MICHAŁ GONDKO

BASEL

ORCID 0009-0008-0817-5522

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A New Look at the Music Gatherings in the 'Krasiński Codex'

ABSTRACT   This article challenges the traditional view that the 'musical' and 'non-musical' parts of the codex Rps 8054 III held in the National Library of Poland in Warsaw are in no way related. New codicological and palaeographical insights presented in Part One allow the author to propose that the codex is a collection of miscellaneous material notated (and owned) by Petrus de Casimiria, and likely bound together during his lifetime. Part Two, in an attempt at its general contextualisation, highlights the palaeographic and repertorial aspects connecting the 'musical' part of the codex with selected contemporary Central European sources.

KEYWORDS   PL-Wn Rps 8054 III, Kras, Krasiński Codex, Mikołaj Radomski, Nicolaus de Radom, lost manuscript Wn 378, St Emmeram Codex, watermarks, handwriting analysis, codicology, palaeography

ABSTRAKT   Nowe spojrzenie na składki muzyczne w „kodeksie Krasińskich". Niniejszy artykuł kwestionuje utarty pogląd o braku związku między częściami „muzyczną" i „niemuzyczną" kodeksu Rps 8054 III Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie. W części pierwszej poczynione przez autora obserwacje kodykologiczne i paleograficzne są podstawą hipotezy, że kodeks jest zbiorem różnorodnych materiałów spisanych przez lub należących do Piotra z Kazimierza, być może współoprawnych jeszcze za jego życia. W drugiej części artykułu autor porównuje „muzyczną" część ze spokrewnionymi współczesnymi środkowoeuropejskimi źródłami, aby osadzić ją w ogólnym kontekście.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE   PL-Wn Rps III 8054, Kras, kodeks Krasińskich, Mikołaj Radomski, Nicolaus de Radom, zaginiony rękopis Wn 378, kodeks St Emmeram, znaki wodne, analiza pisma, kodykologia, paleografia

Lenka Hlávková in memoriam

The codex housed in the National Library of Poland (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw under the shelf mark Rps 8054 III[1] preserves, among other content, a set of three gatherings that musicologists have in mind when referring to the 'Krasiński Codex', 'Krasiński Manuscript', 'Kras 52' or simply 'Kras'[2] (RISM siglum: PL-Wn Rps III 8054). Together with the lost manuscript PL-Wn Lat. I. F 378,[3] they stand out as important remote sources of the so-called international repertoire of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyphonic art music, and unique sources of music by Mikołaj Radomski[4] (including compositions – authored by Radomski or attributed to him in the twentieth century – with poetical texts referring to Władysław II Jagiełło, his fourth wife Sophia of Halshany, their newborn sons, and the city of Kraków) as well as other compositions possibly of local provenance.[5]

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Paweł Gancarczyk, whose encouragement, advice and patience were invaluable in the course of my work on this article.

1   As per the electronic catalogue of the National Library of Poland. The codex has been digitised twice. The photograph sets can be consulted at https://polona.pl/preview/7310b0bd-4c95-4935-9512-8bb5be1ff2c7 (in lower quality) and https://polona.pl/item-view/092b2a63-6f85-4c20-8745-4c6b67179406?page=18 (in higher quality).

2   Abbreviations referring to its former repository: the Krasiński Estate Library in Warsaw.

3   For more information about PL-Wn Lat. I. F 378, see n. 45.

4   He is referred to as 'Nicolaus de Radom' in Kras and 'Mycolay Radomski' in PL-Wn Lat. I. F 378. Although the usage of the Latin form Nicolaus de Radom is widespread, in the present study the composer will be referred to by the modernised Polish form of his name.

5   The primary reference work for scholars working on Kras and other pre-1500 Polish sources of polyphonic music is *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Facsimiles*, ed. Mirosław Perz, Warsaw 1973 (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 13) and *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz, Warsaw 1976 (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14), with full bibliography up to 1976. The deepest English language engagement with these sources, including Kras, remains Charles Everett Brewer, 'The Introduction of the "Ars Nova" into East Central Europe: A Study of Late Medieval Polish Sources', City University of New York 1984 (PhD dissertation). Further essential literature includes Piotr Poźniak, review of *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Facsimiles and Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 13–14), *Muzyka* 24 (1979) no. 2, pp. 115–29; Martin Staehelin, review of *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions*, ed. Mirosław Perz (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14), *Die Musikforschung* 36 (1983) no. 3, pp. 169–72; Mirosław Perz, 'Kontrafaktury ballad w rękopisie Krasińskich nr 52 (PL-Wn 8054)' [Contrafacta of ballads in the manuscript Krasiński 52], *Muzyka* 37 (1992) no. 4, pp. 89–111; Mirosław Perz, 'Wokół Mikołaja Radomskiego z figlami błazna Bobika' [Concerning Mikołaj Radomski with the pranks of Bobik the Jester], in: *The Musicologist and Source Documentary Evidence: A Book of Essays in Honour of Professor Piotr Poźniak on his 70th Birthday*, eds. Zofia Fabiańska et al., Kraków 2009, pp. 67–86; Agnieszka Jabłonka, 'Średniowieczne rękopisy z Biblioteki Krasińskich' [Medieval manuscripts from the Krasiński Library], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 45 (2002) no. 4, pp. 35–39, https://bn.org.pl/download/document/1246021122.pdf; Elżbieta Wojnowska, 'Kras. 52 – europejski zabytek polskiej kultury muzycznej z I połowy XV wieku' [Kras. 52 – a European relic of Polish musical culture from the first half of the fifteenth century], *Biuletyn Informacyjny Biblioteki Narodowej* 45 (2002) no. 4, pp. 40–44, https://bn.org.pl/download/document/1246021122.pdf; 'Rękopis muzyczny Kras. 52' [Music Manuscript Kras. 52], in: *Nad złoto droższe: Skarby Biblioteki Narodowej* [More precious than gold: treasures of the National Library], ed. Halina Tchórzewska-Kabata, with Maciej Dąbrowski,

On the basis of its content, PL-Wn Rps 8054 III can be essentially described as consisting of two parts: 'non-musical' (fols. 1r–172v containing no musical notation), and 'musical' (fols. 173r–205v containing musical notation) (for details, see Table 1). For the sake of brevity, I will henceforth refer to the non-musical and musical parts respectively as KrasT and KrasM (T standing for 'textual', M for 'musical'), while Kras will be reserved for the codex as a whole.

Its significance as a source for the history of late medieval Polish and, more broadly, European music is directly responsible for the attention KrasM has received since the earliest days of research on the topic. As a result, KrasM has been considered very much in isolation from the rest of the codex. Moreover, there is a widespread view among music historians that the two parts are unrelated and have been bound together by coincidence – a notion that goes back to Zdzisław Jachimecki's statements from 1914 and 1915.[6] His perspective was adopted by Mirosław Perz[7] and was echoed in the literature as late as 2025.[8] Neither author offered an explanation why this should be the case.

This study seeks to understand KrasM from the perspective of the codex as a whole, since I believe that an enquiry in this direction could produce new insights with potentially important implications. At the heart of Part One is a discussion of paper watermarks and handwriting – aspects of Kras that, I believe, have received insufficient attention (watermarks) or no attention at all (handwriting) in the musicological literature. What I hope to demonstrate in Part One is that the various parts of Kras are connected by a common thread that manifests itself through the handwriting, which, I will argue, belongs to a priest by the name of Petrus de Casimiria, the scribe of *Gesta Romanorum* in KrasT. To widen the perspective even further,

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Warsaw 2003. The most recent publication is *The Krasiński Codex (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III): A Performer's Edition with Essays and a Critical Commentary*, eds. Agnieszka Budzińska-Bennett and Marc Lewon, Kraków 2025. Although not a critical edition, the latter was prepared by musicologists and will undoubtedly be referred to in future scholarship. Hence, it is also included in the Inventory (Appendix IV).

6   'Folios containing musical notation […], have no causal connection with the rest of the manuscript' ('Karty, zapisane nutami […], nie mają żadnego związku przyczynowego z resztą rękopisu' – all translations by M.G., unless otherwise indicated), see Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Rozwój kultury muzycznej w Polsce* [The development of musical culture in Poland], Kraków 1914, p. 3; 'More recently, these folios were bound together with a collection of theological writings, probably accidentally, since neither scribal hand nor even the paper's format justify this coexistence, not to mention the content of both parts of the manuscript' ('Karty te zszyto w jedną nowoczesną oprawę razem ze zbiorem rozpraw treści teologicznej, zapewne przypadkiem, gdyż ani ręka pisarza ani nawet format papieru nie usprawiedliwia tego sąsiedztwa, nie mówiąc już o treści obu części rękopisu'), see Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Muzyka na dworze króla Władysława Jagiełły 1424–1430* [Music at the court of King Władysław II Jagiełło 1424–30], Kraków 1915, pp. 2–3.

7   'The manuscript is composed of two basically different parts bound together: f. 1–172 contain various Latin texts […] written in the same hand […] while f. 173 up to the closing f. 205 contain the musical part unconnected in any clear way with the preceding one', see *Sources […]: Facsimiles*, p. xxii.

8   See *The Krasiński Codex*, p. 8.

an attempt will be made in Part Two to view KrasM in the light of related Central European sources, in order to see whether our knowledge of their history might *per analogiam* tell us something about KrasM's own context of creation and use.

<div align="center">PART ONE</div>

A few introductory remarks seem necessary before proceeding to the discussions of watermarks and handwriting. It is not my intention to provide a complete description of Kras here, but rather to give readers with some familiarity with this source information that will facilitate re-entry into the topic and navigation throughout the article. Wherever necessary, I will update the state of knowledge with my own findings.[9]

The inventory of pre-1550 manuscripts in the possession of the National Library in Warsaw specifies the dimensions of Kras as 30.5 x 21.5 cm.[10] Kras is a paper codex. Original foliation is absent except for gathering 15.[11] A more recent (nineteenth- or early twentieth-century?) pencil foliation suggests the presence of 205 folios. However, since the folio following fol. 9 was numbered 9a instead of 10, the codex in fact contains 206 folios in total. In addition, there are six protective paper leaves ([i]–vi) before fol. 1r, and five (vii–xi) after fol. 205v.

The current binding consists of cardboard covered with light brown leather, with marble endpapers inside. Its dating is usually given as 'nineteenth-century'. I was able to narrow this down by identifying the material used as spine reinforcement as fragments of the newspaper *Kurjer Warszawski*, 6 August 1868 (see Fig. 1).[12] If not a *terminus post quem* for the present binding, this at least suggests that an intervention on the binding took place around 1868.

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9   It should be mentioned here that physical access to Kras is restricted for conservation reasons. In the course of my research, I was able to consult the source in person, but the bulk of my work for Part One of this article relies on digital images and internal library research documentation – materials kindly provided by the staff of the National Library in Warsaw. For that, I am grateful to Sławomir Szyller and Sonia Wronkowska. Furthermore, I would like to thank Anna Romaniuk, Head of the Manuscript Department at the National Library in Warsaw, for granting me permission to publish some of those materials here.

10   See *Inwentarz rękopisów do połowy XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej* [Inventory of manuscripts up to the mid-sixteenth century in the collections of the National Library], eds. Jerzy Kaliszuk and Sławomir Szyller, Warsaw 2012, p. 129. Slightly different measurements (30.4 x 22 cm) are given in *Sources […]: Facsimiles*, p. xxii.

11   See Appendix I, diagram of gathering 15.

12   Fragments of the material used as spine reinforcement are visible through the opening between the protective leaf numbered vi and fol. 1v. Note, however, that this can only be seen on the lower-quality photograph of this area and is no longer visible on the newer, higher-quality photograph (the damage must have been repaired in the meantime). For links to both photograph sets, see n. 1.
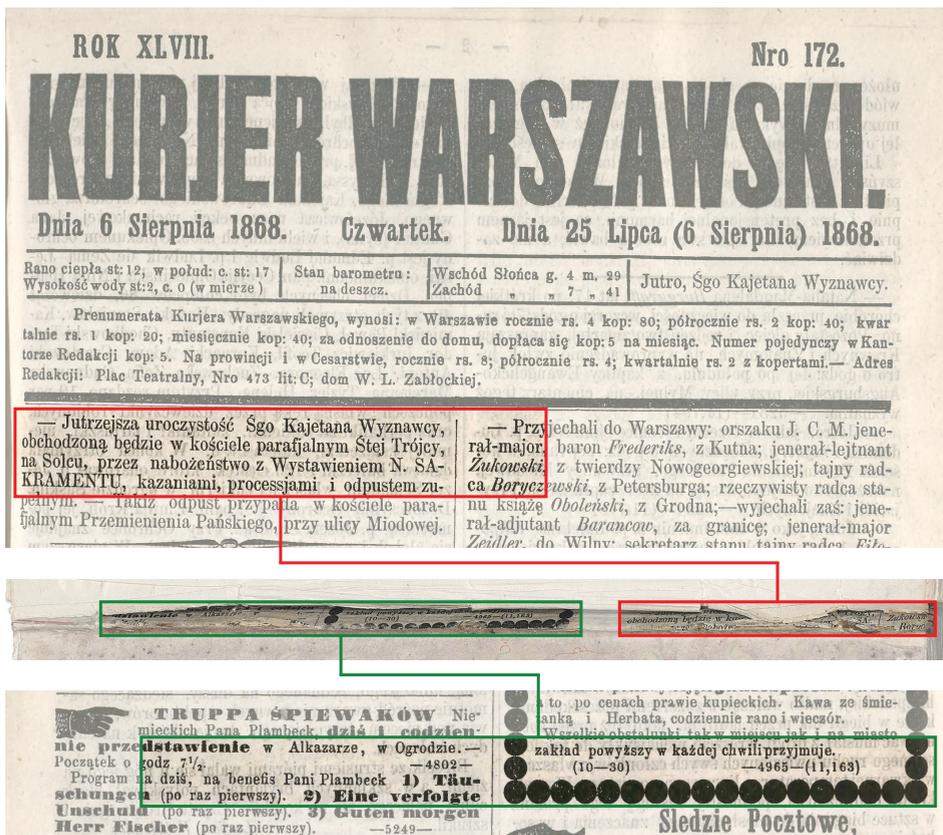
Fig. 1. Fragments of the *Kurjer Warszawski*, 6 August 1868, pp. 1 and 8, visible through the opening between the protective leaf vi and fol. 1r (middle image) in Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III)

A fact not commented upon previously is that fols. 1 and 205 carry signs of damage caused by corroding metal bosses on what may have been the previous (original?) binding. Such traces are not present elsewhere in the codex except on the folios neighbouring with the corrosion-damaged outer folios. Placing the two outer folios next to each other reveals that the six-sign pattern on fol. 205 corresponds to the three-sign pattern on fol. 1 in terms of boss placement (Fig. 2).

Table 1, in conjunction with the gathering diagrams in Appendix 1 (Gatherings 1–18), provides an essential overview of the present composition and structure of Kras, as well as the distribution of content and watermarks across the codex. It is readily visible from Table 1 that the lion's share of the codex is occupied by Latin writings: Lenten sermons, anecdotal stories with a moral, exorcism prayers and more. KrasM occupies only a very small portion of the codex (about 16 per cent).
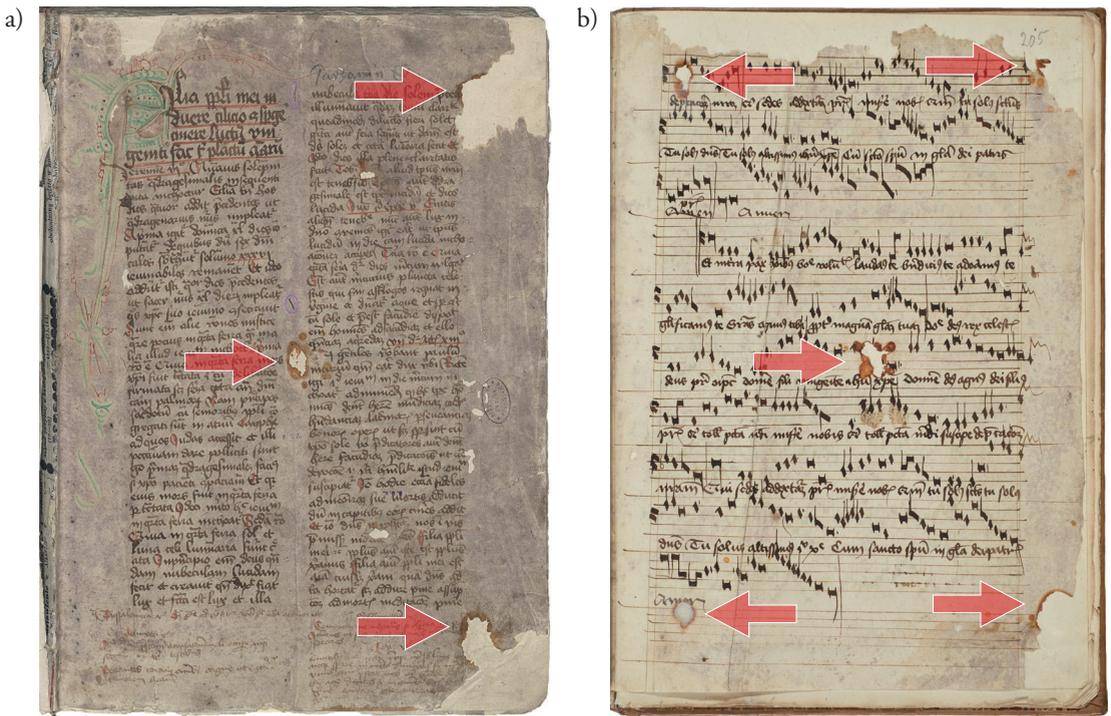
a)

b)

Fig. 2. Signs of damage caused by corroding metal bosses on fols. 1r (a) and 205r (b) in Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III)

Table 1. Composition, watermarks and content distribution in Kras

Unit	Location	Gathering(s)	Watermarks*	Content
1	1r–117v	1–10	A–H	I. Iacobus de Voragine, *Sermones quadragesimales*
2	118r–162v	11–14	J–L	I. *Gesta Romanorum* (without beginning) (118r–154v); II. *Expulsiones demenum* (recte: *demonum*) (155r–161v), fragments of Gospels (without end) (161v–162v)
3	163r–172v	15	M	I. (fragment of an unidentified text); marginal writing; II. Guillelmus Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (incomplete); marginal writing (163v–172v)
4	173r–183v	16	BH1a, BH1b	I. musical content**
5	184r–195v	17	BH2a, BH2b	I. musical content**
6	196r–205v	18	BH2a, BH2b	I. musical content**

* Watermarks and their designations will be discussed later in the study.

** For details, see Inventory in Appendix 4.

The present gathering sequence in KrasM (16, 17, 18) requires a short commentary. Gathering 16 is a mixed collection of sacred and secular music, while 17 and 18 are devoted to sacred music.[13] *Flos militum*, the second section of *Cracovia civitas* (fols. 173r–174r), is placed far away from the rest of the piece – at the end of gathering 17 (on fol. 195v) – and appears not to belong there (the gathering is otherwise sacred in character). It seems that the scribe overlooked *Flos militum* and, having realised his mistake when the process of copying of the piece was already advanced, entered it on what is now fol. 195v instead. Such a decision would be logical if, by the time gathering 16 had been started, gathering 17 was already full – apart from the last page – and gathering 18 did not yet exist (or existed and was also full). Thus, the present gatherings sequence in KrasM may be the result of a binder's mistake, perhaps made at the time when the codex received its present binding. The disarray in which we find gathering 18 today – the first two folios reversed and 'reshuffled' – may have come about in the same way.[14] The correct sequence of folios in this gathering is not difficult to determine on the basis of the musical content and the location of stains in the bottom corners. For reasons unknown, the last two folios are missing. One of them (which, if it still existed, would be numbered 206) must have contained the continuation of the Gloria from fol. 205v.[15] Diagrams of gatherings 16–18 in Appendix 1, visualise the present and the hypothetical sequence and structure of the gatherings in KrasM.

The somewhat darkened outer folios of gatherings 16–18 suggest that they most likely functioned as separate units before being bound together. The corners of the folios in those gatherings show signs of leafing wear, suggesting extensive use.

THE WATERMARKS IN KRAS

The watermarks of KrasM were already the object of scholarly interest in 1930.[16] However, neither their graphical representations nor a detailed discussion were ever published. In 1973, using the Briquet and Piccard catalogues,[17] Mirosław Perz stated that the paper of KrasM dated 'from the second quarter of the fifteenth century'.[18]

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13 I consider secular songs with a devotional Latin *contrafactum* text to be sacred music. The textless composition by Radomski (fol. 185v) may have been intended as a vehicle for a devotional text and as such is not out of place here.

14 Moreover, the same could apply to gathering 15.

15 See the respective remark in Appendix IV, Inventory, entry 39. I address the authorship of the fragmentary Gloria on fol. 205v in Michał Gondko, 'On the Authorship of cCompositions Attributed to Nicolaus de Ostrorog in the "Krasiński Codex"', *Muzyka* 71 (2026) no. 1, pp. 189–97.

16 As reported in M. Perz, 'Wokół Mikołaja', p. 79.

17 Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, vols. 1–4, Genève 1907; Gerhard Piccard: *Die Wasserzeichenkartei im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, vol. 2/1–3, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, Stuttgart 1966.

18 See *Sources […]: Facsimiles*, p. xxii.

In 1993, at the request of the Department of Polish Music History at the Musicological Institute[19] of the University of Warsaw, the staff of the Manuscript Department at the National Library conducted an examination of the KrasM watermarks. The report[20] lists four watermarks of two types described as (1) a bull's head with a rod ending in a seven-petal flower ('1a' and '1b'), and (2) a bull's head with a rod ending in a Latin cross ('2a' and '2b'). The resemblance of these to watermarks dated 1435–42 in the Briquet, Piccard and Piekosiński[21] catalogues was noted, although the conclusion states that the paper used in KrasM dates 'from the second half of the fourth decade of the fifteenth century, that is from the years 1436–40'.[22]

High-resolution multispectral images of the KrasM paper confirm that KrasM contains four watermarks of the two types described above. I will henceforth refer to them as BH1a, BH1b, BH2a and BH2b. BH1a and BH1b appear to be twins, despite minor visual differences, as do BH2a and BH2b, which are more closely matched (see Fig. 3).

For this set of two twin watermark pairs, there exist multiple concordant motifs, dated between 1435 and 1441, in the *Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters* database (hereafter WZMA).[23] A high degree of similarity can be reported between BH1a / BH1b and the pair AT5000-582_32 / 33 (BH1a appears to be slightly deformed on the left side of the bull's muzzle; in AT5000-582_32 the rod leans to the right), while BH2a / BH2b border on being identical with AT8500-3062_46 / 52. These conclusions were arrived at by superimposing the images in Adobe Photoshop, as well as measuring the KrasM watermarks with the same software using built-in measuring tools. Comparison of the results with the measurements reported in WZMA, on the one hand, and in the above-mentioned examination report of 1993, on the other, can be seen in Table 2. The data indicates a close relationship.

The datings (1441 and 1437 respectively) of the sources containing watermark pairs AT5000-582_32 / 33 and AT8500-3062_46 / 52 suggest that gatherings 17 and 18 (not necessarily in that order) were written somewhat earlier (in the last few years of the 1430s?) than gathering 16 (which seems to slightly postdate 1440). This corroborates the conclusion derived from the order to the copying of *Cracovia civitas*, as well as the conclusion regarding the dating of KrasM presented in the examination

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19   At the time headed by Mirosław Perz.

20   Sławomir Szyller, 'Ekspertyza znaków wodnych w rękopisie Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie, Sygn. III.8054 (olim Kras 52) (składki 16–18 zawierające utwory muzyczne)' [A study of the watermarks in the manuscript III.8054 (*olim* Kras 52) from the National Library in Warsaw (gatherings 16–18 containing musical compositions)], unpublished typescript, 1993. I am grateful to Mr Szyller for sharing a copy with me. Plans to publish the results of this examination, supposedly together with the accompanying drawings, were announced in M. Perz, 'Wokół Mikołaja', p. 78, but never realised, although Perz (ibid.) does cite its conclusions.

21   Franciszek Piekosiński, *Wybór znaków wodnych z XV stulecia*, Kraków 1896.

22   '[…] z drugiej połowy czwartego dziesieciolecia XV w., tzn. z lat 1436–40'.

23   Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters, https://www.wzma.at/, accessed 12 January 2026.

report from 1993. However, the dating proposed in the latter (1436–40) does not cover the possibility that a portion of KrasM probably dates from soon after 1440. Since a more precise dating cannot be established at this point, '*c.*1440 (1437–1441?)' seems to be the safest and most representative one for KrasM.

Table 2. Comparison of the dimensions of the KrasM watermark pairs with the closest matching ones in WZMA

KrasM pair	Related WZMA pair*	Source / Provenance	Dating	WZMA dimensions (in mm)	KrasM dimensions (in mm)	
BH1a	AT5000-582_32	Source: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chor-herrenstift, Cod. 582, Teil 1, fol. 32 / fol. 33	1441	‖ 40 width 40 height 112 wi 15 hi 34 s 67	41** 38 113 13 [-] [-]	40.3*** 38.6 113 15.2 33.8 67.6
BH1b	AT5000-582_33	Provenance: Austria (Kloster-neuburg)[24]		‖ 39 width 40 height 109 wi 13 hi 32 s 64	39 39 109 13 [-] [-]	38.9 38.8 109 12.7 31.8 63.8
BH2a	AT8500-3062_46	Source: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbiblio-thek, Cod. 3062, fol. 46 / fol. 52	1437	‖ 41 width 33 height 117 wi 29 hi 38 s 69	41 33 117 30 [-] [-]	40.9 32.3 116.7 30.3 37.5 69
BH2b	AT8500-3062_52	Provenance: Austria (Vienna)[25]		‖ 42 width 33 height 116 wi 27 hi 36 s 70	44 33 117 26 [-] [-]	42.1 32.3 115.4 28.9 35.3 70.1

* On the WZMA website (https://wzma.at), navigate to the Extended Search tab and copy-paste the reference number into the respective field in order to be taken straight to the photograph. All four watermarks were last accessed on 8 November 2025.

** According to S. Szyller, 'Ekspertyza' ([-] = not present).

*** My own measurements taken in Adobe Photoshop.

24 https://manuscripta.at/?ID=766, accessed 10 October 2024.
25 https://manuscripta.at/?ID=4774, accessed 10 October 2024.

a)　　　　　　　　　b)　　　　　　　　　c)　　　　　　　　　d)
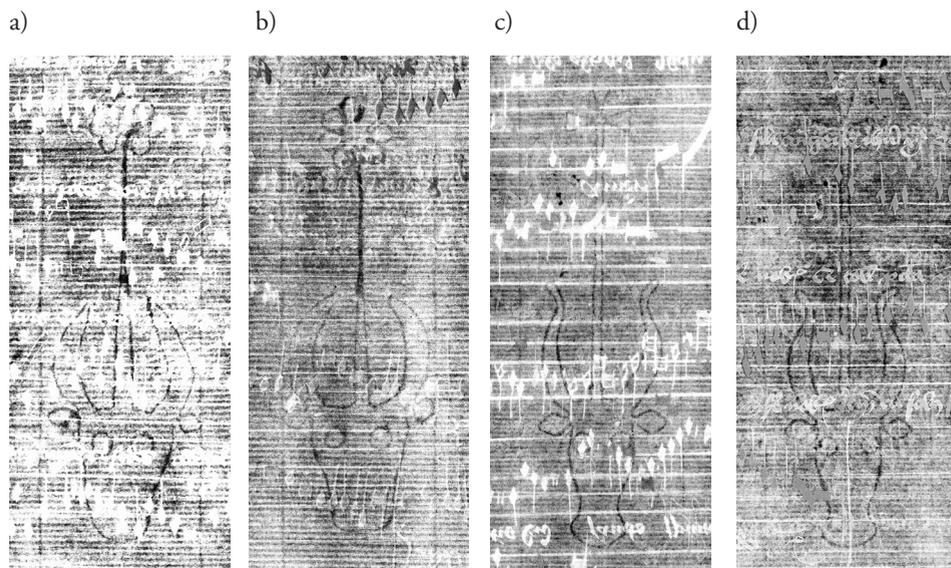
Fig. 3. Multispectral images of the watermarks in gatherings 16–18 in Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III): a) BH1a (fol. 177), b) BH1b (fol. 181), c) BH2a (fol. 188), d) BH2b (fol. 197)[26]

To my knowledge, no study of the KrasT watermarks has ever been published. Digital photographic documentation could not be obtained for conservation reasons, so it is necessary to consult the pencil drawings made during the aforementioned internal library research from 1993 (Fig. 4.1–3).

Comparison with the photos of the KrasM watermarks (Fig. 3) reveals no motif matches. For the present study, however, the KrasT watermarks are of interest inasmuch as they can reveal an approximate dating of the units in which they are found (which, in turn, can be compared with the datings of the KrasM watermarks). To this end, selecting for closer inspection only one watermark from either the middle or near the end of the scribal work seems sufficient.

According to the internal library research documentation, the watermark found in gathering 10 (corresponding to the end of *Sermones quadragesimales*) is the one labelled 'H' (Fig. 4.2/4). 'H' was therefore selected as representative for unit 1 of Kras. 'H' corresponds to the motif group broadly described as 'tower'. Watermarks most closely resembling the drawing of 'H' in WZMA (AT5000-211_105, AT5000-355_16, AT5000-355_40, AT5000-649_415) are dated 1451/53 and 'middle of the fifteenth century'. It therefore seems safe to assume the approximate dating '*c*.1450' for the final stage of work on unit 1.

26　The images presented in Fig. 3 are the results of my experimentation with multispectral images taken at various wavelengths. First the images were superimposed as layers in Adobe Photoshop; then the layers were manipulated in order to reveal the clearest possible trace of a watermark while simultaneously reducing the prominence of the background. I am grateful to Sonia Wronkowska from the National Library of Poland for helping me obtain these images.

The paper of unit 3 (unit 2 will be discussed shortly) carries the watermark labelled 'M' (Fig. 4.3/4). 'M' corresponds to the motif group broadly described as 'bell'. By happy coincidence, multispectral images of two folios carrying this watermark (Fig. 4.4/4) were taken at the same time as those of the KrasM watermarks. They closely resemble AT5000-241_167 and AT5000-194_93 in the WZMA database, which carry the respective datings *c*.1396/1403 and *c*.1395/1399. A dating '*c*.1400' thus seems safe for unit 3.
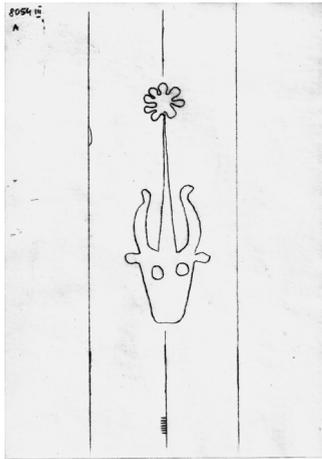
A (u1, g1–2)   B (u1, g1)
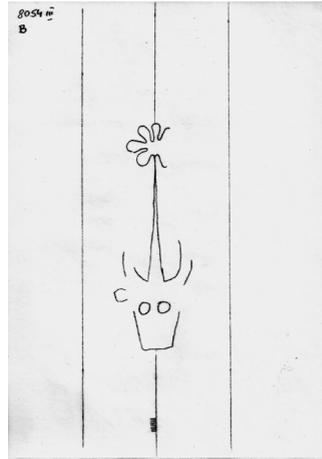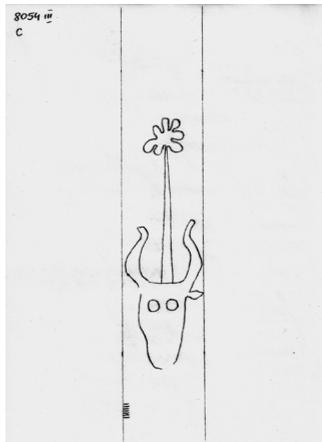
C (u1, g2)   D (u1, g3–6)
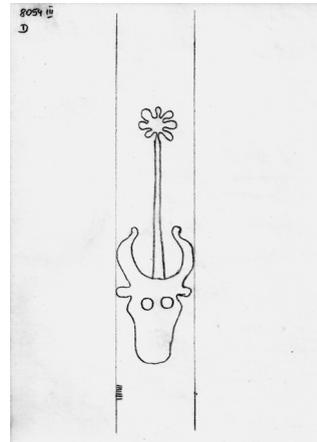
Fig. 4.1/4. Pencil drawings of the watermarks in gatherings 1–15 in Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III), from the National Library of Poland's internal documentation (published with permission); u = unit, g = gathering

E (uɪ, g6–8)

F (uɪ, g8–9)

G (uɪ, g8–9)
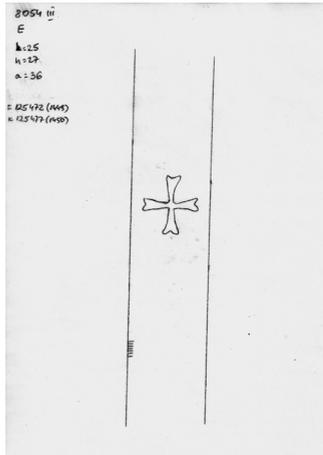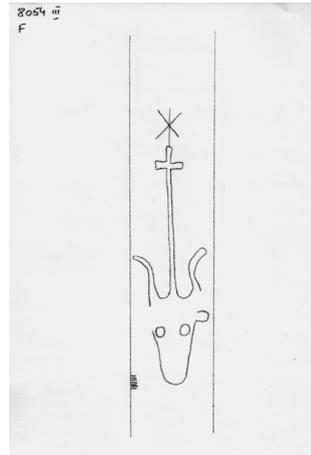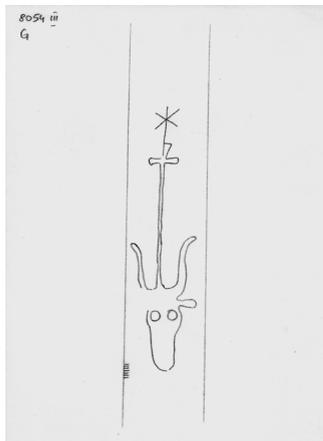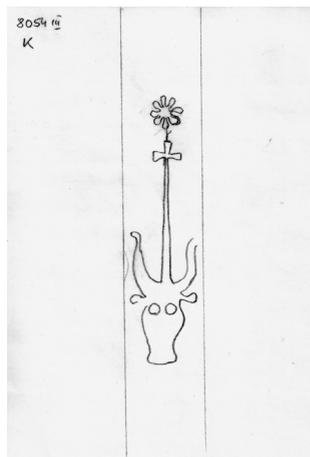
H (uɪ, g9–10)
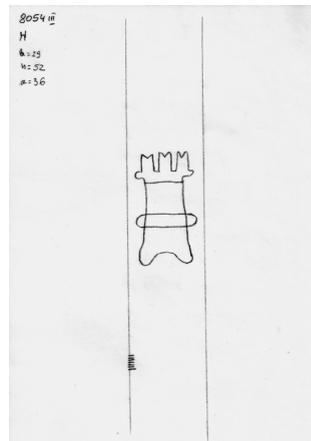
Fig. 4.2/4. Pencil drawings of the watermarks (*cont.*)
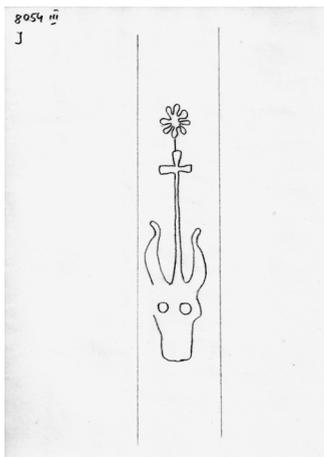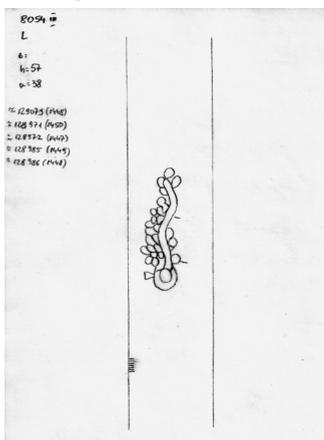
J (u2, 11–13)   K (u2, 11–13)

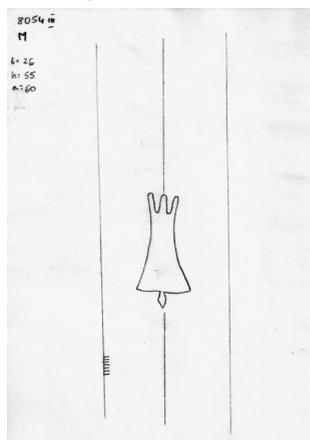L (u2, g14)   M (u3, g15)

Fig. 4.3/4. Pencil drawings of the watermarks (*cont.*)

fol. 165r   fol. 167r

Fig.4.4/4. Pencil drawings of the watermarks (*cont.*); multispectral images of two 'M' watermarks in gathering 15

Since the scribe of *Gesta Romanorum* recorded the time when his work was completed – as well as his name and other details – in the colophon (Fig. 5), dating unit 2 on the basis of the watermarks is not necessary for the purpose of this article.
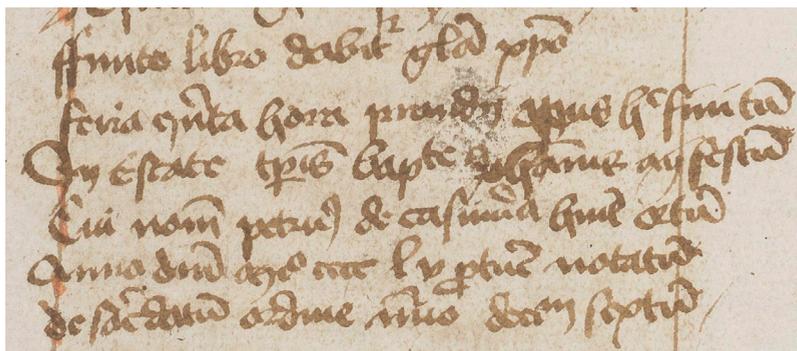

Fig. 5. Colophon of *Gesta Romanorum* in Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III), fol. 154v

Transcription and proposed translation of the colophon:

Finito libro dabitur gloriam [recte: gloria] Christo.
Feria quinta hora prandij opus hoc finitum,
In Estate, temporis Baptiste Johannis ante festum.
Cui nomen Petrus de Casimiria humiliter ortum
Anno Dominum [recte: Domini] Millesimo CCCC LV protunc notatum
De sacerdotum ordine (recte: ordinatione?) numero decimum sextum

The book being finished, the glory will be given to Christ.
This work was finished on Thursday at lunchtime,
In summer, at the time before the feast of John the Baptist.
The man whose name is Peter of Kazimierz, humbly born,
Recorded at the time in the year of the Lord 1455,
The sixteenth by number in the order of priests.
(or rather: The sixteenth [year] from the ordination of priests[27])

In 1455, Saint John's Day was on Tuesday, 24 June.[28] Hence, *Gesta Romanorum* must have been completed on Thursday, 19 June 1455.

To sum up, the watermark evidence, in conjunction with the colophon dating, suggests that the various parts of Kras are separated by considerable time gaps (unit 1: *c.*1450; unit 2: 19 June 1455 (colophon dating); unit 3: *c.*1400; units 4–6: *c.*1440 (1437–41?) – following the present sequence of units).

THE HANDWRITING IN KRAS

Despite an occasional tendency to a somewhat more extravagant decoration of letters (both majuscules and minuscules, particularly in gathering 18), the impression of a uniform appearance of music and text handwriting across KrasM is very strong. The *custodes* are consistent almost throughout, as are the *semibreves* with their characteristic (hairline) approach stroke on the left side of the note body. The comparison of music handwriting samples extracted from gatherings 16–18 (see Appendix 2), combined with the rather untidy manner of copying that lends them an informal character (frequent erasures and corrections; ink splashes; inconsistent, sometimes freehand ruling; general lack of initials), leaves little room for doubt that KrasM is entirely, or almost entirely, the work of a single scribe.[29] This also applies to what appear to be (somewhat later?) additions to the main layer of work, written in lighter brown ink.[30]

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27 Assuming that the scribe forgot to add an abbreviation sign above *ordine*, but meant *ordinatione*, which would make this phrase more logical. I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Oxford) for his help with the English translation of the colophon text.

28 Calculated from Easter Sunday, 6 April 1455, as per Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo*, Milano 1930, p. 66.

29 A shadow of a doubt could be cast on the Kyrie on fol. 181v, where the *custodes* have a different form, but otherwise the appearance of the music notation in this piece bears enough similarity to the 'regular' music hand of KrasM, and the different *custodes* might just as well be imitating what the scribe had in front of him in the exemplar he was copying from. This may also be the case for the somewhat more extravagant letter forms in voice designations. In one instance (*Salve thronus trinitatis*, fol. 180r), one wonders whether the hand that wrote the second strophe ('In hoc festo') might belong to a different person. For the rest of KrasM, however, there is no reason to believe that the sung texts and the musical notation were not entered simultaneously by a single scribe.

30 Gathering 16: fols. 177r, 177v, 180r, 182r–183v; gathering 17: possibly 186v (*Ave mater*, second stanza).

Each of the gatherings in KrasM is laid out as what Albert Derolez calls a 'full music' manuscript. Such manuscripts 'have no text-pages at all, and their layout may thus be conceived in relation to the specific presence on the page of a series of staves separated from each other by a line of text, to which a line of text at the bottom of the page is to be added. In the case of one-column layout (which is the rule in late medieval codices of this type) the ruling comprises vertical lines at both sides of the text area'.[31] In a manuscript laid out in this manner, the music notation dictates the way the text is distributed on the page and under the staff line, and whether it is abbreviated for the sake of space, or stretched 'beyond breaking point' under an extensive musical phrase. The various parts of KrasT, on the other hand, are laid out almost throughout like so many late-medieval books: two columns delimited by six bounding lines; text-only pages (or text-and-images).[32] Apart from the margin notes, the writing is executed with greater care. The text was entered in a continuous, more relaxed manner. The degree of formalisation varies depending on the content being copied (for instance, a Gospel fragment receives a more calligraphic treatment than its commentary or a margin note). These differences can be expected to have a negative impact on the comparability of the handwriting across Kras. The existence of considerable time gaps between the various parts of the codex adds yet another layer of complexity, since handwriting is known to evolve over time. In other words, if a single scribe was responsible for writing most of the codex at different times in his life, it can be safely assumed that the scribal skill set and aesthetic preferences that defined his sense of visual aesthetic at a younger age will, to a greater or lesser extent, differ in details from his practice at a mature age.[33]

For complex cases of handwriting discrimination in medieval manuscripts, Karin Schneider recommends 'to record the scribe's entire repertoire of [letter] forms and compare it with that of one or more other hands involved in the same manuscript'.[34]

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31 See Albert Derolez, 'The Codicology of Late Medieval Music Manuscripts: Some Preliminary Observations', in: *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, ed. John Haines, Turnhout 2011 (= Musicalia Medii Aevi 1), p. 25, https://doi.org/10.1484/M.MUMA-EB.6.09070802050003050400000504.

32 Except fol. 163v, which is laid out in one column delimited by four bounding lines.

33 Roy A. Huber and A. M. Headrick differentiate four stages of handwriting development over time: (1) the formative stage; (2) the impressionable or adolescent stage; (3) the mature stage; and (4) the stage of degeneration. Regarding stages (2) and (3), they furthermore write: 'The changes occurring in the second stage may be quite pronounced in form or style, depending on the source of the influence responsible for the change. The desire to imitate another style may stem from many exogenous factors, both aesthetic and identification related. Writing of the third stage is more consistent over longer periods of time, and likely to change only in fluency or design; the former usually being the result of writing frequency, and the latter usually being the product of a particular occupation', see Roy A. Huber and A.M. Headrick, *Handwriting Identification: Facts and Fundamentals*, New York 1999, pp. 198–99.

34 'In Fällen schwieriger Händeabgrenzung ist es nützlich, das gesamte Formenrepertoire eines Schreibers zu erfassen und mit dem eines oder mehrerer anderer an der gleichen Handschrift beteiligter Hände zu vergleichen', see Karin Schneider, *Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde für Germanisten: Eine Einführung*, Tübingen 1999 (= Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, B, Ergänzungsreihe 8),

Given the amount of text written on the 200 plus folios present in Kras, such a comparison would be unrealistic when approached (as is the case here) with 'analogue' means.[35] Thus, the criteria of comparability need to be narrowed down and fine-tuned.

Forensic document analysts, usually working with far less extensive material,[36] stress the necessity to have 'adequate amounts of usefully comparable writing' and that one should 'compare like with like'[37] – a view that palaeographers seem to share.[38] Kras does contain adequate amounts of usefully comparable writing in areas which share a similar degree of formalisation and level of execution. In KrasM, this effectively means all sung texts, whereas in KrasT it is the smallest text written within the bounding lines in the columns. The degree of formalisation is low here, and the level of execution can be described as being between moderately and very cursive (*currens*).

As Tom Davis has demonstrated, the approach of a palaeographer greatly differs from that of a forensic handwriting analyst when it comes to presenting findings and formulating conclusions after the conclusion of handwriting analysis. Traditionally, the results of palaeographical handwriting analysis would be presented in an elaborate, qualitatively worded description of various elements of the handwriting in question, not necessarily accompanied by reference images to illustrate the points. However, since 'handwriting is too variable', 'forensic document examiners do not

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p. 99. This approach is also recommended in Konstanty Klemens Jażdżewski, 'Identifizierungsprobleme bei Schreiberhänden', in: *Probleme der Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Handschriften*, eds. Helmar Härtel, Wolfgang Milde, Jan Pirożyński and Marian Zwiercan, Wiesbaden 1986 (= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 30), p. 326.

35 Despite attempts, I have not been able to apply the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS) – a tool which, at the time when the main research for this article was conducted, showed promise of being suitable for such a task – to the case at hand. Regarding GIWIS, see Axel Brink, 'Robust and Applicable Handwriting Biometrics', University of Groningen 2011 (PhD dissertation); Jinna Smit, 'The Death of the Paleographer? Experiences with the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS)', *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 57 (2011), pp. 413–27; Axel Arjan Brink, Jinna Smit, Marius Bulacu and Lambert Schomaker, 'Writer Identification Using Directional Ink-trace Width Measurements', *Pattern Recognition* 45 (2012), pp. 162–71, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.patcog.2011.07.005.

36 '[…] there is no simple answer to the question as to how many writing samples will be required […]. In the interests of practicality, Hilton's recommendations as to numbers [five to six pages of continuous writing – M.G.] may be a reasonable target even if somewhat ideal', see R.A. Huber and A.M. Headrick, *Handwriting Identification*, p. 250; see also Ordway Hilton, *Scientific Examination of Questioned Documents*, rev. edn., New York 1982, p. 316.

37 See David Ellen, *The Scientific Examination of Documents: Methods and Techniques*, 2nd edn., London 1997, pp. 44 and 64; see also R.A. Huber and A.M. Headrick, *Handwriting Identification*, p. 35.

38 See, for instance, K.K. Jażdżewski, 'Identifizierungsprobleme', p. 325; K. Schneider, 'Paläographie', p. 99; Gerhard Powitz, 'Was vermag Paläographie?', in: *Urkundensprachen im germanisch-romanischen Grenzgebiet: Beiträge zum Kolloquium am 5./6. Oktober 1995 in Trier*, eds. Kurt Gärtner and Günther Holtus, Mainz 1997 (= Trierer historische Forschungen 35), p. 244.

use words very much. They are too unreliable'.[39] Thus, in forensic document analysis, emphasis is put on visual demonstration, and commentary is kept concise. The discussion that follows is inspired by the latter approach.

Appendix 3 contains a set of three tables in which certain aspects of the handwriting found in Kras are compared. Table A contains as complete a repertoire of letter forms used by the KrasM scribe as I was able to compile. In the same table, this repertoire of letters is compared with their significant matches in *Gesta Romanorum*, copied – according to the colophon – by Petrus de Casimiria. With one exception, the scope of material for comparison was limited to minuscules,[40] as they can be reasonably expected to vary less than majuscules in terms of form and decoration, especially when separated by a considerable time gap. Words highlighted through script (as occasionally seen in *Amen* or voice designations like *Contratenor*) were avoided. Out of the many common abbreviations in KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum*, two kinds were selected for closer inspection in Table B: 1) *con-*/*-us* (at the beginning of a word and at its end, respectively); 2) single-stroke abbreviation lines. Lastly, Table C contains a comparison of selected words (and word sequences) from KrasM with identical (or nearly identical) ones in KrasT; this time, however, the search was widened to include *Sermones quadragesimales*, *Expulsiones demonum* and margin writing in *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*. Majuscules were left where they occur.

As can be seen from Table A, significant matches could be found in *Gesta Romanorum* for the vast majority of minuscule letter forms present in KrasM. Both hands are characterised by dual forms of *r* (a 2-shaped *r* predominates in *Gesta Romanorum*), *k* (an I2-shaped *k* predominates in *Gesta Romanorum*), *u/v* and *x* (a two-stroke *x* predominates in KrasM), as well as diacritics (dot/double dot predominate in KrasM, stroke/double stroke in *Gesta Romanorum*, where, however, both are present). Note the resemblance of *q*'s descender to the way the *longa* is drawn in the music notation (a characteristic slight bend to the left at the end of the descender). The letter *w* shows some variation: in KrasM, a three-stroke *w* with or without an approach (hairline) stroke from the left, and with the first and second strokes usually separated, is predominant (*w*:KrasM:1 and 2); in *Gesta Romanorum*, *w* also has three strokes, but greater care is taken to connect the second stroke to the first with an approach stroke, and also to make the third stroke looped and closed (*w*:GR:1). This form is predominant in *Gesta Romanorum*.[41] A notable difference is the occurrence of loopless ascenders – in addition to looped ones – in the letters *b*, *h* and *l* in *Gesta Romanorum*. This difference, however, is not as significant as it may seem: the type

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39 See Tom Davis, 'The Practice of Handwriting Identification', *The Library* 8 (2007) no. 3, p. 272. https://doi.org/10.1093/library/8.3.251.

40 Due to the scarcity of the letter *z* in *Gesta Romanorum*, an exception was made for *z*:KrasM:1 and *z*:GR:1, both of which are majuscules.

41 It should be noted, however, that both forms are present in *Sermones quadragesimales*.

of script used by the scribe of KrasM for notating the sung texts corresponds to what Albert Derolez terms 'cursiva', whereas the type of script used in *Gesta Romanorum* tends towards Derolez's 'semihybrida'. The two scripts are essentially identical except that Semihybrida utilizes both looped and loopless ascenders.[42] To quote Konstanty Jażdżewski: 'It may seem paradoxical, but a writer can have a few of his own "hands" and does not have to be identical to "his hand"'.[43]

Some letter forms can be safely treated as exceptions, since they occur once or a few times only. To name a few: *a*:KrasM:6 (*a caudata*, one occurrence), *i*:KrasM:9 (*i* with added *semiminima* stem, several occurrences in gathering 18 only) and *s*:KrasM:9 (long *s* with a small decorative loop, one occurrence).

Although placed at opposite ends of a word and standing for different syllables, *con*- and *-us* abbreviations share the same graphic form, thus providing interesting material for comparison, as do single-stroke abbreviation lines above words and cutting through the descender of the letter *p* (abbreviation of *per*-). Signs like these are likely to have been executed with very little degree of self-consciousness – indeed almost automatically – by the scribe. Table B very much echoes the situation seen in Table A. Again, significant matches were found in *Gesta Romanorum* for the vast majority of a quite extensive repertoire of *-us* forms from KrasM (*us*:KrasM:6–8 all come from the 'extravagant' gathering 18 while *us*:KrasM:5 could be interpreted as a variant of *us*:KrasM:1); *con*:KrasM:1 is the predominant form of *con*- in KrasM and can also be found in *Gesta Romanorum*, despite the very strong predominance there of *con*:GR:3 (in its C3-form). In both KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum*, the repertoire of single-stroke abbreviation lines is consistently similar in terms of ductus and line quality.

Lastly, Table C facilitates the comparison of chosen identical – or nearly identical – words and word sequences across the codex. Similarity of ductus and line quality is so evident here that minor differences are negligible, and it seems pointless to try to describe them. The images speak for themselves. Note the consistency in the orthography of *viuos* in samples taken from various parts of the codex. The words *Ciconie*:KrasM:197r and *Ciconia*:GR:118v come from areas (attribution above the piece and title rubric) where they could – if the scribe had so wished – have been elevated in terms of level of execution or decoration. The very modest decoration in KrasM does not obscure the graphic similarity of the ductus in these two words, one of which is the name of the composer.

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42 Derolez points out that the omission of ascenders 'is widely considered a matter of choice on the part of individual scribes' and that 'many scribes were hesitant in their treatment of the ascenders in this kind of script and appear to have been indifferent in their tracing of looped or unlooped ascenders, either because they relapsed time and again into writing the customary Cursiva, or because the distinction held no significance for them', see Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 163–64.

43 'Es mag paradox erscheinen, aber ein Schreiber kann über einige eigene "Hände" verfügen und muß nicht mit "seiner Hand" identisch sein', see K.K. Jażdżewski, 'Identifizierungsprobleme', p. 326.

Just how closely related KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum* are in terms of handwriting can be seen from the comparison in Fig. 6. Some of the most prominent differences between the hand that wrote *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (gathering 15) and the handwriting from KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum* include (1) shafts of long *s* and *f* – inclining to the right in KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum* but written practically at right angles to the baseline by the scribe of *Summa* (compare, for instance, the word *esse* in *Gesta Romanorum* and *Summa*); (2) a clear tendency of the *Summa* scribe to separate strokes (compare, for instance, letters *e* in all samples); (3) a clear tendency of the *Summa* scribe to not close round letters, such as *o* or *a* (for instance, in the words *Nam* and *demonibus*); (4) the *Summa* scribe's tendency to space out the letters and words more widely (while the writing in *Gesta Romanorum* is horizontally more compressed). This dissimilarity is not surprising: judging from the approximate dating of the 'M' watermark (*c.*1400), the scribe of *Summa* must have worked half a century (or longer) before *Gesta Romanorum* was completed.
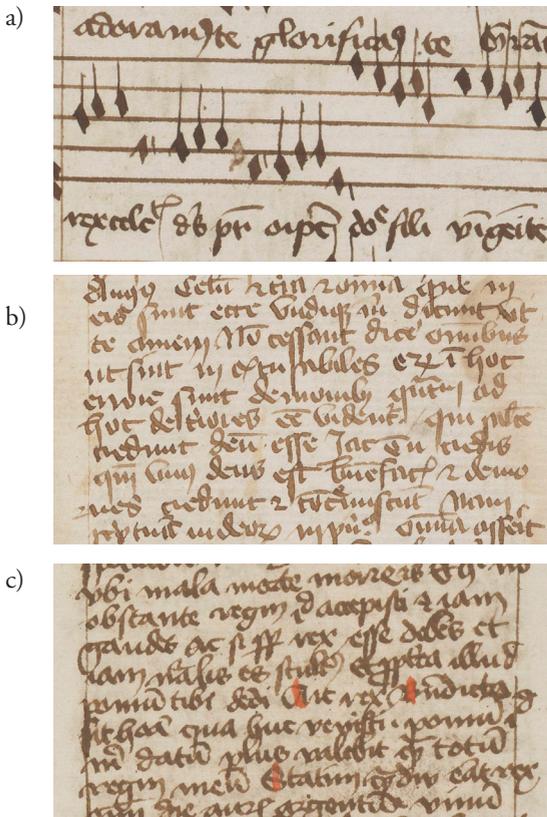
Fig. 6. Comparison of handwriting samples from Kras (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III): a) fol. 192v, b) *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* (gathering 15, fol. 167r), c) *Gesta Romanorum* (fol. 140r)

The similarity of handwriting between KrasM and *Gesta Romanorum* forces us to take a closer look at the latter's copyist. Besides specifying when his work was finished, he reveals in the colophon of *Gesta Romanorum* that his name is Petrus, that his place of birth was *Casimiria* (in all likeliness Kazimierz near Kraków, now part of that city) and that he is a priest. Furthermore, in 1455, it was 16 years since he took holy orders. If this interpretation of the colophon is correct, the ordination must have taken place in 1439; consequently, he could have been born in or around 1414.[44]

I believe, that, despite a certain degree of variation in the handwriting, which could be attributed to the natural development of scribal habits over an extended period of time, there is a strong palaeographical argument for proposing Petrus de Casimiria as the main copyist of Kras (with the exception of the main body of the *Summa* text in gathering 15), and therefore also the copyist of the music gatherings.

PART TWO

If, as I have proposed in Part One, Petrus de Casimiria is the main (if not the only) scribe of KrasM, the next questions one should be formulating are those regarding his purpose for notating the music and the context in which he did so. In search of answers, let us now look at KrasM from the perspective of Central European sources with which KrasM 'establishes a link'.

The seven concordances – including a Gloria by Mikołaj Radomski and *Cracovia civitas* – make the lost manuscript PL-Wn Lat. I. F 378 (hereafter Wn 378)[45] the closest

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44 According to canonic law, the minimum age at which holy orders could be taken was 25; see Arkadiusz Borek, 'Święcenia duchowieństwa w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce: praktyka i jej uwarunkowania na przykładzie włocławskich wykazów święceń' [Ordination of the clergy in late medieval Poland: practice and its conditions as exemplified by the lists of ordinations of Włocławek diocese], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 52 (2014), p. 47. A Petrus Johannis de Kazimiria matriculated at the University of Kraków in 1459; see *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508: Biblioteka Jagiellońska rkp. 258* [The roll of students of the University of Kraków 1400–1508: Jagiellonian Library, ms. 258], eds. Antoni Gąsiorowski et al., vol. 1, Kraków 2004, p. 279; *Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1, *Ab Anno 1400 ad annum 1489*, ed. Adam Chmiel, Kraków 1887. This Petrus would have been around 45 at the time of matriculating – a very advanced age to attend a university, but not unheard of at the time. A prominent example: Paulus Paulirinus of Prague matriculated at the University of Kraków in 1451, already a *magister* and *doctor arcium et medicine totum*, at the age of 38; see Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, 'Patterns of Music Education in Central Europe in the Fifteenth Century: Codices with the Jagiellonian Mark', in: *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era*, eds. Paweł Gancarczyk and Agnieszka Leszczyńska, Warsaw 2012, p. 21.

45 Formerly in the Załuski Estate Library, then in the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg, from where it was returned to Warsaw in the 1920s, Wn 378 is thought to have been destroyed by fire in the Krasiński Estate Library during the pacification of the Warsaw Uprising (1944). Its musical content is known from pre-World War II photographs. In addition, a photograph of fol. 2r appeared in Jean-Baptiste Thibaut, *La notation musicale, son origine, son évolution: Conférence au Conservatoire impérial de Saint-Pétersbourg le 11/24 février 1912*, St. Petersburg 1912. I hereby report the existence of an as yet unpublished photograph of fol. 4v among the papers of Friedrich Ludwig (Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Nachlass Ludwig XXX, 7). Key studies on Wn 378 are Marya Szczepańska, 'Nowe źródło do historyi muzyki polskiej wielogłosowej w XV wieku' [A new source for the history of Polish polyphonic music in the fifteenth century], *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* 7 (1927) no. 3,

'relative' of KrasM. Both sources are the only known ones of the music ascribed to Radomski. Perhaps the most striking feature of Wn 378 are the annotations in Polish, some of which are expressions of the scribe's appreciation for the music, while others indicate that he himself took part in performances.[46] As Mirosław Perz pointed out, these are reminiscent of performance-related remarks in Nuremberg and Melk fragments (D-Nst Fragm. lat. 9 / 9a and A-M 739, respectively),[47] which Reinhard Strohm believes to be connected to the church of St Stephen in Vienna and dating from around 1400.[48] KrasM does not contain such explicit remarks, but where the scribe specifies the beginnings of *fauxbourdon* sections in Radomski's *Magnificat*, he uses verbs in the second person singular present imperative active (*recipe*, 'receive', and *incipe*, 'begin') to indicate from which interval (counted from the first note of the Tenor) the unwritten *fauxbourdon* voice should begin.

Another source that KrasM invites comparison with is the part of the first layer of the so-called St Emmeram Codex (D-Mbs Clm 14274, hereafter Em) that was copied by Hermann Pötzlinger around 1440.[49] Like KrasM, Em is a collection of 'older' and 'newer' repertoire (although the proportions differ). Both were copied in full black notation, with color notes red, reddened void or entirely void. *Custodes* differ, although those found in Grossin's Kyrie[50] (KrasM, fol. 181v) resemble the form used by Pötzlinger. The scribe of KrasM and Pötzlinger also share an interesting

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pp. 128–33; Mirosław Perz: 'The Structure of the Lost Manuscript from the National Library in Warsaw, No. 378 (WarN 378)', in: *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, eds. Albert Clement and Eric Jas, Amsterdam 1994 (= Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis 21), pp. 1–11.

46 In Ciconia's Credo, the Tenor is to be '[repeated several times] until they [= the other voices] have finished [singing the remainder of the piece]' ('asz dokoncza wyschyczko', fol. 9v). The piece itself is deemed 'the most magnificent [one] that could possibly be conceived' ('barszo wspanylie yako ktore mosze postacz', fol. 10r). In the 'Amen' section of Zacara's Gloria *Ad ongni vento*, the singer is instructed to 'hold [= support?] well' ('trzymay dobrze', fol. 13v), while the piece itself is rated 'very beautiful' ('krasne barszo', fol. 14r). Lastly, the 'Amen' section of the anonymous Gloria on fols. 14v–15v carries a remark 'hold firmly' ('trzymay twardo', fol. 15v).

47 'Look at it' ('sichs an') and 'look up' ('lug auff'), see M. Perz, 'Wokół Mikołaja', p. 74; see also Reinhard Strohm, 'Native and Foreign Polyphony in Late Medieval Austria', *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), p. 217. For a facsimile, see Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International Ars Nova', *Studi Musicali*, n.s., 1 (2010) no. 1, p. 46.

48 See R. Strohm, 'Native and Foreign', pp. 215–17.

49 See Ian Rumbold, with Peter Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger's Music Book: The St Emmeram Codex and its Context*, Woodbridge 2009, pp. 86–91. See also *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram: Faksimile der Handschrift Clm 14274 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, eds. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Lorenz Welker, introduction by Martin Staehelin, commentary and inventory by Ian Rumbold (with Peter Wright), 2 vols., Wiesbaden 2006 (= Elementa musicae 2).

50 It should be noted here that, in KrasM, this Kyrie carries the annotation 'A discarth'. This is mistakenly given as 'A discantu' in *Sources […]: Transcriptions*, ed. M. Perz, p. 250. *A discarth* is, of course, the corrupt textual incipit of the widely known anonymous French ballade *En discort* (for a list of Central European sources and citations of this piece, see Michał Gondko, 'Some Latin Contrafacta of Ars Nova Songs in Central European Sources from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century', *Hudební věda* 67 (2020) no. 4, p. 487, and the Inventory in Appendix IV). That said, the melodic contour of the Discantus incipit in the Kyrie only faintly resembles that of *En discort*.

palaeographical feature in the form of an occasional application of a *semiminima*-like tail to the letter *i* – possibly a kind of scribal joke.[51] Another common feature is the use of the word *huius* ('thereof') in connection with a voice designation (especially Tenor). This can also be found in other Central-European sources.[52]

Radomski's borrowing of the musical material from Du Fay's *Bon jour, bon mois* for his own *Alleluya* (KrasM, fol. 201r), as well as the relationship of his Magnificat (KrasM, fol. 182r–183v) with Du Fay's *Magnificat 6. toni* (copied into Em by the organist Wolfgang Chranekker[53]) were noted by music historians a long time ago.[54] To my eyes and ears, however, Radomski's *Magnificat* bears closer resemblance – so far unnoticed – to the anonymous *Magnificat* copied by Pötzlinger into Em (fols. 79v–80r) than to Du Fay's. This is particularly clear in the *per bardunum* sections (see Ex. 1).

KrasM shares three concordances with Em: a Kyrie (KrasM, fol. 181v) and Gloria (KrasM, fols. 177v–178r) by Estienne Grossin, and a Sanctus with the trope *Gusta[n]ti necis pocula* (KrasM, fols. 199v–200r), variously ascribed to 'Schweikl' and Jacobus de Clibano. The same three pieces are found in I-AO Cod. 15 (the so-called 'Aosta Codex', hereafter Ao), for which Austrian-Swiss provenance has been proposed.[55] The versions from KrasM and Em / Ao differ sufficiently in musical detail to suggest that they were copied from different sources than KrasM, but they are nevertheless very similar. *Sanctus 'Gusta[n]ti necis pocula'*, stylistically the most modern piece in KrasM, is only known from these three sources. It is noteworthy that KrasM is the

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51 In KrasM see, for instance, the words *omnium* (fol. 193v) and *hominibus* (fol. 197r); in Em, see, for instance, multiple occurrences in the first Discantus of *O Maria virgo davitica / O Maria maris stella* (fol. 56v). I am not aware of any other source where such a feature occurs (which, of course, does not mean that its occurrence is limited to KrasM and Em).

52 For instance in PL-Kj 2464 and PL-KÓ 801 (facsimiles and editions in *Sources […]: Facsimiles* and *Transcriptions*) as well as D-Mbs Clm 26608, see Armin Brinzing, 'Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet', in: *Studien zur Philologie und zur Musikwissenschaft*, Berlin 2009 (= Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, n.s., vol. 7), p. 260, with a facsimile on pp. 277–78, and D-Gs XXX, 1 (Nachlass Ludwig XXX, 1), see Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi: Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusic im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Göttingen 2000 (= Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 in deutschem Sprachgebiet 3).

53 As demonstrated in Peter Wright, 'The Contribution and Identity of Scribe D of the "St Emmeram Codex"', in: *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance: Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag,* eds. Rainer Kleinertz et al., Hildesheim 2010, pp. 302–14. Chranekker attributed the Magnificat to 'Dumstable'.

54 Regarding the Magnificat, see Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Historja muzyki polskiej (w zarysie)* [History of Polish music (an outline)], Warsaw 1920, p. 30; and especially Maria Szczepańska, 'Studia o utworach Mikołaja Radomskiego' [Studies on the works of Mikołaj Radomski], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 25 (1949), pp. 35–54; regarding *Alleluya*, see Marcin Majchrowski, 'Powiązania *Alleluia* przypisywanego Mikołajowi Radomskiemu z chanson *Bon jour, bon mois* Guillaume'a Dufaya' [The relationship between an 'Alleluia' attributed to Mikołaj Radomski and the chanson 'Bon jour, bon mois' by Guillaume Dufay], *Muzyka* 39 (1994), no. 2, pp. 87–88. *Bon jour, bon mois* was also copied by Pötzlinger into Em with the *contrafactum* text *Ihesu iudex veritatis*.

55 Regarding the provenance of Ao, see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, Cambridge 1993, p. 254.

unique source of a contratenor for the second part of the trope text (*Lumen luminum*) – a local ('Cracovian'?) addition?

Ex. 1. Comparison of the beginnings and endings of 'Et exultavit' sections: a) anonymous (Em, fol. 79v), b) Radomski (KrasM, fol. 182r), c) Du Fay (I-Bn Q15, fols. 199v–200r)

The enrolment of a group of six German and Silesian 'singers of the most revered Father, Lord Zbigniew [Oleśnicki], the Bishop of Kraków' (*cantores reverendissimi patris domini Sbignei Cracoviensis episcopi*) in the University of Kraków in 1441[56] is

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56 *Metryka*, p. 188; and *Album studiosorum*, p. 97. The group consisted of Nicolaus de Albo Castro, Othmarus Opilionis de Jawor, Nikasius Opilionis de Jawor, Bartholomeus Nicolai de Auris, Johannes Andree de Auris and Mathias Andree de Auris. *Metrica* and its editors clearly read 'Nikasius', while Gerhard Pietzsch reads 'Blasius', see Gerhard Pietzsch, *Zur Pflege der Musik an den deutschen Universitäten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Nachdruck mit Vorwort, Ergänzungen und neuer Literatur*, Darmstadt 1971, pp. 44 and 55. Pietzsch's reading was repeated by some later writers, even leading to a tentative attribution of *Audi nos* in Em (fol. 9v–10r) to 'Blasius Opilionis'. Nikasius was probably related to Othmarus and Ignatius (see n. 57). Of the six, Nicolaus de Albo Castro seems to be the best documented. Apparently from Weissenburg (*Albo Castro*) and a priest of the diocese of Speyer (*presbyter spirensis dyocesis*), he witnessed a document issued by Oleśnicki on 12 May 1442 as *notarius publicus*, see Maria Koczerska, *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i kościół krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu 1423–1455* [Zbigniew Oleśnicki and the Church of Kraków during his pontificate, 1423–55], Warsaw 2004, document 115. He also appears in various documents that can be found in the virtual Preußische Urkundenbuch, http://www.spaetmittelalter.uni-hamburg.de/Urkundenbuch/, accessed 13 January 2026; as well as in Repertorium Germanicum, http://www.romana-repertoria.net/993.html?&L=24#c3033, accessed

a well-known fact and demonstrates how repertoire such as *Sanctus 'Gusta[n]ti necis pocula'* may have travelled to Kraków. One of 'Oleśnicki's singers', Othmarus Opilionis de Jawor (*Jabor*), is also documented at the University of Vienna in 1432.[57] Since a three-voice textless composition ascribed to him survives in the Trent Codex 93 (I-TRbc 93, fol. 365v), the chances are that 'Oleśnicki's singers' sung 'foreign' polyphonic repertoire such as the music we find in Ao, therefore attracting the attention of a bishop far better known for spending large sums of money for representation purposes than for his musical inclinations (besides this, sufficient forces to perform chant or simple polyphony were already available locally). Whether or not they actually provided musical services for the bishop, 'Oleśnicki's singers' (of whom one was a composer) can be suspected of having carried written copies of music with them. It does not strike me as far-fetched to imagine that the copyist of KrasM had access to their exemplar of Sanctus *Gusta[n]ti necis pocula*.

The aforementioned instances of KrasM 'establishing a link' to sources of both local and more broadly Central European origin point in a certain direction. Reinhard Strohm proposed that the book(s) to which the Nuremberg / Melk fragments originally belonged 'have served both for use in the service and for musical entertainment and instruction in a church school', and that such sources were 'typically used by schoolmasters attached to a cathedral'.[58] Research (particularly by Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright) into Em – Herman Pötzlinger's music book – has done much to demonstrate the place of polyphonic repertoire in the life of such Viennese institutions as the collegiate church of St Stephen and the university (places where the repertoire that Pötzlinger sourced for his book would have been available). Pötzlinger was a schoolmaster who collected music for the purpose of teaching and performance with students. The informal, somewhat hastily written, notebook-like

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13 January 2026. In some, he is called *licentiatus in decretis*. In 1455, in Chiemsee, he wrote an extensive letter to his contacts in Kraków, in which he uses his breadth of humanist education to the full extent to persuade the addressees not to give his Kraków benefice to someone else. The letter was published and discussed in detail in 1917 in Konstanty Michalski and Tadeusz Sinko, *Przyczynki z kodeksu mogilskiego do dziejów oświaty w Polsce w XV wieku* [Contributions from the Mogiła Codex to the history of education in Poland in the fifteenth century], Kraków 1917, pp. 13–86. Maria Koczerska has interpreted it as an attempt to spread the Teutonic Order's propaganda, see Maria Koczerska, 'Piętnastowieczne biografie Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego' [Fifteenth-century biographies of Zbigniew Oleśnicki], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979), pp. 30–48. None of these sources mention Albo Castro's musical expertise.

57 Together with his brother Ignatius, see Károly Schrauf, *Magyarországi tanulók a bécsi egyetemen* [Hungarian students at the University of Vienna], Budapest 1892, pp. 75 and 183. This was noted in Tom R. Ward, 'Music in the Library of Johannes Klein', in: *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, Cambridge 1994, p. 65, but seems otherwise not to have caught the attention of music historians. For comparison, Pötzlinger matriculated in 1436.

58 See R. Strohm, 'Native and Foreign', pp. 216–17.

KrasM[59] could hardly have been intended to become anything as sizeable as Em or Ao (a schoolmaster's collection and a chapel manuscript, respectively). However, it would not have been out of place in the hands of an assistant (*succentor*) to the choirmaster; someone whose duties would have included performing in the church and in public, as well training boys to sing at a cathedral school; or simply – and perhaps more likely – a young cleric still receiving education that included musical training and participation in performances.[60] Given the presence of Kraków-related secular repertoire in KrasM, the cathedral school on Wawel Hill, in close proximity to the court, comes to mind as a likely place where such training could have been received.[61]

Like some of the local Viennese composers whose music we find in Em (for instance Hermann Edlerawer), Mikołaj Radomski may have moved between ecclesiastical, courtly and educational institutions in the city of Kraków from the 1420s (if not earlier). If Petrus de Casimiria and the anonymous scribe of Wn 378 were involved in performances of the music they wrote down, could they also have had the good fortune of benefitting from Radomski's teaching and repertoire resources – perhaps even singing alongside him – sometime in the late 1430s? The concentration of Radomski's music, most likely from different periods in his career, in KrasM could be indicative of his ongoing involvement in teaching music as well as preparing and leading performances of polyphonic repertoire in the city of Kraków, which in the 1420s and 30s was reportedly 'gripped by the greatest enthusiasm' for music and 'placed a particularly high value on music, thanks principally to which it could achieve the greatest possible solemnity for divine services'.[62] If the music surviving

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59 Despite these characteristics and the considerable number of very similar yet not identical concordances between KrasM and Wn 378, it seems far-fetched to state that KrasM served as a draft copy from which the 'corrected' versions of the concordant pieces were subsequently copied into Wn 378. See E. Wojnowska, 'Kras. 52', p. 42; also *The Krasiński Codex*, chapter 'The Manuscript and Its History', pp. 8–9. The close relationship between the two sources could simply be due to the fact that they originate from the same environment in which copies were made from the same exemplar, perhaps over a longer period of time.

60 Such 'master and children' ensembles and their duties are described in Reinhard Strohm, 'European Cathedral Music and the Trent Codices', in: *I codici musicali trentini: Nuove scoperte e nuovi orientamenti della ricerca*, ed. Peter Wright, Trento 1996, pp. 17–18 and 19–20; see also R. Strohm, *The Rise*, pp. 287–91.

61 A certain Petrus is named as *cantor* of the Kraków cathedral school in documents dated 1451–52, see Bolesław Przybyszewski, 'Kapituła krakowska za kanonikatu Jana Długosza (1436–1480)' [The Kraków chapter during the canonry of Jan Długosz (1436–80)], in: *Dlugossiana: Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, Kraków 1980 (= Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 561, Prace Historyczne 65), p. 34 n. 74. I do not claim that this Petrus is identical with Petrus de Casimiria.

62 Musicologists seem to have overlooked this passage from *Vita et Mores Gregorii Sanocei*, a biography of the musical archbishop Grzegorz of Sanok penned sometime in the 1470s by expatriate Tuscan humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi (also known as Callimachus). Grzegorz enrolled at the University of Kraków in 1428, after returning from a sojourn in Germany (see Ignacy Zarębski, 'Grzegorz z Sanoka', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław 1960–61, p. 87), that is, not much after the birth (1426) of Władysław II Jagiełło's second son, an event that prompted the creation of Radomski's *Hystorigraphi aciem*. Hence, the passage offers a much-needed (if rather broad) context for Radomski's liturgical music and as such deserves to be cited here in full. According to Buonaccorsi, Grzegorz (born around

in KrasM (and Wn 378) was performed in those services, the most ambitious pieces should also have reflected the skill level of Kraków performers.

CONCLUSIONS

In Part One of this study, I have argued on palaeographical and codicological grounds that the various parts that constitute Kras, despite the substantial time gaps separating them, are connected by a common thread in the form of handwriting that belongs to Petrus de Casimiria – a priest (most likely from the diocese of Kraków) who left his name in the colophon of *Gesta Romanorum*. In light of this hypothesis, it would appear that – contrary to widespread opinion – the various parts of Kras are not a random collection of miscellaneous material that was brought and bound together by coincidence. If the conclusions arrived at through handwriting comparison are accurate, the manuscript should be reinterpreted as a collection of texts and music predominantly written down by Petrus de Casimiria at various points in his life. The remains of the *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* manuscript (gathering 15), written much earlier by someone else, also appear to carry marginal writing in Petrus's hand, so they must have belonged to him, too. Writings of the type found in KrasT would undoubtedly have been useful to a priest in his pastoral work. KrasM, the three mu-

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1407) left home for good at the age of twelve to seek education and a better life. He earned his living as a tutor, scribe and singer, 'for he had a natural attraction to music, for which he seemed all but born, since he had a talent extremely prompt to assimilate the rules of that art; but for performance he had the most refined voice, solid and sonorous, with no less sweetness than splendour. That brought him great benefit and honour in very many places. For such persons as he had not drawn to admire him for his learning, he attracted by music. But above all it was on his return to Kraków that the splendour of his voice and his manner of performance proved to his advantage. For at that time, that city, above all given to theology, virtually abandoning all the other liberal arts, placed a particularly high value on music, thanks principally to which it could achieve the greatest possible solemnity for divine services. Therefore, at the very start of his return Grzegorz was held in the greatest esteem by all, since he excelled in that art for which the city was gripped by the greatest enthusiasm' ('Fuit etiam illi naturalis quidam affectus ad musicam, cui propemodum natus uidebatur, siquidem percipiendis disciplinae illius modi praeceptionibus ingenio promptissimo erat; ad modulationem uero uocem habebat elegantissimam, quippe solidam et sonoram, et in qua non minus suauitatis esset quam splendoris. Ea res plurimis in locis magno usui illi cessit et honori. Nam quos in admirationem sui propter litteraturam non adduxisset, musica attrahebat. Sed inprimis redeunti Cracouiam uocis splendor ac modulandi ratio profuit. Namque ad id tempus ea ciuitas theologiae potissimum dedita, omissis fere ceteris disciplinis liberalibus, musicam inter prima ducebat, cuius maxime opera diuinae caerimoniae quam solenniter procurarentur. Itaque in ipso initio reditus sui Gregorio plurimum ab omnibus Cracouiae tribuebatur, quia ea in arte excellebat, cuius praesentim studio ciuitas teneretur'), cited after *Philippi Callimachi Vita et Mores Gregorii Sanocei*, ed. Irmina Lichońska, Warsaw 1963 (= Bibliotheca Latina Medii et Recentioris Aevi 12), pp. 16 and 18. I am indebted to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the English translation. In non-musicological literature, this passage has been cited in Teodor Tyc, *Z dziejów kultury w Polsce średniowiecznej* [From the history of culture in medieval Poland], vol. 1, *Stanisław Ciołek (1382–1437) a zabytki literackie w formularzach polskich* [Stanisław Ciołek (1382–1437) and literary relics in Polish books of formulas], Poznań 1924, p. 60; also Michał Gondko, liner notes to *Mirabilia Musica: Echoes from Late Medieval Cracow*, La Morra, dir. Corina Marti and Michał Gondko, Ramée 2021 (RAM 2008, CD), pp. 6, 11 and 17.

sic gatherings for which Kras is renowned, appear to date from Petrus' youth (when he was still a cleric or soon after he took holy orders). The different parts of the co-dex – including the music gatherings – most likely functioned initially as unbound separate units (as can be deduced from the darkened outer pages), but may have been bound together prior to 1868, indeed perhaps already in Petrus' lifetime.
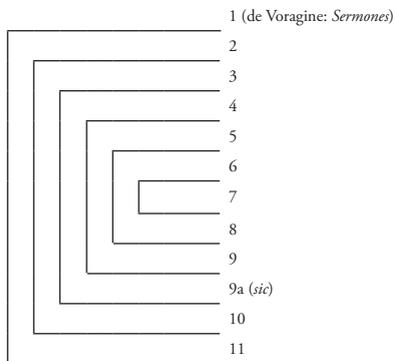
Furthermore, in Part Two, I have tried to show that a look at KrasM from the perspective of what is known about the history and the purpose of similar Central European sources may enhance our understanding of the purpose that KrasM it-self served and suggest how Mikołaj Radomski might fit into the context in which KrasM was likely copied and used, perhaps even indicating a direction for further research into Radomski's life, especially in the 1430s.[63]

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63 The biography of Radomski was recently revisited in Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Mikołaj Radomski i Nicolaus Geraldi de Radom: falsyfikacja pewnej hipotezy' [Mikołaj Radomski and Nicolaus Geraldi de Radom: the falsification of a certain hypothesis], in: *Selva musicologica: Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesor Zofii Dobrzańskiej-Fabiańskiej w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [*Selva musicologica*: festschrift for Professor Zofia Dobrzańska-Fabiańska on her seventieth birthday], eds. Jakub Kubieniec and Piotr Wilk, Kraków 2024, pp. 43–55. Gancarczyk points out that the clues derived from Radomski's surviving works pro-vide the most reliable biographical information about the composer so far.

APPENDIX 1

Gatherings 1–18, present sequence and structure

Gathering 1

1 (de Voragine: *Sermones*)
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9a (*sic*)
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Gathering 2

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x
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Gathering 3

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Gathering 4

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Gathering 5

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Gathering 6

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Gathering 7

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Gathering 8

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Gathering 9

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107
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Gathering 10

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116
117
x

Gathering 11

118 (*Gesta romanorum*)
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Gathering 12

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Gathering 13

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Gathering 14

150
151
152
153
154
155 (*Expulsiones*)
156
157
158
159
160
161 (Gospels)
162
X

Gathering 15

163 (unidentified / Peraldus: *Summa*)
[I]*   164
II   165
X   166
III   167
IV   168
V   169
VI   170
VII   171
VIII   172
IX

* Folios 163v–172v also carry a foliation in Roman numerals which I have taken note of here. The Roman I must be hidden under the protective strip of paper on fol. 163v, since its ink mark is visible on 164r.

Gathering 16

173 (music)
174
175
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Gathering 17

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Gathering 18

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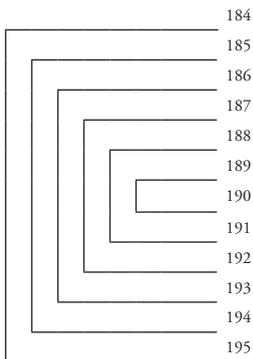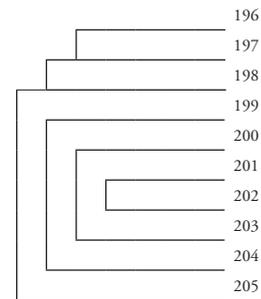
Gatherings 16–18, hypothetical sequence and structure (rev. = watermark reversed, cont. = continuation)

Gathering 17

Anonymous: *Virginem mire pulchritudinis* || WATERMARK: BH2a — 184

Anonymous: *Ave mater summi nati*

Anonymous: *Postaris in presepio / Maria amphioribus (recte: amplioribus)* — 185

Nicolaus de Radom: textless composition in ballad form

N[icolaus?] de Ostrorog (?): *Pastor gregis egregius* — 186

Anonymous: *Ave mater o Maria*
Anonymous: textless composition (*ad Magnificat*)

Anonymous: textless composition (*ad Magnificat*) (cont.)
Anonymous: *Cristicolis fecunditas* — 187

Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria

Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2a (rev.) — 188

Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria (cont.)

Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2a (rev.) — 189

Nicolaus de Radom: Credo

Nicolaus de Radom: Credo (cont.) — 190

Nicolaus de Radom: Credo (cont.)

Nicolaus de Radom: Credo (cont.) — 191

Nicolaus de Radom: Credo (cont.)
Anonymous: Gloria

Anonymous: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2a (rev.) — 192

Anonymous: Gloria (cont.)
Johannes Ciconia: Gloria

Johannes Ciconia: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2b (rev.) — 193

Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Credo

Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Credo (cont.) WATERMARK: BH2b (rev.) — 194

Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Credo (cont.)

Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Credo (cont.) — 195

Anonymous: *Cracovia civitas* (cont.)

Gathering 16

Anonymous: *Cracovia civitas* || WATERMARK: BH1a — 173

Anonymous: *Cracovia civitas* (cont.)

Anonymous: *Cracovia civitas* (cont.) — 174

Nicolaus de Radom: *Hÿstorigraphi aciem*

Nicolaus de Radom: *Hÿstorigraphi aciem* (cont.) — 175

Anonymous: textless composition (Kyrie?)

Anonymous: *Maria en mitissima* || WATERMARK: BH1b (rev.) — 176

Anonymous: *Caro mea*

[Anonymous: *Caro mea* (cont.)?] — not extant

[?]

Anonymous: … *pneumatice endechie* (cont. of an unknown piece)
Anonymous: *Dignum et justum est* || WATERMARK: BH1a — 177

Estienne Grossin: Gloria
Anonymous: *Israel es tu rex*

Estienne Grossin: Gloria (cont.) — 178

Anonymous: Credo

Anonymous: Credo (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH1b (rev.) — 179

Anonymous: Credo (cont.)

Anonymous: Credo (cont.)
Anonymous: *Salve thronus trinitatis* — 180

Anonymous [Nicolaus?]: *Nitor inclite claredinis*

Anonymous [Nicolaus?]: *Nitor inclite claredinis* (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH1b — 181

Anonymous: *Breve regnum erigitur* (cont.)
Anonymous: Kyrie eleison

Nicolaus de Radom: Magnificat || WATERMARK: BH1a — 182

Nicolaus de Radom: Magnificat (cont.)

Nicolaus de Radom: Magnificat (cont.) — 183

Nicolaus de Radom: Magnificat (cont.)

Gathering 18

Anonymous: Gloria || WATERMARK: BH2b	197 (verso!)
Johannes Ciconia: Gloria	197 (recto!)
Johannes Ciconia: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2a	196 (verso!)
Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Gloria	196 (recto!)
Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Gloria (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2a	198
Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Gloria (cont.)	
Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Gloria (cont.)	199
Antonio Zacara da Teramo: Gloria (cont.) Peter Schweikl or Jacobus de Clibano: Sanctus	
Peter Schweikl or Jacobus de Clibano: Sanctus (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2b (rev.)	200
Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria	
Nicolaus de Radom: Gloria (cont.) Nicolaus de Radom: *Alleluya* || WATERMARK: BH2b (rev.)	201
Nicolaus de Radom: Credo	
Nicolaus de Radom: Credo (cont.) Anonymous: *Regina gloriosa*	202
Johannes Ciconia: Credo Anonymous: *Regina gloriosa* (cont.)	
Johannes Ciconia: Credo (cont.) Anonymous: *Regina gloriosa* (cont.)	203
Johannes Ciconia: Credo (cont.)	
Johannes Ciconia: Credo (cont.) || WATERMARK: BH2b (rev.)	204
Egardus: Gloria	
Egardus: Gloria (cont.)	205
N[icolaus?] Fra[n?]g[ens de Leodio?]: Gloria	
[N[icolaus?] Fra[n?]g[ens de Leodio?]: Gloria (cont.)?]	not extant
[?]	
[?]	not extant
[?]	

APPENDIX 2

Samples of music handwriting from gatherings 16–18

Sign	Stage	Gathering 16	Gathering 17	Gathering 18
C clef	I			
	II			
repeat sign	I			
	II			
custos	I			
	II			
longa	I			
	II			
brevis	I			
	II			
semibrevis	I			
	II			
minima	I			
	II			
semi-minima	I			
	II			

flat	I	1.	1. 2.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
	II	1.		
sharp	I	1.	1.	1.
	II	1.		

APPENDIX 3

Table A. Letter forms in KrasM with significant matches and additional forms in *Gesta Romanorum* (KrasM = PL-Wn Rps 8054 III, gatherings 16–18; GR = *Gesta Romanorum*, scribe: Petrus de Casimiria)

Letter	Location	Handwriting samples
a	KrasM	
	GR	
b	KrasM	
	GR	 additionally in GR:
c	KrasM	
	GR	
d	KrasM	
	GR	
e	KrasM	
	GR	
f	KrasM	
	GR	

g	KrasM	
	GR	
h	KrasM	
	GR	 additionally in GR: 8.
i	KrasM	
	GR	
k	KrasM	
	GR	
l	KrasM	
	GR	 additionally in GR: 10.
m	KrasM	
	GR	

n	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.				
o	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.		
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.			
p	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.		
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.		
q	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	*longa*:	
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	letter *q*:	
r	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
s	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	
t	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.				
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.				
u	KrasM	1.	2.	3.	4.				
	GR	1.	2.	3.	4.				
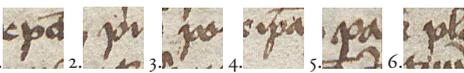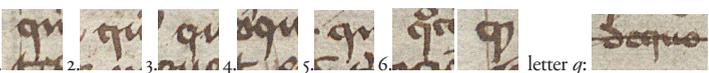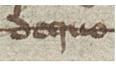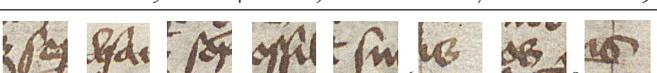
v	KrasM	
		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
	GR	
		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
w	KrasM	
		1. 2. 3.
	GR	
		1. 2.
x	KrasM	
		1. 2.
	GR	
		1. 2.
y	KrasM	
		1. 2.
	GR	
		1. 2.
z / Z	KrasM	
		1. 2. 3.
	GR	
		1. 2.
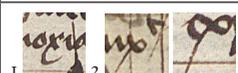
Table B. Comparison of selected abbreviations (KrasM = PL-Wn Rps 8054 III, gatherings 16–18; GR = *Gesta Romanorum*, scribe: Petrus de Casimiria)
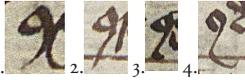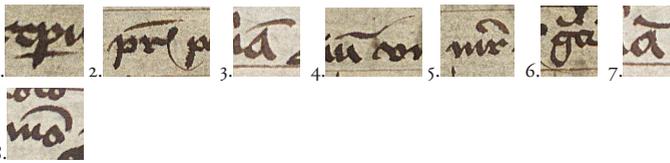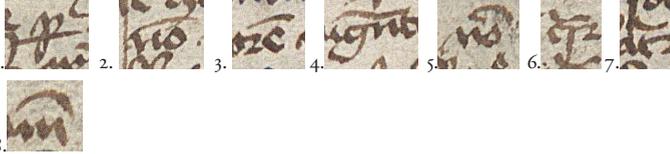
Table C. Comparison of selected words (KrasM = PL-Wn 8054 III, gatherings 16–18; GR = *Gesta Romanorum*, scribe: Petrus de Casimiria; ED = *Expulsiones demonum*; SQ = *Sermones quadragesimales*; SummaM = *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, marginal writing)

Word(s)	Location	Handwriting samples
ad dexteram	KrasM	(197v)
	SummaM	(163r)
Carnem	KrasM	(176v)
	GR	(154r)
Ciconie / Ciconia / Ciconiarum	KrasM	(197r)
	GR	(118v) (118v)
	SQ	(28v)
crucifixus	KrasM	(204r)
	ED	(159r) (160v)
	SQ	(105v)
dei filius / filius dei	KrasM	(192r)
	SummaM	(163v)
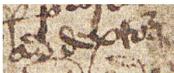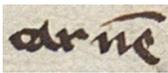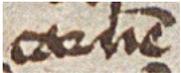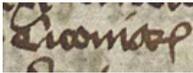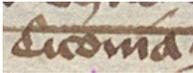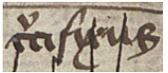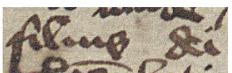
dignatur / *digna*	KrasM	(202v)
	SQ	(42r)
dominus	KrasM	(200v) (198v)
	GR	(135r)
	SQ	(35v) (43r)
mel / dulci *melodia /* *melodia* *dulci… /* *mel dulcis*	KrasM	(195v) (184r)
	GR	(131v) (154v)
	SQ	(9ar)
ego	KrasM	(176v)
	GR	(152r)
exultavit / *exultat*	KrasM	(182r)
	SummaM	(164r)
factorem	KrasM	(156r)
	ED	(189v)
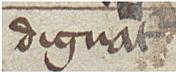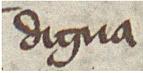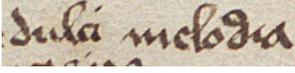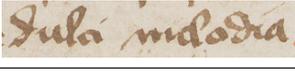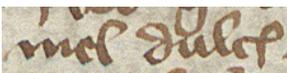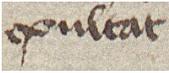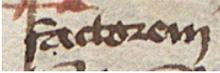
gladio / *gladium*	KrasM	(186r)
	GR	(143r)
	SQ	(7v)
hominibus	KrasM	(177v)
	GR	(150v)
in brachio / *brachia*	KrasM	(182v)
	GR	(152v)
	SQ	(72v)
iudicare viuos *et mortuos*	KrasM	 (194v)
	ED	 (155v)
	SummaM	(163v)
katholicam	KrasM	(179v)
	GR	(119r)
maria	KrasM	(184r)
	GR	(135v)
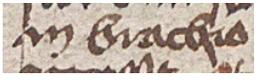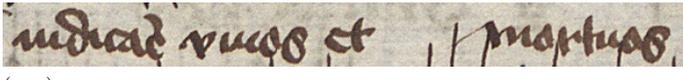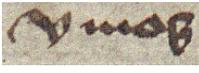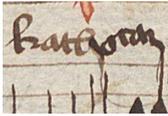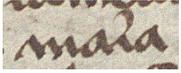
miserere	KrasM	(200v)	
	GR	(157r)	
omnia	KrasM	(179v)	
	GR	(153v)	
pallacia / pallacium	KrasM	(195v)	
	GR	(145v)	
passus	KrasM	(179v)	
	ED	(161v)	
recipe / recipere	KrasM	(182r)	
	GR	(147v)	
	SQ	(53v)	
rex	KrasM	(177v)	(198r)
	GR	(138v)	(148v)
	SQ		(41v)
sabaoth	KrasM	(199v)	
	SQ	(35v)	
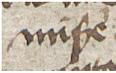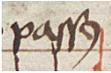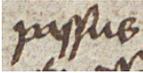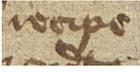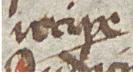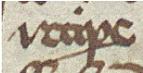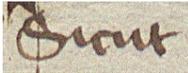
Sicut	KrasM	(183r)
	SummaM	(163r)
suscipe	KrasM	(200v)
	SQ	(55r)
Tenor / Te-netur	KrasM	(182v)
	SummaM	(168r)
victor	KrasM	(187r)
	GR	(120v)
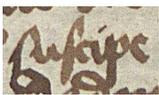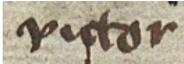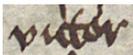
APPENDIX 4

Inventory of KrasM

No.	Fol.	Composer	Title	Voices	Concordances	Editions	Comments
1	173r–174r, 195v	unknown (Mikołaj Radomski?)	*Cracovia civitas*	3	**Praha**, fol. 164v *Per eundem dominum et in cristo patrem dominum S[tanislaum]. Episcopum Poznanen[sem]* (text only); **Wn 378**, fols. 27v–29r	AMP 14, 1; KK, pp. 370–84	Possibly for the birth of either the second or the third son of Władysław II Jagiełło and Sophia of Halshany (on 16 May 1426 and 30 October 1427 respectively).[64] Text by Stanisław Ciołek (at the time vice-chancellor to Jagiełło). Tentatively attributed to Radomski by H. Opieński; later supported by M. Perz.[65] Occasionally (and anachronistically) called *kantata* in the older Polish literature on the subject. **Praha** contains one more strophe.
2	174v–175r	Mikołaj Radomski (*Opus N[i-colai] de Radom*)	*Hystorigraphi aciem*	3		AMP 14, 2; SutkNR, pp. 60–66; KK, pp. 352–69	For the birth of Kazimierz, the second son of Władysław II Jagiełło and Sophia of Halshany. Text variously attributed to Stanisław Ciołek[66] and Mikołaj z Błonia.[67] Originally perhaps a reworking (extension) of a pre-existing composition in *ballade* form in order to accommodate a lengthy text.[68] An interpretation of the prince's date of birth (*sennia-nalla totidem centena con quinquies pentenaria*) as the year 6625 (=1426) from the beginning of the world (*etate cosmos machina*) in Eusebian reckoning has been proposed by Nikolaus Thurn.[69]

64 See Z. Jachimecki, *Rozwój*, p. 32.

65 See Henryk Opieński, 'Hymn na cześć Krakowa z XV-go wieku: Mikołaj z Radomia' [A fifteenth-century Hymn in praise of Kraków: Mikołaj Radomski, *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1 (1911) no. 1, pp. 5–8; M. Perz, 'Wokół Mikołaja', p. 80.

66 See Z. Jachimecki, *Muzyka na dworze*, p. 7; Ryszard Gansiniec, 'Liryka Stanisława Ciołka', *Roczniki Historyczne* 23 (1957), pp. 168–71.

67 See H. Kowalewicz, 'Twórczość liryczna Stanisława Ciołka', *Eos* 65 (1977) no. 1, p. 153.

68 See M. Gondko, 'Some Latin Contrafacta', p. 484.

69 See booklet for *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz: Fifteenth-Century music from Central Europe*, La Morra, dir. Corina Marti and Michał Gondko, 2016 (Glossa GCD 922515), CD, pp. 32–35.

3	175v	Unknown (Estienne Grossin?)	[Kyrie eleison?]	3		AMP 14, 3; KK, pp. 404–7	Textless. Tentatively attributed to Grossin by M. Perz.[70]
4	176r	unknown	Maria en mitissima	3		AMP 14, 4; KK, pp. 262–67	Possibly a contrafactum of a ballade.
5	176v	unknown	Caro mea	3? 4?		AMP 14, 5; KK, pp. 320–28	Text: John, 6, 56–57. Alleluia verse, Corpus Christi. D I and II only (T and possibly Ct were on the lost facing folio).[71]
6	177r	unknown	(...) pneumatice endechie etc.	3? 4?		AMP 14, 6 (as Bonus aprobatus); KK, pp. 306–12	Incomplete (the beginning was on the lost preceding folio). M. Staehelin points out that the annotations bonus aprobatus and malus viciatus likely refer to the crossed-out and correct entry of the Ct respectively.[72]
7	177r	unknown	Dignum et justum est	2 (3?)		AMP 14, 26; KK, pp. 192–95	Fragment of ante prefatio. Most likely the two voices (D and Ct?) of what was originally a three-voice setting. For a reconstruction, see KK, pp. 192–93.
8	177v–178r	[Estienne Grossin]	Gloria	3	Ao fols. 59v–60r Grossin; Em fols. 52v–53r Grossin; Q15 fols. 109v–110r Grossin; RdB fols. 4v–6r	AMP 14, 7; CMM 11/3, 20; ZimeiRdB, pp. 55–58; KK, pp. 108–14	Em version up a fifth. RdB concordance was first noted by Michael Scott Asato Cuthbert in his 2024 paper for the All Souls seminar.

70 Mirosław Perz, 'Die Einflüsse der ausgehenden italienischen Ars Nova in Polen', in: L'Ars nova italiana del Trecento: Secondo Convegno Internazionale 17–22 luglio 1969 sotto il patrocinio della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Certaldo 1970, p. 471.

71 Regarding the notation, see Elżbieta Zwolińska, 'Musica mensuralis in Polish Musical Sources', in: Notae musicae artis: Musical Notation in Polish Sources, 11th–16th, ed. Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba, Kraków 2001, pp. 441–43.

72 See M. Staehelin, review of Sources of Polyphony, p. 172.

9	177v	unknown	Israel es tu rex Davidis	2	AMP 14, 31; KK, pp. 224–30	Fragment of the first strophe of the processional hymn *Gloria laus et honor*[73] in *cantus planus binatim*. Annotation: *In quinta incipiendum est simplex cantus*. For a reconstruction, see KK, pp. 224–226.
10	178v–180r	unknown	Credo	3	AMP 14, 8; KK, pp. 116–25	Unconvincingly attributed to Grossin by M. Perz.[74]
11	180r	unknown	Salve, thronus trinitatis	3	AMP 14, 9; KK, pp. 292–97	Annotation: *Hic contratenor cantat in octava, sed clavis male est posita*
12	180v–181r	unknown (acrostic *Nicolaus*)	Nitor inclite claredinis	1 (3?)	AMP 14, 10; KK, pp. 244–56, 343–51	Two texts underlaid: the lower one is for Christmas; the upper – a refashioning of the lower – is for the birth of Władysław, the first son of Władysław II Jagiełło and Sophia of Halshany (31 October 1424). Text attributed to Stanisław Ciołek[75] or Mikołaj z Błonia – or Mikołaj Radomski himself.[76] D bears melodic resemblance to the D of *Apollinis eclipsatur – Zodiacum* by Bernard de Cluny.[77]
13	181v	unknown	Breve regnum erigitur	2	AMP 14, 11; KK, pp. 386–91	A student carnival song.[78]

73 This identification was first reported in Paweł Gancarczyk, 'Cantus planus multiplex: Chant Polyphony in Poland from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century', in: *Notae musicae artis*, pp. 359 and 361.
74 See M. Perz, 'Die Einflüsse', p. 471.
75 See R. Gansiniec 'Liryka', pp. 164–68.
76 See H. Kowalewicz, 'Twórczość', p. 153.
77 See R. Strohm, 'The Rise', p. 261.
78 See Henryk Kowalewicz, 'Średniowieczna poezja polskich żaków', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 64 (1972) no. 1, pp. 197–98.

14	[Estienne Grossin]	Kyrie eleison	3	Ao fols. 54v–55r Grossyn; **Em** fol. 73r	AMP 14, 12; CMM 11/3, 19; KK, pp. 36–42	The opening of the D faintly resembles *En discort* (see no. 16). Hence, perhaps, the annotation *Adiscarth* (not *A discantu*, as in AMP 14 and KK). **Ao** and **Em** versions are a minor third higher.
15	Mikołaj Radomski (*O[pus] N[icolai] de Radom*)	Magnificat	3		AMP 14, 13; SutkNR, pp. 49–59; KK, pp. 204–19	Annotations: *per bardunum	hic recipe in quinta et fiet contratenor* (182r); *per bardunum hic recipe in tercia (sic)* (182v); *hic incipe in quinta contratenorem	per bardunum* (183r).
16	unknown	*Virginem mire pulcritudinis*	3	**Rei** fol. 7or *A discort*; **Utrecht** fol. 3ov *En discort sunt*; **Stras** fol. 1o6v *Ma duci (duce) mor* (incipit only); **W5094** fol. 148v (T only); **Frankfurt** fol. 1v (D with omissions); **Sterzing** (textless example); <u>intabulations</u>: **Faenza** fol. 36r–v *Indescort*; **Bux** fols. 43v–44r *Virginem mire pulchritudinis*; <u>treatises</u> <u>citing</u>: **Wn 61r/I**; **Wn 61r/II**; **Bres**; **Melk 950**; **Phil/Harb**	AMP 14, 14; KK, pp. 268–74	*Contrafactum* of an anonymous French *ballade En discort sont Desir et Esperance* (ed. PMFC 20, 35).

17	184v–185r	unknown	Ave mater summi nati	3	Lübeck fols. 31r–32v; Jena fol. 255v (text only)	AMP 14, 15; KK, pp. 280–91	Contrafactum of an otherwise unknown French ballade En vergier (fol. 184v: Contratenor huius Enwarger; fol. 185r: Tenor Enwarger). Lübeck contains a monophonic setting unrelated to Kras.
18	185r	unknown	[P]ostaris in presepio / Maria amphioribus (recte: amplioribus)	3		AMP 14, 16; KK, pp. 258–61, 276–79	Possibly a contrafactum of a rondeau. Alternative text Maria amphioribus (recte: amplioribus) written above the main text.
19	185v	Mikołaj Radomski (O[pus] N[icolai] de Radom)	textless	3		AMP 14, 17; Sut-kNR, pp. 67–70; KK, pp. 394–403	In ballade form.
20	186r	N[icolaus?] de Ostrorog?	Pastor gregis egregius	3		AMP 14, 18; KK, pp. 329–37	Attribution indicated by M. Perz as doubtful.[79] Budzińska-Bennett (KK, p. 335) notes a textual relationship to the sequence Iesu Christe rex superne.
21	186r	unknown	Ave mater o Maria	4	BU fols. 39v–40r; Ven fols. 28v–29r; WolkB fols. 44v–45r; intabulation: Bux fol. 43v Maria tu solacium	AMP 14, 19; KK, pp. 298–304	A lauda. Acrostic: Ave Maria Gratia Plena.

79 See *Sources [...]: Facsimiles*, p. xxiv. The identity of N. de Ostrorog and the authorship of *Pastor gregis egregius* are discussed in M. Gondko, 'On the Authorship'.

No.	Folios	Composer	Title	Voices	Concordances	Edition	Annotations
22	186v–187r	unknown	textless	3		AMP 14, 20; KK, pp. 220–23	Annotation: *ad Magnificat. Ct* designation: *Medium.*
23	187r	unknown	*Cristicolis fecunditas*	3		AMP 14, 21; KK, pp. 314–18	Trope: *Maria tripartitum harmonice clangimus tis.*
24	187v–189r	Mikołaj Radomski (O[pus] N[icolai] de Radom)	Gloria	3		AMP 14, 22; SutkNR, pp. 19–28; KK, pp. 148–61	
25	189v–191v	Mikołaj Radomski (O[pus] N[icolai] de Radom)	Credo	3		AMP 14, 23; SutkNR, pp. 29–38; KK, pp. 162–74	
26	191v–192v	unknown	Gloria	3		AMP 14, 24; KK, pp. 80–86	
27	192v–193r	[Johannes Ciconia]	Gloria	3	**Ox** fols. 103v–104r *M Johannes Ciconia*; **Q15** fols. 184v–185r *Jo ciconie*; **Wn 378** fol. 25r	AMP 14, 25; PMFC 24, 8; KK, pp. 43–49	

28	193v–195r	Antonio Zacara da Teramo (*Opus Zacharie*)	Credo	3	**Boverio** fols. 9v–10r (fragm.); **Cividale** fol. 2v (fragm.); **Grot/Dart** fols. 7v–8v (fragm.); **Siena** 327, 1 (fragm.); **Trent 1563** 523 (fragm.); **Wn 378** fols. 2v–4r *slouye szacharie mneysche*	AMP 14, 26; PMFC 13, 23; CMM 11/6, 21; KK, pp. 93–107	Fol. 195v contains the second section of *Cracovia civitas* (see entry 1 in this inventory).
29	196r, 198r–200r	Antonio Zacara da Teramo	Gloria ('Ad ongni vento')	4	**Melk 749** r–v; **Q15** fols. 177v–179r *Zacar ad ongni vento*; **Wn 378** fols. 12v–14r	AMP 14, 27; PMFC 13, 8; CMM 11/6, 19; KK, 57–68	Trope: *Valeamus.*
30	196v–197r	Johannes Ciconia (*O[pus] Ciconie*)	Gloria	4	**Q15** fols. 96v–97r *Jo ciconie*; **Wn 378** fols. 15v–16r	AMP 14, 28; PMFC 24, 3; KK, pp. 126–33	
31	197v	unknown	Gloria	4		AMP 14, 29; KK, pp. 87–92	

32	199v–200r	Sweikl (Peter Schweikl? Paul Sweiker?) or Jacobus de Clibano	Sanctus	2/3	Em fols. 70v–71r; Ao fol. 159r (fragm.)	AMP 14, 30; KK, pp. 196–202	Trope: *Gusta[n]ti necis pocula*. Unique Ct part from *Lumen luminum* onwards. Two candidates have been proposed for 'Sweikl': Peter Schweikl[80] and Paul Sweiker?[81]. R. Strohm considers Clibano more likely.[82] D. Fallows points out the similarities between this Sanctus and other Mass movements by Clibano in **Ao**.[83] A. Budzińska-Bennett (KK, pp. 201–2) notes that the trope text is related to textual passages in Eberhard the German's *Laborintus*.
33	200v–201r	Mikołaj Radomski (*O[pus] Nicolai de Radom*)	Gloria	3	**Wn 378** fols. 23v–24r	AMP 14, 31; SutkNR, pp. 39–43 KK, pp. 175–81	
34	201r	Mikołaj Radomski (*O[pus] N[icolai] de Radom*)	*Alleluya*	3		AMP 14, 31a; SutkNR, p. 48 (as final section of the preceding Gloria); KK, pp. 188–90	The view, occasionally found in musicological literature, that this is an addition to the preceding Gloria (also by Mikołaj Radomski), makes no musical sense due to the key and range differences.
35	201v–202r	[Mikołaj Radomski]	Credo	3		AMP 14, 32 SutkNR, pp. 44–48; KK, pp. 182–87	Forms a pair with the preceding Gloria.

80   See I. Rumbold, 'Herman Pötzlinger's Music Book', p. 175.

81   See Alexander Rausch, 'Netzwerke lokaler Komponisten in Wien um 1430', in: *Musikalische Repertoires in Zentraleuropa (1420–1450): Prozesse & Praktiken*, eds. Alexander Rausch and Björn R. Tammen. Vienna 2014 (= Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 26), pp. 127–29. https://doi.org/10.2630/oapen_512255.

82   See Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*. Oxford 1985, p. 117.

83   See David Fallows, 'Clibano, Jacobus de', in: *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05960.

36	202r–203r	unknown [Johannes Ciconia?]	Regina gloriosa	3		AMP 14; PMFC 33; 24, 24; KK, pp. 232–42	Attribution questioned in PMFC 24.
37	202v–204r	Johannes Ciconia (O[pus] M[agistri] Ciconie)	Credo	4	Wn 378 fols. 9v–11r; Q15, fol. R142v/A165v	AMP 14; PMFC 34; 24, 4; KK, pp. 134–46	Q15 concordance (a few notes on the back of an initial letter E (44, A165v)) was first noted by Michael Scott Asato Cuthbert in his 2024 paper for the All Souls seminar.
38	204v–205r	[Johannes Ecghaert?] (Opus Egardi)	Gloria	3	Mod A fols. 21v–22r Egardus; Grot/Dart fols. Dart verso and 4r (fragm.); Padua 1225 fol. IV (fragm.); Udine 22 fol. recto (fragm.)	AMP 14; PMFC 35; 12, 7; KK, pp. 50–56	This Gloria has been discussed by M.S. Cuthbert and J. Stoessel.[84]
39	205v	Nicolaus Frangens de Leodio (O[pus] N[icolai] Fra[n]-g[ens])	Gloria	3? 4?		AMP 14; 36; KK, pp. 70–79	Incomplete. Tentative attribution to N[icolaus] de Ostrorog in AMP 14, repeated in KK. More likely by Nicolaus Frangens de Leodio.[85]

84 See Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond Codex', Harvard University 2006 (PhD dissertation), pp. 252–53; also Jason Stoessel, 'Arms, a Saint and *Imperial sedendo fra più stelle*: The Illuminator of Mod A', *The Journal of Musicology* 31 (2014) no. 1, pp. 35–37, https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2014.31.1.1.

85 See M. Gondko, 'On the authorship'.

ABBREVIATIONS

D (I, II) = Discantus (I, II), T = Tenor, Ct = Contratenor, fragm. = fragmentary

Sources

Ao	Aosta, Biblioteca diocesana, Cod. 15
Boverio	Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS T.III.2 ('Boverio Codex')
Bres	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS IV Q 16 ('Breslauer Mensuraltraktat')
BU	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216
Bux	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cim. 352b ('Buxheimer Orgelbuch')
Cividale	Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. XCVIII
Em	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274 ('St Emmeram Codex')
Faenza	Faenza, Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana, MS 117
Frankfurt	Frankfurt am Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Praed. 74
Grot/Dart	Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia (Badia Greca), Kript. Lat. 224 (*olim* Collocazione provvisoria 197) / Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College Library, MS 002387 (*olim* Santa Barbara, Accademia Monteverdiana, fragment without shelf mark)
Jena	Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. Sag, o. 2
Melk 749	Melk, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, MS 749
Melk 950	Melk, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, MS 950
Mod A	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.M.5,24 (*olim* IV.D.5, then lat. 568)
Lübeck	Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. theol. lat. 2° 16
Ox	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 213

84 See Michael Scott Cuthbert, 'Trecento Fragments and Polyphony Beyond Codex', Harvard University 2006 (Phd dissertation), pp. 252–53; also Jason Stoessel, 'Arms, a Saint and Inperial sedendo fra più stelle: *The Illuminator of Mod A*', The Journal of Musicology 31 (2014) no. 1, pp. 35–37, https://doi.org/10.1525/jm.2014.31.1.1.

85 See M. Gondko, 'On the authorship'.

Padua 1225	Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS busta 2/2 (from MS 1225)
Phil/Harb	Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, Ms. latin 36 / Schloß Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung, Cod. II, 1 20, 38
Praha	Prague, Národní knihovna, MS VI A 7
RdB	Avezzano, Curia Vescovile, Biblioteca e Archivio Diocesano dei Marsi, MS P, Rocca di Botte, Busta N.5, fasc.25 ('Rocca di Botte fragment')
Rei	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAF 6771 ('Codex Reina')
Q15	Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, MS Q15
Siena	Siena, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti Musicali busta, ins. n. 11
Sterzing	Vitipeno (Sterzing), Stadtarchiv/Rathaus, s.s. ('Sterzinger Miszellaneen-Handschrift')
Stras	Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (olim Bibliothèque de la Ville), 222 C. 22 (lost; partial copy by Edmond de Coussemaker now in: Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS 56286) ('Strasbourg MS')
Trent 1563	Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1563
Udine 22	Udine, Archivio di Stato. Frammento 22 (olim Arch. Not. Antico, busta 773)
Utrecht	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. 6 E 37 (Cat. 1846)
Ven	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS It. IX. 145
W5094	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5094 Han
Wn 61/I, II	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, BOZ 61/I, II
Wn 378	Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Lat. F.I. 378 (lost; photographs in Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS 695)
WolkB	Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS s.s.

Editions

| SutkNR | Les œuvres complètes de Nicolas de Radom (fl. 1420–1430), ed. Adam Sutkowski, Brooklyn 1969. |
| AMP 14 | Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500: Transcriptions, ed. Mirosław Perz, Warsaw 1976 (= Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia 14). |

CMM 11/3 — *Richard Loqueville, Estienne Grossin, R. Libert, Benoit*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, n.p. 1966 (= Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11, Early Fifteenth-Century Music 3).

CMM 11/6 — *Antonius Zachara de Teramo, Magister Zacharias, Nicolaus Zacharie, Antonius Romanus, R. Libert, Benoit*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, n.p. 1977 (= Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11, Early Fifteenth-Century Music 6).

PMFC 12 — *Italian Sacred Music*, eds. Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, Monaco 1976 (= Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 12).

PMFC 13 — *Italian Sacred and Ceremonial Music*, eds. Kurt von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, Monaco 1987 (= Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 13).

PMFC 20 — *French Secular Music: Ballades and Canons*, ed. Gordon K. Greene, Monaco 1982 (= Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 20).

PMFC 24 — *The Works of Johannes Ciconia*, eds. Margaret Bent and Anne Hallmark, Monaco 1984 (= Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 24).

ZimeiRdB — Francesco Zimei, 'Music in Small Italian Villages: A New Source of Fifteenth-Century Polyphony From Rocca di Botte', *Studi Musicali* 36 (2007) no. 1, pp. 21–63.

KK — *The Krasiński Codex (Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Rps 8054 III): A Performer's Edition with Essays and a Critical Commentary*, eds. Agnieszka Budzińska-Bennett and Marc Lewon, Kraków 2025.

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NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA SKŁADKI MUZYCZNE W „KODEKSIE KRASIŃSKICH"

W literaturze muzykologicznej istnieje teza o braku związku między częścią „muzyczną" a częścią „niemuzyczną" kodeksu Rps 8054 III z Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest weryfikacja tego poglądu poprzez przyjrzenie się temu źródłu jako całości z perspektywy kodykologicznej i paleograficznej, a także próba kontekstualizacji jego części muzycznej. Artykułowi towarzyszą cztery aneksy, w tym zaktualizowany inwentarz części muzycznej.

We wprowadzeniu do części pierwszej artykułu prezentowane są kluczowe zagadnienia dotyczące kodeksu i jego zawartości, a także nowe obserwacje (identyfikacja skrawków papieru użytych do wzmocnienia grzbietu jako fragmentów *Kurjera Warszawskiego* nr 172 z roku 1868; obecność śladów poprzedniej, być może oryginalnej oprawy). Prezentowana jest także rekonstrukcja struktury i kolejności składek muzycznych. Następnie omawiane są filigrany występujące w kodeksie. Autor prezentuje po raz pierwszy zdjęcia filigranów ze składek muzycznych oraz wyniki poszukiwań spokrewnionych filigranów w bazie danych Wasserzeichen des Mittelalters, potwierdzając wcześniejsze ustalenia odnośnie do datacji składek muzycznych i uściślając je na ok. 1440 (1437–41?) rok. Porównanie z przybliżoną datacją filigranów z pozostałych partii kodeksu ujawnia z kolei odstępy czasowe – niekiedy znaczne – między nimi. Następnie autor porównuje repertuary liter małych i abrewiacji skryptora składek muzycznych i skryptora *Gesta Romanorum* – Piotra z Kazimierza (Petrus de Casimiria), który w kolofonie zanotował swoje imię i datę ukończenia pracy (19 VI 1455). Analizę tę wzbogacono o porównanie wybranych słów ze wszystkich partii kodeksu (w tym marginaliów ze składki datowanej na ok. 1400 r.). Na tej podstawie autor proponuje nową interpretację kodeksu Krasińskich jako zbioru różnorodnych materiałów spisanych przez, lub należących do Piotra z Kazimierza, które mogły być współoprawne już za jego życia.

W drugiej części artykułu wskazano na aspekty paleograficzne i repertuarowe łączące część muzyczną rękopisu z wybranymi, współczesnymi jej źródłami środkowoeuropejskimi. Wnioski płynące z tego porównania, w połączeniu z „notesowym" niemal charakterem składek muzycznych, pozwalają, zdaniem autora, z dużym prawdopodobieństwem umiejscowić je w kontekście pedagogiczno-wykonawczym szkoły katedralnej na Wawelu oraz muzycznej oprawy krakowskich nabożeństw, wzmiankowanej przez Filipa Kallimacha w *Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei*.

Michał Gondko

Michał Gondko is the founder and artistic co-director of La Morra, an award-winning ensemble specialising in performances of late-medieval and early Renaissance music. He is also active as an independent researcher, his main research areas being music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as lute music. He has published in *Recercare*, *Hudební věda* and *Glareana*, and has contributed to the volume *Music and Culture in the Age of the Council of Basel*, ed. Matteo Nanni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

michal.gondko@lamorra.info