

# The so-called “*Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium*” (Šibenik, Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals), 11th Century The Oldest Medieval Missal of Pula, Istria

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**Abstract:** Research of the manuscript hitherto known and labeled as the “*Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium*” (“LS”), stored today in Šibenik, has shown that this chant book is the earliest *missal* copied in the monastery of Tegernsee for the St Thomas Basilica in medieval Pula, Istria. Indications for its provenance are drawn from its codicological, palaeographical and repertorial features. Beside the detailed comparison of its script, notation, sequence and trope repertory, this article shows up to date not analyzed repertory of the saints venerated in its sacramentary and in the list of relics to be mentioned at the end of missal (*Haec sunt reliquiae*). Particularly, this portions of the “LS” repertory were a clue toward detection that the “Leitheiliger” of this chant book is St Thomas Apostle, a patron of the bishopric of Parenzo/Pula, to whom also the “unicum” sequence *Armonia concinnans* was dedicated. St Thomas Basilica in medieval Pula is place of usage where this “commissioned book” has been meant for liturgical usage. In the broader Aquileian context this manuscript is important as a “new source” from Aquileia and its eastern province of Istria.

**Keywords:** medieval missal, Pula (Istria)

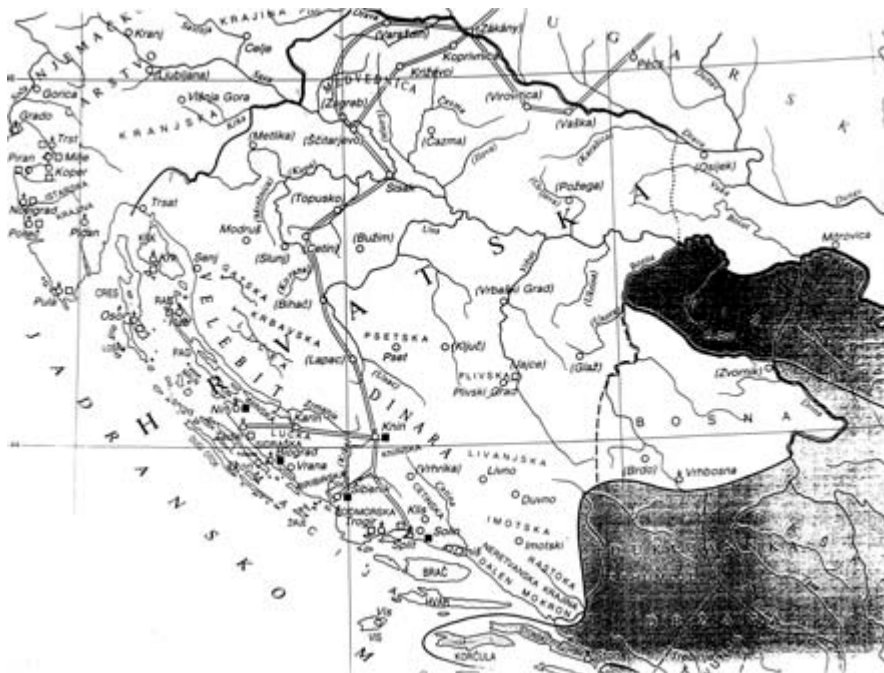
## Introduction

Research of the manuscript hitherto known and labeled as the “*Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium*” (“LS”), stored today in Šibenik (Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals), has shown that the document is a *missal* copied in the monastery of Tegernsee for the St Thomas Basilica in medieval Pula, Istria.<sup>1</sup>

Indications for its provenance are drawn from the content of the manuscript, as well as from its codicological, palaeographical and repertorial features. This manuscript is important as a “new source” from Aquileia, or,

<sup>1</sup> Hana Breko: *Pulski misal iz 11. stoljeća. Narud ba skriptorija Tegernsee za baziliku sv. Tome u Puli: tzv. šibenski “Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium”* [The Missal of Pula, 11th Century. A Commission from Tegernsee Scriptorium for the St Thomas Basilica in Pula: the so-called “*Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium*”], PhD thesis, University of Zagreb, Academy of Music. Research was supervised by Prof. Dr. Koraljka Kos (University of Zagreb) and Prof. Dr. Andreas Haug (University of Erlangen–Nürnberg).

rather, Aquileian province of Istria. Musical sources from this region have not been a matter of scholarly discussion so far (see *Map of the Croatian lands*).



*Map: The Croatian lands in the 2nd half of the 11th century*  
(from Josip Lučić: *Hrvatska u doba narodnih vladara*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1992)

### The History of Manuscript

The first to investigate the so-called “*Liber sequentiarum et sacramentarium*” was Ivan Barbić in 1895.<sup>2</sup> His hypothesis about the Benedictine, or rather monastic origin and usage of this book has been continuously repeated since 1933.<sup>3</sup> Even the more recent works by Dujka Smoje<sup>4</sup> did not elaborate the content of all aspects of this chant book. Her investigation based on the sequence

<sup>2</sup> Ivan Barbić: “Starinski šibenski kodeks u samostanu oo. Franovaca Konventualaca” [The Old Manuscript from Šibenik in the Monastery of Franciscans the Conventuals], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, Knin, 1895, 16–27.

<sup>3</sup> Krsto Stošić: “Rukopisni kodeksi samostana sv. Franje u Šibeniku” [Manuscripts of the St Francis Monastery in Šibenik], *Croatia sacra*, vol. 5, Zagreb, 1933, 21–22.

<sup>4</sup> Dujka Smoje: “*Liber sequentiarum* XIe s. de Šibenik: Ses origines et son intérêt musical”, *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, Bydgoszcz, 1982, vol. 6, 289–305. Dujka Smoje: “Le *Liber sequentiarum* de Šibenik: À la recherche des sources perdues”, *Essays Presented to Jozse Sivec*, ed. Jurij Snoj and Darja Frelih, Ljubljana, 2000, 11–33.

repertory and of the repertory of alleluia verses, depicts this chant book to be a south German manuscript used in medieval St Nicholas monastery near Šibenik.

Dujka Smoje draws this conclusion mostly from the sequence repertory of this book, especially from the presence of the rarely disseminated Nicholas sequence *Laude condignissimae dies* as well as from fact that his name is written in golden capital letters in the sacramentary.<sup>5</sup> According to this investigation by Smoje, St Nicholas seems to be a saint patron of the church for which the “LS” manuscript was written.<sup>6</sup> By following the same idea of St Nicholas being a leading saint-name of the Šibenik manuscript, Miho Demović defines this manuscript as “a handbook for celebration a mass by the ‘episcopus Croatensis’”.<sup>7</sup> No such testimonies could be drawn from the content and chant repertoire of the manuscript.

### Genre, Provenance, Script and Date of “LS”

The missal has 170 folios, measuring 173×245 mm. Folios 29 to 38 are missing. The type of this chant book is a *missal* consisting of four parts:

*Sequentiary* (Fol. 1–14v), *Kyriale* (fol. 14–16v), *Offertoriale* (fol. 17–28v), with offertory verses notated, *Sacramentary* (fol. 38–170v).

Interestingly, the whole *Gradual* is with text-incipits incorporated in the sacramentary.

By following the classification of the sacramentaries suggested by Vogel and according to the rubrics for prayers in the sacramentary (*oratio, super oblata, ad complendum*) “LS” sacramentary can be considered as “Gregorian sacramentary type 2”.<sup>8</sup> This type of the sacramentary has been used mostly in the regions of the Austrian, Bavarian and Pannonian dioceses.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dujka Smoje: *Liber sequentiarum*, op. cit. “De plus, cette séquence est ici traitée d’une façon graphique plus solennelle que les autres initiales or et rouge, alors que le patron de Saint-Gall n’a que le rouge dans ses initiales. Cette particularité est corroborée aussi par les initiales d’or dans le sacramentaire et saint Nicolas est le seul saint qui a droit à de tels égards. Nous retenons cet argument en faveur d’une hypothèse qui reste à élaborer et qui suppose que le saint Nicolas aurait été le patron de l’église pour laquelle ce livre aurait été compilé.” 293. See also Dujka Smoje, *Le Liber sequentiarum de Šibenik...*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> Miho Demović: “Šibenski ‘Liber sequentiarum’ – bogoslu ni priručnik hrvatskog dvorskog biskupa?”, *Starohrvatska spomenička baština – radjanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejza a*, eds. M. Jurković and T. Lukšić, 1996, 189–205.

<sup>8</sup> Cyrille Vogel: *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen, O.P.), Washington, 1986, 79: “The Gregorian normally have only three prayers for each mass: *oratio, super oblata, ad completa* or *ad complendum*, whereas the Gelasian books normally have several *orationes*, including a blessing *super populum* at the end.” See Ruth Steiner: “Einführung und Verbreitung der lateinischen liturgischen Gesänge in der Karolingerzeit, Die Grundlegung der europäischen Musikkultur bis ca. 1100”. *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, Band 2, *Die Musik des Mittelalters*, Hrsg. Hartmut Möller – Rudolf Stephan, Laaber-Verlag, 1991, 33–54.

<sup>9</sup> Ruth Steiner, op. cit., 36.

## Palaeographical investigations

The “LS” manuscript was written in the second half of the 11th century<sup>10</sup> using “slanting oval” style of the *caroline minuscule*.<sup>11</sup> It is notated with German neumes (*Facsimile 1*).



*Facsimile 1: The oldest missal of Pula, fol. 4, Notation of the Sequentiary*

General characteristics of the script, which confirm the hand of an experienced scribe are: upright position of the script, middle size of the letters and a slight inclination of the script itself to the right. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the script is the usage of the Caroline letter *y* with no “Strich”. More importantly this feature indicates the presence of the Tegernsee style in the 2nd half of the 11th century.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> I owe my thanks to Prof. Dr. Peter Orth, University of Erlangen–Nürnberg who confirmed the date of the missal.

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard Bischoff: *Latin Palaeography, Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 120.

<sup>12</sup> Christine Elisabeth Eder: “Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften”. *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*, Hrsg. von der Bayerischen Benediktinerakademie, Band 83, Heft 1–2, Ottobeuren, 1972, 1–155.

Other distinguishing scriptural features which points at the relation to Tegernsee scriptural and calligraphic practice are:<sup>13</sup> rather “upright” back of the letter *a*; rounded letter *d*, and the ending of the letter *h*. Letter e-caudata is not written as “ae” but as an *e*. This feature connects our manuscript with the liturgical codices from Tegernsee and in some aspects with Seeon;<sup>14</sup> a small horizontal line underlying letters *i* and *q*.

Usage of the “Ranken initials”<sup>15</sup> is concordant with the 11th century Tegernsee illuminative practice. However, it also shows, especially in the choice of the Turkish blue, green, gold and red colour, similarities with practice of medieval Seeon.<sup>16</sup>

The largest “Ranken-initials” in the sacramentary is used as embellishment at the beginning of the St Thomas Apostle feast (Da nobis... oratio collecta) (*Facsimile 2*). Moreover, the name of the Apostle Thomas is written with golden capital majuscule letters, indicating obviously highly distinguished position of this saint in the sacramentary. Beside Thomas the name of St Nicholas is also written with the golden capital letter in all three prayers.

## Notation

A rare and rather unique characteristic of the notation of this source is the type of notation we find in the sequentiary (see *Facsimile 1*).

The notation of the sequentiary is done in the manner of the so-called “synoptisches Schriftbild”<sup>17</sup> employing “zweispaltiger Seitenspiegel” to be found only in the 11th and 12th century Einsiedeln missals – E 113, E 114 and E 115.<sup>18</sup> The type of the neumatic notation employed in the *offertoriale* and *kyriale* part of the book is similar to those used in Regensburg sources Ba lit 6,

<sup>13</sup> I owe a special debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Hartmut Hoffmann, University of Göttingen and to Prof. Dr. Peter Orth, University of Erlangen–Nürnberg who confirmed hypothesis about Tegernsee origin of the script and illuminations of this chant book.

<sup>14</sup> About the calligraphic art of the monasteries Seeon and Tegernsee see: Hartmut Hoffmann: “Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich”. *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Band 30, I i II, Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart, 1986, Abbildungen pp. 217–232, 251–271.

<sup>15</sup> Description of the “Rankeninitiale” see in Christine Jakobi: *Buchmalerei, ihre Terminologie in der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1991, 60.

<sup>16</sup> Calligraphic features of the Bavarian monastery of Seeon see: Josef Kirmeier, Alois Schütz, Evamaria Brockhoff: *Schreibkunst. Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei aus dem Kloster Seeon*. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Kloster Seeon 28. Juni bis 3. Oktober 1994, Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur, 28/94, Augsburg, 1994.

<sup>17</sup> East Frankisch *Schriftbild* has been described by Andreas Haug: *Gesungene und schriftlich dargestellte Sequenz: Beobachtungen zum Schriftbild der ältesten ostfränkischen Sequenzhandschriften*, Neuhausen–Stuttgart, 1987, 15–19.

<sup>18</sup> Andreas Haug: “Der Sequentiar-Teil des Codex 121”, Odo Lang (Hrsg.) *Der Codex 121 der Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln*, Kommentarband zur Faksimileausgabe, Weinheim, 1991, 223; Bernhard Hangartner: “Missalia Einsidlensia. Studien zu drei neuemierten Handschriften des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts”, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens und seiner Zweige*, Bd. 36, St. Ottilien, 1995.



Facsimile 2: Sacramentary, Oratio collecta for the Feast of St Thomas Apostle, fol. 118v

Mü 14 083, Mü 14 322. (See *Table 1.*) The greatest concordances are to be found between the “LS” notation and the notation of the missale from Seeon, Wi (ÖNB) 1845 and with the source London, British Library, Ms. Add. 19768 (additional part: Tegernsee). Particular feature of the neumatic notation of this missal is the fact that the Tegernsee scribe did not seem to know the neumatic sign for *oriscus*.

## Repertorial Investigations

### Sequentiary

The first part of the “LS” is a sequence collection of 37 notated sequences. A majority of the sequence repertory belongs to the standard repertory of the south German region that could be best depicted as “Bavarian” repertory in the 2nd half of the 11th century. 26 of 37 sequences belong to the Notker’s *Liber ymnorum* standard.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See the chapter “Notker’s *Liber ymnorum* and the Sequences in the East” in: Lori Kruckenberg: *The Sequence from 1050–1150: Study of a Genre in Change*, Ph. D. thesis, University of Iowa, 1997, 113–119.

Table 1: Notation of the “LS” and the related German sources

Neuma	Šibenik	Mü 14 322 Regensburg	Mü 14 083 Regensburg	Ox 27 Freising	Wi 1845 Secon	Lo 19768 Mainz Tegernsee	El 113, 114 Einsiedeln	Ba 6 Regensburg
Virga								
Punctum								
Tractulus								
Clivis								
Pes								
Porrectus								
Torculus								
Climacus								
Scandicus								
Porrectus flexus								
Pes subbipunctis								
Torculus resupinus								
Pressus								
Virga strata								
Pes stratus								
Quilisma								

What makes this collection rather unique is the presence of two rare disseminated German sequences *Summa sollemnitas* and *Laude condignissima* and the unique sequence *Armonia concinnans* for the Feast of St Thomas Apostle.<sup>20</sup> Analysis of a dissemination of two rare sequences contributed a lot

<sup>20</sup> Sequence repertory of this manuscript and the study of the *unicum* sequence for the feast of St Thomas Apostle – *Armonia concinnans*: H. Breko, “The Oldest Sequentiary from the Patriarchy of Aquileia” in Venice, 2002 at a seminar: “Il canto liturgico di Aquileia, del Patriarcato e delle regioni vicine Europee, affinità e distinzioni, con particolare attenzione al genere della sequenza”.

to the context of the origin of this sequentiary. To mention a few: the Easter sequence *Summa sollemnitas* AH, 37, 27 occurs in two sources only: namely in Mü clm 3003, St Nicholas in Andechs and in the manuscript Ox 341, Innichen, San Candido. No single Aquileian sequentiary makes a record of this sequence. Other rare disseminated sequence for St Nicholas – *Laude condignissima* is to be found only in: Mü 14 083, St Emmeram, Lo 19768 (Lo Add 19768), Mainz/Tegernsee, and in manuscript Gniezno 149 from Niederalteich. The presence of these rare sequences which can be found otherwise only in German (Bavarian) sources, is an additional argument in favour of a German-Bavarian provenance of this manuscript, since no Aquileian or North Italian repertories seem to know the sequences.

An interesting aspect about the “LS” sequentiary, in comparison with the 11th century Bavarian sources, is the absence of the Benedict sequence. Could this fact be considered, in one 11th century sequentiary, as an argument for the diocesan attribution of the book, and as an opponent of the previously suggested hypothesis about its monastic origin?<sup>21</sup> Compared with the Bavarian sequence sources “LS” repertory shows the closest relation to the sequentiary from St Emmeram in Regensburg. It differs in two sequences only from this collection. Concordance is 35 of 37 sequences. The only difference is a lack of *Summa sollemnitas* and *Armonia concinnans* sequences in Mü 14 083.

### Kyriale and a Trope Repertory

The collection of melodies for the ordinary of mass is small, consisting of 14 melodies: 9 Kyrie melodies and 5 Gloria melodies (see *Facsimile 3*).

In the group of *Gloria* melodies one significant trope-element has been found in Gloria melody Nr. 5 (Bosse 56).<sup>22</sup> This trope-element, likely to be of Regensburg provenance – *Clymmatibus quadris quibus omnis clauditur orbis. Solus adoraris; tibi gloria personet omnis* can be found only in seven other sources which mainly belong to the German speaking realm: SG 378, Ba 12, Mü 14 083, Mü 14 322, Mü 14 845, Ven 124 and Kremsmünster 309.<sup>23</sup> Synoptical transcription and a dissemination of this trope-element is listed in *Table 2* and *Table 3*.

The presence of this trope-element excludes every previously announced possibility of the North Italian context of origin of this chant book. Further-

<sup>21</sup> Dujka Smoje: *Le Liber sequentiarum...*, op. cit., 11–33.

<sup>22</sup> Detlev Bosse: *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlichen Melodien zum “Gloria in excelsis Deo”*, Regensburg 1955, 100.

<sup>23</sup> I express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Gunilla Iversen, University of Stockholm who kindly shared this information with me.



*Facsimile 3: Beginning of the Kyrie, fol. 14*

more, it stands as a crucial argument, within the investigation of the repertory, for German, or more precisely, Bavarian provenance of this missal.<sup>24</sup>

### Sacramentary – a Clue Toward a Place of Destination of “LS” (Pula)

The largest portion of the manuscript belongs to sacramentary (folios 38–170). Investigation of its layers proved to be crucial in identifying the place of destination of this chant book. Sacramentary of the missal of Pula has

<sup>24</sup> Hana Breko: Sibenski misal kao izvor Gloria tropa, Le Missal de Sibenik comme un source d'un trope du Gloria, *Muka kao nepresušno nadahnuće kulture, Passion une source inépuisable de l'inspiration en culture*, Pasijska bastina 2000, Patrimoine de la Passion, Zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog simpozija Zadar–Preko 2000, 281–305.

Table 2: Synoptical transcription of the trope-element  
*Climmatibus quadris/Solus adoraris*

Kre 309 ✓ / A - f... - ✓ A / S A ✓ - -

Ven 124 ✓ / / / / f... / / / / / / / / / /

Mü 14 845 ✓ / A f... - - ✓ N / P - ✓ / /

Mü 14 083 ✓ / A - f... - - ✓ N / P - ✓ / /

SG 378 ✓ / / - f... / . ✓ N / P . ✓ / /

Šibenik ✓ / / / / f... . ✓ N / P A ✓ / /

Ba 12

Cli- ma- ti- bus qua- dris qui- bus om- nis clau- di- tur or- bis.

Kre 309 / f... . ✓ / / - ✓ / A A ✓ A ✓ - -

Ven 124 / f... / ✓ / / / [ ] / f... ✓ / /

Mü 14 845 / f... - ✓ / / [ ] / A f... A ✓ / /

Mü 14 083 / f... - ✓ / / / ✓ / A A ✓ / /

SG 378 / f... - ✓ / / / ✓ / A A . ✓ A ✓ / /

Šibenik ✓ f... A ✓ / / / ✓ / A A . ✓ A ✓ / /

Ba 12

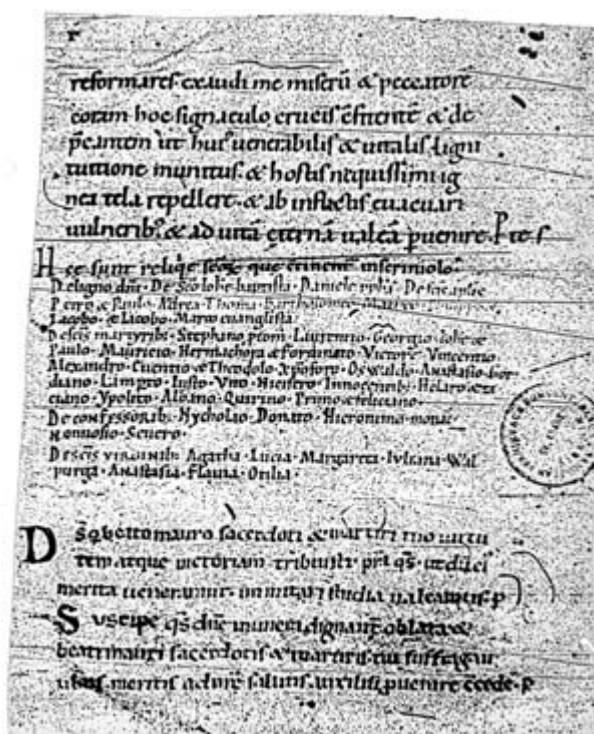
So- lus- a- do- ra- ris ti- bi glo- ri- a per- so- nae om- nis.

Table 3: Dissemination of *Climmatibus quadris/Solus adoraris*

SIGLA	Library	Provenance	Date	Notation
"LS" Pula	Šibenik Samostan franjevac konventualaca	Pula	late XI. saec	German neumes
SG 378	St. Gallen Stiftsbibliothek Hs. 378	Sankt Gallen	1034-1070	St Gall neumes
Ba 12	Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. lit. 12 (olim Ed. III. 13)	Bamberg	XIII saec.	Gothic notation
Mü 14 083	München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14083	Regensburg St. Emmeram	1031-1037	German neumes
Mü 14 322	München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14322	Regensburg St. Emmeram	XI	German neumes
Mü 14 845	München Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14845	Regensburg St. Emmeram	XI/XII	German neumes
Ven 124	Venezia Biblioteca Marciana Cod. lat. III. 124	Salzburg	XI	German neumes
Kre 309	Kremsmünster Stiftsbibliothek Codex 309	Kremsmünster	XII	German neumes

several different layers: the North Italian, Aquileian, South-German (Bavarian) and the regional/or local Istrian layer of saints whose cult can be recognized not only in the sacramentary but more precisely in the list of the relics of the saints mentioned at the very end of book. This list begins with the words: *Haec sunt reliquiae sanctorum quae continentur in scrignolo...* (Facsimile 4). This additional text at the end of the missal clearly represents a list of the relics of those saints venerated in the church for which this chant book has been written and ordered for “Bestimmungsort”. There is no evidence of the monastic attribution of this book. The missal represents an example of the 11th century diocesan liturgical book.

This fact has its evident support in the recent work by Schimmelpfennig about the oldest calendar from Pula.<sup>25</sup> This crucial source enabled me to carry



Facsimile 4: List of relics, *Haec sunt reliquiae...*, fol. 170

<sup>25</sup> Bernhard Schimmelpfennig: “Heilige kennen keine Grenzen, Überlegungen zu einem Kalender aus Pula (Istrien)”, *Grenzen erkennen – Begrenzungen überwinden, Festschrift für Reinhard Schneider zur Vollendung seines 65. Lebensjahrs*. Hrsg. Wolfgang Haubrichs, Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke und Michael Oberweis, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag 1999, 353–383.

out a detailed comparison of “LS” sacramentary with the oldest up to date preserved calendar from the region of Istria. This 14th century manuscript known as Codex Augsburg, Stadtarchiv, Codex Schätze 202 represents a missal *secundum consuetudinem romane curie* dating from the 14th century written probably in medieval Pula.<sup>26</sup> At the very beginning of this missal we find a calendar that has been considered to be the local calendar of Pula. It was this codex which enabled me to detect destination of “LS”.

In 1984 Felix Heinzer suggested a method of a selection of one leading saint name in a sacramentary as being ‘Leitheiliger’.<sup>27</sup> By following this method of differentiation between a “Grundstock”, i.e. universal medieval practice of the saints<sup>28</sup> and a leading saint-name I was able to trace several different layers of sacramentary. To mention only the most distinguished ones listed in Table 4.

Table 4: German and Aquileian saints in “LS”

#### German Saints

Date	Saint “LS”	Civiale	Pula	Salzburg	Freising	Zadar	Seeon Tegernsee	Regensburg
8.IX	Corbinian				+ 8. IX patron	+ 20. XI		+
8. VIII	Afra	+	+	+	+			+
17. IX	Lantberto					+	+patron of Seeon	+

#### Aquileia Saints

Date	Saint “LS”	Aquileia	Civiale	Pula	Salzburg Archbishopric	Freising Bishopric
12. VII	Hermagorae et Fortunati	+	+	+		
21.VIII	Donatus		+* Patron 21.VIII	+		

First layer is a group of the south German saints. They represent a link with the ecclesiastical diocese or region where this book was produced.

<sup>26</sup> Schimmelpfennig writes: “Dieser Teil der Handschrift wurde im späteren 14. Jahrhundert im Gebiet von Oberitalien, oder Istrien, vielleicht in Pula selbst, geschrieben, dann für den liturgischen Gebrauch in der Kathedrale von Pula um 1400 erworben und dort durch ein Kalender ergänzt”. Schimmelpfennig: Heilige kennen keine Grenzen..., op. cit., 354.

<sup>27</sup> Felix Heinzer: “Aspekte der Katalogisierung liturgischer Handschriften, Erfahrungen bei der Bearbeitung des Bestandes St. Peter perg. der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe”, *Codices Manuscripti*, 10, 1984, sv. 3, 99.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

A patron of the bishopric of Freising – Corbinian venerated in “LS” on September 8,<sup>29</sup> is totally missing in the Aquileian and Cividale sources.<sup>30</sup> We find it, however, in the calendar from the late 14th century Pula,<sup>31</sup> as well as in the sources from Seeon, Tegernsee and Mainz.

The feast of St Afra that was venerated in the medieval liturgy of Pula from the 11th century onwards is mentioned not only in the sacramentary of “LS”. Her name is registered in the group of relics at the end of missal. During the 11th century a Benedictine monastery of St Michael in Pula had a property “in loco qui vocatur sancta Afra!”<sup>32</sup>

St Lantbert, represented in the relics list, as well as in the sacramentary of “LS”, is a link with a saint patron of Seeon.<sup>33</sup>

The presence of the Aquileian patrons Hermagora and Fortunatus, and a Cividale saint patron Donatus, that has not been recorded in the German sources, is not surprising, since the medieval Istria was under church and political jurisdiction of the Patriarchy of Aquileia in the 11th century.

### “Leitheiliger” of the Missal

Table 5 shows the most prominent saints and enables a clue toward detection of a bishopric Pula as being a place of usage of this “commissioned book”.

The most prominent saint in the whole book is *St Thomas Apostle*! On fol. 117v we find the largest illuminated initial of the whole book. Furthermore, the name of St Thomas Apostle is in all three prayers written by the golden capital letters. The sequence repertory with a *unique sequence* “Armonia concinnans” supports this conclusion too.

Thomas Apostle was venerated in medieval Istria and in the diocese of Pula by three different feasts, as the calendar of Augsburg 202 testifies. Namely with the: main feast, on December 21; Translation from India to Edessa, July 3; Dedication of the St Thomas church on the October 1.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Hermann Grotefend: *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Hannover, 1982, 43.

<sup>30</sup> Raffaella Camilot-Oswald: “Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia”, Teilband 1, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Subsidia, Band II, Kassel, 1997, CXXXIII.

<sup>31</sup> Schimmelpfennig, op. cit., 360.

<sup>32</sup> See CDI, *Codice Diplomatico Istriano* 1, ed. Pietro Kandler, Trieste, 1862–1865, new edition in 1986, 187, no. 87 (1005). On St Afra see Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, “War die Hl. Afra eine Römerin?”, in *Vera lex historia. Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Quellen*. D. Kurze, Köln 1993, 277–303.

<sup>33</sup> Hoffmann writes that Lantbert, as a saint patron of Seeon was recorded even in those manuscripts that were commissioned in Seeon, but were not used for the usage there. See Hartmut Hoffmann, op. cit., 403.

<sup>34</sup> Celebrations of the diocesan patron of Pula, St Thomas Apostle see in Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 1999, 367.

Table 5: The most prominent saints in the missal of Pula. Detection of a “Leitheliger”

Date	Saint	Sacramentary	Sequentiary	Aquileia	Cividale	Pula	Salzburg	Freising	Zadar	Split	Seon Tegernsee	Regensburg
21. XII	Thomas Apostle	+*	+	+	+	+* Patron of the Bishopric	+	+	+	+	+	+
15. VIII	BMV Assumptio	+	+	+	+	30. IX Dedicatio ecclesiae s. Mariae maioris Polensis	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. XII	Nicholas	+	+ 2 seq.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. IX	Michael	+	+ 2 seq.	+	+	+* Dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli	+	+	+	+	+	+
21. XI	Mauri mart.	+ Later addition at the end of MS		+	+	+* Bischof of Parenzo/Pula				+15. I Mauri abbatis		

In particular, beside Thomas Apostle among other important and solemnly venerated saints in the sacramentary are: Maria as a co-patron, Nicholas, Michael and Maurus. The three prayers in particular, written for the regional Istrian saint patron Maurus as a later addition at the end of manuscript, together with the St Thomas Apostle as a leading “saint patron”, provided evidence toward detection of the medieval region of Istria as a place of usage.<sup>35</sup>

### Maurus from Poreč (Parenzo)

Maurus, whose feast was in Istria celebrated on November 21, is the first bishop of the oldest Istrian bishopric Parenzo/Pula.<sup>36</sup> Since 1934 his relics lie on the main altar of the basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč (Parenzo), Istria.<sup>37</sup> As saint patron of whole Istria Maurus is incorporated in the context of the solemn celebration of the feasts for the local saint patrons: St Thomas Apostle, Maria, Nicholas, and Michael. This fact was a crucial argument for determining that

<sup>35</sup> I owe my thanks to Prof. Dr. Felix Heinzer who kindly shared this important “hint” with me, before the article by Schimmelpfennig with the oldest calendar from Pula (Aug. 202) was published.

<sup>36</sup> An outline of the Istrian saints see Dragutin Nežić: “Istarski sveci i blaženici (Istrian Saints and Blessed Ones)”, in Andjelko Badurina, ed., *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, Zagreb: Krscanska sadasnjest, 1990, 264a–277b. Compare: Hippolyte Delehaye: “Saintes d’Istrie et de Dalmatie”. *Analecta Bollandiana* XVII, 1899, 369–411.

<sup>37</sup> Andjelko Badurina, ed., *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, Zagreb: Krscanska sadasnjest, 1990, 400.

Pula (Istria) was the place where this chant book was used. Maurus from Poreč (Parenzo) was even in the sources from Cividale (Civ 44 and Civ 57) considered to be a local Istrian saint. In those two sources we find an *unicum* antiphon for his feast – *Adesto precibus sanctae ecclesiae* – and an office for his feast on November 21.<sup>38</sup> Comparison of the list of saints from “LS” and the calendar of Pula, Augsburg 202, has shown the greatest similarity between the profile of the “LS” sacramentary with the sanctorale of medieval Pula. This led to the conclusion that a place where the “LS” chant book was sent for liturgical celebration must have been one diocesan church in medieval Pula, most probably the St Thomas basilica in Pula. Since the late 6th century this church was for the laymen an adjacent church of the Pula cathedral. It was partially destroyed in the late 1657. The very last ruins of the church disappeared in 1812.<sup>39</sup> Beside the mass for Maurus, one later addition – namely a list of relics of the saints to be mentioned at the very end of book supported the idea of presence of the local Istrian cult of saints clearly.

### Church History of Istria in the 11th Century

The region of Istria was in the 11th century under the church jurisdiction of the patriarchy of Aquileia. The river Drava was from the 9th century on a border line between the jurisdiction of Salzburg and Aquileia.<sup>40</sup> In the 2nd half of the 11th century, during the government of the Croatian King Petar Krešimir IV, around the year 1073, Istria was an independent province.

Istria was at that time a part of the Frankish Bavarian (German) duchy with the bishopric sites in Novigrad (Cittanova), Poreč (Parenzo), Pican and Pula (Pola).<sup>41</sup> Archbishopric site for Istria was Aquileia, and from 1180 onwards – Grado.<sup>42</sup> Herewith, Istria was a kind of “marginal” area of the patriarchy of Aquileia, and at the same time a meeting point<sup>43</sup> of several different traditions: Aquileian, south German and a local Istrian one.

<sup>38</sup> Raffaella Camilot-Oswald, op. cit. (1997), L.

<sup>39</sup> The oldest sketch of the St Thomas church in Pula is stored today in the Archive of the Pula Cathedral. A sketch dated on May 5, 1571, hints toward the possible author: “S. Tomaso di Pola l’anno 1571 ad 5. Maggio, fatto in Pola per mano di F.M.M.C. di Pola”. Op. cit. Don Giovanni Canonico Cleva: “Notizie storiche del Duomo di Pola”, *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, Parenzo: Presso la Società Istriana di archeologia e storia patria, 1884, fasc. unico, I, 30.

<sup>40</sup> Sergio Tavano: Aquileia christiana, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, Bd. III, Udine, 1972, 33.

<sup>41</sup> Ivo Goldstein: Između Bizanta, Jadrana i srednje Europe [Among the Byzantium, Adriatic and Middle Europe], (ed.) Ivan Supić, *Hrvatska i Europa, kultura, znanost i umjetnost* [Croatia and Europe, Culture, Science and Art], HAZU, vol. I, srednji vijek (VII–XII. stoljeće), Middle Ages (saec. VII–XII), Zagreb, AGM, 1997, 169–178.

<sup>42</sup> Sergio Tavano: “Il Patriarcato di Aquileia a Venezia”. *Storia e arte del patriarcato di Aquileia, Antichità Altoadriatiche XXXVIII*, Udine, 1992, 137–154.

<sup>43</sup> Schimmelpfennig depicts medieval liturgy of Pula as “Schmelztiegel verschiedener Kult-Traditionen”. See “Heilige kennen keine Grenzen...”, op. cit., 383.

### A Reliquary List: *Haec sunt reliquiae sanctorum*

Analysis of the list of the relics indicates significant similarities with the Schimmelpfennig's idea about the medieval liturgical practice in Pula as being a "Schmeltztiegel verschiedener Kult-Traditionen". To mention the most prominent examples drawn from the reliquary list shown in Facsimile 4, which will support this statement.

A relics by *Hermagora* and *Fortunate* testify the great importance of the Aquileian saint patrons in medieval province Istria and in Pula in particular. Their cult was also dominant in the Slovene diocese of Kranj.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly their feast is also recorded in the Bavarian Seeon, according to a sacramentary from Wi 1845 (Seeon).

In the group of the martyrs, a relics by *Mauritius* testify a connection with the Benedictine monastery of Niederalteich. *Mauritius* was a patron of this Benedictine monastery. *Mauritius* was also a patron of the first church in Einsiedeln.<sup>45</sup> A close connection with Niederalteich repertory testifies the sequence portion of the repertory of "LS". Namely, the *St Nicholas* sequence *Laude condignissima* is recorded in "LS" and in Gn 149 Codex from Niederalteich. Even the oldest calendar from Pula, Augsburg 202 commemorates his feast.<sup>46</sup>

In the Istrian region *Mauritius* was in the 9th century a bishop of Novigrad (Cittanova).<sup>47</sup>

*St Vincentio* martyr was together with *Anastasius* solemnly celebrated in the oldest calendar from Pula. *Svetvinčenat*, a town in Istria, holds a name after this martyr.

*St Christophorus*, celebrated on July 26, was very solemnly celebrated in the calendar from Pula and holds a distinguished position in the list of the local feasts, written in the 14th century "Statute of the town of Pula".<sup>48</sup>

A name of *St Lantbert* in the list of relics indicates a patron saint of Seeon and is to be understood as a connection with the place of origin.

Interestingly, the oldest calendar from Pula, August 202, as well as the sources from Aquileia and Cividale do not mention its feast. Manuscripts from

<sup>44</sup> Jozef Smrekar: "Stare pisane masne bukve kranjskega farnega arhiva" [Old Mass Book from the Parish Archive of Kranj]. *Zgodovinski zbornik*, 1, 2, Ljubljana, 1888, 1889, 28.

<sup>45</sup> Bernhard Hangartner: *Missalia Einsidlensia*: "In einer Urkunde von Otto I. von 27. Oktober 947 ist neben Maria auch *Mauritius* als Patron der ersten Kirche erwähnt." 1995, 140.

<sup>46</sup> Schimmelpfennig (1999), op. cit., 360.

<sup>47</sup> Branko Mauri: *Istra u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Istria in the Early Middle Ages], arheološko-povijesni prikaz, Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula, Kulturno povijesni spomenici Istre, III, ed. B. Basic and B. Mauri, 1960, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Mate Krizman: *Statuta Communis Polae, Statu pulske općine*. Povijesni muzej Istre, ed. Davor Mandić, Pula 2000, 115.

Regensburg, however, commemorate his feast since the 12th century. It is mostly to be found as a later addition.<sup>49</sup>

*St Justo*, a martyr of Trieste, is celebrated in all Aquileian and Cividale manuscripts. In medieval Pula, Justo is beside Maria a co-patron of the bishopric.<sup>50</sup>

The Roman martyr *Vitus* whose "Passio" is to be found as an "off set" in the Beneventan script at the cover page ("copertina") of the "LS"<sup>51</sup> has been, according to Augsburg 202 in the Istrian region celebrated with a great solemnity. A great church of Vitus is to be found in Istrian town of Groznjan. Calendar from medieval Pula celebrates Vitus as an independent feast. Even in the adjacent Slovenian region almost 76 churches were dedicated to St Vitus.

Last but not least – in the group of local Istrian saints belongs the name of *St Nicifero*, whose relics are stored today in the Parish church in Umag, Istria.<sup>52</sup> His feast on December 30, a commemoration of the translation of his relics in Pićan. Beside in this manuscript his name was not found commemorated in any other Aquileian or Dalmatian manuscript.

Among other interesting saints representing a connection between Pula and Ravenna is *Severo*. His feast is together with Ignatius martyr celebrated in the calendar from Pula.<sup>53</sup> No single Aquileian or Cividale manuscript commemorate his feast. This could be understood in the light of the political relations between Pula and egzarhate of Ravenna. Istria belonged since the late 6th century to Ravenna.<sup>54</sup>

The name *Quirinus* in the list of relics hints possibly toward a place where this manuscript was produced. Namely, Quirinus was a saint patron of Tegernsee.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand Quirinus, a bishop of Siscia<sup>56</sup> was in medieval Istria a saint patron of Vodnjan, and a patron of the bishopric of the island of Krk.

*Primus* and *Felicianus* whose feast was celebrated on June 9, testify a connection with the medieval region of Slovenia, especially medieval Kranj.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Raffaella Camilot-Oswald: "Quellen liturgischer Musik aus dem mittelalterlichen Regensburg, Katalog der Handschriften und Handschriftenfragmente", *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Subsidia, Band III, Kassel (in print), LXV.

<sup>50</sup> Ireneo Daniele, 1966, S. Giusto da Trieste, in Bibl. SS 7, Sp. 33. Compare: Codice diplomatico istriano (CDI), vol. I. saec. XIV: Calendario della sancta chiesa Tergestina; see also Schimmelpfennig, op. cit. (1999), 367.

<sup>51</sup> The Beneventan fragment with Vita s. Vidae has been described in: Elias Avery Loew: *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. Second edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, Virginia, IL, Hand list of Beneventan MSS. Roma 1980, 94.

<sup>52</sup> According to a legend Nicifero died in Umag on his way back from visiting an Aquileian patriarch. See Nezi, 271.

<sup>53</sup> Schimmelpfennig, op. cit. (1999), 371.

<sup>54</sup> Branko Marušić 1960: Istra u ranom srednjem vijeku, op. cit. 37.

<sup>55</sup> Christine Elisabeth Eder: *Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee*. 1972, 37.

<sup>56</sup> Badurina, op. cit. (1990), 371.

<sup>57</sup> Janez Höfler: *Gorenjski prispevki k najstarejsi glasbeni zgodovini na slovenskem. Kronika, casopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*. XIV. 1965, 92.

*Hieronimo monaco (Jerome)* is according to a sequence text of the *Laude-mus Christum* born in Dalmatia.<sup>58</sup> His feast is solemnly celebrated in medieval calendar of Pula. *Nonnosio* represents a connection with bishopric of Freising. No single Aquileian or Cividale source commemorate his feast.

Medieval calendar from Pula (August 202) commemorates his feast on September 2. One of the explanations for its veneration we can find in the political connection between Freising and Istria. Namely, in the 11th century a Freising bishopric had rights in the region of Istria.<sup>59</sup> Significant name in the group of virgins, mentioned in the list of relics, is the name of *Agatha*. This virgin was important in the Istrian region, particularly in medieval Parenzo (Poreč).<sup>60</sup> German saint *Walpurga* whose feast was on February 25 was venerated in medieval Regensburg.<sup>61</sup> Two names *Flavia* and *Othilia* hint toward a connection between Pula and Alsace. This is one of the arguments supporting what Schimmelpfennig calls “Pula und die weite Welt” – Pula as a “melting” of diverse and distant traditions.<sup>62</sup>

### Conclusion

It could be demonstrated that the manuscript known since 1895 as a “*Liber sequentiarum*” from Šibenik in fact is an commissioned book by monastery of Tegernsee between 1050 and 1070 for the usage at St Thomas Basilica in Pula, Istria. It shows traces both, of context of its origin and context of its destination. Dating from the late 11th century this chant book is herewith the earliest testimony of the chant transfer from the German speaking realm to the medieval patriarchy of Aquileia, and to it is eastern province of Istria in particular. It is a precious document of the medieval liturgical practice in Pula. At the same time it is a distinguished late 11th century imported book from the prominent scriptorium of Tegernsee. Its repertory elucidates not only the first phase of formation of the local repertory of the region of Istria. What is more – it contributes to the better understanding of the complete Aquileian repertory at the beginning of two centuries lasting phase of “Germanization” of the *ritus patriarchinus*. The oldest missal of Pula fits in most aspects to the idea called by Cesare Scalon and Giulio Cattin as “l’influsso del mondo tedesco sulla liturgia aquileiese”.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See: AH 54, Nr. 46: “Hic homo Domini, natus est Dalmatiae, lotus baptisate...”

<sup>59</sup> “Doch auch Freising, wo des Heiligen Reliquien aufbewahrt wurden, käme als Vermittler in Frage, hatte es doch schon seit dem 11. Jh. Besitzungen und Rechte in Istrien.” Schimmelpfennig, op. cit., 375.

<sup>60</sup> Milan Prelog: “Die Euphrasius Basilika von Porec”. *Monumenta Artis Croatiae*, Erste Reihe, Band 4, Zagreb 1986, 22.

<sup>61</sup> Camilot-Oswald, op. cit. (in print), LXIII.

<sup>62</sup> Schimmelpfennig, op. cit. (1999), 373.

<sup>63</sup> Giulio Cattin: “La tradizione liturgica aquileiese e le polifonie primitive di Cividale”, *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 Agosto, 1980, eds. C. Corsi and P. Petrobelli, Rom, Miscellanea musicologica 4, 1989, 120–121.