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AN UNKNOWN FRAGMENT  
OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL CHEŁMNO GRADUAL L 2  
FROM THE DIOCESAN LIBRARY IN PELPLIN DISCOVERED  
IN THE ANTIPHONER AKC. 7889 FROM THE GDAŃSK LIBRARY  
OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Abstract

This article is the result of research into the manuscript and musical legacy of medieval Prussia. The analysis it contains allowed us to show that the first part of Manuscript Akc. 7889, a Premonstratensian antiphoner from Witów, held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, is actually a fragment of Gradual L 2 from the Jan Bernard Szlaga Diocesan Library in Pelplin. Included in the article are a brief source description of Codex Akc. 7889 and analysis of the opening 22 leaves, containing mass chants: a characterisation of the decoration, a list of the additions that appear there, and considerations relating to the liturgical calendar. The contents of the fragment from Gdańsk were compared with other sources stemming from the Teutonic Order's tradition and with printed graduals from the seventeenth century. The analysis confirmed that the codex from Chełmno was produced at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The current state of research allows us to specify that between the end of the seventeenth century and 1962, it became depleted, and a fragment of it was merged with the Premonstratensian antiphoner. The identification of the leaves of the gradual in Manuscript Akc. 7889 is a significant discovery. The Proper of Saints, which comprises formularies from July to November, is one of the three significant collections of this repertoire, linked to the liturgical tradition of the Teutonic Order. The analysed fragment allows us to observe the changes that occurred in the Teutonic Order's liturgy during the Middle Ages, to pose new questions concerning that tradition and to follow the adaptations that were made as part of the post-Trent reform in the Diocese of Chełmno.

**Keywords:** Teutonic Order's liturgical-musical tradition, liturgy of the Diocese of Chełmno, medieval graduals, post-Trent liturgical reform, penwork, Pelplin, Gdańsk

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The Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences is in possession of a codex with shelf-mark Akc. 7889 (until recently Ms 3088/V), which was deposited with the Library for protection after the Second World War. However, it does not appear in the Manuscript Accession Database available on the library's website<sup>1</sup>. The manuscript was given a title: 'Antyfonarz norbertański z Witowa' (Eng. 'A Premonstratensian antiphoner from Witów')<sup>2</sup>.

Dated to the year 1480, this book contains 228 leaves. Three of them, the paper folios 147–148 and 208, were probably added in the seventeenth century. In the case of the parchment leaves, one notes distinct differences between the first several dozen leaves and the remaining 200-plus. These two parts were written out by different scribes, decorated in a different way and have a different



Ill. 1. Fol. 22v (last page of the gradual fragment from Chełmno) –  
23r (first page of the part of the Premonstratensian antiphoner), Manuscript Akc. 7889,  
Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

<sup>1</sup> <http://wenus.bgpan.gda.pl/Bazy/Rekopisy> [accessed online 11 July 2023]. Information about the existence of this manuscript was conveyed to the manuscripts.pl team in order to supplement preliminary research conducted at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences by Dr Agata Larczyńska, for which we are very grateful.

<sup>2</sup> Witów is now a village in the District of Sulejów, the County of Piotrków, the Voivodeship of Łódź; in the church administration, it lies in the Deanery of Sulejów, the Archdiocese of Łódź.

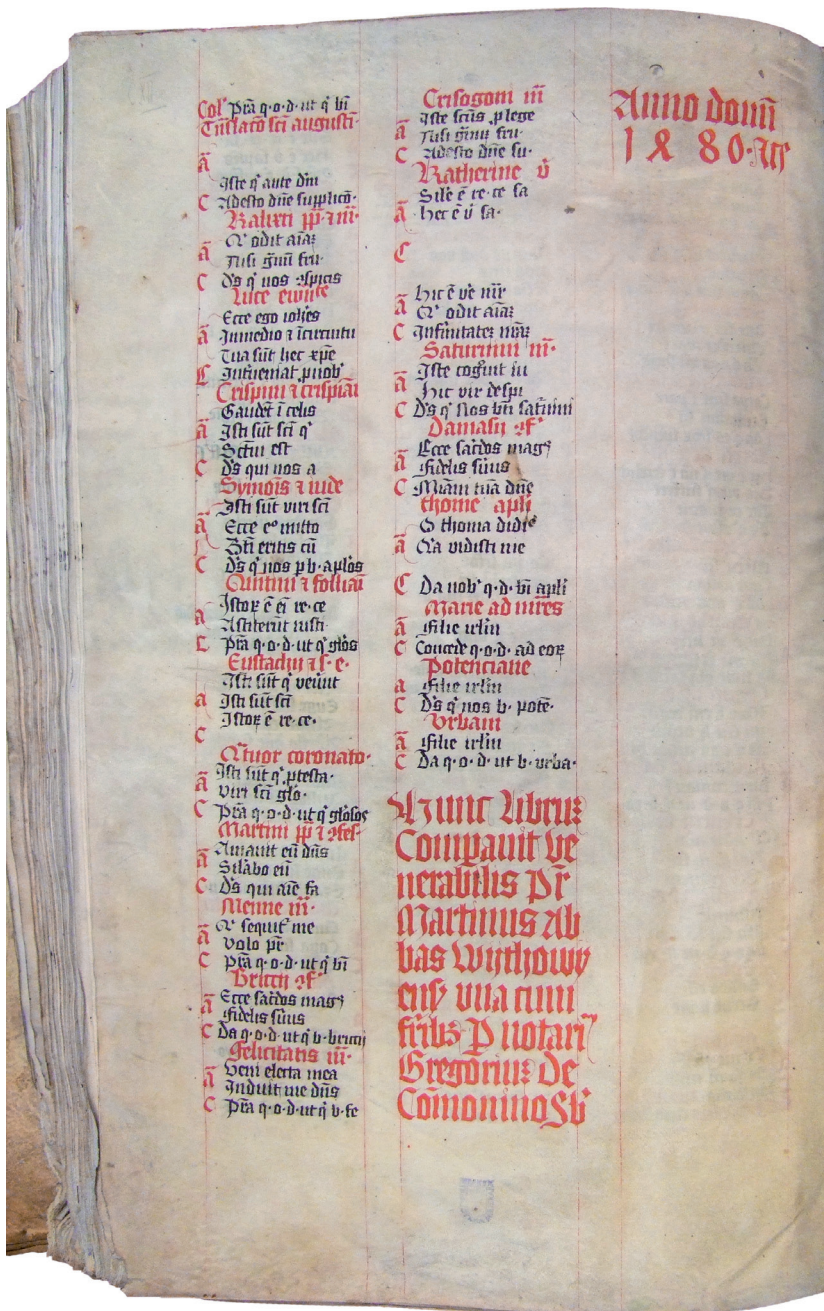
*mise en page*, and the leaves were numbered differently. In the first part, comprising 22 leaves measuring 57.0 x 38.0 cm (text block 43.0–44.0 x 26.0 cm), ten 4-line systems were drawn. The other 203 leaves, measuring 57.5 x 36.0–36.5 cm (text block 44.0–45.0 x 27.5–28.0 cm), were given nine systems (Ill. 1). Most of the gatherings – in both parts are quinternion.

The first part of the manuscript, comprising 22 leaves, is a fragment of a gradual, while the remaining part, as the title indicates, is an antiphoner, used in the Premonstratensian liturgy in the Abbey of Witów, where it was probably compiled. Such is indicated by the colophon placed at the end of the book, on fol. 228v: 'Hunc librum comparavit venerabilis pater Martinus abbas Wythowyensis una cum fratribus per notarium Gregorium de Commonino sub anno domini 1480'<sup>3</sup> (Ill. 2). The volume is bound in leather-covered boards with blind tooling forming a frame with a mirror. The covers were furnished with metal corner pieces (the top outer corner piece on the back cover is missing) and centre pieces. On the front cover, above the mirror, we find the inscription 'Antiphonarium de sanctis ordinis premonstratensis' (Ill. 3), and below, the date '1569' (Ill. 4). Embossed on the back cover were the Odrowąż coat-of-arms (in the bottom part of the mirror), 'Stanislaus Kyethli(y)nsky' (above the mirror) and 'Abbas Wythowiensis' (below)<sup>4</sup>. The Witów provenance is also indicated by the additional paper leaves containing chants for the octave of the Feast of St Martin, Bishop and Confessor, described as the patron of the church in Witów. Throughout the whole codex, besides the stamps of the book's current owner, the Gdańsk Library, one finds no inscriptions or any other indications of ownership.

<sup>3</sup> The place name *Commonino* might possibly be interpreted as the present-day village of Komunin Stary, in the District of Raciąż of the Mazovian Voivodeship. See <http://www.slownik.ihpan.edu.pl/search.php?id=13497> [accessed online 2 August 2023]. Since our attention was focused in this article on the fragment from Gdańsk, the question of the identity of the antiphoner's copyist was not explored and remains open.

<sup>4</sup> Stanisław Kietliński, of the Odrowąż coat-of-arms, was named as 'opat Witowski 1593 r. Acta Synodi Gnesn. fol. 15', in Kasper NIESIECKI, *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. Powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych*, t. 5, Leipzig 1840, p. 91. Adam BONIECKI mentioned Kietliński as being abbot in 1596 and that he died in 1602, see Adam BONIECKI, *Herbarz polski*, cz. 1: *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, t. 10, Warszawa 1907, p. 61. Maria Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk also notes him in her work on supralibros, citing mentions of Abbot Kietliński in the years 1567, 1574, 1593–1596 and 1602, with the last date given as the year of his death. She also mentions a binding with the embossed date 1574 containing the print *Pontificale* (Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1572), with shelf-mark Sd 602. 1175, held in Warsaw University Library, of Witów provenance, see Maria CUBRZYŃSKA-LEONARCZYK, *Polskie superekslibrisy XVI–XVIII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie. Centuria druga*, t. 2, Warszawa 2001, p. 96.





Ill. 2. Fol. 228v with colophon, Manuscript Akc. 7889, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences ('Hunc librum comparavit venerabilis pater Martinus abbas Wythowyensis una cum fratribus per notarium Gregorium de Commonino sub anno domini 1480'), photo by M. F. Marszałkowski





Ill. 3. Top part of the front cover of Manuscript Akc. 7889,  
Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences  
(embossed: 'Antiphonarium de sanctis ordinis premonstratensis'),  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski



Ill. 4. Bottom part of the front cover of Manuscript Akc. 7889,  
Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences  
(embossed: '1569'),  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

The two parts – the gradual and the antiphoner – do not constitute closed entities, as indicated by the numbering of the leaves and their contents. The first part was given a foliation in relatively large Arabic numerals in the top outer corner of the leaves, on the *recto* side, beginning with the number 23 and ending with 52; fol. 34–41 are missing. The second part was given a pagination, in a smaller script: in the Proper of Saints, the numbering is in Arabic numerals, from 101 to 426 (hence this part is lacking the first 100 pages and several dozen other leaves); in the Common of Saints, the numbering is in Roman numerals, from I to CXII.

This codex has not previously been mentioned in the literature, with the exception of musicological publications. Art historians have taken no interest in it, despite the sporadically occurring – in the antiphoner part – adornments that are richer than penwork decoration (Ill. 5). Perhaps the most significant mention of this book appears in Tadeusz Miazga's *Notacja gregoriańska w świetle polskich rękopisów liturgicznych* (Eng. *Gregorian Notation in Light of Polish Liturgical Manuscripts*) published in 1984. There we find information that the manuscript (it is not specified whether it is an antiphoner or a gradual) was copied out by a certain Grzegorz in 1480. Miazga describes it as a Premonstratensian source (without indicating its provenance) and reproduces a page from the first part, so the gradual, which was produced at a completely different time and place from the Premonstratensian manuscript<sup>5</sup>.

The state of knowledge concerning the Premonstratensian Abbey of Witów and its history is also modest. It is considered that the monastery was founded in 1179 by Wit of Chotel (Janina coat-of-arms), Bishop of Płock<sup>6</sup>. In 1265 a fire occurred, in which 'everything [...] was destroyed; and the primary archive was turned to ashes, which is an irreparable loss'<sup>7</sup>. Later documents and other manuscripts were mostly lost as a result of the abbey's abolition. The site was secularised in 1797 by the Prussian government, then in 1807, after the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw, the so-called 'Witów demesne' was

<sup>5</sup> Tadeusz MIAZGA, *Notacja gregoriańska w świetle polskich rękopisów liturgicznych*, Graz 1984, p. 239.

<sup>6</sup> Kazimierz GŁOWACKI, *Kościół Św. Małgorzaty i dawny klasztor norbertanów w Witowie*, Piotrków 1984, p. 10. On the different interpretations of the dating of the beginnings of the abbey, see Małgorzata KĘDZIEŃSKA, *Średniowieczne dzieje klasztoru norbertanów w Witowie*, *Nasza Przyszłość*, t. 85: 1996, pp. 7–16.

<sup>7</sup> 'który wszystko [...] zniszczył; a co jest z niepowetowaną szkodą, pierwiastkowe "Archivum" wperzynę obrócił'; Antoni J. D. KRASZEWSKI, *Życie Świętych y w Nadziej Świętobliwości zeszyłych Sług Boskich Zakonu Premonstratenskiego pozytecznemi Reflexyami [...] Obiasnione [...] Część druga. Zawierająca następujące Miesiące: Lipiec, Sierpień, Wrzesień, Pazdziernik, Li-stopad, Grudzień*, Warszawa 1753, p. 319.





Ill. 5. Partly preserved gouache embellishments on fol. 172v,  
 Manuscript Akc. 7889, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,  
 photo by M. F. Marszałkowski



removed from Prussian jurisdiction. After the Congress of Vienna, when these lands became a part of the Congress Kingdom of Poland (1815–1831), i.e. a semi-autonomous Polish state in a personal union with the Russian Empire, on 14 June 1819 the government abolished the monastery. Its archive and library holdings were transported to Warsaw and thence, after 1831, to St Petersburg<sup>8</sup>. Of the medieval documents, only two fifteenth-century sources survived; these are now held in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw<sup>9</sup>. In addition, the Ossoliński National Institute Library in Wrocław and the Diocesan Archive in Włocławek are in possession of several eighteenth-century documents. Held in the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg (shelf-mark Lat.Q.ch.I.221) is a manuscript from 1468 containing Hugh of St Victor's discourse on the Premonstratensian rule and a treatise by Johannes Hieronymus Silvanus of Prague<sup>10</sup>. The former work was given a colophon informing readers that the text had been copied out by a brother from Witów<sup>11</sup>. Supposedly also held in St Petersburg was a cartulary from the Witów monastery dating from 1793<sup>12</sup>. Thus the manuscript legacy of the Premonstratensian monastery in Witów preserved to the present day turns out to be extremely scant, and the antiphoner from Gdańsk (Ger. Danzig) represents a modest addition to it. In the present article, however, attention will be focused primarily on the gradual fragment preserved in the codex.

The first part of the volume presented here, as already mentioned, is furnished with a foliation, ending with the number 52. At the bottom of that page, with the words 'Gloriosus de[us]', begins the composition (the gradual), the continuation of which we find on the page marked with the number 53, which is now the first page of Manuscript L 2, held in the Diocesan Library in Pelplin. The continuation of the composition reads as follows: '[de]us in sanctis mirabilis in majestate faciens prodigia'. This comes from the formulary of the Common of Several Martyrs. Manuscript L 2 from the Pelplin library is a gradual originating from the Diocese of Chełmno (Ger. Culm), formerly dated to the first half of the sixteenth century<sup>13</sup>. The book's liturgical contents and features of its painted decoration recently made it possible to shift the dating to the first

<sup>8</sup> M. KĘDZIERSKA, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Jerzy KALISZUK, *Codices deperditi. Średniowieczne rękopisy łacińskie Biblioteki Narodowej utracone w czasie II wojny światowej*, t. 1: *Dzieje i charakterystyka kolekcji* (Dziedzictwo Kulturowe po Skasowanych Klasztorach, t. 8/1), Wrocław 2016, p. 372.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> M. KĘDZIERSKA, op.cit., p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Kasjana RADZKA, *Analiza źródłoznawcza rękopisu muzycznego ms. L 2 z Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie*, [in:] *Muzyka religijna w Polsce. Studia i materiały*, t. 5, red. Jerzy PIKULIK, Warszawa 1983, p. 94.

half of the fifteenth century<sup>14</sup>. The cathedral chapter in Chełmża (Ger. Culmsee) is indicated as the place where the manuscript was used<sup>15</sup>.

Besides similarities in the script of the foliation and the continuation of the contents of the composition 'Gloriosus deus in sanctis', other elements also link the two fragments of what was originally a single liturgical book. The Gothic Textualis script and the German-Messine Gothicised neums employed in the musical notation are the same in the fragment Akc. 7889 from Gdańsk and Gradual L 2 from Pelpin. The penwork, produced by the decorator himself, is particularly noteworthy (Ill. 6, 7). In most cases, the initials were done in pen flourish with buds, with fans drawn here and there<sup>16</sup>. The bowls of the letters, divided into geometrical fields, generally with the use of bands or caterpillars, contain mostly compact patterns of budding ears, with rows appearing here and there<sup>17</sup>. The surround is formed by strings of buds or, more often, rows of pearls. The latter, not infrequently occurring in a form closer to a rectangle with rounded edges than to a circle, are drawn in alternation with single swollen buds. It does occur that on the margin side, the buds are accompanied by patterns of lines, characteristic of this decorator, from short to long, making triangular forms, out of which vrilles emerge in a quaver pattern<sup>18</sup>. Extenders are formed of tendrils – not infrequently one each above and below the letter – that grow indirectly out of lavish buds. Drawn between the buds and the tendrils are patterns of lines, from short to long, making triangular forms, as already mentioned. These tendrils, either in their entirety or else only at their ends, assume bulbous forms. In some extenders, the tendrils were multiplied, running parallel up to a certain height, and grown over with rows of pearls before spreading out freely in different directions at their ends<sup>19</sup>. The same decorator produced the embellishments in Gradual K-003, from the Diocesan

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<sup>14</sup> Monika JAKUBEK-RACZKOWSKA, Juliusz RACZKOWSKI, *Zespół iluminowanych kodeksów liturgicznych z katedry w Chełmży jako źródło do badań nad kulturą artystyczną i życiem duchowym kapituły chełmińskiej w XV stuleciu*, [in:] *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych*, red. Monika JAKUBEK-RACZKOWSKA, Marta Czyżak (Studia nad Skryptorium i Spuścizną Rękopiśmienną Średniowiecza, t. 3), Toruń 2022, p. 148.

<sup>15</sup> K. RADZKA, op.cit., p. 94; M. JAKUBEK-RACZKOWSKA, J. RACZKOWSKI, *Zespół*, pp. 153–154.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the initial C(lamaverunt) on fol. 19r in Codex Akc. 7889; K(yrie) on fol. 40r in Codex L 2.

<sup>17</sup> For example, the initial D(um) on fol. 2v, T(imete) on fol. 20r in Akc. 7889; K(yrie) on fol. 41r; C(eli) on fol. 70v in L 2.

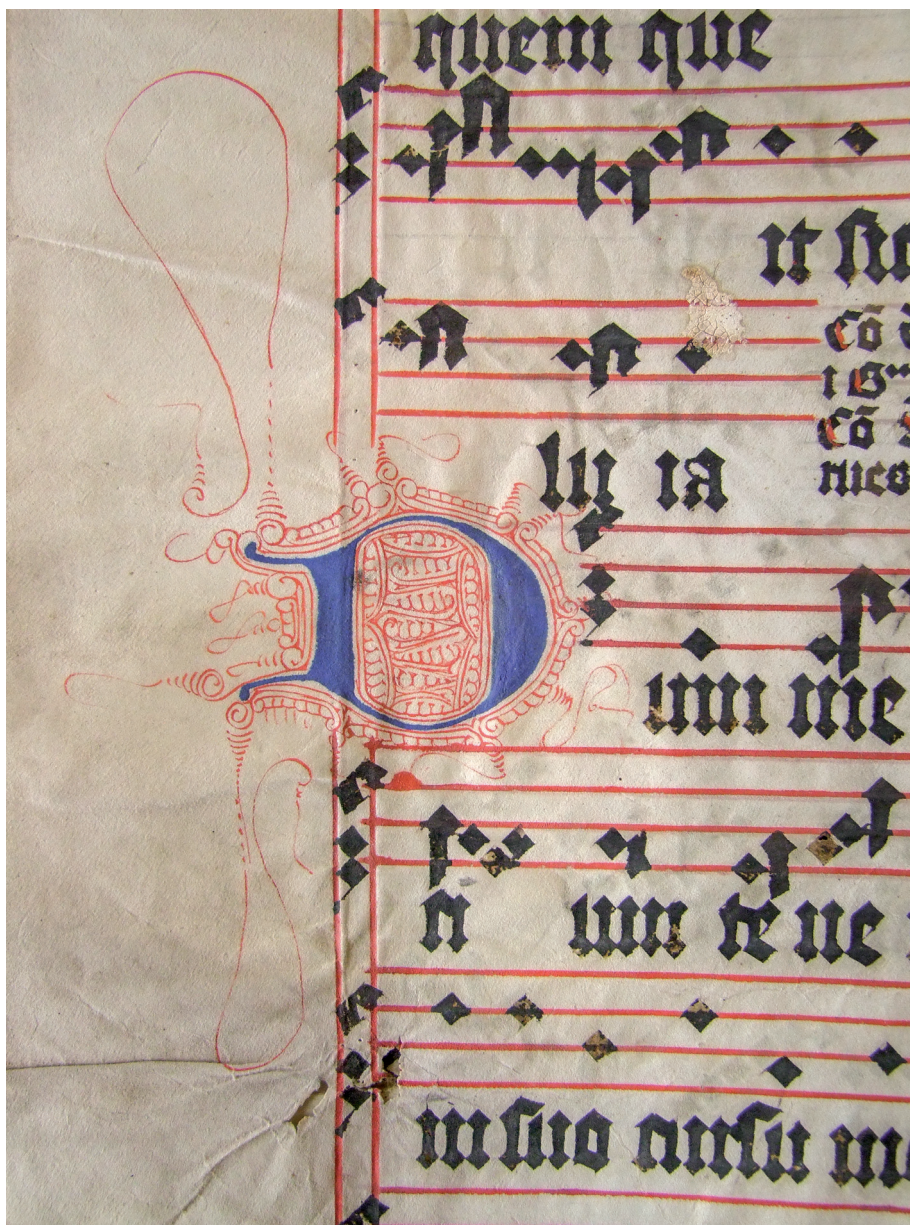
<sup>18</sup> For example, the initial D(ispersit) on fol. 5r, A(lleluia) on fol. 11v in Akc. 7889; A(ve) on fol. 57r, V(erbum) on fol. 60v in L 2.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the initial L(audate) on fol. 21v in Akc. 7889; S(ancti) on fol. 73r, O(mnes) on fol. 97v, A(ve) on fol. 115r in L 2.



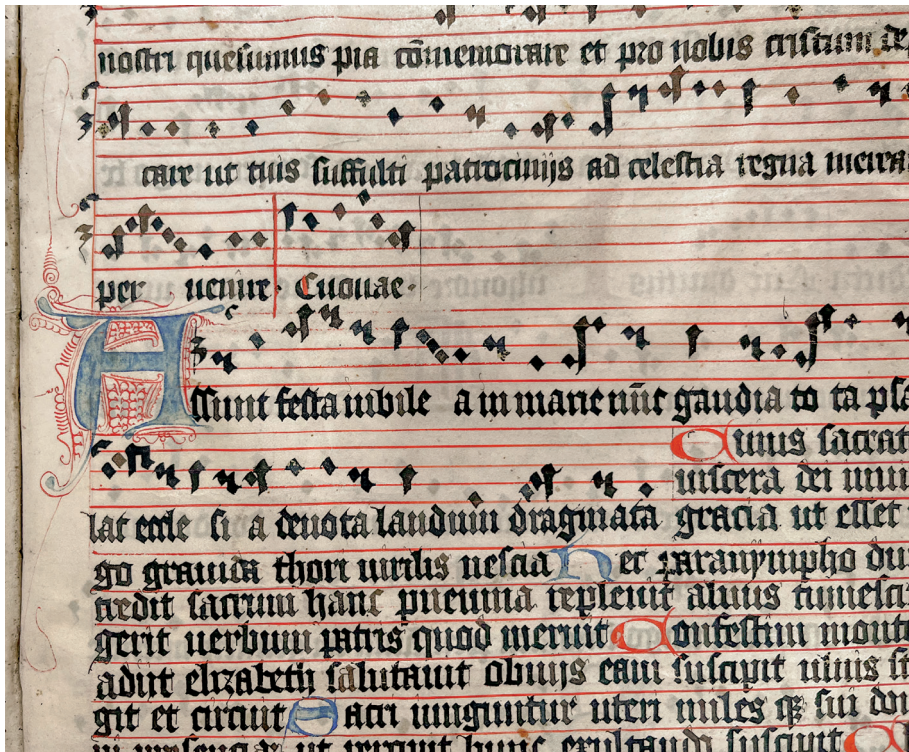
Ill. 6. Initial S(acerdots) on fol. 12r,  
Manuscript L 2, Diocesan Library in Pelplin,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski





Ill. 7. Initial D(um) on fol. 2v,  
Manuscript Akc 7889, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

Museum in Toruń (Ger. Thorn), as demonstrated by Monika Jakubek-Rackowska and Juliusz Rackowski, who analysed and described both codices from Pelplin and Toruń<sup>20</sup>. They also link both sources to a hypothetical scriptorium in Chełmża or a workshop associated with the cathedral there, or else to a scriptorium functioning in Gdańsk in the first half of the fifteenth century, additionally ascribing to the output of that workshop the two-volume Antiphoner L 5 and L 6 from the Pelplin library<sup>21</sup>. Likely, the same scriptorium also produced the addition to Antiphoner L 10, which is also held in Pelplin (Ill. 8)<sup>22</sup>.



Ill. 8. Initial A(ssunt) on fol. 267r,  
Manuscript L 10, Diocesan Library in Pelplin,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

<sup>20</sup> M. JAKUBEK-RACKOWSKA, J. RACKOWSKI, *Zespół*, pp. 125–154.

<sup>21</sup> In one article, with a degree of probability: Monika JAKUBEK-RACKOWSKA, Juliusz RACKOWSKI, *Nierozpoznany graduał z kościoła świętojańskiego w Toruniu – przyczynek do badań nad księgami muzycznymi diecezji chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*, *Muzyka*, R. 65: 2020, nr 1, pp. 95–111. In a subsequent article, with greater conviction: M. JAKUBEK-RACKOWSKA, J. RACKOWSKI, *Zespół*, pp. 154–176.

<sup>22</sup> The addition is inscribed on fol. 264r–268v, which form a separate gathering (2+3) and contain compositions for three offices: the Visitation of Mary (formularly preserved in part – missing are some of the compositions of the third nocturn, which no doubt occupied a missing



The acknowledgement that the fragment from Gdańsk formed part of the gradual from Chełmno means that in liturgical terms it should be considered within the context of the rites of the Teutonic Order. That tradition took shape in the mid-thirteenth century and was based on the Dominican liturgy. Due to the expansive church policies of the Teutonic Knights, it was also used throughout almost the whole of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia<sup>23</sup>. The same applied to the Diocese of Chełmno, where the cathedral chapter, initially formed in 1251 in accordance with the Augustine rule, adopted Teutonic laws in 1264<sup>24</sup>.

The fragment from Gdańsk includes formularies for the Proper of Saints from the second of July to the eleventh of November and liturgical compositions of two Common masses: of One Martyr and of Several Martyrs. The presence of at least part of the *de sanctis* calendar allows us to make comparisons with the list of liturgical feast days present in the set of sequences that closes Manuscript L 2. They are almost exactly the same. The only point of divergence is the sequence for the Feast of the Dispersion of the Apostles (15 July), furnished with a rubric, which is present in the book held in Pelplin (L 2: 80r–83v). However, the mass formulary for that feast was not included in the fragment from Gdańsk. This feast does not appear in older sources from the Teutonic Order, and it is absent from other graduals belonging to that tradition. It is also not mentioned among the mass formularies in an edition of the Teutonic *Liber*

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gathering between fol. 265 and 266), the Saturday Memorial of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Crown of Thorns Memorial (a formulary not preserved in its entirety – the last composition is the antiphon of the second nocturn). Liturgical-musical issues relating to the repertoire contained in this addition – particularly concerning the connection between the added musical compositions and other manuscripts of Chełmno provenance – requires in-depth research. The main argument in favour of ascribing the copying of this fragment to the same scriptorium as the manuscripts analysed in the present article is the pen flourishing. It is different from that of the other compositions in Antiphoner L 10, and the *mise en page* also differs. Three initials with richer penwork – E(xsurgens) on fol. 264r and A(ssunt) and S(ub) on fol. 267r – were certainly done in the same hand as the embellishments in L 2 and analogous sources mentioned above. Yet differences in decoration are clear in the cadels. Like the liturgical-musical issues, the artistic layer still awaits detailed description.

<sup>23</sup> Independence was retained by parishes under the patronage of the bishop and the chapter in the Diocese of Warmia (Ger. Ermland). A brief description of the Teutonic Order's liturgical tradition appears in Piotr Ziółkowski, *Rękopisy liturgiczne krzyżackiej proveniencji jako źródła muzyczne: problemy i perspektywy badawcze*, [in:] *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych*, red. Monika JAKUBEK-RACZKOWSKA, Marta Czyżak (Studia nad Skryptorium i Spuścizną Rękopiśmienną Średniowiecza, t. 3), Toruń 2022, pp. 109–111.

<sup>24</sup> Andrzej RADZIWIŃSKI, *Geneza oraz ukształtowanie się organizacji kościelnej (1206–1409)*, [in:] *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, red. Marian BISKUP, Roman CZAJA, Warszawa 2009, p. 147.



*Ordinarius*<sup>25</sup>. Among the Teutonic Order's manuscripts considered by Piwoński, the oldest evidence of the celebration of this feast appears in sources from the second half of the fourteenth century: *Breviarium* Ms. Mar. Q 16 and *Diurnale* Ms. Mar. O 17 from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Among sources of mass liturgy, meanwhile, the oldest in this group is the missal Ms. Mar. F 402, from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>26</sup>, also held in the Gdańsk library. The lack of this feast in the calendar and the noting of only the sequence seems to confirm the dating of the whole of the Chełmno manuscript to the beginning of the fifteenth century. When the gradual from Chełmno was being prepared, the feast of the Dispersion of the Apostles was probably only just entering the Teutonic calendar, which may explain why it does not yet include the formulary. It is also worth noting that the repertoire of the mass for that memorial, as later sources show, was almost entirely the same as the formulary of the Common of Apostles; the only distinguishing element was the sequence<sup>27</sup>. This could also have been the reason for the omission of the *Divisio Apostolorum* from the Proper of Saints.

A crucial role in indicating the links between the fragment from Gdańsk and the gradual from Pelplin is played by the additions made to both books. These also attest to the way that medieval liturgical-musical codices have been used in the Diocese of Chełmno during the early modern period. The additions appearing in the fragment from Gdańsk may be divided into two types. The first group comprises new texts added to an existing melody (Table 1). This procedure occurs 11 times. Even two new liturgical texts were added to some of the compositions listed in the table. In one instance, the addition of words was linked to a change in the liturgical genre of a given work. This type of modification of a manuscript occurs also in Gradual L 2, where existing musical settings were linked to new liturgical texts.

Table 1. Liturgical compositions in the fragment of Gradual Akc. 7889 to which a new text was added

No.	Folio	Original composition*	New composition	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1.	3v	In <i>Dominus dixit</i>	In <i>Illuxerunt coruscationes</i>	
2.	4v	AIV <i>Dies sanctificatus</i>	AIV <i>Candor est lucis</i>	

<sup>25</sup> *Der Liber Ordinarius. Die Grundlage für die Liturgie des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Anette LÖFFLER (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 87), Ilmtal-Weinstraße 2022.

<sup>26</sup> Henryk Piwoński, *Kult świętych w zabytkach krzyżaków w Polsce*, Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne, t. 47: 1983, p. 346.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Missale Dominorum Tutonicorum*, Nürnberg 1499, fol. CXCIXr–CXCIXv.

1	2	3	4	5
3.	9v	In <i>Benedicite domino</i>	In <i>Adorate domino</i>	Only the first word altered
4.	10v	AIV <i>Concussum est mare</i>	AIV <i>In conspectu angelorum</i>	
5.	10v	AIV <i>Concussum est mare</i>	TcV <i>Benedicite domino</i>	The liturgical genre was also altered
6.	14r	Gr <i>Justus non conturbabitur</i>	Gr <i>In lege domini</i>	
7.	14r	Gr <i>Justus non conturbabitur</i>	Gr <i>Justus cum ceciderit</i>	
8.	15r	AIV <i>Beatus vir qui timet</i>	AIV <i>Beatus vir qui suffert</i>	
9.	15r	AIV <i>Posuisti domine</i>	AIV <i>Pretiosa in conspectu domini</i>	
10.	15v	AIV <i>Justus ut palma florebit</i>	AIV <i>Qui sequitur me</i>	
11.	16r	AIV <i>Justus non conturbabitur</i>	AIV <i>Confitebuntur</i>	

\* The abbreviations preceding the incipits of compositions denote the chant genre in accordance with the online *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies*, [cantusindex.org](http://cantusindex.org) [accessed online 22 February 2024]: In – introit, Gr – gradual, AIV – alleluia verse, TcV – tract verse.

The other group of additions consists of compositions noted in the margins (Table 2). These were written in three redactions, indicated in the table using the designations of the scribes (A, B, C). In the case of the introit verse *Quam dilecta*, only the text is written, and not the whole work; hence this addition is excluded from the analysis included here, which refers largely to comparisons of the musical script. The musical hand of scribe A indicates early modern features, also visible in printed books. A similar edition of chants appears, for instance, in books published by the Piotrkowczyks for dioceses of the Polish church province (Ill. 9, 10)<sup>28</sup>. These additions were made certainly no earlier than the first half of the seventeenth century. No such direct inspirations are evident in the hand of scribe B. Examples of the work of both copyists appear in the part from Gdańsk and the manuscript from Pelplin. A single entry by scribe C, meanwhile, occurs only in the fragment in Akc. 7889. The added work in the liturgy of the Teutonic Order was used solely in the context of one

<sup>28</sup> A gradual was published by the Piotrkowczyks at least four times: in 1600, 1614, 1629 and 1651, see Ireneusz PAWLAK, *Piotrkowcykowie jako wydawcy gradualów przeznaczonych dla diecezji polskich*, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościoła*, t. 49: 1984, pp. 245–259. In the comparisons included in this article, the authors used the edition from 1614: *Graduale Romanum de tempore et de sanctis*.

of the formularies for the Proper of Time<sup>29</sup>. Its presence among compositions for the Common of Saints indicates that its addition was probably also linked to the later, 'post-Teutonic' use of the codex<sup>30</sup>.



Ill. 9. Alleluia verse *In conspectu angelorum* on fol. 10r, Manuscript Akc. 7889, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, photo by M. F. Marszałkowski



Ill. 10. Alleluia verse *In conspectu angelorum* in *Graduale Romanum*, Kraków 1614, p. 62['], photo available online on Polona.pl

<sup>29</sup> The alleluia verse *Ego sum pastor bonus* was sung on the Second Sunday after Easter. It appears in a gradual held in the Diocesan Museum in Toruń, K-003, fol. CXIV–CXIIr; *Der Liber Ordinarius*, p. 349.

<sup>30</sup> One example of the use of the alleluia verse *Ego sum pastor bonus* as part of mass formularies different from the Teutonic Order's tradition is the Feast of St Thomas, Bishop and Martyr (29 December); *Graduale Romanum de tempore et de sanctis*, p. 40.



Table 2. Liturgical compositions added in the margins of Gradual Akc. 7889

No.	Folio	Composition*	Scribe	Remarks
1.	4r	InV <i>Quam dilecta</i>	(—)	Text only
2.	10r	AlV <i>In conspectu angelorum</i>	A	
3.	10v	AlV <i>Franciscus pauper</i>	B	
4.	11r	AlV <i>Angelus domini</i>	A	
5.	11v	AlV <i>Beatus vir sanctus Martinus</i>	B	
6.	12r	AlV <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	A	Beginning missing
7.	14v	AlV <i>Pretiosa in conspectu domini</i>	A	
8.	15r	AlV <i>Ego sum pastor bonus</i>	C	

\* The abbreviations preceding the incipits of compositions denote the chant genre in accordance with the online *Cantus Index: Catalogue of Chant Texts and Melodies*, [cantusindex.org](http://cantusindex.org) [accessed online 22 February 2024]: InV – introit verse, AlV – alleluia verse.

The additions in the fragment from Gdańsk – both the texts added to existing melodies and compositions added in the margins – are linked to the liturgy introduced after the Council of Trent. The Diocese of Chełmno adopted those principles at a synod in 1583<sup>31</sup>. The additions discussed here show how medieval chant books were adapted over the years to the changing liturgical practice. Most adaptations date probably from the seventeenth century. The additions concern mainly alleluia verses – ornamented chants intended for a soloist. The added works show that mass formularies also acquired new intentions: the mass for the Feast of St Michael, the Archangel, for example (Akc. 7889: 9v–11v), was used as the formulary for the Votive Mass of Angels<sup>32</sup>. Yet the changes made were not wholesale, and none of the formularies was corrected in full. For example, one may point to the changes made to the formulary for the Feast of the Transfiguration of Jesus (6 August; Akc. 7889: 3v–5r). The adaptations made here concerned the introit and the alleluia verse. Yet the other compositions remained unaltered. Admittedly, they were not necessarily always written out. For example, there is no own gradual chant for this feast in a book published by Andrzej Piotrkowczyk the Elder in 1614; it was to be taken from the mass on the Octave of Christmas<sup>33</sup>. Since the Chełmno codex

<sup>31</sup> *Statuty synodalne warmińskie, sambijskie, pomezańskie, chełmińskie oraz prowincjonalne ryskie*, tł. Julian Wojtkowski, Olsztyn 2010, p. 266.

<sup>32</sup> This is indicated by additions 4 and 5 from Table 1, and additions 2 and 4 from Table 2. In the gradual from 1614, these compositions function as part of the Votive Mass of Angels; cf. *Graduale Romanum de tempore et de sanctis*, pp. 61[']–64['].

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

in question did not contain the Proper of Time, it is assumed that this composition should have been added to the formulary. Yet that did not occur. Also not added were the new antiphons for Offertory and Communion chants. This may indicate that the change to the mass formularies after the liturgical reform introduced in the Latin Church in the sixteenth century was not adopted in full, with old compositions still being used for a long time.

The discovery of the gradual fragment containing *de sanctis* mass formularies considerably enhances our knowledge of chants of the mass liturgy in the Teutonic Order's tradition. Hitherto, only four books linked to the Teutonic Order intended to be sung during mass were present in the literature: the above-mentioned codices from Pelplin (L 2) and Toruń (K-003), as well as Manuscript L 35, linked to the Diocese of Chełmno and now held in Pelplin<sup>34</sup>, and the Teutonic gradual a VII 20 held in St Peter's Archabbey Library in Salzburg<sup>35</sup>. *De Sanctis* formularies were written into only the last two codices, both of which date from around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The corpus of sources related to mass chants is also expanded by Manuscript Ms. Mar. F 406 held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, bearing the hallmarks of a special gradual devoted mainly to Marian content; it is known in the literature as a *Cantionale*<sup>36</sup>. Besides repertoire for votive masses, it also contains compositions for the Visitation of Mary<sup>37</sup>. Familiarity with the fragment from Gdańsk contained in the book Akc. 7889 affords us insight into changes that occurred in the liturgical calendar around one hundred years after the oldest graduals of the Teutonic Order were compiled.

Among the 60 formularies contained in the newly-discovered fragment from Chełmno, there are four not included in previously known graduals of the Teutonic Order's tradition. Particularly significant here are the chants for the Visitation of Mary – a feast introduced during the last decade of the fourteenth century (Akc. 7889: 1r–1v)<sup>38</sup>. These enable us to determine the *terminus post quem* for the gradual's preparation. No account was taken in the manuscript's formularies of the octave of that feast. Written in Codex L 2, however, were

<sup>34</sup> Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI, *Graduał z Chełmna*, Musica Medii Aevi, t. 4: 1973, pp. 164–244.

<sup>35</sup> Anette LÖFFLER, *Ein süddeutsches Graduale des Deutschen Ordens. Die Handschrift St. Peter a VII 20 in Salzburg*, [in:] *Mittelalter. Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, <http://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/8903> [accessed online 6 November 2020].

<sup>36</sup> Kamil WATKOWSKI, Piotr ZIÓLKOWSKI, *Secundum Notulam Dominorum Teutonicorum: A New Look at the Repertoire and Genesis of Manuscript PL-GD Mar. F 406*, *Muzyka*, R. 68: 2023, nr 1, pp. 20–61. This article includes references to other publications linked to this manuscript.

<sup>37</sup> However, the compositions contained in this manuscript do not form a full and ordered mass formulary for the Visitation of Mary.

<sup>38</sup> Waldemar ROZYNKOWSKI, *Studia nad liturgią w zakonie krzyżackim w Prusach*, Toruń 2012, pp. 78–79.

three sequences linked to the Visitation (L 2: 75r–79r), which were probably performed not only on the actual feast day, but also during masses celebrated over the following week<sup>39</sup>. The inclusion of compositions to be sung on the octave, but without the octave being clearly marked in the calendar, may confirm that the gradual as a whole was compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Besides the Visitation, two other feast days may be mentioned among the added formularies: St Donatus, Bishop and Martyr (7 August; Akc. 7889: 3v), and St Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia and Martyr (28 September; Akc. 7889: 9v). The cult of St Wenceslas spread during the fourteenth century, also in Poland<sup>40</sup>. Among the group of added feast days, we may also include the memorial in praise of St Theodore, Martyr (9 November; Akc. 7889: 11v)<sup>41</sup>. This memorial could have been crucial to the Teutonic Knights, since this saint, like St George, was a soldier<sup>42</sup>. The last of the missal formularies in the fragment from Gdańsk that was not present in older books is the Octave of the Nativity of Mary (15 September; Akc. 7889: 9r). It was introduced into the Roman liturgy in the mid-thirteenth century<sup>43</sup>, and is also present in the oldest sources of the Teutonic Order<sup>44</sup>. The absence of such a formulary from older graduals may be due to the fact that the same chants were sung during the octave as on the feast day. The changes to the calendar included not just the addition of new feasts, but also the omission of several formulas that appear in older sources. Absent from the fragment from Gdańsk are memorials for the St Processus and St Martinian, Martyrs (2 July), St Praxedes, Virgin (21 July), St Stephen I, Pope (2 August) and St Remigius, Bishop (1 October). The lack of a formulary for the Octave of Peter and Paul (6 July) may be attributed to the fact that a suitable rubric was noted immediately after their feast day (29 June), the formulary for which was not preserved.

An interesting phenomenon, which results from the comparison of the calendars of Teutonic graduals, is the greater similarity that occurs between the discussed fragment and Manuscript a VII 20, against a lesser similarity with Codex L 35 from the same diocese. The differences between the manuscript from Salzburg and the sources from Chełmno concern the formularies of five

<sup>39</sup> Cf. K. WATKOWSKI, P. ZIÓŁKOWSKI, op.cit., pp. 49–50.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Jakub KUBIENIEC, *Secundum consuetudinem. Śpiewy godzin kanonicznych w średnio-wiecznej metropolii gnieźnieńskiej* (Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis, vol. 23), Kraków 2013, pp. 100–101.

<sup>41</sup> The formulary in praise of St Theodore appears also in Manuscript a VII 20 from Salzburg, but it does not belong to the original layer of that book, having been added later.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. W. ROZYNKOWSKI, op.cit., p. 128.

<sup>43</sup> *Maryja, Matka Jezusa Chrystusa – Theotokos*, [in:] Bogusław NADOLSKI, *Leksykon liturgii*, Poznań 2006, p. 880.

<sup>44</sup> H. PIWOŃSKI, op.cit., p. 329.



feast days. Meanwhile, among the feast days that distinguish Akc. 7889 and a VII 20 from L 35, we might mention a dozen or so liturgical occasions. That discrepancy, observed thanks to the discovery of the fragment from Gdańsk, allows us to pose the question of the independence of the liturgy of the Diocese of Chełmno. This phenomenon concerns in particular the early period after the introduction of the Teutonic Order's liturgy into that diocese<sup>45</sup>. It could have been more evident in churches which were not in the immediate sphere of influence of the Teutonic Order<sup>46</sup>. It is worth noting that the Teutonic Order authorities complained that their liturgical order was not being observed in particular dioceses<sup>47</sup>.

The question remains as to when the gradual fragment from the Diocese of Chełmno was merged with the Premonstratensian antiphoner from Witów. Both music manuscripts include additions from the seventeenth century – a time when these parts (probably still independent of one another) functioned separately and were still in use. Moreover, the binding of Akc. 7889, with the date 1569, still functioning today, contained the antiphoner together with 100 more pages (now lost) at the beginning, as indicated by the space between the front board of the binding and the first page of the Office of the Hours. Furthermore, an identical situation occurs with Gradual L 2 from Pelplin. As for the rather poor state of preservation of Akc. 7889, it allows us to remove the leather covers and examine the uncovered spine. One then notes the rather unprofessional joining of the three gatherings of the gradual fragment to the block of the book by means of loops, in the place of the missing 100 pages of the antiphoner (Ill. 11). In addition, holes for stitching are visible on the pages of the gradual in different places than in the parchments of the antiphoner, and the threads with which the gatherings were stitched differ across the two parts of the codex<sup>48</sup>. What is more, the additions made in Manuscript L 2 appear to have been made throughout most of the seventeenth century, so the gradual must have been as yet undamaged. This means that both the antiphoner and the gradual were depleted towards the end of the seventeenth century at the earliest.

<sup>45</sup> Tadeusz Maciejewski dates the gradual to the 1270s, but that is questioned by Jerzy Pi-  
kulik, who shifts the dating to the fourteenth century, see T. MACIEJEWSKI, op.cit., p. 202; Jerzy  
PIKULIK, *Śpiewy alleluja o Najświętszej Maryi Pannie w polskich gradualach przedtrydenckich*  
(Muzyka religijna w Polsce. Studia i materiały, t. 6), Warszawa 1984, p. 20.

<sup>46</sup> Gradual L 35 is probably linked not to the cathedral church in Chełmża, which was the  
seat of a chapter governed by the Teutonic rule, but to the parish church of St Nicholas in Chełm-  
ża, see Edward HINZ, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej w diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin 1994, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> H. PRWOŃSKI, op.cit., p. 337.

<sup>48</sup> We are grateful for this observation to Dr Ewa Chlebus of the Norwid Library of Elbląg.

Was there really any point in joining the two parts – the antiphoner and the gradual – together in the context of the book's use? Probably not. The merging of two books of different liturgical use was certainly not done to supplement the antiphoner's contents through the addition of the gradual fragment. Such a book, quite substantially depleted, was useless, and no other fragment of different function could make up for that.



Ill. 11. Joining of the gradual gatherings to the block of the antiphoner,  
Manuscript Akc. 7889, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

When was the gradual fragment merged with the depleted antiphoner? At what point in history did the paths of the two fragments cross, and to what purpose were they joined together? Did the Premonstratensian antiphoner, after the abolition of the monastery, share the fate of other books and end up in Warsaw, or perhaps it was preserved in Witów, where a parish was formed, and the book was left in the church or the presbytery?

We are more or less familiar with the history of Gradual L 2. It was used in one of the churches of the Diocese of Chełmno in the State of the Teutonic Order, possibly in the Cathedral of Chełmża, as suggested by Kasjana Radzka, who has conducted research into this manuscript. In the mid-nineteenth century, at the latest, the codex ended up in Pelplin, as is indicated by the shelf-mark

placed on the endpaper of the front cover (Ill. 12). Markings of this type were given at the Seminary Library in Pelplin between 1849 and 1852, when the library was in the care of Jan Hasse<sup>49</sup>. In 1939 the Pelplin collection was evacuated, and a large part of it found its way to Zamość. When the Germans entered the town, they immediately took an interest in the Pelplin collection held in the collegiate church, which they transported to Gdańsk, adding part of the collection to the holdings of the Municipal Library but sending the larger part of it on to Malbork (Ger. Marienburg)<sup>50</sup>. The collection remained in those towns at least until 1946, when Reverend Antoni Liedtke began revindication proceedings<sup>51</sup>. It cannot be ruled out that Gradual L 2 also spent that time of turmoil in the Municipal Library of Gdańsk or in Malbork. That could well have been when the paths of the antiphoner and the gradual coincided. It is possible that



Ill. 12. Part of the front endpaper with shelf-mark 'VI K 2',  
Manuscript L 2, Diocesan Library in Pelplin,  
photo by M. F. Marszałkowski

<sup>49</sup> Krzysztof KOCH, *Pelplińscy bibliotekarze*, [in:] *Parare vias Domini. Księga inspirowana działalnością naukową i duszpasterską księdza biskupa pelplińskiego prof. dr. hab. Jana Bernarda Szłagi (1940–2012)*, red. Krzysztof CHARAMSA, Wincenty PYTLIK, Pelplin 2014, pp. 467–469.

<sup>50</sup> Antoni LIEDTKE, *Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie*, *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, t. 13: 1947, z. 1–4, p. 90.

<sup>51</sup> Antoni LIEDTKE, *Saga pelplińskiej Biblii Gutenberga*, Pelplin 1988, pp. 51–52.



only then did the two codices lose the first several dozen leaves, then in the aftermath of the war, someone joined the gradual fragment to the antiphoner. The question remains, however, as to why this might have occurred at that time and who might have taken the trouble to attach the loose gatherings with music to the block of a book that also contained music – perhaps the sole motivation for merging the two different manuscripts. ‘The German management of the Municipal Library in Gdańsk transported the most valuable parts of the collection [to Malbork] [...] and probably directly or indirectly to other locations’<sup>52</sup>. Perhaps the parchment gatherings of the Pelplin gradual became loose and fell out and were then sent at random during the revindication process to Gdańsk, where they were joined to the Premonstratensian antiphoner that arrived there after the war? The scenarios presented here are merely postulates, which require confirmation through further research. This question has not yet been resolved by archive entries assembled at the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin and the Archive of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, which refer principally to the revindication process<sup>53</sup>.

In 1962 the codex with shelf-mark 3088/V was examined by Tadeusz Miażga, who in 1984 published an illustration from a page of the gradual part, at the same time giving the date of its production as 1480 and the scribe’s name as Grzegorz. So he had seen the codex in question in its current form. Hence the year 1962 would be the *terminus ante quem* for the merging of the two parts into a single volume, while the *terminus post quem* – given the lack of concrete evidence – must remain the end of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>52</sup> ‘zarząd niemiecki Biblioteki Miejskiej w Gdańsku wywiózł najcenniejsze partie zbiorów [...] oraz prawdopodobnie pośrednio czy bezpośrednio do innych miejscowości’; quoted after the Archive of the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (hereafter referred to as AZBGPAN), revindication between 1946 and 1949, shelf-mark X-2/13, p. 244.

<sup>53</sup> At the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, the authors studied a set of documents linked to post-war times at the Pelplin library (1945–1950, without shelf-mark). They mostly comprise correspondence kept by the then director of the library, Dr Antoni Liedtke, concerning in particular the revindication of the collection. During their research at the AZBGPAN, the authors focused their attention on several files relating to the revindication covering the years 1946–1949 and 1951–1953 (shelf-mark X-2/13–14), reports on swaps and donations (1959–1971, shelf-mark X-2/39), and the annual reports of the manuscript section from the years 1962–1984 (shelf-mark X-2/134). In all cases, information about the manuscript holdings are quite general; shelf-marks appear in exceptional cases, and other information enabling us to identify a specific codex is even rarer.

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