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THE DECORATION OF MANUSCRIPT PL-GD MAR. F 406.
A CONTRIBUTION TO STUDIES ON THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY
ART OF BOOK ILLUMINATING IN GDAŃSK*

Previous studies on the Gdańsk codex Mar. F 406 (so called ‘cantonale’) – a music manuscript from the parish church of the Main Town of Gdańsk, now held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences¹ – contain certain discrepancies, resulting most probably from the different research perspectives adopted by their authors. There is no doubt that this codex was compiled during the fifteenth century in the Gdańsk milieu, and that it was also bound there. However, the few studies dealing with this artefact assume a different number of contributing illuminators and scribes,

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1 Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, parchment, 73 fols; contents: *Rorate caeli* (1r–23v), *Salve sancta parens* (24r–43v), compositions for the feast of the Visitation (44r–49v), chants for Holy Week and Easter (50r–57r); *cantiones* (57v–59v), votive formularies and other chants (60r–73v). On the repertoire see in this issue of *Muzyka*: Kamil Watkowski, Piotr Ziółkowski, ‘*Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum*: A New Look at the Repertoire and Genesis of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406’, *Muzyka* 68 (2023) no. 1, pp. 20–61.

depending on whether the analysis examines the handwriting or the decoration;² there are also different interpretations of the book's heterogeneity and various attempts to identify or even to single out those illuminators and scribes. Finally, there are various propositions for dating the book: Tadeusz Maciejewski dated it generally to the fifteenth century;³ Henryk Piwoński to after 1460;⁴ Jan Jasiewicz suggested two phases – the second quarter of the fifteenth century and the middle of that century⁵ (with the cover made after 1460); in studies from the history of art, meanwhile, the Gdańsk 'cantonale' appears as a work produced entirely during the first half of the fifteenth century.⁶

The decoration of this codex, being the subject of the present discussion, has not been thoroughly investigated to date. It has appeared in the literature, however, because already in the early stages of research into painting in Pomerania it was included among the oeuvre of the illumination workshop in Gdańsk of the first half of the fifteenth century. In research from the history of art conducted thus far, the whole book has been perceived almost entirely from the perspective of the stylistic character of its first leaf,⁷ decorated with floral vine patterns in Bohemian

2 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; 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, esp. 289; Iwona Błaszczyk, 'Iluminacje średniowiecznych rękopisów ze zbiorów pomorskich (przyczynek do twórczości środowiska miniatorskiego na Pomorzu Wschodnim)' [Illuminations in medieval manuscripts from Pomeranian collections (a contribution to the output of the miniature painting milieu in East Pomerania)], *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne* 3 (1981), pp. 107–125, esp. 122; Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, 'Malarstwo miniaturowe' [Miniature painting], in: *Malarstwo gotyckie na Pomorzu Wschodnim* [Gothic painting in East Pomerania], ed. Jerzy Domasłowski, Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, Adam S. Labuda, Warszawa–Poznań 1990, pp. 211–212; Iwona Błaszczyk, 'Kancjonał' [*Cantonale*], in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic painting in Poland], eds. Adam S. Labuda, Krystyna Secomska, vol. 2, Warsaw 2004 (= *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej* 2/3), p. 323; Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, 'Malarstwo książkowe na Pomorzu Wschodnim' [Book painting in East Pomerania], in: *Malarstwo gotyckie*, vol. 1, p. 476; 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; Sabina Drożdziejcka, 'Graduał' [Gradual], in: *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum... Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Zamkowym w Malborku 14 września–17 listopada 2019* [Catalogue of an exhibition at the Castle Museum in Malbork, 14 September to 17 November 2019], ed. Monika Czapska, vol. 2, Malbork 2019, pp. 346–347, cat. no. XI.13.

3 T. Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański', p. 7.

4 H. Piwoński, 'Hymny w zabytkach', p. 289.

5 J.J. Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 68.

6 I. Błaszczyk, 'Iluminacje', p. 122; I. Błaszczyk, 'Kancjonał', p. 323.

7 Only Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa ('Malarstwo miniaturowe', p. 212; 'Malarstwo książkowe', p. 476) has drawn attention to the cadels (which she calls 'ribbon initials') with pen-drawn grotesque masks and zoomorphic motifs; Iwona Błaszczyk ('Iluminacje', p. 122) initially noted the motifs of masks and fantastic beasts appearing there without indicating that they are the work of different hands, then subsequently ('Kancjonał', p. 323) observed: 'one can distinguish the work of an accomplished illuminator and of several hands producing the ribbon initials (no doubt scribes)'.

style, painted and gilded, for which there are many analogies in a number of other manuscripts from St Mary's Library in Gdańsk. Already Otto Günther attributed also adornments of the lost missal Mar. F 399 and codices Mar. F 59, 61, 80 and 403 to the same illuminator's hand.⁸ This attribution has been consistently reiterated by other scholars examining Gdańsk book illuminations: Georg Cuny,⁹ Willi Drost¹⁰ and Iwona Błaszczuk,¹¹ as well as Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, who included in that group also a 1454 missal from the collection of the National Library in Warsaw (BN, shelf-mark Baw6sz, now 12500 III).¹² Based on outward similarities of stylistic features and the system of gouache decorations, a group of books representative of the Gdańsk municipal scriptorium has been identified,¹³ although with note taken of the varying quality of the adornments of particular works.¹⁴

The art of book illumination in Gdańsk still awaits both a discerning revision of previous theses, developed since the 1920s, and a modern, analytical comparative monographic study – despite the fact that such a set of well-preserved books, decorated in a similar manner, certainly offers an attractive and significant field for research. Sufficiently detailed analysis has never been made of either the decoration of individual books¹⁵ or the group as a whole, in relation to other books dispersed

- 8 Otto Günther, *Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek gefertigt 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. 94, 96, 100, 456.
- 9 Georg Cuny, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Kunst im Weichselgebiet', *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 69 (1929), pp. 87–106, esp. 96–106.
- 10 Willi Drost linked manuscripts Mar. F 61, 403 and 406 as the work of a 'Gdańsk school'; Willi Drost, *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschatze*, Stuttgart 1963 (= Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Deutschen Ostens, Reihe A, Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig), pp. 107–108.
- 11 Iwona Błaszczuk ('Iluminacje', p. 108) opposed attributing all these works to one artist; she linked into one individual oeuvre Mar. F 80, 59, 403 and 406, singling out Mar. F 80 as the finest and describing the others as drier, with muted colouring.
- 12 A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, 'Malarstwo miniaturowe', p. 212.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 209–212.
- 14 I. Błaszczuk, 'Iluminacje', p. 108.
- 15 Eight books in the collection have been included in a catalogue of Gothic painting in Poland (*Malarstwo gotyckie*, see above n. 2): the oldest one, Mar. F 83 (I. Błaszczuk, 'Grzegorz IX: Decretales' [Gregory IX: Decretales], p. 318), Mar. F 399, dated to the second quarter of the 15th century (A. Palińska, '*Missale secundum notulam*', pp. 318–319), Mar. F 80 (I. Błaszczuk, '*Missale secundum notulam*', pp. 319–320), Mar. F 332 (I. Błaszczuk, '*Missale secundum notulam*', pp. 320–321), Mar. F 61 (I. Błaszczuk, '*Missale secundum notulam*', pp. 321–322), Mar. F 400 (I. Błaszczuk, '*Missale secundum notulam*', p. 322), Mar. F 406 (I. Błaszczuk, 'Kancjonał', p. 323), Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, akc. 9761 (A. Palińska, '*Missale secundum notulam*', pp. 323–324). Several of the Gdańsk books were also presented at the Malbork exhibition 'Fundacje artystyczne' in 2010: see the entries by Agata Larczyńska in: *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach. Katalog wystawy w Muzeum Zamkowym w Malborku, 25 czerwca–12 września 2010 roku* [Artistic foundations on the territory of the Teutonic State in Prussia: catalogue of an exhibition at the Castle Museum in Malbork, 25 June to 12 September 2010], ed. Barbara Pospieszna, vol. 1, Malbork 2010: 'Ms. Mar. Q 49', p. 146, cat. no. II.1.9; 'Ms. Mar. F 59', p. 147, cat. no. II.1.10; 'Ms. Mar. F 61', pp. 148–149, cat. no. II.1.11; 'Ms. Mar. F 332', pp. 150–151, cat. no. II.1.12; 'Ms. Mar. F 400', p. 152, cat. no. II.1.13; 'Ms. Mar. F 403n', p. 153, cat. no. II.1.14.

outside Gdańsk, which seems to be an important research desiderate. May this analysis of the decoration of Mar. F 406 be a contribution to such research.

As already mentioned, the codex in question is striking for its considerable heterogeneity.¹⁶ Particular sections of the text and the music are written in various hands, and they are decorated in different ways, and to a varying standard: from high-class sophisticated adornments to unskilful or imitative decorations; from luxurious designs to effects typical of so-called functional books. In the case of Mar. F 406, there is also no way to confirm the practice – quite common in medieval scriptoria – of one or two illuminators decorating fragments of text written by a larger number of copyists or vice versa – a text written by one scribe being decorated by a larger group of flourishers. Here each part in a different hand is decorated in different way: there is no continuity of production, only of content,¹⁷ which also displays a complex, heterogenous repertoire that eludes straightforward evaluation.¹⁸ The inner homogeneity to the decoration of particular sections generally corresponds to the successive gatherings and sections of the text and the musical notation, written by different scribes (see Table 1).

The first illuminator, most probably also the scribe, whose work displays stylistic features typical of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, decorated the first three gatherings;¹⁹ the next three²⁰ were decorated by another flourisher, probably also the copyist, whose older-style calligraphy is highly simplified. Added to the sixth gathering, copied by him, are two more leaves displaying different decorative features;²¹ the musical repertoire²² and the style of the adornments indicate the late fourteenth century. The seventh gathering²³ was copied by two scribes. Part of it was decorated only with red Lombardic capitals, and just a few of the leaves were decorated by the first illuminator.²⁴ Finally, the last three gatherings²⁵ (14 leaves), copied by another scribe bear quite heterogenous, but late, pen-flourished decoration (possibly in one

16 Quite surprising is the proposition of Jan Jerzy Jasiewicz ('Krzyżacka tradycja. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F 406', p. 40–46) who has distinguished two parts, dating one of them to the mid-15th century and the other earlier.

17 Particularly in the notation of chants for the feast of the Visitation (f. 44r–47v): the leaves are copied by two different scribes, possibly at different periods.

18 On this subject, see the penetrating study by Kamil Watkowski and Piotr Ziółkowski ('*Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum*') in this issue of *Muzyka*.

19 Gatherings I–III, f. 1r–23v (*Rorate caeli*).

20 Gatherings IV–VI, f. 24r–47v (*Salve sancta parens*, from f. 44r – compositions for the feast of Visitation).

21 Gathering VI, f. 48r–49v (compositions for the feast of Visitation continued).

22 This is indicated by analysis of the chants, see K. Watkowski, P. Ziółkowski, '*Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum*'.

23 Gathering VII, f. 50r–59v (chants for Holy Week and Easter).

24 Gathering VII, f. 57r–59v (*cantiones*).

25 Gatherings VIII, IX, X, f. 60r–73v (votive formularies).

hand), the youngest forms of which can be dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the endpaper, an incomplete Credo was written, precisely decorated in a manner typical of the fifteenth century; the text can be dated to the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁶

Table 1. The illuminators of the codex Mar. F 406

gathering	folios	contents	illuminator	copyist	dating
I–III	1r–23v	<i>Rorate caeli</i>	illuminator I	copyist I (A), identified with illuminator I	2nd quarter of 15th c.
IV–VI	24r–47v	<i>Salve sancta parens</i> from f. 44r – compositions for the feast of Visitation	illuminator II	copyist II (B), illuminator II	1st quarter of 15th c.
VI	48r–49v	compositions for the feast of Visitation continued	illuminator III	copyist III (C)	14th/15th c. (?)
VII	50r–57r	chants for Holy Week and Easter	illuminator IV	copyist IV (D)	2nd quarter of 15th c.
VII	57v–59v	<i>cantiones</i>	illuminator I	copyist I (A), illuminator I	
VIII–X	60r–73v	votive formularies and another liturgical chants	illuminator V (late Gothic)	'late Gothic' copyists (E)	15th/16th c.
	endpaper	Credo	–	–	4th quarter of 15th c.

THE BINDING

Analysis of both the musical repertoire²⁷ and the palaeographic features and decoration (see below) leads to the conclusion that this book is not a homogeneous work, but arose as a result of the integration of leaves written at different times (between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth century). Since the book was not

²⁶ See K. Wątkowski, P. Ziółkowski, '*Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum*'.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

re-bound in early modern times, an important factor for establishing its dating as a whole (in its present form) is the evaluation of its medieval binding (Figure 1a). The codex was bound in two boards clad in light-coloured leather decorated with blind tooling – ornaments embossed using stamps and creasers,²⁸ composed of a frame with two criss-crossing bars giving a so-called diamond design. The copper alloy sheet metal fittings are modest:²⁹ in the middle of both covers there are single, flat, featureless rosettes, and the book has also retained its unadorned corner fittings and clasps. Already in 1921 Otto Günther³⁰ attributed this binding to a local Gdańsk workshop which made at least thirty other bindings for books from St Mary's Library in Gdańsk.³¹ From the shape of a characteristic stamp used by that workshop, Günther coined the name 'Dragon Bookbinder' (Ger. *Drachenschneider*), which has endured in the literature; and given the relative longevity of the Gdańsk bookbinding establishments that were still using this motif around the turn of the sixteenth century, he termed this workshop 'the first' or 'the older'.³² The binding of Mar. F 406 belongs among the 'classic' products of that workshop, its modest composition using repeating stamps with the motifs of a dragon (ø1.8 cm, see Figure 1b), a star or rosette (ø1.3 cm) and smaller flowers. That is the basic set of tools singled out by Günther, who dated the beginning of this workshop's activity to around 1460, so relatively late. He also attributed another binding – of the breviary Mar. O 10, dated to 1475³³ – to the same workshop and indicated that it could have been active even for forty years,³⁴ providing covers not only for books copied for St Mary's in Gdańsk,³⁵ but also for other clients. In the most recent studies, the founding of this workshop is moved back, to the 1430s (it is possible, however, that the tools employed there were also used later, so it is hard to establish an absolute dating of individual book covers). Covers similar to those of the book under discussion, of a similarly modest composition, can be found on two codices held in Toruń University Library

28 Cover dimensions: 58 × 37.5 cm.

29 The material was identified by Juliusz Raczkowski using a handheld XRF analyser Hitachi X-MET8000t, 2021.

30 O. Günther, *Die Handschriften*, p. 456.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 2.

32 O. Günther (*Die Handschriften*, pp. 22–30) provides detailed arguments in favour of its local activity, including binding waste from Gdańsk: sixteen books attributed to this workshop have paper binding waste from a Bologna protocol book from 1422 (the workshop produced many book covers at the same time). It also received commissions to bind various manuscripts together into larger *Sammelhandschriften*; *ibid.*, p. 26.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 23, n. 1.

(hereafter BUMK), 39/III³⁶ and 41/III³⁷, both decorated with the dragon motif of the same diameter as the cover of Mar. F 406. Both those books were definitely made in the second quarter of the century, as is evidenced by watermarks and inscriptions, and their covers are also dated by Arkadiusz Wagner to the 1430s–40s.³⁸ The same workshop bound two graduals from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec (a fact not previously noted in the literature at all), the older of which (shelf-mark L3–L4³⁹) is dated to c.1450, while the younger (L1–L2⁴⁰) was made – according to the colophon – in 1458.⁴¹ Accepting a similar dating for the works of the older Dragon Bookbinder, one should assume that Mar. F 406, the block of which is integral with the cover, was completed around the mid-fifteenth century.⁴² At the present stage, we can assume that the text in the last three gatherings, displaying palaeographic features from the early sixteenth century, was written on pages that for some time had remained blank.⁴³

In the further part of this article, I will describe in detail the results of analysis of the various parts of the decoration and the features of the decoration identified during the expert evaluation of the codex.

- 36 Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 39/III, Nicolaus de Dinkelsbühl, *Questiones quarti Sententiarum (Lectura Mellicensis)*, see Marta Czyżak, Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Arkadiusz Wagner *Katalog rękopisów średniowiecznych Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Toruniu* [Catalogue of medieval manuscripts of Toruń University Library], Toruń 2016, pp. 160–163 (the binding: p. 162). The latest identified watermark dates from 1438. The codex's owner, Andreas Ruperti, was parish priest of St Mary's in Gdańsk from 1438 to 1447, and the codex was probably compiled at that time.
- 37 Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 41/III, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio totius Psalterii*, a codex commissioned by the Pomesanian canon Andreas Falkenau in 1437, as confirmed by the ownership note; the paper has watermarks from 1436–42 (see *ibid.*, pp. 170–173).
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 173.
- 39 Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek (The Museum of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec), L3 and L4, *Graduale de tempore et de sanctis*, see Anna Palińska, 'Graduale de tempore et de sanctis', in: *Malarstwo gotyckie*, vol. 2, pp. 439–440 (digital images: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.eu/dlibra/publication/71630/edition/65333> and <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.eu/dlibra/show-content/publication/71631/edition/65396>, accessed 2 September 2022).
- 40 Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek, L1 and L2, *Graduale de tempore et de sanctis* (digital images: <https://bibliotekacyfrowa.eu/dlibra/publication/71628/edition/65394> and <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.eu/dlibra/publication/71629/edition/65395>, accessed 2 September 2022).
- 41 A. Palińska, 'Graduale de tempore et de sanctis', p. 440.
- 42 Taking into account the text on the endpaper with the repertoire indicating the last quarter of the 15th century (see K. Watkowski, P. Ziółkowski, 'Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum', p. 35), we cannot definitely rule out that it was even later. However, the analysis of other features of the codex, especially the decoration of leaves written probably at the same time as the book was bound, implies that it should rather be dated to c.1450; the endpaper could have been added later, for instance when the last leaves of the codex were written, in the early 16th century, or even later.
- 43 The practice of leaving blank gatherings can be confirmed from several analogies, for instance the 14th-century codex BUMK 77/I (see M. Czyżak, M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, A. Wagner, *Katalog rękopisów*, pp. 334–339), in which the last two gatherings were not written until the 15th century.

THE FIRST ILLUMINATOR, SECOND QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The first three gatherings of the codex (Figure 2) were written entirely by one scribe in black ink. As shown by the XRF analysis,⁴⁴ the ink contained a high concentration of copper.⁴⁵ The scribe, displaying an assured, experienced hand, wrote in a highly characteristic manner, increasing the tool pressure and drawing the ink upwards at the end of a letter along its contour – both in letters and in neumes. This feature is clearly visible on photographs in near-infrared (Figure 3); in some parts of the text, it can be also seen with the naked eye (a characteristic swelling of the ink layer at the bottom of letters). The text was decorated in a coherent way, typical of late medieval music manuscripts, with the use of small calligraphic initials of the height of one verse (Lombardic capitals⁴⁶), crossed through with rubric, devoid of decoration, and also more elaborate black cadels (Figure 4),⁴⁷ as well as coloured pen-flourished

44 The examination was carried out in 2021 by the Prof. Juliusz Raczkowski.

45 The composition of the ink used for both the text and the musical notation, in which iron and copper appear in an almost 1:1 ratio (35–45% in repeated measurements), has analogies in writing material used in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, including in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, for instance in a scriptorium working for Chełmża cathedral. Almost the same composition, intentionally modified with copper – probably due to the use of copper vitriol – can be shown for codices written probably for Chełmża chapter, namely, a gradual from Biblioteka Diecezjalna (the Diocesan Library) in Pelplin (hereafter BDP), BDP L2, and its second volume from Muzeum Diecezjalne (the Diocesan Museum) in Toruń, MDT-K-003, and also for an antiphonary from Chełmża held in Pelplin, BDP L5 and L6; see Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Juliusz Raczkowski, 'Zespół iluminowanych kodeksów liturgicznych z katedry w Chełmży jako źródło do badań nad kulturą artystyczną i życiem duchowym kapituły chełmińskiej w XV stuleciu' [A set of illuminated liturgical codices from Chełmża cathedral as a source for research into artistic culture and spiritual life in Chełmża chapter during the 15th century], in: *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych* [*Textus, pictura, musica: the medieval manuscript codex as an object of interdisciplinary research*], eds. Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Marta Czyżak, Toruń 2022 (= *Studia nad Skryptorium i Spuścizną Rękopiśmienną Średniowiecza* 3), pp. 125–185, esp. 132 and 158. A different kind of ink – with high zinc content – has been confirmed for a gradual BDP L13 (Miroslaw Wachowiak, 'Nieinwazyjne badania Gradułu L13 przenośnym spektrometrem XRF' [Non-invasive analysis of the gradual L13 using a portable XRF spectrometer], in: *Pelpliński Graduał L13. Dzieło – badania – konserwacja* [The Pelplin Graduał L13: the work, research and conservation], eds. Juliusz Raczkowski, Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Toruń 2019 (= *Studia nad Skryptorium i Spuścizną Rękopiśmienną Średniowiecza* 1), pp. 191–193. The results of the examination in this regard carried out by Juliusz Raczkowski for the collections of the Diocesan Library in Pelplin and the University Library in Toruń indicate that ink based on iron vitriol was by no means a dominant mixture in the late Middle Ages; quite often the measurements identify considerable quantities of copper and/or zinc (probably from other vitriols), and among significant admixtures (up to 5%) also lead, silver and gold.

46 Monochromatic or alternately red and blue Lombardic initials are the most common type of initials, occurring very often as the only type of decoration in utilitarian codices from the 13th to the 15th century.

47 The term 'cadel' is used here to describe decorative, geometricized calligraphic initials drawn with the same ink as the text, with decoratively extended strokes and serifs, sometimes additionally decorated with pen-flourishing.

initials,⁴⁸ alternately red and blue, of the height of one linear system (Figure 5). Also copied in the same hand were the last two leaves of the seventh gathering, decorated in the same manner.

All the cadels, in accordance with a commonly accepted practice, were drawn by the scribe, as were the smaller geometricized initials of individual verses. The copyist adorned the former with very precise, rich pen-flourishing with buds⁴⁹ and the occasional mask;⁵⁰ the latter are generally devoid of ornaments and only rarely traced with pen-flourishing and furnished with masks.⁵¹ The cadels are penned in a similar way to the letters of the text (with the effect of thickening the contour, which can be seen more clearly in near-infrared, see Figure 4a–b). Their decoration is based on counters filled with frayed semi-palmettes or sections of acanthus vine, a delicate surround of buds and stems (sometimes with scrolls) and – in initials located at the outer edge of the text block – symmetrical appendages with a single column of pearls in the middle and wavy tendrils spreading to the sides (a motif resembling a fountain). The structure of the letters seems to be based on pattern-book standards – one only has to compare them to quite similar initials in codices produced earlier, during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, for Chelmsza chapter.⁵² They include a group that demonstrates the master's strong individualism, especially in the chiaroscuro floral vines, imitating forms used in painting. Another set of letters that stands out are those decorated with quite individualised human masks. Although this is hardly a unique decoration, it is also not a standard one: attention is drawn to the finely drawn female heads, which break with the common scheme of grotesque male profiles. The two ribbon initials E(t) and C(hriste) on leaf 1r, drawn in the same hand and decorated with black pen-flourishing, were additionally enriched with multicoloured, opaque painted floral vine.

The same scribe-calligrapher most probably decorated all the large Lombardic initials in the first gathering. They were decorated with red pen-flourishing, of bright vermilion for blue letters and of a lighter, more muted hue for red letters⁵³ (Figure 5a–b). Abandoning the usual alternating blue-red ornamentation of initials can

48 A pen-flourished initial (*fleuronnée, litera florissa*) is a coloured Lombardic initial with linear decoration executed with a quill pen and pigmented ink, most often in a contrasting colour (red for blue letters and vice versa), developed from the twelfth century onwards; see Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-century Manuscripts*, Leyden 1989.

49 Pen-flourishing with buds is the richest and at the same time highly typical form of Gothic pen-flourished decoration; the main component of ornaments are regular rounded 'buds' combined in diverse compositions. Sonia Scott-Fleming (*The Analysis of Pen Flourishing*, pp. 18, 24, 32 and others) uses the term 'bulb' to name that element of pen-flourishing.

50 F. 10v (female head), 11v (male profile mask), 12r (male profile mask), 12v (female head 3/4), 13r (profile mask of a bearded man), 13v (profile mask of a youth), 15r (profile mask of a monk?).

51 Male profile masks: f. 6v, 8v, 21r, 22r, 22v.

52 See the illustrations in M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, J. Raczkowski, 'Zespół iluminowanych kodeksów', p. 139.

53 The ink used may have contained an organic dye, e.g. cochineal.

be regarded as a hallmark of that illuminator. This ornament is characterised by a compact, regular composition and fat, often swollen bud forms. The following may be regarded as peculiar features of this style: the trefoil motif, resembling clover (especially in S-shaped designs within counters, see Figure 5a),⁵⁴ buds furled into spirals, sharp semi-palmettes and single, very rigid appendages of decreasing pearls ending with filamentous, symmetrical 'fountains'. The concurrence of that particular form indicates that the cadels were drawn and finished in the same hand that painted the coloured initials.

The first leaf of the codex (Figure 6a) is characterised by the richest decoration and is the only one to contain multi-coloured ornaments – floral vines executed in opaque paints, with the use of burnished gold.⁵⁵ It has one significant feature in common with the rest of the decoration of the first gathering: red pen-flourishing of exactly the same forms as in the calligraphic initials was added as a finishing touch to the floral tendril in the upper margin,⁵⁶ and a painterly opaque decoration fills the counters of two cadels drawn earlier. This may indicate that the whole of the first gathering was written and decorated by one person, which would not be an isolated case for Prussian scriptoria; suffice it to mention the Pelplin Gradual L13⁵⁷ or the two volumes of the gradual from Chełmża held in Toruń and in Pelplin (L2),⁵⁸ where we encounter a similar situation.

The adornments of f. 1r are not only the most visually attractive part of the decoration, but also the most recognisable in terms of provenance and dating. Its central element is the incipit initial R(orate) (Figure 6b). The letter is enclosed in a framed rectangular field. The three-dimensional quality of the frame is suggested by the use of different shades of green and the introduction of a white 'highlight' line on two of the edges. The neutral background is filled with whitened red, strewn with a floral ornament painted with silver powder paint (now heavily oxidated) – symmetrical vines with little leaves arranged in regular twists, inside which are painted rosettes of tiny dots. The block of the letter is adorned with stylised acanthus vine, the three-dimensional quality

54 E.g. f. 2v G(loria), 16r G(aude), 17r N(igra), 19r P(ulchra), 20r Q(uam).

55 The colour palette employed here is based on three contrasting colours, red, green and blue, with skilfully modulated tonal gradation. The elemental composition of the paints allows us to identify the basic inorganic pigments used, namely, vermillion and iron oxide, malachite green and azurite; pastel hues were obtained by mixing these pigments with lead white (the XRF measurements were taken and interpreted by Juliusz Raczkowski). This is a basic Gothic palette, demonstrating the craftsmanship of the master, who managed to obtain rich colour and painterly effects using a relatively limited range of pigments.

56 We find here elongated 'fountains' with sweeping tendrils.

57 Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna, BDP L13, *Graduale de tempore et de sanctis*, fourth quarter of the 14th century; see Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, Mateusz F. Marszałkowski, 'Twórca Graduału L13' [The hand behind gradual L13], in: *Pelpliński Graduał L13*, pp. 123–146.

58 Toruń, Muzeum Diecezjalne, MDT-K-003, *Graduale de tempore*; Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna, BDP L2, *Graduale de sanctis*. On the supposed joint execution and use of those books and on their decoration, see M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, J. Raczkowski, 'Zespół iluminowanych kodeksów', pp. 138–143.

of which is suggested by the use of different shades of blue; the chiaroscuro effect is obtained by hatching, and the edges and veins of the foliage are brought out with a fine white contour in the uppermost layer of paint. Sprouting from the letter's serifs towards the inner margin are three-dimensional acanthus vines with a pink underside. They intertwine with the rigid vertical stem of the appendage positioned symmetrically in the middle of the margin and taking up two-thirds of the leaf's height. The shoot has changing colours (from intense dark blue, through green and lighter blue, to pink) and symmetrically positioned, pointed leaves with graphic veins and gilded, teardrop-shaped 'fruit'. A similar horizontal appendage with a softer, wavy stem runs along the upper margin; the central fleuron (cut off at the top) and two twigs with wavy tips sprout off a dark-blue boss positioned on the letter's axis. The right one forks out and creeps decoratively along most of the text's width.

The composition system of the leaf, the type of pen-flourishing, with a readily repeated motif of regular pearls, and the style of floral decoration have their formal origins in Bohemian miniature painting of the late fourteenth century. The elegant, quite restrained way of decorating musical notation employed in the products of Prague scriptoria was similar to that in Mar. F 406. It was restricted to large, decorative black cadels (often with masks and stylised foliage) and pen-flourished coloured initials.⁵⁹ One can also find numerous analogies for the margins filled with multi-coloured, frayed floral vines with flowing colour, arranged in decorative curves and decorated with foliage and gilded drops. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, it had flexible, leafy stems and was sometimes enriched with *drôleries*;⁶⁰ further into the fifteenth century, the decoration became more rigid, modest and spatially expansive.⁶¹ This suggests a dating for the incipit of Mar. F 406 – with a quite rigid appendage and sparse foliage – of no earlier than the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Also of Bohemian provenance is the structure of a coloured initial in a perspective frame, with the pastel stem of the letter filled with floral vine of the same colour, with tiny, springy acanthus shoots and gold or silver twigs in the background/counter;⁶² local gilded foliage alludes to the most luxurious Prague products.⁶³

59 See e.g. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET), The Cloisters Collection and The Rendl Fund, shelf-mark 2013.38, bifolium from a Bohemian antiphonary of c.1405.

60 E.g. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, M 15/1, Bible of Konrad von Vechta, 1402–03; Lucerne, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, P. 19.fol, *Graduale*, 1402–03; Girona, Museu Diocesà, M.D. 273, *Martilologium*; New York, MET, The Cloisters Collection and The Rendl Fund, see above n. 59; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 609, the sermons of Nicolas de Gorran, 1399–1400.

61 Cf. e.g. the floral vines in a Prague codex from before 1420: Zittau, Christian-Weise-Bibliothek, Mscr.A IV, *Antiphonarium*, f. 1r.

62 Cf. e.g. the H(odie) initial in a gradual from Lucerne (see above n. 60) on f. 20v – set in a shaded pink rectangular frame, with a navy-blue letter stem filled with light-blue foliage and a fine golden floral ornament on a red background in the counter.

63 See e.g. codices of a Bohemian (Prague) provenance from the early 15th century listed above in n. 60.

The tradition of Bohemian-style marginal decoration and Bohemian-style initials became established in the miniature painting of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia already during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The oldest dated example is considered to be the above-mentioned antiphonary from Chełmża,⁶⁴ held in the Pelplin collection under shelf-mark L5–L6, with figural and floral initials furnished with stiff acanthus appendages with graphic veins. Another example consists of quite similar adornments (possibly drawn by the same illuminator) in the aforementioned gradual from the parish church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist in Toruń (MDT-K-003), probably also associated with Chełmża chapter.⁶⁵ During the fifteenth century, the Prague style dominated scriptoria active in Pomerania; even some illuminators in Pelplin, while generally following the local tradition, made an inelegant stab at adapting it.⁶⁶ During the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the Bohemian-style system of decoration became common to codices produced in Gdańsk – perhaps thanks to some artist who had arrived from Bohemia or been educated there. Regarded since the times of Günther and Cuny as the oldest Gdańsk product in that style is the lost missal from St Mary's Library with shelf-mark Mar. F 399,⁶⁷ dated to c.1430. The adornments of the first gathering of codex Mar. F 406, which scholars concur in associating with the other examples, can be dated to a similar time, no later than the mid-fifteenth century.

The consistent execution of all Bohemian-style Gdańsk decorations that is suggested in the literature requires further penetrating comparative studies, particularly in missals, since their quality is highly diverse and their dating divergent. As a work similar to the incipit of Mar. F 406, we can certainly cite the adornments of missal Mar. F 59⁶⁸ – slightly more rigid and more graphic, but employing the same forms (Figure 7). Particularly similar in type and finishing are also gouache ornaments of the missal Mar. F 80⁶⁹ and the missal from the collection of the National Library in Warsaw.⁷⁰ One is struck by the presence of almost identically decorated gouache initials and marginal floral vines also in an older codex from Żarnowiec L3–L4

64 A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, 'Malarstwo miniaturowe', p. 112.

65 On the artistic origins of these ornaments in all four volumes, see M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, J. Raczkowski, 'Zespół iluminowanych kodeksów', pp. 169–173.

66 See e.g. Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna, BDP 16(16), Postil by Johann von Quedlinburg, E(xpeditus) initial, f. 2r.

67 G. Cuny, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Kunst', p. 99.

68 Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 59, *Missale*.

69 Ibid., Mar. F 80, *Missale*; A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, 'Malarstwo książkowe', p. 476; Sabina Drożdziejka, 'Mszał (*Missale secundum notumal dominorum teutonicorum*)' [Missal (*Missale secundum notumal dominorum teutonicorum*)], in: *Sapientia aedificavit*, pp. 341–343, cat. no. XI.10.

70 Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 12500 III, *Missale*; see Jerzy Kaliszuk, Sławomir Szyller, *Inwentarz rękopisów do połowy XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Inventory of manuscripts up to the mid-16th century in the collections of the National Library], Warsaw 2012 (= *Inwentarze Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej* 3), p. 170 (digital images: <https://polona.pl/item/missale,ODM2NTgyN-TY/14/#info:metadata>, accessed 5 February 2023).

(Figure 8a–b).⁷¹ The other manuscripts produced in Gdańsk require penetrating comparative studies in this respect.

What has however so far escaped the scholars' attention is the fact, that in some of the Gdańsk books, the same type of pen-flourishing repeatedly occurs,⁷² various examples of which are sufficiently similar, both formally and technically, that they can be accepted as the work of the same hand. The significance of pen-flourished ornaments in workshop studies is vital: since each flourisher developed his own individual forms over the course of his practice, seemingly common schemes comprising the same motifs often bear an important individual feature that allows us to detect the works of one hand within a larger group of manuscripts.⁷³ Also in this respect, the collection of St Mary's Library requires penetrating study: the contribution of the same calligrapher – the one readily employing the motif of clover, scroll and rigid appendages of the 'fountain' type – could probably be confirmed in a larger number of books. One could cite here numerous pen-flourished ornaments in codex Mar. F 59 (Figure 9a),⁷⁴ as well as the adornments of the incipit initial T(e) in missal Mar. F 400.⁷⁵ It is worth noting that the same hand decorated books not intended for Gdańsk.⁷⁶ An initial characteristic of the first illuminator of Mar. F 406 (Figure 9b) appears in a codex copied for the Pomesanian canon Andreas Falkenau in 1437,⁷⁷ bound in the Gdańsk workshop of the elder Dragon Bookbinder. On the grounds of the similarity of decoration, a prayer book held in Toruń (shelf-mark 2/III), produced for an unknown woman (possibly

71 Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek, L3 and L4, *Graduale de tempore et de sactis*; e.g. in L3, f. 1v, A(d te), the initial in a red double frame on a golden background, the letter dark blue, filled with acanthus vine, the counter pale pink with an ornament painted with silver powder paint and with a rich floral bordure – almost identical to the one in Mar. F 406; L3, f. 18r, P(uer), initial with the Baby Jesus in the counter and an identical system of floral and pen-flourished decoration; L4, f. 28, S(piritus): the letter in a perspective frame, on a gold background, filled with acanthus vine, the counter containing delicate floral ornaments painted with silver on a green background, as well as pen-flourished decoration with rigid appendages; L4, f. 46v, the E(t) initial, with an almost identical layout to the ornament painted with silver powder paint and featuring symmetrically forked appendages sprouting from plump orbs.

72 The specific form of pen-flourishing with a clover motif has been noted in the literature only for Mar. F 400, see I. Błaszczuk, 'Iluminacje', p. 109; I. Błaszczuk, 'Missale secundum notulam', p. 322; A. Larczyńska, 'Ms. Mar. F 400', p. 152.

73 The potential of this method has been confirmed by recent studies on codices from the Cistercian scriptorium in Pelplin, see Mateusz F. Marszałkowski, 'Zdobienia filigranowe – analiza styloznawcza' [Pen-flourished adornments: style analysis], in: *Pelpliński Graduał*, pp. 107–122; Mateusz F. Marszałkowski, 'Średniowieczne kodeksy iluminowane z cysterskiego skryptorium w Pelplinie. Problematyka zabytkoznawcza' [Medieval illuminated codices from the Cistercian scriptorium in Pelplin: issues relating to art expertise], Wydział Sztuk Pięknych, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu 2020 (PhD dissertation).

74 Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 59, *Missale*.

75 *Ibid.*, Mar. F 400, *Missale*.

76 This is a new observation: I noticed the similarity of these forms a few years ago, but without referring them to Gdańsk.

77 Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 41/III, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio totius Psalterii*; see M. Czyżak, M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, A. Wagner, *Katalog rękopisów*, pp. 170–175.

a lay person), can also be included among the Gdańsk heritage of that milieu.⁷⁸ It seems also that the same hand worked on a pen-flourished decoration of Lombardic initials (with characteristic red pen-flourishing by a red letter, Figure 10a–b) and cadels (with mask motifs, cf. Figures 10c–11) in the above-mentioned Żarnowiec gradual L3–L4.⁷⁹ Similar – although more ornate⁸⁰ – are also pen-flourished decorations in the somewhat later Żarnowiec gradual L1–L2 (Figure 12).⁸¹ The fact that some of these books are dated, including the Falkenau codex (commissioned in 1437, watermarks from 1442), the missal from the National Library in Warsaw (1454) and the younger Żarnowiec gradual (1458), allows us to establish the time of this illuminator's activity at around the 1430s–50s, perhaps longer.

To sum up: the first gatherings were copied and decorated in the mid-fifteenth century, in a Gdańsk workshop employing scribes and flourishers educated on Bohemian archetypes, by the hand of a single – highly productive – copyist. For the remaining parts of the codex, the analysis does not bring such precise conclusions.

THE SECOND ILLUMINATOR, FIRST QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (?)

The notation and decoration of the next three gatherings of the codex (from f. 23v to f. 47v) were executed by a particularly unskilled calligrapher (Figure 13a). The composition of the leaves is similar to that in the first gathering, as are the dimensions of the text area and the decoration with cadels and coloured pen-flourished initials, but the stave here is a five-line one. The form of the writing in textura font is similar, but somewhat less neat; the letters are of uneven height. As already mentioned, one can identify here another scribe, with a somewhat shaky hand. The XRF measurements confirmed the use of ink of a composition similar to that in the first gatherings,⁸² so the writing material is analogous. However, the technical aspect of the notation reveals a great deal of carelessness – perhaps haste? This is evident in the uneven, irregular way the stave is marked, with blots and doubled lines. The black cadels written by the

78 Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 2/III, *Gebetsbuch*; see *ibid.*, pp. 8–11; there are six pen-flourished initials with blue or blue-red bodies, an analogical bud ornament with clover and 'fountain' motifs in the appendage. However, taking into account the fanciful, sweeping forms of the *litterae elevatae*, this codex can be dated later, even to the second half of the fifteenth century.

79 E.g. L3, f. 4r, 35r and others; L4, f. 12v, 19v, 29v, 109r and others; in cadels on f. 35v and 46, the female head in the top corner, almost identical to the one in Mar. F 406, f. 12r.

80 In numerous initials, the calligrapher readily placed grains in buds and pearls and multiplied the filamentous appendages, omitting the rigid fountains. Besides these more diminutive forms, there are also ornaments typical of the illuminator of Mar. F 406.

81 The gouache decoration is of the same type, but more rigidly painted. However, the pen-flourishing in both the cadels and the Lombardic initials could have been drawn by the same hand; at the least, they repeat the characteristic motifs of clover and rigid appendage.

82 The measurements confirmed repeated proportions of iron and copper at a level of 40%.

scribe are embellished with rubric and pen-flourishing made with a hesitant hand, as if in a hurry.⁸³ More ornate forms, like the marginal decoration, *litterae elevatae* or the initials positioned at the edge of the text,⁸⁴ are clumsy and imitative, drawn with no understanding of the rules of composition.

The same observation applies to the pen-flourishing of coloured letters (Figure 13b-c)⁸⁵ – blue decorated with red ornaments, and red decorated with green pen-flourishing (with ink based on malachite green⁸⁶), which was quite popular in fifteenth-century calligraphic decoration. The scribe marked out clumsy, geometric fields for the letters with a pen, and later failed to remove them. He introduced the initials using a well-known catalogue of shapes, but again clumsily, failing to fill the whole contour with ink. As in the case of cadels, the pen-flourishing – of a bud type, with readily employed motifs of foliage, rows of pearls and simplified medallions of a decidedly fourteenth-century origin – is drawn schematically and sloppily. In a considerable portion of the text, the decoration – although probably planned – was not inscribed at all.⁸⁷ What we have here is work of low quality, made by a much less skilled scribe, or one too young or too old to maintain higher standards. His work ends in the sixth gathering, on f. 47v. The simplification and anachronism of the composition of the pen-flourished ornaments make a precise dating difficult, but there are no arguments in terms of art history that would discount the possibility that this part of the text was made before the first quarter of the fifteenth century, as is suggested by music palaeographers.⁸⁸

THE ADDED LEAVES – THE THIRD ILLUMINATOR, TURN OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The text and decoration of two leaves belonging to gathering VI, f. 48r–49v, deserve individual comment. They contain chants for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, being a continuation of the preceding notation by the second scribe. Morphologically, however, they are clearly very different from his work. Although

83 See e.g. the numerous cadels on f. 25r–v, 26r, 28r, 29r.

84 E.g. f. 25r L(audamus), 45v G(loria),

85 Lombardic initials are the dominant decoration on f. 29v–39v (thereafter on only single leaves); from f. 44r to 47v, they are devoid of pen-flourishing, however the B(eata) initial on f. 44r, partly contoured in red, indicates that it was planned, but never completed. The incipit initial S(alve) on f. 24v (the beginning of the text copied by the second scribe) also has no decoration.

86 In the ink, a high proportion of copper was found.

87 The incipit initial S(alve) was decorated with just a single line within the counter; initial forms of pen-flourishing (red buds at the edge) were applied to the incipit initial B(eata) on f. 44r; in the subsequent part of the text, up to f. 47v, the Lombardic initials, although set in roughly marked geometric fields, have no decoration.

88 See K. Watkowski, P. Ziółkowski, '*Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum*', p. 57.

the text dimensions are similar, the leaf contains ten four-line staves (except for the first, which has five lines), 1.5 cm shorter than on the other pages. The notation is made by a completely different hand (C), and the decoration, while traditionally divided into black cadels and red Lombardic initials with pen-flourishing, definitely differs both from the remaining parts of the book and from the Gdańsk standard of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The writing is regular and minute, the script soft, drawn with even pressure on the tool and with a tendency to join the letters within words, not encountered in the work of the other scribes. The layout and letter fields were drawn with a stylus and then erased. The Lombardic initials, of elongated proportions, have shapely, decorative forms, with characteristic swelling at the ends of tails and arms. The pen-flourished decoration, drawn entirely with black ink (identical for cadels and Lombardic initials), is particularly sophisticated and fanciful. It is hard to decide whether it was executed by the scribe himself (in the last phase of his work). Its style does not follow the Bohemian blockishness, but derives from an older, fourteenth-century tradition: the decoration is luxuriant, minute, dynamic and quivering (Figure 15a). The counters of the letters are filled with semi-palmettes, pearls with grains appear in the surround, and the geometric letter fields are built on curved lines, dynamically overgrown with tendrils and fibrils. In one case (f. 48r) the entire surround of the letter is composed of frayed acanthus leaves, which allows us to date it closer to the beginning of the fifteenth century. There are also figural motifs:⁸⁹ a human mask, a dragon on a hatched background inscribed into the letter's counter and enchantingly archaic two-legged animal hybrids in the O(felicem) initial, the shapes of which were highlighted, leaving gaps in the red body of the letter (Figure 15b). This mode of decoration derives from a southern German tradition and dates far back to the first half of the fourteenth century. As an example, one can recall the decoration of the Alexander Codex of Ulrich von Etzenbach, dated to 1322, of a southern German or Austrian provenance,⁹⁰ where the incipit initial on f. iv has two slender, stylised dragons in the letter's stem, or a Lower-Rhine Franciscan gradual from 1320–30,⁹¹ where the letter stems in initials (e.g. on f. 18v, 23r, 61v) are filled with hybrid creatures.

The decoration of these two added pages has no direct analogies in miniature painting from the region, and at this stage in research its affiliation remains open. In view of the contents, the pages could not have been written earlier than c.1390 (the feast of *Visitatio BMV* was introduced into the common liturgy by Pope Urban VI

89 Iwona Błaszczuk ('Iluminacje', p. 323) lists these ornaments with the masks by the first illuminator without noting that they differ from the adornments of the first gatherings.

90 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, E II 2, *Alexander* (digital copy: <http://e-codices.ch/en/ubb/E-II-0002/1v>, accessed 3 September 2022).

91 Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, Cod S III 1, *Graduale* (digital copy: <http://e-codices.ch/en/zbs/SIII-0001/>, accessed 3 September 2022).

in 1389, and into the liturgy of the Teutonic Order before 1400⁹²), but they were certainly not decorated as late as the second quarter of the fifteenth century. It appears that they were inserted into the book when the block was sewn, but they come from a somewhat earlier codex. The verso of the second of these leaves contains an office added by another hand.

THE FOURTH ILLUMINATOR, SECOND QUARTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The seventh gathering, comprising compositions for Holy Week and Easter (Figure 14), belongs to the average compositional modus of Gdańsk. As already stated, the scribe's hand changed here again (D); the staves are marked with thinner lines, and again they have four lines, but in sets of nine per page. The handwriting is even and neat, but thicker and more angular. This scribe wrote neither cadels nor minor black initials. This whole portion of the book is embellished exclusively with wide, shapely, red Lombardic initials, one stave high. It is hard to determine whether they were drawn by the copyist or by some other flourisher (e.g. the first one). They were certainly drawn much more carefully than in the gatherings copied by the second illuminator. The sparse decoration of this type, confined to the red initials, the role of which was to arrange the structure of the contents, was characteristic of functional Gdańsk codices (this system can be found in the aforementioned books from the Toruń collection: BUMK 39/III and 41/III), but some more luxurious codices sometimes were also embellished in this way, without pen-flourishing. The fact that the last two leaves of this gathering were copied and decorated by the first scribe, is an argument in favour of them being executed in the same scriptorium and in the same time.

THE FIFTH ('LATE GOTHIC') ILLUMINATOR, TURN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

After more than half a century, the blank pages of the codex were filled in with votive masses, written in black ink based on zinc vitriol.⁹³ The composition here is again inconsistent (up to f. 63v, four-line staves; from f. 64, five-line staves; on 66v, again four-line staves); this part was executed by another scribe (E⁹⁴). The decoration,

92 Waldemar Rozynekowski, *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.

93 The XRF measurements indicated considerable proportions of zinc (approx. 50%) and lower proportions of iron.

94 See the detailed findings concerning musical notation in: K. Watkowski, P. Ziółkowski, 'Secundum notulam dominorum teutonicorum'.

internally differentiated, was introduced into the whole of the notation probably by one hand. However, the illuminator turned to various traditions, which makes it eclectic, generally styleless. Cadels and Lombardic initials sporadically appear, embellished with reduced bud forms,⁹⁵ as well as an anachronous thirteenth-century motif of caterpillars in counters,⁹⁶ combined with minute ornamental trees in the spirit of the style of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century.⁹⁷ The most numerous red and blue initials stand out. They are not decorated, but their luxuriant, curvy forms indicate late Gothic.⁹⁸ The most characteristic point of reference for dating are the so-called scroll initials, with late Gothic or even early modern features (Figure 16).⁹⁹ They are drawn precisely, with a steady hand. To date, only Georg Cuny has aptly noted that they resemble sixteenth- to seventeenth-century chancery hand.¹⁰⁰ Analogies can be found in the output of various German scriptoria of the first third of the sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ Of the Gdańsk examples, one can mention the sixteenth-century *Antiphonarium maximum*,¹⁰² which seems to have been embellished by the same illuminator, who combined in the same way late Gothic scroll initials and Lombardic initials filled with pen flourishes featuring buds or caterpillars.

CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH DESIDERATA

Concluding, one can assume that the main part of the codex was produced in the mid-fifteenth century. It was then that the first three gatherings were copied in a Gdańsk scriptorium, including the incipit leaf. In terms of execution, they are the most characteristic, representative product of the Gdańsk centre, in a style typical

95 Cadels: f. 60r, 61r, 64r, 65v, 69v, 72r; Lombardic initials: f. 61r, 60v.

96 F. 62r, 63v, 66v. As an analogy for simple caterpillar pen flourishes, one may cite the 13th-century codex Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 30/III; see M. Czyżak, M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, A. Wagner, *Katalog rękopisów*, pp. 116–121.

97 F. 69r.

98 F. 60r, 62v, 63r–v, 64r–v, 65r–v, 66r–v, 68r, 70r–v, 71r–v, 72r–v, 73r–v. For comparison, one may cite the letters in a codex Aarau, Argauer Kantonsbibliothek, MsMurF 84, Petrus Hispanus, Petrus Tartaretus, 1498–99 (digital version: <http://e-codices.ch/en/kba/MurF0084/253v>, accessed 3 September 2022), with very similar, sweeping forms with decorative swellings.

99 F. 67r, 69r, 70r.

100 G. Cuny, 'Zur mittelalterlichen Kunst', p. 105.

101 Cf. similarly sharp, multi-element decorative forms in initials in the above-mentioned codex MsMurF 84 (see above n. 98, digital copy: <http://e-codices.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/kba/MurF0084>), and in codices from the Universitätsbibliothek in Heidelberg, dated to the 16th century: Cod. Pal. germ. 123, *Kriegsbuch*, Neuburg/Austria (?), 1530; Cod. Pal. germ. 116, Johannes Hartlieb: *Trotula*, Eikhart Artzt: *Chronik von Weissenburg*, 1528–30 (digital copy: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg116/0016/image>, accessed 5 September 2022); Cod. Pal. Germ. 648, *Gebetsbuch*, 1524–31 (digital copy: <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg648>, accessed 3 September 2022).

102 Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 408, *Missale* (digital copy: <https://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/publication/13534/edition/9779/content>, accessed 3 September 2022).

of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, oriented towards Prague archetypes. Copying the text was entrusted to a skilled scribe-illuminator (A), who gave these gatherings a suitably luxuriant character. Most probably the same time, the seventh gathering was prepared: some other Gdańsk copyist (D) inscribed the chants for Holy Week and Easter, and the first copyist (A) wrote and embellished the *cantiones*. The work of both of them has analogies in other manuscripts produced in Gdańsk during the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century. Incorporated between these two newly executed parts – and bound with them – were the leaves taken probably from two older codices. These are gatherings IV–VI, produced by copyist B (first quarter of the fifteenth century?), up to f. 47, and copyist C (fourteenth century), the last two folios of gathering VI (f. 47–48), cut to fit. The book as thus compiled was given a single Roman foliation in rubric in the top margin and sent for binding to the Gdańsk workshop of the elder Dragon Bookbinder in the mid-fifteenth century. (The circumstances surrounding the binding require further, more thorough, research.¹⁰³) The last three gatherings of the book (VIII–X) remained blank until the early sixteenth century, when a last copyist added more chants. That part continues the earlier foliation, but in the different font, in black. The decoration of the last gatherings, despite the heterogeneity of types and forms, is the work of a single illuminator, who used old, thirteenth-century patterns and calligraphic schemes already being used to decorate incunabula and still employed into the sixteenth century. The manuscript Mar. F 406 is an extremely interesting example of the long, intense use of liturgical manuscripts.

The capturing of the personality of the first illuminator of Gdańsk codex Mar. F 406 provides encouragement for more penetrating research into individual styles and diverse mannerisms and skills in the milieu of Pomeranian illuminators during the fifteenth century. The oeuvre of individual illuminators discussed in the literature requires revision, and the character of the output of the Gdańsk milieu is worth specifying more precisely. The fifteenth-century Gdańsk scriptorium – the only workshop described as ‘municipal’ that can be identified in the region – demands more thorough research in terms of its organisation, the techniques and technologies employed there, the number and profile (including social background

103 One cannot exclude the possibility that this occurred while the Teutonic Knights’ book collection was being transferred (after 1454) to the parish library of St Mary’s church, which was being established at that time in the All-Saints chapel (1457), see O. Günther, *Die Handschriften*, pp. 11–12 (I am very grateful to the reviewer of this text for that hint). At this stage in research, however, it is hard to determine whether this was related to the activities of Heinrich Calow, which happened later than the relative time of the execution of the gouache-decorated notation by the first copyist. On Calow’s activities, including bookbinding commissions, see *ibid.*, pp. 16–55.

and training) of the scribes and painters, the continuity of its work and finally the circle of clients and the scope of production. We are dealing here not only with good craftsmanship and well-trained painting skills based on fashionable patterns, but also with an ambitious repertoire (of Latin musical books and Latin theological writings) and what appears to be a wide range of recipients. Apart from their liturgical and official use at St Mary's and other churches in Gdańsk, these books enhanced the private libraries of parish clergy and canons, also finding their way into the hands of private individuals (the case of Toruń manuscript BUMK 2/I). However, a cross-sectional and global view of manuscript production in Gdańsk is impossible without devoting to each codex from St Mary's Library equally comprehensive research to that carried out into the item discussed here. The research into codex Mar. F 406, conducted in 2020, opens that path and sets the course for new findings.

Translated by Joanna M. Arszyńska



Figure 1. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, the binding – upper board: (a) general view, (b) the imprint of a stamp with the dragon motif. Photo by Juliusz Raczkowski

III

te leyson

Kyrrie leyson

Kyrrie leyson

Gloria in excelsis deo

Et in terra pax hominibus bone
voluntatis. Laudamus te. Be
nedicimus te. Adoramus te. Glo

Figure 2. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, f. 3r. Photo by Digital-Center

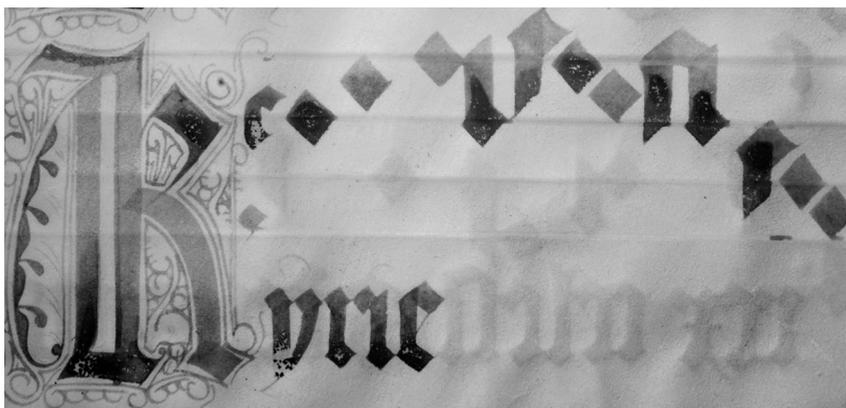


Figure 3. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, f. 3r, a fragment of text in near-infrared (NIR), visible way of drawing the letters, with a characteristic upwards movement of the pen. Photo by Juliusz Raczkowski



Figure 4. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, a cadel with the mask motif: (a) in visible light, (b) in near-infrared (NIR), visible marks of the ink being drawn upwards along the contour. Photos by Juliusz Raczkowski

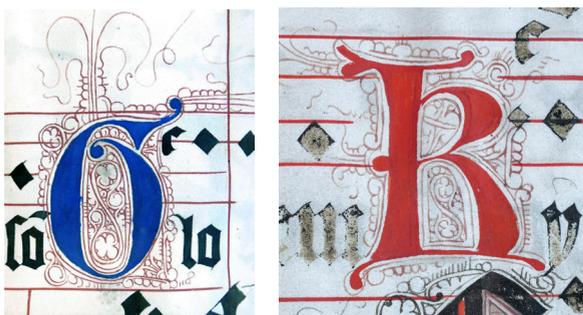


Figure 5. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, sample calligraphic initials with a pen-flourished decoration: (a) a blue letter with red ornament, (b) a red letter with a blue ornament. Photos by Juliusz Raczkowski

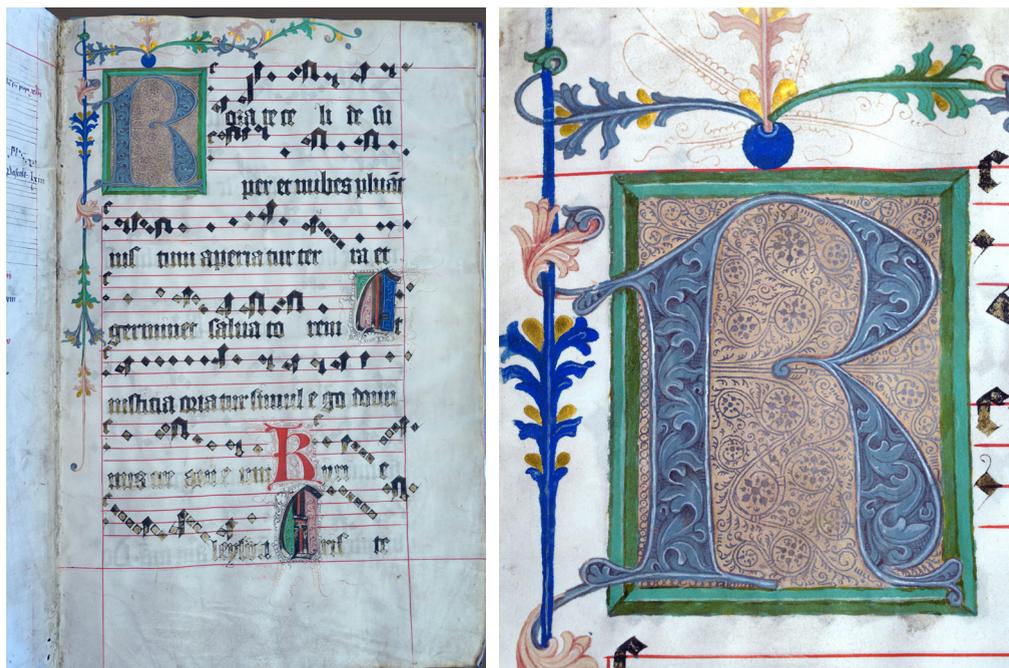


Figure 6. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, the incipit page (f. 1r) decorated in gouache: (a) general view, (b) the R(orate) initial. Photos by Juliusz Raczkowski



Figure 7. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 59, f. 5r. Photo by Juliusz Raczkowski



Figure 8. Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek, L4, gradual:
 (a) fragment of decoration on f. 4v, (b) detail of the E(t) initial on f. 42v.
 Photos by Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska



Figure 9. Examples of pen-flourished initials by the illuminator of Mar. F 406: (a) Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 59, (b) Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 41/III, (c) Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, BUMK 2/III. Photos by Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska



Figure 10. Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek, L3, gradual: (a–b), sample pen-flourished initials, (c) a cadell with pen-flourishing and a girl's mask.

Photos by Monika Jakubek-Raczowska



Figure 11. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, a cadell with pen-flourishing and a girl's mask. Photo by Monika Jakubek-Raczowska



Figure 12. Żarnowiec, Muzeum Opactwa Mniszek Benedyktynek, LI, gradual, a sample pen-flourished initial. Photo by Monika Jakubek-Raczowska



Figure 13. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, (a) the text on f. 24r, (b-c) pen-flourished initials, visible un-erased, uneven line of the initial's field and untidy stave-lines. Photos by Juliusz Raczowski

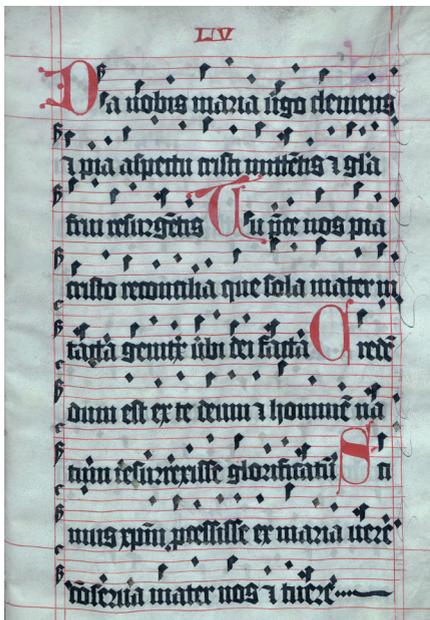


Figure 14. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, f. 55r. Photo by Digital-Center



Figure 15. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, pen-flourished initials: (a) f. 48r, (b) f. 48v. Photos by Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska



Figure 16. Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, initials on f. 67r. Photo by Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska

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ZDOBIENIA RĘKOPISU PL-GD MAR. F 406. PRZYCZYNEK DO STUDIÓW NAD
PIĘTNASTOWIECZNYM ILUMINATORSTWEM GDAŃSKIM

Przedmiotem analizy jest muzyczny manuskrypt Mar. F 406 z Polskiej Akademii Nauk – Biblioteki Gdańskiej, z zasobu kościoła Mariackiego na Głównym Mieście w Gdańsku. Księga ta zawiera kompilację śpiewów liturgicznych. W niniejszym studium po raz pierwszy została poddana specjalistycznej analizie z perspektywy historii sztuki, z uwzględnieniem charakteru i jakości dekoracji gwaszowej i kaligraficznej. Zdobienia tej książki zostały wpisane w szerszy kontekst produkcji gdańskiej XV wieku. Przeprowadzone analizy styloznawcze i porównawcze zostały wsparte badaniami nieniszczącymi (XRF, IR).

Biorąc pod uwagę cechy fizyczne księgi i zestawiając je z wynikami prowadzonych równoległe badań muzykologicznych (Kamil Watkowski i Piotr Ziółkowski) można przedstawić nowy obraz chronologii powstawania tego manuskryptu, rozróżnić ręce iluminatorów, a także uzyskać wiedzę o praktykach warsztatowych w gdańskim skryptorium. Udało się wykazać, że kodeks w swej obecnej postaci powstał w połowie XV w.: częściowo jest dziełem autorskim z tego okresu (dwóch gdańskich kopistów), częściowo – kompilacją starszych fragmentów (z przełomu XIV i XV w. oraz z pierwszej ćwierci XV w.); oprawiono go w gdańskim warsztacie Iluminatora Smoka Starszego. Pierwszy kopista-dekorator to reprezentatywna osobowość środowiska gdańskiego, kształcona na wzorcach czeskich. Ostatnie trzy składki (VIII–X) pozostawały niezapisane do początku XVI stulecia, kiedy to dopisano kolejne śpiewy; zdobienia w tej części są dziełem jednego dekoratora, który wykorzystywał stare trzynastowieczne wzorniki oraz schematy kaligrafii stosowane w dekoracji inkunabułów. Tę partię można datować na przełom XV i XVI w.; twórczość iluminatora znajduje analogie w innych gdańskich księgach z pierwszej ćwierci XVI stulecia. Zabytek stanowi cenne egzemplum długiego, intensywnego użytkowania manuskryptów w praktyce liturgicznej. W świetle jego jednostkowej analizy dezyderatem badawczym staje się nowe rozpoznanie gdańskiego skryptorium (w tym warsztatu iluminatorskiego i intrologatorskiego) w drugiej i trzeciej ćwierci XV wieku.

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