

ABSTRACT

Title: A CLUNIAC OFFICE OF THE DEAD

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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

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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 catalogued 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 Pintière 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

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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

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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

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

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

⁴¹ Ibid.

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

⁴³ Iogna-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 ones 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-Prat, *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 trinitatis 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 in 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 Logna-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 Logna-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 Logna-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 Armenversorgung 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 Clastral Prior. While the Grand Prior was in charge of the abbey farms, the Clastral 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 Clastral 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 Clastral 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 theentire 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 Gy remarked 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 Emporer 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 solempe* (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 predate 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 stational 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 sepulco, 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 Antiphonalium 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 Antiphonalium 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 iniuitates*. 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 medPs.* 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. *Converte 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 “*terrā*” 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. *Comissa 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 Mode4. BN774C Mode 8. Text source: Ps. 24:7. CAO2146 MHS. 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 *animas* 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 omnium*. All of the verses have the same beginning pitches with the exception of *Creator omnium*.

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

Ref #	BN774C Placebo Domino	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
1		A		E-c	E	3 thirds	3
3	Heu me Dominus	F	D	C-A	D	1 fourth	2
5	custodit	F	G	F-c	G	4 thirds	8
7	Si iniquitates	G	G	D-A	G	2 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 Converte	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	Comissa mea	A	C-G	F-d	G	1 fourth	8

Ref #	BN774C	Begin	Recite	Ambitus	Final	Interval	Mode
13	Dirige Domine Converte	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	Comissa mea	c	C-G	F-d	G	5 thirds 9	8
N						fourths	
A	Induta est caro	G		E-d	G	7 thirds	8
N							
A	Dies mei velocius	c	c	F-d	G		

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 Requiem	A	c	F-f	B	fourths 2	
33	aeternam	e	c	G-e	A	fourths 1	
34	Heu michi	C	C	A-a	D	fourth 9	2
35	Anima mea	C	F	C-A	C	thirds 15	2
36	Ne recorderis	D	G	D-c	F	thirds 1	6
37	Non intres	F	A	D-B	F	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 10	4
32	Subvenite sancti	D	F	B-b	E	thirds	4
33	Requiem						
	aeternam	A	F-G-F A-B flat	D-a	E	5 thirds 14	4
34	Ne perdidderis me	F		D-d	F	thirds	6
35	Miserere mei	F		D-d	F	5 thirds 4	6
36	Heu michi	C		A-a	D	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 8	6
38	Paucitas dierum	F		C-c	F	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
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 Amplius lava	G	G-C-D	C-d	G	1 sixth	8
49	me	C	C	F-d	G	4 thirds	8
NA	Scio Domine	F		C-d	F	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 Et non	D	D	AA-B-A	D	8 thirds	2
51	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 *differentiae*—*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.

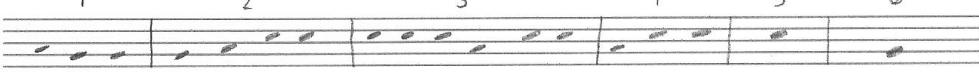
¹³⁷ Ibid., 221-222.

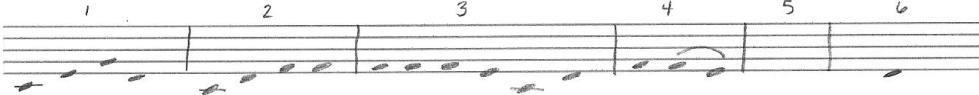
It is unfortunate there are no extant tonaries from Cluny. Future studies of Cluniac offices that include the connections from *differentia* to antiphon incipit will contribute significantly to our understanding of the methods of office chant construction within the monastery.¹³⁸ Only the antiphons *Placebo 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.

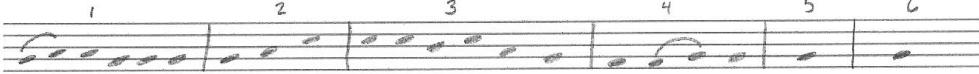
The following *differentiae* contain six numbered columns. The columns are identified as follows:

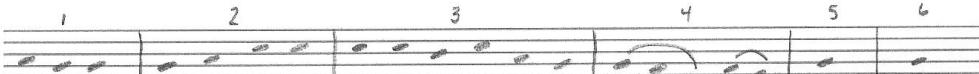
1. Termination of the antiphon
2. Psalm tone
3. Doxology-- *Seculorum Amen*
4. Antiphon incipit
5. Reciting tone
6. Final

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

1. 

3. 

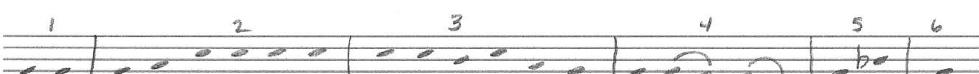
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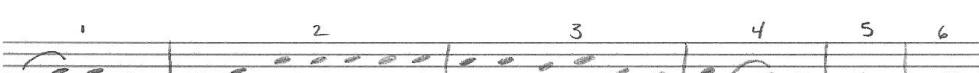
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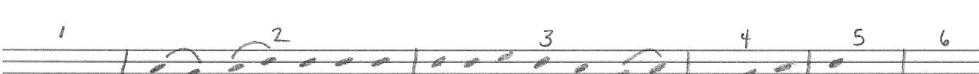
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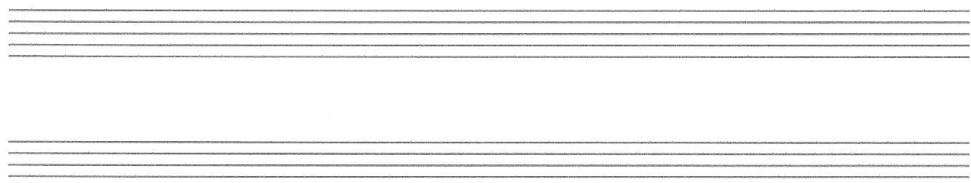
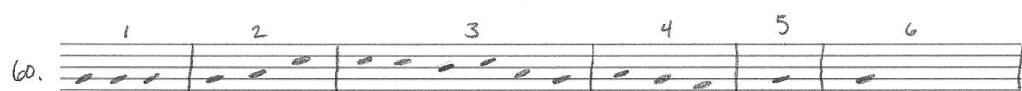
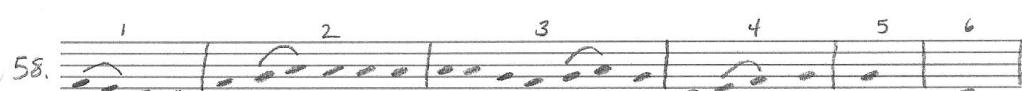
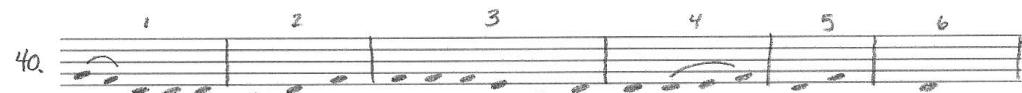
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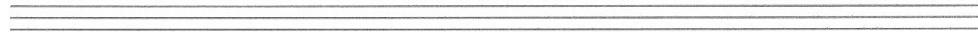
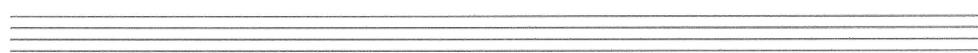
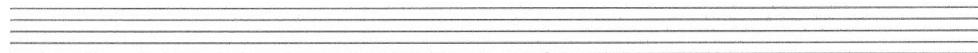
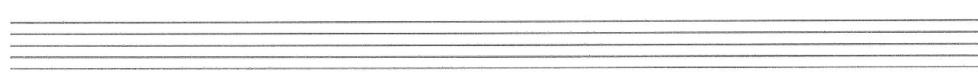
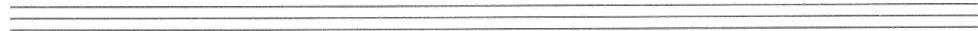
13. 

15. 

17. 

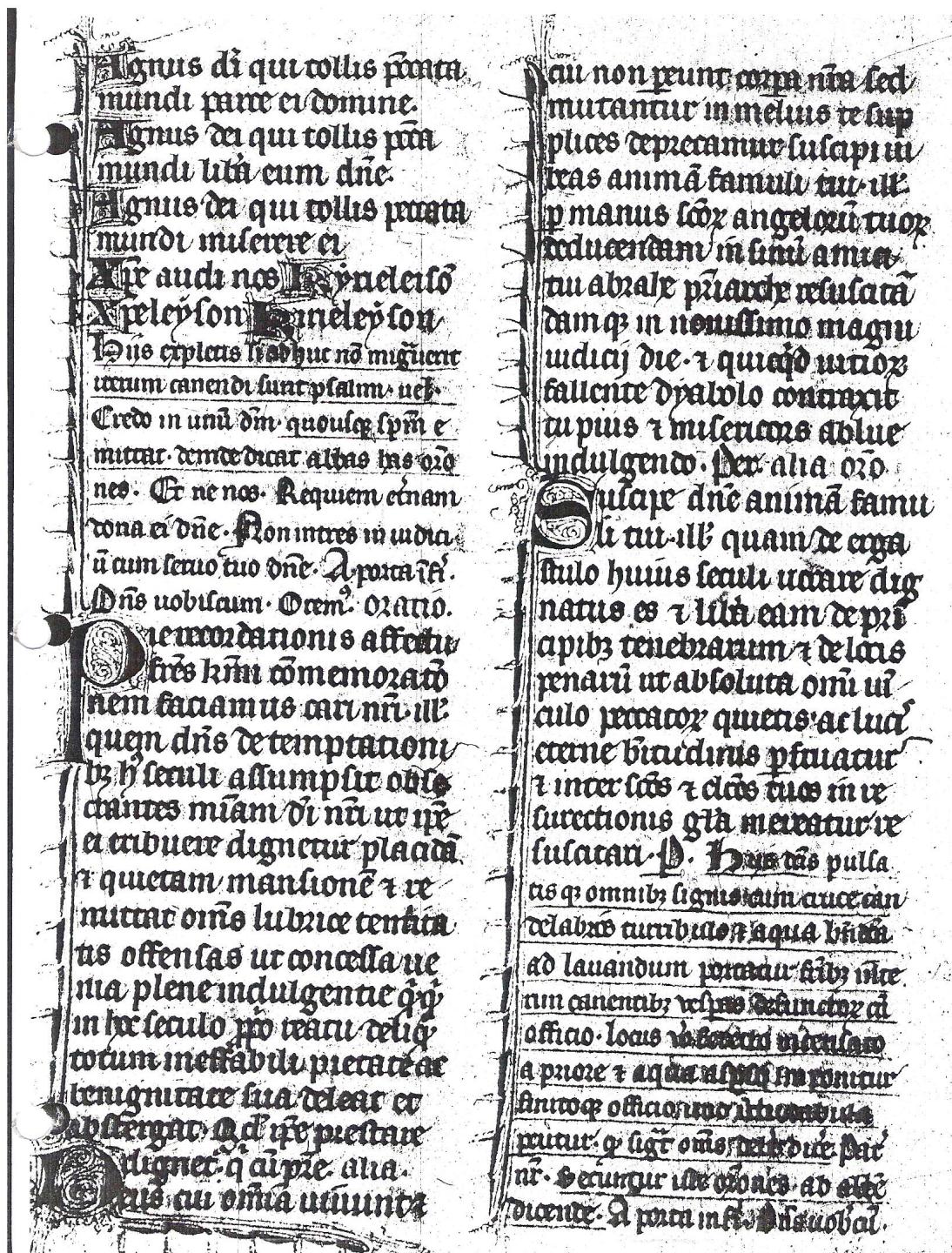
26. 





Appendix II: Edition

Facsimile: Sol334



Deus uite dator i oratio
humanor corporū repa
tor qui te a peccatoribz adra
nuolusti exaudi preces q̄s
spali deuocione p anima fa
muli tui ill. t lacrimabilit
fundimus ut libare eam ab
inferorum cruciatibz i collo
care inter agmina scōrū tuo
rum dignis ueste quoq̄ cele
sti i stola immortalitatis
indui i padys amenitate
confoui uileas. P. alia oīo

Deus qui humanatū ani
marū eternus amator
cs animam famuli tui ill.
quam uera dum in corpe
maneret tenuit fides ab oī
cruciatu inferoru rede ex
torrem ut segregata ab in
fernalibz clausas scōrum
mercatur adunari absorti s
P. H̄is dictis sapiente anto
re. S. Subuenient sc̄ di. omnibus
resonantibz signis deferatur ante
altare sc̄ mane ubi post finē. S.
dicat abbas x. A porca m̄. Do

Dominus uobum. oratio.
Deus uenie largitor i hu
mane salutis auctor q̄s cle
mentia tuam ut n̄tē cong
gationis fr̄em qui ex le
cilo transiuit dā maria se

per uirginē intercedente cō
omnibz sc̄is tuis ad p̄petue
bitudinē consortū p̄uen
conendas. Per. Post h̄c p̄eince
p̄essione ducatur ad maiore etan
canendo. S. Heu m̄ dñe. Ibiq̄ ser
uetur cū salmodia ut ad horante
pulture in hora qua sepeliendus
ē frater. Sct̄ om̄is congregatio in
circitu funis cum seris i lumi
nibz i mapiant duo cantores
hynel. xp̄el. hynel. Sequitur or
on intes in iudicium al

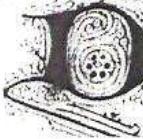
Deu seruo tuo domine: qm̄
nullis apud te iustificabit
hymo nisi p te om̄um p̄toz
tabuatur remissio. Non ḡ
cum tua q̄s iudicialis lete
ria p̄mat quem t uera sup
plicatio fidei xp̄iane cōmen
dat. S. grā tua illi succurre
te mereatur euadē iudicium
ultionis qui dum uiueretī
signitus ē signaculo trita
tis. Ser. S. Heu m̄ dñe. hynel.

Dac q̄s dñe hanc oratio
cum seruo tuo defuncto
illūmiam ut scōrū suorū in pe
nis non recipiat uitē qui
tuam in uonis tenuit uo
luntate ut sicut hic cū ueti
fides iuxta fideliū turmis
ita eum illuc tua misericordia

extuasat. non vero prima cathe-
thena constringat si conce-
la libi delictorum omnium uenia
optate quietis consequatur
gaudia re promissa. Per.
Dende incensato tumulo i defun-
to intus deposito rerumque aqua-
bundia asplo i incensato subseq-
tur sacerdos has orationes.

Oremus fratres homines pro spiritu
sancti omnes. illi quem do-
minus de laqueo huus
seculi literare dignatus
est cuius corpus calum hodi-
e sepulture traditur ut eum
pietas domini insinu ab
ie isaac et iacob collocare
dignetur ut cum dies iudi-
ci aduenit inter sanctos et electos
sicut eum in parte extera
collocandu resuscitari fa-
ciat praeterea dominus ihu christus
qui cum prete spiritu sancto uero iudeo.

Secundus qui uisus oratio
supplicationibus semper
presto es qui pia uota dig-
nus intueris famulo tuo
illius cuius depositioni hodie
officia humanitatis exhibemus
cum sanctis atque fidelibus
tuis vi munis portione
Per alia oratio



debitum humani cor-

poris sepieliendi officium fide-
lium more completes dominum
cui omnia uiuunt fideliter des-
cenunt ut hoc corpus carni nostri
illorum a nobis in infirmitate se-
pultum in ordine sanctorum suorum
resuscitetur: et eius spiritus sanctus ac
fidelibus aggregari uileat cum
quibus in enarrabili gloria et
pleni felicitate perfruimur
reatur. prante domino nostro ihu
christo qui cum patre et sancto spiritu uero iudeo
emitatis quidem oratio

Est domine ut hymno huius
mortalis mortuum cuius
animam a domino deo nostro audefat
comendare sed quia tra susti-
pit tristam et puluis conutat
in puluere donec omnis caro
in suam redigatur originem
inde tuam deus pessime pater
laetabiliter quod pietatem ut
huius famuli tui illius anima
quoniam de huus mundi ueragine
renuentia duas ad priam
abrahame amici tuus simu recipi-
as et refugere rore perfundat
sit ab estuantis iehenne cum
a incendio segregatus et te
requier te donante conuinctus
et si que illi sunt domine digne
crucifixibus culpe tu eas gratia
misericordia lenitas indulge

Sup hoc sepulchrum amen
O eternus dei pater uni
geniti filii qui pro nobis
humanitatem nre fragili
tatis assumens idc insepul
cro requiesce passus es ut nos
desepulcris in coru eiceres
tueq; resurrectionis gl; soci
ares ad eis supplicationibz
nris i faue uocis humilim
quatinus hunc tumulum
quem purificare curauim
p aspersionem salis i aque ad
receptaculum fune carni
respectu tue benignissime
pietatis intuendo scfices
morsus ab eo omni acer
arum potestatu dissolues
i temptamenta hostis cal
udi ppiciatus elonges ut
tam eum quam locu huc
in quo positus fuit quem
i nomine tue potentis dedi
cauius tuu uer luminis
impensione plustrans si
ne illa calligine proxim
corpus qd in illo fuit red
ictum scc quietis remune
ratone confoureas i ex eo
resuscitatum ad gloriam
future examinationis de
ducas. Qui uiuis ordes
antequam sepliatur

O blectamus mi am tuam
O mpe sempiterne deus q
homine ad ymaginem tuam
creare dignatus es ut spm
i animam famuli tuu illi
quem huiusma die rebz hu
manis eximi i ad te acer
sui uisisti blande i miseri
corditer suscipias non ei di
minentur umbra mortis n
tegat cu calos i caligo te
ndrarum. Et exitas o m
criminu late insuabz
ix p rauit tollerans locu
lucis refrigeria se adeptum
e gaudeat i cum dies ui
dicu aduerit cum scis et
elcis tuis cum resuscitati
uictas. Per alia oratio
Deus apud querentes
tuoy spc uiuunt i in q
elorum anime deppico
carnis onere plena felici
tate letantur pia supplica
tionibz nob ut anima fa
muli tuu illis que tempi
li p corpus huus uisio
nis luminis caruit uisu
eterno illius lucis solano
poterat. Non eu tormento
tu mortis attingat non
dolor hortende uisionis af
ficiat non penalis amor

societ angelica chies. Per. Ex
24 et recordens. Rynier oratio
Adina domine aurē tuam
ad p̄es n̄as quibz m̄iam tu
am suplices deprecamur.
ut animā famili illi: quia
de hoc seculo migrare iussi
in pacis ac lucis regione co
stitutas z sc̄orum tuorum ui
beas c̄e consortes. P. Ex Lib
me dñe. H̄us expletus ducatur ad
tumulum peunte pressione cum la
cerdotē sub sequente quentia ad
ultimū polidoribz fūlis. tecum
tactis omnibz signis canantur hy
psalmi cū. A' In paradisum dedicat
te angelū in r̄o aduentu suscipi
ant te m̄res p̄. In exitu a' Apule
ill̄ portas iusticie z ingressus me
as confiteatur dño p̄. Confitem
a' Ingrediar in locum tabernacū
ad mirabilis usq; ad domū dei p̄
Quemadm̄ a' H̄ec requies n̄ia
in seculum seculi h̄ habuato qm̄
elegi eam p̄. Om̄ito a' De terra
plasmasti me z carne induisti me
redemptor m̄s domine resuscita me
in nouissimo die p̄. Dñe plasti
me. A' Non intes in iudicū cū
seuotio dñe. p̄. Dñe exaudi. g.
a' Om̄is s̄p̄ laudet dnm̄ p̄. Iauda
te dnm̄ a' Absolue dñe anima
famuli tu ab om̄i timore delito

rum ut in resurrectionis gloriū
sōs tuos resuscitatus respueret p̄
Būdū. Baccodus ueniens ad se
pulcrum p̄mū būdū. Būdū h̄c
orionem dicens. oratio.
Deus qui fundasti terram
a formasti celos qui om̄ia
s̄p̄ statuta fixisti qui
captū laqueo mortis l̄piem
alliuione reparas qui sepl̄
tos abraham. ysaac. z iacob
in spelunca dupli in libro
uite atq; in tocius glorie dig
nitate principes aduocasti
būdū dignis hunc tumu
lum famuli tui. illi z hic
cum requiesce facias z in si
nu abrāle collocare dignis
qui dnm̄ nr̄m ih̄m xp̄m fili
um tuū de iuctis laqueis i
seror resurge in se credentia
nolunti salutem respice q's
sup hanc fabricam sepultu
re descendat hic domine sp̄s
sc̄s ut te uidente sit ei in h̄c
loco quieca dormitio z tpe
iudicij cum sc̄s omnibus
resurrecio. P. eundm̄. n.
in unitate eiusd. Deinde
aspergit fossam aqua bñ
da ita dicendo.

Benedictio dī patris et
filij z h̄c sc̄i descendat

nec p̄t recipiat uicem s̄ in
dulgentie tue priam sentiat
bonitatem. Cumq; finito
mundi tm̄no supnū cui
ctis illuxit regnū oīum scō
rum ceteribz aggregatus cū
elās resurgat in parte dext̄a
coronandus. P. H̄is t̄is
ueniat cum sociis in medio fini
i post finem ultime a: p̄misso p̄
nt. dicet. Non intras in iudicium
cum seruo tuo dñe. Dñs uob̄am.

Tibi dñe comenda orō
Amis animā familiy
tu ill: ut defunctus scđo r̄
uiuat i que p̄ fragilitatem
mundane conuersationis
p̄ca ad misit tu uenia misere
cordissime pietatis abster
ge. P. Pro h̄is qui sunt in ami
ceto p̄. Olysej m̄ dñs. P̄ n̄. Et
penos. A porta infi. Dñs uob̄am

Deus cui' misera oratio
tē anime fidelū requi
escunt famulis i famulibz
tuis omibz hic i ubiq; in
xp̄o quescentibz da pp̄tus
ueniam p̄torū ita cunctis
rebatibz absolute regum sine
fine letentur. P̄ eundem.
In agenda mortuorum
ad v̄ e. s̄ peras an
tiphona

Placebo domino in regione uno
nim. Eviae p̄. Dilixi. il Heime
quā ncolatus meus plongatus ē
Eviae p̄. Ad dñm il Dominus
custodit te ab omni malo custodi
at animā tuam dñs. Eviae p̄
Icuan il Si iniquitates obsec
uauis domine quis sustinebit
Eviae p̄. De profundis il Ope
manū tuarū dñe ne despicias
Eviae p̄. Contulor il Audim
uocem de celo dicentem beati
mortui qui in dño moriuntur.
Pater n̄
Eviae p̄. Edagmific. p̄ lauda
anima mea dñm p̄. Nisi q̄a dñs
Deus cui' pp̄ium oratio
ē miseri semper i parte
pp̄ciare animabz famulor
tuor i om̄ia eorum p̄ca di

mutte ut mortis vinculis
absoluti tuis mercantur
ad uitam Per dñm alia

Domina q̄s om̄ps d̄s ut aie
familiorum tuorum quorum
animis animarum depositionis di
em commemoram indulgentia
am piter i requie capiant
sempiternam P. alia

Om̄pē sempitēne d̄s cui
nunq̄ sine h̄p̄ m̄ie sup
plicatur p̄ficare anima
b̄z familiorū tuorum ut quide
m̄ia vita in tui dominis co
fessione decesserūt sc̄r̄ tuorum
num̄as facias agḡregari.
Eus uenielangitor alia
humane salutis auc
tor q̄s clementiam tuam ut
nre congregatiōnis fr̄es q̄
ex hoc seculo insierūt lāma
ra semp̄ uengine int̄cedere
cum omnibz f̄c̄s ad p̄petue
uenturis consortū puer
re concedas. P. d. alia

Quelum dñe p̄ tua pie
itate misere animaribz
famularū tuarū i a conta
gys mortalitatis exutas
in et̄ne saluationis p̄tem
restare. P. do. alia
Eus cui miseratione a
nime fideliū requiescant

famulū i familiabz tūp̄ os
b̄z hic ubiq̄ in xpo quiet
centibz d̄a pp̄tates uenit
ptor ut a tuncis tracibz
absoluti sine fine letentur

Domini alia
icelū d̄s om̄u condic
tor i redemptor animaribz
familiorū famularū q̄s tu
arū remissione cūctoz tribu
e ptor ut indulgentia q̄
sc̄np̄ optauit p̄is simpli
cationibz c̄p̄sequantur.
Per dō.

n. i. n. a. Dñe d̄m̄e deus
meus in conspectu tuo uiuim̄ mea

Ewiae p̄ Dñe d̄m̄e a. Com̄a
p̄re domine i et̄pe animam meā
quonā nō ē m̄ morte q̄ memor sit
tui. Ewiae p̄ Dñe d̄m̄e a. Regn
to cap̄tū f̄c̄les anima mea dū
f̄c̄lī dū f̄c̄lī f̄c̄lī f̄c̄lī f̄c̄lī f̄c̄lī
no. est qui redim̄at n̄m̄ qui la
ui faciat. Ewiae p̄ Dñe d̄m̄e
meus. Requie et̄ia dona ei d̄c̄

Dicite in dñe nichil l.c. i.
 Enim sunt dies mei. Qd
 est homo quia magnificas
 eum: aut quid apponis erga
 eum corruptum? Visitas eu
 diluculo? i subito prolas il
 lum. Isqz quo non partis
 m. nec dimittis me ut gnu
 ciam saluam meam? pec
 caui. Quid faciam t? Deu
 stos hominu quare posuisti
 me contum acib; i tuus sum
 mitempi quis? Cur no tol
 lis pcam meum? i quare no
 autem iniquitat mea? Ex
 munc in pulue dormio: et si
 mane me quesieris non sub
 lista. Ex. Lredo q redemptor meus
 uiuit et in novissimo di
 e de terra surrectu rusi sum
 et in carne mea a uite lo de
 um saluato rem
 meu um. Quem usurpus sum
 ego ipse et non ali us et
 oculi mei conspectu re

Cedit em l.c. ii.
 Omnia mea uite Et in car
 mee dimittam aduersum
 me eloquii mei. Iopuat in
 amaritudine anime mee di
 cam deo. noli me condempna
 re. Indica m cur me ita ui
 dices. Nunquid t bonu ui
 detur si calumpnueris i opp
 mas me opus manuu tuar
 i consiliu impior adiuves?
 Nunquid oculi carnei tibi
 sunt aut sicut uidet homo t
 tu uidebis si unqd sicut dies
 hominis dies tui aut anni
 tui sicut humana sunt te
 pa ut queras iniquitatem
 meam i pcam meu sauteris.
 Et scias quia nichil impiu
 fecim: cum sit nemo qui de
 manu tua possit eruerre. Ex.
 Qui lazarum resuscitasti
 a monumento seu dum tu eos
 domine dona regni em et can
 indiu genti e v Requie
 eternam dona eis dne. Et locu
 Danus tue dñe l.c. iii.
 fecerunt me i plalma

uerunt me totum in circui
 tu i sic repente p̄cipitas me
 Memento queso q̄sicut lu
 tam fecis me i in puluēm
 reduces me. Nonne sicut
 lac nullisti me i sicut case
 ū me coagulasti. Pelle i car
 nibz uestisti me. ossibz i ner
 uis compregisti me. Vici
 i miām tribuisti mī i uesti
 cio tua custodiuit sp̄m me
 um.
Re Domine dum ueneris ui
 dicare terram ubi me abscondā
 a uultu ure tu e quia
 peccauī minus in uita me
Re Comissa mea pa
 uesco i ante te erubesco dum
 uenis iudicare noli me con
 demna re. Quia sollempni
 h. **R**e an illa hystona
Re Induta ē sibona suscepimus
 aliud. **R**e in
 hys. **R**ecē p̄forat hyspa
 a sibona sulce
 In. ii. x. a. In loco pascue

ibi me collacuit. Eodae p̄ D̄ns reg.
 a Delicta uestimentis mee i igno
 rancias meas dñe ne meminiſ
 Ewae p̄ Ad te dñe leuaui an
 Credo uidere bona dñm terra
 uiuentū. Ewae p̄ D̄ns illoma
 v. Animamea clara ē ualte. iiiij.
Responde m̄ quantas leo
 iniquitates i p̄ca et
 scelera i atq; delicta ostende
 m̄. Cur faciem tuā abscon
 dis m̄ i arbitriis me inimi
 cū tuū. **C**ontra folui quod
 uento rapitur ostendis po
 tentiam tuā i stipulā sic
 cam p̄sequeris. **S**cribis euū
 contra me amaritudines
 i consuē me uis p̄cis ad
 lessentie mee. Posuisti ī ner
 uo pede meū i obseruasti os
 semitas meas i uestigia re
 dū meor considerasti. Qui q̄i
 putredo cōsumendus sum
 et quasi uestimentū. quod
 co meditur a tinea. Rensor.
 Subuenite sancti dei occur

rite angelii domi ni suscipientes
animas eo iugn offerentes eas
in conspectu al tissi m^u Reg
em eternam dona eis domi
ne et lux perpetua luceat eis
Domo natus v.
de muliere b^e Oferentes.
ui uiuens tpo: repletur mul
tis miserijs. Qui quasi flos
egreditur i conitetur i fugit
velut umbra. i nūq^z in eodē
statu pmanet. Et dignum
ducis sup huiuscmodi api
re oculos tuos. i aducē eum
terū in iudicū. Quis p^t fa
cte mūdū de mūdo conceptū
semine. Nonne tu q solus
es. Breves dies hominis s.
Quimenus mentū ei apud
te e. Constituisti tūmos ei
qui p^tare nō potuit. Recede
g paupilū ab eo ut quiescat
donec optata ueniat i sicut
mercennarij dies eius. Rx
Exi machi domine quia p^tau
mīs in vita mea quid faciam

miset ubi fugram nisi ad te deus
meus misere me i dum ue
nis in nouissimo di e **V**erma
mea turbata est ualde sed tu dñe
tac care e i. **D**u uenis vi
uis in hpc tribuat ut i
nfernū protegat i ab
sondas me donec ptransigat
fauor tuus i constituat in
tempus in quo recordis mi
i. **D**ucas ne mortuus ho
rurū uiuat. Cunctis die
bz quibz nūc milito. expect
donec ueniat imutatio mea
pribis me i ego respondet
i op^r manū tuarū poni
ges dextoram. Tu quidem ḡli
mos dñymetalū. s; p^r
p̄as me
Is. Lxvi. De recordis peccatorum
mea domine dum uenies
iudicāte reculum pec ig
nem. **N**on intres in iudici
um cūm seruis tuis domi

In officiis sol
 ne. Dum uenit temporeb; Et
 ali. Dauid dicitur ad x. Sicut do
 cemus. Nam in hystoria
 mi ne la si bona suscepimus.
 In uit. I. a. Complacere at rudi domi
 ne ut erias me ad adiuuandum
 me respice. Exod. p. Expectans
 a. Sana domine anima meam
 quia peccauitabi. Exod. p. B.
 qui intelligit a. Sicut anima
 mea ad deum uinu quando ueniam
 si apparebo ante faciem domini. Exo
 d. Audiu uocem
 one p. Quidam. de celo dicere. vij
 spiritus meus attenua
 bitur. dies mei breua
 buntur. Et solum in super
 sepulcrum. Non peccauit
 in amaritudinib; moratur
 oculus meus. Libera me do
 mine i pone me uicta te
 i cuius uis manus pugnet
 contra me. Dies mei transi

erunt: cogitationes mee ou
 apates sunt roquentes cor
 meu. Nactem ueterant i di
 em: et rursum post tenebras
 spiro lucem. Si sustinueris
 infernus domus mea est i
 tenebris stravi lectulū meū
 putredini dixi. Pater meus
 es mater mea: i soror mea
 uerib;. Vbi est ergo nūc
 prestolatio mea: uir pietatis
 mea. tu es dñe deus in
 p. Peccatum me co ti die et
 non penitentia timor mortis
 concubat me quia in infernu
 nulla est redemptio. multe
 me i deus i salua me v. De
 us i nomine tuo saluu me
 fac i in uirtute tua uidic
 a. Quia in inflo. vij
 illi mee consupcas car
 phib; adhesit es mei
 et derelicta sunt tantum
 labia arca dentes meos.
 miseremini mei misere

mini saltēm uos amici mei
quia manus dñi tetigit me.
Quare persequimini me si
cūt deus i caribz meis sa
turamini? Quis n̄ det bu
at ut scrabantur sermones
mei? Quis n̄ det ut exaren
tur in libro stilo ferro uel
plumbilamina ul' celeste
sculptantur in scilice? Sāo
enī q̄ redemptor meus inuit
i nouissimo die de terra s
surrectur sum. Et rursū cū
cundabor pelle mea i in car
ne mea uidelo deū saluato
rē meū. Quem iusurus sū
ego ip̄e i oculi mei conspectu
i sunt i non aliis. Reponi
ta ē h̄c sp̄s mea: in līma
meo.

B̄n̄s Domine secundum ac
tūdā me uīm nōl me uīdi
ca te mchū dignū in conspec
tu tu o C̄ ḡ i deo de p̄e
cor maiestatem tu am. vt
si deus delcas mi
quita res me as

Amplius laua me do
mine ab iniustia mea i d̄ te
ducō me o munda me vītu.
¶ Tū fortissimus lōo. ix.
Iudas collatione sc̄a
duodecim nulla dragmas
argenti misit iherosolimā
offerens eas p̄bi pro p̄cis mor
tuorū uiste i religiose de re
surrectione cogitans. Nisi e
nim eos qui cedant resu
recturos sparet: supfluū ui
deretur i uanū orare p̄ mor
tuos. Et quia considerabat
q̄ hu qui cū pietate dormi
tionē acceptant: optimam
herent reposicam grām
sc̄a ergo i salubris cōgi
tatio pro defunctis exora
re ut a p̄cis soluantur.
¶ Memento mei de us quia
uentus est uita me a. Nec
aspiciet me uetus homi
nis. Et non reuerterur ocul
uis me us ut ui de at

hic sciend q'q'n
 ia. Nec aspi sit offm sollemp
 di hcc. & lita me. i stud
 coemento d'i post. vii. l*c*
 dne scdm actu dimitte. &
 uera me do mine de morte
 ter na in die illa tremenda
 quando celi inquieti sunt et
 erit. Dum ue nens ui
 uia re se dilatum p
 g nem. v. Dies illa dies ue
 calamitatis i miserie dies
 magna i amara ualte. Qndo
 v. Tremens fuis ego i timed
 v. dnm discussio uenerit atq' ue
 tura na. Dum. v. Quid ergo
 miscerimus quid dicam usq' qd
 faciam dlm mil boni pferam

plangent se super se omnes. v.
 bus terre uix iustus saluabitur
 et ego ubi apparebo. v. Cita
 tor omniu rem deus qui me de li
 mo tece formasti i mirabiliter
 ppxio sanguine retemisi corpul
 qz meu ueret modo putrescat de
 sepulcro facias in die iudicij re
 suscatib exaudi exaudi me ut
 anima meam in limu abrah
 priarib tuu uileas
 v. Au
 collatib lita me dne. dnu co
 cem de celo dicentem m. Si mor
 Patern. Gne nos ps. Ad do
 minu cu thil. ps. Dne quid
 multiplic v. Sacquie eternam
 v. A porta inferi ordes. eus
 au pp' i ale
 uc s. In p. a. Exultabunt
 limmo alla humiliata. Eudae.

psaltemer ait Exaudi domine orationem meam ad te omnis caro ueniet
 Ewodae p Te dexter ait Omnes suscep-
 pit dexter tua domine. Ewodae p
 Domus meus ait Exaudi domine diuina
 meam ut non periret. Ewodae p
 Ego dixi ait Omnis spiritus laudet do-
 minum. Ewodae p Laudate dominum a.
 Omne quod dat mihi patet ad me
 ueniet et cum qui uenit ad me n
 acciat foras. Ewodae p Benedictus.
 Padre p De profundis p Usqueq.
 V Requiem eternam p A porta inferni
 orones. Deus cui psum e
 et alie que secunduntur ut su
 ma.

Entra exultemus domino
 pubilemus deo salutari nostro precor

pie et in psalmis uibelemus
 Quoniam deus magnus
 et rex magnus super omnes dei
 niam non repellit dominus ple
 am quia in manu eius
 omnes fines terrae et altitu
 montium ipse conspi cat
 mari ipsius est mare super
 illud et aida fundau
 pianus ciues uenite a
 et picatam ante deum p
 poram domino qui fecisti
 ipse est dominus deus noster nos
 pulus eius et oves pa
 Hodie si uacem eius

Facsimile: BN774C





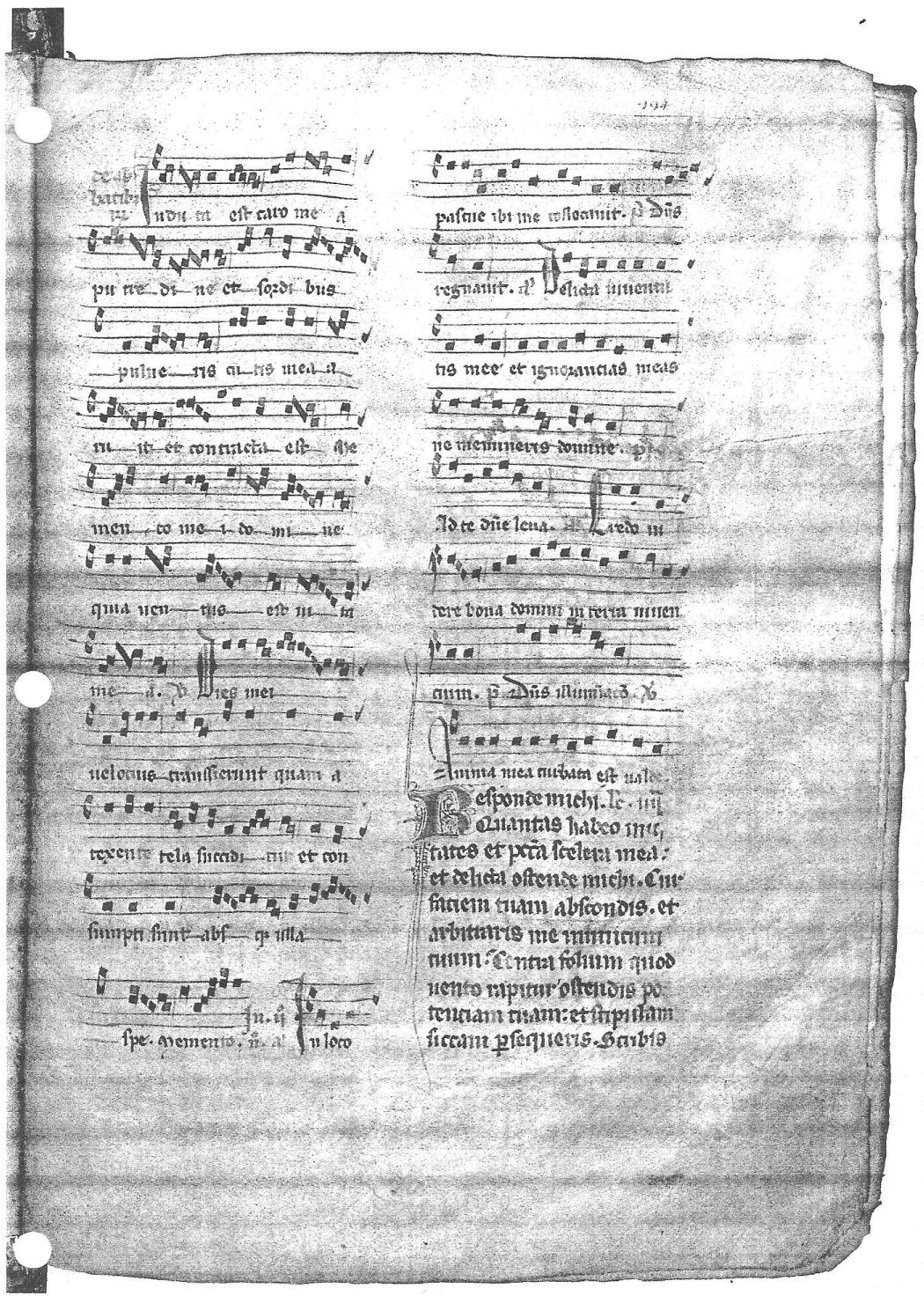
Scias qui nichil impium
fecerim: cum sit nemo qui
de manu tua possit eruere.



eis domi-ne. Et locum scilicet
Omnis tue fecerit us
me et plasmaneru
me tollum in circuitu: et
se exente precipitas me.
avemente quiesco quod hanc
intem feceris me: et impul
uerem reduces me. Non ne
sicut hic missisti me: et
sicut assem me coagulasti
de te et caribus iustisti

me: ossibus et neruis con
pegisti me. Vitam et miseri
cordiam tribuisti michi: Et
iustitio tua custodiuistis spem
meam.





enim contra me amari
timet et consumere me
vis peccatis adolescentie mee.
Posuisti in nero pedem meam;
et obseruasti omnes semita-
meas et negligia pedum
meorum considerasti. Qui qua-
si putred consumendis sis:
et quasi vestimentum quod
comedit iatinea. p.

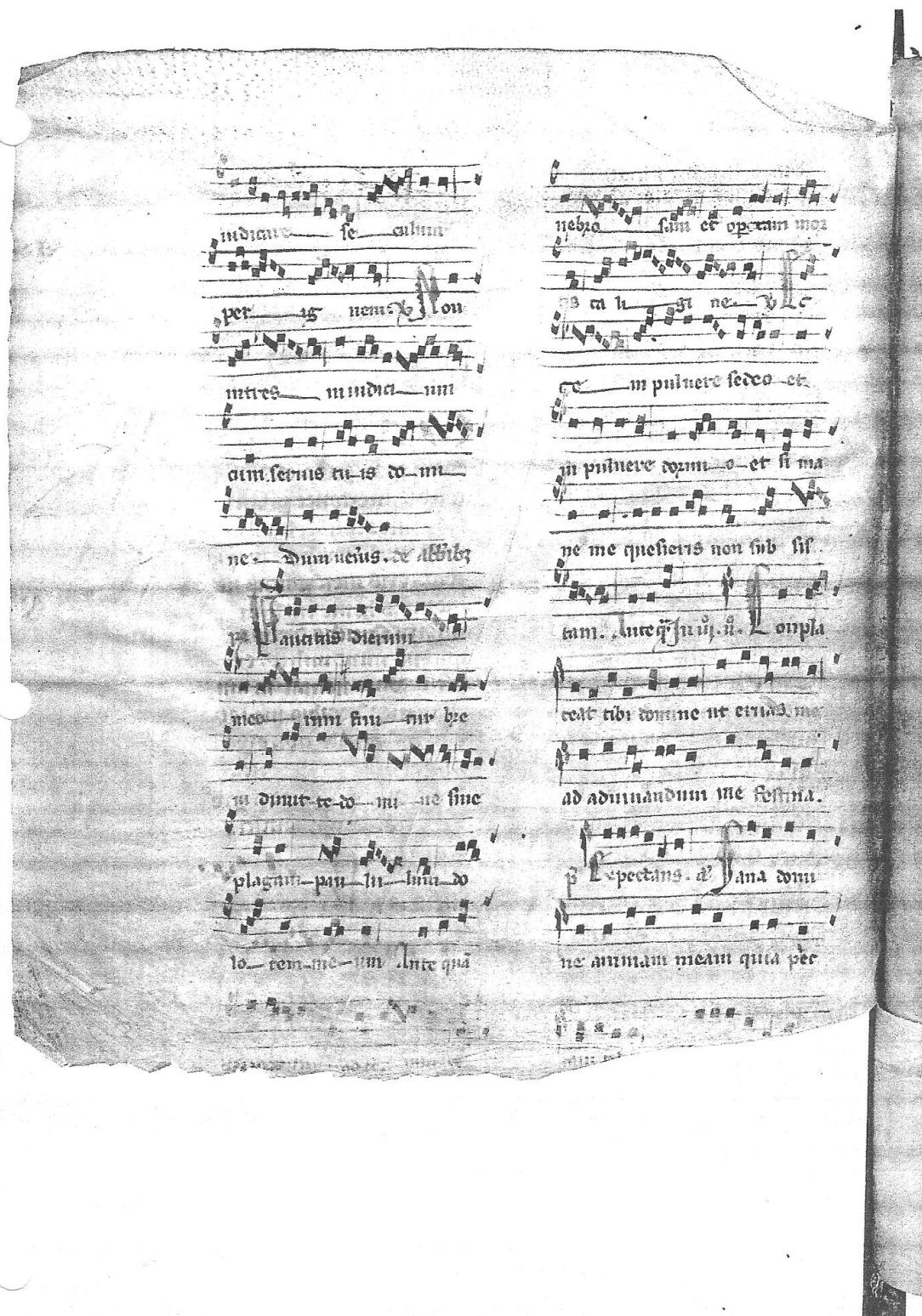


Diferentes de abbib[us] e per
didens me domi — ne
a. m iniquitatibus me — is
flegz in si nem — i intus
re ser — ues
ma la me a. b misere
re me i deus miserere
me i quoniam in te confidit
a nimia me — a. flegz. v.
Domo natus de mulier
breui uiuens tempore
repletus multis miserijs.
Qui quasi flos egreditur
et conteritur et fugit uelut
umbra: et nunq[ue] in eodem
statu permanet. En dignum

duis sup huiuscemodi ap
ure oculos tuos. et adducere
eum tecum in iudicium.
Quis potest facere in mundo
de in mundo conceptum se
mne. Nonne tu qui solus
es. Tunc dies hominis
sunt numerus mensuram
eius apud te est. Constitutus
in terminos eius: qui pre-
teriti non poterint. Perced
panihilium ab eo quiescat
vix optata ueniat: et siue
mentem
tu dies eius.

A page from a medieval manuscript featuring musical notation on four-line red staves. The text, written in a Gothic script, corresponds to the musical notes. The visible text includes:

Ex Ce- u michi
domine quia pecca- ui
nimis in uita mea quid si
iam miser ubi fu- glam in
I ad te tens me us misse
re me i Dum ne-ne



Vtum anima mea ad deum
 unum quando nemam et ap
 parebo ante faciem domini. p.
 Quem admod. v. Indui note
 de celo dicentem Ieo. viij
 putus meis attenua
 bitur dies mei brevia
 buntur et solum michi su
 per est sepularium. Non pec
 tam et in amaritudibus
 moratur oculus mens. Liba
 me domine et pone me inx
 ta te et animis mis manis
 pingueat contra me. Dies mi
 tiansserunt cogitationes
 mee dissipate sunt: torquen
 tes cor meum. Soorem uer
 terunt in diem et nesciam
 post tenebras spero lucem.
 Si sustinuo infernis dom
 mea est. et in tenebris stra
 in lectum meum. putredini
 diri. Pater mens et mater
 mea: et seruos meos uermuli.

Vbi est ergo misericordia
 tua mea et patientia mea:
 tu es domine deus meus.
 Peccantem me contine
 et non me penitentem
 timor mortis conturbas me
 quia miserere nullus est
 re tempore miserere
 me idens et salua me
 Deus in nomine
 tuo saluum me fac et in
 misericordia tua libe ra me.
Delli me le viu am
 consumptis caribus
 ad esit os meum. et adic
 ta sunt tantum modo lab

mea arcu dentes meos.
onseremur mei miserei
ni mei saltu nos amici
mei: quia manus domini
retigit me. Quare psegu
num me sicut deus et car
mbo meis saturamini.
Quis michi tribuat ut san
bantur sermones mei.
Quis michi det ut erave
tur in libro stilo fecerit. et
plumbi lamina uel cele
stulpentur in salice. Sio
enim quod redemptor me
ns iuuit. et in nonuisimo
die de terra surrecturus si
et iursum cunctidabo: pel
le mea: et in carne mea
indebo deum salvatorem
meum. Quem insimis si
ego ipse et ecclasi mei consp
ciuntur sum: et non alius. Re
posita est hec spes mea:
in simi meo. **R.**

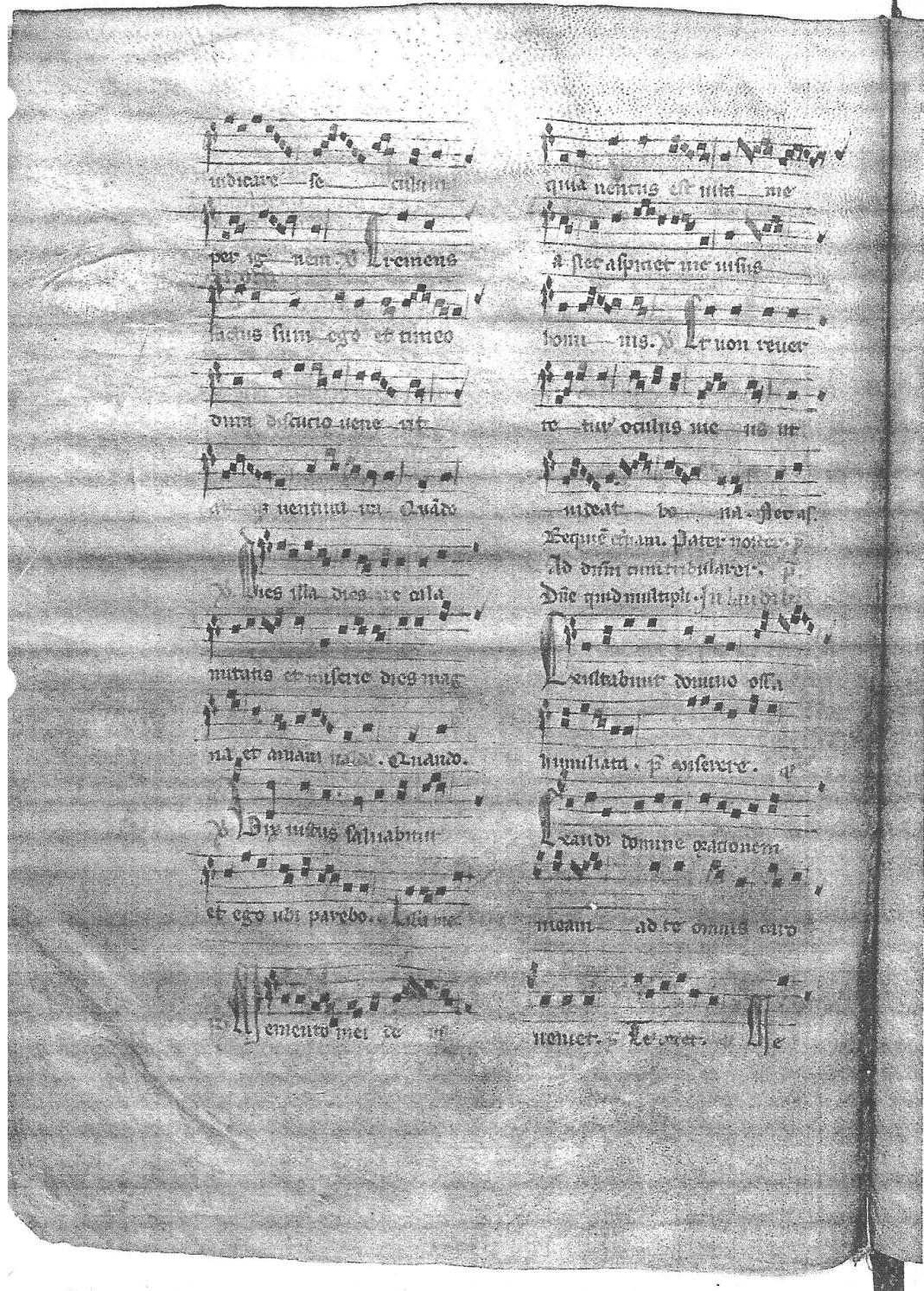
Agnus secundum actum
meum noli me ui
di curie regnicis dig

num in conspectu tuo
e si deo de preto
magistatem tu am. ut
tu deus deles iniquita
tem me am. **R.**
plures lana me domine
ab in justicia me a et atque
do me o munda me. **R.**
de albi b^z **R.** do do mi ne
quia morti me tradidi
rus es ubi consti



Tu fortissimus rex
Gaudas collatione finis
duodecim milia drachmas
argentum misit iherosolimam
offerri ea ibi pro peccatis
mortuorum: niste et diligere
resurrectionem
cogitans. Sisi enim eos
qui teaderant resurrectionem
speraretur superfluum
indeteretur et nanum qua-
re pro mortuis. Et quia
considerabat quod hi qui
cum pietate dormitionem
aceperant: optimam ha-
berent repositionum gratiam.
Se ergo et silibus est
cogitatio pro defunctis
exopare: ut a peccatis soluant.





sustinet dextera tua domine

p. Deus deus mis. v. L'usti

domine animam meam ne

perire. p. Ego dixi. v. Un

nus sanctus laudet dominum

Laudate dominum de c. v. Re

quem eternum dona eis domine.

Vinne quod dat mihi pa

ter ad me nemet et cum qui

uenit ad me non erit mihi fo

Pater noster.

Et ne nos.

De phundis.

p. Benedic tus. Vndeque.

latebo domino in

regione uiuorum. p. Disce.

Eten me quia in colam

meus pro longatus est. p.

Ad dominum tuum. v. Dominus

custodit te ab omni malo

custodiat animam meam do

minus. p. Lenau. v. mi

quirates obseruantur domi

ne domini quis sustinebit.

p. De phundis. v. pera

manum tuarum domine
ne despicias. p. Confiteor.

Audim uotem de celo
darentem beati mortui qui
in domino moriuntur. p.

Pater noster. p. Lan
da alia mea dico. p.
Magnificat. si quia dominus. Ex
quem enim etiam. Iporta inferi.
Prece domine quis ut oratio
anima famulorum tuorum
quorum animas tuarum
depositionis diem celebra
mus. his pinguae sacrifici
tus indulgentiam pariter
et requiem capiant semper
terram. p. o

O mors semper deus
O cui minima sine spe
misericordie supplicatur. ppi
cire animas famulorum
tuorum. ut qui de hac vita
in tuo nominis confessione
descendit. sed in morte

numero fratres congregari.

Dominus uenit largitor et
ator quae clementiam tuam in
me congregations. partes
matres. fratres. sorores. amici
filios. magistros. socios. et tri
factores nros qui ex hoc se
culo transierunt beata semper
virgine maria intercede
te cum omnibus sanctis tuis ad
petue beatitudinis consuetum
preniere concedis. p. o

Deus in misericordia inservio
dare divina anime fide
lum requiescant famulis
et famulabz tuis omnibus
In te et ubi in christo quescen
tibus da propria ueniam peccatorum
ut a timore reatus absolu
terum sine fine letentur. p.

Dilectum dominus omniu[m] q[uod]
conditor et redemptor
animas famulorum famularum
et tuarum remissionem cuncto
tribus peccatorum ut
indulgentiam quam semper
obtulerint prius supplicatio
nibus consequantur. p. o

Quiescamus die pro tua
metitate misericordie anima
bus famulorum tuorum et a co
tagiis mortalitatis exitias
in eterne saluationis partem

Modern Notation Transcription: SOL334

Vespers

1. [With Ps. 114 Dillexi]

8 Pla-ce-bo do-mi-na in re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum

[S]e[c]u[i]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

2.

8 Di-le-x-i

[With Ps. 119 Ad Domino]

He-u me ga-ta in-co-la-tus me-us pro-lon-ga-tus e[s+]

[S]e[c]u[i]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

3.

Ad d[o]m[i]n[ō]

[With Ps. 121 Levavi]

8 Do-mi-nus cus-to-dit te ab om-ni ma-lo cus-to-di-at

a-ni-ma tu-am d[om]i[n]u[s]

8 [S]e[c]u[i]o[r]u[m]a[m]e[n]

4.

8 Le-va-vi

Vespers - SOL334 - 1

[with Ps. 130 De profundis]

Vespers-SOL334-2

7.

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

8

8 quis sus-ti-ne-bit

8

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

8.

8 De pro-fun-dis

[with Ps. 137 Confitebor]

9.

8 o[per]a ma-nu-um tu-a-ruf[u]domi-ne ne

8

8 de-Spi-ci-as

8

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

10.

8 Con-fi-te-bo

[with canticle Magnificat]

Vespers-SOL334-3

11.

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

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

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

12.

8 Mag-ni-fi-c[at]

[Antiphon to the Benedictus of Lauds]

68.

8 Om-ne g[uo]d dat mi-chi pa-ter ad me

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

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

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

69.

8 B[e]n[e]d[i]c[tu]r u[s]

Matins

[Sung with Ps5 Verba mea]

Matins: 1st Noct. Sol 334 - 1

13.

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

8 in con-spectu tuo vi-am me-am

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

14.

Ver- ba me-a

[Sung with Ps6 Domine ne in furore]

15.

8 Con- ver-te-re do-mi-ne ^{et} er-i-pe a-ni-mam

8 me-a[m] qui-ni-a[n] no[n]e[s] in mor-te qui] 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

[Sung with Ps 7 Domine deus meus]

Matins: 1st Noct Sol 334-2

17. ♩ Ne-quido ra-pi-at ut le-o a-ni-mam me-am dum non

8 est qui re-di-mat ne-que qui Sal-vum fa-ci-at

8 e u o u a e

18. ♩ 8 Domin e de-us me-us

19. ♩ 8 Re-qui-em et-hernaf do-na eis domin-e

[Sung with Vs. Quem visurus]

20. ♩ 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

meu- um

Matins: 1st Noct SOL334-3

21.

Handwritten musical score for Matins: 1st Noct, Sol334-3, Part 21. The score consists of four staves of music with Latin text underneath. The first staff begins with a soprano C-clef, the second with an alto F-clef, the third with a bass G-clef, and the fourth with a tenor C-clef. The music is in common time. The lyrics are:

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-

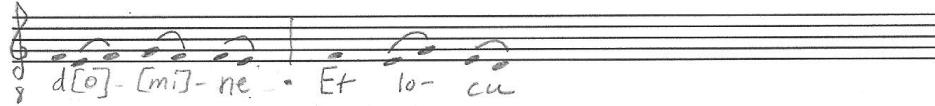
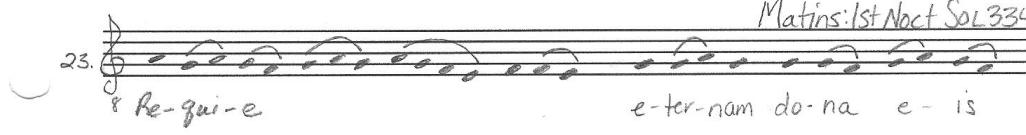
[Sung with Versicle Requiem]

22.

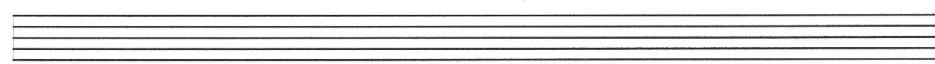
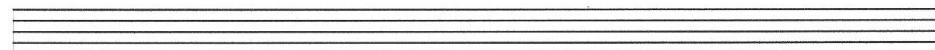
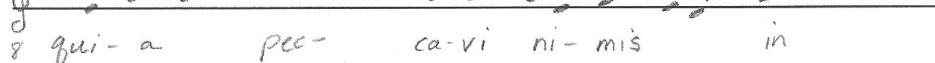
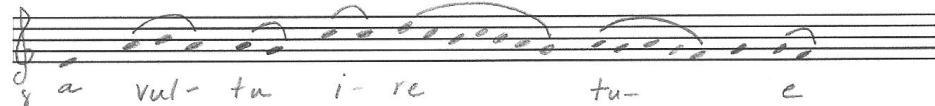
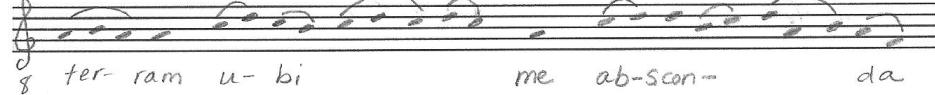
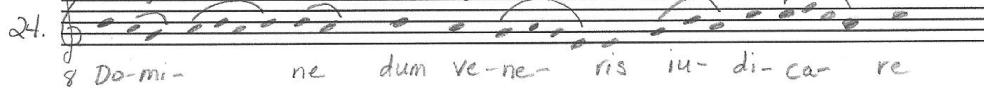
Handwritten musical score for Matins: 1st Noct, Sol334-3, Part 22. The score consists of five staves of music with Latin text underneath. The first four staves follow the same clef and time signature scheme as Part 21. The fifth staff begins with a soprano C-clef. The lyrics are:

Qui la- za-rum re- sus-ci- tas - te
a mon-u-men-to fe- ti-dum tu
e- is do- mi- ne dona re- qui- em
la-cu in-dul- gen- ti- e-
[et]

Matins: 1st Noct Sol 334-4



[Sung with Commissa mea]



Matins: 1st Noct SOL334~5

25.

8 Co-mis-sa me-a pa-ve-s-co

8 ^M an-te te e-ru-bes- co dum ven-[e-]is
[et]

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

8 Con-dem-pna- re .
[repetendum]

8 Quia

8 Noc-te p[er]-forat

Matins: 2nd Noct Sol 334-1

26. [with Ps22 Dominus regit]
 In lo-co pas-cu-ae i-bi me col-lo-ca-vit
 [s]e [e]u[!] o[r] u[m] a[m] e[n].

27. D[omi]n[u] s reg[it]
 [with Ps24 Ad te Domine]
 De-lie-ta iu-ventu-tis me-a ig-no-ran-ti-as me-as
 [et]
 domi)n e me-mi-n[e-r]is
 [s]e [e]u[!] o[r] u[m] a[m] e[n].

28. Ad te d[omi]n e le-va-vi
 [with Ps26 Dominus illuminatio]
 Credo vi-de-re bo-na d[omi]n[i] in terra
 vi-ven-ti-u[m].
 [s]e [e] u[!] o[r] u[m] a[m] e[n].

Matins 2nd Noct Sol 334-2

31.

8 Dom[i]n[u]s illuminat[i]o[n] [with verse Requiem aeternam]

32.

8 Sub-ve-nu-te Sancti 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.

8 Requiem e-ter-nam do-na e-is
do-mi-ne et lux per-pe-tu-a
lux ce-at e-is
[repetendum]
of-fe-ren-tes

[with verse Anima mea]

Matins 2nd Noct SOL334-3

34.

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

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

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

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

me-us mi-se-re-re

me-i dum

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

di-e.

Matins 2nd Noct Sol 334-4

35.

8 A- ni- ma me-a tur-ba-ta est val- de
sed tu d[omi]ne suc- cu-re

8 e- i . Du[m] ve[n]er is
[with verse Non intres]

36.

8 Ne re-cor-de- ris pec-ca-ta me- a
8 domi- ne dum

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

8 Se- cu-lum per ig- nem

37.

8 Non in- tres in iu-di-ci- um cum ser-vis

8 tu- is do-mi- ne
[repetendum]

8 Dum ve-nis

[with verse Scio domine]

38. Matins 2nd Noct. SOL 334-5

Pau- ci-tas di-e- ru

39. Sci-o do- mi- ne

[with Ps.39 Expectans]

Matins: 3rd Noct SoL 334-1

40.

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

41.

8 Ex-pec-tans

[with Ps 40 Beatus]

42.

8 Sa-na Do-mi-ne a-ni-ma me-am gu-ia pe-cav-vi ti-bi

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

43.

8 B[eatust] qui in-tel-li-git

[with Ps 41 Quemadmodum desiderat]

44.

8 Si-fi-uit a-ni-ma me-a ad de u[m] vi-vi[u[m]]

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

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

Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-2

8 [s]e[ɛ]u[i]o[r]u[m] a[m] e[n]

45. 8 Q mad [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 sal- va me

47. 8 De-us in no-mi-ne tu-o sal- vum
me fac t[et] vir-tute tu-a iu-di- ca
mei. Quia in in- f[er]-no

[with verse Amplius lava me]

Matins 3rd Noct SOL334-3

48.

8 Do-mine Se-cun-dum ac-tum me- um
8 no-li me iu-dic re ni-chil
8 dig-nu[m] in con-spec-tu tu o
8 e gi i de-o
8 der pre cor ma-je sta-tem
8 tu am ut tu de-us
8 de-le as
8 In-i-qui-ta tes me as

Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-4

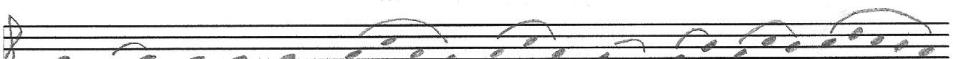
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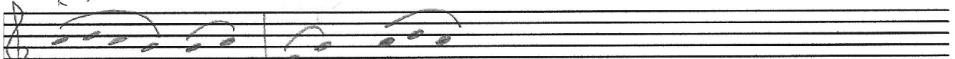
8 Am pli us la- ra me



8 do mi ne ab iu sti ci a me a



8 [et] a de lic to me o mun da



8 me Ut tu

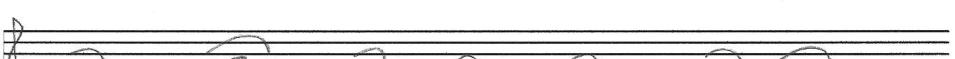
50.



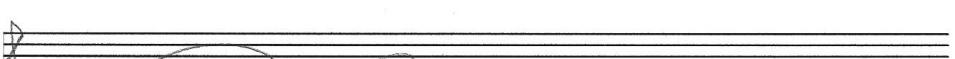
8 mer men ta me i de us qui a



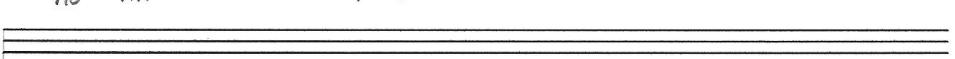
8 Ven tus est vi ta me a



8 nec as pic i et me vi sus

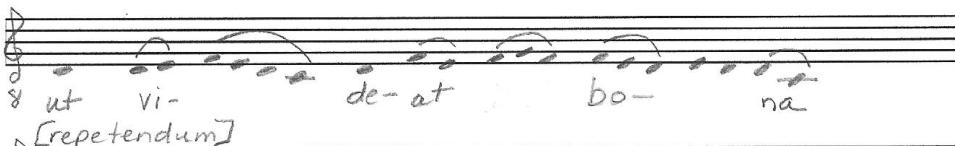


8 ho mi nis



Matins: 3rd Noct SOL 334-5

51.



Nec as-pi

[with the following verses: Dies illa, Tremens factus, Quid ego, Planget se, Creator omnium]

52.



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

tre-men-da quan-do ce-li

mo-ven-di sunt et fer-ra dum

ve-ne-His iu-di-ca-re

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

Matins-3rd Noct SOL 334-6

53. ♩ D̄-es il-la di- es ir- ae ca-la-min-ta-tis f[et]

mi-ser-i- e di-es magna f[et] a-ma- ra

val- de. Q[uo]ndo

54. ♩ Tre-mens f[et]us e- go f[et] ti- me- o
dum dis-cus-si- o ve-ne rit at q[ue]

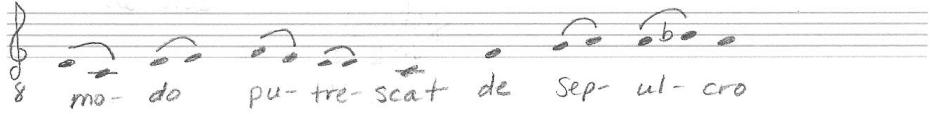
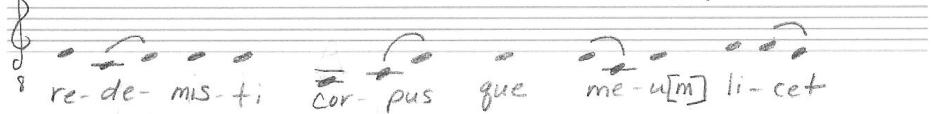
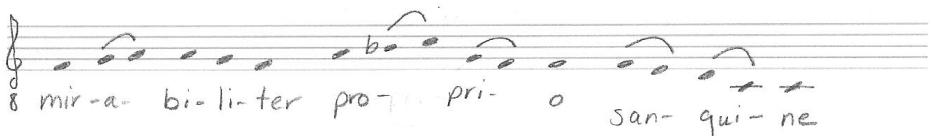
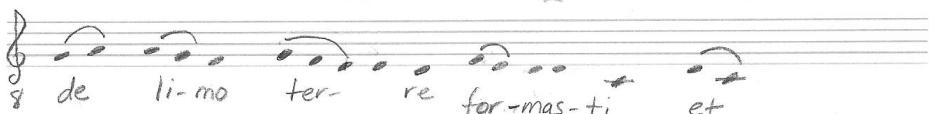
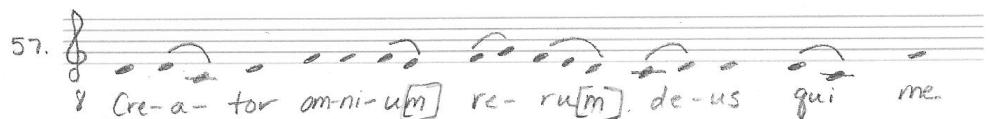
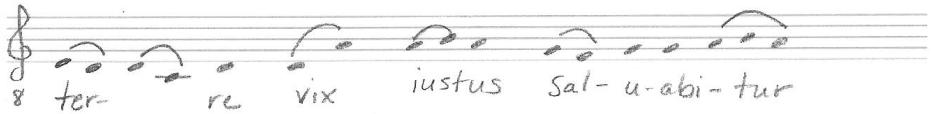
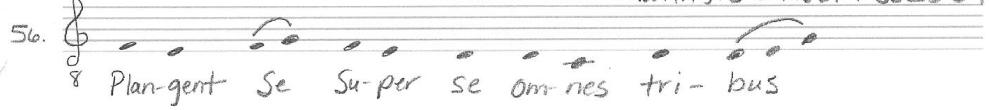
ve[n]tu- ra ir- a. Dum

55. ♩ Quid e-go mis-e- ri- mus quid di- cam v[e]l 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



Matins 3rd Noct Sol 334-8

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

Pa-tri-ar-che tu-ti iu-be-as

Col-lo-ca-ri
[Repetendum]

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

Lauds

[with Ps 50 Miserere mei]

58. *Ex-ul-tabunt domino 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 62 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*

Lauds SOL334-1

[with Ps. 40 Ego dixi]

Lauds-SOL334-2

64. 8 Er-u-is-ti d[omin]i n[e] a-ni-man me-am ut non pe-ri-ret

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

65. 8 E-go di-xi

[with Ps. 148 Laudate dominum]

66. 8 Om-nis sp[iritu]s tu[u] lau-det do-mi-nu[m]

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

67. 8 Lau-da-te d[ominum]

*For 68 + 69 see page "Vespers SOL334-3"

Modern Notation Transcription: BN774C

Matins

[Sung with Ps. 5 Verba mea]

13. Matins 1st Noct. BN 774-1

8 Di- ri- ge Do- mi- ne de- us me- us
in con- Spec- tu- o vi- am me- am.

14.
8 Ver- ba me- a.

[With Ps. 6 Domine ne in furore]

15. 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 fur- ore

[With Ps. 7 Domine deus meus]

17. 8 Ne quan- do ra- pi- at ut le- o a- ni- mam me- am
dum non est qui red- i- mat neg[ue] qui sal- vum fa- ci- at.

18. 8 De[m]inijs d[eus] me[us].

Matins 1st Noct BN 774-2

Matins 1st Noct BN 14

19. ♫ 8 Re-gui-em et-er-nam do-na e-i[5] d[omi]ne
[with verse Quem visurus]

20. ♫ 8 Cre-do quad re-demp-tor me-us
8 vi- rit 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.

Matins 1st Noct BN774-3

21.

8 Quem vi-su-rus sum e-go
8 ip-se et non ali-us et
9 o-cu-li mei
8 con-spec-tu-ri.
[repetendum]
8 Et in car-ne.
[with versicle Requiem Eternam]

22.

Qui La-zar-um re-su-sci-ta-sti
a ma-nu-men-to fe-ti-dum
tu e-is de-mir-ne do-na
re-gui-em e-lo-cum
in-dul-gen-ci-e.

Matins 1st Noct BN774-4

Matins 1st Noct - BN774-5

25.

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

8 et ante 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

Con-trac-ta est me-men-to

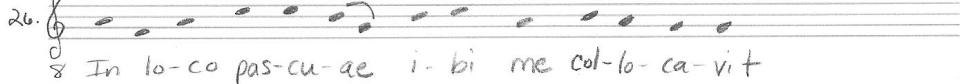
Matins 1st Noct-BN774-6

The musical score consists of six staves of Gregorian chant notation. The notation uses a soprano C-clef, common time, and consists primarily of short vertical strokes (ticks) representing single notes. The lyrics are written below each staff in a cursive hand. The lyrics are:

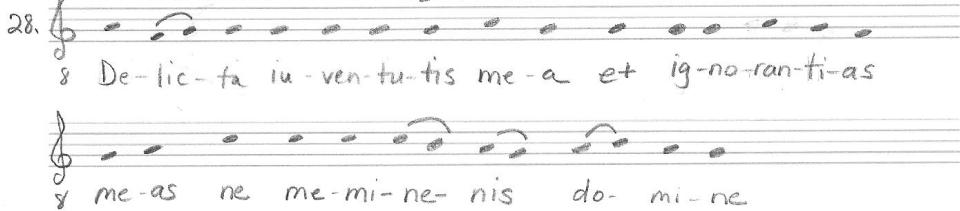
- me-i do-mi-ne quia
- Ven-tus est vi-ta
- me-a
- Di-es mei ve-lo-ci-us
- transi-er-unt quam a tex-en-te te-la
- suc-ci-di-tur et con-sum-pti sunt
- abs-q(ue) ul-la spe.
- Me-men-to.

[With Ps. 22 Dominus regit]

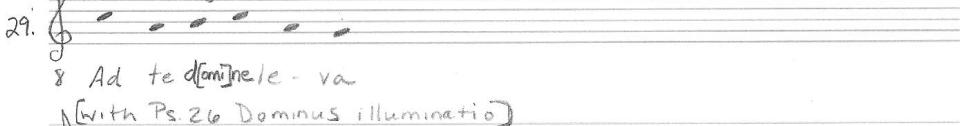
Matins 2nd Noct BN774-1



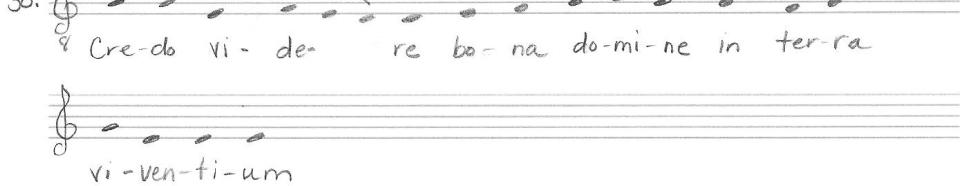
[with Ps. 24 Ad te Domine]



me-as ne me-mi-ne-nis do-mi-ne



[with Ps. 26 Dominus illuminatio]



vi-ven-ti-um



8 A-ni-ma me-a tur-ba-ta est val-de

[with verse Requiem aeternam]

Matins 2nd Noct-BN774-2

32.

Sub-ver-ni-te Sancti 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-tua

lu ce-at e-is,

[repetendum]

of-fe-ren-tes

[with verse miserere mei]

Matins 2nd Noct. BN774-3

8 Ne per-di-der-is me-

8 du-mi-ne cum in-i-gui-ta-ti-bus

8 me-is ne-gue in fi-nem

8 i-ra-tus

8 re-Ser-ves

8 ma-la me-a

8 Mi-se-re-re me-i de-us

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

8 te con-fi-dit a-ni-ma

8 me-a,

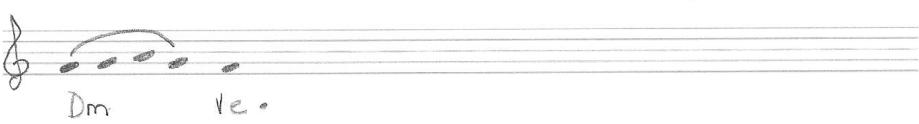
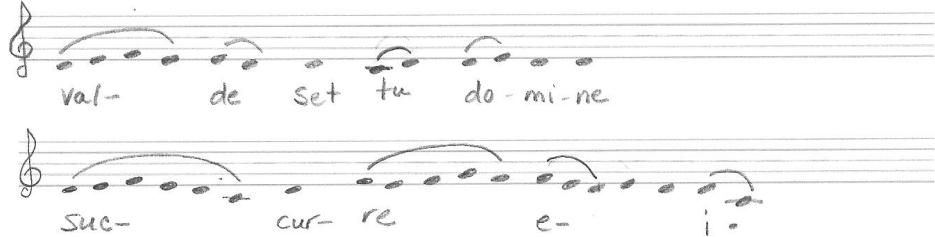
Matins 2nd Noct-BN774-4

8 Neg's.
[with verse Anima mea]

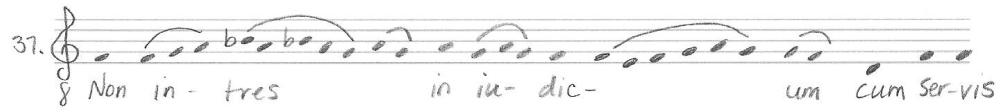
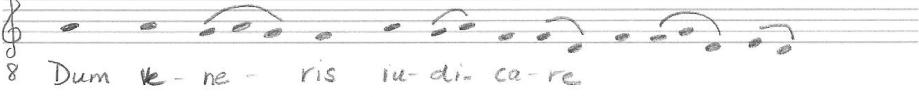
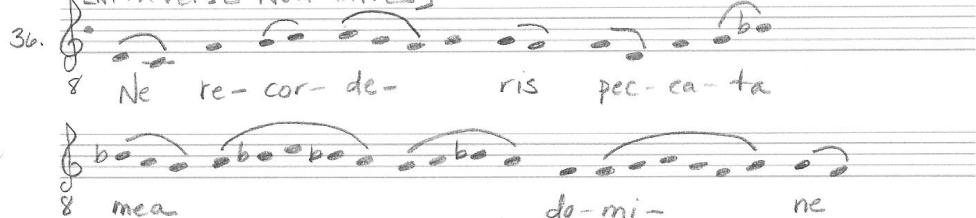
34.

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-ri gi-am ni-si ad
te de-us me-us
mi-se-re-re me-i
Dum ve-ne-[ris]
[in no-ri-si-mo] di-e

Matins-2nd Noct-BN774-5



[With verse Non intres]



[With verse Ecce in pulvere]

Mathns 2nd Noct BN774-6

38.

A handwritten musical score for a single voice part, likely a soprano or alto. The score consists of ten staves of music, each with a clef (F, C, or G), a key signature, and a time signature of common time. The vocal line is written in a cursive hand, with lyrics in Latin underneath each staff. The lyrics are as follows:

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 te] 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 .

[with Ps 39 Expectans]

Matins: 3rd Noct BN 774-1

40

Com-pla-ce-at ti-bi do-mi-ne ut e-ru-as me
ad ad-iū van-dum me fes-ti-na

11

Expects

[With Ps 40 Beatus]

42

Sa-na do-mi-ne a-ni-mam me-am qui-a pec-

1

[ca-ri-ti-bi]

43.

[B's quite intelligent]

[with PS 41 Quemadmodum desiderat]

44

Si-ti-ut a-ni-ma me-a ad de-um vi-vum

1

quan-do re-ni-am et ap-pa-re-bo ante

7

8 fa-ci-am do-mi-ni

8. Secondo l'indagine 17

Matins 3rd Noct-BN774-2

8 Au-di-vi vo-ce de ce-lo di-cen-tem

[With verse Deus in nomine]

46. Pec-can-tem me Co-fi-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-seri cor-di-a tu-a

8 li-bera me

[with verse Amplius lava me]

Matins 3rd Noct BN774-3

48.

9 Do-mi-ne se-cun-dum ac-tum me-

um

8 no-li me iu-di-

care-re

8 ni-chil dig-num

in con-spec-tu-tu-o

8 e-gi i-de-o de-precor

8 ma-ges-ta-tem tu-am ut

8 tu-de-us de-le-as

8 in-i-gui-ta-tem

me-am

49.

8 Am-pli-us la-va me do-mi-ne ab

8 in-lus-ti-tia me-a et a-de-lit-to me-o

8 mun-da me. I de-o.

[with verse *Tu quidem*]

Matins 3rd Noct BN774-4

Handwritten musical score for Matins 3rd Noct BN774-4, featuring ten staves of Gregorian chant notation with Latin lyrics. The score is written in a single-line musical staff with a soprano C-clef. The lyrics are written below each staff, aligned with the notes. The music consists of short note heads connected by horizontal stems, with some stems having small vertical strokes indicating pitch changes. The lyrics are as follows:

Sci-o do- mi- ne qui-a
Mart-i 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-be-ra-bis

Matins-3rd Noct-BN774-5

8 Tu qui- dem gres- sus

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

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

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

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

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

Quan- do celi m- ven- di sunt et terra dum

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

Se- cu- lum per

ig- nem

Matins - 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. ♩ Dices il-la di-es i-re ca-la-mi-ta-tis

et mi-serie 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.

Matins-3rd Noct-BN774-7

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

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 - BN 774-1

Ex-ul-ta-bunt do-mi-no os-sa
hu-mi-li-a-ta.

59. Mi-Se-re-re

[with Ps. 64 Te decet]

60. Ex-au-di do-mi-ne or-a-ti-o-nem
me-am ad te om-nis
ca-ro ve-ni-et

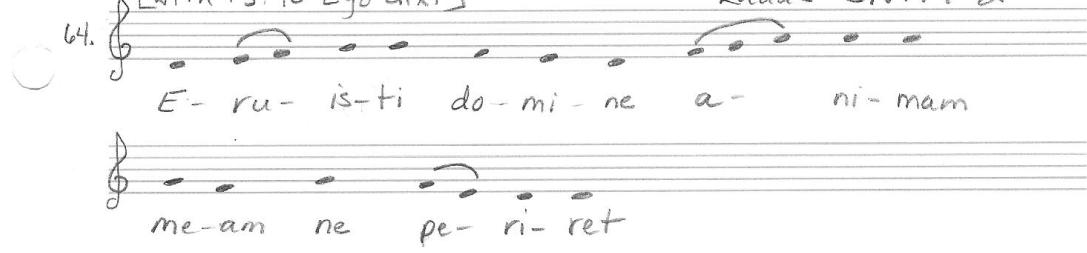
61. Te decet

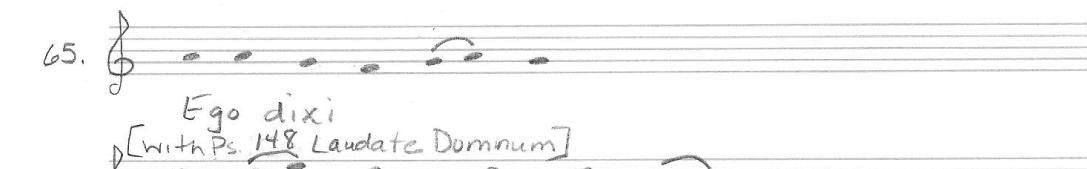
[with Ps. 62 Deus deus meus]

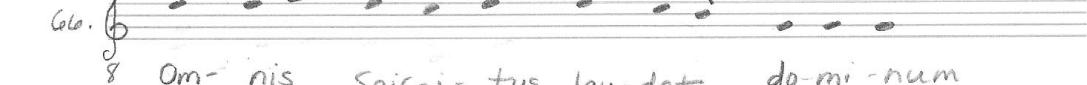
62. Me sus-ci-pi-at dex-te-ra tu-a do-mi-ne
de-us de-us m[eu]s

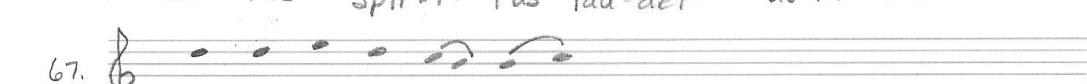
[With Ps. 40 Ego dixi]

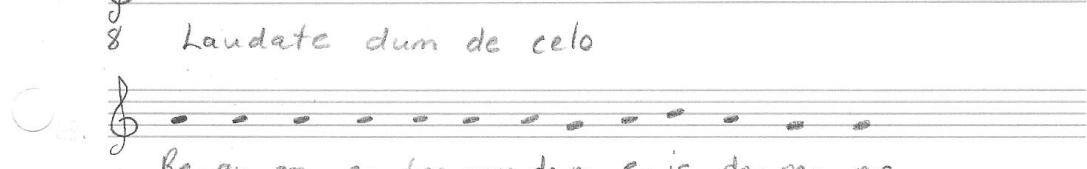
Lauds-BN774-2

64. 

65. 

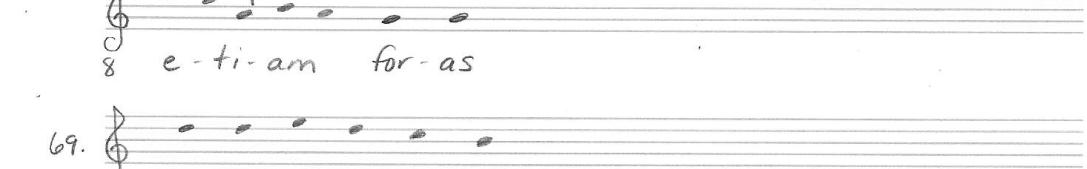
66. 

67. 

68. 

69. 

70. 

71. 

72. 

Vespers

Vespers-BN774-1

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

8 vi- vo-rum

2. 8 Dilexi

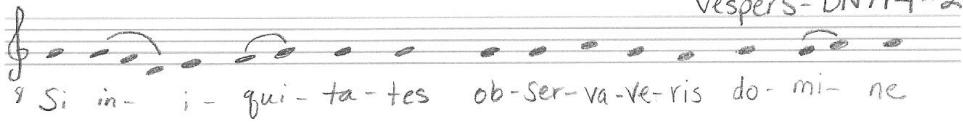
3. 8 He-u me qu-i-a in- co-la- tus me-us
pro- lon- ga- fū est

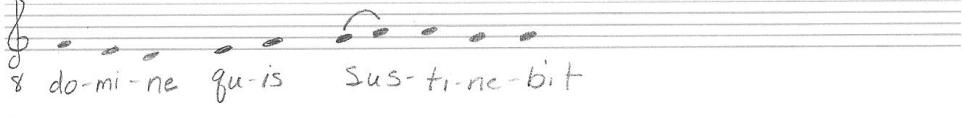
4. Ad dōm[i]nō(+ tu tui?)

5. 8 Do- mi- nus cu-sto-dit te ab om-ni ma-lo
8 cu-sto-di-at a-ni-mam tu-am do-mi-nus

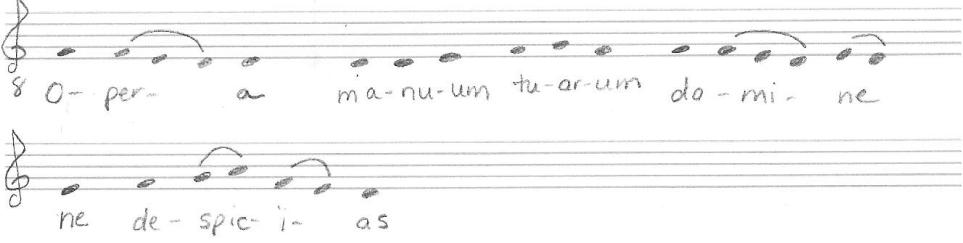
6. 8 Levavi

Vespers-BN774-2

7. 

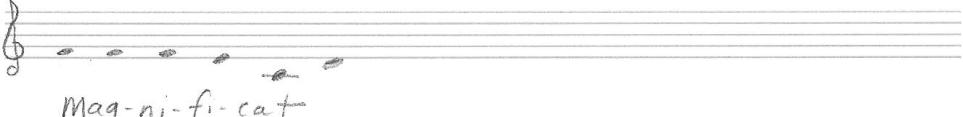
8. 

8. 

9. 

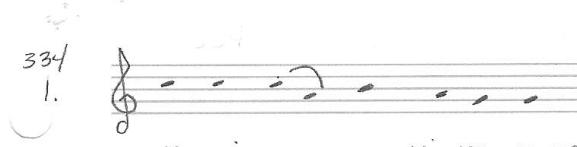
10. 

11. 

12. 

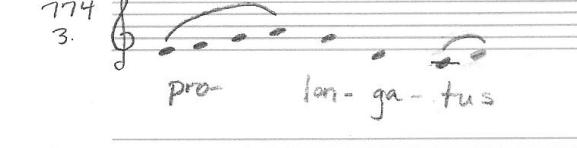
Variants

Vesper 5

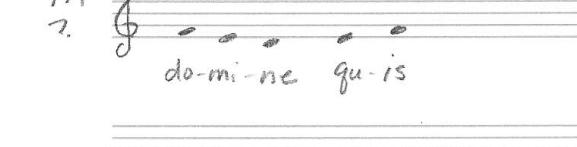
334 1.  re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum

774 1.  re-gi-o-ne vi-vo-rum

334 3.  pro-ton-ga-tus

774 3.  pro-ton-ga-tus

334 7.  quis

774 7.  do-mi-ne quis

334

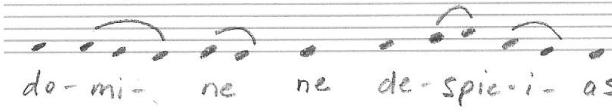
9.



d[əm]n-e ne de-spi-ci-as

774

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

334
20.

8 di - e de ter - ra

774
20.

8 die de ter - ra

334
24.

8 Do-mi - ne dum re-ne - ris

774
24.

8 Do-min ne quan-do ve-ne - ris

Matins 2nd Noct

334 ~26
 8 lo-co pas-eu-ae i- bi me

774 26
 8 lo-co pas-eu-ae i- bi me

334 28
 8 d[om]n e me-mi- n[e- r]is

774 28
 8 me-mi- ne- nis do- mi- ne

334 34
 8 mi- ser fu- gi- am ni- si ad

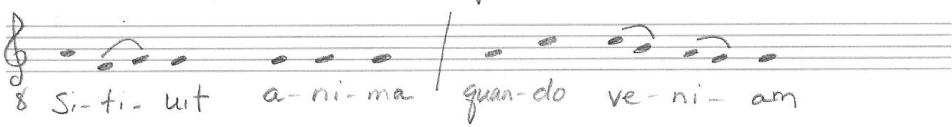
774 34
 8 mi- ser fu- gi- am ni- si ad

Matins 3rd Noct

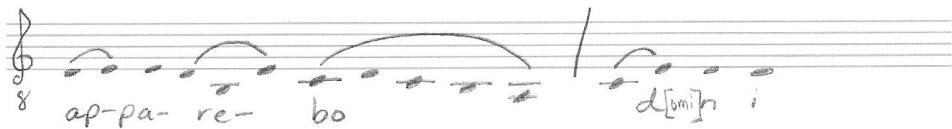
334
44



774
44



334
44



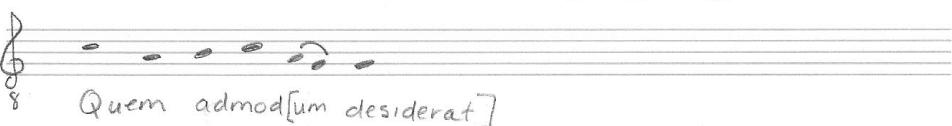
774
44



334
45



774
45



334
47

8 Sal- vum me

774
47

8 Sal- vum me

334
48

8 e- gi i- de-o

774
48

8 e- gi i- de-o

334
53

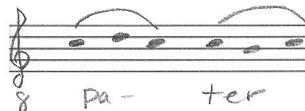
8 di-es mag-na et a-ma-ra val-de

774
53

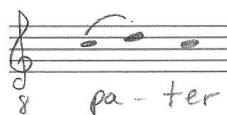
8 di-es mag-na et a-ma-ra val-de

Lauds

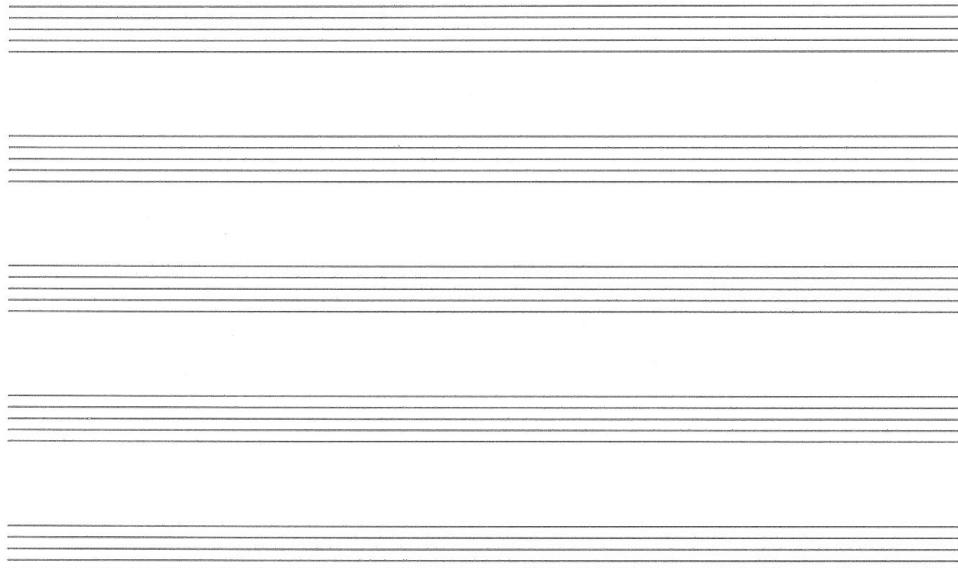
324
68



774
68



C



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	Placebo Domino
3	2		Ps 116 (114) PS	Dilexi	Dilexi	Dilexi
4	3	cao3038 M H DL	Ps 119:5 ANT	Heu me	Heu me	Heu me
5	4		Ps 120 (119) PS	Ad Domino	Ad Domino	Ad Domino
6	5	cao2402 M H DL	Ps 120:7 ANT	Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit	Dominus custodit
7	6		Ps 120 (121) PS	Levavi	Levavi	Levavi
8	7	cao4899 M H DL	Ps 129:3 ANT	Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates	Si iniquitates
9	8		Ps 129 (130) PS	De profundis	De profundis	De profundis
10	9	cao4159 M H DL	Ps 137:8 ANT	Opera manuum	Opera manuum	Opera manuum
11	10		Ps 138 (137) PS	Confitebor	Confitebor	Confitebor
12	NA			ANT		
13	NA			ANT		
14	11	cao1528 M H	Apoc 14:13 ANT	Audivi vocem	Audivi vocem	Audivi vocem
15	NA	cao6287 GBEMVHRD SL	Ps 17:5-7 ANT			
16	12		2 Luke 1:46-47 CANT	Magnificat	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 iniquitatem	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				
Audivi vocem	Audivi vocem	Absolve Domine	Audivi vocem	
		Circumdederunt me	Audivi vocem	
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL334	BN774
Matins 1st Nocturn	13	cao2244 MH SL	Ps 5:9	ANT	Dirige domine	Dirige domine
	14		Ps 5:2-3	PS	Verba mea	Verba mea
	15	cao1921 MH SL	Ps 6:5-6	ANT	Converte domine	Converte domine
	16		Ps 6:1-2	PS	Domine ne in furore	Domine ne in furore
	17	cao3875 MH 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 MH SL	Job 19:25-26	RESP	Credo quod	Credo quod
	21	cao6348a MH SL	Job 19:27	VER	Quem visurus	Quem visurus
	22	cao7477 MH SL		RESP	Qui lazatum	Qui lazatum
	23		4 Esdras 2:34-35 VERSICLE	Requiem eternam	Requiem eternam	
	24	cao6507 MH SL	RESP	Domine dum veneris	Domine quando veneris	
	25		VER	Commissa mea	Commissa mea	
	NA		RESP			
	NA	cao6956 CGBEMV/HRDDSL	Job 2:7	VER	Induta est caro	Dies mei velocius
		ca06956b FS	Job 7:6	VER		*****
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

CAO-(M)	CAO-(L)	CAO-(H)	In Common	Notes
Dirige domine	Dirige domine	Dirige domine	Dirige domine	
Verba mea	Verba mea			
Converte domine	Converte domine	Converte domine	Converte 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			
Antima mea				
Requiem eternam				
Credo quod	Credo quod	Credo quod	Credo quod	Ottosen 14
Qui Lazarum	Qui Lazarum	Qui Lazarum	Qui Lazarum	Ottosen 72
Domine quando veniris	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	SOL334	BN774
Martin's 2nd Nocturn	26	cao3250 H SL	Ps 22:2	ANT	In loco pascuae	In loco pascuae
	27		Ps 22:1	PS	Dominus regit	Dominus regit
	NA	cao1418 B S	Ps 64:5	ANT		
	NA		Ps 21:1	PS		
	28	cao2146 M H SL	Ps 24:7	ANT	Delicta juventutis	Delicta juventutis
	29		Ps 24:1-3	PS	Ad te Domine	Ad te Domine
	NA	mrs0662a	Apoc 5:9-10	ANT		
	NA		Ps 30:2-3	PS		
	NA	cao8000 M	Ps 26:13	ANT	Credo videre	Credo videre
	30	cao1948 CGBEMVHRDFSL	Ps 26:13	ANT	Dominus illuminatio	Dominus illuminatio
	31		Ps 26:1-2	PS		
	35	cao7949 M S	Ps 6:4-5	VERSE	Subvenite sancti	Subvenite sancti
	32	cao7716 M H S		RESP	Requiem aeternam	Requiem aeternam
	33	cao8183 M H L	4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER		
	NA	cao7208 GBE VH DFSL	Ex Oratione regis	RESP		
	NA	cao7208a GBE VH DFS	Ps 6:3-4	VER		
	NA	cao7187a CGB M HRDF	Ps 7:3	VER		
	NA	cao7204 C BEIMVHRDFSL	Ps 37:22-23	VER		
	34	cao6811 M H SL	Ps 119:5	RESP	Heu michi	Heu michi
	35	cao7949 M S	Ps 6:4-5	VER	Anima mea	Anima mea
	36	cao7209 M H SL		RESP	Ne recorderis	Ne recorderis
	37	wor0402	Ps 142:2	VER	Non intres	Non intres
	38	cao7367 CGBEMVHRDFSL	Job 10:20	RESP	Paucitas dierum	Paucitas dierum
	39			RESP	Scio domine	
	NA	cao7367a CGBEMVHRDFS		VER		Ecce in pulvere
	NA	cao7368 MH SL		RESP		
	NA	cao7142 CG E VHRDFL	Job 7:7-8	RESP		
	NA	cao4972 MH SL	Ps 41:3	VER		
	NA	cao7209 MH SL		RESP		
	NA	cao6512 H SL		RESP		
**	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL334	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	Expectans
41		Ps 39:1-4	PS	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	Stitivit anima	Stitivit anima	Stitivit anima
45		Ps 41:2	PS	Quemadmodum desiderat	Quemadmodum desiderat	Quemadmodum desiderat
NA	cao1528 M H	Apoc 14:13	ANT			
.	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				
NA	cao7947 M L	VER				
NA	cao7209 M H SL	RESP				
NA		RESP				
52	cao7091 M H D SL	Joel 3:16	RESP	Libera me		Anima ejus
53	cao7091g M H SL	Zeph 1:14:15	VER	Dies illa		Ne Recordiris
				Tremens factas		Relascentur vincula
				Quid ego		Liber me
54	cao7091x M H D SL		VER			
55	cao7091t M H SL		VER			
56	cao7091r M H D S		VER	Plangent se		
57	cao7793a CGBEMVHRDFSL2	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	Et non revertetur		
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****

OOTD MS	Hilton Ref #	CAO #	Source	Chant Type	SOL334	BN774
Lauds	NA			ANT	ANT	
	58	cao2810 H D	Ps 50:10	ANT	Exsultabunt Domino	Exsultabunt 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	cao1191 CGBEMV/HRDFSL	Is 38:10	ANT		
	NA	cao2674 H		ANT	Eruisti domine	Eruisti domine
	64		Ps 40:5	PS	Ego dixi	Ego dixi
	65		Ps150:6	ANT	Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus
	66	cao4154 EM H D L	Ps 148:1	PS	Laudate Dominum	Laudate Dominum
	67					Requiem eternam
	NA		4 Esdras 2:34-35	VER		
	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		
Initiauitatibus conceptus sum	Iniquitatibus conceptus sum	Iniquitatibus conceptus sum				
Miserere mei	Miserere mei	Exsultabunt Domino				
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					
Ego dixi	Ego dixi					
Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus	Omnis spiritus				
Laudate Dominum	Laudate Dominum					
Requiem eternam	Requiem eternam					

Audivi vocem						
Ego sun resurrectio						
Benedictus						

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