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SECUNDUM NOTULAM DOMINORUM TEUTONICORUM:
A NEW LOOK AT THE REPERTOIRE AND GENESIS
OF MANUSCRIPT PL-GD MAR. F 406

Perusing the catalogue of manuscripts at St Mary's Library in Gdańsk, one comes across several intriguing entries, among which we would like to draw attention to the fifteenth-century manuscript Mar. F 406,¹ a concise (73 fols) codex in large folio format (55,5 × 36 cm), written in Messine-German notation in several different hands. The author of the catalogue calls this manuscript a 'cantonale', which gives one pause, particularly considering the list of contents: 'Introitus, Gradualia, Alleluja, Prosae, Offertoria etc.' However, many more genres of chant are inscribed in this codex, and in a combination essentially unheard of in late medieval sources. This book most closely resembles an exceptionally expansive special (Marian) gradual, although the use of that term would be misleading given the generic and thematic variety of the compositions it contains (missal and breviary compositions, a gospel tone and several *cantiones*).

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¹ Now in Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska (The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences); see Otto Günther, *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek verfertigt und herausgegeben im Auftrage der städtischen Behörden*, vol. 5, *Katalog der Handschriften*, part 5, *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, Danzig 1921, pp. 456–457.

We also find in the catalogue many entries for missals accompanied by the term ‘secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum’.² This indicates the use in medieval Gdańsk of the Teutonic rite, which was regulated by the so-called *Notula*, a collection of rubrics and incipits of chants used in masses and canonical hours – an equivalent of the *Liber Ordinarius* familiar from other liturgical traditions.³ Given the fact that manuscript Mar. F 406 was in all probability intended for the parish church of the Main Town of Gdańsk, we should assume that this codex also transmits the liturgy of the Teutonic Order,⁴ which ruled Gdańsk from the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century. Interestingly, the rite introduced by the Teutonic Knights was used in Gdańsk up to Lutheran times, hence we could seek features of it also in the sixteenth-century additions present in Mar. F 406.⁵

In the two existing monographic studies of this source, however, insufficient light was shed on this question.⁶ In the first of these studies, an article by Tadeusz Macie-

2 Ibid., passim.

3 A source edition of this document was recently published under that name. See *Der Liber Ordinarius. Die Grundlage für die Liturgie des Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, ed. Anette Löffler, Imtal–Weinstraße 2022.

4 This manuscript was included in Henryk Piwoński’s cross-sectional research into selected aspects of the liturgical tradition of the Teutonic Order, but with the reservation that there was no note about the manuscript being prepared ‘secundum notulam dominorum Teutonicorum’; see Henryk Piwoński, ‘Indeks sekwencji w zabytkach liturgicznych krzyżaków w Polsce’ [An index of sequences in Teutonic liturgical relics in Poland], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 49 (1984), p. 242. The author also drew attention to the inclusion in manuscript Mar. F 406 of the Easter sequence *Mundi renovatio*, not encountered in other Teutonic sources; see *ibid.*, p. 243.

5 The right of Gdańsk to preserve the Teutonic liturgy was sanctioned by a bull issued by Pope Alexander VI on 1 December 1498; Władysław Rozyńkowski, *Studia nad liturgią w Zakonie Krzyżackim w Prusach. Z badań nad religijnością w późnym średniowieczu* [Studies on the liturgy in the Teutonic Order in Prussia: from research into religiosity in the late Middle Ages], Toruń 2012, p. 248. The text of this bull is transcribed in Theodor Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt*, vol. 1, Danzig 1843, pp. (17)–(19), Beilage VII. Still not noted in the literature to this day is the decision taken by Maciej Drzewicki, Bishop of Kujawy, in 1516, ignoring that bull, to compel the clergy of Gdańsk to adapt to the liturgical practices of the cathedral in Włocławek: ‘Item, ut Breviarium Wladislaviense et Missalia Wladislaviensia infra unum annum habeant, secundumque ritum et rubricam consuetudinemque ecclesiae cathedralis Wladislaviensis orient’, see *Statuta synodalia dioecesis Wladislaviensis et Pomeranie*, ed. Zenon Chodyński, Warsaw 1890, p. 34.

6 Monographic works: Tadeusz Maciejewski, ‘Kancjonał gdański ze zbiorów Biblioteki PAN’ [A Gdańsk cantionale from the PAN Library], *Zeszyty Naukowe Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Gdańsku* 20 (1981), pp. 5–60; Jan Jerzy Jasiewicz, ‘Krzyżacka tradycja liturgiczno-muzyczna w świetle źródeł zachowanych w Bibliotece Gdańskiej PAN. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406. III. Aneksy’ [The Teutonic liturgical-musical tradition in light of sources preserved in the PAN Library in Gdańsk. II. Manuscript Ms. Mar. F 406. III. Appendices], *Libri Gedanenses* 23–24 (2007), pp. 39–103. Manuscript Mar. F 406 was also covered in a range of cross-sectional musicological studies and catalogues (given here in chronological order): Tadeusz Maciejewski, *Kyrieale w Polsce do XVII wieku. Katalog śpiewów mszalnych. Seria I* [Kyrieale in Poland up to the 17th century: a catalogue of mass chants. Series 1], Warsaw 1976; Tadeusz Miazga, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo der römisch-katholischen lateinischen Kirche*, Graz 1976; Henryk Piwoński, ‘Kult świętych w zabytkach liturgicznych krzyżaków w Polsce’ [The cult of saints in liturgical sources of the Teutonic Knights in Poland], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 47 (1983), pp. 314–342; Tadeusz Miazga, *No-*

jewski,⁷ there is not really any reference to the Teutonic tradition. That is not surprising, however, since at the time this pioneering study was being written, knowledge of the use of the Teutonic rite in Pomerania was not yet widespread.⁸ Hence the author contented himself with giving a list of the manuscript's contents and addressing the *ordinarium missae* and *cantus fractus*. Different expectations might be harboured in relation to Jan Jerzy Jasiewicz's publication, which is part of a larger study on the Teutonic musical-liturgical tradition in Gdańsk sources.⁹ Although Jasiewicz did cover most of the elements that are used in comparative studies to define the relations between sources (alleluia verses, sequences, melodies for the Ordinary), he focussed mainly on Polish sources,¹⁰ which prevented this book's place in the tradition of the Teutonic Order from being established.

The present article represents an attempt to at least partly fill in that gap in relation to the melodies of the Ordinary and the repertoire not researched to date, which includes Offertory chants and works linked to the feast of the Visitation, and also intended for Holy Week and the Easter period in general. A detailed study is preceded by considerations of the book's structure.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE BOOK

Codex Mar. F 406 is original not just for the repertoire it contains, but also for the way it is organised. In a typical late medieval redaction of a book like a gradual, the

tacja gregoriańska w świetle polskich rękopisów liturgicznych [Gregorian notation in the light of Polish liturgical manuscripts], Graz 1984; H. Piwoński, 'Indeks sekwencji'; Henryk Piwoński, 'Hymny w zabytkach liturgiczno-muzycznych krzyżaków w Polsce' [Hymns in liturgical-musical sources of the Teutonic Knights in Poland], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 51 (1985), pp. 283–346; Janka Szendrei, 'Staff Notation of the Gregorian Chant in Polish Sources from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century', in: *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources 11th–16th Century*, ed. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Kraków 2001, pp. 187–281; Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Elements of Mensural System in Chant Monophony from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century', in: *ibid.*, pp. 283–347; *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa: Repertoire-Übersicht und Melodienkatalog*, ed. Gábor Kiss, transl. Zsuzsa Czagány, Robert Klugseder, Kassel 2009; Piotr Ziółkowski, 'Rękopisy liturgiczne krzyżackiej proveniencji jako źródła muzyczne: problemy i perspektywy badawcze' [Liturgical manuscripts associated with the Teutonic Order as music sources: research issues and perspectives], in: *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych* [*Textus, pictura, musica: a medieval manuscript codex as an object of interdisciplinary study*], eds. Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Marta Czyżak, Toruń 2022, pp. 109–123. Literature from the field of art history is cited by Jakubek-Raczkowska in her article from the present issue of *Muzyka*; see Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, 'The Decoration of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406. A Contribution to Studies on the Fifteenth-century Art of Book Illuminating in Gdańsk', *Muzyka* 68 (2023) no. 1, pp. 62–92.

7 T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański'.

8 The first study by Henryk Piwoński to address this question was published in 1983; see H. Piwoński, 'Kult świętych'.

9 J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406'.

10 Among which he numbered, without passing comment, the graduals from Chełmno diocese PL-PE L 2 and L 35, held in Pelplin, representing the Teutonic liturgy (*ibid.*, *passim*).

chants are divided into sections: *proprium de tempore*, *proprium de sanctis*, *commune sanctorum*, *ordinarium*, *sequentiarium*. In the case of Mar. F 406, chants from different groups are mixed together. This arrangement in itself is rarely encountered among sources researched to date,¹¹ but what makes this particular source unique is the addition of chants belonging to the canonical hours.¹² Interestingly, only some of these compositions were inscribed here with their original intention in mind; the rest appear as Offertory chants.

This manuscript may be divided into several parts differing in the choice of repertoire, and that division corresponds largely to changes in handwriting.¹³ This observation, although confined to two copyists, has already been made in the literature¹⁴ – first by Otto Günther,¹⁵ who drew attention to the change of scribe on f. 60r, describing him as younger than in the opening section of the codex. That assertion was questioned by Jasiewicz,¹⁶ for whom ‘the mass formularies contained in the second part of the codex were recorded between 1420 and 1433’,¹⁷ whereas the first part was produced between 1437 and 1470.¹⁸ This opinion proves untenable given the clearly late Gothic features of the musical notation, the writing of the text and the rendering of the initials on the leaves from f. 60 onwards, and also in light of the conclusions ensuing from analysis of the *registrum*. In addition, it should be stated that although the change after f. 59v is the most noticeable, palaeographic analysis has shown that at least five copyists and several authors of additions participated in the preparation of this ‘cantonale’. Painstaking analysis in this respect might well lead to more detailed conclusions;¹⁹ crucial to our considerations of the structure of the Gdańsk manuscript will be a division into those five scribes.

11 The exceptions described by Pikulik concern special situations largely analogous to Mar. F 406: the Marian gradual PL-WRk 181 from Świdnica in Silesia, a funeral mass in manuscript PL-WRk 170 and a Marian formulary in the Dominican gradual PL-WRzno 1132/I; see J. Pikulik, ‘Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*’, p. 143. A survey of the manuscripts’ list of contents included in the Kiss catalogue confirms that this arrangement is rare: it was found only in the sixteenth-century gradual RO-Sb s.s., in which the melodies of the Ordinary were woven in pairs into four formularies from the Common of Saints; see *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, p. 129.

12 Admittedly, the practice of interspersing mass chants with works belonging to the Office is encountered, for example, in Cistercian graduals which note together mass chants and the canonical hour that immediately precedes the Mass (Terce), or in books containing chants for Marian liturgies, e.g. PL-WRk 181 or PL-WRk 182. In Mar. F 406, however, this repertoire is used in a characteristic way, particularly with regard to Offertory chants.

13 As an exception one might point to the office *Visitationis BVM* inscribed after the conclusion of the mass formulary *Salve sancta parens* by copyist B; see Table 1.

14 See M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, ‘The Decoration of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406’, *passim*.

15 O. Günther, *Die Handschriften*, p. 257.

16 J.J. Jasiewicz, ‘Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406’, p. 40, n. 7.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

18 *Ibid.*

19 It appears that in the part marked ‘E’ it will be possible to indicate a larger number of copyists.

Table I presents the arrangement of the contents, divided into parts inscribed in a single hand.²⁰ Due to the need to emphasise the peculiarities of the mixing of repertoire groups, the description is quite elaborate. It might be more schematically presented as follows:²¹ *Rorate caeli*²² formulary (the first part written out by copyist A), *Salve sancta parens* formulary (B), compositions for the Visitation (B and C), chants for Holy Week and the paschal season (D), *cantiones* (A) and formularies for votive masses (E).

Table I. The structure of manuscript F 406, with the contents divided according to copyists and dating²³

gathering	structure	folios for each of the gatherings	folios for each of the copyists	copyists + number of additions	contents	dating
I	5+4 (5+5)	[Ir]–8v	[Iv]	A?, E? ²⁴	registrum	2nd quarter 15th c.
			1r–23v	A+I	commune de BMV (<i>Rorate caeli</i>), sequentiae, ordinarium, antiphonae, responsoria (as offertory <i>ad libitum</i> chants)	2nd quarter 15th c.
II	5+5	9r–18v	24r–47v	B+3	commune de BMV (<i>Salve sancta parens</i>), sequentiae, ordinarium, antiphonae, responsoria, proprium de BMV (Visitatio), hymnus	1st quarter 15th c.
III	3+2 (3+3)	19r–23v				
IV	5+5	23r–33v				
V	5+5	34r–43v	48r–48v	C+2	proprium de BMV (Visitatio)	14th/15th c. (?)
VI	2+4 (4+4)	44r–49v				

20 To qualify as a separate copyist, an author must have written out at least one whole page.

21 Cf. Table 2 in P. Ziółkowski, 'Rękopisy liturgiczne krzyżackiej proveniencji'.

22 In the spelling of Latin incipits, we have applied the principles of the Cantus Index database (<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>).

23 The dating is proposed on the basis of palaeographic analysis, the results of which were collated with analysis of the artistic decoration; cf. M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, 'The Decoration of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406', *passim*.

24 The additions relate to the repertoire from part E.

VII	5+5	50r–59v	50r–57r	D+I	proprium de tempore (Triduum Sacrum, Pascha), sequentiae, ordinarium, hymnus	2nd quarter 15th c. (closer to 1450)
			57v–59v	A	varia (Marian and Eucharistic cantiones)	2nd quarter 15th c.
VIII	2+2	60r–63v	60r–73v	E	missae votivae ('tempore epidemie', 'Pro pace', 'Pro victoria Regi in infideles impetranda', 'De sancto Spiritu'), ordinarium, proprium de BMV (Visitatio)	15th/16th c.
IX	3+3	64r–69v				
X	2+2	70r–73v				
–	–	back pastedown	–	?	ordinarium (Credo)	4th quarter 15th c. (after 1473?)

Regardless of further divisions, the most salient caesura, in accordance with statements in the literature, is the change after f. 59v, where the part dated to c.1450 ends and the part produced c.1500 begins. These observations are borne out by analysis of the list of contents. The 'Registrum libri huius' was written in two columns on the verso page of an unnumbered flyleaf at the front of the codex (Figure 1). In the *registrum*, the repertoire of the manuscript was divided into genres,²⁵ within which the chants were noted according to the order in which they appear in the manuscript. Surprisingly large is the section labelled 'Offertoria', to which insufficient attention has been paid in existing studies. Also largely overlooked are the chants grouped together under the headings 'Visitationis Mariae antiphonae super psalmos' and 'Bona feria sexta et pasche antiphonae'.

Nearly all the compositions written in the part of the *cantionale* produced up to c.1450 were found in the original redaction of the *registrum*, including the additions.²⁶ By contrast, none of the chants included in the part from c.1500 appeared in that original redaction. A few of them appeared in the list of contents as later addenda: tropes for the Kyrie (f. 68v), 'Sanctus Pascale' (f. 62v) and 'Ad Ite missa est Responsiones' (f. 68v). These were not added together in a blank space, but form the continuation of the original redaction:

25 The following categories are used in the *registrum*: 'Introitus', [Kyrie], 'Gradualia', 'Alleluia', 'Prosaе', 'Offertoria', 'Sanctus', 'Communiones', 'Visitationis Mariae', 'Bona feria sexta et pasche antiphonae'.

26 The *registrum* contains the following: *Alv Maria dei genitrix* (f. 23v), *In Gaudeamus* (f. 49v), *Tp Abnam te fecit* (f. 49v, marked here as 'textus de visitatione' by *Regina caeli*) and a troped doxology to *R Haec est ista* (f. 27v, marked here as 'Gloria ad idem' by *Haec est ista*). Two additions were not included, but they are not separate works, only the continuation of existing compositions: *V Sicut erat* from f. 45v–46r, a supplement to the doxology of *R Haec est ista*, and *Tp Alle melite* (f. 41r) to the chant *Regina caeli*, which is a trope previously written out by the copyist solely as a verbal text but here inscribed with notation (in this article, the authors employ abbreviations for particular chant genres in line with the Cantus Index database, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>).

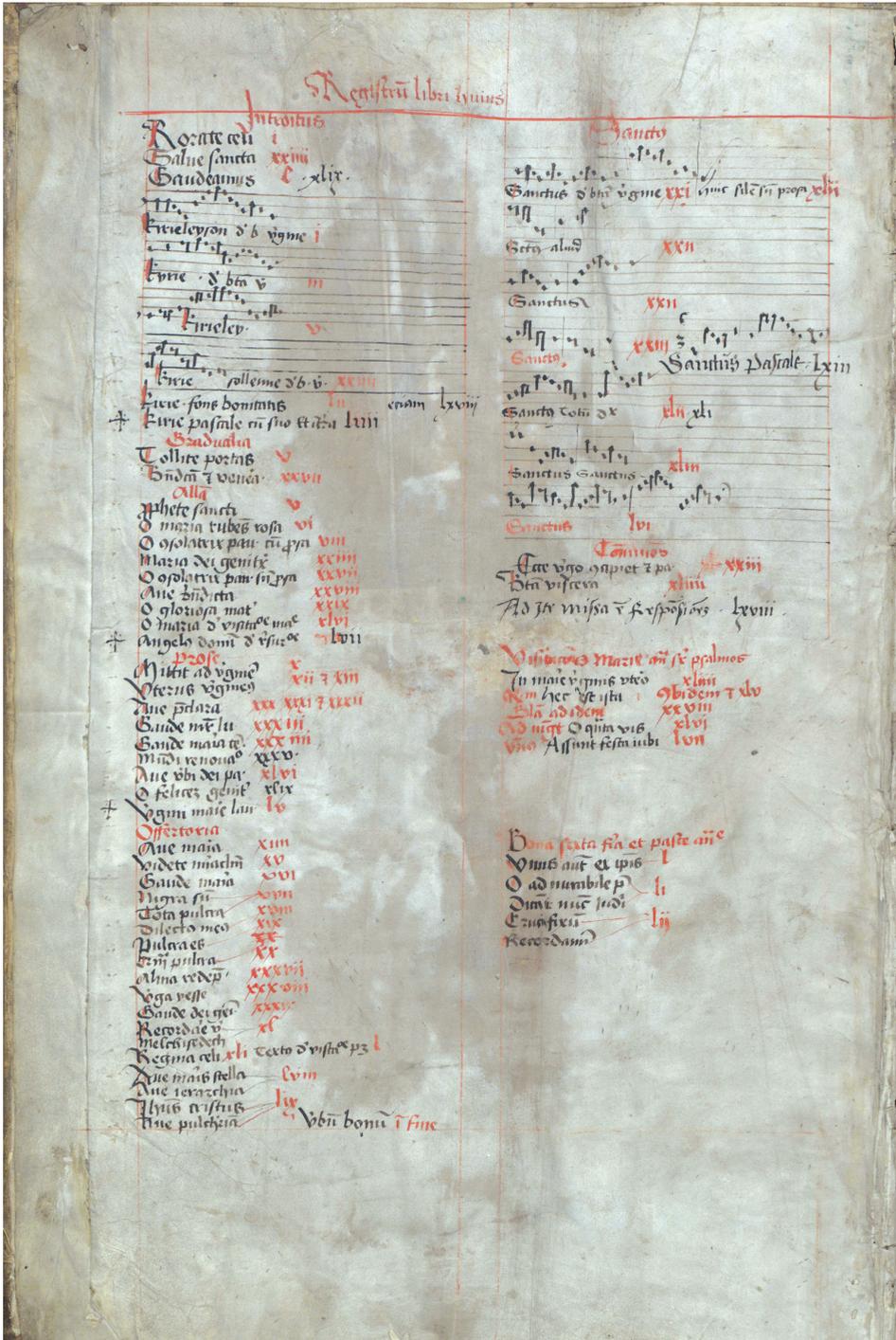


Figure 1. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, *registrum* on the front flyleaf, verso. Photo by Digital-Center

a reference to the tropes was given by the original inscription of ‘Kyrie Fons bonitatis’, the Sanctus was noted similarly to the other chants of this genre with musical incipit, while the localisation of the tropes for responses at the end of Mass appeared after the ‘Communiones’ section. One interesting instance linked to the second redaction of the *registrum* is the introit *Gaudeamus*; this will be discussed in the section devoted to formularies for the feast of the Visitation.

The division of the contents in the *registrum* draws our attention to one more property of manuscript Mar. F 406: entries with musical incipits concern solely chants of the Kyrie or the Sanctus. The lack of the Gloria and Agnus among them results from a notational practice according to which the parts of the Ordinary were written in pairs. This is not surprising, as it was one of the most common ways of organising the contents encountered in graduals,²⁷ but the mixing of Kyrie–Gloria and Sanctus–Agnus pairs with other sections of the repertoire is quite intriguing.

Given that in the original redaction of the *registrum* the entire contents of the manuscript extended only up to f. 59v, it ensues that when the list of contents was drawn up – and no doubt when the book was bound – the notation ended on that very page. This conclusion is borne out by an addition in the register by the reference ‘in fine’ relating to the chant *Verbum bonum* from f. 59v.²⁸ So the division of the manuscript into two distinctly different parts is beyond doubt. An analysis of the formularies inscribed from f. 60r onwards was presented in Jasiewicz’s work and did not bring any crucial conclusions.²⁹ On the basis of the most recent findings,³⁰ we may assume that they were added on clean gatherings³¹ appended to the block that was compiled and bound around the mid-fifteenth century. The lack of inner unity to the first part – in terms of the copyists and, to a degree, the contents – bids us consider the order in which the sections were prepared. It will be possible to advance a hypothesis concerning the genesis of manuscript Mar. F 406 thanks to penetrating analysis of the links between the repertoire inscribed by the different copyists.

27 Besides this, we find instances where, for example, first all the Kyries are written out, then all the Glorias, and so on, or sets arranged according to the pattern Kyrie–Gloria–Sanctus–Agnus; see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto 1995, pp. 146–148; Jerzy Pikulik, ‘Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae* w gradualach polskich do 1600 r.’ [An index of chants for the Ordinary in Polish graduals up to 1600], in: *Muzyka religijna w Polsce. Materiały i studia*, ed. J. Pikulik, vol. 2, Warsaw 1978, pp. 139–271 at 143–145 and lists of the contents of manuscripts published in *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, pp. 113–160 and the schematic presentation of the arrangement of the Ordinary in codices in T. Maciejewski, *Kyriale w Polsce*, pp. 106–149.

28 This fact is noted and similarly interpreted by Jasiewicz, see idem, ‘Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406’, p. 47.

29 Jasiewicz draws attention to a reading in one of the alleluia verses in this part of the codex that is characteristic of Mar. F 406 and of a gradual from the Diocesan Museum in Toruń: ‘Sanabo populum’ instead of the common ‘Salvabo populum’. While in Toruń gradual this verse does indeed read as such, the Gdańsk codex uses the usual variant ‘Salvabo’, cf. J.J. Jasiewicz, ‘Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406’, p. 67.

30 Cf. M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, ‘The Decoration of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406’.

31 Gatherings VIII–X, see Table 1.

ORDINARIUM MISSAE

The repertoire of the Ordinary in manuscript Mar. F 406 consists of 29 chants, two of which are inscribed twice. That is a relatively small repertoire, but it corresponds to the size of the codex (73 ff.). Those melodies include part of the Credo. This has been analysed separately, as it poses somewhat different questions to the remaining Ordinary parts, which during the fifteenth century already had established combinations in pairs and in complete cycles, whereas Credo output was only then beginning to flourish.³² The other parts of the Ordinary were written in the pairs Kyrie–Gloria and Sanctus–Agnus, with a minor exception from copyist A, who preceded each of the two Agnus melodies with two settings of the Sanctus (see Table 2).

This repertoire was an object of interest in both of the monographic studies devoted to this manuscript. Maciejewski's research³³ pointed to a group of nine sources from Polish libraries which were the closest to Mar. F 406 in terms of the arrangement of Ordinary chant melodies: five diocesan graduals (three from Kraków, one each from Gniezno and Włocławek), two Cistercian graduals and one each from the Dominican and Franciscan (Poor Clares) orders.³⁴ Maciejewski interpreted these connections as evidence of a strong bond between the royal cathedral on Wawel Hill in Kraków and the parish church of the Main Town of Gdańsk,³⁵ while emphasising the influence of the tradition of Cistercian *ad libitum* settings.³⁶ Jasiewicz³⁷ focussed on identifying the melodies according to Pikulik's catalogue of Polish sources,³⁸ which, unlike Maciejewski's catalogue, does not include information about how melodies are organised into cyclical sets in the sources.³⁹ In addition, Jasiewicz referred to the numbering proposed in catalogues compiled by German authors,⁴⁰ but did not

32 Cf. a list of Credo melodies according to the time they were written in T. Miazga *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo*, p. 190.

33 T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański'.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 23–33.

35 It is probably on this basis that Katarzyna Morawska, in her textbook study of the history of Polish music in the Middle Ages, cites Mar. F 406 once as a codex of a presumed Polish provenance and elsewhere as a 'Polish cantional probably originating from Kraków', see Katarzyna Morawska, *The Middle Ages. Part 2: 1320–1500*, transl. John Comber, Warsaw 1998 (= *The History of Music in Poland* 1), pp. 101 and 436.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

37 J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406'.

38 J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*'.

39 T. Maciejewski, *Kyrieale w Polsce*.

40 Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Regensburg 1954; Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'*, Regensburg 1954; Peter Joseph Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1962; Martin Schildbach, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Erlangen 1967. The authors are sincerely grateful to Bartosz Izbicki PhD and Michał S. Sołtysik for their help in accessing the Thannabaur and Schildbach catalogues.

avail himself of the information contained there to present the repertoire from the Gdańsk codex in a European context. It is surprising, therefore, that in his final conclusions he speaks of links displayed by the Ordinary from Mar. F 406 not just with diocesan and monastic graduals from Polish libraries but also with Bavarian and Swiss sources – links he omitted to mention in the analytical part of his study.⁴¹ While such a connection does arise, it is rather insignificant compared to other links which Jasiewicz does not mention.⁴²

So that we may describe the specificities of the Ordinary repertoire contained in Mar. F 406, Table 2 presents information from existing catalogues, based on the above-mentioned publications by German authors, supplemented with regional catalogues.⁴³ If a given melody appears in the Vatican Edition, then when referring to it in the further part of the text, the catalogue number will be followed by the corresponding Roman numeral. In order to define the relationship between Mar. F 406 and manuscripts of the Teutonic Order, we have compared melodies from the Gdańsk manuscript with the corpus of sources used in the liturgy of that order. We have taken into account sources produced in Prussia,⁴⁴ and also in German monasteries,⁴⁵ as well as the sheet music insert in a printed Teutonic missal from 1519.⁴⁶

41 J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 67.

42 It should be stressed that Jasiewicz does not cite Maciejewski's article at all.

43 These catalogues by German authors take little account of books from outside German-speaking lands: from Italy and partly from France. In relation to Great Britain, France and the Norman-Sicilian circle, they have been supplemented by David Hiley. As regards Bohemian and Hungarian sources, we have relied on Kiss's study. Pikulik's work is taken to be the referential Polish catalogue, but supplemented with Kiss's publication. In relation to Kiss, it is worth mentioning that the Bohemian sources already covered by the German catalogues were cited there in italics. For monastic sources, we have supplemented Polish sources mentioned by Pikulik with sources indicated in the studies by German authors. This means that if a chant appeared in a Norbertine gradual from a Polish library, it was included in the category of Norbertine, rather than Polish, sources. Cf. David Hiley, 'Ordinary of Mass Chants in English, North French and Sicilian Manuscripts', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 9 (1986) no. 1–2, pp. 1–128; *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*; J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*'.

44 These are graduals from Chełmno diocese held in the Diocesan Library in Pelplin (PL-PE L 2, PL-PE L 35) and in the Diocesan Museum in Toruń (PL-Tmd MDT-K-003). The first two were indexed by Pikulik ('Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*'); on the gradual from Toruń, see Monika Jakubek-Rackowska, Juliusz Rackowski, 'Nierozpoznany gradual z kościoła świętojańskiego w Toruniu – przyczynek do badań nad księgami muzycznymi diecezji chełmińskiej w średniowieczu' [An unidentified gradual from St John's church in Toruń: a contribution to the study of music sources in the Chełmno diocese in the Middle Ages], *Muzyka* 65 (2020) no. 1, pp. 95–111.

45 Namely a thirteenth-century Teutonic missal from Weissenburg (D-WBp 1) and a fourteenth-century Teutonic gradual from Salzburg (A-Ssp a VII 20). On these two sources, cf. respectively Anette Löffler, 'Das älteste bekannte Missale des Deutschen Ordens', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, Neue Folge 112 (2003), pp. 67–92; eadem, 'Ein süddeutsches Graduale des Deutschen Ordens: die Handschrift St. Peter a VII 20 in Salzburg', *Mittelalter: Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte* 7 (2016), <https://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/8903>.

46 *Missale ad notulam dominorum Teutonicorum*, Hagnoa: Thomas Anßhelm 1519, a copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 Liturg. 312, available online: digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10197441, accessed 8 September 2022. Another copy of the same print, from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, is lacking this insert, see onb.digital/result/10885F0C, accessed 8 September 2022.

Table 2. List of melodies for the Ordinary in manuscript Mar. F 406, with their identification according to catalogues⁴⁷ and their classification according to distribution⁴⁸

copyist	no.	folios	genre	EdVat	German catalogues	Pikulik	Maciejewski	rubric in the <i>registrum</i>	trope	classification
A	1.	1r–1v	Kyrie		Ky126	23	18	De BMV		R
	2.	1v–2v	Gloria (t) ⁴⁹		G15	10	*7		<i>Jesu Christe altissime</i>	R
	3.	2v–3r	Kyrie		Ky111	18	23	De BMV		R
	4.	3r–4v	Gloria (t)		G137	11	8		<i>Jesu Christe altissime</i>	R
	5.	4v	Kyrie		Ky97	38	20			R+
	6.	4v	Gloria (i) ⁵⁰		G137	11	8			R
	7.	21r–21v	Sanctus (t)		Sa150	13	24	De BMV [add.:] huic simile sine prosa	<i>Angeli et archangeli</i>	R
	8.	21v–22r	Sanctus		Sa36	23	54	Aliud [de BMV]		R
	9.	22r	Agnus		Ag42	27	27			R
	10.	22r–22v	Sanctus	XII	Sa177	6	15			C
	11.	22v–23r	Sanctus	VIII	Sa116	3	39			C
	12.	23r	Agnus	[mel. S VIII]	Ag120	14	40			R

47 T. Maciejewski, *Kyriale w Polsce*. The numbers from Maciejewski's catalogue are given here to make it easier to read his article on Mar. F 406, cf. T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański'. Used in the EdVat column is the numbering given in *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae de Tempore et de Sanctis SS. D.N. Pii X. Pontificis Maximi jussu restitutum et editum*, Romae: Typis Vaticanis 1908, pp. 4*–64*.

48 'C' – common, 'R' – regional, '+' – with atypical distribution. Included in category C are works that appear in at least 10% of manuscripts from one of the distinguished geographic centres of Western Europe (Great Britain, France or Italy) and in all the groups from Central Europe (Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Germany). R lists works that are present in at least 10% of sources from the Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian and Germany groups but do not approach those proportions in any of the geographic categories related to Western countries (France, Italy, Great Britain). This division tallies with Kiss's proposition, at least with regard to the melodies occurring in Mar. F 406, see Table 6.7 'Regionale Melodien des *Ordinarium missae*', in: *Ordinarium-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, pp. 102–103. Regarded as atypical are those distinguished in the group in terms of geographic and institutional distribution.

49 The symbol (t) denotes a melody transmitted with trope.

50 Only the incipit is inscribed.

B	13.	24r–24v	Kyrie	IX	Ky171	6	4	Solenne de BMV		C
	14.	24v–26v	Gloria (t)	IX	Gl23	4	11t		<i>Spiritus et alme</i>	C
	15.	41v	Sanctus (t)	II	Sa203	1	4	Totum duplex	<i>Angolorum imperator</i>	C+
	16.	42r	Agnus	IX	Ag114	3	44			C+
	17.	42r–42v	Sanctus		Sa150	13	24			R
	18.	42v–43r	Agnus		Ag179	18	22			R
	19.	43r–43v	Sanctus (t)	IX	Sa33	4	58		<i>Benedictus Mariae filius</i>	C
	20.	43v	Agnus	XVII	Ag34	9	63			C
D	21.	52r	Kyrie	II	Ky48	2	50	Fons bonitatis		C
	22.	52v–53v	Gloria	I ad lib.	Gl24	9	9			C
	23.	53v	Kyrie	I	Ky39	1	46	Pascale cum suo Et in terra		C
	24.	53v–54v	Gloria	I	Gl12	1	*18			C
	25.	55v–56r	Sanctus (t)		Sa127	18	31		<i>Benedictus Mariae natus</i>	R
	26.	56r–57v	Agnus (t)		Ag160	25	30		<i>Deus vere nobis dere</i>	R
E	27.	62v–63r	Sanctus		Sa161	40	21	[add.:] Pascale		R+
	28.	63r–63v	Agnus		Ag195	42	19			R+

On the basis of Table 2, we can state that the proportions of regional and widely known melodies – which Kiss calls ‘base’ repertoire (‘Grundrepertoire’) – differ depending on the copyist. The largest proportion of regional repertoire in the part written by copyist A corresponds well with many other regional features of the Rorate liturgy written in this part of the manuscript. Copyists B and D, meanwhile, transmitted primarily melodies from the pan-European repertoire. The melodies written out by copyist E are not only regional, but also relatively late, which strengthens the thesis that the part of the manuscript from f. 60 onwards was written at a later time.

Among the pan-European melodies, one notes in particular Ky48 II (*Fons bonitatis*);⁵¹ the only group in which this chant did not achieve popularity on the level of at least one-third of sources was that of Dominican manuscripts (15%). Given the

51 Copyist D’s entry of this chant in Mar. F 406 includes a passage in a specific variant of white mensural notation; on the contexts of this entry, see Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘Kyrie fons bonitatis, cantus fractus, and Petrus Wilhelmi’, *Musik in Bayern* 86 (2021), pp. 11–21.

well-known fact that the Dominican liturgy was adapted by the Teutonic Order, it is striking that this Kyrie appears in nearly all the Teutonic sources researched. The exception is the Chełmno gradual PL-PE L 2, although in the place where this specific melody might be expected to appear, the gradual has material missing (f. 92). The presence of this melody is perhaps one of the elements distinguishing the Teutonic from the Dominican tradition.

Maciejewski pointed to four Mass settings from Mar. F 406 for which he found no analogy in Polish sources.⁵² In light of the existing catalogues, we can uphold Maciejewski's thesis for only one pair, Ky97–Gl37, which belongs to regional repertoire and will be discussed below. Of his other three examples, one belongs to the pan-European group: the pair Sa33 IX⁵³–Ag34 XVII. Now, based on the Kiss catalogue, we can point to other Polish sources of that pair. Maciejewski failed to note, meanwhile, the uniqueness of the pair Sa203 II–Ag114 IX against the tradition of Gniezno archdiocese. This pair appears more frequently only in monastic sources (Franciscan, Dominican) – both chants more than 80%. Pikulik's observations confirm that this pair, as part of a larger cycle, is specific to the Franciscan Ordinary.⁵⁴ Given the rather infrequent occurrence of the pair Sa203 II–Ag114 IX in Central European sources, the presence of these melodies in the Gdańsk codex gives one pause. Yet this fact should not be explained in terms of any reference to Franciscan cycles, as this pair belongs to the fixed repertoire of Teutonic sources, cf. PL-PE L 2, PL-PE L 35 or PL-Tmd MDT-K-003. In gradual PL-PE L 2, in the rubric 'In toto duplici',⁵⁵ we find a note analogous to one that appears in two Teutonic sources not from Prussia: a misal from Weissenburg (D-WBp 1) and a gradual from Salzburg (A-Ssp a VII 20).⁵⁶

52 M. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonal gdański', p. 33. These are the pairs Ky9–Gl37, Sa36–Ag42, Sa33 IX–Ag34 XVII, Sa161–Ag195.

53 Sa33 is one of the two chants from Mar. F 406 over which differences occur with the Kiss catalogue with regard to classification. However, these are only ostensible deviations, as Kiss simply links together in a single entry similar melodies which Thannabaur classifies as distinct. In Kiss, this Sanctus appears in a common entry as Sa29–Sa33. A similar situation occurs in relation to Sa103–Sa116 (S VIII). Kiss opines that Thannabaur separated these melodies without sufficient grounds, see *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, pp. 145, 198–199, 207–208, 199 n. iii, and 207 n. iii. The confusion is compounded by the catalogue compiled by Pikulik, who identifies his Sanctus 4, supposedly the same as Sa IX, as Thannabaur's Sa33, but cites a musical incipit that corresponds rather to Sa29 from the German catalogue, see J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*', pp. 216–218, P.J. Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus*, pp. 120–121, 125–126.

54 He found it in 18 of the 22 analysed Franciscan graduals from Polish libraries, see Jerzy Pikulik, 'Franciszkańskie *ordinarium missae* w średniowiecznej Polsce' [The Franciscan Mass Ordinary in medieval Poland], *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 9 (1971) no. 2, pp. 111–130 at 111–112 and 116–117.

55 J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*', p. 213.

56 It would be wrong to believe that the Toruń gradual and PL-PE L 35 classify these chants differently; this rubric is simply absent. However, the placement of the pair Sa203–Ag114 at the head of the Sanctus–Agnus pairs shows unequivocally that their intention was the same as in other sources from the Teutonic group. For PL-PE L 35, see J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*', p. 213; in the Toruń gradual, f. [168] (the numbering of the leaves ends at f. 154).

In keeping with this tradition is the rubric 'Totum duplex', referring to this Sanctus melody in the original layer of the *registrum* of Mar. F 406.⁵⁷ This appears to attest to the existence of a Teutonic tradition represented by the manuscript. That would be one of the features linking the liturgy of the Teutonic Order to the Dominican customs which were its prototype.⁵⁸ The pair Sa203 II–Ag114 IX was inscribed by copyist B without the corresponding Kyrie–Gloria pair, so it was possibly intended for use on important feast days with the Marian pair Ky171 IX–Gl23 IX. Preliminary research into Teutonic sources has shown that this Sanctus–Agnus pair was placed in the 'Totum duplex' cycle for feast days with Ky48 II⁵⁹–Gl24 I *ad lib.* These chants appear in the part written out by copyist D, which attests to the mutually complementary character to the sections of the Gdańsk manuscript.

An interesting point of contact between two categories of repertoire is the pair Sa116 VIII⁶⁰–Ag120, in which the Sanctus belongs to the common repertoire, while the Agnus is its Central European contrafactum.⁶¹ The geographic range of Ag120 illustrates two assertions relating to the Central European repertoire in Mar. F 406: 1) each work from this group appears in at least a few German sources, although always in lesser proportions than in other regions of Central Europe, 2) nearly all of these melodies appear most often in Polish sources.

In relation to the latter assertion, we can point to two exceptions: Ky97 and Gl5.⁶² The Gloria melody with the frequent use of a fifth that is quite specific to the F mode gained the greatest popularity in Hungary (three-quarters of manuscripts), but it also appears in all the researched Teutonic Order sources. A much more interesting case is that of the Kyrie from f. 4v, which Kiss identified as Ky97, and Jasiewicz as Ky114.

57 In the *registrum*, the rubric 'Pascale' by Sa161 is a later addition, like the actual melodic incipit of this chant included there.

58 A possible Dominican influence linked to the category *totum duplex* is pointed out by J.J. Jasiewicz ('Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 57).

59 Jasiewicz identified this Kyrie as Ky42 instead of the proper Ky48, which seems like a simple printing error, given that the author gives the correct number from Pikulik's catalogue (2), see *ibid.*, p. 54.

60 See n. 53.

61 As for the contrafacta in Sanctus–Agnus pairs, let us add that this phenomenon concerns also all the other Central European chants in these genres: Sa36–Ag42, Sa127–Ag160, Sa150–Ag179 and Sa161–Ag195. In relation to Ag42, the melodic identity of this work with the Sanctus that precedes it was noted by Jasiewicz, but he did not identify this entry as the corresponding melody from Pikulik's catalogue (27), see J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 58. Interestingly, only the middle invocation from Ag42 is written in Mar. F 406, and without the 'miserere nobis'. Above the initial at the beginning of this Agnus, we see the addition 'secundum', in the form of an abbreviation resembling 'zm' (see f. 22r).

62 At this point, let us mention the inaccuracies in the identification of Gloria melodies from Mar. F 406 in Jasiewicz's work ('Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406'). Above all, he misclassified the composition from f. 3r as Gl5 (it should be Gl37); another record of the same melody, from the next leaf (f. 4v, written as a melodic incipit), he did not refer at all to Bosse's catalogue, but stated that 'the copyist borrowed melodic motifs from Sanctus VIII'. That statement seems unjustified. Besides this, Jasiewicz tacitly passed over the Gloria from f. 53v, although he noted its existence in the list of the manuscript's contents. Ultimately, this meant that he did not include the melodies Gl37 and Gl12.

According to Pikulik, Ky114 was written in as many as 13 Franciscan graduals out of the 16 he considered,⁶³ which was one of the foundations on which Jasiewicz built his hypothesis of Franciscan influences on the Ordinary inscribed in Mar. F 406.⁶⁴ It appears, however, that Kiss's proposition is the more accurate, as can be supported by comparing the melody from the Gdańsk 'cantonale' with the transcriptions of Ky97⁶⁵ and Ky114⁶⁶ given by Kiss (see Example 1). Although the two works have a very similar incipit, melodic writing and even form,⁶⁷ the differences that exist fully justify their cataloguing as separate melodies. For the most part, Teutonic sources do not note this chant; the sole exception is significant due to the late date it was produced: the insert to the printed missal from 1519.⁶⁸ Even more striking is the fact that in the same source Ky97 is written with Gl37, so as in Mar. F 406. Hence this combination distinguishes the Gdańsk 'cantonale' among Polish sources, linking it more with the area of Bohemia and Hungary, and it may also be an indicator of the later Teutonic tradition.

Example 1. Comparison of a Kyrie from Mar. F 406 with transcriptions of K97 and K114 from Hungarian sources⁶⁹

F 406, f. 4v
Ky-ri - e - lei - son Chri - ste - lei - son

K97
Ky-ri - e - lei - son Chri - ste - lei - son

K114
Ky-ri - e - lei - son Chri - ste - lei - son

63 Hence either this melody was indeed widespread among Polish Franciscans or in some catalogue the results were distorted by this particular classification of the variant present in the source; see J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*', pp. 142 and 180. This Kyrie was not transmitted by any Polish diocesan manuscripts (*ibid.*, p. 195).

64 J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 67.

65 *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, p. 172.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

67 That form for the two invocations from Example 1 may be schematically presented as AB–CB. It continues the last invocation of the Kyrie, which we might add as the component DB.

68 *Missale ad notulam dominorum Teutonicorum* (see n. 46), f. 143[+17]v. In the musical insert, the leaves are unnumbered, so I give the number of the last numbered leaf, to which, in square brackets, I add the following leaves that make up the insert.

69 Ky97 – *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, p. 172; Ky114 – *ibid.*, p. 175; Mar. F 406 – transcription by Kamil Watkowski.

Distinguished among the regional chants is the pair Sa161–Ag195, in mode D, transmitted by just seven manuscripts, most of them quite late.⁷⁰ This corresponds to the clearly late Gothic features of the musical notation used by copyist E.⁷¹ As regards their intention, in Mar. F 406 they were placed under the rubric ‘Paschale’,⁷² which forms a good complement to the paschal pair Ky39 I–Gl12 I written out by copyist D. The pair Sa161–Ag195, with its characteristic features, points to a link between Mar. F 406 and a few late (fifteenth- and sixteenth-century) German, Polish and Cistercian sources.

As regards the Credo fragments written on the back endpaper, it is worth stressing that in both monographic studies of the manuscript, this melody was not identified: Maciejewski mentions it only in his list of the manuscript’s contents;⁷³ Jasiewicz emphasises the Marian character of the fragments.⁷⁴ The identification of other sources for this chant was made possible by the catalogue prepared by Tadeusz Miazga,⁷⁵ who also included Mar. F 406. Miazga assigned the entry from the ‘cantonale’ to melody 531,⁷⁶ which appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries particularly in Bohemian and Polish sources. Its oldest record can be found in one of the Prague graduals as an addition from 1473. A year later is an entry in the Neumarkter Cantonale (PL-WRk 58), and this Credo is also recorded by two fifteenth-century manuscripts from Kraków: one diocesan and one Dominican.⁷⁷ These connections bring nothing new to the geographic questions relating to the repertoire’s connections; we remain within the Central European area. The findings are crucial, however, for chronological reasons: they show that the leaf inscribed with the Credo was probably pasted onto the back binding no earlier than in the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century, as indeed was suggested by features of the musical notation.⁷⁸

70 Two Polish, four German and one Cistercian. Sa161 alone is noted by Thannabaur in an additional Cistercian manuscript from the same centre (Langheim in Bavaria). An interesting case concerns the famous gradual D-LEu Ms Thomas 391, which was indicated as a source for S161 by Thannabaur. It seems that Schildbach, who cites this manuscript in his list of sources, simply failed to spot Ag195 there, occurring as it does in a wholly expected place, that is, immediately after Sa161; see D-LEu Ms Thomas 391, f. 2; cf. M. Schildbach, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei*, p. 138; P.J. Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus*, p. 181. As for Polish sources, the description on the front endpaper of the binding of PL-WRu I F 386 carries the date 1669, while Pikulik dated the addition in PL-WRu I F 387 to the 16th century, cf. J. Pikulik, ‘Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*’, pp. 239 and 264; the entries in German sources date from the turn of the sixteenth century.

71 Cf. Tables 1 and 2.

72 As in both Polish sources, see J. Pikulik, ‘Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*’, p. 239.

73 T. Maciejewski, ‘Kancjonał gdański’, p. 17.

74 J.J. Jasiewicz, ‘Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406’, p. 59.

75 T. Miazga, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo*.

76 *Ibid.*, pp. 110–111. An analysis of this melody, taking account of different rhythmisations, was conducted by Alicja Jończyk, *Ordinarium missae najstarszych diecezjalnych gradualów krakowskich* [The Mass Ordinary of the oldest diocesan graduals from Kraków], Lublin 2015, pp. 170–172 and 184–185.

77 T. Miazga, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo*, p. 110.

78 Also interesting is the fact that this same Credo melody was notated on the front endpaper of gradual PL-Tmd MDT-K-003, but with the use of modern notation and with different melodic variants.

A few words are due regarding the tropes accompanying particular chants of the Ordinary. Most of them are additions customarily written out with given melodies, so they will not help us to draw any detailed conclusions. This concerns both pan-European and regional works. Among the former, we might mention, for example, the well-known Marian tropes *Spiritus et alme* to Gl23 IX. As for Central European output, we should point to the tropes *Omnes una carminantes* and *Deus vere nobis dere* written respectively by the Sanctus and Agnus from the pair Sa127–Ag160, which correspond well to the regional profile of this repertoire.⁷⁹ The only case really worth particular attention is the trope *Angelorum imperator*, as it occurs in just four other sources⁸⁰ and is ascribed to Polish output.⁸¹ Its oldest source is gradual PL-GNd 170, from 1418, belonging to the Poor Clares of Gniezno, and that version differs significantly from the one in Mar. F 406, which is rather troublesome for the hypothesis presented in this article concerning the origins of the manuscript, as it was written here by copyist B, for whom our proposed dating is the first quarter of the fifteenth century. However, the copy of this trope in Mar. F 406 contains palimpsests, which make it difficult to reconstruct the work in its original redaction; taken with the exceptional character of the verbal text, this means that the question requires a separate study.

The conclusions arising from considerations of the Ordinary repertoire inscribed in Mar. F 406 can be divided into two main groups, the first of which concerns the geographic and institutional connections of these melodies, while the second relates to the links between the parts prepared by the different copyists. First we must stress that Mar. F 406 did not transmit any unique melody of the Ordinary. It points to links primarily with Central European – and especially Polish – graduals. That results from the presence not just of regional repertoire, but also of pan-European output, the selection of which contained in Mar. F 406 was more often encountered in the east of Latin Europe. The selective character of the corpus written into the Gdańsk manuscript means that it is difficult to make firm comparisons with the Teutonic tradition, but we should note the high degree of concurrence between those repertoires. In addition, it is to Teutonic influences that all the exceptions from the Central

79 It may be noted, however, that Jasiewicz ('Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', pp. 58–59) misidentified both of them: in Sa127 he found only the trope *Benedictus Mariae natus*, which does indeed appear there, but failed to mention *Omnes una carminantes*, while he identified the trope in Ag160, *Deus vere nobis dere*, with a different trope that has a very similar incipit – *Miserere deus vere*. Cf. *Ordinariums-Gesänge in Mitteleuropa*, pp. 240 and 263–264.

80 Ewa Jemielita, 'Tropy Sanctus w polskich przedtrydenckich rękopisach muzycznych: studium muzykologiczne' [Sanctus tropes in Polish pre-Tridentine music manuscripts: a musicological study], Akademia Teologii Katolickiej in Warsaw 1989 (MA thesis). Jasiewicz indicated the existence of only one other source besides Mar. F 406, drawing on information known to Pikulik; cf. J.J. Jasiewicz 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', pp. 57–58 and 67; J. Pikulik, 'Franciszkańskie *ordinarium missae*', p. 128.

81 J. Pikulik, 'Indeks śpiewów *ordinarium missae*', p. 159.

European 'standard' can be attributed. This thesis corresponds well with the specific liturgical situation in the territory of Gdańsk Pomerania, where the Teutonic liturgy met with the existing diocesan tradition.

As regards links within the manuscript, the copyist of the *Rorate caeli* formulary was clearly au fait with Central European repertoire, which may be interpreted as the influence of the regional character of that liturgy. Sa150 with its trope, which this copyist wrote out, although without its complementary Ag179, indicates that the copyist was aware that gatherings I–III, which he filled, were intended to be used together with the part written in the *Salve sancta parens* formulary, which includes the pair Sa150–Ag179, although without poetical interpolations.⁸² Also seemingly referring to the *Salve sancta parens* part was the copyist of the works for Holy Week and Easter, when he decided to write out the pair Ky48–Gl23; this presumably makes the pair Sa203–Ag114 from the part *Salve sancta parens* up to the full cycle characteristic of the liturgy of the Teutonic Order. Meanwhile, the pair Sa161–Ag195, written out by the copyist of the votive mass formularies (accompanied by the rubric 'Paschale'), constitutes the missing link in the paschal cycle begun with the paschal pair Ky39 I–Gl12 I inscribed by copyist D. These findings agree with palaeographic analysis of Mar. F 406, suggesting the order in which the successive parts were written. They also correspond with the links indicated for the repertoire analysed in the further part of this article. In light of these considerations, the Teutonic Ordinary seems worth further study.

CHANTS AD OFFERTORIUM

The biggest group of compositions in the *registrum* consists of Offertories. The list contains as many as 19 pieces of music that were to be sung as donations were being offered during Mass (see Table 3). Yet they include only one Offertory from the classic chant repertoire. That is the *Ave Maria*, included in the first formulary of the manuscript beginning with the introit *Rorate caeli*. This composition was performed during Marian votive masses in Advent.⁸³ It was also included in *de tempore* formularies of that liturgical period,⁸⁴ as well as formularies for the Annunciation and the Visitation.⁸⁵ The other compositions come from outside the mass repertoire: they are antiphons, responsories and Latin *cantiones*. The practice observed in Prussia of expanding the scope of chants performed around the Offertory to include non-tra-

82 Such a character to the relations between A and B is also indicated by the former's inclusion of A1V *O consolatrix pauperum* with the prosula *Maria mater Christi*, whereas B transmitted it in 'canonic' form.

83 Cf. Jerzy Pikulik, *Polskie graduały średniowieczne* [Medieval Polish graduals], Warsaw 2001, p. 428.

84 Gradual PL-PE L 35 contains the Offertory under discussion in the formulary for the Fourth Sunday in Advent *Memento nostri Domine* (f. 6v–7r), whereas Gradual PL-Tmd MDT-K-003 has it in the *Rorate* mass for the Octave Day of Christmas (f. 6r–6v); cf. J. Pikulik, *Polskie graduały*, pp. 36, 38–39.

85 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 222–223, 272–273.

ditional repertoire is known not only from this Gdańsk source. We find another example in a 1408 liturgical agenda from Chełmno compiled by the local parish priest. This informs us of the custom of singing Latin songs, and even mensural polyphony, before the Offertory.⁸⁶

Table 3. Offertory chants according to the *registrum* in manuscript Mar. F 406

no.	incipit	genre	folios
Formulary <i>Rorate caeli</i>			
1.	<i>Ave Maria</i>	Of	14r–14v
2.	<i>Videte miraculum</i>	R	14v–16r
3.	<i>Gaude Maria</i>	R	16r–17r
4.	<i>Nigra sum</i>	A	17r
5.	<i>Tota pulchra es</i>	A	17r–18r
6.	<i>Dilectus meus candidus</i>	A	18r–19r
7.	<i>Pulchra es amica mea</i>	A	19r–20r
8.	<i>Quam pulchra es</i>	A	20r–20v
Formulary <i>Salve Sancta parens</i>			
9.	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	A	37r–37v
10.	<i>Virga Jesse floruit</i>	A	38r–38v
11.	<i>Gaude dei genitrix virgo</i>	A	39r–39v
12.	<i>Recordare</i>	Tp	39v
13.	<i>Melchisedech rex salem</i>	A, Tp	40r–41r
14.	<i>Regina caeli</i>	Tp	41r, 49v
<i>Cantiones</i>			
15.	<i>Ave maris stella</i>	Cn	57v
16.	<i>Ave hierarchia</i>	Cn	57v–58r
17.	<i>Jesus Christus nostra salus</i>	Cn	58v
18.	<i>Ave pulcherima</i>	Cn	59r–59v
19.	<i>Verbum bonum</i>	Cn	59v

The breviary responsories used here come from the office for the Purification. The first of them, *Videte miraculum*, was placed in the Teutonic *Liber Ordinarius* after the third reading of the first nocturn. This composition distinguishes the liturgy of the Teutonic Order from Dominican rites; of the nine responsories, it was the only one not sung by the Dominicans. Hence it was of special significance and lent a characteristic feature to Teutonic celebrations of the Purification. Added to the responsory are two verses: *Haec summi* and *Gloria ingenito*. This set of compositions, albeit with

86 *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm*, vol. 1, *Das Bisthum Culm unter dem deutschen Orden 1243–1466*, ed. Carl Peter Woelky, Danzig 1885, n. 460, pp. 364–365; cf. Edward Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej w diecezji chełmińskiej* [From the history of church music in Chełmno diocese], Pelplin 1994, p. 50; Paweł Gancarczyk, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz i muzyka Europy Środkowej XV wieku* [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz and Central-European music in the 15th century], Warsaw 2021, p. 43.

minor textual and melodic differences, appears among extant Teutonic sources only in an antiphoner from Chełmno diocese, PL-PE L 19. The Cantus Index database indicates that of sources from outside the sphere of the Teutonic liturgy, these chants also appear in antiphoners held in Kielce and Bratislava,⁸⁷ but they display differences in the musical settings compared to Teutonic Order sources.

The second responsory is *Gaude Maria* with the verse *Gabrielem Archangelum*. This work was in standard use as the last responsory of Matins. In Teutonic manuscripts, it most often appears with the prose *Inviolata*, which is absent from the Gdańsk codex.⁸⁸ The latter is also lacking the verse *Gloria virtus victoria*, which was written into PL-GD Mar. F 408 (f. 93r–93v). This probably indicates that this verse was not yet familiar in Gdańsk when Mar. F 406 was being prepared.

A significant part of the Offertory repertoire also consists of antiphons for the canonical hours. Nearly all of these are of a Marian character. In the Teutonic *Liber Ordinarius*, the following antiphons are indicated as being linked to the Assumption: *Tota pulchra es* performed in the first Vespers ‘super psalmos’, as well as *Nigra sum*, *Quam pulchra es* and *Alma redemptoris mater* sung ‘in evangelium’ on the octave of that feast.⁸⁹

Some of the compositions have analogies in a collection of Marian votive antiphons included in the antiphoner PL-PE L 19, but in none of them can we speak of full concordance between the sources. The greatest similarities are visible in the antiphon *Pulchra es amica mea*. Preserved in the Gdańsk codex is a shorter variant of this chant. The melody occasionally differs between the two sources, but the characteristic motifs, distinguished among which are downward leaps of an octave, were retained. Some similarities are also displayed by the antiphon *Dilectus meus candidus*. This composition has the same incipit in both books, although the text differs thereafter.⁹⁰ Both works also employ similar melodic phrases (see Example 2), but they differ from one another in conceptual terms: the music in the Gdańsk manuscript displays a freer character, whereas motifs are repeated in the Chełmno diocesan codex. The antiphon *Gaude dei genitrix virgo* in Mar. F 406 refers to similar concepts as the composition *Gaude virgo gratiosa* in PL-PE L 19. Both works comprise repeated acclamations ‘gaude’ – ‘rejoice’, addressed to the Virgin Mary.

87 PL-Kik 1, f. 163r; SK-BRsa SNA 17, f. 72v–73r.

88 The prose *Inviolata* is also absent from an extant fragment from a Teutonic breviary with musical notation that served as the binding of an archive collection with shelf-mark 10016 now held in the Geheims Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. In the catalogue of fragments from Königsberg, this fragment is numbered 197; see Anette Löffler, *Fragmente liturgischer Handschriften des Deutschen Ordens im Historischen Staatsarchiv Königsberg*, vol. 2, Nr. 151–300, Marburg 2004, pp. 62–65.

89 *Der Liber Ordinarius*, pp. 262, 264.

90 The words in Mar. F 406 are from the Song of Songs: II,10–12; IV,8. The text in PL-PE L 19, meanwhile, refers to the passage Song: V,10,16; II,3.

Example 2. Beginning of the antiphon *Dilectus meus* in Mar. F 406 and PL-PE L 19⁹¹

F 406, f. 18v
Di - lec - tus me - us lo - qui - tur mi - hi [...]

PL-PE L 19, f. 124v
Di - lec - tus me - us can - di - dus et ru - bi - cun - dus [...]

Also belonging to the repertoire of votive antiphons is *Virga Jesse floruit*. Popular in Bohemia, Silesia and southern Germany, this is an example of an antiphon that goes beyond the framework of its genre and approaches the form of a Latin *cantio*.⁹² This composition enjoyed interest also in the sphere of the Teutonic Order. It can be found on the recto side of a flyleaf at the beginning of the Gdańsk antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 405. It was also written into antiphoners PL-PE L 19 (f. 125v) and CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (f. 296v). Only in Mar. F 406 was it pre-planned as an integral part of the codex. The discrepancies in the text that occur between the sources, the divisions into verses and the melodic variants prevent us from indicating any affinity between the extant manuscripts.

Although the antiphons essentially come from the Marian repertoire, this collection also includes *Melchisedech rex Salem*, concerning the cult of the Eucharist. This composition, which in the Gdańsk codex occurs with a trope that will be discussed below, is linked to the feast of Corpus Christi. The incipit may suggest that it is part of the office *Sapientia aedificavit*, but the Gdańsk manuscript contains a chant with the same textual incipit but a different melody and further words.⁹³ This antiphon was sung in churches in Central Europe: in Pomerania,⁹⁴ Poland⁹⁵ and Bohemia⁹⁶.

91 Transcription by Piotr Ziółkowski.

92 Jan Ciglbauer, 'Antiphon oder Cantio? Auf der Suche nach der Identität des mitteleuropäischen geistlichen Liedes', *Hudební věda* 53 (2016) no. 2–3, p. 120.

93 In the Cantus Index database, no distinction is made between these antiphons. We may anticipate that the same work as the Gdańsk manuscript is contained in sources in which this antiphon is written in tone 6 and not in tone 8: A-VOR 287, PL-Klk 1, PL-Kklar 3 (Rkp 15), PL-WRzno 12025/IV.

94 Among other Pomeranian sources containing this antiphon, albeit without tropes, we should point to 15th-century graduals from Żarnowiec: PL-Żben L 2, f. 137v; PL-Żben L 4, f. 129r.

95 This antiphon appears in PL-Kj 1267 V, f. 60r–61r; PL-Klk 1, f. 282v; PL-WRk 60n, f. 80v–82r.

96 A recording of this antiphon, albeit with different tropes than in the Gdańsk codex, has been issued several times on disc by the Scholar Hungarica ensemble, as a work typical of the 14th- and 15th-century Bohemian tradition, including its Hussite variety; see László Dobszay, [CD booklet] *Schola Hungarica, Delectamentum*, BMC CD 140 (2008), accessed 3 September 2022: <https://bmcrecords.hu/en/albums/schola-hungarica-delectamentum>.

In sources of the Teutonic liturgy, it appears without tropes also in the antiphoner PL-PE L 10 (f. 43r). According to the rubric, it was sung after Compline throughout the octave of Corpus Christi. In an antiphoner from Chełmno diocese, this antiphon has an 'alleluia' acclamation at the end, but does not have the tropes that appear in the Gdańsk source. This is an example of a composition straddling the genres of antiphon and *cantio*. The scribe clearly separates successive verses of the work, which brings to mind a strophic structure. This effect is distinctly enhanced by the recurrence of melodic phrases, particularly at the start of some verses.⁹⁷

Another group of compositions written in Mar. F 406 for singing during the Offertory consists of tropes. In the original redaction of our manuscript, prepared by scribe B, none of the three texts is provided with a melody. The first in order is the popular trope *Ab hac familia* for the Marian Offertory *Recordare*.⁹⁸ The manuscript has a melodic incipit and the text, which should be performed to the tune of a melisma towards the end of the composition. Noted by the melodic incipit are the words 'Recordare ut supra'. We may conclude from this that the Offertory itself was included in the manuscript. However, this composition does not appear in our codex. Consequently, we might assume that the leaves containing the mass formulary *Salve sancta parens* come from another manuscript. This seems unlikely, however, since *Recordare* is part of the Mass *Salve sancta parens*.⁹⁹ That would mean that the Marian formulary must have been partly repeated in that putative manuscript and the reference 'ut supra' added to this work alone. It is more likely that the scribe simply wrote this expression here by mistake. Another possible explanation is that it was originally planned to include this offertory in the manuscript. In Teutonic sources, a trope with the same text, this time written with the offertory *Recordare*, can also be found in the fourteenth-century Gdańsk manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 308 (f. 18v–19r).

The trope *Ave rex*, meanwhile, accompanies the above-mentioned antiphon *Melchisedech rex Salem*. The manuscript has only the melodic incipit and the full words of this addition.¹⁰⁰ The composition in question is a prosula, but there is no melismatic melody at the end of the antiphon that could have accompanied it. An embellished ending to the antiphon accompanying this acclamation does appear in antiphon PL-PE L 10, but there are no similarities between the incipit of the trope's

97 For more on the interpenetration of musical genres, see J. Ciglbauer, 'Antiphon oder Cantio?', pp. 117–128.

98 *Repertorium hymnologicum*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier, vol. 1, Louvain 1892, no. 51, p. 4; cf. Katarzyna Danilewicz, 'Analiza źródłoznawcza offertorium *Recordare Virgo Mater* z Graduału z Sandomierza (BDS, AKKiK, sygn. 40)' [A source analysis of the offertory *Recordare Virgo Mater* from a Sandomierz gradual (BDS, AKKiK, shelf-mark 40)], in: *Śpiew gregoriański – wczoraj i dziś* [Gregorian chant past and present], eds. Monika Karwaszewska, Jacek Bramorski, Gdańsk 2020 (= *Musica Sacra* 16), pp. 69–87.

99 This we find in the Teutonic manuscripts A-Ssp a VII 20, s. 258; PL-GD Mar. F 308, f. 18v–19r; PL-PE L 2, f. 39r–v; PL-PE L 35, f. 119r–v.

100 The text of the trope is given in T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański', p. 12.

melody in Mar. F 406 and the source from Chełmno diocese. A trope with a similar melodic incipit, but a different text appears in the above-mentioned Polish sources.¹⁰¹

The third trope written out here is the prosula *Alle inclite*, accompanying, as a rubric informs us, the melisma of the word 'alleluia' that ends the Marian antiphon *Regina caeli*.¹⁰² This is confirmed by the melody of that alleluia written in the bottom margin, together with the text of the trope, noted with minor alterations. The musical setting gained its rhythmic interpretation through the use of two minims at the end. The next strophe of this trope was added in a blank space on f. 49v.¹⁰³ A note to this addition appears also in the original redaction of the *registrum*, hence we may conclude that the entry was made probably during the first half of the fifteenth century. In light of research conducted to date, we cannot state why none of the tropes originally possessed a musical setting. It is difficult to image that they were written out with no intention of having them performed. It is more likely that the part of the manuscript prepared by scribe B was conceived as a supplement to the existing books, and the textual interpolations were meant to expand the repertoire already adopted at St Mary's church in Gdańsk.

The *registrum* shows that also performed during the Offertory were five pieces belonging to the *cantio* genre of Latin sacred chant.¹⁰⁴ The texts of these songs were published in the series *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*.¹⁰⁵ Manuscript Mar. F 406 also appears in the online database of *cantiones*, maintained by Czech scholars.¹⁰⁶ Four of the five compositions concern the Blessed Virgin Mary. The other refers to the cult of the Eucharist, and it is written as the third in the set *Jesus Christus nostra salus*.¹⁰⁷ All of the song texts written here are familiar in Latin Europe. In the case of *Verbum bonum*, however, an interesting change of function occurs. In Mar. F 406, this widely disseminated Marian sequence is transmitted as a *cantio*,

101 See n. 95. These manuscripts contain the trope *Rex Christe primogenite*.

102 'Prosa super ultimum alleluia in regina caeli', Mar. F 406, f. 41r.

103 The text of the tropes and a musical transcription are presented in T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański', pp. 12, 14, 55.

104 Here we will merely signal the existence of a set of *cantiones* in the context of Offertory chants. This repertoire awaits detailed study in the context of Central European culture and merits detailed research that exceeds the bounds of this article.

105 *Ave maris stella*, see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (hereafter AH), vol. 1, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Leipzig 1886, no. 4, p. 49; *Ave hierarchia*, see AH, vol. 1, no. 55, pp. 93–94 (Mar. F 406 has a textual variant at odds with the version included in AH); *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, see AH, vol. 45, ed. G.M. Dreves, Leipzig 1904, no. 125, pp. 105–106; *Ave pulcherima*, see AH, vol. 1, no. 8, p. 52; *Verbum bonum*, see vol. 54, eds. Clemens Blume, Henry Marriott Bannister, Leipzig 1915, no. 218, pp. 343–345.

106 Cantio.cz. Songs in Central European Sources, <http://cantio.cz/web-sources-detail.php?id=79>, accessed 5 September 2022.

107 For more on Gdańsk sources of *Jesus Christus nostra salus* and their contexts, see Paweł Gancarczyk, Kamil Watkowski, 'Gdański przekaz wielogłosowej pieśni *Ihesus Christus nostra salus* z XV wieku i jego środkowoeuropejskie koneksje' [The Gdańsk version of the 15th-century polyphonic song *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*, and the Central European connection of that copy], *Muzyka* 65 (2020) no. 2, pp. 179–188.

as indicated by its entry in the *registrum* and its placement in this section of the codex. This detail was not noted by Jasiewicz, who interprets this entry as another work expanding the manuscript's repertoire of sequences.¹⁰⁸ Here, however, this composition loses its character of a sequence with separate melodies in successive pairs of strophes and becomes a rhythmised song with a single melody throughout (see Example 3).

Example 3. First strophe of the *cantio Verbum bonum* in manuscript Mar. F 406¹⁰⁹

Ver-bum bo - num et su - a - ve per - so - ne - mus il - lud a - ve
per quod Chri - sti fit con - cla - ve vir - go ma - ter fi - li - a

The repertoire of Offertory chants contained in Mar. F 406 offers us an exceptional insight into musical practices at St Mary's in Gdańsk. It contains compositions familiar in other centres both of the Teutonic State and also throughout Europe. Although it does not include any unique compositions, it often shows music that must have aroused interest during the Middle Ages. Interestingly, there is a noticeable predominance of works linked rather to the canonical hours, in connection with which this manuscript may also be used in research into breviary repertoire.

REPERTOIRE FOR THE FEAST OF THE VISITATION

In the repertoire recorded in manuscript Mar. F 406, we can distinguish a group of chants for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This is the third thematic section of the manuscript, the main body of which is contained on f. 44r–49v and consists of two different parts. The first part, written out by copyist B, begins on f. 44r, where the antiphon *In Mariae Virginis utero* is placed immediately after the *communio* from the *Salve sancta parens* formulary. The chants for the Visitation are not distinguished at all either graphically or through the rubrics included. Thus they form the continuation of the part of the manuscript in which the above-mentioned

108 Cf. J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 63.

109 Transcription by Kamil Wątkowski.

Mass formulary was written. The second part of this section of the manuscript, written out by scribe C, covers f. 48–49. In order to keep the dimensions the same as the remaining leaves, these folios were trimmed, as indicated by the loss in the ornament of the initial ‘O’ on f. 48v. A list of the chants related to the feast of the Visitation, including compositions added in other parts of the codex, is given in Table 4.

Table 4. Chants for the feast of the Visitation in manuscript Mar. F 406

no.	incipit	genre	folios	comments
1.	<i>Gloria patrique proli</i>	V	27v	addition, verse of the responsory <i>Haec est ista</i>
2.	<i>In Mariae virginis utero</i>	A	44r	
3.	<i>Haec est ista</i>	R	44r–45r	
4.	<i>Exclamans Elysabeth</i>	V	45r	verse of the responsory <i>Haec est ista</i>
5.	<i>Gloria patri</i>	V	45v	verse of the responsory <i>Haec est ista</i>
6.	<i>O quanta vis amoris</i>	AM	45v	
7.	<i>Sicut erat in principio</i>	V	45v–46r	addition in the bottom margin, verse of the responsory <i>Haec est ista</i>
8.	<i>O Maria mater Christi</i>	AIV	46r	
9.	<i>Ave verbi dei parens</i>	Sq	46r–47v	
10.	<i>Assunt festa jubilea</i>	H	47v	musical incipit in tone III and full text of the hymn
11.	<i>Beata viscera</i>	Cm	47v	textual incipit
12.	<i>Et ait Maria</i>	Va	48r–48v	
13.	<i>O felicem genitricem</i>	Sq	48v–49v	
14.	<i>Gaudeamus omnes</i>	In	49v	addition
15.	<i>Assunt festa jubilea</i>	H	56v–57r	melody in tone I
16.	<i>Decet huius</i>	Sq	63v–66r	added during the 16th century

A considerable part of this repertoire consists of chants of the canonical hours: the psalmodic antiphon *In Marie virginis utero*, the responsory *Haec est ista* with verses, the Magnificat antiphon *O quanta vis amoris* and the Vespers hymn *Assunt festa jubilea*. The inclusion of the responsory and the selection of the hymn and the antiphon of the Marian canticle indicate that this formulary was used during First

Vespers. In that case, the question remains as to why the scribe did not write out the titular antiphon of the office, *Exsurgens autem*, and as the antiphon ‘super psalmos’ indicated a composition from the Lauds also repeated in the Second Vespers.

It is not just the selection of the chants that is interesting here. The melodies of the antiphons contain specific variants. *In Mariae virginis utero* was assigned to the sixth tone, although all the musical elements except the *finalis* f point to the first tone, to which this antiphon is usually assigned.¹¹⁰ It should also be noted that the antiphon does not end with the ‘alleluia’ acclamation, as indicated in the critical edition of the office *Exsurgens autem*.¹¹¹ In the case of the antiphon for the Magnificat, the original text was expanded by the addition at the end of the word ‘alleluia’, given twice, and the melody was altered. The original, unmodified variants employed in the manuscript under discussion have equivalents in the version of the office of the Visitation transmitted by the Teutonic antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 404. The corrected version of the office in Mar. F 404 and the Magnificat antiphon in Mar. F 406 correspond to the form of compositions written in another Gdańsk source: the antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 405. But why were the text and melody of the antiphon *In Mariae virginis utero* not changed in Mar. F 406? A possible answer to this question is that this is a formulary of the First Vespers, in the final redaction of which this chant was not performed, so there was no need to make corrections.

Particularly noteworthy is the responsory *Haec est ista* (Example 4). In the first redaction, it was written out with the verses *Exclamans Elizabeth* (f. 45r) and *Gloria patri* (f. 45v). Also added to the responsory was the partly rhythmised prose *Torrens vivi fluminis*, based on a melisma covering the last word of the response.¹¹² In light of the present state of research, this copy of *Haec est ista* in Mar. F 406 is unique. However, it may also have been included in the antiphoner PL-PE L 10 (f. 264r), as is indicated by a rubric in that source.¹¹³ *Haec est ista* is a contrafactum of the responsory *Quae est ista*, together with its attendant verses and prose, intended for the feast of the Assumption. This is not the popular chant ending the first Matins nocturn of the feast of the Visitation *Quae est ista quae processit*, but the much rarer composition *Quae est ista quae ascendit*. Musical records of this composition appear in Teutonic books: PL-GD Mar. F 404, where there responsory was written with prose but without verses (f. 129v); PL-PE L 10, which has the responsory, verses and prose

110 Rhianydd Hallas, *Two Rhymed Offices Composed for the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Comparative Study and Critical Edition*, Bangor University 2021 (PhD dissertation), p. 319; the author indicates that in the manuscripts used to prepare the critical edition of the office, this antiphon was frequently written with *finalis* f, but that is not the correct construction of a melody for the first tone.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

112 This work does not have the relevant rubric, and the melisma itself is not written out, but can be distinguished on the basis of the change of musical character to the composition and comparison with other responsories of this group, mentioned below.

113 It was probably written on missing leaves between the extant folios 265 and 266.

(f. 164r–164v);¹¹⁴ CZ-Pn XIII A 7, which has responsory with verses (f. iv). In further redactions of Mar. F 406, *Haec est ista* is enhanced with additional verses. Added in the bottom margin is a setting of *Sicut erat* (f. 45v–46r). This is curious, as responsory doxologies did not possess this text. It could be that the users of the codex wished to repeat in full the melody of the verse *Exclamans Elizabeth*; the original verse *Gloria patri* uses only the first phrase of the preceding verse, while the second part of the melody is contained in *Sicut erat*. This motivation for the scribe is suggested by the version of the verse *Gloria patri* in the responsory *Quae est ista* in antiphoner PL-PE L 10. The verse repeats in full the melodic material of the preceding composition by expanding the words of the doxology ‘Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper’.¹¹⁵ There was insufficient musical material to add the words ‘et in saecula saeculorum amen’. Another addition to the responsory *Haec est ista* is the verse *Gloria patrique proli*, added in another part of the codex (f. 27v).¹¹⁶ Added beneath the verse *Exclamans Elizabeth* was a reference that informed performers on what page the next chant was to be found. This paraphrase of a standard doxology repeats in full the melodic material of the preceding verse. A variant of this same setting, containing only minor differences in the text and the melody, was notated with the responsory *Quae est ista* in the antiphoner CZ-Pn XIII A 7.

Example 4. Responsory *Haec est ista* with verses in manuscript Mar. F 406¹¹⁷

Mar. F 406, f. 44r–46v

Haec est i-sta cu - jus vir-tus hu-mi-li - ta - - - tis

cla-ret ut flos in pra - tis fla-grans in bal - sa - mi vir - gu - la fu - mi

Quod in-no-tes - cit o - pe - re Tor-rens vi-vi flu-mi-nis ma-ter di-vi nu-mi-nis

Do-mi-na mun-di nus-quam de-spe-xit fa-mu-lam fer-ven-ter quod di-le-xit

114 This antiphoner contains both the melisma by itself and also written separately with prose.

115 PL-PE L 10, f. 164v.

116 A reference linking the verse with this responsory appears on f. 45r.

117 Transcription by Kamil Watkowski.

8 Dum ex-sur-gens mon-tes con-scen-dit E-li-sa-beth a-ve pre-ten-dit ut au-di-vit va-tes
8 sci-vit Chri-stum per-un-ctum ma-ter gau-den-tem hunc in-fan-tem vult pro-me-re
8 Ex - cla-mans E-li - sa - beth vo - ce ma-gna di - ce - bat
8 be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li-e-ri - bus et be-ne - dic-tus fruc - tus
8 ven-tris tu - i Quod Glo - ri-a pa - tri
8 et fi - li - o et spi-ri - tu - i san-cto Quod

Mar. F 406, f. 45v-46r, addition

8 Si-cut e-rat in prin-ci-pi - o et nunc et sem-per et in sae-cu - la
8 sae-cu-lo - rum a-men

Mar. F 406, f. 27v, addition



Glo - ri - a pa - tri - que pro - li vir - tus ho - nor de - cus ju - bi - la - ti - o
 cum san - cto pa - ra - cli - to Quem tri - num in per - so - nis et u - num con - fi - te - mur
 es - sen - ti - a quem de - um ve - rum et ho - mi - nem cae - li cla - mant ter - ra prae - di - cat
 vo - ce con - so - nan - te per in - fi - ni - ta sae - cu - la sae - cu - lo - rum a - men Quod in - no - [...]

The office chants are supplemented with two copies of the hymn *Assunt festa jubilea*. The first of them, on f. 47v, contains the full text and only an incipit of the melody in the third tone. We find this musical setting also in the antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 404 (f. 144r). Further into codex Mar. F 406, on f. 56v, the same hymn is written out again, but with a full musical setting composed in the first tone. This redaction concurs with another Gdańsk antiphoner, PL-GD Mar. F 405 (f. 214v).

The corrections and additions in Mar. F 406 and the differences in the antiphoners mentioned here with which the codex displays concordances allow us to state that in medieval Gdańsk there existed two variants of the office *Exsurgens autem*. The older version, copies of which were contained in the books PL-GD Mar. F 404 and Mar. F 406, includes an abridged text of the antiphons without the word 'alleluia' and a hymn in the third tone. This variant was later supplanted by the form of the office proposed by the antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 405, containing antiphons with an expanded text and a hymn in the first tone. The appearance in Mar. F 406 of the older version of the office and the unusual choice of psalmodic antiphons may indicate a first attempt at adapting the office for the feast of the Visitation. Thus this part of the manuscript, written out by copyist B, may date back to the initial introduction of this Marian rite in the main church of Gdańsk, that is, the last decade of the fourteenth century and the very beginning of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁸ The part of the codex written out by copyist D and containing a different redaction of the Vespers hymn was prepared subsequently to the part containing the *Salve sancta parens* formulary and chants for the Visitation.

118 Cf. H. Piwoński, 'Kult świętych', p. 321.

Also included in Mar. F 406 are fragments of the Mass repertoire for the new feast. However, their selection is modest and originally included only the alleluia verse *O Maria mater Christi* (f. 46r) and the sequence *Ave verbi dei parens*. As indicated by entries in two printed and six manuscript Teutonic missals, this composition by the Prague archbishop Jan of Jenštejn was performed on the very day of the feast.¹¹⁹ The second of the sequences, *O felicem genitricem*, was written on f. 48v–49v. This sequence was not written by Jan of Jenštejn, but comes from the corpus of writings by Bernard of Morlas.¹²⁰ It was performed on the eighth day after the feast, and its records appear only in three handwritten and two printed missals.¹²¹ The manuscript also includes a third sequence linked to the feast of the Visitation: *Decet huius*. This was added to the manuscript by scribe E on f. 63v–66r between votive formularies. This composition, also written by the Prague archbishop, was performed either over the week following the feast or on the octave. It can be found in six handwritten¹²² and two printed Teutonic missals.¹²³ The repertoire of sequences for the Visitation in Mar. F 406 differs from the other extant collection of pieces for this feast. Three sequences were also written in gradual PL-PE L 2, of which *Ave verbi dei parens* and *Decet huius* are repeated. Yet the third is *Illibata mente sana*, again by Jan of Jenštejn. Although it can be found in printed missals, it has only come down to us in a single manuscript missal belong to the Teutonic Order.¹²⁴ A list of sequences linked to the feast of the Visitation, Teutonic musical records of which appear only in the two mentioned sources, is given in Table 5. Since these books do not include exact rubrics related to the performance of particular pieces, the list is supplemented with a printed Teutonic missal from 1499.¹²⁵ The rubrics it contains allow us to state when a given composition was performed in the Teutonic liturgy of the turn of the sixteenth century. It is difficult to draw final conclusions from this small source based. It is possible, however, that at the time the feast was being introduced, towards the end of the fourteenth century and at the start of the fifteenth century, the tradition of sequences characteristic of Gdańsk began to emerge. The repertoire, although somewhat different to that of Chełmno, ultimately belongs to the set of chants for the Visitation adopted by the Teutonic Knights. At the same time, the selection of sequences appearing in Mar. F 406 confirms the links between that book and other books from St Mary's. In addition, the inscription of the sequence *Decet huius* in the section prepared by scribe E, between votive formularies, attests to the supplementary character of the part of the codex prepared c.1500 compared to the earlier part of the

119 H. Piwoński, 'Indeks sekwencji', p. 225.

120 AH, vol. I, no. 323, p. 439; AH, vol. 54, no. 242, pp. 378–379.

121 H. Piwoński, 'Indeks sekwencji', p. 236.

122 In five instances, they are the same missals which contain the sequence *Ave verbi dei parens*.

123 H. Piwoński, 'Indeks sekwencji', p. 227.

124 Ibid., p. 231.

125 *Missale Dominorum Teutonicorum*, Nürnberg: Georgius Stuchs 1499.

manuscript. This is not an extract from some other book added here by chance, but a deliberately composed component of codex Mar. F 406.

Table 5. Sequences linked to the celebration of the feast of the Visitation in selected Teutonic Order sources

incipit	Mar. F 406	PL-PE L 2	<i>Missale</i> 1499
<i>Ave verbi dei parens</i>	46r–47v	78r–79r	196r ('in die')
<i>Decet huius</i>	63v–66r	75r–77r	198r–198v ('in octava', 'alia')
<i>Illibata mente sana</i>	–	77r–78r	197r ('per octavam')
<i>O felicem genitricem</i>	48v–49v	–	198r ('in octava')

Given the dearth of extant musical settings, particularly noteworthy is the gospel pericope *Et ait Maria*. Its words are taken from the Gospel according to St Luke (I: 46–56). One characteristic feature of this reading is the fact that sung to the melody of the special tone was not the whole text of the pericope, but only the section containing the Canticle of Mary and what follows it. Hence the setting does not begin with the dialogue *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., which usually precedes a gospel reading. That may explain why this composition was not identified by previous scholars. Cited in Maciejewski's index is the text alone, without any specification of the genre of the chant, whereas Jasiewicz refers to it as the Magnificat.¹²⁶ The gospel tone used here is not exceptional for the Gdańsk manuscript. The melody in the first tone is based on similar motifs as popular musical settings of the *Liber generationis*.¹²⁷ The tone for the same extract from the Holy Scriptures, meanwhile, finds concordances in Bohemian sources.¹²⁸ These records confirm the use of a special tone solely for part of the text. The entry in Mar. F 406 stands out for its unique expansive cadence (Example 5). The presence of this specific gospel in sources from Bohemia could suggest that the gathering containing this entry came to Pomerania from there.¹²⁹

126 T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański', p. 13; J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406. III. Aneksy', pp. 47, 101.

127 See Iwona Babioch, '*Liber generationis* w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych' [The *Liber generationis* in medieval Polish sources], *Muzyka* 33 (1988) no. 1, pp. 3–30. Given the different structure to the gospel descriptions containing Christ's lineage (many short sentences) and the Canticle of Mary (longer phrases), further research is required to determine the affinity between the two musical settings.

128 CZ-Pn XVI A 16, f. 275r–276r; CZ-Pn XVI A 17 f. 242r–242v. Also written in both missals is a setting of the *Liber generationis*, and in the latter source the gospel for the Assumption *In illo tempore intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum* (see manuscriptorium.com, accessed 17 August 2022).

129 There were students from Prussia at Prague university, including some from Gdańsk, see *Prussia scholastica: Die Ost- und Westpreussen auf den mittelalterlichen Universitäten*, ed. Max Perlach, Leipzig 1895, pp. 10–22.

That hypothesis is not borne out, however, by the form of musical notation used by copyist C, which is characteristic of neither Bohemian nor Teutonic sources. Hence the question of the provenance of the section of the manuscript under discussion remains open for further research.

Example 5. Ending of the gospel pericope *Et ait Maria* in Mar. F 406 and CZ-Pn XVI A 16¹³⁰

Mar. F 406, f. 48v

[...] in do-mum su - - am

CZ-Pn XVI A 16, f. 276r

[...] in do-mum su - am

Regardless of the provenance of folios 48 and 49, they supplemented the part written by copyist B, enhanced with the original repertoire intended for the feast of the Visitation. Since the sequence *O felicem genitricem* was intended in the Teutonic liturgy to be sung on the eighth day after the Marian feast in question, this supplement could have been added around the turn of the fifteenth century, since it was then that Teutonic statutes specified the introduction of the octave.¹³¹ It is highly unlikely, however, that these leaves were added to the codex only when it was being bound. Written on f. 49v was the above-mentioned trope to *Regina caeli*, which is included in the original redaction of the *registrum*. This text must have been placed in Mar. F 406 no later than the moment the list of contents was prepared, and that probably occurred earlier. Thus these leaves were added to the *Salve sancta parens* formulary and the compositions intended for the Visitation before the list was prepared.

In Mar. F 406, the repertoire of this feast was supplemented. We have already mentioned the new responsory verses, Vespers hymn and additional sequence. Later additions also include the introit *Gaudeamus omnes*. This popular composition was performed during festive masses to the BVM and other saints, changing the relevant passage which in the version contained in the manuscript indicates the feast of the Visitation.¹³² Hence we cannot concur with Jasiewicz's assertion that this chant was to inaugurate the mass formulary intended for the feast of the Assumption.¹³³ The anti-

130 Transcription by Piotr Ziółkowski.

131 The octave was introduced in 1400. Cf. Waldemar Rozyński, *Studia nad liturgią w Zakonie Krzyżackim w Prusach. Z badań nad religijnością w późnym średniowieczu* [Studies on the liturgy in the Teutonic Order in Prussia: from research into religiosity in the late Middle Ages], Toruń 2012, pp. 78–79.

132 'Gaudeamus omnes [...] in honore Mariae virginis de cuius visitatione [...]', Mar. F 406, f. 49v.

133 Cf. J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 47.

phon contains two psalm verses. The second of them, *Eructavit cor meum*, is a standard verse – the most popular.¹³⁴ Far rarer is *Fecit mihi magna*.¹³⁵ The text is taken from the Magnificat and does not generally occur together with *Gaudeamus omnes* in the Cantus Index database.¹³⁶ This introit was added to the manuscript before the preparation of the *registrum*, which has this chant in its original redaction. So again we cannot agree with Jasiewicz's statement that the manuscript was originally to include one more formulary, which according to the list was to begin on leaf 'L' and was ultimately omitted. Another explanation, whereby the copyist originally omitted the introit, which was added later, is also not borne out.¹³⁷ The person who prepared the register marked the leaf of this manuscript correctly, according to his method, whereas the person who updated the list added the reference according to some other *modus operandi*.¹³⁸ The formulary of the feast of the Visitation, which could have been a first attempt to introduce new chants at St Mary's, originally might not have included any chant at the beginning of the Mass. The introit in question was added later, when the repertoire of this Marian feast was expanded, but before the *registrum* was prepared. The updating of the entry in the book's list of contents, the modification of the office chants and the addition of a new sequence in the last part of the codex indicates that F 406 was used to lead chanting during the feast of the Visitation and its octave for a long time, from the turn of the fifteenth century up to at least the sixteenth century, and possibly until the demise of the Catholic liturgy at St Mary's in Gdańsk.

CHANTS FOR HOLY WEEK AND EASTER

The fourth part of manuscript Mar. F 406, in which particular compositions are linked by a common theme, comprises chants connected to paschal feasts. They include chants for Holy Week and Easter, for both the Ordinary and the Proper (see Table 6).

134 In the Cantus Index, this verse, in a longer and a shorter variant, appears with this introit more than 200 times; see <http://cantusindex.org/id/501004a>, <http://cantusindex.org/id/501004a.1>, accessed 1 September 2022. In the Editio Vaticana, *Gaudeamus* Marian introits are also written with this verse; see *Graduale Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* (see n. 47), pp. 486–487, 517.

135 'Fecit mihi magna dominus et sanctum nomen eius', Mar. F 406, f. 49v.

136 The Cantus Index database does contain 17 other verses (two of them are a longer and a shorter variant of the same verse); see <http://cantusindex.org/id/501004>, accessed 1 September 2022.

137 Cf. J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 47.

138 The original redaction of the *registrum* referred to the folio number visible after the book was spread out. In assuming this to be an error, we would have to state that the scribe erred many times while preparing the *registrum*. Additions to the list, meanwhile, refer to the numbers of particular pages.

Table 6. Chants for Holy Week and Easter in manuscript Mar. F 406

no.	incipit	genre	folios
1.	<i>Unus autem ex ipsis</i>	AV	50r
2.	<i>O admirabile pretium</i>	AV	50v
3.	<i>Dicant nunc</i>	AV, Tp	51r–51v
4.	<i>Crucifixum in carne</i>	AV	51v–52r
5.	<i>Recordamini quomodo</i>	AV	52r
6.	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	Ky	52r
7.	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	Gl	52v–53v
8.	<i>Kyrie eleison</i>	Ky	53v
9.	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	Gl	53v–54v
10.	<i>Virgini Mariae laudes</i>	Sq	54v–55r
11.	<i>Sanctus</i>	Sa	55v–56r
12.	<i>Agnus dei</i>	Ag	56r–56v
13.	<i>Angelus Domini. Respondens autem</i>	AlV	57r
14.	<i>Sanctus</i>	Sa	62v–63r
15.	<i>Agnus dei</i>	Ag	63r–63v

This section begins with verses of antiphons for Holy Week and Easter Sunday.¹³⁹ The first item, *Unus autem*, is a verse of the antiphon *Collegerunt pontifices*. This composition was intended for the Palm Sunday procession.¹⁴⁰ The next verse is *O admirabile pretium*, which, although not appearing in the Teutonic *Liber Ordinarius*, accompanies the antiphon *Dum fabricator mundi* mentioned there.¹⁴¹ Copies of this pair of compositions can be found in extant graduals linked to the liturgy of the Teutonic Order.¹⁴² The third composition comes from the office of the canonical hours. The verse *Dicant nunc* was intended for performance with the chant *Christus resurgens* during the Vespers procession on Easter Sunday.¹⁴³ The last two verses come from the Easter Sunday procession. Both the verse *Crucifixum in carne* and *Recordamini quomodo* were joined with the antiphon *Sedit angelus*.¹⁴⁴

139 In both this manuscript and the Teutonic *Liber Ordinarius*, all these works are characterised as verses accompanying antiphons, while in the Cantus Index some of them appear as responsory verses.

140 *Der Liber Ordinarius*, p. 334.

141 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 342.

142 A-Ssp a VII 20, pp. 105–106; PL-PE L 35, f. 48v–49r; PL-Tmd MDT-K-003, f. 94v.

143 The Teutonic *Liber Ordinarius* defines *Christus resurgens* as an antiphon; see *Der Liber Ordinarius*, p. 173.

144 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

One is struck by the dependent character of this repertoire. All the compositions are to be performed with others, which are not included in the manuscript. These solo compositions were customarily written in graduals and antiphoners along with the antiphons linked to them, and the designated cantors could continue their parts in the chant using the same book as the choir. The manuscript Mar. F 406 was prepared differently. Responsibility for chanting the verses written here lay with a cantor-soloist and a group of singers who were probably not involved in performing the antiphons with which the compositions under discussion were linked. That would justify the inscribing of these works in a separate book. Another hint to the change of performers is the presence of a *custos* at the beginning of some verses. This sign indicated to the musicians, who could not follow the notation in the chant book used by the choir, the interval relative to the preceding part at which the chant was to commence.¹⁴⁵ The inclusion of these compositions in Mar. F 406 would attest to the expansion of the musical aspect of the services celebrated at St Mary's and the use of different books by the various ensembles taking part in the liturgy.¹⁴⁶

In this group of compositions, particular attention is due to the chant *Dicant nunc*, which contains unique tropes (Example 6). The addition includes phrases rhyming with the main words of the verse. Apart from the first verse, the text of the trope is underlined in red ink.¹⁴⁷ It is not known whether this meant that the additional segments were not performed or whether it was intended to highlight elements not present in the original version of the composition. It could be that this procedure was designed to bring this copy in line with other liturgical books. The melody of the trope enriches the main musical setting in the second tone, venturing beyond the normal ambitus, which in this instance extends to an eleventh and necessitates leaps of up to an octave between verses. Another example of the expansion of this composition with this type of addition can be found in the Teutonic antiphoner CZ-Pn XIII A 7 (f. 279v). Although the text in that Prague manuscript begins with the analogous incipit 'Qui crucifixerunt filium dei', the subsequent words and the melody differ from the trope written in Mar. F 406.

145 Such signs were placed by the verses *Unus autem* and *O admirabile pretium*.

146 A similar practice may be indicated by the sections of the Credo transmitted on the bottom endpaper of the manuscript.

147 In the transcription, these passages are marked in italics.

Example 6. Verse *Dicant nunc* in manuscript Mar. F 406¹⁴⁸

Di-cant nunc Ju-dae-i qui cru-ci-fi-xe-runt fi-li-um de-i

Quo-mo-do mi-li-tes sub su-o pac-to com-pli-ces

Cu-sto-di-en-tes se-pul-crum mu-ni-men spon-den-tes pul-chrum

per-di-de-runt re-gem cae-lum ter-ram-que re-gen-tem

Ad la-pi-dis po-si-ti-o-nem jam cer-nant pol-li-ti-o-nem

Qua-re non ser-va-bant si-cut ser-va-re cu-ra-bant

Pe-tram jus-ti-ti-ae ju-ra-ti con-nu-me-ra-ti mi-li-ti-ae

Aut se-pul-tum red-dant quem se-pul-cro tri-bu-e-bant Aut re-sur-gen-tem

a-do-rent et sic su-a sce-le-ra no-rent No-bis-cum di-cen-tes

148 Transcription by Kamil Watkowski.

The Easter mass chants cover the parts of the Ordinary already discussed above. Among Proper chants, the codex originally contained only the Marian sequence *Virgini Mariae laudes*, based on the popular composition *Victimae paschali laudes* connected with Easter Sunday. This sequence was performed during Marian votive masses over the Easter period.¹⁴⁹ In one of the later redactions of the manuscript, Proper chants were supplemented with a double alleluia verse: *Angelus domini – Respondens autem*. In the Teutonic liturgy, this was performed on the Friday during the Octave of Easter.¹⁵⁰ The first of the verses was also used in Marian votive masses during the paschal period.¹⁵¹

Also included in this part of the manuscript is the hymn *Assunt festa jubilea*, not linked to Easter. This is a version with the melody in the first tone. It is not an addition, but forms part of the first redaction of this section. The placement of this hymn at the end of this part of the manuscript (before the additional alleluia verses) allows us to form a hypothesis concerning the chronology behind the preparation of the entire manuscript. As already mentioned, it must date from the period when the version of the office *Exsurgens autem* from antiphoner PL-GD Mar. F 405 was being established as the dominant version, which means that this part of the book was prepared later than the section containing chants linked to the feast of the Visitation. The hymn ends on f. 57r, and the above-mentioned alleluia verses were added in a blank space. Beginning on f. 57v, meanwhile, is the next part of the manuscript, containing *cantiones*. This section is considered to have been prepared by the same scribe as the one responsible for the *Rorate caeli* formulary that opens the book, and it must date from after the paschal section. In that case, the oldest part of the manuscript appears to be the one containing the *Salve sancta parens* formulary and the chants for the Visitation. Next, the section containing chants for Holy Week and Easter was added, along with the second version of the hymn *Assunt festa jubilea*. Only later were the *Rorate caeli* formulary and the *cantiones* section. During the last phase, the manuscript was supplemented with four votive mass formularies and other missing chants.

The fourth thematic section of the manuscript, containing chants for Holy Week and the Easter period, is one of the key elements allowing us to determine the chronology behind the preparation of manuscript Mar. F 406. Thanks to the inclusion of antiphon verses, it also enables us to make assumptions regarding the expansion of the liturgy at St Mary's during the celebration of the biggest feasts in the church year – in terms of both repertoire and means of performance.

149 Cf. *Missale Dominorum Teutonicorum*, Nürnberg: Georgius Stuchs 1499, f. 235r.

150 *Der Liber Ordinarius*, p. 348; this liturgical use is confirmed by Teutonic graduals, except for PL-PE L 35, f. 55r, in which these chants were assigned to the Wednesday of the Octave of Easter.

151 Cf. *Missale Dominorum Teutonicorum*, f. 234v.

FINAL REMARKS

The repertoire of manuscript Mar. F 406 discussed in this article clearly situates it within the Central European context. Besides evident links to the liturgical tradition of the Teutonic Order, it is also worth indicating connections with sources from Bohemia and Poland. Those relations appear to point to the regional establishment of late medieval Teutonic liturgical music within the Central European tradition. The compositions linked to the feast of the Visitation, meanwhile, clearly confirm the link between this codex and the church of St Mary in Gdańsk.

The analysis presented here has enabled us to put forward a hypothesis relating to the chronology behind the preparation of this source and to indicate what are likely to be its oldest sections. Probably dating from the first quarter of the fifteenth century is the section containing the *Salve sancta parens* formulary and chants for the feast of the Visitation (scribe B). Next to be prepared, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, was the section containing compositions for Holy Week and Easter (scribe D). To the mid-fifteenth century we should date the sections containing the *Rorate caeli* formulary and compositions of the *cantio* genre (scribe A). The manuscript was bound around the same time. Finally, on blank leaves bound together with those already inscribed, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, additional mass formularies were inscribed, as well as compositions complementary to the repertoire contained in the older sections (scribe E). Despite a certain disorder to the manuscript's contents, the presented considerations allow us to distinguish thematically linked sections and to indicate the thinking that guided those behind the book's preparation. This also applies to the last section of the codex, dating from the sixteenth century. The presented analysis also shows that Marian piety was not the only motivation for the manuscript's preparation and the expansion of its repertoire, since the collection also includes compositions in praise of the Holy Sacrament and a set of pieces linked to the celebration of the most sacred period in the liturgical calendar: Holy Week and Easter Sunday.

In this work, some issues have been addressed for the first time, while others represent a polemic with previous findings. Despite the research undertaken, not all the questions raised by manuscript Mar. F 406 have been resolved, including those related to notational practices, the repertoire of *cantiones* and trope repertoire. In this context, closer investigation is required into the trope *Angolorum imperator*. Its transmission in the Gdańsk codex is unique. A study of this composition may enable us to be more precise in our dating of section B – probably the first section of the manuscript to be prepared.

Translated by John Comber

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SECUNDUM NOTULAM DOMINORUM TEUTONICORUM – NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA REPERTUAR
I GENEZĘ RĘKOPISU PL-GD MAR. F 406

Ta kolejna po pracach Maciejewskiego i Jasiewicza publikacja poświęcona rękopisowi PL-GD Mar. F 406 pozwala na nowo spojrzeć na gdański zabytek i skorygować opinie sformułowane przez poprzednich badaczy. W artykule powrócono do kwestii struktury księgi oraz repertuaru *ordinarium missae*. Po raz pierwszy analizie poddane zostały kompozycje wykonywane *ad offertorium*, śpiewy święta Nawiedzenia NMP oraz korpus utworów przeznaczonych na Wielki Tydzień i okres wielkanocny, wśród których znaleziono śpiewy unikatowe. Przedstawione rozważania pozwoliły bezsprzecznie powiązać zabytek z liturgią Zakonu Niemieckiego, a w sposób szczególny z gdańskim kościołem Mariackim. Zademonstrowano również związki kodeksu z tradycjami środkowoeuropejskimi – nie tylko z zabytkami z Polski, ale również z rękopisami czeskimi. Analiza repertuaru pozwoliła ponadto z większą dokładnością określić kolejność, w jakiej kompletowano zawartość księgi i datować poszczególne jej części pomiędzy pierwszą ćwiercią XV w. a przełomem XV i XVI wieku. Pokazano również motywacje, jakie towarzyszyły twórcom rękopisu i zakreślono niedostrzegany wcześniej zakres

tematyczny zainteresowań użytkowników kodeksu – obok pobożności maryjnej miejsce znalazły kult Najświętszego Sakramentu oraz elementy zaczerpnięte z liturgii Wielkiego Tygodnia i Wielkanocy.

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Keywords / słowa kluczowe: liturgy of the Teutonic Order / liturgia Zakonu Niemieckiego, chant of the Teutonic Order / chorał Zakonu Niemieckiego, St Mary's Church in Gdańsk / kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku, liturgical music books / księgi liturgiczno-muzyczne, ordinarium missae, Offertory chants / śpiewy *ad offertorium*, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary / Nawiedzenie NMP, Holy Week and Easter chants / śpiewy Wielkiego Tygodnia i Wielkanocy

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