-ven-ti-um

31. D[omi]n[u]s illum-i-cio
 8 A-ni-ma me-a tur-ba-ta est val-de

32. [with verse Requiem aeternam]

Sub-ve-ni-te Sanc-ti de-i
 oc-cur-ri-te an-ge-li
 do-mi-ni Su-sci-pi-en-tes a-ni-mas
 e-o-rum of-fer-en-tes e-as
 In con-spec-tu al-tis-Si-mi

33. Re-qui-em e-ter-nam do-na
 e-is do-mi-ne et lux per-pe-tu-a
 lu-ce-at e-is,
 [repetendum]
 Of-fe-ren-tes

[with verse miserere mei] Matins 2nd Noct. BN774-3

Ne per-di-der-is me-

do-mi-ne cum in-i-qui-ta-ti-bus

me-is ne-que in fi-nem

i-ra-tus

re-ser-ves

ma-la me-a

mi-se-re-re me-i de-us

mi-se-re-re me-i quo-ni-am in

te con-fi-dit a-ni-ma

me-a

Matins 2nd Noct-BN774-4

8 Neg's.

[With verse Anima mea]

34. He u mi-chi do-mi-ne qui-a

pe-ca-ri ni-mis in ri-ta me-a

quid fa-ci-am mi-ser u-bi

fa-gi-am ni-si ad

te de-us me-us


mi-se-re-re me-i

Dum ve-ne [ris]

[in no-vi-si-mo] di-e

35. 
A- ni-ma me-a tur-ba-ta est


val- de set tu do-mi-ne


suc- cur- re e- i.


Dm ve.

[With verse Non intres]

36. 
8 Ne re-cor-de- ris pec-ca-ta


8 mea do-mi- ne


8 Dum ve-ne-ris iu-di-ca-re


8 se-cu- lum per ig- nem

37. 
8 Non in-tres in iu-dic- um cum ser-vis


8 tu-is do-mi- ne • Dum vei' us.

38. [With verse Ecce in pulvere] Matins 2nd Noct- BN 774-6

Pau-ci-tas di-er-um

me-or-um fi-ni-tur bre-vi

di-mit-te do-mi-ne si-ne

pla-gam pau-lu-lum

do-lo-rem me-um an-te qua

[va-dam et non re-vertar ad tē] ne-bro-sam

et op-er-tam mor-tis ca-li-gi-ne

Ec-ce in pul-ve-re sed-e-o

et in pul-ve-re dor-mi-o et si ma-ne me

que-si-er-is non sub-sis-tam . An-te q .

Matins: 3rd Noct BN774-1

40. [With Ps 39 Expectans]
 Com-pla-ce-at ti-bi do-mi-ne ut e-ru-as me
 ad ad-iu-van-dum me fes-ti-na

41. Ex-pec-tans

42. [With Ps 40 Beatus]
 Sa-na do-mi-ne a-ni-mam me-am qui-a pec-
 [ca-ri ti-bi]

43. [B's qui intelligit]

44. [With Ps 41 Quemadmodum desiderat]
 Si-ti-uit a-ni-ma me-a ad de-um vi-vum
 quan-do ve-ni-am et ap-pa-re-bo an-te
 fa-ci-am do-mi-ni

45. Quem admod[um desiderat]

Matins 3rd Noct-BN774-2

46. Au-di-vi vo-ce de ce-lo di-cen-tem

[With verse Deus in nomine]

46. Rec-can-tem me co-ti-di-e et non me

pe-ni-ten-tem ti-mor mor-tis

con-tur-bas me qui-a in in-fer-no

nul-la est re-demp-tio

mi-se-re-re me-i de-us et sal-va me

47. 8 De-us in no-mi-ne tu-o sal-vum me fac

8 et in mi-se-ri cor-di-a tu-a

8 li-bera me

Matins 3rd Noct BN 714-3

48. [with verse Amplus lava me]

Do-mi-ne se-cun-dum ac-tum me-um
 no-li me iu-di-care-re
 ni-chil dig-num in con-spec-tu tu-o
 e-gi i-de-o de-precor
 ma-ges-ta-tem tu-am ut
 tu de-us de-le-as
 in-i-qui-ta-tem me-am

49. Am-pli-us la-va me do-mi-ne ab
 in-i-us-ti-tia me-a et a-de-lic-to me-o
 mun-da me. I de-o.

[with verse Tu quidem] Matins 3rd Noct BN774-4

Sci-o do- mi- ne qui-a

mor-ti me tra-di-tu- rus

es u-bi Con-sti-tu- ta est om-nis

dom-us vi- ven-ti- um

spe- ro in te

do-mi- ne qui-a non ad con-sump-tio- nem

me- am e- mit-tis ma- num

tu- am et si in pro-fun- dum

in-fer- ni di-mer- sus fue- ro

in-de me li-ber-ra- bis

Matins-3rd Noct-BN774 5

52. 

Tu qui- dem gres- sus

me- os di- nu- mer- as- ti set par- ce

pec- ca- tis me- is. Et si.

(With verse Tremens factus, Dies illa, and Vix iustus)

Li- be- ra me do- mi- ne de mor- te

e- ter- na in di- e il- la tre- men- da

Quan- do celi mu- ven- di sunt et ter- ra dum

ve- ne- ris ui- di- ca- re

Se- ca- lum per

ig- nem

Matris-3rd Noct-BN774-6

54. Tre-mens fac-tus sum e-go et ti-me-o
dum dis-cus-sio ve-ne-rit at- [?]
ven-tu-ra i-ra Qua-do

53. Di-es il-la di-es i-re ca-la-mi-ta-tis
et mi-ser-ic di-es mag-na et
a-ma-ra val-de. Quan-do.
Vix ius-tus. Sal-va-bi-tur et e-go
u-bi par-e-bo.. Li-bera-me.

50.

Me-men-to me-i de-us
qu-ia ven-tus est vi-ta
me-a Nec as-pi-ci-at me
vi-sus ho-mi-nis

51.

Et non re-ver-te-tur o-cu-lus
me-us ut vide-at
bo-na. Nec as.

Lauds

58. [With Ps 50 Miserere mei] Lauds - BN774-1

Ex-ul-ta-bunt do-mi-no os- Sa

hu-mi-li-a-ta

59. Mi-se-re-re

60. [With Ps. 64 Te decet]

Ex-au-di do-mi-ne or-a-ti-o-nem

me- am ad te om- nis

ca-ro ve-ni-et

61. Te decet

62. [With Ps. 62 Deus Deus meus]

Me Sus-ci-pi-at dex-te-ra tu-a do-mi-ne

63. De-us de-us m[eu]s

[with Ps. 40 Ego dixi] Lauds-BN774-2

64.  E-ru-is-ti do-mi-ne a-ni-mam
 me-am ne pe-ri-ret

65. 

66.  Ego dixi
 [with Ps. 148 Laudate Dominum]
 8 Om-nis Spir-i-tus lau-det do-mi-num

67.  8 Laudate dum de celo

68.  Re-qu-em e-ter-nam do-na e-is do-mi-ne

68.  8 Om-ne quod dat mi-chi pa-ter ad me


 8 ven-i-et et eu-m qui ven-it ad me non


 8 e-ti-am for-as

69.  8 Be-ne-dic-tus

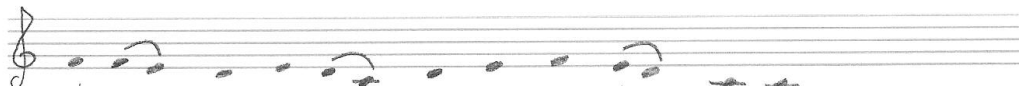
Vespers


Vespers- BN774-1


1. 
8 Pla-ce-bo Do-mi-no in re-gi-o-ne

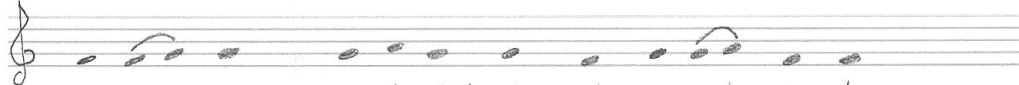

8 vi-vo-rum

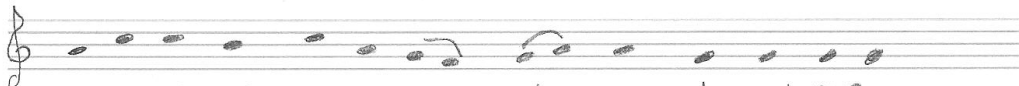
2. 
8 Dilexi

3. 
He-u me-quia in-co-la-tus me-us


pro- lon-ga-tus est

4. 
Ad d[omi]n[u]m (tu tui?)

5. 
Do-mi-nus cus-to-dit te ab om-ni ma-lo


8 cus-to-di-at a-ni-mam tu-am do-mi-nus

6. 
8 Levavi

Vespers-BN774-2

7. 
 8 *Si in- i- qui- ta- tes ob-ser-va-ve-ris do- mi- ne*


 8 *do-mi-ne qu-is sus-ti-ne-bit*

8. 
 8 *De pro-fun-dis*

9. 
 8 *O- per- a ma-nu-um tu-ar-um do- mi- ne*


 8 *ne de- spic- i- as*

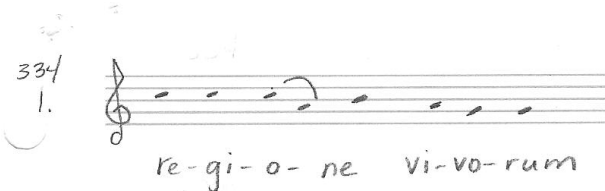
10. 
 8 *Con-fi- te- bor*

11. 
 8 *Au- di- vi vo- cem de ce- lo di- cen- tem be- a- ti*

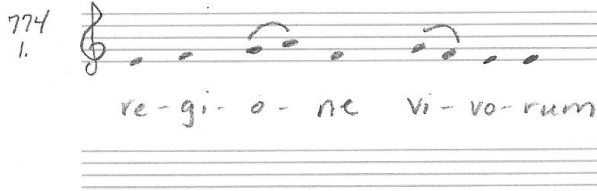

 8 *mor- tu- i qui in do- mi- no mor- i- un- tur*

12. 
 8 *Mag- ni- fi- cat*

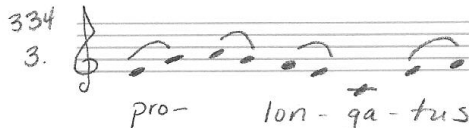
Variants

334/ 1.  Vesper 5

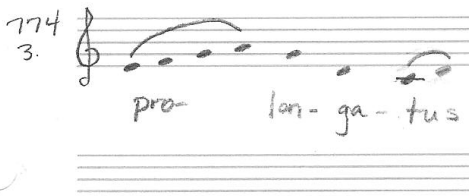
re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum

774 1. 

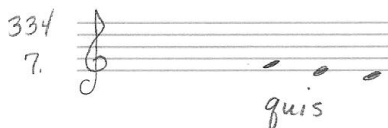
re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum

334 3. 

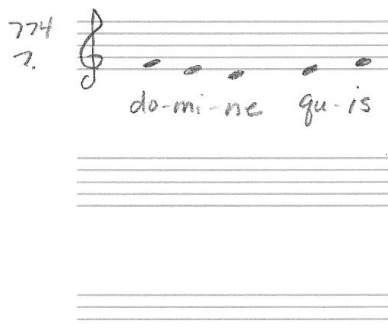
pro- lon- ga- tus

774 3. 

pro- lon- ga- tus

334 7. 

quis

774 7. 

do-mi-ne qu-is

334

9.

d[omi]n-e ne de-spi-ci-as

174

9.

do-mi- ne ne de-spie-i-as

Matins 1st Noct

334
13.

8 de- us me- us Con- Spec- tu

774
13.

8 de- us me- us Con- Spec- tu

334
14.

8 Ver- ba me- a

774
14.

8 Ver- ba me- a

334
15.

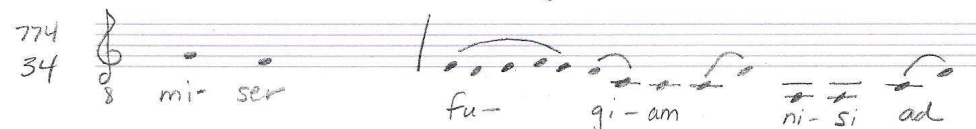
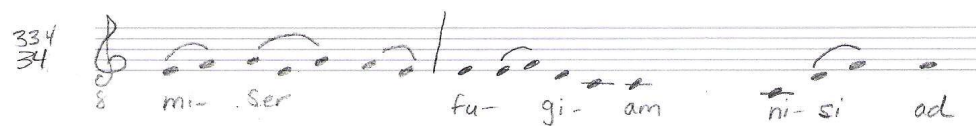
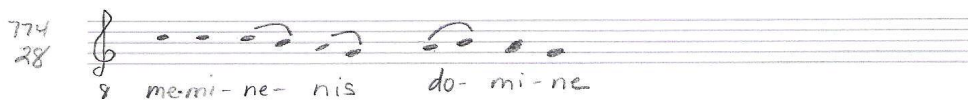
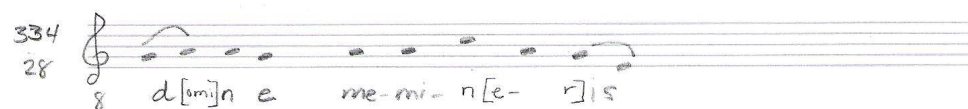
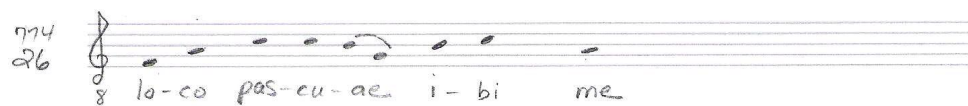
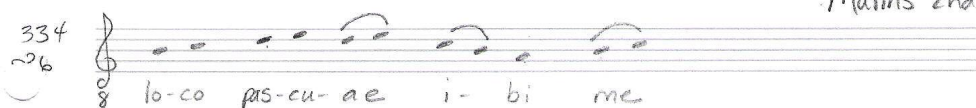
8 a- ni- mam me- a

774
15.

8 an- i- mam me- am

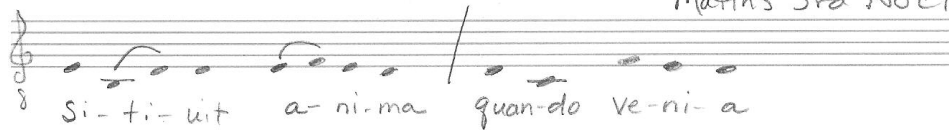


Matins 2nd Noct

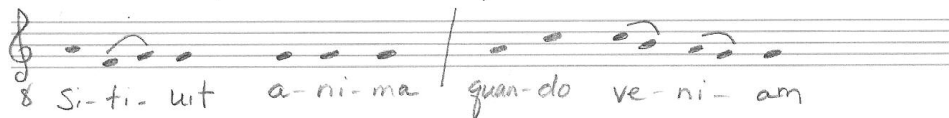


Matins 3rd Noct

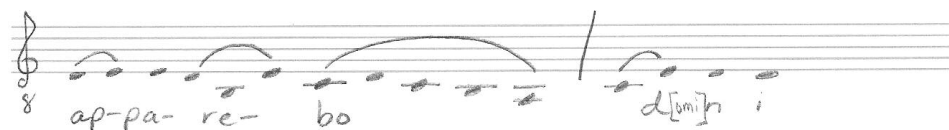
334
44



774
44



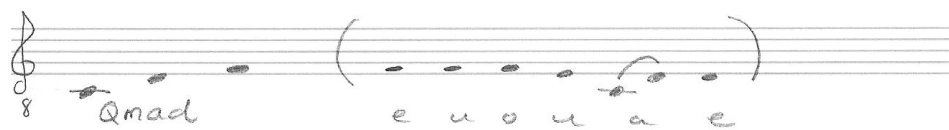
334
44



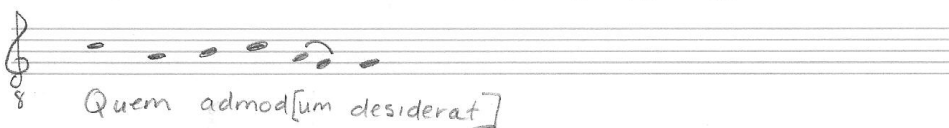
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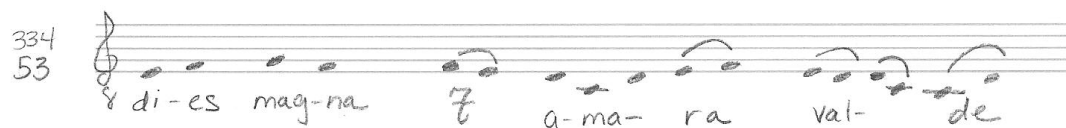
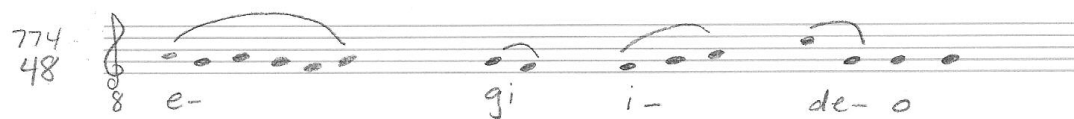
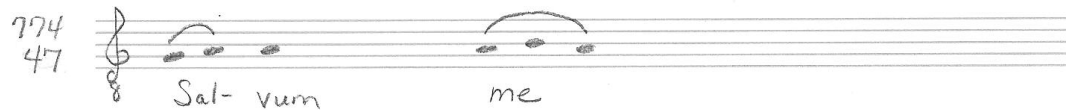
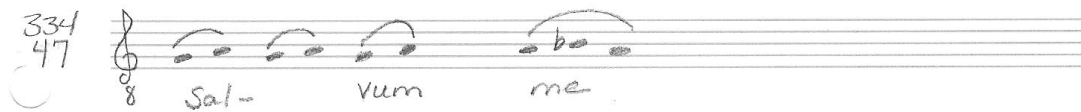


334
45



774
45





Lauds

334
68

8 pa-ter

774
68

8 pa-ter

Appendix III: Tables

Chant Text and Forms

1	OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL334	BN774
2	Vespers		1 cao4293 M H DL	Ps 114:9	ANT	Placebo Domino	Placebo Domino
3			2	Ps 116 (114)	PS	Dilexi	Dilexi
4			3 cao3038 M H DL	Ps 119:5	ANT	Heu me	Heu me
5			4	Ps 120 (119)	PS	Ad Domino	Ad Domino
6			5 cao2402 M H DL	Ps 120:7	ANT	Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit
7			6	Ps 120 (121)	PS	Levavi	Levavi
8			7 cao4899 M H DL	Ps 129:3	ANT	Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates
9			8	Ps 129 (130)	PS	De profundis	De profundis
10			9 cao4159 M H DL	Ps 137:8	ANT	Opera manuum	Opera manuum
11			10	Ps 138 (137)	PS	Confitebor	Confitebor
12		NA		4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER		
13		NA	wor 0601		ANT		
14			11 cao1528 M H	Apoc 14:13	ANT	Audiui vocem	Audiui vocem
15		NA	cao6287 GBEMV/HRD SL	Ps 17:5-7	ANT		
16			12	2 Luke 1:46-47	CANT	Magnificat	Magnificat
17	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

CAO-(M)	CAO-(L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes
Placebo Domino	Placebo Domino	Placebo Domino	Placebo Domino	
Dilexi	Dilexi			
Heu me	Heu me	Heu me	Heu me	
Ad Dominum	Ad Dominum			
Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit	
Levavi	Levavi			
Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates	no repeated "Domine" in SOL334
De profundis	De profundis			
Opera manuum	Opera manuum	Opera manuum	Opera manuum	
Confitebor	Confitebor			
Requiem eternam				
Audiui vocem	Audiui vocem	Absolve Domine	Audiui vocem	
		Circumdederunt me		
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL 334	BN774
Mains 1st Nocturn						
	13	cao2244 M H SL	Ps 5:9	ANT	Dirige domine	Dirige domine
	14		Ps 5:2-3	PS	Verba mea	Verba mea
	15	cao1921 M H SL	Ps 6:5-6	ANT	Convertere domine	Convertere domine
	16		Ps 6:1-2	PS	Domine ne in furore	Domine ne in furore
	17	cao3875 M H SL	Ps 7:3	ANT	Nequando rapiat	Nequando rapiat
	18		Ps 7:2	PS	Domine deus meus	Domine deus meus
		NA		VER		
	19		4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER	Requiem eternam	Requiem eternam
		NA		VER		
	20	cao6348 M H SL	Job 19:25-26	RESP	Credo quod	Credo quod
	21	cao6348a M H SL	Job 19:27	VER	Quem visurus	Quem visurus
	22	cao7477 M H SL		RESP	Qui lazarum	Qui lazarum
	23		4 Esdras 2:34-35	VERSICLE	Requiem eternam	Requiem eternam
	24	cao6507 M H SL		RESP	Domine dum veneris	Domine quando veneris
	25			VER	Commissa mea	Commissa mea
		NA	Job 2:7	RESP		Induta est caro
		NA	Job 7:6	VER		Dies mei velocius
		cao6956b FS				
		*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

CAO-(M)	CAO- (L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes
Dirige domine	Dirige domine	Dirige domine	Dirige domine	
Verba mea	Verba mea			
Convertere domine	Convertere domine	Convertere domine	Convertere domine	
Domine ne in furore	Domine ne in ira			Domine ne in ira/in furore
Nequando rapiat	Nequando rapiat	Nequando rapiat	Nequando rapiat	
Domine deus meus	Domine deus meus			
Anima mea				
	Requiem eternam			
		Convertere domine		
Credo quod	Credo quod	Credo quod	Credo quod	Ottosen 14
Qui lazarum	Qui lazarum	Qui lazarum	Qui lazarum	Ottosen 72
Domine quando veneris	Domine quando veneris	Domine quando veneris	Domine quando veneris	Ottosen 24/ only 2 CAO sources/ dum/quando
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL.334	BN774
Matins 2nd Nocturn	26	cao3250 H SL	Ps 22:2	ANT	In loco pascuae	In loco pascuae
	27	cao1418 B S	Ps 22:1	PS	Dominus regit	Dominus regit
		cao1418 B S	Ps 6:4-5	ANT		
		cao1418 B S	Ps 21:1	PS		
	28	cao2146 M H SL	Ps 24:7	ANT	Delicia juventutis	Delicia juventutis
	29		Ps 24:1-3	PS	Ad te Domine	Ad te Domine
		mrs0662a	Apoc 5:9-10	ANT		
		NA	Ps 30:2-3	PS		
		NA	Ps 26:13	VER		
		cao8000 M	Ps 26:13	ANT	Credo videre	Credo videre
	30	cao1948 CGBEMVHRDFS	Ps 26:13	ANT	Dominus illuminatio	Dominus illuminatio
	31		Ps 26:1-2	PS	Anima mea	Anima mea
	32	cao7949 M S	Ps 6:4-5	VERSICLE	Subvenite sancti	Subvenite sancti
	33	cao7716 M H S		RESP	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
		cao8183 M H L	4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
		cao7208 GBE VH DFS	Ex Oratione regis	RESP	Miserere mei	Miserere mei
		NA	Ps 6:3-4	VER	Neq	Neq
		cao7208a GBE VH DFS	Ps 7:3	VER		
		cao7187a CGB M HRDF	Ps 37:22-23	VER	Heu michi	Heu michi
		NA	Ps 119:5	RESP	Anima mea	Anima mea
	34	cao6811 M H SL	Ps 6:4-5	VER	Ne recorderis	Ne recorderis
	35	cao7949 M S	Ps 142:2	VER	Non intres	Non intres
	36	cao7209 M H SL	Job 10:20	RESP	Paucitas dierum	Paucitas dierum
	37	wor0402		RESP	Scio domine	Ecce in pulvere
	38	cao7367 CGBEMVHRDFS		VER		
	39			RESP		
		cao7367a CGBEMVHRDFS		RESP		
		cao7368 M H SL	Job 7:7-8	RESP		
		cao7142 CGE VHRDF L	Ps 41:3	VER		
		cao4972 M H SL		RESP		
		cao7209 M H SL		RESP		
		NA		RESP		
		cao6512 H SL		RESP		
**	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

CAO-(M)	CAO-(L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes
	In loco pascuae	In loco pascuae		
	Dominus regit			
Anima Mea				
Deus Deus meus				
Delicta juventutis	Delicta juventutis	Delicta juventutis	Delicta juventutis	
Ad te Domine	Ad te Domine			
Redemisti me Domine				
In te Domine				
Credo videre				
	Credo videre			
	Dominus illuminatio			
Subvenite sancti				Ottosen 90
Heu mihi	Heu mihi	Ne derelinquas Heu mihi	Heu mihi	Ottosen 32
	Ne recorderis			Ottosen 57
				Ottosen 67
				Ottosen 84
Peccante me		Peccantem me		
Memento				
	Sitit anima			
		Ne recorderis		
	Domine secundum			
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL.334	BN774	CAO-(M)
NA	cao7949 M S	Ps 6:4-5	ANT			Anima mea
NA		Ps 34:1-2	PS			Judica Domine
40	cao1861 M H SL	Ps 39:14	ANT	Complaceat tibi	Complaceat tibi	Complaceat tibi
41		Ps 39:1-4	PS	Expectans	Expectans	Expectans
42	cao4696 E VH SL	Ps 40:5	ANT	Sana Domine	Sana Domine	
43		Ps 40:1-2	PS	Beatus	missing section	
44	cao4972 M H SL	Ps 41:3	ANT	Sititit anima	Sititit anima	Sititit anima
45		Ps 41:2	PS	Quemadmodum desiderat	Quemadmodum desiderat	Quemadmodum desiderat
NA	cao1528 M H	Apoc 14:13	ANT		Audivi voce	
46	cao7368 M H SL		RESP	Pecantem me	Pecantem me	
47	cao7368a M H S	Ps 53:3	VER	Deus in nomine	Deus in nomine	
NA		Ps 40:5	PS			
48	cao6512 H SL		RESP	Domine secundum	Domine secundum	
49	cao6512a H L	Ps 50:4	VER	Amplius lava me	Amplius lava me	
NA	cao7473 BE VHRDF L		RESP			
50	cao7143 CGBEMVHRDFSL	2 Esdras 13:14	RESP	Memento mei		
51	cao7143c D		RESP	Et non revertetur		
NA	cao7629 CGBE VH DF L		RESP		Scio Domine	
NA	cao7629c F		VER		Tu quidem	
NA		Ps 41:2-3	PS			
NA	cao7947 M L		VER			Anima eius
NA	cao7209 M H SL		RESP			Ne Recorderis
NA			RESP			Relascentur vincula
52	cao7091 M H D SL	Joel 3:16	RESP	Libera me	Libera me	Libera me
53	cao7091g M H SL	Zeph 1:14-15	VER	Dies illa		
54	cao7091x M H D SL		VER	Tremens factas	Tremens factas	
55	cao7091t M H SL		VER	Quid ego		
56	cao7091r M H D S		VER	Plangent se		
57	cao7793a CGBEMVHRDFSL	2 Machab 1:24	VER	Creator omnium		
53	cao7091g M H SL	Zeph 1:14-15	VER		Dies illa	
NA			VER		Vix iustus	
NA	cao7477a M H S	4 Esdras 2:34-35	RESP			
50	cao7143 CGBEMVHRDFSL	2 Esdras 13:14	RESP		Memento mei	
51	cao7143c D		RESP		Et non revertetur	
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

CAO-(L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes
	Anima mea		
Complaceat tibi	Complaceat tibi	Complaceat tibi	
Expectans			
Sana Domine			
Beatus			
Sitivit anima	Sitivit anima	Sitivit anima	
			Ottosen 68
	Ego dixi Domine		
	Domine secundum		Ottosen 28
Qui consolabatur me			
Memento mei			Ottosen 46 /Job 7:7-8
Sicut cervus			
Anima ejus			
Libera me	Libera me	Libera me	Job 17:3
	Requiem aeternam		
*****	*****	*****	*****

OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL334	BN774
	NA			ANT		
Lauds	58	cao2810 H D	Ps 50:10	ANT	Exultabunt Domino	Exultabunt Domino
	59		Ps 50:3-6	PS	Miserere mei	Miserere mei
	60	cao2767 M H D L	Ps 64:3	ANT	Exaudi Domine	Exaudi Domine
	61		Ps 64:2-3	PS	Te decet	Te decet
	62	cao3725 M H D L	Ps 62:9	ANT	Me suscepit	Me suscepit
	63		Ps 62:2	PS	Deus deus meus	Deus deus meus
	NA		Ps 66:2-3	PS		
	NA	cao1191 CGBEMVHRD FSL	Is 38:10	ANT		
	64	cao2674 H		ANT	Eruisti domine	Eruisti domine
	65		Ps 40:5	PS	Ego dixi	Ego dixi
	66	cao4154 EM H D L	Ps 150:6	ANT	Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus
	67		Ps 148:1	PS	Laudate Dominum	Laudate Dominum
	NA		4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER	Requiem eternam	Requiem eternam
	68	cao4115 M H DL	2 John 6:37	ANT	Omne quod	Omne quod
	NA	cao7957 SL	Apoc 14:13	VER		
	NA	cao2601 M H D L	Jn 11:25-26	ANT		
	69		Daniel 3:52-59	PS	Benedictus	Benedictus
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
CAO-(M)	CAO-(L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes		
Iniquitabus conceptus sum	Iniquitabus conceptus sum	Iniquitabus conceptus sum				
		Exultabunt Domino				
Miserere mei	Miserere mei					
Exaudi Domine	Exaudi Domine	Exaudi Domine				
Te decet	Te decet					
Me suscepit	Me suscepit	Me suscepit				
Deus deus meus	Deus deus meus					
	Deus misereatur nobis					
A porta inferi	A porta inferi	Eruisti domine				
Ego dixi	Ego dixi					
Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus				
Laudate Dominum	Laudate Dominum					
Requiem eternam		Requiem eternam				
	Audivi vocem					
	Ego sum resurrectio					
	Benedictus					
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

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