II LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS IN THE BINDINGS OF UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY, SDM 8–36

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The set of six partbooks Warsaw, University Library, SDM 8–12 (canto), 13–17 (alto), 18–22 (tenore), 23–27 (basso), 28–32 (quinto), 33–36 (sesto) is bound in blind-tooled half pigskin covers with dimensions of about 17.7 by 22.0 cm. On the half pigskin of each front cover, the partbooks carry the part names in Italian and the date 1601, the year of binding. The other half of each cover is made of parchment on cardboard, covered with a dark green, arsenic-rich paint.[1] But something is hidden in the green: although the paint intentionally obscures the original writing, even a quick glance at the partbooks reveals that the parchment consists in waste material from older manuscripts, specifically liturgical books containing plainchant. In some areas on the parchment surfaces, friction has worn away some of the green paint; in others, chemical reactions between the inks and paint made the paint layer thinner, causing some portions of the text and musical notation to reappear slightly. The digitally enhanced images published in the present study make it possible to study the fragments' texts and musical notation in greater detail,

1 Delbey et al., "Poisonous books".

which help to identify their geographical origins, to identify the books to which they originally belonged, and to determine the liturgical destination of their chants (▶ Appendix 5).[2] More importantly within the context of the present book, such an investigation serves to check the probability of the hypothesis that the partbooks were bound in Frankfurt an der Oder, formulated in Chapter 1.

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Based on the type and size of the musical notation, it appears that the fragments were not taken from one single manuscript, but from at least three distinct volumes. An overview is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Origin of the fragments used in the bindings of PL-Wu SDM 8–36

PARTBOOK	BOOK TYPE	NOTATION	CONTENTS
Alto	Gradual	Medium-sized black square notation on red, five-line staves	Mass chants from the Sanctorale
Basso	Antiphoner 1	Large black square notation on red, four-line staves	Antiphons from the Common of saints (virgins or female saints, apostles, and martyrs)
Canto, tenore, quinto, sesto	Antiphoner 2	Medium-sized Hufnagel notation on black, four-line staves; f-line in red	Antiphons, responsories, and sermons for the fourth week of Lent and for Passion Sunday

II.1 GRADUAL FRAGMENTS

The two gradual fragments used in the covers of the alto partbook are written in a medium-sized square notation on staves of five red lines. Between the neumes, vertical lines were used to separate the notes that correspond to each syllable; these lines are shorter than the height of the stave and occupy one to three interlinear spaces. The musical calligraphy shows a refined and professional hand, while the use of staves consisting of five lines suggest a dating in the thirteenth century at the earliest.[3] The use of square neumes suggests a probable origin in western or southern Europe (possibly France or the Low Countries), unless the fragment came from a manuscript from one of the religious orders

2 Many thanks to Lynda Sayce for preparing these images, without which this analysis would have been impossible.

3 Hiley, "Staff".

(e.g., Augustinians, Dominicans, or Franciscans), who sometimes imposed the use of square notation on their convents in Germany and Central Europe as well.[4]

The leaves used for the cover fragments were two different folios taken from the Sanctorale section of the gradual. The chants they contain belong to the Sanctorale repertory that was commonly sung throughout Europe. These feasts were universally celebrated, and therefore do not contain any chants that can help in determining the precise origin of the fragment.

On the front fragment, the text incipit of a communion can be distinguished, *Beati mundo corde* (Cantus ID g00482) with a rubric at its right indicating the celebration of the feast of the Four Crowned Martyrs ("sanctorum martyrum quattuor coronatorum"), usually celebrated on 8 November.[5] In the middle of the page, the rubric "Martini episcopi et confessoris" can be seen; the feast of St. Martin is celebrated on 11 November. At the left of the rubric, we find the first twelve notes of the proper alleluia for the feast of St. Martin, but the corresponding alleluia text is not visible any longer. The alleluia melody must have continued on the stave below but was on the part of the folio that has been cut away. Still visible are the beginning and subsequent portions of the verse melody and its text, *Beatus vir sanctus Martinus* (Can g00483).[6]

The folio used for the back cover of the alto partbook must have come earlier in the original manuscript, since it contains chants sung on 29 September, the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. Fragments are visible of a gradual verse, *Benedic anima mea dominum* (Can g02712a), followed by the alleluia *Sancte Michael archangele* (Can g00395).[7]

II.2 FRAGMENTS FROM ANTIPHONER 1

In the covers of the basso partbook, fragments of an antiphoner, written in large square notation on staves of four red lines, are visible through the green paint. The large size notwithstanding, the note shapes are very regular: each single note and each final note of a descending note group has a brief downward stroke on its right side. The scribe also

4 Hiley and Szendrei, "Notation. III. History of Western Notation: 1. Plainchant".
5 Cantus Index, https://cantusindex.org/ (accessed 13 January 2024). Modern editions in *Graduale Triplex*, 514 and *Liber Usualis*, 1727.
6 Modern editions in *Graduale Triplex*, 619–20 and *Liber Usualis*, 1747.
7 Modern editions in *Graduale Triplex*, 608–9 and *Liber Usualis*, 1654–55.

paid attention to the legibility of the notes: for example, the upper note of each pes (a group of two ascending notes) is systematically written somewhat smaller.

Though it is possible that both fragments were taken from the same or consecutive folios of the antiphoner, it is impossible to verify: the front fragment shows a wide left-side margin while the right half of the fragment contains relatively few notes and syllables, making the identification of its content difficult. The rubric "a" (for "antiphona") and two series of syllables "euouae" indicate that the fragment comes from a series of antiphons, notated with melodic formulas, or *differentiae*, for the recitation of office psalms. The words "[a]mica mea", possibly taken from the Song of Songs, may indicate that the antiphons were for a Marian feast, part of the common of virgins, or for other female saints.

On the back cover no margins are visible: the entire fragment consists of music notation. Two antiphons can be identified, *Dirupisti domine vincula mea* (CAO 2250) and *Qui mihi ministrat me sequatur* (CAO 4485), followed again by "euouae"-indications for the recitation of respectively a psalm (CAO 2250) and the Magnificat (CAO 4485).[8] The presence of the Magnificat shows that the antiphons were intended to be sung during vespers. The first antiphon is often assigned to the common of apostles, the second to that of martyrs. Beside the assignment to a liturgical feast, the assignment to a specific service may also offer indications of the origin of a chant. In this case, it is remarkable that only a handful of the sources indexed in the Cantus Database assign the antiphon CAO 4485 to vespers; one of them is Polish, a fifteenth-century antiphoner from the Carmelite convent in Kraków, PL-Kkar 4 (Rkp20), which may be an indication of its liturgical and geographical proximity to this fragment. It also seems to be the only inventoried source to date in which these two antiphons appear together in the same vespers service.

II.3 FRAGMENTS FROM ANTIPHONER 2

Based on their similarities in text and music calligraphy and, especially, the relatedness of their contents, it is certain that the fragments used

8 Modern editions in *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 626 and *Liber Usualis*, 1114 (CAO 2250), and in *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 640 and *Liber Usualis*, 1125 (CAO 4485). The CAO numbers refer to Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*. The CAO numbers are used identically in the Cantus Index and Database, preceded by a double zero: for example, the antiphon CAO 2250 has the Cantus ID 002250.

in the remaining partbooks were all taken from a single manuscript, a second antiphoner. Its chants were notated in medium-sized Hufnagel neumes on staves of four black lines, one of which—the F-line—was overdrawn with red ink.[9] An overview of the contents of the fragment (the chants, a capitulum, and two lessons) in their liturgical order is given in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Chants and lessons from the Antiphoner 2 fragments in liturgical order (items marked with an asterisk denote incipits only)

LITURGICAL USE	SERVICE: GENRE	INCIPIT	CAN/CAO	FRAGMENT
Fourth Sunday or fourth week of Lent	Matins: responsory	*Sicut fui cum Moyse*, v. *Quoniam tecum est*	CAO 7658, CAO 7658a	tenor, back right
Wednesday, fourth week of Lent	Matins: lesson 6	Augustine, homily 44	-	canto, front
Wednesday, fourth week of Lent	Lauds: Benedictus antiphon	*Rabbi quis peccavit*	CAO 4571	sesto, front
Wednesday, fourth, week of Lent	Vespers [II]: Magnificat antiphon	*A saeculo non est auditum*	CAO 1194	sesto, front
Friday, fourth or fifth week of Lent	Matins: lesson	Augustine, homily 49	-	quinto, front
Saturday, fourth week of Lent	Lauds: Benedictus antiphon	*Ego sum lux mundi*	CAO 2592	canto, back
Saturday, fourth week of Lent	Mass: introit	*Sitientes**	Can g00795	canto, back

9 On this notation type, see the summary in Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 389–92.

Passion Sunday	Vespers: antiphon	*Benedictus** (cum ceteris)	CAO 1720	canto, back
Passion Sunday	Capitulum	*Christus semel*	Heb. 9,23	canto, back
Passion Sunday	Vespers: Magnificat antiphon	*Ego sum quem testimonium*	CAO 2600	sesto, back
Passion Sunday	Compline: antiphon	*Signatum est super nos*	Can 204675.1	sesto, back
Passion Sunday	Compline: responsorium breve	*In pace in idipsum*	CAO 6921	sesto, back
Passion Sunday	Matins: responsory with verse (1.2)	*Multiplicati sunt, v. Nequando*	CAO 7187, CAO 7187a	tenore, front
Passion Sunday	Matins: responsory (1.3)	*Qui custodiebant*	CAO 7475	quinto, back
Passion Sunday	Prime: antiphon	*Ego daemonium*	CAO 2570	tenore, back left
Passion Sunday	Terce: antiphon	*Ego gloriam*	CAO 2575	tenore, back left

The following paragraphs identify and discuss the contents of each of the fragments in the order of the partbooks.

Canto partbook

The fragments of the canto partbook contain almost exclusively text, written in one column; only one antiphon can be read on the fragment on the back cover, but the notes have almost completely disappeared. There is minor text loss on the left-hand side of the front cover and on the right-hand side of the back cover. Parts of the right and left margins

can still be seen, as well as a substantial lower margin under the last line of text.

The text on the front fragment is a section from Augustine's homilies on the gospel of John (*In Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*), more specifically the third and fourth paragraphs of the forty-fourth homily on John 9 (*Exiens vidit hominem caecum a nativitate*).[10] A possible liturgical use for John 9 was the Wednesday after the fourth Sunday of Lent.[11] On the third line from the top, a scribe has inserted a rubric which reads "l. vi" (lectio sexta). The rubric is surprisingly placed mid-sentence. Most likely, it indicates that Augustine's text was divided up into shorter sections for liturgical reading. As David Hiley has noted, matins lessons for the second and third nocturns were often taken from sermons or homilies of the church fathers; this fragment is a case in point.[12]

On the back cover of the canto partbook we find texts and chants for the offices of the Saturday of the fourth week of Lent and the following day, Passion Sunday. On top of the fragment, we can distinguish two red lines, which are all that remains of two staves, probably of four lines each. This is the Benedictus antiphon for lauds, *Ego sum lux mundi* (CAO 2592), of which only the first word ("ego") and the last words of both text lines ("non ambulabit" and "dicit dominus") are legible. Barely any musical signs can be seen except for a *pes* on the first stave line; this *pes* is in Hufnagel notation.

Ego sum lux mundi is an interesting example of the potentially confusing situations encountered when studying fragments, especially when they are challenging to read. The liturgical assignment of chants can differ across sources; it is therefore important to keep the various possibilities in mind when deciphering fragments in order not to contradict the liturgical order of their contents.

As appears from the sources indexed in the Cantus Database, the antiphon is used on two distinct liturgical occasions: either as the Magnificat antiphon for vespers on Passion Sunday, or as the Benedictus

10 Edited in Migne (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, 1714–15; available online at https://la.m.wikisource.org/wiki/In_Evangelium_Ioannis_tractatus_(ed._Migne)/5 (accessed 31 October 2023). The modern reference is Willems (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*.

11 ThALES, *Thesaurus Antiquorum Lectionariorum Ecclesiae Synagogaeque*, at http://www.lectionary.eu. The source referred to here is the Murbach lectionary (LR5), see http://www.lectionary.eu/thales-database/?lg=EN&u=event-in-lectionary&id=3068 (accessed 31 October 2023).

12 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 26.

antiphon for lauds on the preceding Saturday.[13] The sources assigning the antiphon to Passion Sunday are almost exclusively from regions in Central Europe, and generally German-speaking ones. Most sources of this group date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Those assigning the antiphon to the preceding Saturday come from a much wider range of locations, partially overlapping with central European areas but extending much farther to the west and to the south, including locations in England, France, Spain, and Italy. In comparison, this second group contains many older sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The fragment containing *Ego lux mundi* belongs to this second group, which we can tell from the order of the items: the Benedictus with its antiphon sung at the end of lauds, the indications for mass (the rubric "Ad missam" and the text incipit of the introit *Sicientes*, Can g00795),[14] and only thereafter the rubric "dominica in passion[i]". There is no doubt, therefore, that the antiphon is to be sung on the Saturday preceding Passion Sunday.

The rubric "dominica in passion[i]" is followed by indications for the antiphons of first vespers of that day: "Benedictus cum ceteris" (i.e., the antiphon *Benedictus* followed by others). The last lines of the fragments contain the *capitulum* to be read during vespers (Heb. 9, 28). There are several antiphons that start with the first word "Benedictus"; unsurprisingly, many of them are Benedictus antiphons, preceding the canticle of lauds. Because the instruction "Benedictus cum ceteris" is here found at the beginning of vespers, the intended chant is most likely the antiphon *Benedictus dominus deus meus* (CAO 1720) often assigned to the Saturdays throughout the year (*per annum*). In nine of the sources in the Cantus Database, however, CAO 1720 is used on Passion Sunday.[15] Seven of these come from the Low Countries (Cambrai and Tongeren)

13 Cantus Database: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources, https://cantusdatabase.org/ (accessed 31 October 2023). Passion Sunday is the fifth Sunday of Lent, i.e., the Sunday before Palm Sunday. The preceding Sunday is the fourth Sunday of Lent; the days between these two Sundays form the fourth week of Lent.

14 Modern edition (as *Sitientes*) in *Graduale Triplex*, 114 and *Liber Usualis*, 565.

15 These are B-TO 63 and 64, CZ-Pn (Praha) XV.A.10, D-MZb B, E-Bbc 619, F-CA 38, GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, PL-Klk 1, and PL-WRu R503.

and Central Europe (Mainz, Prague, Kielce, and Wrocław).[16] Based on the assignment of the antiphon CAO 1720 to Passion Sunday, our fragment thus appears in line with the sources from the Low Countries and Central Europe.

Tenore partbook

The fragment on the front of the tenore partbook contains five staves with hardly legible neumes; they belong to the responsory *Multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me* with its verse *Nequando dicat inimicus* (CAO 7187 and 7187a).[17] The responsory belongs to matins of Passion Sunday and is usually the second responsory of the first nocturn. The text following the responsory is the lesson preceding the third responsory, probably the *Custodiebant* occurring on the quinto partbook cover. Below the text, a large lower margin like the ones in the canto partbook fragments can be seen.

The fragment used for the back cover shows two columns; we can distinguish the rubrics "ad primam", "ad tertiam", "collecta", and "responsorium". The antiphons for prime and terce, *Ego daemonium non habeo* and *Ego gloriam meam non quaero* (CAO 2570 and 2575) are commonly assigned to Passion Sunday.[18] The latter antiphon was disseminated relatively widely throughout Europe. The former also belongs to the older layers of Gregorian chant and occurs in almost all of the oldest text sources inventoried in Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, yet it is infrequently found in later sources. Besides French and Spanish sources, Cantus Index directs us again towards Central Europe, listing several sources from Bohemia (including Prague), Hungary, and Slovakia (including Bratislava).

Because the left half of the left column has been removed while cutting up the parchment, the first words of each chant are missing.

16 The remaining two sources are the thirteenth-century antiphoners from the cathedral of Vic (north of Barcelona) and Barnwell Priory (Cambridgeshire). In the sources from the Low Countries and Central Europe, the antiphon is assigned to the Sundays throughout the year and then repeated on all or most of the Sundays between Sexagesima and Passion Sunday; in the Wrocław antiphoner, it is also sung on Septuagesima. In the Vic antiphoner, E-Bbc 619, the antiphon CAO 1720 is repeated on the Sundays from Sexagesima until Passion Sunday but is not sung on the Sundays throughout the year. The Sarum antiphoner from Barnwell, GB-Cu Mm.ii.9, has the antiphon on the Sundays throughout the year and repeats it on Passion Sunday and the second Sunday after Pentecost.

17 Modern editions in *Nocturnale Romanum*, 345–46.

18 Modern editions in *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 391 and *Liber Usualis*, 568 (CAO 2570), and *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 391 and *Liber Usualis*, 569 (CAO 2575).

Conversely, the right half of the right column has also been cut away, leaving about half of the text and music of the responsory *Sicut fui cum Moyse* (CAO 7658), and a few words of its verse, *Quoniam tecum dominus* (CAO 7658a).[19] This responsory is usually assigned to matins of the fourth Sunday of Lent, or to one of the weekdays of the following week, frequently as the final responsory of matins.

Because the fourth Sunday and the fourth week of Lent precede Passion Sunday, this is a clear indication that the right-hand side of the folio came before the left-hand side in its original context. Therefore, the two halves of the fragment are not really columns but were rather on either side of a bifolium. As there are no visible traces of a fold in the blank space between the texts on either side, and it is impossible to tell whether the small tear in the same space indicates a previous fold in the folio. The only way to ascertain this would be to study the verso side of the fragment, now glued on the binding.[20]

Quinto partbook

The fragment used in the front cover of the quinto partbook again contains an excerpt from Augustine's treatises on the gospel of John, but now from the fifth paragraph of the forty-ninth *tractatus*, a homily on John 11 (the story of Lazarus).[21] John 11 was read during mass on the Fridays of the fourth or fifth week of Lent, thus immediately before or just after Passion Sunday.[22] In contrast to the fragment used for the canto partbook, the text of this fragment runs continually over twenty-two lines, without lower or upper margins.

The upper half of the back fragment contains eight lines of text, followed by seven staves with musical notation. These contain the responsory *Qui custodiebant animam meam consilium* (CAO 7475) from matins of Passion Sunday.[23] This responsory is usually sung as the third responsory of the first nocturn.

19 Modern edition in *Nocturnale Romanum*, 342.
20 There are no traces of a fold visible on the high-resolution photos from which I have worked; I have not examined the bindings in person.
21 Edited in Migne (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, and Willems (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus CXXIV*.
22 ThALES, *Thesaurus Antiquorum Lectionariorum Ecclesiae Synagogaeque*, at http://www.lectionary.eu (accessed 31 October 2023).
23 Modern edition in *Nocturnale Romanum*, 351–52.

Sesto partbook

In the fragment on the front cover, we see part of the Benedictus antiphon *Rabbi quis peccavit homo iste* (CAO 4571), sung during lauds, followed by several prayer texts, the rubric "Missam", and the Magnificat antiphon *A saeculo non est auditum* (CAO 1194).[24] All these chants are assigned to the Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent.

On the back cover of the partbook, [*Eripe me*] *domine ab homine malo* can be read, which may be an as yet unidentified text incipit to which the rubric "ympnus" refers, followed by a Magnificat antiphon for Passion Sunday, *Ego sum quem testimonium perhibeo* (CAO 2600).[25]

The lower half of the folio contains two chants for compline, as is indicated by the rubric "ad completorium super psalmos". The compline items consist of the antiphon *Signatum est super nos* (Can 204675.1), a hymn, and a brief reading indicated only by rubrics ("ympnus" and "capitulum ut supra"), and a responsorium breve *In pace in idipsum* (CAO 6921). The compline chants are remarkable. As compline is a rather brief service, its chants are not always included in the office sources containing music, although the importance of Passion Sunday is a sufficient reason to do so here. Moreover, the two items found in the fragment currently have very few concordances linked to the Cantus Index. The antiphon *Signatum est super nos* occurs here in its longer version, in which the text "Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine deus" is followed by an addition, "dedisti laetitiam in corde meo". In the fragment, only the first syllable of the addition, "de-", is preserved, yet it is clearly legible. The antiphon with the extended text has been found in only one other source to date, a late fifteenth-century antiphoner from Płock Cathedral, PL-PŁsem 35, where it is also a compline antiphon.

In the Płock antiphoner, as in our fragment, the antiphon is followed by the text incipit of the hymn *Cultor dei*, and by the responsory *In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam*. This text was widely used in an antiphon sung for Holy Saturday (CAO 3265). Much rarer is its occurrence as a responsory. Cantus Index and Database list some twenty-three sources, many from Central Europe. The responsory is assigned to Passion Sunday only in a handful of sources, copied in southern

24 Modern editions in *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 378 and *Liber Usualis*, 1095 (CAO 4571).
25 Modern editions in *Antiphonale Monasticum*, 388 and *Liber Usualis*, 568 (CAO 2600).

Germany (from the thirteenth century), Prague, Bohemia, Płock, and Wrocław between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

II.4 CONCLUSION

The analysis of the contents of the fragments indicates that they originally belonged to three different sources: a gradual in square notation (alto partbook fragment) and two antiphoners: one in large square notation (basso partbook fragment), and a second in Hufnagel notation (canto, tenore, quinto, and sesto partbooks).

The notation type of the gradual fragment and the fragment of the first antiphoner is square notation, which was not typically used for plainchant notation in Central Europe. This does not necessarily exclude a central European origin, however. Sources circulated across Europe: a manuscript written in square notation in the Low Countries or France, for example, could be sent for use to another church or monastery elsewhere in Europe. And as we have seen, square notation is found in books of the religious orders in Central Europe as well. This may well have been the case in the first antiphoner fragment, which has only one concordance, in a Polish source.

The detailed analysis of the chants and other liturgical items found in the fragments of the second antiphoner allows to determine their original location between matins of the fourth Sunday (or week) of Lent and terce of Passion Sunday. Measured in (liturgical) time, all these items were read or sung within the space of one week. Measured in parchment, these items were all found within the same fascicle: the earliest item is found on the right half of the fragment on the back of the tenore partbook, the last item on the left half of the same fragment. This does not necessarily imply that the bifolium in question was the outer leaf of the fascicle; a physical comparison to similar antiphoners would be required to establish the probability, as would an examination of the verso sides of each of the fragments, now glued into the bindings. The application of sophisticated technology might make such an examination possible in the future. The technology of today—in this case, the Alamire Digital Lab—already permits us to make the recto sides legible, and to compare the chants, their texts, and their liturgical uses to the extensive corpus of sources and their chants in the Cantus Database and the Cantus Index. These comparisons have indicated various degrees of proximity between the fragments and other sources from Central

Europe, from southern Germany to Bohemia, Slovenia, Hungary, and Poland. The medium-sized Hufnagel notation of these fragments further supports this hypothesis.

The bookbinder preparing the bindings of PL-Wu SDM 8–36 used parchment from chant books that had fallen into disuse, and, in all likelihood, found these nearby. Under the assumption that all the partbooks were bound at the same time, the fragments were taken from sources available in the same place and at a single time, and covered with the green paint that would hide their contents and origins for several centuries. The combined evidence of the notation and chant repertory in the twelve fragments used in the six partbooks suggests that these chant books had a central European origin. Such an origin is doubtlessly compatible with the hypothesis formulated in Chapter 1, according to which the books were bound in Frankfurt an der Oder, located right on the modern border between Germany and Poland.