

## rites for the sick and dying in sources from Klosterneuburg

ELAINE STRATTON HILD

Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study, Universität Würzburg

**Izvleček:** Članek preučuje dokumente iz samostana avguštinskih kanonikov v Klosterneuburgu, ki vsebujejo informacije o obredih skupnosti za bolne in umirajoče (Codices Claustroneoburgenses 628, 629, 1022A in 1022B). V gradivu, predpisanem za te obrede, se viri večinoma ujemajo. Pisarski zaznamki v rokopisih in znaki njihove uporabe kažejo, da so bili nekateri obredi v rabi tako pri moški kakor pri ženski skupnosti dvojnega samostana, rubrike rokopisa pa puščajo odprto tudi možnost, da so pri teh obredih moški in ženske sodelovali.

**Ključne besede:** Klosterneuburg, dvojni samostan, ženske, maziljenje, umiranje

**Abstract:** This article investigates extant documents from the Augustinian canonry of Klosterneuburg (Codices Claustroneoburgenses 628, 629, 1022A, and 1022B) to gain insight into the community's rites for the sick and dying. The sources largely agree in the material prescribed for the rites. Scribal annotations and signs of use within the manuscripts indicate that the same rites were used for both the men and women of the double house; the manuscripts' rubrics also leave open the possibility that men and women participated in the rites together.

**Keywords:** Klosterneuburg, double house, women, unction, dying

Extant documents from the Augustinian canonry of Klosterneuburg (A-KN) offer insight into the community's rites for the sick and dying. Four manuscripts from the fourteenth century (Codices Claustroneoburgenses 628, 629, 1022A, and 1022B)<sup>1</sup> contain prayers, litanies, and chants to be performed during the illness, death, and burial of a canon or canoness (the manuscripts and their datings are listed in table 1). Along with these manuscripts, which were probably intended to be used by celebrants during the rites, a fifteenth-century customary (included in Ccl. 58) offers the additional perspective of a normative text. The following contribution closely examines these manuscripts, along with

---

My thanks go to the fellows at the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study for the stimulating conversations, to Timothy E. Smith (Loveland Classical Schools) for generously sharing his Latin expertise, and to the anonymous reviewers of this journal for their careful readings and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> The manuscripts' origination and usage in Klosterneuburg—well established in previous scholarship—is further confirmed by the uniformity of the rites for the sick and dying and their annotation for use with both men and women.

their annotations, in order to consider the community's responses to serious illness and death and the interactions between men and women while attending to the sick and dying.

**Table 1**

Types and datings of Codices Claustro-neoburgenses

Codex	Book type	Dating
58	customary	ca. 1420 <sup>†</sup>
628	ritual	14th century <sup>†</sup>
629	ritual	14th century <sup>‡</sup>
1022A	ritual	14th century <sup>§</sup>
1022B	ritual	14th century <sup>**</sup>

\* Haidinger, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 103–104.

† Norton and Carr, “Liturgical manuscripts”, 114 (“circa 1330”); Pfeiffer and Černík, “Catalogus codicum”, 3:638–641; Engels, “Studien”, 193 (“Anfang des 14. Jh.”).

‡ Klugseder, “Studien”, 42; Norton and Carr, “Liturgical manuscripts”, 114 (“circa 1330”), 115 and 169; Pfeiffer and Černík, “Catalogus codicum”, 3:642–647; Engels, “Studien”, 193 (“1330/40”); Engels, “Die Notation”, 50–51.

§ Norton and Carr, “Liturgical manuscripts”, 114–115 and 141.

\*\* Norton and Carr, “Liturgical manuscripts”, 114–115 and 141; Engels, “Studien”, 193 (“1330/40”); Engels, “Die Notation”, 50–51.

## Manuscript Sources

Codices 628, 629, 1022A, and 1022B offer a unified picture of Klosterneuburg's rites for the sick and dying. Although the manuscripts differ from one another in how much detail they contain and in the extent to which they were annotated and used, they prescribe nearly identical material for the rites.

When creating Codices 1022A and 1022B, Klosterneuburg's scribes chose to record the rites for the sick and dying within collections of material used by a priest for ceremonies other than the liturgy of the Mass. Catalogued in the Klosterneuburg library as “libri benedictionales”, Codices 1022A and 1022B contain blessings of salt and water, blessings of candles on the Purification of Mary, material for Holy Week (including blessings of ashes on Ash Wednesday, blessings of the palms on Palm Sunday, examination and baptismal rites, and blessings of food and a new home for Easter Sunday), in addition to the rites for the sick and dying. The small size of these manuscripts suggests that they could easily have been carried and held by hand for ceremonies occurring away from the altar.<sup>2</sup> Codex 1022A contains rites for sickness, death, and burial; Codex 1022B contains only the rites for the sick. The rites for the sick are virtually identical in Codices 1022A and 1022B, suggesting that the manuscripts' scribes used a common exemplar, or that one served as the exemplar for the other. Table 2 offers a comparative overview of the rites for the sick and dying contained in each of the four manuscripts; table 3 contains a

<sup>2</sup> Cod. 1022A measures 20.5 × 14 cm with 44 folios; Cod. 1022B measures 20.8 × 14 cm with 79 folios; Pfeiffer and Černík, “Catalogus codicum”, 6:545.

complete, detailed inventory of the material included in the rites for the sick and dying in Codex 1022A.

**Table 2**  
Rubrics indicating rites for the sick and dying\*

	Cod. 1022A	Cod. 1022B	Cod. 628	Cod. 629
When anyone is sick	Cum infirmatur aliquis (fol. 30v)	Cum infirmatur aliquis (fol. 66)	Cum infirmatur aliquis (fol. 109v)	Ordo ad ungendum infirmum fratrem uel sororem (fol. 124)
	Maior unctio (fol. 35)	Maior unccio (fol. 71)	Maior unctio (fol. 118v)	
When death is near	Quando iam proximus fuerit morti (fol. 37v)		Incipit letania circa morientes (fol. 125v)	Quando iam proximus fuerit morti dicatur coram eo letania hoc modo (fol. 131v)
	Letania circa morientes (fol. 26v)			
				In uncto fratre (fol. 130v)
At the moment of death	Cum mortuus fuerit (fol. 29)		Cum mortuus fuerit (fol. 130)	Cum mortuus fuerit (fol. 133)

\* The spelling in the table follows the orthography of each manuscript.

**Table 3**  
Inventory of items in rites for the sick and dying, Codex 1022A

Folio	Rubric (indication of rite)	Rubric (item)	Incipit († indicates that the scribe wrote only an incipit)	Text edition
26v	LETANIA CIRCA MORIENTES		Pater de celis deus miserere anime famuli tui	
29	CUM MORTUUS FUERIT	RESPONSORIUM	Subuenite <sup>†</sup>	CAO 7716
		ORACIO	Proficiscere anima christiana de hoc mundo	Dumas 2892
		ALIA ORACIO	Suscipe seruum tuum domine in bonum habitaculum eternum	Deshusses 4052 Dumas 2900
29v		ORACIO	Libera domine animam serui tui ex omnibus periculis infernorum	Dumas 2893
30		ORACIO	Pie recordacionis affectu commemoracionem fratres carissimi <sup>†</sup> REQUIRE POST SEQUENTEM LETANIAM	Deshusses 1398; 4029; 4047
		ORACIO	Deus apud quem omnia moriencia uiuunt <sup>†</sup>	Deshusses 4067 Dumas 2895
		ORACIO	Suscipe domine animam serui tui quam de ergastulo <sup>†</sup>	Deshusses 1400; 4031

Folio	Rubric (indication of rite)	Rubric (item)	Incipit († indicates that the scribe wrote only an incipit)	Text edition
		ALIA	Suscipe domine animam serui tui ad reuertentem <sup>†</sup> QUERE POSTEA IN LOCO SUO	Deshusses 4048 Dumas 2903
		ALIA	Tu nobis domine auxilium prestare digneris	Deshusses 4050 Dumas 2896
30v	CUM INFIRMATUR ALIQUIS CONUENIANT FRATRES ET ACCEPTO OLEO INFIRMORUM CUM CORPORE DOMINI ET CRUCIBUS ET THURIBULO CUM CANDELIS UISITENT INFIRMUM CANTANTES VII PSALMOS CUM LETANIA			
		ANTIPHONA	Sana domine infirmum istum	Deshusses 4024
		PSALMUS <sup>†</sup>	Domine ne in fu[rore] <sup>†</sup>	Ps 6
		ANTIPHONA	Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum	CAO 2661
		PSALMUS	Beati quorum <sup>†</sup>	Ps 31
		ANTIPHONA	Domine descende ut sanes filium meum	CAO 2329
		PSALMUS <sup>‡</sup>	Domine ne in fu[rore] <sup>†</sup>	Ps 37
		ANTIPHONA	Cor contritum et humiliatum deus non despicias	Deshusses 4025
		PSALMUS	Miserere <sup>‡</sup>	Ps 50
		ANTIPHONA	Domine puer meus iacet paralyticus	CAO 2368
31		PSALMUS <sup>§</sup>	Domine exaudi <sup>†</sup>	Ps 101
		ANTIPHONA	Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum	CAO 2363
		PSALMUS	De profundis <sup>†</sup>	Ps 129
		ANTIPHONA	Cum sol autem occidisset	CAO 2034
		PSALMUS <sup>¶</sup>	Domine exaudi <sup>†</sup>	Ps 142
		LETANIA	Kyrieleyson	
33-b			Pater noster	
		PRECES	Saluum fac seruum tuum	Freestone, p. 240ff.
33v		ORACIO	Omnipotens et misericors deus quesumus inmensam clemenciam tuam	Deshusses 1480; 4015; 4306
		ALIA	Domine deus qui per apostolum tuum Iacobum locutus es	Deshusses 3988
34		ORACIO	Respice domine famulum tuum in infirmitate sui corporis laborantem	Deshusses 988; 1387; 3982

Folio	Rubric (indication of rite)	Rubric (item)	Incipit ( <sup>t</sup> indicates that the scribe wrote only an incipit)	Text edition
		ALIA	Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui benedictionis tue gratiam	Deshusses 1395; 2777; 3987 Dumas 2887
		ALIA	Deus qui famulo tuo Ezechye ter quinos annos ad uitam donasti	Deshusses 987; 1386; 3981
34 <sup>v</sup>		ORACIO	Exaudi nos domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus	Deshusses 1456
		ALIA	Deus misericors deus clemens deus qui secundum multitudinem miserationum	Dumas 2888
35	PRIMO UNGATUR AD OCULOS		Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam	
	MAIOR UNCTIO MANUS PRESBYTERI UNGANTUR EXTERIUS QUIA INTERIUS AB EPISCOPO CONSECRATE SUNT		Ungo oculos tuos oleo sanctificato	
		AD AURES	Vngo has aures sacrati olei liquore	
		AD OS	Ungo os tuum et labia tua consecrati olei medicamento	
		AD NARES	Vngo has nares huius sacrati olei liquamine	
35 <sup>v</sup>		AD MANUS	Ungo has manus tuas hoc oleo consecrato	
		AD PEDES	Vngo hos pedes sacri olei benedictione	
		AD PECTUS	Ungo pectus tuum de hoc oleo sanctificato	
	FINITA UNCTIONE DICAT SACERDOS HANC ORATIONEM		Unxi te oleo sancto in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti	
36		ALIA ORACIO	Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui fragilitatem condicionis	Deshusses 1391; 3986 Dumas 2881
		ALIA	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui subuenis in periculis	Deshusses 2791; 3993
36 <sup>v</sup>	TUNC COMMUNICABIT CUM HIIS UERBIS		Corpus et sanguis domini nostri Ihesu Christi ad uitam te producat	
		ORACIO	Deus qui confitencium tibi corda purificas	Deshusses 3968 Dumas 599; 610
		ALIA	Deus in cuius manu est correpcionis iudicium	

Folio	Rubric (indication of rite)	Rubric (item)	Incipit († indicates that the scribe wrote only an incipit)	Text edition
37		ALIA ORACIO	Domine Ihesu Christe qui corripiendo parcis et parcendo remittis	
	TUNC BENEDICAT EUM		Benedicat te deus pater sanet te deus dei filius	Deshusses 3995
		ALIA BENEDICTIO	Benedicat te deus pater adiuuet te deus dei filius	Dumas 2100
37 <sup>v</sup>		ALIA BENEDICTIO	Benedicat te deus pater custodiat te Ihesus Christus	Deshusses 3998
		ALIA	Benedictio dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti descendat et maneat super te	
	QUANDO IAM PROXIMUS FUERIT MORTI DICATUR PRIOR LETANIA ET ORACIONES		Proficiscere anima christiana <sup>†</sup>	Dumas 2892
		ALIA	Suscipe domine seruum tuum in bonum habitaculum eternum	Deshusses 4052 Dumas 2900
38		ORACIO	Libera <sup>††</sup> domine animam serui tui <sup>†</sup> REQUIRE SUPERIUS	Dumas 2893
		ORACIO	Pio recordacionis affectu fratres karissimi commemoracionem facimus cari nostri	Deshusses 1398; 4029; 4047
		ALIA ORACIO	Deus apud quem omnia moriencia uiuunt	Deshusses 4067 Dumas 2895
38 <sup>v</sup>		ORACIO	Suscipe domine animam serui tui quam de ergastulo huius seculi uocare dignatus es	Deshusses 1400; 4031
		ALIA	Suscipe domine animam serui tui ad te reuertentem de Egypti	Deshusses 4048 Dumas 2903
39		ALIA	Tu nobis domine auxilium prestare digneris	Deshusses 4050 Dumas 2896

\* The interlinear annotation refers to folio 39 (38<sup>v</sup>), where the complete prayer is written.

† The interlinear annotation (I) indicates the first of the psalms in the rite with this incipit. See Paxton, *Death Ritual at Cluny*, 60n6.

‡ The interlinear annotation (II) indicates the second of the psalms in the rite with this incipit.

§ The interlinear annotation (I) indicates the first of the psalms in the rite with this incipit.

\*\* The interlinear annotation (II) indicates the second of the psalms in the rite with this incipit.

†† The interlinear annotation indicates folio 30, where the prayer is written in its entirety.

Codex 628 contains identical material in the rites for the sick and dying as Codex 1022A; similarities extend to the rubrics' wordings and the scribal decisions of which material

to abbreviate and which to write in full. The extent of this agreement suggests either that one of these manuscripts served as the exemplar for the other, or that both were copied from a common source. One factor suggests that Codex 1022A was the first scribal effort, and might have served as an exemplar for Codex 628. In Codex 1022A, the ordering of the rites is unusual (and varies from that of the other manuscripts). The material for the moment of death (“Cum mortuus fuerit”, fol. 29) is written before the rites for the sick (“Cum infirmatur aliquis”, fol. 30v). The unusual ordering suggests that the rites might have been recorded in individual *libelli* prior to the creation of the fourteenth-century manuscripts; Codex 1022A might have been a compilation of individual documents. Given that Codex 628 contains the rites in a more logical order, it is likely the younger manuscript.

Like the previously discussed manuscripts, Codex 629 contains identical material in the rites for the sick and dying. Differences appear when one observes the rubrics: those in Codex 629 are much more extensive. For example, where the other three manuscripts begin the rite for the sick with the indication “Cum infirmatur aliquis conueniant fratres”, in Codex 629 we find an additional heading “Ordo ad ugendum infirmum fratrem uel sororem” and the additional information that the bell should be tolled to signal the brothers to gather: “Ad unccionem campana pulsetur. Qua audita omnes conueniant fratres” (fol. 124).

In addition to these extensive rubrics, Codex 629 includes a portion of material that the other manuscripts do not contain, indicated specifically for a dying brother. (In contrast, the general heading in Codex 629 indicates material for a brother or sister.) This additional material for a sick man includes a dialogue to be conducted before death (“In uncto fratre [...] Sequitur qualiter debet uicinus morti interrogare”, fol. 130v–131).<sup>3</sup> Codex 629 also contains more extensive post-mortem material than the other manuscripts, including material for the procession to the women’s church (fol. 135v),<sup>4</sup> the funeral Mass (fol. 137ff.), and the blessing of the grave (fol. 141a).

The additional material for the post-mortem Mass and burial in Codex 629 suggests that the scribe intended the manuscript to be used for these ceremonies, while Codices 1022A and 1022B might well have been intended for use in the infirmary, at the bedside of the suffering person. Comparing the sizes of the manuscripts leads to a similar conclusion: Codices 1022A and 1022B are the smaller books, more appropriate for carrying and holding in the hands. In contrast, the larger Codex 629 seems more appropriate for church settings, where it could be placed on a lectern.<sup>5</sup>

## Signs of Use

The four manuscripts show differences in how extensively they were used after their creation. Signs of use in these documents include (1) the addition of music notation between

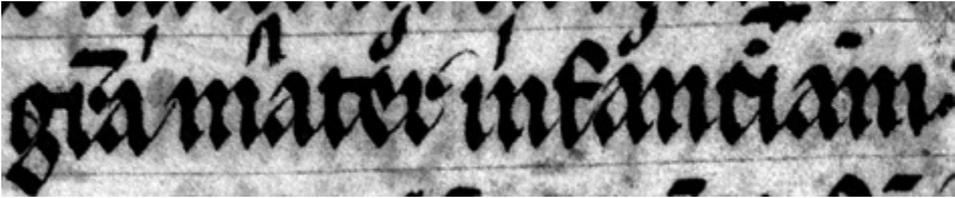
<sup>3</sup> On the history and transmission of the “Anselm questions”, see O’Connor, *Art of Dying Well*, 31–36.

<sup>4</sup> Discussed in Norton and Carr, “Liturgical Manuscripts”, 130.

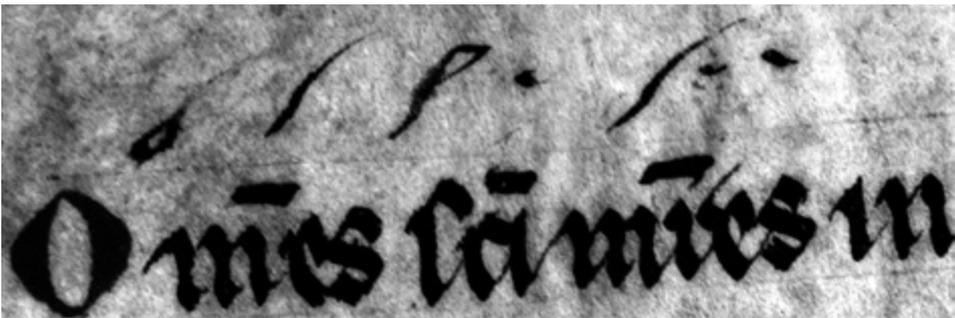
<sup>5</sup> Codex 629 measures 31.5 × 22.5 cm and has 174 folios. Pfeiffer and Černík, “Catalogus codicum”, 3:642.

lines of text, (2) discoloration of the lower, outer margins where the pages were grasped and turned, and (3) the annotation of feminine endings for gender-specific words referring to the sick or dying person.

Codex 1022A shows signs that it was put into regular service. One indication is the music notation, most likely added after the manuscript was created. An instance from folio 23 (figure 1) shows neumes written between lines of text, over the final seven syllables of the sentence. Music notation such as this would have assisted the priest in performance: the neumes signal where the cadential gesture of the melodic recitation formula should begin, and how it should be applied to the specific text. Within the rites for the sick and dying, we find another instance of annotated music notation: figure 2 shows neumes written with the words “Omnes sancti martyres” in the litany for the dying (fol. 27v). The music notation specifies the contour of the melody, the coordination of melodic gestures to individual syllables, and the placement of liquescent nuances.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 1**  
Interlinear neumes, Codex 1022A, fol. 23r, l. 3



**Figure 2**  
Interlinear neumes within the rites for the sick and dying, Codex 1022A, fol. 27v, l. 1

<sup>6</sup> Such adiastematic neumes are associated with the men’s scribal work at Klosterneuburg. Although they are most commonly seen in manuscripts written prior to the fourteenth century, they are compatible, even in the fourteenth century, with the type of scribal effort evident here: limited notation added interlinearly as a gloss on a previously written text. Scholars who have analyzed the multiple notational types found in documents from Klosterneuburg and who have considered whether individual manuscripts reflect the women’s or men’s scribal work and liturgical practices include: Praßl, “Psallat Ecclesia Mater”; Szendrei, “Linienschriften des zwölften Jahrhunderts”; Engels, “Die Notation” and “Studien”; Lacoste, “Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners”; Klugseder, “Studien zur mittelalterlichen liturgischen Tradition”; and Norton and Carr, “Liturgical Manuscripts.”

Additional scribal annotations also suggest that Codex 1022A was used during celebrations of the rites: within the rites for the sick, a scribe wrote feminine endings above the gender-specific words that refer to the sick person. Figure 3 shows one example. The original text of the prayer indicates a male servant of God (“hunc famulum tuum”); the annotations provide the correct alterations when referring to a female servant (“hanc famulam tuam”). These alterations would have made it possible for the priest holding the book to articulate the rite’s material appropriately for a man or a woman. Given that the masculine versions were retained, the annotations do not preclude the use of the rites for men.

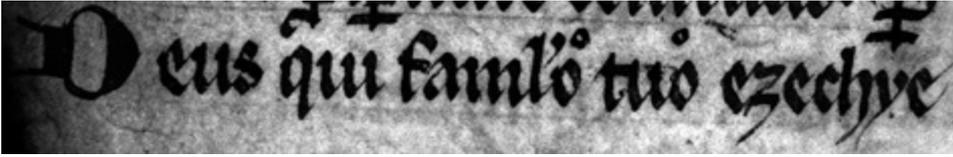


**Figure 3**

Annotations providing feminine versions of gender-specific words in the rite for the sick, Codex 1022A, fol. 33v, l. 8

Such annotations could have been made and used in advance of the rites, to help a priest prepare for the ceremonies.<sup>7</sup> Yet a close examination suggests that Codex 1022A was used during the actual performance of the rites. In figure 4, we see an annotation from folio 34 that looks very similar to the others: a scribe wrote endings above the gender-specific words “famulo tuo”. In other instances (such as the one previously discussed in figure 3), this type of interlinear scribal work provides the feminine endings; yet here, we have the masculine endings repeated. Why? Because in this instance, the words do not refer to the sick or dying person (who could be a man or a woman); they refer to the prophet Hezekiah (“Deus, qui famulo tuo Ezechye ter quinos annos ad uitam donasti”). This particular scribal annotation seeks to avoid an error: when conducting the rite for a woman, the manuscript’s user should not automatically alter the endings of these specific words, as he has done in previous instances. Such an error would not happen during a careful reading of the text: it would be much more likely to occur during the rite, when the celebrant’s attention could be distracted and the presence of the often-repeated words could automatically trigger an alteration. The inclusion of this annotation—giving simple information to help avoid an error that would only occur in a distracted situation—suggests that the manuscript served as an aid while performing the material. In general, the grammatical changes required to conduct the rite for women would have been elementary for a celebrant; the simplicity of the annotations and the consistency with which they were applied suggest that they were intended to be used during the rite, to prevent oversights and to make the celebrant’s delivery more fluid.

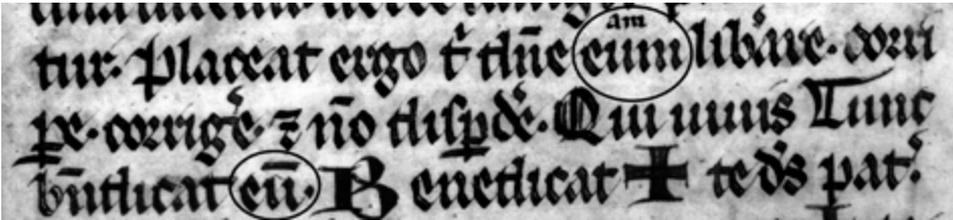
<sup>7</sup> On the practice of *praelectio*, see Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 11–12 and 14–15.



**Figure 4**

Annotations confirming the use of masculine endings, Codex 1022A, fol. 34r, l. 20

Examining the rubrics of Codex 1022A provides additional evidence that these scribal annotations facilitated a celebration of the rite. Figure 5 shows folio 37, where a gender-specific word referring to the sick person (“eum”) occurs twice, in close proximity. In the first instance (circled in the first line of figure 5), the word “eum” occurs as part of the spoken text of a prayer; here, it is annotated with the feminine version “eam”. In the second instance, the word occurs as part of the rubric, where it would not have been spoken aloud; here, the feminine version is not given. The annotations were not considered necessary for the rubric, since the directions to the priest were clear (“Tunc benedicat eum”) even if the gender-specific pronoun was not correct. Thus, it seems that Codex 1022A was annotated in positions where it would be useful to the celebrant while conducting the rite.



**Figure 5**

Scribal annotation of spoken words, but not rubrics, Codex 1022A, fol. 37r, l. 10–12

The discoloration of the lower, outer margins offers another indication of the usefulness of Codex 1022A. The discoloration becomes particularly pronounced from folios 30v and 31 (where the rites for the sick begin) until folio 37v, which includes the prayers and chants for the final moments of life. The entire manuscript shows signs of having been put into practical use, the rites for the sick and dying particularly so.

The same is not true of the other fourteenth-century manuscripts containing rites for the sick and dying. Codex 628 shows none of the indications of use evident in Codex 1022A. Codex 1022B has feminine endings added to gender-specific words in the prayers for the sick; otherwise, it does not show obvious signs of use. In Codex 629, indications of use are concentrated in the post-mortem rites: here we find (1) prominent discoloration of the lower, outer margins, (2) the annotation of feminine endings above gender-specific words, (3) additional material for the post-mortem Mass and burial (discussed above), and (4) interlinear neumes above the iterations of “Kyrieleyson” at the beginning of the

burial rite. Taken together, these observations suggest that Codex 629 was used during celebrations of the post-mortem rites and that Codex 1022A was used at the bedside of a sick or dying community member.

### **Attending to the Sick and Dying: Prescription**

The rites contained within these manuscripts involve the entire community in the illness and death of an individual. The spiritual care and physical companionship provided to a sick or dying person is portrayed as a collective responsibility and integrated into the religious life of the community. The manuscripts further suggest that these rites were not isolated events, but rather part of an ongoing accompaniment of the sick person until his or her recovery or death.

In Codex 629 (fol. 124), we read that when any brother or sister is confined with sickness, the leader of the canonry, the prior himself, should go to hear confession and offer the sacrament with his own hands. These rubrics even go so far as to address the proper attitude of the rite's participants: the sacrament should be devoutly received from the prior. We also read that the sick individual should make no will, following the example of Augustine.

All four of the manuscripts direct the brothers to gather and visit the sick person, taking oil, the host, the cross, censer, and candles, and singing the seven (penitential) psalms and a litany. The manuscripts include the antiphons to be sung with the psalms, followed by the litany and a series of prayers. Next, a ceremony of unction is recorded, which includes anointing on the eyes, ears, mouth, nose, hands, feet, and chest, along with a series of prayers and blessings.

Codex 629 includes additional material specifically for a man ("In uncto fratre", fol. 130v). The rubric states that arrangements are made so that at least one person is present with the brother until the illness ends, either in recovery or death. Although documentation does not survive, it is likely that the women's community had their own practices of vigil for a sick canoness.<sup>8</sup> A collect is said for the brother at the daily public Mass. Codex 629 also includes a dialogue, to be conducted with the brother when his death seems near. The dialogue consists of statements to which the sick man responds affirmatively with "Ita" (the first statement is "Frater letaris quod in fide christiana morieris"). The final portion of the dialogue asks the sick man to repeat three times the words attributed to Christ on the cross (Luke 23:46): "In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum". The dialogue concludes with a reassurance of salvation.

Material for the final moments of life ("Quando iam proximus fuerit morti") appears in all four manuscripts. A second litany is prescribed, beginning with "Pater de celis". Codex 629 gives an additional indication that this litany was to be performed in the presence (or in the sight) of the dying person: "Quando iam proximus fuerit morti dicatur coram

---

<sup>8</sup> Driscoll ("*Per sora nostra morte corporale*" and "Reconstructing Liturgical History") considers how historians might use sparse extant documentation to investigate the roles women played in death and burial practices.

eo letania hoc modo” (fol. 131v). For the moment of death, the manuscripts prescribe the responsory *Subvenite* (“Cum mortuus fuerit Responsorium Subvenite”), followed by the prayer “Proficiscere anima”, among others (Codex 1022A, fol. 29; Codex 628, fol. 130; Codex 629, fol. 133). Codex 629 indicates that the death should be signaled “cum cymbalo” (fol. 135v); the sound marked the beginning of the post-mortem rites.

Taken together, these manuscripts provide material for the entire process of a life’s ending—the recognition of a serious illness, the point when death seemed near, the final agonies and the moment of death, the communication of the death to the larger community, the preparation and burial of the corpse, and ceremonies of commemoration. The documents prescribe a collective response to the sickness and death of a member, a response that provided spiritual assistance and physical companionship for the dying person throughout the end of his or her life.

### Rites for the Sick and Dying: Description of Actual Practices?

I understand these manuscripts to be primarily normative texts, intended to instruct and assist in appropriate celebrations of the rites for the sick and dying. Particularly Codex 629, with rubrics that refer to the interior attitudes of the rites’ participants, should best be understood as a description of an ideal. To what extent do the manuscripts reflect and describe the actual practices of the community at Klosterneuburg? For several reasons, I suggest that the material contained within these manuscripts probably does give insight into the rites, as they were conducted.

First, an examination of the manuscripts suggests that they are part of an extended tradition of documenting these rites. Although it is not possible on the basis of paleographic evidence to refine the dating of the four fourteenth-century manuscripts, it is possible to compare them as witnesses to the scribal process of committing the community’s rites for the sick and dying to writing. Codex 1022A represents an early stage in the process: the illogical ordering of the material—with the rites for the final moments of life preceding the rites for anointing the sick—suggests that the manuscript was copied from *libelli*, and further, that the rites were already documented in writing prior to the creation of the manuscript. Codices 1022B and 628 reveal a more advanced way of recording the rites: they contain the same material as Codex 1022A, but given in a logical order. Codex 629 shows the most developed way of presenting the rites: extensive rubrics supplement the material seen in the other manuscripts. Comparing these manuscripts suggests that Klosterneuburg had an extensive scribal tradition of documenting the rites for the sick and dying, a tradition most likely reflecting the community’s actual practices.

Second, the consistency of material within the four manuscripts suggests that there was agreement concerning the contents of the rites throughout the scribal process of recording them. That identical items are included in manuscripts created by different scribes, who worked with different intentions and different conceptions of how much detail to include, suggests that the material was well established within Klosterneuburg’s practices. If there had been disagreement about what should be included as part of the rites, the pragmatic, well-used Codex 1022A probably would contain different content, or at least different

annotations than Codex 629, a manuscript that seems to have been created with the goal of describing the ideal practice of the rites. The customary included within Codex 58 does not specify the individual actions, prayers, and chants in the rites for the sick and dying, yet it reiterates elements of the rites seen in the fourteenth-century manuscripts: (1) that all brothers gather for the anointing of a sick person (as in Codices 1022A, 1022B, 628, and 629), (2) that the bell serves as the signal to gather (Codex 629), and (3) that following the unction, at least one person always remains present with the sick man (Codex 629).<sup>9</sup>

The most convincing evidence that the manuscripts' rites for the sick and dying offer insights into the practices of the community comes from the signs of use in Codex 1022A (described above): (1) the discoloration of the lower, outer margins indicates that the pages were held and turned many times, (2) the annotation of music notation suggests that the manuscript was used as part of a preparation for performance of the litany for the dying, (3) the annotation of feminine endings to gender-specific words referring to the sick person suggests that a scribe emended the manuscript for use with both men and women. The signs of use in Codex 1022A and the overwhelming agreement among the manuscripts suggest that they reflect actual practices at Klosterneuburg.

### Music Notation?

Although these manuscripts offer insight into the words and actions of the rites for the sick and dying, they do not offer the same insight into the melodies. For these rites, music notation is only included in Codex 1022A, where we find adiastrumatic neumes above the words "Omnes sancti martyres" in the litany for the dying (figure 2). These words were probably chosen for notation because of their position on the page: they appear at the top of the column, where there was more space for notation above the text. Assuming that the litany was performed with one melody repeated for multiple lines of text, the notation with these few words would have given the manuscript's user performance indications for much of the litany. The scribe responsible for this notation might well have been the celebrant himself, who wrote only as much notation as he needed (rather than systematically documenting the litany's melody).

Of the seven antiphons given in the rites for the sick, five were also used in the Office liturgy and thus appear in Klosterneuburg's antiphoners (table 3 lists these antiphons' incipits and CAO numbers).<sup>10</sup> However, two antiphons—*Sana domine infirmum istum* and *Cor contritum et humiliatum*—appear to have been used only in the rites for the sick. I have not found them recorded with music notation in any extant document from Klosterneuburg. The lack of music notation in Codex 1022A suggests either that the gathered community

---

<sup>9</sup> Although the rites described in Codex 58 conform to those of the fourteenth-century manuscripts, Codex 58 contains no reference to women. Norton and Carr ("Liturgical Manuscripts", 129–130) argue that the fifteenth-century customary reflects the stricter separation between the men's and women's communities after the Council of Constance.

<sup>10</sup> Cantus Manuscript Database: Inventories of Chant Sources (accessed 7 February 2018), <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>.

could perform the chants without the assistance of music notation, or that the celebrant using this manuscript was not responsible for providing the melodies.

The same is true for the chant performed at the moment of death, the responsory *Subvenite*. The words of the chant appear in the fourteenth-century Office antiphoner CCI 1018 (fol. 244v) as part of the material *pro defunctis*,<sup>11</sup> but the text appears without music notation. Was the scribe of Codex 1018 not familiar enough with the melody to write it? Was the chant not actually used for the Office of the Dead? It seems that the community sang the responsory *Subvenite* in their rites for the dying, but to my knowledge, we do not have a record of the melody.

### (Joint) Participation of Men and Women in the Rites for the Sick and Dying (Fourteenth Century)

Klosterneuburg's rites for the sick and dying, as they are documented in the fourteenth-century manuscripts, give us several insights into the interactions between the communities of men and women. First, the manuscripts indicate that the **same rites** were to be used for men and women. This is indicated explicitly in Codex 629, where the initial rubric specifies both genders: "Ordo ad unguendum infirmum fratrem uel sororem. Sciendum est quod decumbente aliquo fratre uel sorore dominus prepositus ad ipsum [am] ueniat" (fol. 124).

Second, it appears that the **same manuscripts** were used, whether the rite was conducted on behalf of a man or a woman.<sup>12</sup> This is evident from Codices 1022A and 1022B, where the feminine endings were added to the text above gender-specific words referring to the sick person, without the masculine versions being crossed out.

Third, we can infer from these scribal annotations that the **same celebrant** conducted the rite, whether it was performed for a man or a woman: The priest entered the women's community to conduct the rites for the sick. Furthermore, the manuscripts' rubrics suggest that other men accompanied him: "Cum infirmatur aliquis conueniant fratres [...] et uisitent infirmum."<sup>13</sup> Thus, these manuscripts leave open the possibility that men and women participated together in the rites for the sick and dying when they were celebrated on behalf of a woman.

Norton and Carr have noted that prior to the fifteenth century, Klosterneuburg's post-mortem rites included both the men's and women's communities.<sup>14</sup> Codex 629 states that

<sup>11</sup> On the transmission of *Subvenite*, see especially Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 66–68.

<sup>12</sup> Beach, *Women as Scribes*, and Cyrus, *Scribes for Women's Convents*, offer insights into patterns of book production and acquisition for female communities.

<sup>13</sup> The final word of the rubric, the gender-specific "infirmum" referring to the sick person, is the masculine version, yet I think it possible that the rubric refers to both men and women: first, because the previous part of the rubric in Codex 629 stated explicitly that the material was for men and women; second, the words of the prayers following the rubric are annotated with feminine versions; third, rubrics were less thoroughly annotated with feminine endings. As considered above, the scribe seems to have been more thorough in annotating the words spoken during the rites.

<sup>14</sup> Norton and Carr, "Liturgical manuscripts", 129–130.

the body of the recently deceased was carried in procession to the women's church where Mass was sung: "Cum funere ad dominas uadant. Missam pro defuncto audiant" (fol. 135v).

Codex 629 also indicates that men conducted burial rites on behalf of deceased women. One representative example occurs on folio 143v, where the prayer "Oremus fratres karissimi pro spiritu cari nostri" has been annotated ("care nostre") so that it would be appropriate for a woman. The annotation of these burial prayers does not necessarily indicate that the men and women participated in the burial rites together. But given that the women were included in the post-mortem rites, I think it possible that they participated in the burial rites, as well. Regardless of whether we conclude that the burial rites brought men and women into physical proximity, they did indeed bring the two communities together: the manuscript evidence indicates that the illness, death, and burial of a sister were central events in the men's community.

## Conclusion

The documents of Klosterneuburg describe a collective, ritualized response to illness and death. The rites indicate that the community understood itself as having a role to play at the end of life: in providing the sacraments of the Eucharist and unction, in performing prayers, chants, and litanies, and in an accompanying presence.<sup>15</sup> According to these manuscripts, once a serious illness was acknowledged, the suffering individual became a focus for the larger community of men and women, including the community's leader, the prior. Confession, Eucharist, and unction were not isolated events for the dying person; they were woven into a fabric of community presence and activity.

Klosterneuburg's manuscripts suggest that the rites accompanying a suffering person throughout illness and death were to be conducted with the same precision, faithfulness, and effort as other celebrations. These rites drew in a similar way upon the community's time, personnel, and scribal resources. The rites for the sick and dying and celebrations of the Office and Mass were perhaps all understood as *opus Dei*.

## Bibliography

- Beach, Alison I. *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Cantus Manuscript Database: Inventories of Chant Sources (accessed 7 February 2018). <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>.
- Cyrus, Cynthia J. *The Scribes for Women's Convents in Late Medieval Germany*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Deshusses, Jean, ed. *Le sacramentaire grégorien*. Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1979 and 1982.

---

<sup>15</sup> On the development of such rites in Western Europe, see especially Paxton, *Christianizing Death*.

- Driscoll, Michael S. “*Per sora nostra morte corporale*: The Role of Medieval Women in Death and Burial Practices”. *Liturgical Ministry* 10 (2001): 14–22.
- . “Reconstructing Liturgical History before the *libri ordinarii*: The Role of Medieval Women in Death and Burial Practices”. In *Unitas in pluralitate: Libri ordinarii als Quelle für die Liturgiegeschichte*, edited by Charles Caspers and Louis van Tongeren, 299–326. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 103. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2015.
- Dumas, A., ed. *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 159, 159A. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981.
- Engels, Stefan. “Die Notation der liturgischen Handschriften aus Klosterneuburg.” *Musicologica Austriaca* 14/15 (1996): 33–74.
- . “Studien zur mittelalterlichen Liturgie im Stift Klosterneuburg”. *Heiliger Dienst* 50 (1996): 181–194.
- Freestone, W. H. *The Sacrament Reserved*. London: A. R. Mowbray, 1917.
- Haidinger, Alois. *Katalog der Handschriften des Augustiner Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg*. Vol. 1, *Cod. 1–100*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 168; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters II,2,1. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983.
- Hesbert, René Jean, ed. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*. Rome: Herder, 1963–1979.
- Klugseder, Robert. “Studien zur mittelalterlichen liturgischen Tradition der Klosterneuburger Augustinerklöster St. Maria und St. Magdalena”. *Musicologica Austriaca* 27 (2008): 11–43.
- Lacoste, Debra. “The Earliest Klosterneuburg Antiphoners”. PhD dissertation, The University of Western Ontario, 1999.
- Norton, Michael L., and Amelia J. Carr. “Liturgical Manuscripts, Liturgical Practice, and the Women of Klosterneuburg”. *Traditio* 66 (2011): 68–170. <https://doi.org/10.1353/trd.2011.0006> and <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0362152900001124>.
- O’Connor, Mary Catharine. *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars moriendi*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.
- Parkes, M. B. *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992.
- Paxton, Frederick S. *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- . *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages*. *Disciplina Monastica* 9. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1484/m.dm-eb.5.108576>.
- Pfeiffer, Hermann, and Berthold Černík. “Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in bibliotheca Canonorum Regularium S. Augustini Claustro Neuburgi asservantur”. Vols. 3–6. Unpublished manuscript, early twentieth century.
- Prabl, Franz Karl. “Psallat Ecclesia Mater: Studien zu Repertoire und Verwendung von Sequenzen in der Liturgie österreichischer Augustinerchorherren vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert”. PhD dissertation, Universität Graz, 1987.
- Sicard, Damien. *La liturgie de la mort dans l’église latine des origines à la réforme*

*carolingienne*. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 63. Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1978.

Szendrei, Janka. "Linienschriften des zwölften Jahrhunderts auf süddeutschem Gebiet". In *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting; Pécs, Hungary*. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology, 1992.

## OBREDI ZA BOLNE IN UMIRAJOČE V VIRIH IZ KLOSTERNEBURGA

## Povzetek

Prispevek podrobno preučuje rokopise iz Klosterneuburga (t. i. Codices Claustroneoburgenses 58, 628, 629, 1022A in 1022B) in pisarske zaznamke v njih, da bi tako osvetlil odzive skupnosti na resne bolezni in smrt ter interakcijo med moško in žensko skupnostjo v času, ko so se njihovi člani posvečali bolnim in umirajočim. Čeprav se preučevani rokopisi med seboj razlikujejo v številu navedenih podrobnosti in pisarskih zaznamkov ter pogostnosti uporabe, ponujajo enotno sliko klosterneburških obredov za bolne in umirajoče, saj je gradivo v njih predpisano skoraj identično. Pisarske oznake in znaki uporabe v rokopisih kažejo, da je bil rokopis Cod. 629 v rabi za obrede po smrti, za rokopis Cod. 1022A pa se zdi, da so ga uporabljali celebranti, ki so opravljali obrede za bolne in umirajoče.

Obredi, opisani v navedenih rokopisih, v bolezen in smrt posameznika vključijo celo skupnost. Če jih obravnavamo kot celoto, rokopisi ponujajo gradivo za celoten proces zaključka življenja – za soočanje z resno boleznijo, za čas, ko se smrt bliža, za končno agonijo in sam trenutek smrti, za obveščanje širše skupnosti o smrti posameznika, za pripravo in pogreb trupla in ne nazadnje za spominske obrede. Prakse, opisane v teh dokumentih, pa vključujejo: obhajanje trpečega s strani priorja; obisk bolnika s strani sobratov; petje sedmerih spokornih psalmov (z antifonami) in litanij; obred maziljenja z molitvami in blagoslovi; uredbe, da ob postelji bolnika (do okrevanja ali smrti) ves čas ostaja vsaj ena oseba; dialog ob bližajoči se smrti, ki potrjuje vero in rešenje umirajočega; litanije, ki se pojejo v zadnjih trenutkih življenja; in rezponzorij, ki se poje v trenutku smrti.

Klosterneburški dokumenti nakazujejo, da so se isti obredi – tudi na podlagi istih rokopisov – obhajali tako za moške kakor za ženske. Dokumenti puščajo odprto tudi možnost, da so ženske in moški v teh obredih sodelovali: zdi se, da so vključevali čas, osebjem in pisarske moči skupnosti na podoben način kakor drugi liturgični obredi.

Omenjeni rokopisi dajejo vpogled v besede in dejanja obredov, z informacijami o melodijah pa so dosti bolj skopi. Glasbena notacija obredov za bolne in umirajoče v teh virih je omejena na pisarski zaznamek v rokopisu Cod. 1022A. Medtem ko melodije za pet od sedmih antifon, ki so se pele v obredih za bolnike, najdemo v klosterneburških antifonarjih, se za melodije dveh antifon in rezponzorija *Subvenite*, ki se je pel v trenutku smrti, zdi, da v ohranjenih klosterneburških dokumentih niso zapisani.