

# Provenance of the Pauline Gradual of Jasna Góra in Poland from 1596

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**Abstract** Polish cathedral and monastic archives preserve multiple precious handwritten sources of musical and liturgical contents originating from the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Three such manuscripts have been the topic of research in this paper. The article's problem is the provenance of the Pauline Gradual (PL-CZ III-913 olim R659) from 1596, owned by the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in the Jasna Góra Monastery (Luminous Mount) in Częstochowa, Poland. The authors have examined the provenance by comparing the book's repertoire of alleluatic verses of the *commune sanctorum* with the contents of two older Polish codices from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, kept in the Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter: Wawel Gradual (PL-Kk Ms. 45) and Jan Olbracht Gradual (PL-Kk Ms. 44). The research leads to an ascertainment that the Pauline codex has, to some extent, been modelled on the Cracow manuscripts. The main text has been accompanied by photographs of each source's selected original folios, and by transcriptions of the alleluatic chants analysed.

Studying the contents of musical-liturgical books and comparing them is an important part of the work of musicologists and liturgists. One purpose of undertaking this work is to establish the provenance of certain codices such as graduals, which are musical-liturgical books containing the Mass repertoire of the entire church year. They are a valuable source of knowledge about the songs of a given place and the time of their creation and use.

In this article an attempt will be made to examine the melodies of alleluatic verses of the *commune sanctorum*, which means common forms about saints according to the categories of apostles, martyrs, believers, and virgins in selected Polish graduals from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The books we will deal with, starting from the oldest, are as follows: Wawel<sup>1</sup> Gradual (PL-Kk Ms. 45), Jan Olbracht Gradual (PL-Kk Ms. 44), and Pauline Gradual (PL-CZ III-913 olim R659). The aim of this study is to contribute to explaining the provenance of the third codex from the Jasna Góra<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Polish pronunciation: /'vavɔl/.

<sup>2</sup> Polish pronunciation: /'jasnə 'gura/.

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Monastery (Luminous Mount) in Częstochowa,<sup>3</sup> Poland. The article by Dr Marta Popowska on the Pauline manuscript was an inspiration to undertake this type of work.<sup>4</sup> In this text, the author, associated with the Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa (Poland), conducted a source study in which she drew attention to the problem of the origin of the manuscript and its similarity in respect of the *commune sanctorum* to other books. Investigating this problem could clarify the question of the provenance of the monastic codex. The researcher stated: ‘Comparing the melodies of the alleluiaic verses of this part of our codex with their record in the liturgical books of the Wawel Cathedral and the graduals of the Franciscan family, perhaps would show the archetypes for our manuscript.’<sup>5</sup> In her article, Popowska precisely indicated the above-mentioned Wawel books as a potential comparative material in this type of study.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, this is the criterion for selecting the manuscripts in this study, in which we will attempt to carry out the task outlined by the author.

The state of research on this topic includes publications relating to the above-mentioned graduals. According to chronological order, a book by Ignacy Polkowski entitled *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej* (‘Catalogue of Chapter Manuscripts of the Cracow Cathedral’)<sup>7</sup> from 1884 briefly describes manuscripts 44 and 45. The key publication devoted to the Pauline codex, and at the same time its first comprehensive study, is the profound source analysis by Piotr Łysikowski.<sup>8</sup> The above-mentioned article by Popowska also presents a high scientific value, in which the author published the results of her research on the content of the Pauline Gradual in an edited work, which contains numerous materials on the liturgy in Pauline monasteries. The content of the Pauline Gradual was also researched by Piotr Wiśniewski from the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. The author analysed the *ordinarium missae* found there, and presented his results in a scientific article.<sup>9</sup> The latest texts by Polish authors on the Pauline Gradual were published by Mariusz Białkowski (Ignacy Jan Paderewski Academy of Music in Poznań),<sup>10</sup> Remigiusz Pośpiech (University of Wrocław),<sup>11</sup> and Janusz Zbudniewek (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw)<sup>12</sup> in the same edited book.

<sup>3</sup> Polish pronunciation: /'tʃɔstɔ'ɦɔvɔ/.

<sup>4</sup> Marta Popowska, ‘Liturgia paulińska w świetle rękopisu ms. R659/III-913’, in *Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich w Polsce: Źródła i początki*, ed. by Remigiusz Pośpiech (Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego UO, 2012), pp. 219–94.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246, fn 99.

<sup>7</sup> Ignacy Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej*, vol. 1 (Drukarnia Czasu, 1884).

<sup>8</sup> Piotr Łysikowski, ‘Analiza źródłowa Graduału Paulińskiego (R 659, III 913) z Archiwum OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze’, *Studia Claromontana*, 30 (2012), pp. 227–58.

<sup>9</sup> Piotr Wiśniewski, ‘Tropowane Ordinarium missae w rękopiśmiennym Graduale Paulińskim ms. R659/III-913’, *Roczniki Teologiczne*, 64.13 (2017), pp. 137–48.

<sup>10</sup> Mariusz Białkowski, ‘Scandicus Forms in JG III 913 codex of the Library of the Jasna Góra Monastery’, in *Liturgy and Music in the History of the Pauline Order*, ed. by Erwin Mateja and Remigiusz Pośpiech (Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego UO, 2018), pp. 95–108.

<sup>11</sup> Remigiusz Pośpiech, ‘Polonica aus dem Graduale der Pauliner Ms. AJG III 913 (R 659)’, in Mateja and Pośpiech, *Liturgy and Music in the History of the Pauline Order*, pp. 285–98.

<sup>12</sup> Janusz Zbudniewek, ‘Unbekannte Werke von P. Simon Mielecki im Kontext der Liturgiereform um die Wende des 16./17. Jh.’, in Mateja and Pośpiech, *Liturgy and Music in the History of the Pauline Order*, pp. 349–73.

A number of valuable publications were written on the Jan Olbracht Gradual, both in the field of musicology and art history. Among many, there are works by Tadeusz Miazga<sup>13</sup> and Andrzej Kusiak.<sup>14</sup> An important publication is Bartosz Izbiński's thesis on the Jan Olbracht Gradual<sup>15</sup> as well as another text by Popowska.<sup>16</sup>

The master's thesis of Alicja Jończyk is the key publication on the subject of the Wawel Gradual.<sup>17</sup> There are also studies in the field of art history devoted to this book. Moreover, numerous studies by Jerzy Pikulik constitute an important collection of auxiliary publications on selected musical and liturgical forms.

In our study, we will limit the researches to comparing Alleluia chants contained in the monastic book with those contained in the codices of the Wawel Cathedral. The first method will be analysis of the melodies of individual alleluatic verses collected in each of the books. The second method will be comparison of the individual Alleluia chants and the accompanying verses derived from the individual graduals. This is how we show the similarities and differences between specific melodies. The third method will be synthesis, which will allow us to draw conclusions from the obtained information on the possible connection of the analysed chants and the books in which they are located.

The research material allows a three-part structure for the study to be determined. The first part includes a general presentation of each of the graduals. In the second part, twenty-one alleluatic verses will be briefly presented. In the third part, we will refer to the provenance of the Pauline Gradual by synthesizing the information obtained and drawing conclusions on the similarities and differences between the Pauline and Wawel records.

## Presentation of the Graduals

### *Wawel Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 45*

The Wawel Gradual is the oldest source of the Alleluia chants researched in this article. It is considered a typical book representing the musical and liturgical tradition of the Cracow diocese in the Middle Ages. The codex is kept in the Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter. One of its microfilm slides contains the following information about the book: 'GRADUALE. Inc.: Uterus virgineus. Expl.: Que regina

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<sup>13</sup> Tadeusz Miazga, *Graduał Jana Olbrachta: Studium muzykologiczne* (Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1980).

<sup>14</sup> Andrzej Kusiak, 'Graduał Olbrachta ms. 44 "De Tempore" z Biblioteki Kapitulnej na Wawelu. Studium źródłoznawcze' (Master's thesis, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> Bartosz Izbiński, 'Graduał ms. 43 z Biblioteki Kapitulnej w Krakowie: Studium źródłoznawcze' (Master's thesis, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University, Warsaw, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> Marta Popowska, 'Graduał Jana Olbrachta z Archiwum Katedry Wawelskiej: Opis zewnętrzny', *Edukacja Muzyczna*, 13 (2018), pp. 157–81.

<sup>17</sup> Alicja Jończyk, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza rękopisu muzycznego ms. 45 z Biblioteki Kapitulnej na Wawelu', in *Muzyka religijna w Polsce*, ed. by Jerzy Pikulik, vol. 1, no. 1 (Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1975), pp. 195–323.

diceris. Fifteenth c., folios 302, 46 × 33 cm. No start. Missing folio in the collection of the National Museum in Krakow. Musical notation: Gothic.<sup>18</sup>

The exact date and place of the book's creation as well as its author and recipient are unknown. The analysis of the liturgical content shows the native provenance of the codex and the Wawel scriptorium as the place where the manuscript was prepared. The monument was most likely written in the years 1400–1423. It was intended for the diocesan use of Cracow, presumably for the Wawel Cathedral, as evidenced by the rich collection of songs in honour of St Stanislaus.<sup>19</sup>

The handwritten material of the codex is parchment of the northern type, double-sided, known as German (*charta theutonica*).<sup>20</sup> The binding with dimensions of 45.9 × 33.8 cm from the top side is a board 1 cm thick and cardboard on the underside. The covers are coated with paper, and the corners and the back with leather. There are no ornaments on the covers. The current condition of the binding is bad. The current number of 302 folios is not original as some are missing, while folios 1–34 were added, possibly later.<sup>21</sup>

The graphic layout of a folio includes verbal and musical text in a column measuring 37.7 × 23.6 cm. The text of the chants and neumes are written in black ink, while the line systems, rubrics, and margin lines are in red ink.<sup>22</sup>

A Gothic minuscule font was mostly used to record the text. The copyist or copyists also used abbreviations typical of medieval literature in the form of suspensions, contractions, and special characters. The writing was generally done with great accuracy, which gives it high readability. Errors occur in very few places.<sup>23</sup>

All neumes conveying the melody of songs belong to the Gothic, mixed, Metz-German notation.<sup>24</sup> The C and F clefs were used to determine the pitch of sounds on different lines. The naturals and *custodes* visible in some places do not constitute the original text, but were probably added later. Table 1 contains a list of neumes used in the Wawel Gradual in the main part of the codex, as well as those in the Jan Olbracht Gradual and the Pauline Gradual. The content of the Wawel book can be broadly divided into the following parts:

1. Parts added (fols 1<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>).
2. Ordinarium missae (fols 35<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>).
3. Proprium de tempore (fols 52<sup>r</sup>–180<sup>v</sup>).
4. Proprium sanctorum (fols 181<sup>r</sup>–252<sup>v</sup>).
5. Sequentiae (selectively fols 12<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>v</sup>, and 253<sup>r</sup>–302<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>18</sup> Halina Sowulewska, 'Liturgiczno-muzyczna tradycja Tyńca: Na podstawie porównania wariantów melodycznych', *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia*, 25.1 (1987), pp. 15–40 (p. 28).

<sup>19</sup> Alicja Jończyk, *Ordinarium missae najstarszych diecezjalnych graduałów krakowskich i jego znaczenie dla kultury muzycznej w Polsce* (Polihymnia, 2015), pp. 35–36.

<sup>20</sup> Jończyk, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', pp. 199–200; Władysław Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska* (TAiWPN Universitas, 2011), pp. 53–54.

<sup>21</sup> Jończyk, *Ordinarium missae*, pp. 36–39.

<sup>22</sup> Jończyk, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', pp. 202–03.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227–29.

<sup>24</sup> Janka Szendrei, 'Notacja liniowa w polskich źródłach chorałowych XII–XVI wieku', in *Notae musicae artis: Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI–XVI wieku*, ed. by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Musica Iagiellonica, 1999), pp. 187–281 (pp. 212, 218, 233).

TABLE 1.  
NEUMES USED IN THE WAWEL GRADUAL, THE JAN OLBRACHT GRADUAL  
AND THE PAULINE GRADUAL

Neume	Wawel Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 45 (1400–1423)	Jan Olbracht Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 44 (1499–1506)	Pauline Gradual PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (1596)
<i>punctum</i>			
<i>distropha</i>			
<i>virga</i>			
<i>pes</i>			
<i>pes subbipunctis</i>			
<i>clivis</i>			
<i>torculus</i>			
<i>scandicus</i>			
<i>climacus</i>			
<i>porrectus</i>			
<i>scandicus flexus</i>			
<i>climacus resupinus</i>			
<i>pressus</i>			
C clef			
F clef			
flat ( <i>mollis</i> )			

### *Jan Olbracht Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 44*

Polkowski in his catalogue mentioned the existence of three volumes rich in musical repertoire, funded by Jan Olbracht, the king of Poland (1459–1501).<sup>25</sup> The individual volumes are devoted to the following topics: ms. 42 *de Beata*, ms. 43 *de tempore*, ms. 44 *de sanctis*. The codices are stored in the Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter.

In total, the work was created in the years 1499–1506 in the Wawel scriptorium by Stanislaus of Buk and Peter of Chorzenice. Volume *de sanctis* was written between 1501 and 1506. The recipient of the gradual was the Cracow Cathedral on the Wawel Hill.<sup>26</sup>

The frame consists of two boards, 1.8 cm thick. They are covered with blind embossed leather. The covers feature slightly damaged, embossed ornaments with gilding in the shape of a lyre, a rosette, and floral motifs. The writing material of each of the volumes is parchment of the northern type.<sup>27</sup> Volume 44 with the dimensions of a folio 75.3 × 53.2 cm is well preserved, although there are traces of use on it. On 409 folios there is an original Roman discontinuous red foliation in the middle of the top margin and a new Arabic continuous pagination, applied with a pencil in the lower right corner.<sup>28</sup>

The verbal text was made in a uniform late Gothic font with a careful pattern. The verbal and musical content was presented in a column separated from the edge of a folio by margins. The margins were marked by two vertical lines, between which the clefs and *custodes* were placed. Red ink was used to write lines and rubrics, and black ink was used to write the liturgical text, neumes, clefs, and *custodes*. The copyist used numerous abbreviations and punctuation in quoting the liturgical content.<sup>29</sup>

The Jan Olbracht Gradual is richly decorated with late Gothic miniatures inspired by Flemish art. The neumes used to record the melodies represent the Gothic mixed Metz-German notation of the late Cracow variation.<sup>30</sup> The notation includes the C and F clefs, located alone or in combination, and G, always next to another clef. The lack of added lines meant that the copyist frequently changed the clef over the course of the same piece, or even the system.

The liturgical content of the Jan Olbracht Gradual can be divided into four parts:

1. Ordinarium missae (1<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>v</sup>).
2. Proprium de sanctis (fols 55<sup>r</sup>–168<sup>v</sup>).
3. Commune sanctorum (fols 169<sup>r</sup>–265<sup>v</sup>).
4. Sequentiarum de sanctis (fols 266<sup>r</sup>–409<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>25</sup> Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów*, p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Barbara Miodońska, 'Graduał Jana Olbrachta', in *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, vol. 2, ed. by Adam Labuda and Krystyna Secomska (Wydawnictwo DiG, 2004), pp. 360–61.

<sup>27</sup> Izbicki, 'Graduał ms. 43', pp. 15–16.

<sup>28</sup> Miodońska, 'Graduał Jana Olbrachta', p. 361.

<sup>29</sup> Izbicki, 'Graduał ms. 43', pp. 18–20.

<sup>30</sup> Szendrei, 'Notacja liniowa', pp. 212–13, 219–20, 233.

***Pauline Gradual PL-CZ III-913 olim R659***

The codex is the oldest surviving gradual of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit.<sup>31</sup> On the upper cover there is the title 'GRADUALE SANCTI PAULI EREMITAE' written in capital letters and the date 'ANNO DOMINI MDXCVI', which is considered the time of the book's creation. The author of the manuscript was Szymon Mielecki (1560–1612), a Pauline writer.<sup>32</sup>

The place of the manuscript's usage is specified in the note on the inside of the top binding: 'Conventus Wielunensis Ordinis S Pauli Primi Eremitae.' It is possible that the book was prepared in Cracow.<sup>33</sup> It was framed in the Jasna Góra scriptorium of Marcin of Łubnice (d. 1600).<sup>34</sup> Certainly, it was made for the use of the Wieluń convent (Central Poland), where in 1388, thanks to Prince Władysław Opolczyk, the Pauline monks came to take care of the local church and the hospital of St Nicholas. In 1819 the manuscript was transferred from Wieluń to Jasna Góra.<sup>35</sup>

The dimensions of the codex together with the binding are 41.5 × 27 cm, and the folios themselves 40 × 26.5 cm. The original binding is boards covered with light, sometimes contaminated, pigskin. The four corners of the book were once secured on both sides with metal elements that have only partially survived so far. Two leather straps with metal clasps and pins were used to close the book. The upper bezel features floral decorations, lion heads, and images of people with signatures: Erasmus (from Rotterdam), Johan (Petri or Calvin), Martin (Luther), and Philip (Melanchthon). Next to it, there are biblical scenes. The Pauline Gradual was written on faded handmade paper. The book has 188 folios and 408 pages, including those later added at the beginning and end of the codex. Their content has been written down with extreme care.

The verbal and musical content was included in a column measuring 22 × 35 cm, surrounded by margins. There are usually eight four-line systems on a page. The width of one system is 2.3 to 2.5 cm. When writing, the copyist used a feather. The neumes and the text are written in black ink, and the musical lines are outlined in red ink.<sup>36</sup> The font used is the minuscule and capital letters of the humanist antiqua of the transition from Gothic to Renaissance.<sup>37</sup> The beginning of each text is decorated with stylized miniatures.

The neumes used to write the melody represent the Gothic mixed Metz-German notation with an indication of the late Silesian variation.<sup>38</sup> At the end

<sup>31</sup> Popowska, 'Liturgia paulińska', p. 219.

<sup>32</sup> Janusz Zbudniewek, 'Na tropach autora graduau paulinów z 1596 roku', *Studia Claromontana*, 30 (2012), pp. 259–78 (p. 272).

<sup>33</sup> Łysikowski, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', p. 256.

<sup>34</sup> Zbudniewek, 'Na tropach autora', p. 272.

<sup>35</sup> Popowska, 'Liturgia paulińska', pp. 219–20.

<sup>36</sup> Łysikowski, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', p. 231.

<sup>37</sup> Karol Głombiowski and Helena Szwejkowska, *Książka rękopiśmienna i biblioteka w starożytności i średniowieczu* (PWN, 1983), p. 112.

<sup>38</sup> Szendrei, 'Notacja liniowa', pp. 225–26, 233.

of each system, there is a *custos* located next to the vertical line that marks the right page margin. The C and F clefs appear in the music notation. There is also a flat (*mollis*) in the book, which is placed next to a clef (fol. 142<sup>r</sup>) or neume (fol. 153<sup>v</sup>).

The liturgical content of the Pauline Gradual can be divided into the following six parts:

1. Ordinarium missae (fols 1<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>r</sup>).
2. Proprium de tempore (fols 29<sup>r</sup>–245<sup>v</sup>).
3. Proprium sanctorum (fols 245<sup>r</sup>–317<sup>r</sup>).
4. Commune sanctorum (fols 317<sup>r</sup>–356<sup>r</sup>).
5. Missae votivae (fols 356<sup>r</sup>–373<sup>v</sup>).
6. Appendix (fols 374<sup>r</sup>–408<sup>v</sup>).

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The presented manuscripts are valuable objects of research in the field of art history, liturgy, and musicology. The presented basic information creates an image of the Polish musical, liturgical, and writing culture at the turn of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. With regard to the research problem undertaken in the article, conclusions about the origin of the Pauline Gradual and its possible connections with the Wawel books should be drawn very carefully. Its liturgical content is of key importance in this regard, as it exhibits features common to both diocesan and monastic traditions. We will try to find an answer to the question of whether the content of the Cracow books could have influenced the content of the Pauline manuscript by comparing the *commune sanctorum* alleluistic repertoire of these books.

### **Melodies of the *Commune Sanctorum* Alleluistic Verses**

Alleluia chants about saints play a special role in the task of establishing the provenance of certain codices. Owing to the circumstances of their formation, which were canonizations and universal and local cult of saints, they reflect the musical style of a given era, place, or community.<sup>39</sup> In this part we will describe twenty-one alleluistic verses contained in the Pauline Gradual, the Jan Olbracht Gradual, and the Wawel Gradual. This number was dictated by the criterion of the presence of a given verse in the Pauline manuscript. If any verse of the *commune sanctorum* appears in the Wawel books, but is missing from the monastic codex, it will not be included in the research. The transcription of the chants in mensural notation reflects the following data presented in [Examples 1–21](#).

<sup>39</sup> Jerzy Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis w polskich rękopisach przedtrydenckich* (Wydawnictwa Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1995), p. 11.



## Example 1 ‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’.

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 1)  
Al - le - lu - ia Tu

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 1) notes sealed  
es sa - cer - dos in ae - ter - num se - cun - dum

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 1)  
or - di - nem Mel - chi - se - dech.

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

*‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’*

The oldest information on this work is probably from the tenth century in Einsiedeln (Example 1). In the following century, it was widely known in France and Italy. In Poland, this singing functioned with two melodies: its own in Franciscan graduals and one unidentified in diocesan graduals.<sup>40</sup> Later it was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>41</sup>

The notation of the verse ‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’ appears in two melodic variants. The Alleluia of the first one is notated in mode 5, with the final F and the characteristic final third F–G–A. The Alleluia, written with a C clef on the third line, begins and ends with a repetition on the sound F. In the verse, one can observe the features of both modes 5 and 6. In this part of the piece, the copyist notated a flat three times next to the C clef. For unknown reasons, a fragment of the first variant has been sealed, making it impossible to read several neumes.

The Alleluia melody of the second variant in the Pauline codex appears in mode 1, as evidenced by the final on the D note and the third D–E–F. The melody of the verse is recorded in mode 8 with the final G reached from below and repeated twice. The copyist did not notate a flat.

In the Wawel codices, all the melodies appear in the same mode 7. The final sound falls on G, below which the melody never descends. In both cases the copyist used the

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>41</sup> *Graduale Romanum* (Vatican, 1908), p. 3.



Figure 1. 'Tu es sacerdos in aeternum' in Pauline Gradual PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (variant 1, fol. 142<sup>v</sup>) © The Main Archive of the Pauline Order at Jasna Góra.



Figure 2. ‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’ in Pauline Gradual PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (variant 2, fol. 152<sup>v</sup>) © The Main Archive of the Pauline Order at Jasna Góra.

C clef on the third line without notating a flat. Figures 1–4 illustrate the first alleluiatic verse in each gradual.<sup>42</sup>

### *‘Hic est sacerdos’*

This piece was probably first recorded in the eleventh century in Bobbio, Italy (Example 2). It did not appear in French, German, or Swiss manuscripts. The melody of ‘Dies sanctificatus’, included in the Vatican edition, was adapted to the text of ‘Hic est sacerdos’. However, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Italy, the text was also adapted to the melody of ‘Dicite in gentibus’, which was unknown in Poland.<sup>43</sup>

The melody of the Alleluia and verse appears in the Pauline manuscript in two variants. The first shows the features of mode 1. The final falls on D, the dominant on the fifth A, and the final third is D–E–F. The second Pauline variant represents mode 3 or 4 in the Alleluia and mode 4 transposed in the verse. The final is E, the dominant A, and the final third E–F–G. The Wawel records in their entirety are distinguished by mode 2 with the final D, the third D–E–F, and the dominant F. In each of the variants in the monastic manuscript, the copyist used the F clef, placing it on the second line. The Wawel records also contain the F clef. No flat was written in any of the codices.

<sup>42</sup> As an example, images of only the first of the analysed compositions have been included.

<sup>43</sup> Pikulik, *Spiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, p. 46; *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 31, 217.



Figure 3. ‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’ in Jan Olbracht’s Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 44 (fol. 236<sup>r</sup>) © The Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter.

### *‘Posuisti Domine’*

The oldest record of this work comes from the tenth century in St Gall ([Example 3](#)). In the following century it was recorded in the Chartres, Einsiedeln, and Winchester manuscripts. Later it spread to France, Germany, and Italy. It was performed in Poland in many diocesan and monastic centres in two melodic variants: of undefined provenance and of German origin (?).<sup>44</sup> The first of them was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>45</sup>

In the Pauline Gradual on folio 145<sup>r</sup> in the upper right corner we find only a verbal reference ‘Alla Posuisti’ to folio 142<sup>v</sup>, where this composition appears only in the form of the verse without Alleluia, as a tract. Perhaps, in order to save writing material, the copyist performed such a procedure, which is common throughout the manuscript. Moreover, the Pauline version of the text is devoid of the word ‘Domine’, which appears in this work elsewhere in the same book, as well as in the Wawel manuscripts. The reason for the lack seems to be a mistake of the copyist. The melody in the Pauline codex presents mode 8. Its final sound is G and the final third is G–A–B. The dominant

<sup>44</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 82–84.

<sup>45</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 10.



Figure 4. ‘Tu es sacerdos in aeternum’ in Wavel Gradual PL-Kk Ms. 45 (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>) © The Archives and Library of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter.

Example 2 ‘Hic est sacerdos’.

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 1)		Al - le - lu - ia
PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 2)		Hic est sa - cer -
PL-Kk Ms. 44		
PL-Kk Ms. 45		

  

PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 1)		dos quem co - ro - na - vit Do - mi - nus.
PL-CZ III-913 olim R659 (v. 2)		
PL-Kk Ms. 44		
PL-Kk Ms. 45		

is the sound C. The author used the C clef, putting it on the third and fourth lines. He changed its position inside one system, which he marked with a *custos*. However, he did not use a flat.

## Example 3 'Posuisti Domine'.

The image displays a musical score for the Latin text 'Posuisti Domine'. It is organized into four systems, each representing a different phrase of the text. Each system contains five staves: a vocal line and four instrumental lines (two for each of two different melodic variants). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

**System 1:** PL-CZ III-913 olim R659. Lyrics: Po - su - i -

**System 2:** PL-CZ III-913 olim R659. Lyrics: Al - le - lu - - - ia

**System 3:** PL-CZ III-913 olim R659. Lyrics: sti su - per ca - put e -  
Do - - mi - ne

**System 4:** PL-CZ III-913 olim R659. Lyrics: ius co - - - ro - - - nam de  
la - pi - de pre - ci - o so.

In each of the Wawel codices we find two melodic variants of the Alleluia with the verse 'Posuisti Domine'. Basically, they represent the Gregorian protus. The final is D, the dominant A, and the final third is D–E–F.

## Example 4 'Qui sequitur me'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia Qui se - qui - tur me non am - bu - lat in te -

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

ne - bris sed ha - be - bit lu - men vi - te.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

e - ter - ne.

*'Qui sequitur me'*

This work dates back to the eleventh century, when it was recorded in Italian manuscripts from Lucca and Bologna (Example 4). In Poland, it functioned in diocesan and monastic centres with two melodies: its own and the original Cracow(?).<sup>46</sup> The first one was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>47</sup>

If we accept the principles of defining the church modes used so far in the Gregorian chant, we can state that the Alleluia and the verse in the Pauline codex show the features of different Gregorian modes. Such a phenomenon appears to be unusual, concerning the previous analyses, where in each case we observed a modal correspondence between the Alleluia and the verse. Thus, in the Alleluia melody we see mode 3 with the final E, dominant B or C, and the third E–F–G. The melody of the verse is notated in mode 5 with the final F, the third F–G–A, and the dominant C. The copyist used the F clef on the second line, but did not notate a flat.

In both Wawel codices, the Alleluia and the verse show the features of modes 3 and 4. Both are characterized by the final E and the third E–F–G. However, each of the records is characterized by modal confusion and sounds beyond the basic range. In ms. 44 the author used the C clef on the fifth line and the F clef on the third line. In ms. 45 there is only the F clef on the third line. No flat was recorded in any of the manuscripts.

*'Sancti Tui Domine florebunt sicut lilium'*

This chant was commonly performed in the eleventh century in Austria, France, Germany, and Italy (Example 5). However, one of the records comes from the tenth century from a cantatorium in Bamberg.<sup>48</sup> It was performed with two melodies:

<sup>46</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, p. 87.

<sup>47</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 12.

<sup>48</sup> *Cantatorium* (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg Msc. Lit. 7), fol. 12<sup>v</sup>.

## Example 5 ‘Sancti Tui Domine floreant sicut lilium’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

Al - le - lu - ia San - cti Tu - i Do - mi - nello -

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

re - bunt si - cut li - li - um et si - cut o - dor bal - sa - mi

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

e - - runt an - te Te.

its own and one borrowed from the piece ‘Surrexit pastor bonus’.<sup>49</sup> The first one was more popular and was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>50</sup>

In the Pauline codex, the Alleluia exhibits features of mode 2 with the final D repeated, the third D–E–F, and the dominant F. The verse begins with D and ends with double G, so unlike the final of the Alleluia. Thus, it presents the features of mode 7 with the dominant D and the third G–A–B. In the Pauline version, the scribe used the F clef on the second line, but did not notate a flat.

In ms. 44 both the Alleluia and the verse show the features of mode 8. Both parts end with the sound G, the third G–A–B, and the dominant C. The copyist used the C clef on the fourth line, but did not write a flat. In ms. 45 this chant appears in the *proprium sanctorum* part, therefore, in line with the subject of this article, we do not deal with this record.

### *‘Pretiosa in conspectu Domini’*

The oldest records of this chant come from the tenth century in Einsiedeln and Ripoll, and others from France, Germany, and Italy (Example 6). It was not a popular piece. In Poland, it functioned with two melodies: one French and one of undefined provenance.<sup>51</sup> The first of them was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>52</sup>

The piece in the Pauline codex was notated in mode 6. The final repeated twice is F, the third F–G–A and the dominant A. The copyist used the F clef on the second line without notating a flat.

The Wawel records show the features of mode 8. The final is G which in ms. 44 was extended by a dot, and in ms. 45 was repeated twice. The dominant is C, and the third covers the sounds G–A–B, although the notation does not contain the note B. Both

<sup>49</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 262–63.

<sup>50</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 17.

<sup>51</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 84–86.

<sup>52</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 18.



## Example 6 'Pretiosa in conspectu Domini'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

Wawel records use the C clef on the fourth line, without noting a flat. In all records there is a plagal mode and a low register of the melodies, according to the given mode.

***'Corpora sanctorum'***

The chant was created at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was known in the early eleventh century in Italy and Regensburg, but with a different melody (Example 7). It appeared in various variants in diocesan and religious codices.<sup>53</sup> The Italian version was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>54</sup>

In the Pauline codex, the Alleluia was written in mode 1, whose final is D, the third D–E–F, and the dominant A. The verse was notated in mode 2 with the dominant F. The scribe used the F clef on the second line without notating a flat.

In ms. 44 in modal terms, the work contains a certain ambiguity, which also occurs to a lesser extent in ms. 45. The ambiguity lies in the presence of the features of different modes. The Alleluia melody ends with F. We can therefore state the presence of mode 6, the final of which is F and the dominant A. The verse shows the features of mode 4 with the final E. The dominant then may be the sound A. The reason for the difficulty in defining the mode is a relatively large ambitus of the melody *a–d'*.

In ms. 45 both the Alleluia and the verse end with an identical melodic formula C–D–D. In the first part, we observe the features of mode 1, while in the second part modes 1 and 2. In both Wawel records, the copyist used the F clef on the third and fourth lines without notating a flat. Perhaps the reason for the difference in pitch between the Wawel records with an almost identical drawing of the melodic line is the change in the position of the clef, which in ms. 44 was made with the change of the page.

***'Iusti epulentur'***

This chant is one of the oldest and was known in the ninth century thanks to the Mass antiphony from Compiègne (Example 8). In the following century it was recorded in

<sup>53</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>54</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 21.

## Example 7 ‘Corpora sanctorum’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia Cor - po - ra

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

san - cto - rum se - pul - ta sunt in pa - ce et no - mi - na

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

e - o - rum vi - vent in ge - ne - ra - ti - o - ne

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

et ge - ne - ra - ti - o - nem.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

the St Gall Cantatorium, the Einsiedeln Gradual, and the Winchester Troper. Later it spread in western Europe. In Poland, it occurred in many diocesan and religious sources.<sup>55</sup> The work was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>56</sup>

The Alleluia of the Pauline codex and both Wawel manuscripts fully present the features of mode 1. In each case the final is D, the third D–E–F, and the dominant A. In the melody of the Pauline verse, we notice the features of mode 2. In this version, the scribe used the F clef on the second line. The Wawel records contain the C clef on the fifth line in ms. 44 and on the fourth line in ms. 45. No flat was recorded in any of the manuscripts.

‘*Te martyrum*’

This piece was recorded in the ninth and at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries in the Mass antiphonaries from Compiègne and Corbie (Example 9). In the tenth century, it was found in the graduals of Chartres, Einsiedeln, Sankt Gallen, and Winchester. Later it spread throughout western Europe.<sup>57</sup> It was also included in

<sup>55</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 58–59.

<sup>56</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 25.

<sup>57</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 272–73.

## Example 8 ‘Iusti epulentur’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le lu - - - ia Ius - ti e - pu -

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

len - tur et ex - ul - tent in con - spe - ctu De - i de - lec

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

ten - - - tur

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

in le - ti - ti - a.

## Example 9 ‘Te martyrum’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - - - ia Te mar - ty - rum can - di - da - tus

PL-Kk Ms. 45

lau - dat e - xer - ci - tus Do - mi - ne.

the Vatican edition.<sup>58</sup> The text ‘Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus Domine’ (‘The white-robed army of martyrs praise you’) comes from the early Christian hymn ‘Te Deum’. Among the three examined manuscripts, this verse in the *commune sanctorum* part appears only in the Pauline manuscript, therefore it will not be compared with other versions.

In the Pauline codex, both the Alleluia and the verse are notated in mode 5. The final sound is F, the third F–G–A, and the dominant A. The range of the melody is determined by the fifth F–C and the fourth C–F above. The copyist used the C clef on the third line, not writing a flat.

***‘Inveni David’***

This chant is one of the oldest and most popular (Example 10). Its first records appeared in the eighth and at the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries in Mass antiphonaries from Monza and Mt Blandin. Later it was widely adopted in English,

<sup>58</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 27.

## Example 10 'Inveni David'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia In - ve - ni

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Da - vid ser - vum me - um o - le - o

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

san - cto me - o un - xi e - um.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

French, German, Swiss, and Italian books. In Poland, it was known in all diocesan and religious centres. The melody of 'Dies sanctificatus' was adapted to it in European and Polish codices,<sup>59</sup> with which it appears in the Vatican edition.<sup>60</sup>

In the Pauline codex, the melody of this piece shows the features of the protus mode, whose final is D, the third D–E–F, and the dominant A or F. It is possible to find mode 2 in the Alleluia and a confusion of modes 1 and 2 in the verse. Then we see an authentic mode for the word 'meo' and a plagal mode for the rest of the verse. The scribe used the F clef on the third line and the C clef on the fourth line, changing it several times, also in the middle of the melody. However, no flat was recorded.

In the Wawel manuscripts, there is mode 1 in the Alleluia and mode 2 in the verse. In ms. 44 the scribe used the F clef on the fourth line and the C clef on the fifth line. In ms. 45 there is the F clef on the third line and the clef C on the fourth line. In each of the records, the clef changes were made at the beginning of the system, and no flat was recorded in any of them.

### *'Iuravit Dominus'*

The oldest record of this work comes from the tenth century in St Gall (Example 11). In the same century it was recorded in the Chartres Gradual and the Winchester Troper. In Poland, it appears in many diocesan and religious codices.<sup>61</sup> It was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, p. 49.

<sup>60</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 31, 44.

<sup>61</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>62</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 33.

## Example 11 'Iuravit Dominus'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

The Pauline records, as well as ms. 44 and the Alleluia in ms. 45, show the parameters of mode 1. The final sound is D with the dominant A and the final third of D–E–F. In the case of the verse in ms. 45 a question arises as to the ending of the melody of the word ‘Melchisedech’ in the form of D–F–G–E, since the rest of the sound material is almost identical to the ms. 44 notation. If this melisma is the result of a copyist’s error, then we find also mode 1. If this record was not made by mistake, then we perceive mode 3 or 4 with the final E. In the Pauline codex, the scribe used the F clef on the second line, and in the Wawel records the C clef on the fifth line in ms. 44 and on the fourth line in ms. 45. No flat was notated in any of the manuscripts.

*‘Amavit eum Dominus’*

This work was probably written at the end of the tenth century and was known in England, France, Germany, and Italy (Example 12). In Poland, it occurred especially in monastic sources, later also in diocesan ones. The text functions with three melodies: its own, ‘Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem’, and ‘Iudicabunt sancti’.<sup>63</sup> The second of these was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>64</sup>

In the monastic manuscript, the melody of the verse shows the features of mode 8. The final is G repeated three times, the third G–A–B, and the dominant C. In the case of the Alleluia, there is an obvious copyist’s error where the part ends with the sound C. If there had been a D at this point, then it would be mode 1. The scribe used the F clef on the second line. However, he did not record a flat. The Wawel records represent mode 1.

<sup>63</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 20–22.

<sup>64</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 35, 38.

## Example 12 ‘Amavit eum Dominus’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia A - ma - vit

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

hunc san - Do - mi - nus et or - na - vit e - um sto - lam

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

glo - ri - e in - du - it e - um.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

The final is D, the dominant A, and the third D–E–F. The copyist used the F clef on the third line. He did not write a flat.

***‘Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem’***

This piece comes from the tenth century (Example 13). It was recorded in the St Gall Cantatorium, the Einsiedeln Gradual, and the Winchester Troper. Later it spread to England, France, Germany, and Italy. In Poland, the text was performed with two melodies: its own and one unidentified.<sup>65</sup> The first of them was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>66</sup>

In the Pauline codex, the Alleluia shows the features of mode 2 with transposition. The melody of the verse is characterized by mode 8, in which the final is G, the dominant C, and the final third G–A–B. Such a conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the ending of the verse melody in the form of the sound G, repeated twice. The difference in modes and a deviation of the melody beyond its basic scope indicate a departure from the classical rules of modality. The scribe used the F clef on the second line without notating a flat.

In the Wawel records, the melody was written in mode 1, with the final D, extended by a dot in ms. 44, the dominant A, and the final third D–E–F. In ms. 44, the copyist used the C clef on the fifth line, and in ms. 45 the F clef on the third line.

<sup>65</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>66</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 38.

## Example 13 ‘Beatus vir qui suffert tentationem’.

*‘Beatus vir qui timet Dominum’*

This work was listed in codices as early as the eighth and ninth centuries (Example 14). In the following century, it was recorded in the St Gall Cantatorium and Einsiedeln Gradual, and then spread through western Europe. In Poland, it was known in many diocesan and religious centres.<sup>67</sup> It was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>68</sup>

The monastic Alleluia shows the features of mode 3 with the final E. If, however, such an ending is a copyist’s mistake and this part should have been finalized with D, then this would be mode 1 and an underlined dominant A. A comparison of this melody with the previous Pauline notations showed that the first 14 notes are identical to the Alleluia ‘Pretiosa in conspectu Domini’ (6) in mode 6. The rest was added and finished with E. Thus, we observe a great deal of modal volatility at this point and possible confusion of modes. The melody of the verse shows the features of mode 6, with the final F and dominant A.

Each of the Wawel records represents mode 5 with the final F and dominant C. The transcription of the works illustrates the difference in the height of the verse registers between the Pauline and Wawel versions, representing essentially the same tritus mode.

In the monastic record, the scribe used the F clef on the second line, while the Wawel records the C clef on the third or fourth line. In ms. 45, a flat was also notated, which does not appear in the other codices.

*‘Iustus germinabit’*

This work was first recorded in the tenth century in English, French, and Swiss manuscripts (Example 15). It was transmitted by the codices of Ripoll, Chartres, Laon, Winchester, Einsiedeln, and St Gall. In the next century, it spread throughout

<sup>67</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>68</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 41.

## Example 14 'Beatus vir qui timet Dominum'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia Be - a - tus vir

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

qui ti - met Do - mi - num in man - da - tis

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

e - ius cu - pit ni - mis.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

## Example 15 'Iustus germinabit'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Iu - stus ger - mi - na - bit si - cut li - li - um et flo -

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

re - bit in e - ter - num an - te Do - mi - num.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

western Europe. In Poland, it was performed in all diocesan and religious traditions.<sup>69</sup> The work was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>70</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 36.



## Example 16 'Iustus ut palma'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

Each of the Alleluia records shows the features of mode 1, whose final is D, the dominant A, and the third D–E–F. A modal differentiation is shown by the melodies of the verse. In the Pauline record there is the plagal protus, while in the Wawel records mode 6 with the final F and the dominant A. In the Pauline book, the scribe used the F clef on the second line, and in the Wawel codices, the C clef on the fifth and fourth line. The first of the manuscripts does not contain a flat, which occurs once in ms. 44 and twice in ms. 45.

In each of the manuscripts, the Alleluia begins with  $C_4$  and ends with  $D_4$ . The sound material used in the Pauline notation is largely identical to that of the Wawel codices. The difference is basically the melisma on the syllable 'a', which in the Pauline message is much shorter than in the others.

*'Iustus ut palma'*

This piece was recorded in the ninth century in Corbie, Compiègne, and Saint-Denis (Example 16). In the next century it spread to England, France, and Switzerland, and in the eleventh century throughout the whole of western Europe. In Poland, it was

## Example 17 ‘Adducentur regi’.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al - le - lu - ia Ad - du - cen - tur re - gi vir -

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

gi - nes post e - am pro - xi - me e - ius ad - du -

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

of - fe -

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

cen - tur ti - bi in le - ti - ti a.

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

ren - tur

known in all diocesan and religious centres.<sup>71</sup> The chant was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>72</sup>

Each of the Alleluia chants shows the features of mode 1, whose final sound is D, the dominant A, and the third D–E–F. The melody of the verse in each of the records shows the features of mode 8 with the final G and the dominant D. In the Pauline notation, the scribe used the F clef on the second and third line. In ms. 44, the F clef was used on the third line and the C clef on the fifth line, as well as on the fourth line in ms. 45. No flat was notated in any of the manuscripts.

### *‘Adducentur regi’*

This piece is one of the oldest in liturgical collections (Example 17). It first appeared with a neumatic notation in Einsiedeln and Sankt Gallen in the tenth century, but was known before without melody. Later it spread to France, Italy, and Germany. In Poland, from the thirteenth century, it gradually appeared in all diocesan and religious centres that kept their own manuscripts. The text was notated with two melodies: its own and ‘Iusti epulentur’.<sup>73</sup> The first one was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>74</sup>

All the records show considerable modal differentiation. The Pauline notation of the Alleluia and the Wawel notations of the verse are characterized by the tetrardus mode in both the authentic and plagal form with the final G and the dominant D

<sup>71</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>72</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 43.

<sup>73</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 17–19.

<sup>74</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 46, 54.

or C, respectively. We are therefore dealing with modal confusion. The Wawel manuscripts were transposed. The verse in the Pauline notation is characterized by the protus mode with the final D. One can state the authentic variation with the dominant A or the plagal variation with the dominant F. The Alleluia in the Wawel manuscripts was recorded in mode 3 with the final E, the dominant B or D, and the third E–F–G.

In the Pauline codex, the copyist used the F clef on the second line and the C clef on the third line. However, he did not record a flat. On the other hand, in the Wawel records, the copyist used the C clef on the third or second line, and also recorded a flat.

### *‘Specie tua’*

The oldest record of this verse comes from the eighth or ninth century and was recorded in the Mass antiphonary in Rheinau (Example 18). Another one was made in the ninth century in the codices of Mont Blandin, Compiègne, Corbie, Senlis, and Saint-Denis. In the following centuries it spread to England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. In Poland, it was popular in many diocesan and religious centres. In all manuscripts it appears with the melody ‘Ostende nobis’.<sup>75</sup> In this version, the work was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>76</sup>

In each of the manuscripts mode 7 is used. The final is G, the dominant D, and the final third G–A–B. The final is repeated in both Pauline variants, and extended by a dot in ms. 44.

The Pauline record contains the F clef on the second line and the C clef on the third line. The Wawel manuscripts comprise the C clef on the third and fourth lines. There is no flat in any of the notations.

### *‘Haec est virgo sapiens’*

This piece was known in the eleventh century in France and Italy (Example 19). At that time, it was not yet included in German and English manuscripts. It was performed in Poland in diocesan and religious centres with four melodies: one of Italian origin, one of French origin, ‘Mirabilis Dominus’, and one unidentified.<sup>77</sup> The first one was also included in the Vatican edition.<sup>78</sup>

The Pauline Alleluia contains features of modes 7 and 8, while the verse contains mode 8. The final is G twice repeated, the dominant C, and the third G–A–B. The scribe used the F clef on the second line, but did not notate a flat.

In the Wawel records, the Alleluia and verse were written in mode 3. The final is E, the dominant B or C, and the third E–F–G. There are also features of mode 4. In

<sup>75</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 91–92.

<sup>76</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 2, 48, 62.

<sup>77</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 44–46.

<sup>78</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 51.

## Example 18 'Specie tua'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 1)

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 1)

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 1)

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659 (v. 2)

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

Al - le - lu - ia Spe - ci - e tu - a et pul - chri - tu - di - ne  
tu - a in - ten - de pro - spe - re  
pro - ce - de et re - gna.

## Example 19 'Haec est virgo sapiens'.

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

PL-Kk Ms. 44

PL-Kk Ms. 45

Al - le - lu - ia  
Haec est vir - go sa - pi - ens  
et u - na de nu - me - ro pru - den - tum.

## Example 20 'O quam pulchra'.

ms. 44, the copyist used the F and C clefs on the third and fourth lines, and in ms. 45, he used the F clef on the third line. No flat was recorded.

***'O quam pulchra'***

This piece was recorded for the first time in the eleventh century in Italy (Example 20). At that time, it was only available in manuscripts there. Later it was taken over by the Franciscans. In Poland, it was known in diocesan and religious centres with two melodies: its own and 'Ostende nobis'.<sup>79</sup> The first one was included in the Vatican edition.<sup>80</sup>

The Pauline Alleluia was written in mode 3 or 4 with the final E repeated twice and the dominant B or A, respectively. The verse shows the features of modes 1 and 2 with the final D repeated twice and the dominant A or F, respectively. The scribe used the F clef on the second line, but did not record a flat.

The Wawel records represent mode 8. The final is G, the dominant C, and the third G–A–B. In both Wawel manuscripts, the scribe used the C clef on the fourth line and did not write a flat.

***'Propter veritatem'***

The piece was known in many medieval diocesan and religious centres in western Europe (Example 21). It is a later adaptation of the alleluiaic verse 'Dominus regnavit' from the form 'missa in aurora' on the feast of the Nativity.<sup>81</sup> In the liturgical calendar, its destiny was defined as 'commune Beatae Mariae Virginis' or 'pro sanctis mulieribus', while in the Pauline manuscript it was 'pro una martyre non virgine' and 'de nec

<sup>79</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, pp. 78–79.

<sup>80</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, pp. 2, 51.

<sup>81</sup> Johannes Berchmans Göschl, 'Restitution von Melodien', *Beiträge zur Gregorianik*, 57 (2014), pp. 1–37 (p. 23).

## Example 21 ‘Propter veritatem’

PL-CZ III-913  
olim R659

Al-le-lu-ia Prop-ter ve-ri-ta-tem et man-sue-tu-di-nem et iu-sti-ti-am et de-du-cet te mi-ra-bi-li-ter dex-te-ra tu-a.

virgine nec martyre’.<sup>82</sup> It was found unchanged in the Solesmes<sup>83</sup> and Vatican<sup>84</sup> editions. The words ‘Propter veritatem et mansuetudinem et iustitiam, et deducet te mirabiliter dextera tua’ (‘Let your right hand work miracles for faith and justice’) are a paraphrase of the biblical text (cf. Psalms 45. 4). This piece, as the Alleluia commune sanctorum chant, appears only in the Pauline codex, therefore it will not be compared here with other versions.

The Alleluia was recorded in mode 6 with the final F repeated twice and the dominant A. The verse, in accordance with the original, was written in mode 2. The final is D repeated twice, the dominant F, and the third D–E–F. Unlike some Pauline compositions, this work clearly shows the indicated modal features. The scribe used the F clef on the second and third lines, but did not notate a flat.

\* \* \*

Summarizing the research conducted so far, we can conclude by noting an especially large modal differentiation that in many works is manifested by different Alleluia and verse modes, mixing the features of different modes and sounds outside the basic range of the melody. This state indicates a departure from the classical rules of Gregorian modality.

The architectural structure of each chant is determined by its two parts: Alleluia and verse, in which certain design features can be found. The verses can be divided into two fragments, containing from five to twenty-three syllables each; for example, ‘Hic est sacerdos – quem coronavit Dominus’ and ‘Corpora sanctorum sepulta sunt in pace – nomina eorum vivent in generatione et generationem’. Such a construction, supported by its modal properties, corresponds to the prosody of the text. This relation between a verbal text and a melody, emphasized in Gregorian works, is a specific link through which a composer passes from the sphere of natural speech into the sphere of musical art.<sup>85</sup>

In several cases (Examples 3, 4, 5, 7, and 12), the ending formula of Alleluia or verse contains a repeated final sound, which may testify to the role of modal properties in the architecture of the melody. Such an ending can function as a so-called Gallic cadence,<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Popowska, ‘Liturgia paulińska’, p. 287.

<sup>83</sup> *Graduale Triplex* (Solesmes, 1979), p. 415.

<sup>84</sup> *Graduale Romanum*, p. 59.

<sup>85</sup> Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, ‘Notacja muzyczna w tekstach teoretycznych XV–XVI wieku’, in Witkowska-Zaremba, *Notae musicae artis*, pp. 13–108 (p. 34).

<sup>86</sup> Piotr Wiśniewski, *Oficjum rymowane o św. Zygmuncie w antyfonarzach płockich z przełomu XV/XVI wieku: Studium historyczno-muzykologiczne* (Polihymnia, 2006), p. 166.

which consists of reaching the final sound from the bottom similar to a subtonal ending with the simultaneous repetition of the note.<sup>87</sup>

In terms of intervals, in all the manuscripts the simplest and most common are the whole-tone and semitone distances. The next in terms of frequency are the minor and major thirds. The melodies constructed on the basis of these intervals show fluidity and support the prosody of the text.<sup>88</sup> The presence of thirds and larger intervals, such as fourths and fifths, in all records makes the melodies more varied and breaks the stepwise smoothness of the melodic line. The ambitus remains usually in relation to the modal properties of the chants.

The style of the melodies in all records can be defined roughly as almost entirely melismatic in the Alleluia and melismatic-neumatic or neumatic-melismatic in the verses. This state is reflected by the predominant presence of one-, two-, and four-note neumes. Therefore, all alleluiatic verses in each manuscript represent the basic interval characteristics of the Gregorian chant.

## Provenance of the Pauline Gradual

After analysing the Gregorian repertoire, knowledge about the scriptoria in which such books were written may also contribute to answering the stated problem. In the sixteenth century, the diocesan and Dominican centres in Cracow and the Benedictine scriptorium in Tyniec were especially important handwriting places in southern Poland. Such an activity was also intense due to a large number of other places where books were rewritten by professors, masters, bachelors, and students.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the arrival of the Pauline fathers from Jasna Góra at the Cracow church on Skalka in 1472, at the request of the chronicler Jan Długosz, and the foundation of a monastery there<sup>90</sup> could contribute to the cooperation of the order with local scriptoria and taking over to some extent the repertoire of local books.

Previous studies have shown the similarity of the chants of *ordinarium missae* in the Pauline manuscript and ms. 45, as well as other Wawel graduals,<sup>91</sup> and the analogy of this repertoire to the content of the Jan Olbracht Gradual.<sup>92</sup> Similar conclusions apply to the chants *de tempore*, which were largely drawn from the tradition of the Wawel Cathedral and the codices of the Franciscan family.<sup>93</sup> In the case of the chants of *proprium sanctorum* and *commune sanctorum*, they also coincide with the repertoire of the Franciscan family and the Wawel liturgy.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> David Hiley, 'Chorał gregoriański i neogregoriański: Zmiany stylistyczne w śpiewach oficjów ku czci średniowiecznych świętych', *Muzyka*, 48.2 (2003), pp. 3–15 (p. 8).

<sup>88</sup> Dominicus Johner, *Wort und Ton im Choral* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1953), pp. 44, 49.

<sup>89</sup> Łysikowski, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', p. 255.

<sup>90</sup> Michał Rożek, *Panteon narodowy na Skalce* (COIT, 1987), p. 30; *Skalka: Kościół i klasztor paulinów w Krakowie*, ed. by Jan Mazur (Czuwajmy, 1999), p. 73.

<sup>91</sup> Łysikowski, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza', p. 256.

<sup>92</sup> Popowska, 'Liturgia paulińska', p. 223.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236–37.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239–40.

Our research has shown that out of twenty-one melodies, five of them are almost identical in all manuscripts: 'Iusti epulentur' (8), 'Iuravit Dominus' (11), 'Iustus germinabit' (15), 'Iustus ut palma' (16), and 'Specie tua' (18). For these chants, we can assume that the Pauline records were modelled on the Wawel notations, especially ms. 44 and ms. 45. Particularly with regard to the Jan Olbracht Gradual as a book of a royal foundation, it is reasonable to say that it was the source of the liturgical repertoire for later codices. At the same time, it should be added that despite the almost identical melody, there are some differences in the text between the records of 'Iusti epulentur' and 'Iustus ut palma'. In the case of the second of the works, we can assume Benedictine-Tyniec and Norbertine influences.<sup>95</sup>

The melodies of the other verses in the Pauline codex are so significantly different from the Wawel records that it would be unjustified to claim that they were copied by a scribe of the monastic manuscript. In addition, several chants show differences in both melody and lyrics. In the case of the verse 'Hic est sacerdos', the compatibility of the words of the Pauline version with the records of the Franciscan family suggests that the Pauline copyist could have borrowed at least the text from them.

The Pauline records, which are clearly different from the Wawel notations, may show a resemblance to those contained in the Franciscan codices or remain rare or even unique.<sup>96</sup> It is also possible that they contain Dominican or Augustinian influences, as these traditions penetrated into Pauline customs even before the Council of Trent.<sup>97</sup>

The melodies that are different from the Wawel manuscripts may show similarity to the Esztergom liturgical tradition due to the local origin of the Pauline rite. Dioceses and orders, adopting the notation and repertoire of their native liturgical branches, developed their own variants, which at the same time did not violate the ecclesial unity. Such a practice also existed in the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit, in both Hungary and other countries.<sup>98</sup> Paulines, who were always attached to the Esztergom customs, drew from their source at the notation level, making their own stylization. It is therefore possible that they also referred to the Esztergom traditions in terms of the repertoire, until the change of the rite in 1600 and the adoption of Roman liturgical books.<sup>99</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Pauline Gradual was written in 1596.

After comparing the alleluiaic verses of the Pauline manuscript and the graduals of the Wawel Cathedral, in response to the problem posed by Dr Marta Popowska, we can very cautiously state that the archetypes of the five compositions were the Wawel codices. With regard to the titles 'Iusti epulentur', 'Iuravit Dominus', 'Iustus germinabit', and 'Specie tua', the alternative is also justified that the patterns could have been the manuscripts of the Franciscan family, because these verses appear in them

<sup>95</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, p. 65.

<sup>96</sup> Popowska, 'Liturgia paulińska', p. 247.

<sup>97</sup> Gábor Kiss, 'Pre-Tridentine sources of the Pauline Mass chant repertory', in *pośpiech, Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich w Polsce*, pp. 199–218 (p. 205).

<sup>98</sup> Domonkos Farkas, 'The Main Research Results of Pauline Liturgical Chant in Hungary', in *Pośpiech, Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich w Polsce*, pp. 413–33 (p. 423).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 426.



with the same version of the melody. In the case of 'Iustus ut palma', we do not assume such an alternative because in the Pauline incipit of this verse is the neume *torculus*, which is identical to that commonly found in diocesan codices, and thus the Wawel ones. The Franciscan records contain *clivis*, often with a doubled first note.<sup>100</sup>

Our research also verified the statement of Popowska that only the verse 'Iustus ut palma' appears with the same melody in the Pauline manuscript, as well as in the Wawel and Franciscan books.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile, there are five identical melodies, at least to the Wawel records of ms. 44 and ms. 45. Therefore, our findings are in line with the research conducted so far, which showed a partial influence of the Wawel diocesan codices on the shaping of the liturgical repertoire of the Pauline Gradual.

To clarify the question of the archetypes of the remaining *commune sanctorum* alleluiaic verses, these should be compared with the versions and variants in the codices of the broadly understood Franciscan family, and even the Dominican family, because traces of this tradition are also found in the records of the Pauline liturgy. Another problem worth clarifying is the recordings of the verses 'Te martyrum' and 'Propter veritatem', which have not been compared. Both of these works appear in the Pauline Gradual, but they are not in the Wawel records. Jerzy Pikulik did not mention the latter one in his study of the alleluiaic repertoire about saints. The first of the verses occurs in the gradual of the collegiate church in Sandomierz, ms. 1677 from around 1460, the Włocławek Gradual, ms. 1 *de sanctis* from 1531, the Gniezno Gradual ms. 3 from the fifteenth century, and some others. Since these verses do not appear in the Wawel codices, further comparative works could reveal another source of the repertoire of the Pauline manuscript.<sup>102</sup>

In conclusion, we are dealing with post-Georgian chants, which essentially arose in Europe after the ninth century. It is possible that they represent the still unexplained problem of modulation and additional modal categories, that is, *modi medii* or the four so-called *modi circumaeqales*. This phenomenon was described in the theoretical treatise 'Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis' from the tenth century and consists in the occurrence of features of different modes at different stages of the course of the same melody.<sup>103</sup>

This research does not exhaust the possibilities of studying the provenance of the Pauline Gradual or its alleluiaic chants. The conclusions expressed here are based on a greater or lesser probability and do not give absolute certainty as to the solution of the problem under consideration. The work, however, constitutes another contribution in the area of research on the repertoire of Polish graduals and contributes to some extent to clarifying the issue of the origin of the Pauline book.

<sup>100</sup> Pikulik, *Śpiewy Alleluja de sanctis*, p. 65.

<sup>101</sup> Popowska, 'Liturgia paulińska', p. 240.

<sup>102</sup> The following publications contain valuable information on the archetypes of alleluiaic melodies: Karlheinz Schlager, 'Alleluia-Melodien bis 1100', *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, vol. 7 (Bärenreiter, 1968); Karlheinz Schlager, 'Alleluia-Melodien ab 1100', *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, vol. 8 (Bärenreiter, 1987).

<sup>103</sup> Józef Ścibor, *Geneza struktur modalnych chorału gregoriańskiego w świetle traktatów enchiriadis* (TN KUL, 1999), pp. 145–51.