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THE INTRODUCTION OF THE 'ARS NOVA' INTO EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: A STUDY OF LATE MEDIEVAL POLISH SOURCES. (VOLUMES I AND II)

City University of New York PH.D. 1984

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THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ARS NOVA INTO EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: A STUDY OF LATE MEDIEVAL POLISH SOURCES

Volume I

BACKGROUND / ARS NOVA SOURCES / CONCLUSION

by

CHARLES E. BREWER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1984

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.

February 21, 1984
date

Raymond Erickson
Chairman of Examining Committee

29 Feb 1984
date

Bruce S Brook
Executive Officer

Prof. Sigmund Levarie

Prof. Edward Lerner
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Abstract

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ARS NOVA INTO EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:

A STUDY OF LATE MEDIEVAL POLISH SOURCES

by

Charles E. Brewer

Adviser: Professor Raymond Erickson

The spread of the ars nova notation and the new musical genres it engendered has been traced to many parts of Europe, but the East Central European sources from the later Middle Ages have remained largely unexamined by Western scholars. By studying the contents of these manuscripts from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and especially Poland, it is possible to gain some understanding of the ways in which artistic knowledge was passed from the cultural centers of Western Europe to the East.

The first part of the dissertation provides background information on the history of Poland in the Middle Ages and its relations with the West, the place of music at the University of Kraków, and the earliest polyphonic sources from East Central European that do not show the innovations of the ars nova.

The second part is a detailed study of the theoretical and practical sources for ars nova notation in Poland. The theory treatises examined are the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous, and the writings on music by Paulus Paulirinus, in which traditional ars nova

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theory and repertoire has been adapted to show local variations.

Two basic repertoires are examined in the practical sources for ars nova notation from Poland and Silesia. The first is directly derived from Western sources, including manuscripts imported from the West (e.g., the Wrocław rotulus), Western compositions copied in Poland (e.g., the works of Ciconia and Zacharius in Kras 52 and Wn 378), and the assimilation of Western styles in works by a native composer, Nicolaus de Radom. The second repertoire, which consists of compositions whose style and notation are less elegant than most Western art music, but still show the influence of the ars nova, has been termed "popular." One important source for the popular repertoire is examined in Chapter Six (PL-Kj 2464), which was copied in the milieu of the University of Kraków during the 1420's, and includes compositions attributed to the student, Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.

The final part examines the medieval Polish sources in relation to the musical histories of medieval Bohemia and Hungary. In particular, the Polish ars nova sources will be compared with some recently discovered ars nova sources from Bohemia and Hungary. Though the focus of this study remains Poland, the comparison with Hungarian and Bohemian manuscripts throughout the dissertation demonstrates that the Polish sources are not unique, but part of a general pattern of cultural interchange between East and West in the late Middle Ages.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The acknowledgements I present here are but small recompense for the encouragement and aid that has been offered me during the course of my researches on this dissertation.

A Fulbright/Hays - Polish State Government grant provided the funds for my first trip to Poland. Further research on the musical sources in Czechoslovakia and Hungary was supported by the International Research and Exchanges Board. I especially wish to acknowledge the advice and encouragement to a novice in area studies given by Allan H. Kassof, executive director of IREX, and Daniel C. Matuszewski, director of Soviet programs for IREX. A grant-in-aid from the Martha Baird Rockefeller Foundation provided welcome support when needed.

In Czechoslovakia, I had the opportunity to work with Prof. František Mužík, Prof. Růžena Mužíková, and especially Prof. Jaromír Černý, who generously gave of his time and knowledge, and who directed my attention to a number of previously unknown sources. I also wish to thank Martin Horyna, Music Librarian of the Krajské Knihovna in České Budějovice, who graciously shared his research on the music history of Sourthern Bohemia. I also wish to ackowledge the aid given by the Muzeum in Hradec Králové, the Muzeum in Chrudim, the Státní ústřední archív, the Archív pražského hradu, Státní archív in Český Krumlov, the Státní archív in Třeboň, and the Okresní archív in Ústí nad Orlicí.

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In Hungary, my work was guided by Janka Szendrai, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, whose kindness and advice I will only be able to repay in time. Also, I must remember the encouragement of Dr. Benjamin Rajeczky, now retired, but still a major force in music research at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I also wish to remember the aid given by László Dobsay, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and co-director with J. Szendrei of the Madyar Gregorianum.

I also benefited greatly from the guidance of Prof. László Mezey, also of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Due to his aid, I was allowed to examine the recently discovered musical fragments described in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

Prof. Zofia Włodek of the Polish Academy of Sciences provided invaluable advice when I was just beginning my researches in Kraków.

The members of my examination committee -- Prof. Sigmund Levarie, Prof. Edward Lerner, Prof. Barbara Hanning, and Prof. Ernest Sanders -- have each provided important encouragement and criticism for which I am most thankful.

Three debts require special mention. First of all, I must acknowledge the extraordinary time, advice, and friendship offered during my years of research by Prof. Raymond Erickson, Arron Copland School of Music, Queens College, City University of New York. The entire text of this dissertation has benefited from his incisive criticism. Whatever infelicities remain I willing accept as my responsibility.

My second debt is to the staff of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków. Without the encouragement of Prof. Jerzy Zathey, emeritus

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director of the Oddział rękopisów, and the members of its staff, my work could never have been completed. I wish to thank them for freely giving of their time to aid me during my first acquaintance with the manuscripts of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

A special place must be reserved for the debt of friendship I owe to Prof. Zygmunt Szweykowski. Without his encouragement (and command of English when I was still learning Polish) I could not have accomplished my research in Poland. His guidance saved me from a number of errors and directed me on a very fruitful course. I only hope that this final result will meet his exacting standards.

I owe one last debt of gratitude to someone who prefers to remain anonymous, but without whose support this dissertation would have proved impossible.

New York, September, 1984.

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

The temporal distance that separates us from the Middle Ages has assured that many sources which might have illuminated our present knowledge of this epoch are lost. As music historians, we are thankful for the isorhythmic motets of Philippe de Vitry that have been preserved, but we are equally intrigued by a medieval reference to his now lost French secular works.[1] In a more positive light, our understanding of medieval English music has greatly increased due to the recent discoveries of fragmentary musical sources in the bindings of later manuscripts and books.[2] Whether the manuscripts on which we must base our studies of medieval music are lost, fragmentarily preserved, or in a few (perhaps remarkable) cases completely intact, we must acknowledge the extent of the material that has perished and interpret the documents that remain to the best of our abilities.

One area of research that continues to intrigue scholars of medieval music concerns the origin, evolution, and influence of the notational innovations ascribed to Philippe de Vitry, the so-called ars

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1. See N. Bridgman, "France and Burgundy: 1300 - 1500," Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. F.W. Sternfeld (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973) 156.

2. See, for example, P. Lefferts and M. Bent, compilers, "New Sources of English Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Polyphony," Early Music History 2: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. I. Fenlon, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 273 - 362.

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nova notandi ("the new craft of notating").[3] During the second decade of the fourteenth century, probably in Paris, Philippe and his contemporaries developed a system of interrelated triple and duple mensurations, which, with the addition of certain new note-forms, can be loosely defined as ars nova notation. In a restrictive sense, ars nova notation refers only to the notation described in Philippe de Vitry's treatise, commonly titled Ars Nova, and used in the few surviving compositions by Philippe himself or by his anonymous contemporaries.[4] However, the basic system of duple and triple mensurations with a few modifications, mostly involving new note-forms, remained in use until the early seventeenth century.[5]

In this dissertation, I will study the question of cultural relations between Poland and Western Europe principally by examining a group of sources from Polish archives whose compositions use ars nova

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3. For a general overview of this subject see H. Besseler, "Ars nova," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-) I, cols. 702 - 729. This article has also been reprinted in H. Besseler, Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichte (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1978) 239 - 275.

4. See Philippe de Vitry, Ars Nova, ed. G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 8 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964) for a full critical edition of the treatise. See also the English translation by L. Plantinga published in the Journal of Music Theory 5 (1961) 204 - 223. For references to the compositions of Philippe and his contemporaries, see the works cited below, Chapter Four, 164, fn. 3.

5. For the purposes of this study, any black mensural notation which uses these basic principles will be referred to as ars nova notation and any manuscript which uses this notation will be an ars nova source.

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notation.[6] The spread of the ars nova notation and the new musical genres it engendered have been traced to the other parts of Europe, but the East Central European sources from the later Middle Ages have remained largely unexamined by Western scholars. How did the knowledge of this important musical innovation travel from Paris to the eastern borders of Europe and what became of it when it got there? By examining the contents of these manuscripts from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, it is possible to gain some understanding of the ways in which artistic knowledge was passed from the cultural centers of Western Europe to the East.

East Central Europe today comprises the countries of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and East Germany. However, in the context of this study East Central Europe will be defined as the medieval kingdoms of Hungary (which also included present day Slovakia, and also parts of Yugoslavia and Rumania), Bohemia (which included both Bohemia proper and Moravia), and Poland (which by the end of the fourteenth century included Lithuania and parts of the Ukraine). Central Europe would then comprise the territories of the so-called Holy Roman Empire. For my purposes, Western Europe will refer to France, Italy, and the

---

6. In the title to this work I have used "musical sources from Poland" in a general sense to refer to manuscripts and fragments presently in Polish archives. But as I hope will be evident, each source, whether it was a manuscript copied in Western Europe and brought to Poland, or a manuscript copied in Poland containing Western compositions or the works of native composers, has some connection with the musical life of medieval Poland and in this sense could also be referred to as "Polish."

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Low Countries, in fact, the cultural centers of European civilization in the Middle Ages.[7]

My study has been divided into three main parts: background, sources, and conclusions. The three chapters in the first part will outline the history of Poland in the Middle Ages and its relations with the West, the musical life at the University of Kraków, and the earliest polyphonic sources from East Central Europe. The summary of medieval Polish history in the first chapter may seem more detailed than similar chapters in other musicological works. There are two principal reasons for this. One is that few Western historians of the Middle Ages, let alone musicologists, have any comprehensive knowledge of Poland's complicated history. The second is that, without an understanding of that history and Poland's relations with the West, it would not be possible to place the musical sources, some of which contain compositions directly related to historical events, in an appropriate context.

The second chapter is an essay on the importance of music at the University of Kraków.[8] Founded first in 1364, and re-established in

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7. As will be seen in the discussions below, a special place must be given to the Duchy of Silesia (Śląsk in Polish) and the musical sources from its archives. Some aspects of its complex medieval history are sketched in Chapter One below. It is sufficent here to point out that even after Silesia passed under the political sovereignty of Bohemia in the fourteenth century, the Silesian nobility (who were related to the native Polish Piast dynasty) remained largely independent of political developments in Bohemia and the Silesian ecclesiastical structure remained a suffragan to the Polish metropolitan see in Gniezno.

8. In the nineteenth century, the name of the university was changed to the Uniwersytet Jagiellońska ("Jagiellonian University"). See below, Chapter Two, 67 - 70, for a synopsis of the early history

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1400, the university was a major influence on Polish intellectual life, and the documents of its musical life, both academic and practical, are particularly rich. In many respects, this chapter is meant to replace the earlier, and somewhat inaccurate, studies which were based solely on secondary reports and catalogues.

Chapter Three is the first comprehensive study in a Western European language of the earliest East Central European polyphonic sources in musical notations that do not show the innovations of the ars nova. Though some of these manuscripts date from the late fourteenth century, they are all part of a polyphonic tradition that reaches back to the thirteenth century. In some instances, regrettably, I have had access only to secondary studies in Polish, Czech, or Hungarian, but these are consistently of such high quality it seemed important to interpret their findings for a Western reader.

The second part, "Sources," contains a study of the theoretical and practical sources for ars nova notation in Poland. Three theory treatises are examined in the fourth chapter, two written in Silesia and the other, though composed in Bohemia, was written by a former student of the University of Kraków. In each of these treatises, traditional ars nova theory has been adapted to show local variations, which relate these sources to a specifically Central and East Central European tradition.

Chapter Five is an extended study of those manuscripts which contain compositions copied in ars nova notation. Some of these

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of the University of Kraków.

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sources have been examined before, but I hope my research will provide a new perspective on their repertoire and notation. Other sources presented here have never received full critical examination in light of related manuscripts and compositions from Western and East Central Europe.

The manuscript, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2464 (PL-Kj 2464), which is the principal subject of the sixth chapter, was copied in the early fifteenth century at the University of Kraków. It shows the attempt on the part of the scribes to understand, albeit sometimes imperfectly, the principles of ars nova notation. It also includes three polyphonic compositions which can be ascribed to a student known to have studied in Kraków and whose other compositions are also found in many later sources.

The final part and chapter will examine the medieval Polish sources in relation to the musical histories of medieval Bohemia and Hungary. In particular, the Polish ars nova sources will be compared with some recently discovered ars nova sources from Bohemia and Hungary which greatly enhance our knowledge of Western influence on the musical life of East Central Europe. Though my focus remains Poland, the comparison with Hungarian and Bohemian manuscripts throughout this dissertation demonstrates that the Polish sources are not unique, but part of a general pattern of cultural interchange between East and West in the late Middle Ages.

It is also my intention, throughout this study, to demonstrate through the sources examined how knowledge of the ars nova was adapted

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and assimilated into the musical life of East Central Europe. The survival of ars nova-influenced music over several centuries gives evidence of the tradition's vitality. Though the meagerness of sources that have survived to our times means that the musicologist must perforce be circumspect in his conclusions, it does not seem unreasonable to conjecture that the musical life of late medieval East Central Europe was a rich and vital one.

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POLAND IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

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TABLE I: PLACE NAMES

In the following lists, the form given in the left-hand column is that used in the text. The decision as to which form would be best to adopt was complicated by the often conflicting criteria of historical accuracy, ease of location in modern reference works and common practice. There is no consensus in the modern works on medieval East Central European history that might provide a solution to this problem. The following tables were originally prepared as an aid to my researches and have proved useful in many contexts. In the list of city and town names, the present-day form has in general been adopted. This decision will perhaps present an English reader with some unexpected forms, but in practice, familiarity with the contemporary place names made it easier to use many modern atlases and other reference works, which normally use only modern forms. In these lists, I have tried to eliminate duplicate forms; for instance, Breslau, the German name for Wrocław, is also used in Hungarian, but is omitted from the list.

COUNTRIES [Historical and Contemporary]:

ENGLISH	POLISH	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	LATIN	ABBREVIATION
Austria		Rakousko	Ausztria	Österreich	Austria	A
Bohemia	Czechy	Čechy	Csehország	Böhmen	[Used also to refer to the Kingdom of Bohemia, which included the areas of Bohemia and Moravia]	
Czechoslovakia	Czechosłowacja	Československo	Csehszlovakia			ČS
France	Francja	Francie	Franciaország	Frankreich	Francia	F
Germany	Niemcy	Německo	Németország	Deutschland	Alemannia	D
Hungary	Węgry	Maďarsko	Magyarország	Ungarn	Ungaria	H
Italy	Włochy		Olaszország	Italien	Italia	I
Lithuania	Litwa		Litvania	Litauen	Lithuania	[Lieutva in Lithuanian]
Moravia	Morawy	Morava	Morvao	Mähren	Moravia	[See Bohemia]
Poland	Polska	Polsko	Lengyelo	Polen	Polonia	PL
Russia	Rosja	Rusko	Russzia	Russland	Russia	USSR
Yugoslavia	Jugosławia		Jugoszlávia			YU

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TABLE ONE (CONTINUED)

RIVERS:

	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	LATIN
Odra, PL	Odra	Odera	Oder	Viadrus
Wisła, PL	Visla	Visztula	Weichsel	Vistula

POLAND, REGIONAL NAMES [Historical and Contemporary]:

	POLISH	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	ENGLISH	LATIN
Galicia [Latin]	Galicja	Halič	Halics	Galizien		
Lodomeria [Latin]	Włodzimierz					
Małopolska		Malopolsko		Kleinpolen	Little Poland	Polonia minor
Mazowsze		Mazovsko		Masovien		Mazovia
Pomorsze		Pomořany		Pommern		Pomerania
Prussia [English]	Prusy	Prusy		Preussen		Pruscia
Ruthenia [Latin]	Ruś					
Silesia [Latin]	Śląsk	Slezsko	Szilezia	Schlesien		
Wielkopolska		Velkopolsko		Grosspolen	Great Poland	Polonia maior

CITIES AND TOWNS:

PRESENT NAME	POLISH	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	ENGLISH	LATIN
Beograd, YU	Belgrad	Bělehrad	Belgrád		Belgrad	Bellogradum
Bologna, I	Bolonia					Bononia
Bratislava, CS	Bratysława		Pozsony	Pressburg		Posonium
Brno, CS				Brünn		Brunna
Buda, H		Budín		Ofen		Buda
Budapest, H	Budapeszt					
Chełmno, PL				Kulm		Culm

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TABLE ONE (CONTNIUED)

PRESENT NAME	POLISH	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	ENGLISH	LATIN
Esztergom, H	Ostrzyhom			Gran		Grana, Strigonia
Firenze, I	Florencja	Florencie		Florenz	Florence	Florentina
Gdańsk, PL				Danzig		G(e)danum
Głogów, PL		Hlohov		Glogau		Glogovia (Maior)
Gniezno, PL		Hnezdno		Gnesen		Gnesna
Grunwald, PL				Tannenberg		
Hradec Králové				Königgratz		
[Kaliningrad, USSR]*	Królewiec	Královec		Königsberg*		Regiomont(i)um
Kalisz, PL				Kalisch		Calisia
Köln, D	Kolonia	Kolín n. Rýnem			Cologne	Colonia
Košice, CS	Koszyce		Kassa	Kaschau		Cassovia
Kraków, PL		Krakov	Krakko	Krakau	Cracow	Cracovia
Lublin, PL				Ljubin		Lublinum
Lvov, USSR	Lwów			Lemberg		Leopolis
Malbork, PL				Marienburg		Mariaeburgum
Mogiła, PL						Clara Tumba
München, D	Monachium				Munich	Monacum
Napoli, I	Neapol		Nápoly		Naples	Napulia, Neapolia
Padova, I					Padua	Padua, Patavia
Płock, PL				Plozk		Plocsko, Plocensis
Poznań, PL				Posen		Posnania
Praha, CS	Praga		Prága	Prag	Prague	Praga
Przemyśl, PL				Przemysl		Premisl, Premislia
Roma, I	Rzym	Řím		Rom	Rome	Roma
Sandomierz, PL				Sandomir		Sandomira
Stary Sącz, PL				Alt Sandecz		Sandecz Vetus
Szczecin, PL				Stettin		Stetinensis, Sedinum

* In the case of modern Kaliningrad, an exception has been made to the general rule of using only the present names for cities and towns. Instead, Königsberg will be used, this city's name from the thirteenth century until the end of World War Two.

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TABLE ONE (CONTINUED)

PRESENT NAME	POLISH	CZECH	HUNGARIAN	GERMAN	ENGLISH	LATIN
Toruń, PL				Thorn		Thorunium
Trnava, CS			Nagyszombat	Tyrnau		Tyrna(via)
Venezia, I	Wenecja	Benátky	Velence	Venedig	Venice	Venecia
Vilnius, USSR	Wilno			Wilna		Vilna, Jedemini
Visegrád, H	Wyszehrad					Vissehrad
Vyšší Brod, CS				Hohenfurt		Altovadenses
Warszawa, PL		Varsava	Varso	Warschau	Warsaw	Varsovia
Wien, A	Wieden	Viden	Bécs		Vienna	Vindobona
Wrocław, PL		Vratislav		Breslau		Vratislavia
Żagań, PL		Zaháň		Sagan		Saganum
Zawichost, PL						Zawichost
Zielona Góra, PL				Grünberg		Viridus mons

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1200	Leszek I Bialy ("the White:" 1194-1230) Rival: Wladyslaw Laskonogi ("Spindleshanks:" 1228-1231)	Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230)	Emmerich (1196-1204)	Otto IV (Brunswick) (1198-1212) Rival: Philip II of Swabia (1198-1208)	Innocent III (1198-1216)	1200
1205			László III (1205) Andrew II (1205-1235)			1205
1210				Frederick II (1212-1250) Rival: Henry Raspe (1246-1247) Rival: William of Holland (1247-1256)		1210
1215					Honorius III (1216-1227)	1215
1220						1220
1225	Boleslaw V Wstydliwy ("the Chaste:" 1227-1279)				Gregory IX (1227-1241)	1225

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY
1230	Václav I (1230-1253)			1230
1235		Bela IV (1235-1270)		1235
1240				1240
				Celestine IV (1241)
				Innocent IV (1243-1254)
1245				1245
1250			Conrad IV (1250-1254)	1250
	Přemysl Otakar II (1253-1278)			
			The Great Interregnum (1254-1273)	Alexander IV (1254-1261)
1255				1255
			Competitors: Richard of Cornwall (1257-1273) Alfonso X of Castile (1257-1272)	
1260				1260
				Urban IV (1261-1264)

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500

(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1265					Clement IV (1265-1268)	1265
1270			Stephen V (1270-1272)		Gregory X (1271-1276)	1270
			László IV (1272-1290)	Rudolf I (Habsburg) (1273-1291)		
1275					Innocent V (1276) Adrian V (1276) John XXI (1276-1277) Nicholas III (1277-1280)	1275
		Regency of Otto of Brandenburg (1278-1283)				
	Leszek II Czarny ("the Black:" 1279-1288)					
1280					Martin IV (1281-1285)	1280
		Václav II (1283-1305)				

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1285					Honorius IV (1285-1287)	1285
					Nicholas IV (1288-1292)	
1290	Przemysł II (Przemysław) (1290-1296)		Andrew III (1290-1301)	Adolf I (Nassau) (1292-1298)		1290
					St. Celestine V (1294)	
					Boniface VIII (1294-1303)	
1295				Albert I (Habsburg) (1298-1308)		1295
1300	Václav I.of Bohemia (1300-1305)					1300
			Václav II of Bohemia (1301-1305)			
					Benedict XI (1303-1304)	
1305	Václav II Přemysl (1305-1306)	Václav III Přemysl (1305-1306)	Otto of Bavaria (1305-1308)		Clement V (1305-1314)	1305

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
	Władysław IV Łokietek ("the Short:" 1306-1333)	Rudolf of Habsburg (1306-1307)				
		Henry of Carinthia (1307-1310)				
			Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342)	Henry VII (Luxemburg) (1308-1313)	Move to Avignon (1309-1378)	
1310		John of Luxemburg (1310-1346)				1310
				Louis IV (Bavaria) (1314-1347)		
1315						1315
					John XXII (1316-1334)	
1320						1320
1325				Rival: Frederick of Habsburg, co-regent (1325-1330)		
					Antipope: Nicholas V (1328-1330)	
1330						1330
	Kazimierz III Wielki ("the Great:" 1333-1370)					

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 – 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
					Benedict XII (1334-1342)	
1335						1335
1340						1340
			Louis the Great of Anjou (1342-1382)		Clement VI (1342-1352)	
1345						1345
		Charles I (Luxemburg) (1346-1378)		Charles IV (Luxemburg) (1347-1378) Rival: Günther of Schwarzburg (1347-1349)		
1350						1350
					Innocent VI (1352-1362)	
1355						
1360						1360
					Urban V (1362-1370)	
1365						1365

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1370	Louis the Great of Anjou (1370-1382)				Gregory XI (1370-1378)	1370
1375		Václav IV (Luxemburg) (1378-1419)		Václav (Luxemburg) (1378-1400)	Urban VI (1378-1389)	1375
					Antipope: Clement VII (1378-1394: Avignon)	
1380	Civil strife (1382-1384)		Mary of Anjou (1382-1385)			1380
	Jadwiga (1384-1399)					
1385			Charles II of Naples (1385-1386)			1385
	Władysław V Jagiełło (1386-1434)		Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437)			
					Boniface IX (1389-1404)	

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1390						1390
					Antipope: Benedict XIII (1394-1423: Avignon)	
1395						
1400				Rupert (Palatinate) (1400-1410)		1400
					Innocent VII (1404-1406)	
1405						1405
					Gregory XII (1406-1415) Antipope: Alexander V (1409-1410: Pisa)	
1410				Sigismund of Luxemburg (1410-1437) Rival: Jobst of Moravia (1410-1411)	Antipope: John XXIII (1410-1415: Pisa)	1410
1415						1415
					Martin V (1417-1431)	

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
		Sigismund of Luxemburg (1419-1437)				
1420						1420
					Antipope: Clement VIII (1423-1429: Avignon)	
1425					Antipope: Benedict XIV (1425-1430: Avignon)	1425
1430						1430
					Eugene IV (1431-1447)	
	Władysław VI Jagiełło (1434-1444)					
1435						1435
		Albert of Habsburg (1437-1439)	Albert of Habsburg (1437-1439)	Albert II of Habsburg (1438-1439)		
					Antipope: Felix V (1439-1449)	

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 – 1500

(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1440		Ladislas Posthumus (1440-1457)	Vladislav I (=Władysław VI: 1440-1444)	Frederick III (1440-1493)		1440
	Interregnum (1444-1447)					
1445			László V (=Ladislas Posthumus) (1445-1457)			1445
	Kazimierz IV (1447-1492)				Nicholaus V (1447-1455)	
1450						1450
1455					Calixtus III (1455-1458)	1455
		George of Podebrady (1458-1471)	Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490)		Pius II (1458-1464)	
1460						1460
					Paul II (1464-1471)	
1465						1465
1470						1470
		Vladislav II (1471-1516)			Sixtus VI (1471-1484)	
1475						1475

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TABLE 2

Comparative Chronology of Central and East Central European Rulers and the Papacy from 1200 - 1500
(Regnal Years)

	POLAND	BOHEMIA	HUNGARY	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	PAPACY	
1480						1480
					Innocent VIII (1484-1492)	
1485						1485
1490			Vladislav II (1490-1516)			1490
	Jan Olbracht (1492-1501)				Alexander VI (1492-1503)	
				Maximilian I (1493-1519)		
1495						
1500						1500

PART I:

BACKGROUND

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CHAPTER ONE

POLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Europe's eastern border has always been an area of importance throughout history, and one that has experienced constant change. From the late Classical period to the seventeenth century, a succession of peoples -- Germans, Slavs, Magyars, Mongols, and Turks -- entered Europe from the east. These groups frequently posed a serious threat to the stability of Europe. In contrast to the history of the Mongolian and Turkish incursions, whose primary object was military subjugation, that of the Germans, Slavs, and Magyars was characterized by a period of conquest followed by a gradual and relatively peaceful assimilation into European culture. When the future principalities of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary were developing from earlier Slavic and Magyar settlements, they were regarded by Western Europeans as buffer states against further barbarian incursions. Yet, following their conversions to Christianity in the tenth century, these three nations exerted an ever-increasing influence on Western history and culture.

Because of the remoteness of its position on the eastern borders of Europe, the Polish nation did not suddenly break into Western consciousness.[1] The existence of the Slavic Poles, whose name is derived

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1. The history of Poland presented in this chapter is a compilation based primarily on the following sources: N. Davies, God's Playground: A History of Poland, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University

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from their word for the plains ("pole" = field) they inhabited along the banks of the Wisła River (Vistula), had been noticed by a number of European writers before the tenth century.[2] We can see in these early reports the emerging pattern of conflict between Poland and its immediate neighbors which was to characterize most of Polish history. These local tensions, whether created by Polish aggression or attacks on its borders by other nations, forced the new state to search beyond its borders for allies in its struggle for existence. During the course of the Middle Ages, drawing on its internal strengths and the aid of its allies,

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Press, 1982); The Cambridge History of Poland, 2 vols., edited W.F. Reddaway et al. (Cambridge, 1941 - 1950); A. Gieysztor, "Medieval Poland," History of Poland, 2nd edition, edited S. Kieniewicz (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1979) 23 - 141; Historia Polski: Tom I do roku 1764, Część I do połowy XVw., ed. H. Łowmiański (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964); F. Dvornik, The Slavs in European History and Civilization (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1962); P.W. Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320 - 1370 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972); and P. Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland (Miami: The American Institute of Polish Culture, 1978). The following historical atlases have proved useful in clarifying the fluctuating borders of East Central Europe in the Middle Ages: Atlas Historyczny Polski, edited W. Czapliński and T. Ładogórski (Warszawa: Państwowe Przedsiebiorstwo Wydawnictwo Kartograficznych, 1977); Skolní atlas československých dějín (Praha: Kartografické nakladatelství, 1967); Történelmi Atlasz (Budapest: Kartográfiai Vállalat, 1976); and H. Kinder and W. Hilgemann, The Penguin Atlas of World History, Vol. I: From the Beginning to the Eve of the French Revolution, tr. E.A. Menze (New York: Penguin Books, 1974). Where possible, I have made reference in the following pages to important primary or secondary sources concerning a specialized period or topic.

2. A selection of these earlier writers from the sixth to tenth centuries is included in Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, 6 vols. (Lwów & Kraków, 1864 - 1893; reprinted Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960 - 1961) I, 1 - 83.

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Poland developed from a small eastern principality into one of the major kingdoms of Europe.

Early History (966 - 1300)

Poland was converted to Christianity in 966 during the reign of Mieszko I, Duke of Poznań and founder of the Polish Piast dynasty.[3] As a result of Mieszko's conversion, the Catholic Church became a major force in Polish culture, a position which it retains today. From the beginning, a close relationship was established between Poland and the papacy. This association was demonstrated in a document known, from its opening words, as the Dagome iudex.[4] In this tenth-century source, the Polish state is described as a fief of Rome, and even though political realities in succeeding centuries sometimes caused Polish rulers to overlook this feudal status, it was often resurrected when needed. Further evidence of a strong relation with the papacy is that, like England and the Scandinavian countries, Poland paid the so-called "Peter's Pence" directly to Rome.[5]

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3. T. Manteuffel, The Formation of the Polish State: The Period of Ducal Rule, 963 - 1194, tr. A. Groski (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1982), is an excellent introduction to the earliest period of Polish history.

4. The Dagome iudex is published in Monumenta Poloniae Historica I, 148 - 149. In this work, the first word is transcribed as Dagone.

5. In effect, the "Peter's Pence" was a head tax that went directly to the papal curia, and helped establish a census of the Christian populace in the countries where it was collected. See W.E. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies XIX, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934; reprinted New York: Octagon Books, 1965) I, 65 - 71

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After a century of national consolidation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, Poland fell victim to feudal disintegration, a common development in many European countries during this period. These same two centuries were a period of deep antagonism between Poland and its neighbors, especially the German Empire. It also saw the development of a distinctly Polish ecclesiastical structure and bureaucracy.

Bolesław II Szczodry ("the Bold," 1058 - 1081) was the last king of Poland until the late thirteenth century. From the end of his reign until the mid thirteenth century, the Polish state was split into several dukedoms, roughly coterminous with the main dioceses. These were Kraków (Cracow) and Sandomierz (later referred to together as Małopolska [Little Poland]), Mazowsze (Mazovia; central city, Płock), Wielkopolska (Great Poland; main cities: Gniezno and Poznań), Silesia (Śląsk, in Polish; main city, Wrocław [Breslau]), and the two Pomorsze (Pomerania) districts, one centered at Szczecin (Stettin) and the other at Gdańsk (Danzig). Throughout this period, the Polish dukes were more interested in promoting their individual interests, both in internal developments and external relations with the neighboring kingdoms,

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and II, 55 - 81. Selected documents related to Poland are printed in vol. II, 65 - 66, and 71 - 72. The income from the "Peter's Pence" was later used by Polish rulers as a lever on the papacy when the territorial integrity of the state was threatened; if any Polish lands came under the control of the German Empire, Bohemia, or the Teutonic Knights, this head tax could not be collected, so any loss of Polish territory would mean a loss of income to the papal curia. See J. Ptaśnik, "Denar świętego Piotra obrońca jedności politycznej i kościelnej w Polsce," Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków, Wydział historyczno-filozoficzny, Serya II: Tom XXVI [Ogólnego zbioru tom 51] (1908) 133 - 218.

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rather than developing a strong centralized kingdom.

Poland witnessed many events of both immediate and far-reaching significance during the thirteenth century. It was in the early thirteenth century that the Knights of the Teutonic Order of St. Mary (or Knights of the Cross) made their first conquests of Polish territory. They would remain a persistent threat and source of trouble to the Polish state until the fifteenth century. Since the Teutonic Knights had lost their position in the Holy Land after the fall of Jerusalem, their members had become itinerant soldiers. In 1226, the Knights were invited by Duke Konrad of Mazowsze (c. 1187 - 1247) to subdue the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians. Prudently, the Knights obtained privileges from both the German emperor and the Pope granting them any conquered territory as their fief. By about 1283 the Teutonic Knights had conquered Prussia and many German colonists were settled in newly founded towns to replace a decimated native population.[6]

This powerful Ordensstaat on Poland's northeastern borders was paralleled on the northwest by the growing importance of Brandenburg. The margraves of the Wittelsbach family pursued an aggressive policy, whose main objective was to gain control of territory in Pomorsze; by the second half of the thirteenth century they had successfully established a small New March, which also included territory annexed from Wielkopolska.[7] Throughout the fourteenth century these two states, Brandenburg and the Ordensstaat, in conjunction with Bohemia, were to

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6. Gieysztor, "Medieval Poland," 93 - 95.

7. Gieysztor, "Medieval Poland," 95.

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pose the greatest threat to Poland's independence.

In 1241 - 1242, most of East Central Europe was invaded by the Mongols, who sacked many cities, including Kraków in Małopolska and Wrocław in Silesia. Only a subsidiary Mongol force moved through southern Poland and their westward progress was stopped at the battle of Legnica on April 9, 1241.[8] Following the battle, the Mongol contingents crossed the Carpathians into Hungary to join with the main army under Batu, then attacking King Bela IV of Hungary.[9]

As part of the attempt to rebuild the economic life of Poland following the Mongol invasion, German colonists were invited by the Polish nobility to settle the vacant farms or become merchants. Most of the urban centers were rebuilt or newly founded before the second and less destructive Tatar invasion of 1287 - 1288. Many of these towns received their first charters in this period, often under the so-called "German law." Polish law, which previously had force throughout most of the territory of Poland, required certain taxes and levies on the farmholders and towns. The new German law, however, contained exemptions from these payments in order to attract the new colonists; and it was also advantageous to the remaining Polish landholders and merchants and contributed to the redevelopment of Polish economic

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8. Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario, Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, Series Nova: Tomus V, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978) 79 and 138.

9. J. Chambers, The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe (New York: Atheneum, 1979), is an excellent short survey of the Mongol incursions into Central Asia and East Central Europe. The invasion of 1241 into Poland is examined on pp. 96 - 101.

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life.[10] A further result of this colonization was that German became the predominant language of commerce and urban government throughout East Central Europe.

During the period when Poland was divided into autonomous dukedoms, the church was the one unifying factor in the nation though the personal ambitions of some Polish nobles also worked in that direction. Early in the thirteenth century, the dukes of Wrocław, in particular Duke Henryk II Pobożny ("the Pious"), made a brief but unsuccessful attempt to establish control beyond the area of Silesia, the center of their power, and to unify Poland under one leader; unfortunately, Henryk was killed at the battle of Legnica. After the Mongol invasions, the concept of a single Corona regni Poloniae gained force and the Polish church, under the leadership of Archbishop Jan Świnka of Gniezno, gave full support to the unification attempts of the Polish nobility and especially opposed the process of Germanization.

Duke Henryk IV Probus of Wrocław, with the support of Archbishop Świnka, was in a strong position to reunite most of the Polish duchies, but was poisoned on 23 June 1290.[11] His death initiated a period of struggle for succession among Duke Henryk of Głogów, Duke Przemysł II of Wielkopolska, Henryk of Legnica (a general for Henryk Probus), and King Václav II of Bohemia. Václav II gained the support of Emperor Rudolf Habsburg, forced Przemysł II to renounce his claims to Małopolska, and was accepted as suzerain by several nobles from Silesia.

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10. Davies, God's Playground, I, 77 - 78.

11. Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 15 - 17.

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His control of the duchy of Kraków was then disputed only by Władysław Łokietek ("the Short").

Much of the early Polish kingdom's cultural life was dominated by the church. Initially, the character of the Polish church was distinctly foreign. The first bishop of Poznań, Jordan, is believed to have come from the lower Lorraine or perhaps Italy.[12] Contrary to the earlier pattern in the east, in which newly converted territories were subordinate to a German missionary diocese, such as Magdeburg or Mainz, the bishopric of Poznań was subordinate only to the papacy. Otto III recognized the independence of the Polish archdiocese when he met in 1000 with Bolesław I Chroby ("the Brave," reigned 992 - 1025); this position was not always supported by Otto's successors, who were under pressure from the German church.[13]

Though officially converted, Poland experienced occasional resurgences of paganism and the still pagan peoples on its borders were a continual threat. To combat these problems, foreign missonaries were invited into the kingdom. The most famous of these was Adalbert (Vojtech in Czech, Wojciech in Polish), formerly Bishop of Praha (Prague).[14] He was invited in 996 by Bolesław I to convert Prussia,

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12. Gieysztor, "Medieval Poland," 49. The bishopric of Poznań was founded in 968.

13. Davies, God's Playground I, 63. In 1000, Gniezno was made the seat for the first archbishop of Poland, and bishoprics were also established in Kraków, Wrocław, and Płock, in addition to the earlier foundation in Poznań.

14. See the "Lives" of St. Adalbert edited by J. Karwasińska, Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, Series

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but was martyred in 997. He was quickly canonized, and became the patron saint of the new kingdom. One purpose of Otto III's visit in 1000 was to witness the translation of Adalbert's relics into the new cathedral in Gniezno. In 1001, Benedict of Benevento and John of Venice were sent by the German emperor to continue Adalbert's mission.[15]

The monastic orders also exerted a strong influence on early Polish culture. The earliest Benedictines came from Western Europe and settled near the newly founded Polish ecclesiastical centers. Many of their earliest manuscripts were imported into Poland from such diverse places as Liège, Köln (Cologne), and Niederaltnich.[16] Until about 1150, the Benedictines were the strongest element in the Polish church.

Nova: Tomus IV, Fasc. 1 & 2 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962 & 1969).

15. See Brunon Querfurtensis, Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [seu] vita vel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum, ed. J. Karwasińska, Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowi Polski, Series Nova: Tomus IV, Fasc. 3 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1973) 39: "Ibi [Ravenna] magno studio et amore Christi uiam Benedicti et Iohannis preparans imperator [Otto III], omnibus necessariis rite ordinatis, sanctos par fratres quibus nullus similis remansit, ultra Alpes in Sclauoniam direxit." ("In Ravenna, preparing the way of Benedict and John with great zeal and the love of Christ with all the necessary things duly arranged, the emperor directed the pair of holy brethren beyond the Alps into the lands of the Slavs; no one resembling them remained behind in Italy."). Also published in Monumenta Poloniae Historica VI, 396.

16. H. Feicht, "Liturgical Music in Mediaeval Poland," Polish Musicological Studies I (1977) 61 - 66.

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The Augustinian Canons were established in Poland by a group of monks from Arrouaise (in Alsace), who arrived in Wrocław about 1134.[17] The area of their greatest influence was Silesia.

The Cistercians were prominent from about 1140 until 1250. The first members of this order reached Poland about 1140 - 1149 from Morsburg. Like the Augustinians, their greatest influence was in Silesia. They established monasteries near many urban centers, such as in Mogiła, outside of Kraków.[18]

During the thirteenth century, a period of great instability, the mendicant orders appeared in Poland. The Dominicans were established in Kraków during 1222 - 1223 and in Sandomierz and Wrocław in 1226. About 1253 - 1254, a Dominican, Vincent of Kielce, composed a rhymed historia for Saint Stanislaus, a former bishop of Kraków (martyred in 1079, canonized in 1253).[19]

The Franciscans are first recorded in Wrocław in 1235.[20] They afterwards settled in Kraków (1236), Zawichost (before 1240), Gnieźno (1259) and Stary Sacz (1270). The nuns of the Franciscan order of

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17. Concerning the introduction of the Augustinians into Poland, see J. Długosz, Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae, Liber I - IX (to date) (Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964 - 1978) Liber V, 303, n. 43. For a general history of the Augustinians in Poland see G. Uth, Szkic historyczno-biograficzny zakonu augustiańskiego w Polsce (Kraków, 1930).

18. Feicht, "Liturgical Music," 67 - 69.

19. Feicht, "Liturgical Music," 72. St. Stanislaus was and is particularly venerated in Poland because he was a Pole himself.

20. Concerning the early history of the Franciscans in Poland see K. Kantak, Franciszkanie polscy, Tomus I: 1237 - 1517 (Kraków, 1937).

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St. Clare followed soon after: Zawichost (c. 1255), Wrocław (1257), Stary Sacz (1279), and Gnieźno (1282).

Though most of the earliest ecclesiastics in Poland were foreign, by the thirteenth century many clerics and monks were native Poles. Having received their initial education in the local monastery or parish schools, many Poles continued their studies in Western Europe at the newly founded universities in France and Italy.[21] For this reason and in response to the bureaucratic and fiscal demands of the church, there was constant travel between Poland and the intellectual and cultural centers of the West.

As a result of this traffic, many elements of Western European artistic culture were introduced into Poland along with Catholicism. Many of the newest artistic styles were imported soon after their development in the West and quickly imitated and adapted by native artisans. In the period before 1300, many churches -- monastic and secular -- were built in the Romanesque style.[22] The pair of twelfth-century bronze doors from Gnieźno Cathedral, which have scenes from the life and martyrdom of Adalbert, are possibly of foreign workmanship.[23] The mendicant orders built some of the earliest Gothic-style churches in Poland. There is certainly evidence that new feasts and chant

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21. See, for example, S. Kutrzeba, "Polacy na studych w Paryżu w wiekach średnich," Biblioteka Warszawska II (1900) 514 - 541.

22. Z. Świechowski, Budownictwo romańskie w Polsce: Katalog zabytków (Wrocław, 1963).

23. Dziwi gnieźnieński, 2 vols. (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1956) contains a full study and a complete photographic reproduction of the doors. See also Davies, God's Playground, I, 78.

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repertoires were brought to Poland from the West.[24] In this regard, the Franciscan order is of particular significance since the earliest preserved polyphonic sources in Poland all stem from their monastery archives.[25]

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Polish kingdom was still fragmented into several dukedoms, and a Bohemian king was making claims on Polish territory. The only positive result of Mieszko I's conversion was the importance of the Polish church. In spite of the political chaos, the Polish church aided the attempts to reunite the kingdom under a single Polish king. In this struggle, the church's strength was vested in the traditional feudal relationship between Poland and the papacy.

Władysław IV Łokietek ("The Short," King of Poland, 1320 - 1333)

The attempts at Polish reunification during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries frequently concerned Władysław Łokietek.[26] Like many of the higher nobility, including Václav II of Bohemia, Łokietek was attempting to increase his area of influence in

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24. Feicht, "Liturgical Music," remains the best study in any Western European language.

25. Feicht, "Liturgical Music," 72 - 76. See also Chapter Three for a fuller discussion of the earliest polyphonic sources from East Central Europe.

26. The following summary of the rule of Władysław Łokietek is based on the detailed study in Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 14 - 64.

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Poland, but initially had little success. He was defeated in 1292 by Václav II, and Małopolska came under Bohemian control. Václav's influence over Silesia and Małopolska was quickly disputed. Late in 1292, Łokietek, Przemysł II, and Duke Kazimierz met at Kalisz under the auspices of Archbishop Świnka. Though the meeting was allegedly called to discuss the archbishop's finances, the political agreements made in Kalisz amounted to an "anti-Czech coalition." Przemysł II inherited Pomorsze in 1294, and was in a sufficiently strong position to be crowned king of Poland on June 26, 1295 by Archbishop Świnka and approved by the papacy. Though his reign was brief (he was assassinated on February 8, 1296), the monarchy was at least re-established for a time.

Łokietek's chances to succeed were initially supported by the nobles of Wielkopolska in opposition to Duke Henryk of Głogów, the heir intended by Przemysł II. Łokietek also obtained Pomorsze after a short struggle, but opposition from Henryk and Václav II, and his own administrative and financial difficulties reduced his possibilities. In August 1299, Łokietek was finally forced by the nobles of Wielkopolska and by Václav II to accept Bohemian control of Pomorsze and Wielkopolska and go into exile.

Václav II quickly followed his advantage with a request to be recognized as king of Poland. Though his attempts to receive the permission of Pope Boniface VIII were fruitless, the Bohemian king obtained support from Emperor Albert I Habsburg. Václav II then married Przemysł II's daughter, Ryska, in order to be further identified

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with the Polish royal line. On these bases, Archbishop Świnka was induced to crown him king, though mostly foreign clergy attended the ceremony. For Łokietek, personal negotiations at the papal court proved more rewarding; Pope Boniface VIII condemned Václav's coronation, and ordered Václav not to use the royal title.

In 1304, with military support gained in Hungary, Łokietek returned to Poland. After subduing Pelczyk, Wislica and Lelow in southern Poland, he seized Sandomierz (1305) and then Kraków (1306) and with it gained control of Małopolska. Opposition from Bohemia disappeared after Václav II died in June 1305, and his successor, Václav III, only ruled a year before his murder in Olomouc on August 4, 1306.

Łokietek did not immediately seek the Polish crown; he decided to consolidate his control gradually. Within Poland, Łokietek lacked support from the nobles of Wielkopolska; Silesia was virtually lost to Bohemia; and the Teutonic Order, Bohemia, and Brandenburg were still significant threats along Poland's northern and western borders. Brandenburg troops entered western Pomorsze in August 1308, taking many cities before laying siege to Gdańsk. Łokietek was forced to ask the Teutonic Knights to help defend the city, and the Brandenburg forces retreated. The Knights soon expelled the native Polish garrison and took full control of Gdańsk. They quickly conquered the rest of Pomorsze in 1311. After they had gained de facto control, the Knights concluded an agreement with Brandenburg to purchase that state's claims to Pomorsze. Poland had lost its outlet to the Baltic Sea.

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Important support for Łokietek came from the Polish church. Archbishop Jan Janisław, the successor to Archbishop Świnka, also supported Łokietek's efforts to reunite the kingdom.[27] An embassy was sent to request the pope's approval for Łokietek's coronation. In spite of the documents of support from the Polish clergy and nobility, approval was delayed, because of opposition from the representatives at the papal court of John of Luxemburg, the new king of Bohemia (who still had pretensions to the Polish throne), and the Teutonic Knights. John XXII was involved in delicate negotiations with the German Empire, but when the Polish delegation returned home, it carried two "secret" letters from the pope: one admonished Łokietek to observe his duties as a good Christian king and the other approved of his coronation. Władysław Łokietek was crowned in Kraków as King of Poland on January 20, 1320.

From his coronation until his death in March 1333, Łokietek worked to solidify his kingdom through diplomatic and military means. He was often unsuccessful in military endeavors, but did gain one important moral victory: he had requested the pope to establish a commission to investigate the Teutonic Knights' activities and their annexation of Pomorsze, and in 1320 the commission met at Inowrocław. Though given many opportunities to attend, the Teutonic Knights sent no major representative. The final decision of the judges in 1327 was that the territory had been wrongly taken, and should be returned with an indemnity. Unfortunately for Poland, there was no power behind this deci-

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27. Archbishop Świnka's designated successor, Canon Borzysław, died in mid 1317 at Avignon, following his confirmation by Pope John XXII.

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sion. The kingdom did not yet have the military might, and the papacy was unwilling to enforce the controversial decision of the commission it had founded. Though Pomorsze was not returned, Łokietek's efforts in conjunction with the Polish church had strenghtened the reunified Polish kingdom, and provided the basis for its future development.

Kazimierz III Wielki ("The Great," King of Poland 1333 - 1370)

Kazimierz Wielki ("the Great"), Łokietek's son and successor, consolidated his father's reunification of the kingdom and brought Poland fully into European affairs.[28] Throughout his youth, Kazimierz was involved in the concerns of the kingdom and often accompanied his father on campaigns. In 1325, when he was fifteen years old, Kazimierz married Anna (Aldona), daughter of Prince Gedymin of Lithuania, as part of a treaty negotiated by Łokietek. The young prince was even sent in 1329 as an emissary to the court of Charles Robert at Visegrád to request aid from the kingdom of Hungary.[29]

Kazimierz's coronation on April 25, 1333 was a most auspicious event. In attendance were: Bishop Jan Groot of Kraków; Archbishop Janisław of Gnieźno; the papal nuncio, Peter of Alvernia; a personal

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28. The synopsis of Kazimierz's biography is based on Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 47 - 236.

29. The Hungarian royal castle at Visegrád, which does not appear on most modern maps, was on the southern bank of the Danube between Esztergom and Vác. See the maps in the Történelmi Atlasz, 12 - 13: "Magyarország a XV. században" [Hungary in the 15th century], and Atlas Historyczny Polski, 4: "Państwo Polski za pierwszych Piastów" [The Polish Kingdom in the reigns of the first Piasts].

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representative of Charles Robert; the grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Luther of Braunschweig; and the knights and nobles of Poland.[30] Part of Kazimierz's inheritance from Łokietek were conflicts with the Polish kingdom's immediate neighbors: Bohemia, Lithuania, Brandenburg, and especially the Teutonic Knights. In the course of his reign, Kazimierz was able to address each of these conflicts in turn and ultimately bring an external and internal stability to Poland.

In July 1333, Kazimierz reversed his father's position by concluding a friendship treaty with the Wittelsbachs of Brandenburg. The Wittelsbachs were involved in a conflict with the kingdom of Bohemia, and this alliance would put pressure on Bohemia along two borders. It seems likely that the Polish king purposely forced this issue in order to solve another problem: Bohemian claims to the Polish crown, through Václav II and III. Bohemia also wanted to eliminate Polish claims to the dukedoms of Silesia, which had in fact, if not in law, been under Bohemian political control since the last years of Łokietek's reign.

In the fall of 1335, John of Bohemia, with his son Charles, margrave of Moravia, met with Kazimierz at the court of Charles Robert in Visegrád to conclude a treaty. Bohemia renounced its claims to the Polish crown, and Kazimierz renounced his claims to Silesia. John of Bohemia and Charles Robert also acted as arbiters in Poland's border conflict with the Teutonic Knights, with the result that Poland was to

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30. Annales Cracovienses, 142 - 143. On the importance of papal legates and nuncios in Polish history see J. Ptaśnik, "Kollektorzy kamery apostolskiej w Polsce Piastowskiej," Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetności, Kraków, Wydział historyczno-filozoficzny, Serya II: Tom XXV [Ogólnego zbioru tom 50] (1907) 1 - 80.

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lose all of Pomorsze, but two smaller areas in Mazowsze were to be returned.

Some of the Polish nobility opposed the Visegrád treaty. More troublesome were the objections of Bishop Jan Groot of Kraków and the influential papal nuncio, Galhard de Carceribus. In a strongly worded letter to Pope Benedict XII dated July 10, 1337, Galhard supported Polish claims to Silesia and Pomorsze, since, if these lands and their churches were to come officially under the ecclesiastical control of Bohemia and the Knights respectively, the Peter's Pence could not be collected.[31]

A second papal commission, established in response to Galhard's letter, sat in the small city of Warszawa (Warsaw) with Galhard and Peter Gervais, papal nuncio in Hungary, as judges. Since the Teutonic Knights did not participate, the verdict was perhaps a foregone conclusion, especially in light of Galhard's biases. On September 15, 1338, the Knights were declared guilty of all charges, Pomorsze was to be returned to Polish jurisdiction, an indemnity was to be paid, and all costs of the trial were to be borne by the Order. But again, the papacy did not enforce the decision of its own commission.

Since the papal commission had proved ineffectual, direct negotiations with the Knights led to an agreement reached in July 1343 at the city of Kalisz. Based primarily on the earlier agreements made in

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31. See also the letter of the "Duke of Silesia" published in Lunt, Papal Revenues II, 71, in which the Duke writes that he is resuming payment of the Peter's Pence in order to obtain papal protection against incursions by "any emperor or king of the Romans."

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Visegrád, which had acknowledged the status quo, it at least established peace on the northern borders of the Polish kingdom.

It has been suggested by the fifteenth-century historian Długosz that Kazimierz needed this peace, because his attention was turning towards his southeastern neighbors.[32] The ancient principalities of Galicia (which included the regions of Przemyśl, Lvov, and Halicz) and Lodomeria (or Vladimir, which included the regions of Chełm, Bełz, Włodzimierz and Łuck) were sometimes called together -- albeit imprecisely -- Ruthenia. The events of 1340 - 1341 literally marked a turning point for Polish history, for Kazimierz began to expand the frontiers of the Polish kingdom to the southeast.

Though his initial incursion into Ruthenia during 1340 did not produce complete subjugation, Kazimierz established a Polish presence. After the treaty of Kalisz in 1343 freed him from involvement in the north, he petitioned the papacy for material aid, and in a bull of Clement VI, dated December 1, 1343, Kazimierz received one-tenth of the ecclesiastical income of Gniezno in order to work against the Lithuanians, Mongols, and Ruthenians.[33]

Even with this financial support, Kazimierz was not able to protect his holdings in Ruthenia from Lithuanian incursion in the fol-

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32. Długosz, Annales, 227. Translated in Knoll, The Rise of the Polish Monarchy, 120.

33. Excepted from this income were the monies derived from Wrocław, which had been granted for a time to John of Bohemia. This is an indication that the papacy, though loath to lose the income of Silesia (which would happen if the see was transferred to the control of the Bohemian church), would still use those monies to placate the actual temporal power in the region.

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lowing years. In 1349, Kazimierz again invaded Ruthenia, this time in a period of weakness in both the Mongol and Lithuanian realms. The campaign began early in September 1349, and by December 5, in a document dated in Sandomierz, Kazimierz titled himself, "By the grace of God, King of Poland and Lord of the Land of Ruthenia."

From 1343, when the treaty of Kalisz secured Poland's northern borders, until 1348, Kazimierz attempted to regain control of at least part of Silesia. In the end, no substantial territory was gained for the Polish kingdom, although the territory of Płock was annexed. Silesia stayed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Gniezno and remained part of the kingdom of Bohemia until the eighteenth century. The treaty that was signed on November 22, 1348 in Namysłów re-established, in essence, the situation as it was in 1335 after the agreements at Visegrád. This peace marked the beginning of friendly relations among Bohemia, Poland, and the German empire, which were to last until the death of Charles IV in 1378.[34]

In the years that followed the Namysłów agreements, Kazimierz's and Poland's position in Central Europe was secured. In 1349 a treaty was signed with the Order which clarified the borders between the two realms and in 1355 the province of Mazowsze became a vassal state of the Polish kingdom.

Two events of September 1364 were of great significance for the Polish kingdom. One, the "Congress of Kraków," brought together Louis

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34. Charles was elected Emperor of the Romans in 1347. For a recent biography of Charles, see J. Spěváček, Karl IV: Sein Leben and seine staatsmännische Leistung (Praha: Academia, 1978).

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of Hungary, the Emperor Charles, Kazimierz and King Peter Lusignan of Cyprus. Peter had been traveling throughout Europe in the hope of starting a crusade to save his kingdom from Turkish attack. Charles had suggested that Kazimierz should be consulted since Ruthenia was open to Ottoman incursions, and Hungary was also vulnerable. Though the congress did not produce any support for Peter, it was an important event nonetheless for the prestige it added to Kazimierz's court in Kraków, and Guillaume de Machaut, probably working from secondary accounts, memorialized the meeting in verse.[35]

The second event was the papal bull of September 1, 1364, in which Urban V granted permission for establishment of a university in Kraków. In 1348 Charles IV had instituted a university in Praha, the first in Central Europe.[36] Kazimierz probably wanted to imitate the emperor and to show his own dedication to learning. The fact that the University of Kraków was to be modeled on the pattern of Bologna may reflect Kazimierz's need for lawyers, canon and civil, in his territorial disputes and negotiations.[37] Many Poles attended the new univer-

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35. S. Zajączkowski, "Wilhelm de Machaut i jego wiadomości do dziejów Polski i Litwy w XIVw.," Kwartalnik Historyczny XLIII (1929) 217 - 228. The passages from Guillaume de Machaut's La Prise d'Alexandrie -- ou Chronique de Roi Pierre I de Lusignan which refer to the congress have been translated in Davies, God's Playground I, 99 - 101.

36. See V. Chaloupecký, L'université Charles a Prague de 1348 à 1409 (Praha, 1948), and M. Kubová, "University založené Karlem IV," Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis XI, fasc. 1 - 2 (1971), 7 - 31.

37. See Chapter Two for a fuller discussion of the University of Kraków and the place of music in its curriculum.

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sity and then proceeded to further studies in Praha, Bologna, Padua, and Paris.

The reign of Kazimierz Wielki was a period of great prosperity for the kingdom.[38] Both on the north-south route, from the Hanseatic city of Gdańsk through Kraków into Hungary, and the west-east route, from Leipzig, Dresden, and Praha through Wrocław and Kraków into the eastern borderlands of Poland around Lvov, trade was increasing and very profitable. Polish merchants frequently traveled to the markets in Bruges, at times conveying the Peter's Pence to the Italian banking houses in that city.[39] The Hansa, primarily associated with the port cities on the Baltic, even established offices in Kraków.

The increased wealth also stimulated building. In Kraków, the construction of St. Mary's Church, the Church of St. Katherine (in the newly established town on the Kraków suburbs, Kazimierz), and new additions to the cathedral on Wawel Hill brought in artisans from outside the kingdom; these buildings are monuments of the Gothic style. The

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38. S. Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa w wiekach średnich," Rocznik Krakowski III (1900) 27 - 152; S. Kutrzeba, "Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich na tle stosunków handlowych Polski," Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Wydział historyczno-filozoficzny, Serya II: Tom XIX [Ogólnego zbioru tom 44] (1903) 1 - 196; S. Kutrzeba and J. Ptaśnik, Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego, Rocznik Krakowski XIV (1911).

39. Concerning the commercial contacts between Poland and Flanders, see M. Malowist, "Le développement des rapports économiques entre la Flandre et la Pologne et les pays limitrophes du XII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècles," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire (1931) 1013 - 1065. The transferrence of papal revenues from Poland (until 1378) is examined in Y. Renouard, Les relations des Papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1941) 140 - 146, 208 - 213, 310 - 312, 445 (tab.), and 470 - 473.

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influence of the Gothic is also found in many other ecclesiastical structures throughout the realm, even in the smallest parish churches.

Two signal achievements of Kazimierz's reign were a legacy to the kingdom for its future security and social prosperity. Throughout his reign, he constructed a network of fortifications around the borders of Poland. The importance of these castles to the safety of the kingdom was clear in the second half of the fifteenth century to the historian Jan Dlugosz when he wrote of Kazimierz.[40] The second achievement was Kazimierz's codification in 1347 of Polish law so that there would be one legal system for the entire kingdom.

The death of Kazimierz Wielki on November 5, 1370 marked the end of the native Piast dynasty, which had started with Mieszko I in the tenth century. Kazimierz had done much to solidify the kingdom of Poland during the thirty-seven years of his reign. Though Poland was still surrounded, Kazimierz had established its power and importance in Central Europe.

Louis of Anjou / Hungary (King of Poland 1370 - 1382)

For twelve years following the death of Kazimierz, there was no domestic or foreign policy specifically for the kingdom of Poland since Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary, did not reside in his new, second kingdom.[41] Louis' coronation was held on November 17, 1370, in the

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40. Dlugosz, Annales, Liber IX, 62 - 63.

41. This section is primarily based on P. Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 1 - 22.

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Kraków Cathedral. His support in Poland was based mostly on the good will of the nobility from Małopolska. Kazimierz had died without a male heir and Louis's succession to the Polish throne was the result of agreements made in 1339, 1351, and 1355. At that time, in order to win the assent of the Polish nobility, Louis had made many concessions, mostly in the form of tax relief.

Since Louis was rarely in Poland, his mother Elizabeth, a daughter of Łokietek, acted as regent. She received support from Zawisza, the bishop of Kraków and the nobility of Małopolska, but there were signs of anti-Hungarian sentiment. A riot on December 7, 1376, led to the death of many Hungarians in the Polish royal city. As a result of this incident, Elizabeth left Poland and control was then vested in those Polish nobles who supported Louis.

Though the tensions remained, Louis was forced to reach an accord with the Polish nobility, since it was apparent that he also would not have a male heir. On September 17, 1374, he signed an agreement, now referred to as the Kosice (Koszyce) Pact, that allowed the succession of one of his daughters. Again, concessions were made to the nobility, land taxes were reduced, and there was probably at least a tacit understanding that the Polish nobility would be consulted about their ruler's future husband. By 1382, it was apparent that Louis's successor would be his elder daughter Maria, who was betrothed to Sigismund of Luxemburg, the son of Charles IV. On July 25th of that year, the Polish starostas (sheriffs) came to the town of Zwoliń to pay homage to the man who would become king. Louis's younger daughter Jadwiga was

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promised to Wilhelm Habsburg, though both were still children.

Many of Kazimierz's policies to strengthen the Polish state were altered by Louis. Mazowsze loosened its feudal ties with the kingdom, and concluded its own agreement with the Teutonic Knights. The alliance with Lithuania was also abandoned; an invasion of Poland by Keijstut during the fall of 1376 was repulsed, but only after the Lithuanians had reached as far as Tarnów, to the east of Kraków.

On September 10, 1382, Louis of Anjou died. His twelve-year reign had done little for the kingdom, and perhaps only good fortune had prevented major incursions into Poland by the Teutonic Knights, Bohemia, Lithuania, or Brandenburg. In the end, the provisions of the Kosice Pact were also unfulfilled: the Hungarian nobility recognized Princess Maria and her husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg, as rulers, and, since Maria could not also rule Poland, the "kingship" passed to her younger sister, Jadwiga.

Interregnum (1382 - 1384) and Jadwiga, "King" of Poland (1384 - 1386)

As a result of agreements made in February 1383 between the Polish nobility and representatives of Louis's widow, Elizabeth of Bosnia, it was agreed that the Poles would be released from their oath of loyalty to Maria, and the nine-year-old Jadwiga was selected to succeed to the Polish throne.[42] It was agreed that Jadwiga would remain in Hungary for three years to complete her education. Disagree-

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42. This section is primarily based on Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 41 - 51.

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ment arose, however, among the Polish gentry concerning Jadwiga's future husband, and many supported Ziemowit IV of Mazowsze as a rival to Wilhelm Habsburg, to whom she was betrothed.

Jadwiga arrived in Poland some time before October 11, 1384, and on the 15th she was crowned "king" of Poland.[43] The search for a husband continued, with interest being shown from a new direction, Lithuania.

Emerging from a long period of dynastic division, Lithuania at the close of the fourteenth century was being subjected to increasing pressures from Moscow on the east and the Teutonic Knights in the west. (In part, this was due to the fact that the Lithuanians had yet to be converted to either Roman Catholicism or Orthodoxy.) However, the three most important members of the ruling family -- Jagiełło, Skirgiełło and Witold -- were still involved in internecine fighting and could not present a united attack against either of these threats. Within the space of six months -- July 1383 to January 1384 -- the Teutonic Knights declared war against Jagiełło, and Witold formed an alliance with the Knights against his own brother.

Jagiełło (Jogailo in Lithuanian), perhaps the strongest of the ruling family, was searching for a way to relieve the pressures on Lithuania and at one point was conducting simultaneous marriage negotiations in both Moscow and Kraków. His later actions indicate that he had decided to form an alliance with Poland. On April 15, 1383, he and his brother Skirgiełło granted trade concessions to the merchants of

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43. Annales Cracovienses, 178: "Heduigis filia regis Lodouici Vngarie et Polonie ... est in regem Polonie coronata ...."

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Lublin. In October 1384 a secret Polish mission visited Vilnius (Wilno in Polish; Vilna in Russian), the principal city of Lithuania.[44] And in December 1384, even Ziemowit IV, still a pretender to the throne, paid homage to Jagiełło in Vilnius. On January 18, 1385, an official Lithuanian mission came to Kraków to ask for Jadwiga's hand in marriage.

Wilhelm Habsburg did attempt to assert his marriage claim based on the earlier agreements between Louis and his father. With the support of a Silesian noble, Władysław of Opole, Wilhelm entered Wawel castle and, according to some reports, married Jadwiga. The nobility of Małopolska, led by Dobiesław of Kurozwek, reacted rapidly and forced Wilhelm to escape; though he remained in Poland for a short period, he was not able to resist the forces supporting a union between Lithuania and Poland.

Władysław II Jagiełło (King of Poland 1386 - 1434)

The strength and influence of the medieval Polish kingdom reached its apogee under Władysław Jagiełło. On January 11, 1386, Jagiełło was elected king and promised the hand of Jadwiga by an assembly of the Polish nobility in Wolkowysk.[45] On February 12, accompanied by his

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44. On October 12, 1384 in Kraków, three days before Jadwiga was crowned, a condemned man was pardoned through the intercession of "the Grand Duke," the title normally given the ruler of Lithuania. This probably refers to Jagiełło, and indicates his strong position in Poland at time of his future wife's coronation.

45. This section is based principally on Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 51 - 138.

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brothers and other Lithuanian nobility, Jagiełło entered Kraków in a royal procession. On the fifteenth he was baptized, taking the Christian name of Władysław from his godfather, Władysław of Opole, one of his former adversaries. And on the seventeenth he was married to Jadwiga. Jagiełło's coronation on March 4, 1386 was the climax to a month of festivities.

By his conversion, Jagiełło had neutralized one of Lithuania's most powerful enemies, the Teutonic Knights. The major reason for the Knights' presence in the east had been to effect the conversion of the still-pagan Lithuanians. But after the Lithuanian nobility were baptized, and the new Polish king promised the peaceful conversion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Knights' raison d'être ceased to exist. Because it continued hostilities against a now-Christian nation, the international prestige of the Knights rapidly declined.

The rivalry between Jagiełło and his brother Witold was terminated by a secret agreement signed in Ostrów on August 4, 1392. Witold was named viceroy of Lithuania and Skirgiełło was given control of Kiev in Ruthenia. Lithuania had become a separate political entity, attached to Poland, but with its own ruler. Witold used his power to further unify the duchy.[46]

On July 17, 1399, Queen Jadwiga died and Jagiełło's official claim to the crown disappeared. However, most of the Polish nobility supported him, and his marriage on July 16, 1401 to Anna, the niece of

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46. For a brief study of music at Witold's court see W. Salmen, "Zur Musikgeschichte am litauischen Hofe unter Grossfürst Witold (1350 - 1430)," Musik des Ostens I (1962) 80 - 82.

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Count Herman Cilly in Styria, herself of Polish royal descent, gave added support to the king's authority.

One of Jagiełło's first acts in the new century is reported to have been, at least in part, based on a grant in Jadwiga's will. At some time between July 22 and 26, 1400, Jagiełło re-established the University of Kraków. While the earlier foundation of Kazimierz had concentrated on law, the courses now included the seven liberal arts and theology.[47]

Also early in the new century, the secret agreements which had been made in Ostrów were publicly approved by the Polish and Lithuanian nobility. Witold was granted the right to rule Lithuania for his lifetime, and even though he was to act as a separate ruler, the union between the two nations had in some respects been strengthened; Witold and Jagiełło were now able to act in concert, especially regarding relations with the Teutonic Knights, their common adversary.

Conflict with the Knights reached a climax in the years from 1409 to 1411.[48] In May 1409, there was an uprising against the Order in the Baltic province of Samogitia, instigated and aided by Witold. Following the uprising, in July 1409, a Polish mission led by Nicholas Kurowski, the archbishop of Gnieźno, was sent to Małbork (Marienburg) to deliver an ultimatum: if the Knights attacked Lithuania, Jagiełło with the Polish armies would counterattack. The Knights answered with

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47. See Chapter Two, 69 - 74.

48. For a detailed history of this confrontation between Poland-Lithuania and the Order see S.M. Kuczyński, Wielka Wojna z zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409 - 1411, 2nd edition (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1960).

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a declaration of war on August 6, 1409, and ten days later invaded Poland. A number of Polish castles fell to them, and only after Jagiełło retook the city of Bydgoszcz in early October was a winter truce concluded.

Jagiełło used the respite from hostilities to wage a propaganda war; he dispatched letters to all the monarchs of Europe, defending Poland's position and complaints against the Knights. His representations must have had some effect, for it seems that less help was offered to the Knights than before.

Early in July 1410, the combined Polish and Lithuanian armies, with the addition of some Tatar and Bohemian contingents, crossed the Wisła. On July 15 the opposing forces met in the fields near the village of Grunwald (Tannenburg). The forces of the Teutonic Knights were devastated and Ulrich von Jungingen, the Grand Master of the Order, was killed. For the first time in their history in the north, the Knights had suffered a crushing defeat. Echoes of the Polish victory are found even in contemporary English chronicles.[49]

The exact reasons for Jagiełło's and Witold's reluctance to use their advantage following the battle have been the subject of debate from the fifteenth century to the present. The modern historian Pawel Jasienica is probably correct in his theory that if the Teutonic Knights had been destroyed, Poland alone would have reaped the advantage. Jagiełło was king of Poland, but also a Lithuanian. Perhaps the

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49. H. Zins, "Stosunki polityczne między Anglią i Polską w pierwszej połowie XVw.," Polska w Europie: Studia historyczne (Lublin: Lubelski Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Historyczne, 1968) 137 - 143.

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peace treaty which was signed with the Knights on February 1, 1411, was meant to preserve the balance of power. Nevertheless, there was little that could be done to restore the earlier power and prestige of the Teutonic Knights.

Though the fighting ended with the peace treaty of 1411, Poland's conflict with the Knights continued at the Council of Constance, held from November 5, 1414 to April 22, 1418. Its main purpose was to end the schism within the church, but the council also served as a forum for the Polish and Lithuanian delegates, led by the new archbishop of Gnieźno, Nicholaus Traba, and the rector of the University of Kraków, Paulus Wladimiri (1370–1435), to debate with the delegation of the Teutonic Knights.[50] Paulus Wladimiri prepared an extensive treatise for the council, in which he argued that forceable conversion was invalid.[51]

One act of the council was to have repercussions throughout all of Central and East Central Europe until the seventeenth century: on July 6, 1415, even though protected by a grant of immunity from the German Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg, Jan Hus was burned at the stake for heresy.[52] This event sparked a full political and ecclesiastical

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50. H. Finke, "Polen und das Konstanzer Konzil," Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès, Varsovie 1933, VII-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques (Warszawa: Comité Organisateur du Congrès, 1933) I, 250 - 252.

51. The works of Paulus Wladimiri have been edited by S. Belch, Paulus Vladimiri and His Doctrine Concerning International Law and Politics, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1965).

52. See M. Spinka, John Hus at the Council of Constance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

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revolt in Bohemia that was not fully suppressed until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.[53] In 1418, unrest spread throughout Silesia among the poorer Slavic and Germanic peasants and lower nobility, and finally led to an open riot at the city hall in Wrocław. Repercussions of the Hussite uprising were even felt as far north as Gdańsk.

In 1420, a moderate Hussite faction offered the crown of Bohemia to Jagiełło. Jagiełło eventually refused; even though the Bohemian kingdom was a great prize, it was in enormous turmoil and under interdict, and the Polish king could not afford to jeopardize his relations with the pope and the papal curia.

Three years later, in 1423, the Emperor Sigismund attempted to draw Jagiełło into an anti-Hussite alliance and offered his sister-in-law Zophia (Ofka), the widow of the Bohemian king, Václav IV.[54]

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53. The best works in English on this epoch in Bohemian history are H. Kaminsky, A History of the Hussite Revolution (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), and F.G. Heymann, John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955; reprinted New York: Russell & Russell, 1969).

54. The years around 1420 were marked by marital and dynastic problems for Jagiełło. His marriage to Jadwiga had been childless, and only a daughter, Jadwiga, was born by his second wife, Anna of Cilly. This young princess had been granted the right to succeed her father at Horodło in 1413, and was betrothed to a still younger Frederick von Hohenzollern, son of Frederick, the margrave of Brandenburg. The younger Frederick, in position to be the next Polish king, was brought to Kraków so that he might grow up in view of the Polish nobility. The king's third wife, Elizabeth Granowska, died in 1420. Elizabeth was not well liked by the nobility, and after her funeral a royal secretary, Stanisław Ciołek, gave voice to these negative feelings in a satirical poem, for which he was temporarily removed from the court. See E. Maleczyńska, "Ciołek, Stanisław," Polski Słownik Biograficzny (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1938) IV, 82 - 83; and J. Caro, "Liber cancellariae Stanislai Ciołek: Ein formelbuch polnischen Königskanzlei aus der zeit der husitischen Bewegung," Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 45 (1871) 325 - 326.

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Instead, Jagiełło married the Orthodox princess of Holszan, known as Zophia after her conversion to Catholicism. At the time of their marriage, Zophia was about seventeen, Jagiełło at least seventy-one. On October 31, 1424, a son was born, and given his father's Christian name, Władysław.[55] On November 30, 1427, another son, also christened Kazimierz, was born to Zophia and Jagiełło.[56]

One of the king's last acts was to direct a campaign in 1433 against the Teutonic Knights, this time with Bohemian support. The Prussian estates and towns forced the Knights to conclude a peace treaty, but Jagiełło himself did not live to see it signed; he died on June 1, 1434.

During Jagiełło's reign, Poland's economic and cultural life flourished. Relations with Italy were quite close. Not only was there a constant flow of papal legations or Polish ecclesiastical representatives passing between the papal curia and Poland (often through the

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Concerning Ciołek and his musical activites at the Polish court, see below, Chapter Five, 266 - 268.

55. See below, Chapter Five, 295 - 296, concerning a musical composition on Prince Władysław's birth.

56. Another royal prince, also named Kazimierz, had been born on May 16, 1426, but died in March of the following year. The entry in the calender of the Kraków Cathedral seems to indicate that this child was meant to be his father's successor, since the Polish nobility had temporarily withdrawn their support from Jagiełło's first son. See the Annales Cracovienses, 147: "MCCCCXXVI. natus est Kazimirus rex iuvenis de Zophia regina consorte Wladislai regis Polonie infrascripti, baptizatusque est dominico die infra octavas Corporis Christi eodem anno." ("1426. Kazimierz, the young king, was born to Queen Zophia, the consort of King Władysław [Jagiełło] of Poland, and was baptized on the Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi in the same year.") The birth of this prince is the subject of two musical compositions; see below, Chapter Five, 262 - 263, 293, and 302 - 303.

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banking centers of northern Italy with the Peter's Pence collected in Poland), but also Italian merchants and bankers established offices in the Polish royal city.[57] They were even entrusted with a large degree of control over the lucrative salt trade from the royal mines south of Kraków.

The refounded University of Kraków attracted students not only from Poland and its immediate neighbors but from all over Europe because of its reputation as a center for studies in the Quadrivium -- arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Students at the university also became known as experts in the sister "science" to astronomy, astrology.

During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Polish students continued to travel to the university centers of Western Europe to further their education. The great centers of canon law in northern Italy, Padova (Padua), and Bologna, were especially attractive, and Francesco Zabarella, a professor of canon law in Padova, was particularly renowned. Among the Polish students who studied in his circle were some who later held positions of great influence in their homeland: Paulus Wladimiri (rector of the University of Kraków and, as mentioned above, a leader of the Polish delegation to the Council of

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57. During the great schism, Poland was loyal to the Roman pontiffs. Concerning Italian influences in Poland see J. Ptaśnik, "Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa," Rocznik Krakowski IX (1907) 1 - 148; J. Ptaśnik, Kultura włoska wieków średnich w Polsce (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy "Bibljoteka Polska," 1922); and for a general examination of Italians and Walloons in East Central Europe, see Gy. Szekély, "Wallons et Italiens en Europe central aux XI^{e} - XVI^{e} siècles," Studia Universitati Cracoviensi dedicata (Budapest: Állami Nyomda, 1964) Sectio Historica, 3 - 71.

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Constance), Andreas Lascarii (a papal collector in Poland and bishop of Poznań), and Petrus Fabiani Wolfram (a professor at the University of Kraków, apostolic collector in Poland, and member of the royal court).[58]

The oldest major examples of the Polish language were copied during Jagiełło's reign, including the monophonic song Bogurodzica, the Psalter of "Queen Jadwiga," and the Bible of "Queen Zofia." Bogurodzica seems to have been a national hymn in the late Middle Ages, since the chronicles report that it was sung by the Polish troops, en masse, before the Battle of Grunwald.[59] Latin works in prose and verse were composed by the professors, students, and clerks of the kingdom.[60]

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58. On these and other Polish students in Italy see Johannes Fijalek, Polonia apud Italos scholastica saeculum XV, Munera saecularia Universitatis Cracoviensis V, Fasciculus 1 (Cracoviae: Typis et sumptibus Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1900).

59. See "De magna strage a.1410," ed. W. Ketrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica IV, 47: "Ceterum processerunt Poloni se divine maiestati comittentes et sanctum Stanislaum invocantes, interimque inceperunt devote cantare bogwroczycza." ("The Poles advanced committing themselves to the divine majesty and invoking St. Stanislaus, and in the meantime, they began to sing devotedly Bogurodzica.") The earlier importance of this song can be verified in a document from August 23, 1386, establishing an altar in Kraków Cathedral. The donation stipulates that "scholars" from the "parochial school" were to sing this song before the new altar. See the Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, Tomus XVII: Codicis diplomatici Poloniae minoris partem quartam 1386 - 1450 (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejetności, 1905) 7 - 8. For an analysis of this song and further references see H. Feicht, "Bogurodzica," Studia nad muzyka polskiego średniowiecza (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975) 131 - 232 (English summary, 186).

60. See H. Kowalewicz, Zasób, zasieg terytorialny i chronologia polsko-łacińskiej liryki średniowiecznej, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu; Prace wydziału filologicznego: Seria filologia polska 13 (Poznań: UAM, 1967).

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Stanisław Ciołek, a member of the royal chancellery, and later Bishop of Poznań, was the author of a number of lyrics on the Polish royal family and the city of Kraków.[61] Some of these lyrics received musical settings by Nicolaus de Radom, the first known Polish composer of polyphony.[62]

Under Jagiełło, the prestige of the king and kingdom of Poland had grown immensely in Western eyes. He had received a request to act as an arbitrator in the Hundred Years' War between France and England. As the Ottoman Turks increased pressure against Byzantium, Gilbert de Lannoy was sent in 1421 as an envoy from Charles VI of France and Henry V of England to investigate Jagiełło's willingness to join a crusade.[63] By the end of Jagiełło's reign, the combined Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had become one of the strongest powers in Europe.

Poland at the Close of the Middle Ages

On July 25, 1434, Władysław III, ten years of age, was crowned king of Poland.[64] Throughout most of his ten year reign, his policies

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61. See below, Chapter Five, 266 - 267.

62. See below, Chapter Five, 266 - 267 and 285 - 294, for a full discussion of Nicolaus de Radom's life and works.

63. See O. Halecki, "La Pologne et l'empire byzantin," Byzantion 7 (1932) 56 - 57. A letter by Stanisław Ciołek acknowledging Jagiełło's receipt of gifts from Charles VI, delivered by Gilbert de Lannoy, is published in Caro, "Liber cancellariae," 412 - 414.

64. On Władysław III, see Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 139 - 159.

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were guided by an oligarchy of the nobility and higher church officials, in particular the bishop of Kraków, Zbigniew Oleśnicki.

The young king's life was shaped more by events in Hungary than in Poland. The German emperor and king of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg, died on December 9, 1437. According to the terms of a 1364 treaty, a member of the Habsburg family was to inherit the throne of Hungary if the Luxemburg dynasty were to die out. However, the designated succesor, Albrecht Habsburg, himself died on October 27, 1439. In March 1440, an embassy arrived from Buda and offered the crown to Władysław. The young Polish king accepted "solely on religious grounds and for the sake of the Catholic faith."[65] At this time the Ottoman Turks were making their first major incursions into Central Europe. Unfortunately, Władysław had to overcome his opposition in Hungary and in the course of his struggles exhausted most of the Polish royal treasury to pay mercenaries to fight against the pro-Habsburg faction. In 1442, the Hungarian nobility reached a compromise and called Władysław to Buda to be crowned. In the following year, he began a crusade against the Turks in the Balkans, then part of the Kingdom of Hungary. This was to be his last action as king for, during a battle at Varna on November 10, 1444, he was killed.[66] In Poland, no one knew if

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65. Quoted in Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 150.

66. An anonymous Turkish account of this battle and the king's death is translated in B. Lewis, Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1974) I: Politics and War, 141 - 144. Another Turkish report of the king's death by Saad-ed-din (Chodza Efendi), translated from a Polish translation, is printed in Davies, God's Playground I, 163 - 164.

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Władysław had been killed or just captured. Only after three years of waiting and political maneuvering, Jagiełło's second son Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk ("Son of Jagiełło"), accepted his own election as king of Poland and retained his hereditary rights in Lithuania.[67] During his reign, from 1447 until 1492, Poland's conflicts with the Teutonic Knights were finally resolved in the Peace of Toruń, signed on October 19, 1466. As part of the agreement, Pomorsze and certain areas of Prussia became vassals of the Polish kingdom. In the course of the following century, the descendants of Kazimierz were to rule in Praha, Buda and Beograd.

The prestige and power of the Polish kingdom were not to last; internal and external conflicts eventually led to the partitions of the late eighteenth century, and Poland ceased to exist as a sovereign state until the twentieth century. At the end of the Middle Ages, however, the Polish kingdom was still at the pinnacle of its growth from a small principality on the eastern border of Europe into a major force in Western history.

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67. On Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk see Jasienica, Jagiellonian Poland, 161 - 225. The remaining chapters in Jasienica's excellent book are a study of the Jagiellonian kings of Poland through the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER TWO

MUSIC AND THE UNIVERSITY OF KRAKÓW IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Introduction and Early History of the University of Kraków

Learning formed an important part of medieval life and affected the various levels of society in different ways. For many, formal education did not continue beyond simple explanations of prayers and church rituals in the vernacular.[1] Latin, however, was the language held in common by the increasingly complex ecclesiastical and secular courts of Europe and there was a constant need for trained individuals to fulfill the requirements of these new bureaucracies. This need was met by the creation of institutional centers for learning.

The growth of organized education started in the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals. Their primary function was to teach Latin grammar and rhetoric, but often other subjects such as literature and elementary science were taught. In these schools, some of the most

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1. See for example J.M. Ure, The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1957), which edits an old English prose and poetical explanation from the tenth century of the Benedictine daily office, attributed to Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York. Among the earliest documents of written Polish are the "Każania Swietokrzyskie," vernacular sermons from the early fourteenth century; see the selections edited in S. Vrtel-Wierczyński, Wybór tekstów staropolskich: Czasy najdawniejsze do roku 1543 (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1977) 8 - 15.

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influential people of the early Middle Ages received their education. For instance, Alcuin, who was the mentor of the liturgical and educational reforms instituted under Charlemagne, was a student in the school of York Cathedral.[2]

Many scholars were drawn to these schools, generally located in the expanding urban centers of the twelfth century. It was in Paris that Abelard was able to attract the students who provided his livelihood without his being a teacher either in the cathedral school or the school at the monastary of St. Victor.[3] The independent teachers and the masters of the organized schools provided the nucleus for the development of the University of Paris.[4] Other universities, such as those in Bologna and Oxford, developed from the rights and privileges granted to the confederations formed by students.[5] These early universities, or studia generalia, rapidly became the focus of medieval

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2. See G. Ellard, Master Alcuin, Liturgist: A Partner of Our Piety (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956) 31 - 37.

3. For a brief biographical sketch of Abelard, see the introduction by B. Radice in The Letters of Abelard and Heloise (New York: Penguin Books, 1981) 9 - 43. On the musical works of Abelard see L. Weinrich, "Peter Abaelard as Musician," The Musical Quarterly LV (1969) 295 - 312 and 464 - 486.

4. Concerning the origins of the University of Paris see H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 3 vols, new edition ed. F.M. Powicke & A.B. Emden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936) I, 271 - 298 and G. Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968) 15 - 27.

5. For the early history of Oxford University see Rashdall, Universities, III, 1 - 48 and Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, 76 - 82. For the University of Bologna see Rashdall, ibid., I, 142 - 175.

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intellectual life.[6] Through their influence, many intellectual and artistic works -- ancient, Arabic, and medieval -- were disseminated across Europe. The methods and ideas of education which originated in these universities endured until early modern times and still exert their influence today.[7]

The most important universities of the late twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries were in Italy (Bologna and Padova [Padua]), France (Paris and Montpellier), and England (Oxford and Cambridge).[8] Until the mid fourteenth century scholars from Central and East Central Europe were content to travel to these centers. This situation changed when Charles IV in his capacity as King of Bohemia and with the approval of Pope Clement VI established a university at Praha (Prague) in 1348.[9] In contrast to the earlier studia, which evolved from still earlier schools or confederations, the University of Praha -- and most universities founded after the late thirteenth cen-

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6. On the meaning and use of the terms studium generale and university see Rashdall, Universities, I, 2 - 24.

7. See L. Thorndyke, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972) xii. Thorndyke translates some documents from as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An apt contemporary example of medieval educational practice is the public dissertation defense.

8. Concerning the Universities of Padova and Montpellier, see Rashdall, Universities, II, 9 - 21 and 116 - 139 respectively. On Cambridge, see Rashdall, ibid., III, 274 - 292.

9. See Rashdall, Universities, II, 211 - 234; V. Chaloupecky, L'université Charles a Prague de 1348 à 1409 (Prague, 1948) and M. Kubová, "University založené Karlem IV," Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis XI: Fascicle 1 - 2 (1971) 7 - 30.

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tury -- were created by fiat.[10] Following 1348, further studia were founded throughout Central and East Central Europe: for example, Wien (Vienna: 1365), Heidelberg (1386), Köln (Cologne: 1388), Erfurt (1392) and Leipzig (1410).[11] Among the earliest of these new universities was that founded in 1364 by King Kazimierz of Poland at Kraków.

Perhaps as early as 1351 Kazimierz sought to establish a university in the Polish royal city. In that year a member of the royal chancellery and a future Bishop of Kraków, Florin Mokrsky was sent to Padova and probably also to Bologna and Napoli (Naples), the major university centers of Italy.[12] The first positive evidence of the king's desires is in a supplication to Pope Urban V, dated January 2, 1363.[13] There are further communications with the papal court in Avignon before both Kazimierz and the city of Kraków issued acts of foundation on May 12, 1364, which were followed in the same year by a papal bull granting approval.[14] The royal charter outlined the character of the new studium with an enumeration of the teachers. There were

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10. On the distinction between the earlier universities and the later, "founded" studia see Rashdall, Universities, I, 8 - 13.

11. See Rashdall, Universities, II, 234 - 245, 250 - 254, 254 - 257, 245 - 250 and 258 - 260 respectively, for short histories of these universities.

12. K. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1364 - 1764, Uniwersytet Jagielloński Wydawnictwa Jubileuszowe XXI, 2 vols (Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964) I, 23 - 24.

13. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 27.

14. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 28. The pertinent documents are published in University of Cracow: Documents concerning its Origins, introduction by L. Koczy (Dundee & Fife, Scotland: Stanislaus Kostka Matwin, 1966) 35 - 45, with an English translation of Kazimierz's foundation charter on pp. 81 - 85.

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to be three endowed chairs for Canon Law, five for Roman (or civil) Law, two masters to teach medicine and one master for the Liberal Arts.[15] The models for the new Polish university were Padova and Bologna, which were famous for legal studies. It seems probable that Kazimierz established the studium in order to train more clerics in law, needed because of the numerous trials and processes which involved the Polish Kingdom.

The single master for the Seven Liberal Arts was probably responsible for no more than introductory lectures. It is doubtful that he could have been an accomplished expert in all the disciplines required of him, which included the trivium -- grammar, logic, and rhetoric -- and the quadrivium -- arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.[16]

Unfortunately, after the death of Kazimierz in 1370 had removed its strongest financial support, the University of Kraków ceased to exist. There is evidence in the matriculation records of the University of Praha that three scholars had received bachelor degrees in Kraków: Thodoricus de Luca (matriculated in Praha in 1368), Nicolaus Osterhausen (1370) and Johannes de Elbingo (1373).[17] From the end of

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15. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 30.

16. On the Liberal Arts as university subjects see C.W. Previte-Orton, The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History, 2 vols (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952) I, 625 - 626. For the arts curricula at two major centers see Leff, Paris and Oxford Universities, 137 - 160. For the arts curriculum and its relation to medical studies at Bologna see Rashdell, Universities I, 233 - 250.

17. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 20. See J. Dianni, Studium Matematyki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim do połowy XIX wieku, Uniwersytet Jagielloński Wydawnictwa Jubileuszowe VII (Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1963) 9, who gives the dates 1368, 1373, and 1379, respectively, for the matriculation of

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Kazimierz's reign there are also three explicits in manuscripts copied in Kraków that demonstrate the existence of the studium in the years 1367, 1368, and 1369.[18] For the following two decades, however, there is no further information.

The first indication of interest in reviving the university came in 1390 from Bartholomeus de Jassel, magister artium, possibly a teacher at the cathedral school on Wawel and later a professor at the university.[19] Again the papacy was approached, and Pope Boniface IX granted to King Jagiełło and Queen Jadwiga the right to reestablish the university after the model of Paris. Among the reasons given, which probably affected the decision to imitate the University of Paris with its preeminent arts and theology faculties, was the need for missionaries to aid in the conversion of Lithuania. Queen Jadwiga had established a Bursa Pauperum for this purpose in 1379 at the University of Praha.[20]

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these three students at the University of Praha.

18. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 20. See also J. Zathey, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w latach 1364 - 1492," Historia Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, ed. I. Zarębski (Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1966) I: 1364 - 1775, 5 - 21 for a full description of the three manuscripts, BJ 2032, BJ 5278 and BJ 813. (BJ stands for the Oddział rękopisów [Manuscript Division] of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.)

19. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 37 - 38. See also M. Kowalczyk, "Bartlomiej z Jasła a próba odnowienia Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego," Sprawozdania z Posiedzen Komisji Oddziału PAN w Krakowie (1963) [it has not yet been possible to locate a copy of this work in the U.S.A.]. Wawel is the name given to the hill above the Wisła (Vistula) River, where the Cathedral of Kraków and the royal castle are located.

20. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 41.

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On July 22, 1400, Jagiełło formally instituted the University of Kraków and four days later Bishop Petrus Wysz of Kraków read the first lecture on the decretals, the basis of canon law.[21] There were just over two hundred students admitted in that first year under the rectorship of Stanislaus de Skalbmierza, doctor of decretals.[22] The majority of the students were of Polish background and came from cities and towns in Silesia (Śląsk in Polish), Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), Małopolska (Little Poland), Pomorsze (Pomerania), and Masowsza (Masovia). In the years that followed, the names of students from all over Europe were entered in the matriculation books.[23]

Music at the University of Kraków

Music, as taught at the medieval universities, was part of the quadrivium. Since the late Classical period, when this group of four mathematical sciences and the three parts of the trivium were enumerated in works by Martianus Capella and Isidore of Seville, they were considered part of any complete education.[24] Most often, the trivium

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21. Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu, 44. See the Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus I (ab Anno 1400 ad Annum 1489) (Cracoviae: Typis et Impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1887) 1.

22. Album Studiosorum, 13 - 15.

23. The most important reference work concerning the early students at the University of Kraków is J. Zathey and J. Reichan, Indeks studentów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w latach 1400-1500 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974).

24. N. C. Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972) 3 - 17.

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was taught in the local monastery, parish, or cathedral schools, where the students may also have learned the rudiments of practical music in order to sing chant as members of the local choir.[25] The arts of the quadrivium were most often reserved for higher studies, either in the famous cathedral schools of the twelfth century or the developing universities. Frequently, the scholars were required to attend at least introductory lectures on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, even though their intent was on advanced study in law or theology, which could lead to more lucrative careers.[26] The study of medicine was the only advanced career, outside the universities, that required expert knowledge of at least astronomy and its sister "science" astrology, since prognostications based on the movements of the stars and planets were necessary for any diagnosis.[27]

Within the universities, music had a firm place in the curricula as part of the quadrivium. It was often the subject of what were probably first lectures by newly promoted masters of arts.[28] Mostly, it was taught as a theoretical study of proportions, aided by use of the monochord. A few of the musical treatises from the fourteenth and

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25. Carpenter, Music in the...Universities, 17 - 31.

26. "The branches of the quadrivium, though containing truth, do not lead to piety," Jacques de Vitry; see C. H. Haskins, Studies in Medieval Culture (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1965) 46. On lucrative professions see Haskins, ibid., 48 - 49.

27. See L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Volumes III and IV: Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) IV, 281 - 293 on "Geoffrey of Meaux: Astrology and Medicine."

28. Carpenter, Music in the...Universities, 123.

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early fifteenth centuries that treat practical problems of musical notation and performance seem to have come from university environments, but never appeared to have been part of the accepted plans of study. Throughout most of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, musical studies at the universities were officially restricted to the study of speculative music theory.[29]

During the course of the fifteenth century, the University of Kraków gained its greatest and legendary distinction as a center of scientific study, including what might be called the occult sciences.[30] A separate chair for mathematical and astronomical studies was founded by Johannes Stobner shortly after the university's foundation in 1400. A similar chair was also founded after 1450 by Marcin Król.[31]

At the University of Kraków, as at many of the newly founded

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29. Carpenter, Music in the...Universities, although now outdated, provides a convenient overview of music as a part of university studies and life.

30. See R. Lemay, "The Late Medieval Astrological School at Cracow and the Copernican System," Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen, Studia Copernicana XVI (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1978) 337 - 354. In the version of the Faust legend used by Ferrucio Busoni and Hermann Reutter in their operas on this subject, both based on a nineteenth-century German puppet play, Faust and the three students who bring him the "Clavis Astarti de Magica" were students at the University of Kraków: Ferrucio Busoni, Doktor Faust, Edition Breitkopf Nr.5289 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, n.d.; copyright date Leipzig, 1926) and Hermann Reutter, Doktor Johannes Faust, Op.47, B.S.S. 34300 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1935).

31. On the foundations of Stobner and Król see the references in Lepszy, Dzieje Uniwersytetu; A. Birkenmajer, Études d'histoire des sciences en Pologne, Studia Copernicana IV (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1972); Lemay, "Astrological School at Cracow"; and especially G. Rosińska, Instrumenty astronomiczne na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w XV wieku, Studia Copernicana XI (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974).

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universities of the fourteenth century, the role of music is documented in statutes and records.[32] The Kraków statutes of 1406 are predated only by those of the University of Praha from about 1370 and antedate those of Leipzig from 1410 in requiring the Musica Muris, the most frequently cited medieval textbook on music.[33]

> Subscripti autem: ... musica muris ... ante magisterium audiantur.
> Per quantum tempus debent legi libri predicti:...musica per mensem.
> Quantum autem unusquisque pro laboribus magistrorum tenebitur soluere:...a musica duos grossos.
>
> (However, the books mentioned below, ... the Musica Muris ..., should be studied before the master's degree.
> For what period should the aforementioned books be read: ... the Musica for one month.
> How much should everyone pay for the labors of the masters: ... for the Musica, two "grossos.")

Students at the university also left records of lectures on music. In 1431 Nicolaus de Monsterberg:[34]

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32. This contrasts with the paucity of sources for the University of Paris. See Carpenter, Music in the...Universities, 47 - 48. Carpenter, 111 - 113, provides a summary of the place of music at the University of Kraków, based mostly on G. Pietzsch, Zur Pflege der Musik an den deutschen Universitäten bis zur mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971) 37 - 64.

33. Statuta necnon Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in universitatis studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849, ed. J. Muczkowski (Cracoviae: Typis Universitatis, 1849) xii - xv; also quoted in Carpenter, Music in the...Universities, 111. A longer selection from the Statuta appears in Appendix I, giving the works required for the bachelor's and master's degrees and the require periods for their study. See also Pietzsch, Zur Pflege, 37. For an examination of the Musica Muris, see below.

34. Statuta necnon Liber promotionum, cxliii, "Scheda pro magisterii gradu," 1431. See also Carpenter, 1121 - 113 and Pietzsch, Zur

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> ... a Mgro Clemente de Brega audiuit Arithmeticam communem in lectorio Theologorum. Item ab eodem musicam muris in eodem lectorio per eadem commutacionem, qui incepit ante caniculares et finiuit secundum statuta.
>
> (... heard from Magister Clemens [Heyseler] de Brega the Arithmetica Communis in the lecture room of the theologians. [Nicolaus also heard] the Musica Muris in the same lecture hall in the same semester from Magister Clemens, who began before caniculares [the period between July 13 and September 13] and ended according to the statutes.)

The Musica Muris

The title, Musica Muris, was the most common appellation for the Musica speculativa, a compendium based on Boethius's De musica prepared by the fourteenth-century theorist Johannes de Muris in 1323 and revised in 1325.[35] At present, over fifty manuscripts are known, contained in collections spread over all of Western, Central and East Central Europe, and at least three early prints of this work were published in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[36] This

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Pflege, 55 and 62.

35. U. Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VIII (Wiesbaden, 1970) 17 - 24, provides a summary of this treatise. The following study of the "Kraków" manuscripts of the Musica Muris is based on C. Brewer, "Musica Muris w krakowskich Rękopisach z XIV i XV wieku," Muzyka XXV/3 (1980) 23 - 35. Since this section is not a study of the Musica Muris itself, but rather a study of the textual variants among a selected group of related sources, many of the quotations given would require a larger context in order to be understood in translation. Where the content of a passage is in question, however, an English translation has been provided.

36. Michels, Die Musiktraktate, 1191 - 135 provides a source list for the musical treatises of Johannes de Muris, and the manuscripts which contain the Musica Muris are listed on p. 18, fn. 13. Corrections to this list will be mentioned below in note 46.

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work was of the greatest importance for teaching speculative music theory and is mentioned in the statutes of many Central and East Central European universities.[37] This does not mean that it had not been a required text earlier, perhaps at the University of Paris, but it does show its importance for the newly founded universities. The Musica Muris is found in six manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries related to the teaching of the quadrivium at the University of Kraków. In each of these sources, it is copied after Johannes de Muris' Arismetrica communis along with other treatises on the disciplines of the quadrivium, especially astronomy.[38]

Johannes de Muris was one of the most influential scholars of the fourteenth century, not only in the area of musical theory, but also in the other mathematical sciences.[39] To judge from the number of extant

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37. There are numerous references to Johannes de Muris in Carpenter, Music in the...Universities (see index), and Pietzsch, Zur Pflege, 18, 26, 37 - 38, 68, 113, 121. The references in some statutes to just "Musica" may also refer to the Musica Muris.

38. See Table 3. BJ 3295 from 1563, because of its late date, will not be considered in this study. In general, its version of the Musica Muris is related to that of the four earliest manuscripts in the BJ. A detailed study of the incomplete commentary on the Musica Muris in BJ 1927, ff.239r - 241r, is also omitted, but will be the subject of a future study along with the other commentaries on this treatise in Wien (Vienna), Österr. Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4784, and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. ms. 1470. Neither Pietzsch nor Carpenter, which is based mostly on Pietzsch's work, examined these manuscripts in person or on microfilm. Carpenter incorrectly expanded Pietzsch's abbreviated title for W. Wisłocki, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis, 2 vols. (Cracoviae, 1877 - 1881). For Pietzsch's "Codd.", Carpenter has "Codicorum."

39. A short biographical study is included in Michels, Die Musiktraktate, 1 - 15.

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manuscripts of his Libellus cantus mensurabilis (written c. 1340, 47 manuscripts), this work on the notational theory of the ars nova exerted a tremendous influence over all of Europe.[40] In addition to his works on the theory of music, Muris also prepared treatises in all three remaining disciplines of the quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. His Arismetrica communis (c. 1324, a compendium of Boethius' De arithmetica) was as popular as the Musica Muris in the medieval universities.[41] Besides his astronomical works on calendar reform and his commentary to the Alphonsine Tables, Johannes also made many direct astronomical observations.[42]

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40. Michels' table of the works of Muris, p. 15, gives the number as 48, but his list on p. 27, fn. 40, mentions only 47. The treatise is published in E. de Coussemaker, Scriptorium de musica medii aevi nova series, 4 vols. (Paris, 1864 - 1876; later reprints Graz, 1908; Mailand, 1931; Hildesheim, 1963) III, 46 - 58. The large number of manuscripts for the Libellus may be compared with the six extant manuscripts or compendia of Philippe de Vitry's Ars nova; see G. Reaney, A. Gilles & J. Maillard, Philippi de Vitriaco Ars Nova, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 8 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964).

41. See, for example, the report of Nicolaus de Monsterberg quoted above. To Michels' list of manuscripts containing the Arismetrica communis (p. 9, note 27), at least the following sources must be added: BJ 1970, ff.54r - 62v; BJ 1927, ff.100r - 112r; BJ 1865, ff.1r - 18r; and CS-Pu 2815, ff.46r - 53r.

42. See G. Beaujouan, "Observations et calculs astronomiques de Jean de Muris (1321 - 1344)," Proceedings No.2 Plenary Lectures: Antiquity, Middle Ages and Renaissance; Mathematics, Physics and Astronomy, Chemistry; XIVth International Congress of the History of Science, Tokyo & Kyoto Japan 19 - 27 August, 1974 (Tokyo, 1975) 27 - 30, and Thorndike, A History of...Science, III, 294 - 324.

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TABLE 3

14TH AND 15TH CENTURY KRAKÓW MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MUSICA MURIS

BJ 1970: Most probably copied in Erfurt during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Many of the astronomical treatises contain information relating to Oxford, and it is likely that they were revised in Erfurt from English originals. That this manuscript was used in Kraków during the early fifteenth century is shown by a manuscript note on the inside back cover.

Arismetrica communis: ff.54r - 62v.
Musica Muris: ff.104r - 115v.

BJ 546: Copied in Kraków, the main corpus by Nicholaus de Osskowicze (de Osthowycze), during the first third of the 15th century, with later additions from mid-century.

Arismetrica communis: ff.91r - 99r.
Musica Muris: ff.99r - 108v, "A.D.1427."

BJ 1927: Copied in Kraków, 1444/1445, by Johannes Mathie de Ilkusz "in bursa pauperum."

Arismetrica communis: ff.100r - 112r, "1445."
Musica Muris: ff.113r - 132v, "in die s. Marci 1445."
Pro recomendacione artis musice...: ff.213r - 238v.
Commentary to the Musica Muris: ff.239r - 241r.

BJ 1865: Copied in Kraków during 1460 by Nicolaus Tauchan (Teuchen) de Nissa, and on his death in 1481, willed to the Kraków University Library.

Arismetrica communis: ff.1r - 18r.
Musica Muris: ff.18v - 37r, "1460."

BJ 568: Main corpus copied by Ludolfus de Borchtorpe, about 1465/1466, with some later additions. Later in the posession of Leonardus de Dopszicze, who willed it to the Kraków University Library in 1508.

Arismetrica communis: ff.69r - 75v, with commentary beginning, "Quia noticia presentis libri subordinatur ipsi mathematice...."
Musica Muris: ff.80r - 85r, with commentary beginning, "Musica est recte modulandi sciencia..." Folio 80r has a diagram of the division of the monochord; f.80v, "Guido's hand."

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. lat. qu. 175 (D-Bds 175): Copied by Johannes Zyzno Martinum de Schydlow in Kraków, about 1474.

Arismetrica communis: ff.145r - 155v.
Musica Muris: ff.157r - 192v

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Present reference to the text of the Musica Muris is commonly to the edition by Gerbert in his Scriptores....[43] As shown by Michels' analysis, the text as published by Gerbert is a conflation of different manuscript versions.[44] In addition to a so-called "shortened version," there are two distinctive recensions of the Musica Muris, both of which probably stem back to Johannes de Muris himself. The earlier recension is Michels' so-called "A version."[45] The main distinguishing feature of this version is the prologue beginning "Etsi bestialium voluptatum...;" eighteen manuscripts are identified as definitely containing this variant.[46] The so-called "B version" does not have the prologue,

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43. M. Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum, 3 vols. (St. Blasien, 1784; reprinted Graz, 1905; Mailand, 1931; Hildesheim, 1963) III, 249 - 283. (Hereafter GS followed by volume and page reference.)

44. Michels, 17 - 24.

45. In GS III the "A version" is printed as follows: Pars prima, Prologus 255a - 256b ("Etsi bestialium voluptatum ... manifestare conabor."); 4 Petitiones 258a ("Omnem doctrinam et omnem disciplinam...artem facere manifestum."); 4 Propositiones 258a - 261b ("Pythagoram nobis artem ... favente Domino Ieso Christo."); 18 Theoremata 261b - 273a ("Quae diapente sonat...divina gratia largiente. Explicit prima pars musicae."); Pars secunda, De divisione monochordi 273b - 283b ("Ad secundam vero partem...sunt in hoc ordine conscriptae. Explicit...1323."). See Michels, 18.

46. Michels lists a total of 48 manuscripts and three prints of the Musica Muris, but at least three more manuscripts must be added: Krakow, BJ 568 (from the third quarter of the 15th cent.), ff.80r - 85r (an added commentary beginning "Musica est recte modulandi sciencia..." masks a copy of the "A version"; see F. Alberto Gallo, "Znajomość Musica speculativa Johannesa de Muris w Polsce i we Włoszech. Glosy Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i Glossemata Franchina Gaffuria," Pagine 3 (1979) 45 - 58, who edits the added commentary of this source; this manuscript is described below); CS-Pu 2815 (end of 15th cent.), ff.58v - 65v ("A version"); D-Bds 175 ("A version," copied about 1474 in Kraków), ff.157r - 192v (this manuscript is described below.)

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and substitutes an introductory chapter on the origins of sound and the general theory of proportions (GS III 256a - 258). This introductory chapter is based on material from the first two chapters of Muris' Notitia artis musicae and afterwards follows the "A version" except for variants in some sentences and phrases.[47] There are nineteen manuscripts definitely of the "B version;" the remaining twelve sources of the treatise, according to Michels, are "still unclear" as to which recension they contain.[48] The "A version" of the Musica Muris was known as early as 1324 / 1325 to Jacobus Leodiensis in his Speculum musicae.[49] After mentioning the source as being from the compendium of Boethius' De musica, Jacobus continues: "... Dicit igitur sic in decimaseptima propositione partis prime operis illius: Nulla fit armonia dyatessaron et dyapason...," which is the incipit of Theorem XVIII in GS III, 271b. Based on an examination of this citation, and the explicits in the extant manuscripts, Michels derives a date of June 1323 for the "A version" and 1325 for the "B version."[50]

All six manuscripts related to the University of Kraków contain

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47. Concerning the Notitia... see both Michels, 56 - 107, an extended commentary on the treatise, and his edition, Johannes de Muris Notitia Artis Musicae et Compendium Musicae Practicae, Petrus de Sancto Dionysio Tractatus de Musica, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 17 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972) 49 - 55.

48. Michels, 21, n.20.

49. For complete edition of this work see Jacobus Leodiensis [Jacobus of Liège], Speculum musicae, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 3, ed. R. Bragard, 7 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955 - 1973). The citation is printed in vol. VII (Liber septimus), 14 - 15; and also in Coussemaker, Scriptorium, II, 389b.

50. Michels, 15 and 21 - 22.

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the "A version" of the Musica Muris. The earliest manuscript is BJ 1970, which was copied in Erfurt during the last quarter of the fourteenth century. In the list prepared by Michels, there are three fourteenth-century manuscripts of the "B version," but only two fourteenth-century sources for the "A version."[51] The fact that the only other fourteenth-century copy of the "A version" is also from Erfurt is striking.[52] Not only does this demonstrate the importance of Erfurt as an important center of learning, but also the desire of the studium generale in Kraków to obtain the best manuscripts for the teaching of the quadrivium.[53] That this manuscript was in Kraków by at least the beginning of the fifteenth century is attested by a note on the inside back cover.[54]

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51. Michels, 119 - 125. The three "B version" manuscripts are: Paris, BN f. lat. 7378 A; Saint-Die, Bibl. Municipale, 42; Wien, Osterr. Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2433 (olim Philos. 294). Perhaps the lost Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. qu. 23 (extant, in part, on a microfilm in the collections of J. Smits van Waesberghe, dated 14th / 15th centuries) should also be included with the three other "B version" manuscripts.

52. Erfurt, Amploniana, Cod. Fol. 395, copied about 1373, with the Musica Muris on ff.207r - 214v. See W. Schum, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887) #395. This manuscript is probably #61, mathematica, in the book list from 1412 published in Schum, 807.

53. One indication that Erfurt was a clearing house for manuscripts in the late fourteenth century, even before an official university was established, is that certain astronomical treatises copied in BJ 1970 were most likely written in Oxford. See Rosińska, Instrumenty, 150.

54. See Rosińska, Instrumenty, 150. It is possible that the manuscript had been acquired earlier than the refoundation of the university in 1400 but, given the uncertain history of the original foundation after the death of Kazimierz in 1370, this must remain an interesting hypothesis.

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The latest manuscript of the fifteenth century is at present Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. qu. 175 (hereafter, D-Bds 175). It was copied in Kraków "per me Johannem Zyzno Martium de Schydlow" and the copy of the Musica Muris is dated 1474 (f.192v).[55] The copyist might be identified with "Joh. de Sydlowyecz," who was promoted "ad gradum baccalariatus in artibus" in 1478.[56]

BJ 568 was primarily copied "per manus magri Ludolfi de Borchtorpe, medicine dvis Patavi, arcium vero Erfordensis," later of Brunswik (Braunschweig), probably about 1465. This is probably Ludolfus Ludolfi de Brunszwyczk, who matriculated at the University of Kraków in 1485.[57] According to Rosińska, parts of this manuscript were later copied in Kraków, and it certainly was in the possession of Leonardus de Dopszicze at the end of the fifteenth century.[58] The manuscript contains a unique copy of a short treatise by Johannes de Regiomonte, which reminds one of the relationship between this great fifteenth-century astronomer and his friend and co-worker, Marcin

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55. This manuscript, which I have examined on microfilm, is omitted from Michels' list, but was already known to Pietzsch, Die Pflege, 50 [originally published in Archiv für Musikforschung I (1936) 437], but Pietzsch misread the date as 1414, an error also contained in an article published in the Echo Krakowa 1970 (Rok XXXIV/44, 10309) 1 - 2. The date of 1474 was also confirmed in a personal communication from E. Ziesche, Bibl. Amtmann of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (24.4.1979). This manuscript is one of approximately 60 volumes which were brought to Berlin from the Prussian area of Poland in 1836 - 1838. These manuscripts are currently on deposit in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.

56. Statuta necnon Liber Promotionum, 83.

57. Album studiosorum, 269.

58. Rosińska, Instrumenty, 146. The manuscript was given to the Kraków University library in 1508.

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Bylicz z Olkusza. Marcin, who received his master's degree from the University of Kraków in 1459 before his further study and teaching at Padova and Bologna, willed his astronomical instruments to the University of Kraków on his death in 1493.[59]

The three remaining manuscripts -- BJ 546, 1927 and 1865 -- were all copied in Kraków. BJ 546 contains a text for the Musica Muris dated 1427 (f.108r). The main corpus of this manuscript was written by Nicolaus de Osscowicze in the first third of the fifteenth century.[60] That the manuscript was in use later in the fifteenth century is shown by the eclipse diagrams added in 1439 (lunar), 1440 (solar), 1442 (lunar) and 1447 (solar).[61]

BJ 1927 and BJ 1865 are in many respects closely related. Besides the Arismetica Communis and Musica Muris, they have in common six short treatises on the construction of astronomical instruments.[62] Both also contain works by Marcin Król (Martinus Rex de Premislia), the

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59. These instruments are still in the collections of the Historical Museum of the Jagiellonian University. On the treatise of Regiomontanus see Rosińska, 122. On Marcin Bylica see: A Birkenmajer, Études, 533 - 540; and L.A. Birkenmajer, "Marcin Bylica z Olkusza," Rozprawy Wydziału Matematyczno - Przyrodniczego Akademii Umiejętności XXV (1892) [this work was unavailable to me]. This last author mentions an astrolabe of Ludolf Borchtorp.

60. Typescript manuscript description, "BJ 546," by A. Kozłowska in the Manuscript Division of Biblioteka Jagiellońska. Nicolaus matriculated in 1414/1415, received his bachelor's degree in 1416, master's degree in 1419, was "decanatus" 1423 and 1425, and died some time after 1432. See also Album studiosorum I, 35 and Statuta necnon Liber promotionum, 10, 12, 16 and 17.

61. These diagrams occur on ff.1r, 61v, 71v, 82r/v, 149v - 150v, and 151v - 152r.

62. Treatises number 11, 12, 22, 35, 49 and 50 in Rosińska, Instrumenty, 101 - 123.

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university professor who founded a second chair in astronomy/astrology and the mathematical sciences at some time after 1450. BJ 1927 has copies of his Algorismus minuciarum and Summa super tabulas and BJ 1865 his Geometrica.[63] Johannes de Ilkusz was the copyist of BJ 1927 about 1444/1445 while a student "in bursa pauperum." He was the scribe or owner of twelve manuscripts listed in Wisłocki's catalogue, ranging from other manuscripts on astronomy through Isidore of Seville's Ethimologia and Ovid's Metamorphoseon to theological works by Thomas Aquinas and Hugh of St. Victor, dating from all points of his career at the university.[64] BJ 1865 was primarily copied by Nicholaus Tauchan de Nissa, who donated it to the library on his death in 1481 (the Musica Muris is dated 1460). This manuscript also includes the Canones Tabularum resolutarum prepared by Andreus Grzymala de Poznania.[65]

In general, the text of the Musica Muris contained in these "Kraków" manuscripts does not vary from that in GS III more than would be expected in any set of medieval manuscript copies. They contain the usual variations in word order and their share of mistakes, but especi-

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63. For details of the career of Marcin Król, see the references in Birkenmajer, Études and Rosińska, Instrumenty, 71 - 79.

64. For a short biography see Birkenmajer, Études, 512 - 514. Johannes de Ilkusz was owner or copiest of the following manuscripts: BJ 484, Isidore of Seville, Ethymologiarum; BJ 528, Ovid, Metamorphoseon; BJ 535, "Epistole Senece Cordubensis ad Lucilium...;" BJ 613, Tabulae astronomicae; BJ 628, Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum; BJ 691 and BJ 692, Gilbertus Tornacensis, Erudimentum doctrinae; BJ 831, Bertrutius Lombardus, Compendium sive collectorium artis medicae; BJ 1687 and BJ 1689, St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologia; on these manuscripts see the entries in Wisłocki, Catalogus.

65. For a short biography of Andreus, see Birkenmajer, Études, 515 - 526.

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ally in the later mathematical sections on proportions and the division of the monochord the different texts agree remarkably well with each other. There are, though, enough significant variants within these six manuscripts to draw some conclusions regarding their interrelationships and the textual recension they present.

Of these six manuscripts, BJ 568 (the so-called "Brunswick [Braunschweig] manuscript") stems from a separate tradition. The clearest proof of this variation (aside from many minor variants) occurs in the four petitiones.[66] For the third petitio the other five manuscripts read:[67]

> Experientie multiplici ut in termino status acquiescere.

This is amplified in BJ 568:

> Experigenciam multiplicantes usque ad universale ut in termino status acquiescere.

A similar variant occurs at the end of the first proposition.[68] The five other manuscripts read:[69]

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66. GS III, 258, "Theoremata (a)." See also p. 256, where the four petitiones are repeated at the end of the prologue, which does not occur in any of the "Kraków" sources.

67. GS III, 258.

68. GS III, 259.

69. This text is based primarily on BJ 1970. However, this source does omit the phrase "in experiencia claruisset."

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> Ex quibus experientis deductis diversis modis variisque spiritibus tenens quod quodvis si in natura rei contra experientiam latuisset in experiencia claruisset multociens ad memoriam concurrentibus traxit universale quod fuit initium artis et scientie musicalis per quartum. Hoc est prime proporcionis declaracio.

For this BJ 568 has:

> Ex quibus experimentis variis deductis modis operibus diversisque temporibus cernens quod quodvis in natura rei contra experientiam latuisset experientia claruisset multociens experimentis ad memoriam recurrentibus traxit universale quod fuit inicium artis et scientie musicalis per quartam conceptionem sequitur principia artis.

These differences would not appear so significant were it not for the agreement among the other five manuscripts.

Although these five manuscripts, as in the above cases, often exhibit a close relationship, there are some variants that help to establish a tentative filiation. A detailed examination of the prologue and the first proposition has shown that manuscripts BJ 546, BJ 1865 and D-Bds 175 have many turns of phrase, additions and corrections in common. One example of a correction occurs in the first proposition:[70]

> ... hanc cognicionem in se mentaliter circumvolvens, quosdam malleos super incudem ferientes mirabilem armoniam emittentes, iam quasi attonitus exaudivit. Et statim ad se vehementis admiratione attraxit ut quod diu quesiverat inspiceret ad malleos est conversus....

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70. This section corresponds to that in GS III, 259, though, as noted, the text is different in the "Kraków" manuscripts.

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In this section, these three manuscripts add "ferientes" and the phrase "admiratione attraxit." It would be possible to deduce from this evidence that perhaps both D-Bds 175 and BJ 1865 were copied from the earlier BJ 546 if it were not the case that in later sections there are divergences in the texts. A characteristic of BJ 546 is that the introductory sentences in some later sections will add a further gloss contained in BJ 1927 but not in the other manuscripts, as for example: "Ac in plus dyapente, quam dyatesseron stare esse vel consistere dyapente super dyatesseron excedere." (The underlining represents the added text in BJ 546 and 1927.)

As to the interrelationships among the remaining manuscripts, it is at present impossible to establish a definite filiation. Except for BJ 1970, copied in Erfurt, and BJ 568, the "Brunswick manuscript," the other four manuscripts do appear to belong together. There is some circumstantial evidence that perhaps the text of the Musica Muris contained in BJ 546 was corrected, if not from BJ 1970, from a text closely related to it. The prologue as contained in BJ 546 contains the following:

> Quantam insuper efficatiam super humanos appetitus eleganter docuit boetius ad diversa morum genera transmutandus soni armonici contineant eleganter docuit boetius in prologo sue musice.... (GS III, 256)

In this passage the underlining represents a cancelled mistake. In BJ 1970 the word "appetitus" occurs directly above "eleganter" and it is possible that a scribe's eyes might have slipped down a line by mis-

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take. But in the light of other variants it seems unlikely that BJ 546 was directly copied from BJ 1970. The manuscripts BJ 1927 and BJ 1865 do share many texts in common (as noted above), but BJ 1927 does show an independent set of readings from BJ 1865, and neither can be directly related to BJ 546 with any degree of certainty.

What all of these manuscripts do have in common is a variant version of the first proposition as contained in Gerbert.[71] This section is a recounting of Pythagoras' discovery of proportions in the blacksmith's shed. The variant in the "Kraków" manuscripts, while not changing the sense, does seem to place more emphasis on the excitement of discovery.[72]

> Pytagoras quidem in anxietate diu manens, quomodo artem de melodiis rationabiliter inveniret, quadam vice divino nutu iuxta fabrorum officinas preteriens, hanc cognicionem in se mentaliter circumvolvens, quosdam malleos super incudem mirabilem armoniam emitentes iam quasi attonitus exaudivit.
>
> (For example, Pythagoras, having long been anxious to discover through reason how melodies work, once was passing by divine will near the blacksmiths' workshops while turning over this matter in his mind. Almost as if thunderstruck, he heard some hammers producing a wondrous harmony upon an anvil.)

These manuscripts also contain a number of marginal and interlinear glosses, at times the work of the original copyist, at times of

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71. GS III, 258 - 259.

72. A longer excerpt from the Prologue, edited from the "Kraków" sources is given in Appendix II, 401 - 403.

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later hands.[73] They mostly represent marginal cues to the contents of a section, or a minor amplification of its contents. For example, a gloss to Theorum VII (GS III, 265), contained in BJ 1970 (f. 107v), reads:

> ... quod in dyatesseron sunt duo toni cum uno 3^{o} [tono] imperfecto.
>
> (... because in the diatesseron are two tones with a third, incomplete [tone] [i.e., semitone].)

At times they are of more interest, as in the glosses to the quote of Ulysses from the eighth book of Aristotle's Politics:[74]

> ... cum dixit, optimam esse deductionem, quando gaudentibus hominibus congregati super cuncta audiunt philosophiam.
> (GS III, 255)
>
> (... when he said, that it was the best course of reasoning, when with cheerful men the assembled people heard philosophy above all things.)

Manuscripts BJ 1970, 546 and 568 all add glosses to the word "philosophiam" in this passage to the effect that "id est simphoniam" ("that is, 'simphonia'"), and BJ 1865 in addition to this gloss also inserts

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73. For example, BJ 546 contains a set of corrections and annotations added in red ink, though in a similar hand to the original text.

74. This probably derives from Book VIII, Chapter 3, though Johannes de Muris was probably referring to a medieval Latin translation that differs from the presently accepted text; see Aristotle, "Politics," trans. Benjamin Jowett, The Basic Works of Aristotle, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1968) 1306 - 1308. Most of Book VIII gives Aristotle's view on music in education.

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"simphoniam" in the text before "optimam." BJ 1927, which reads "simphonia" instead of "philosophiam" in the text, has the marginal note "philomenam" ("nightingale") to "simphonia," which is the reading within the text of D-Bds 175.

The "Kraków" sources of the Musica Muris form the largest complex contained in any collection in Europe.[75] They show the strong desire of the faculty and students to recopy or acquire the best texts to aid in the teaching of the quadrivium, the area in which the University of Kraków excelled in the fifteenth century. In addition, they are evidence that the strong connections between musical theory and the other mathematical disciplines of the quadrivium, especially that of astronomy, persisted throughout the fifteenth century.

Other Musical Manuscripts and Students from the University of Kraków

Besides the Musica Muris, a number of other musical treatises are found in manuscripts having associations with Kraków.[76] Perhaps the oldest is BJ 1965, a parchment codex from Northern Italy, probably copied about the year 1000.[77] It contains a number of short treatises,

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75. See Michels' source list, 119 - 125.

76. It has not been possible to analyse these sources in as much detail as the Musica Muris. However, I hope to expand the information contained in Pietzsch and Carpenter, which was based only on Wisłocki, Catalogus.

77. This date is given in Calvin M. Bower's review of Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises, tr. by W. Babb, ed. by C. Palisca, Music Theory Translation Series, 3 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1978), Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXV (1982) 161, fn.8. Bower states that the notation in this

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including the Musica enchiriadis and the Tonarius of Berno Augiensis.[78] The manuscript contains a number of marginal annotations which Wisłocki ascribes to "A. de Opatow," perhaps the Albertus de Oppatovia who received his baccularius artis from the University of Kraków in 1445 and his magister artis in 1447, and later was decanus of the faculty of arts.[79]

BJ 1861 is another source containing musical treatises. The main works in this fifteenth-century paper manuscript, probably compiled for academic use, are the De musica of Boethius, the musical portions of Isidore of Seville's Etymologiarum, and Johannes Affligemensis'

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source is probably Lotharingian. See also the description of this source in M. Huglo, Les Tonaires: Inventaire, Analyse, Comparaison, Publications de la Société française de musicologie Troisième série II (Paris: Société française de musicologie - Heugel et C^ie^, 1971) 69, 170 - 171, 266, and 269. The date 1211 given in Wisłocki, Catalogus, 478, and Pietzsch, Die Pflege, 39, is unsupported by modern scholarship.

78. The description of this source, in Zabytki polskiej kultury muzycznej od średniowiecza do romantyzmu w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej (Kraków, 1976) 18 - 19, lists the following works: by pseudo-Hucbaldus, Musica Enchiriadis (ff.1r - 30r: GS I, 103 - 125), Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis (ff.30r/v: GS I, 213 - 229), Mensura monocordi (ff.30v - 31v), and De harmonica institutione (ff.31v - 38v, 25r - 26r, 39r: GS I, 103 - 125); also these two works by Berno, De consona tonorum diversitate (ff.39v - 40r: GS II, 114 - 117) and the Tonarius (ff.41r - 47r, 47v - 58r: GS II, 79 - 91). The De harmonica institutione is translated with an introduction in Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music, 3 - 46. The Musica and Scolica Enchiriadis has recently been edited by H. Schmid, Musica et scolica enchiriadis una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission 3 (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

79. See Pietzsch, Die Pflege, 40

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("Cotton") De musica.[80]

This same manuscript contains two further, anonymous musical treatises. One is copied on pages 11 - 15 and begins: "Musica sciencia est disciplina, que de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt, his, qui inveniuntur in sonis duplum, triplum, quadruplum."[81]

The second anonymous treatise is incomplete in BJ 1861 (ff.128r - 148r), but is found in two other manuscripts, one from the University of Kraków, BJ 1927 (ff.213r - 238v), copied by Johannes de Ilkusz about 1444/1445, and one from the University of Praha, copied in 1431 by a student in Praha, Stanislaus de Gnezna.[82] This treatise begins: "Pro recomendacione artis musice adveniat nobis dictum quod scribit aristo-

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80. See the typewritten manuscript description, "BJ 1861," by G. Rosińska in the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska. The work of Boethius concerning music is published in G. Friedlein, Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini/Boetii/De institutione arithmetica/Libri duo/De institutione Musica/Libri quinque (Lipsiae, 1867; reprinted Frankfurt a.M.: Minerva G.M.B.H., 1966). The musical portions of Isidore's work are translated in O. Strunk, Source Readings in Music History: Antiquity and the Middle Ages (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965) 93 - 100. The work of Johannes Affligemensis, De Musica cum Tonario, is published in Corpus Scriptorum de Musica I, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (American Institute of Musicology, 1950).

81. I have been unable to locate a concordance for this treatise.

82. See above, Table 3, for a short description of BJ 1927. On the Praha source -- Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna, rkp. V F 6 (hereafter, ČS-Pu V F 6) -- see J. Truhlář, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c.r. bibliotheca publica atque universitatis asservantur, 2 vols (Pragae, 1905 - 1906). The treatise is copied on ff. 59r - 97v of this manuscript. For a short biographical sketch of Stanislaus de Gnezna and a listing of a few other manuscripts whether copied by him or containing his works, see G.B. Korolec, Repertorium commentariorum medii aevi in Aristotelem Latinorum quae in Bibliotheca olim Universitatis Pragensis nunc Státní knihovna ČSR vacata asservantur (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977) 132.

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tiles primo polliticorum...." As can be seen in the chapter headings, this is a treatise of speculative music theory and includes a discussion of solmisation syllables and of the division of the monochord.[83] Both complete manuscript versions of this work have colophons which give the date and place where the treatise was prepared (not just copied), but they are not the same. BJ 1927 reads: "Actus et datus in studio alme universitatis prahensis sub anno domini 1411, die vicesima tercia mensis septembris" ("prepared and dated in the University of Praha, September 23, 1411"). ČS-Pu V F 6 reads: "Actum et datum in studio alme universitatis Coz sub a.d. 1402 in die 23. mensis Septembris" ("prepared and dated in the University of Coz, September 23, 1402"). What was the University of Coz? During the Middle Ages, most universities were named after the cities in which they were located (e.g. University of Paris, University of Oxford etc.); however, the abbreviation Coz is particularly inexplicable. No major university center was in a city, whose name began with Cor....[84] One possibility is that the abbreviation was miscopied, and perhaps the reference was to "in studio alme universitatis cracoviensis" ("in the University of Kraków"). Until further copies of this treatise are found, its origin will probably remain a mystery.

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83. See Appendix III, 404 - 406, for a listing of the chapter headings from this treatise according to the Kraków sources.

84. I have searched through Rashdall, Universities, and J.G.T. Graesse, Orbis latinus oder Verzeichnis der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- und Ländernamen, 2nd ed., ed. Friedrich Benedict (Berlin, 1909; reprinted Berlin: transpress VEB Verlag für Verkehrswesen, 1980).

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A number of further sources provide evidence for the musical life of the university. Two manuscripts, BJ 2192 and BJ 2210, contain the texts for four Latin poems by Bartholomeus de Jassel, one of the promoters for the refounding of the University of Kraków.[85] These two sources were probably copied before 1400; BJ 2192 is possibly an autograph and BJ 2210 was copied by Łukasz z Wielkiego Kozmina.[86] The four poems are particularly interesting because of their acrostics, based on the first letter of each stanza: in Buccinemus in hac die the acrostic spells out "Bartholomeus de Jassel", in Ab eterno preconceptam each letter of the alphabet is used in sequence (an "abecedarius"), the acrostic in Mirans stupet en natura spells out "Maria virgo ora pro nobis Deum," and the acrostic in Gaude mundi incola spells out "Genitrix Beata."[87] Before his death in 1407, Bartholomeus was a professor at the newly refounded university and these songs were probably familiar to his students and friends.

In BJ 2192 only the texts for these four carols are written; fortunately, Łukasz, in addition to the texts for three of the carols,

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85. A short biography and list of works and manuscripts is also given in M. Kowalczyk, "Bartołomiej z Jasła," Materialy i Studia Zakładu Historii Filozofii Starożytnej i Średniowiecznej, Tom V, Seria A: Materialy do Historii Filozofii Średniowiecznej w Polsce, Uczeni i Filozofowie w Polsce 3 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965) 3 - 23.

86. See Kolędy polskie, ed. J. Nowak-Dluzewski, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1966) II, 501.

87. The full texts for these four poems are published in Kolędy polskie, II, 501 - 508. Full information on the locations of these songs in the sources is also given in Kowalczyk, "Bartołomiej z Jasła," 13 - 14.

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also copied the music for Buccinemus in hac die into BJ 2210.[88] Whether Bartholomeus composed the music for this lyric cannot be stated with any certainty, but at least someone in his circle was an accomplished composer.

Another source, PL-Kj 2464, is an interesting collectio, a compilation made by a student of various treatises and lecture notes.[89] The main corpus of the source includes a commentary on the grammatical treatise of Donatus by Jan Kanty and an anonymous commentary on the Laurea Sanctorum of Hugh de Trimberg. It also includes a number of monophonic and polyphonic cantilene. Some of these compositions have been attributed to a student at the University of Kraków, Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.

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88. See Example 1. The full text and music are also given in Appendix IV, 407 - 411.

89. See Chapter Six for a study of this manuscript. Kj is the RISM siglum for Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska.

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Example 1: Bartholomeus de Jassel, Buccinemus in hac die, BJ 2210, f.104v.

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Recently, three fragmentary musical sources have been discovered in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska. A single leaf bound at the end of BJ 2188 (ff.371r/v), unfortunately somewhat damaged, contains the remnants of three musical compositions -- one two-voice and two monophonic works -- stylistically related to the musical contents of Kj 2464. Of slightly later date (probably from the second quarter of the fifteenth century), two paper leaves from BJ 8 (ff.IIIr - IVv) contain fragments of at least four polyphonic works.[90] The fragment from BJ 8 is particularly important as possibly the earliest known Polish source which uses white mensural notation. The binding of BJ 389 contains before ff.1r, 7r, and 258r single parchment strips copied with mensural notation (predominantly breves and semibreves).[91] The visible notation on these strips is clear and professional, and may have been copied as early as the late fourteenth century though the only firm date ante quem is about 1460 when BJ 389 was bound. Unfortunately, nothing further can be ascertained concerning the original compositions.

One student tradition of the University of Kraków became the subject for a polyphonic work. Preserved in a manuscript probably copied in Kraków about 1430 for the royal chapel, the two-voice Breve

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90. These two sources will be examined in Chapter Six, 359 - 362, and Appendix XIX, 542.

91. This source is described in the Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur: Volumen II, Numeros continens inde a 332 usque ad 444, ed. M. Kowalczyk, M. Markowski, J. Zathey, and M. Zwiercan (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1982) 159 - 162; the musical binding fragments are not mentioned in this description.

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regnum describes the election of a student "king."[92]

The earliest known polyphonic setting of a Polish text is copied in a manuscript probably associated with the university. PL-Kór 801 dates from the mid fifteenth century and contains the three-voice Chwała tobie Gospodzinie, a fragmentary contratenor, and a three-voice composition in honor of Johannes Capistrano ("Nota cancionis de illo digno viro Capistrano dive memorie," without further text), all copied in a clear white mensural notation.[93]

A single two-voice composition, Jesus Christus nostra salus, is copied in PL-Kj 554 using white mensural notation; the manuscript dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was probably copied for use at the university.[94] This composition was apparently quite popular, and is known in several different versions.[95]

The Liber vigenti artium of Paulus Paulirinus de Praga, is preserved in only one, late fifteenth-century manuscript, now in Kraków.[96] Written in Plzeň (Pilsen) about 1460, it was an attempt to examine all

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92. See below, Chapter Five, 301 - 302, for a description and further references concerning this piece. The text is translated in Appendix X, 443.

93. See M. Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Poloniae XIII and XIV (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973/1976); XIII, xxix - xxx (description), 162 - 163 (facsimile), and XIV, 460 - 462 (transcriptions).

94. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxxv - xxxvi (description), 201 (facsimile), and XIV, 487 (transcription).

95. See the references in the index to RISM B IV^4 1196, and in Perz, Sources XIII, xxxv - xxxvi, for related versions of Jesus Christus nostra salus.

96. For a complete description of this source, BJ 257, and its musical contents, see Chapter Four, 217 - 231.

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the "skills" (artes). Music -- which Paulus may have studied in Kraków, Praha, Padova, and Bologna -- is discussed in the three sections on speculative theory, mensural theory, and musical instruments.

Besides those students and teachers at the University of Kraków mentioned above, a number of other students had connections with the musical life of the Polish royal city.[97] In 1420 the name of Stanisław Ciołek -- the author of a number of lyrics which received polyphonic settings in Kraków and a member of the royal chancellory and later bishop of Poznań -- was entered in the university matriculation book.[98] Another student who entered that same year, Nicolaus Johannis de Radom, might be identified with the composer of some polyphonic settings for poems by Ciołek and other polyphonic mass movements contained in two Polish sources.[99]

Another scholar at the University of Kraków was renowned in his youth for his musical abilities. Gregorius de Sanok (or Sanoceus) entered the university in 1428 and received his bachelor's degree in 1433 and his master's degree in 1439.[100] Later in his career, Gregorius became archibishop of Lvov. His early love of music was

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97. Pietzsch, Die Pflege, 40 - 61, contains a list of students with possible musical associations who studied in Kraków; however, it should be corrected by reference to the published university records. See below, n. 102.

98. Album studiosorum, 7. See below, Chapter Five, 266 - 268.

99. Album studiosorum, 6. See Chapter Five, 261 - 268, for a fuller discussion of Nicholaus de Radom's biography.

100. Album studiosorum, 70 and Statuta necnon Liber promotionum, 26 and 31.

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described by his fifteenth-century biographer, Phillipus Callimachus.[101]

> Fuit etiam illi naturalis quidam affectus ad musicam, cui propemodum natus videbatur, siquidem percipiendis disciplinae illiusmodi preceptionibus ingenio promptissimo erat: ad modulationem vero vocem habebat elegantissimam, quippe solidam et sonoram, et in qua non minus suavitatis 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 Cracoviam vocis splendor ac modulandi ratio profuit. Namque ad id tempus ea civitas theologiae potissimum dedita, obmissis fere ceteris disciplinis liberalibus, musicam inter prima ducebat, cuius maxime opera divinae caerimoniae quam solenniter procurarentur. Itaque in ipso initio reditus sui Gregorio plurimum ab omnibus Cracoviae tribuebatur, quia ea in arte excellebat, cuius praesertim studio civitas teneretur.
>
> (Gregorius had a certain natural disposition for music. He seemed almost born to it, since he understood that discipline with a very apparent ability. He had a most elegant voice for singing, of course steady and sonorous, in which there was no less sweetness than splendor. This talent worked in many places to that man's great advantage and honor. For he would not have persuaded those people into an admiration of himself on account of his learning; his musical ability attracted [them]. But especially his voice's splendor and his knowledge of singing benefited Kraków on his return. For at this time, this city, especially dedicated to theology, and almost forgetting the other liberal disciplines, [nonetheless] regarded music among the first of them. Most particularly, the musical works of the divine ceremony were administered with great solemnity. And so, in the very beginning, Gregorius' return was granted most willingly by all of Kraków, because he excelled in that skill of music, for the study of which the city would be chiefly remembered.)

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101. Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, 6 vols. (Lwów & Kraków, 1864 - 1893; reprinted Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960 - 1961) VI, 180.

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On October 17, 1440, six students were listed in the matriculation book as "Cantores Reverendissimi patris domini Sbignei Cracoviensis Episcopi:" Bartholomaeus Nicolai de Auris, Nikasius Opilionis de Jawor, Johannes Andree de Auris, Mathias Andree de Auris, Nicolaus de albo castro and Othmarus Opilionis de Jawor.[102] Zbigniew Oleśnicki was Bishop, and later Cardinal, of Kraków, and had also been a student at the University of Kraków.[103] It is possible that these students were members of the bishop's private chapel.

Evidence concerning the actual performance of music by students is rare, but at least two university documents refer to students singing in religious services. The first is a letter written by Bishop Albert of Kraków to the collegiate church of St. Florian "beyond the walls of Kraków," dated May 5, 1422.[104]

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102. Album studiosorum, 97. T.R. Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274," Early Music History 1: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 342, n.44, notes that Pietzsch, Die Pflege, 44, mistakenly transcribed "Nikasius" as "Blasius." However, both authors have overlooked that these cantores entered in 1440, not 1441.

103. "Sbigneus Johannis de Olesznicza" matriculated in 1406. Album studiosorum, 23. As provost, Zbigniew Oleśnicki is mentioned in a letter concerning, among other subjects, the musical practices at the Church of St. Florian; see below.

104. The full letter of Albert is printed in Codex diplomaticus universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis continet privilegia et documenta quae res gestas academiae eiusque beneficia illustrant: Pars Prima pertinet ab Anno 1365 usque ab [sic] Annum 1440 (Cracoviae, 1870) 133 - 137, the excerpts appear on pp.135 and 136. The Church of St. Florian was a major source of prebends for professors at the university.

Psalm 94 has a prominent place in the matins office, while there are few other chants that begin with the word Venite. See,

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Dominus Prepositus quatuor marcas pro rectore scholae dare debebit et iuxta antiquam consuetudinem providere sibi de expensis vel valore expensarum, hoc adiecto, quod dum et quotiens cantat cum scholaribus Vesperas, quod etiam Completorium similiter cum scholaribus decantabit. Custos vero ecclesiae eiusdem duas marcas et Cantor unam dare tenebuntur, quae simul levanda sunt a dictis dominis per monitiones opportunas et censuras exigenda. Item de rectore scholarium statuimus, quod ad nullum alium laborem sit obligatus, nisi quemadmodum prius deservivit, ita deserviat, tantum quod pueri diebus dominicis et fastivis per ipsum ordinentur, ut versiculos cantent, et ipse rector scholarium superpelliceatus incedat....

Item de horis canonicis id statuimus, quod omnes eaedem horae debent palam et publice legi sive decantari, diebus festivis exceptis, in quibus sermo Sextam aut Nonam impediret....

Item statuimus, quod vicarii praedicti debent conformari in cantu, in officio, in horis canonicis, aliisque divinis officiis, ecclesiae cathedrali, vel ad minus Collegiatus Sandomiriensi, Scarbimiriensi, Visliciensi, et primo cantent in Matutino Venite in solemnitatibus, et dum et quotiens Matutinum scholares decantant, et in Vigiliis anniversariorum in ecclesia dum ipsa fieri et quotiens contingit, aliis Vigiliis exceptis, in quibus Venite cantent scholares; in missa vero incipiant Introitum diebus festivis, similiter et alia in missa sequentia, iuxta consuetudinem Collegiatarum caeterarum. In solemnitate tamen paschali et diebus dominicis inter festum Paschae et Ascensionem Domini cantent scholares Crucifixum, vicarii vero Recordamini, et circa Christus resurgens versum Dicant nunc iudei....

(The lord provost shall be bound to give four marks for the benefit of the rector of the school and, in accordance with

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for example, the matins offices for Christmas and Corpus Christi, The Liber Usualis (Tournai: Desclee Co., 1963) 368 and 918; and W. Apel, Gregorian Chant (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1973) 88. The antiphon Christus resurgens, verse Dicant nunc iudei, does not appear in most modern chant books, but can be found in W.H. Frere, Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and Analytical Index, 6 vols. (London: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society, 1901 - 1924; reprinted Farnborough: Gregg Press Ltd, 1966) 241r/v. The original edition of the letter reads here: "Christus resurgens versum dicant Nunc in dei." Crucifixum and Recordamini refer to the verses of the processional antiphon, Sedit Angelus. The full antiphon with all verses is published in P. Wagner, "Zum Organum Crucifixum in carne," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VI (1924) 402 - 403. For a Bohemian polyphonic setting of the verse Crucifixum in carne see Chapter Three.

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the old custom, to provide for himself from the payments or the value of the payments with this addition: that now and as often as he [the provost] sings vespers with the scholars, he will also in a like manner sing compline with the scholars. The custodian and the cantor of the same church will be obligated to give the rector two marks and one mark, respectively, which monies must be raised on demand from the said lords through suitable warnings and censures. Further, we resolve, as regards the rector of the scholars, that he should not be bound to any other duty, unless he was previously obliged to do it; accordingly, he should be obligated only in that the boys on Sundays and feast days should be regulated by him, so that they might sing the versicles, and the same rector of the scholars should precede them in a surplice ....

Further, we resolve this concerning the canonical hours: that all of these same hours ought to be read or sung plainly and publically, with the exception of feast days, in which a sermon would hinder sext or none ....

Further, we resolve that the above mentioned vicars ought to conform in chant, in rite, in the canonical hours, and the other divine offices to the cathedral church [of Kraków], or at least to the collegiate [church] of Sandomierz, or Skalbmierz, or Wislicia. First, the vicars should sing Venite [exultemus Domino: Psalm 94] at matins in the solemn services, and as long as and as often as the scholars sing matins. And the vicars should sing Venite in the vigils of anniversary masses, as long as and as often as it happens to be performed in the same church, with the exception of other vigils, in which the scholars should sing Venite. In the Mass, however, the vicars should similarly begin the introit on feast days and all the other subsequent items in the Mass according to the custom of the other collegiate churches. However, during the Easter festival and on the Sundays between Easter and Ascension, the scholars should sing Crucifixum, but the vicars should sing Recordamini, and accompanying Christus resurgens, the verse Dicant nunc iudei.)

The second document is a letter written by the canons of St. Florian, also dated May 5, 1422.[105]

Proinde nos Sbigneus de Oleschinicza Sanctae Romanae et

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105. The full text of this letter is published in Codex diplomaticus...Pars Prima, 138.

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Apostolicae Sedis Protonotarius, Canonicus Gneznensis, Cracoviensis, Sandomiriensis et Wislicensis ecclesiarum Praepositus, Franciscus Decanus, Sacrae Theologiae Professor, Nemerza de Chrzelow Custos, nec non Stanislaus de Scarbimiria Decretorum Doctor, Iohannes Cruczborg, Nicolaus Bawdissin, Pelka de Borzicowa, Andreas de Kokorzino Canonici Sancti Floriani ecclesiae collegiatae extra muros civitatis Cracoviensis, ... statuimus et ordinamus de consensu et voluntate Vicepraepositi et vicariorum, ... omnes et singuli Vicepraepositus et vicarii horas sive cursum de Domina interpellatim infra horas canonicas compleant, conformando se ecclesia cathedrali Cracoviensi, ita videlicet, quod completo Matutino, legant Matutinum de Beata Virgine, et post Primam similiter de Domina Primam legant et compleant, et consequenter omnes alias horas, Tertiam, Sextam, Nonam, Vesperas et Completorium in choro eiusdem ecclesiae alta et intellegibili voce, tractim non festinando et cum omni reverentia, ita ut ipsorum ministerium sit acceptum in conspectu Altissimi meritis et intercessione eiusdem genitricis Dei Virginis gloriosae.

(Therefore we -- Zbigniew Oleśnicki (protonotarius of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See; canon of Gniezno; provost of the churches of Kraków, Sandomierz and Wislicia), Franciscus Decanus (professor of Sacred Theology), Nemerza de Chrzelow (custos), and also Stanislaus de Scarbimiria (doctor of decretals), Iohannes Cruczborg, Nicolaus Bawdissin, Pelka de Borzicowa, Andreas de Kokorzino -- canons of the collegiate Church of St. Florian (beyond the walls of the city of Kraków), ... resolve and ordain with the consent and good-will of the Vice-provost and vicars ... that each and everyone, Vice-provost and vicars, should interpolate the hours or cursum [course] of Our Lady between the canonical hours in conformance with the cathedral of Kraków. Accordingly, at the completion of matins, they should recite the matins of the Blessed Virgin, and after prime, similarly, they should recite and add the prime of Our Lady. And in the same way they should recite all the other hours -- terce, sext, none, vespers and compline -- in the choir of the same Church of St. Florian, with a clear and intelligible voice, slowly, not speedily, and with all reverence, so that their service shall be accepted in the sight of the Most High and with the rewards and intercession of God's glorious virgin mother.)

The University of Kraków was a rich center for musical activity in the first decades of its new existence, beginning with 1400. Stu-

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dents and masters heard and lectured on the Musica Muris, copied Boethius and Isidore, annotated the Musica enchiriadis and Berno's Tonarius, perhaps composed treatises on musical theory, and sang and composed polyphonic and monophonic songs. Because this collection of manuscripts and documents has remained in many ways untouched and intact in its original location, it provides a unique glimpse into the place of music at one especially important university center. The masters and students of the university exercised great influence on the political and intellectual life of the Polish kingdom and it seems probable that they also affected its musical life to an equal extent.

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CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES OF ARS ANTIQUA POLYPHONY IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

The conversion of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary to Christianity during the tenth century established their full contact with political and cultural developments in Western Europe. Evidence for this connection can be found in the Benedictine, Cistercian, and Franciscan chant dialects introduced into the ecclesiastical use of the new kingdoms.[1] The cultural contacts between East and West are equally evident in the sources for ars antiqua polyphony from these countries. However, as is also true of the chant, compositions were not only imported, but it appears that local composers imitated the imports to create their own new works.

Approximately twenty sources have been found in East Central Europe containing polyphonic compositions. The musical genres associated with the ars antiqua are found in many of these works, including organa, motets, conductus-like works, and polyphonic lesson readings. The notation in these sources is basically of two types: square, black mensural notation without prolation, or simple note-against-note counterpoint without apparent rhythmic values.

The manuscripts and fragments of ars antiqua-style polyphony have

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1. The best general survey of the different chant dialects in Poland is H. Feicht, "Liturgical Music in Mediaeval Poland," Polish Musicological Studies I (1977) 58 - 124.

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been arranged in Table 4 according to an approximate chronological order in which related sources have been grouped together.[2] Irrespective of the date assigned to the individual manuscripts, these sources demonstrate the existence of a strong, durable tradition for ars antiqua-style polyphony in the kingdoms on Europe's eastern borders.[3]

Ars Antiqua Organa, Motets, and Conductus at the Stary Sącz Convent

The most important and earliest source for Western ars antiqua compositions in Poland has received critical attention only recently. Discovered in the bindings of manuscripts from the library of the Stary Sącz convent of the Order of St. Clare, Stary Sącz, Biblioteka

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2. The grouping and chronology of these sources is based primarily on three works: M. Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XIII and XIV (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973/1976) [hereafter Sources plus volume number]; K. von Fischer, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B IV$^{3/4}$ (München-Duisburg: Henle, 1972) [hereafter RISM plus volume number]; and J. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas v českých zemích," Miscellanea musicologica XXVII-XXVIII (Praha, 1975) 9 - 116.

3. One early source will not be discussed in this chapter. Zadar, St. Marien Archive (RISM B IV^{2}, Supplementary Sources to RISM B IV^{1}, 425 - 426: YU-ZAa), dating from the thirteenth century, includes on f.36v a two-voice troped Sanctus. A facsimile and short discussion of this work is published in Historijski razvoj muzicke kulture u Jugoslaviji, ed. J. Andreis, D. Cvetko, and S. Đurić-Klajn (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1962) 19 - 20. See also M. Lütolf, Die mehrstimmigen Ordinarium Missae-Sätze vom ausgehenden 11. bis zur Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert, 2 vols. (Bern: Kommissionsverlag Paul Haupt, 1970) I, 104 - 108 (study), and II, 89 (transcription). The Sanctus in this source may reflect the influence of Italian polyphonic practices from the late twelfth century.

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TABLE 4

ARS ANTIQUA-STYLE POLYPHONY IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN SOURCES

Siglum	Date	Polyphonic content
PL-St S1 (+ Pu1)	last quarter, 13th century	organum, motets, conductus
PL-St S3	circa 1300	2 Benedicamus settings
PL-St S2	circa 1300	Omnia beneficia
PL-St S4	circa 1300	[...] et via regens... Benedicat domino.
PL-St S5	first half, 14th century	Iube domne benedicere: Una cunctis leticie...
CS-PU VI G 10a	13th/14th centuries	Procedentem sponsum...
CS-Pu VII G 16	beginning, 14th century	Procedentem sponsum...
CS-Pu V H 11	second half, 14th century	Procedentem sponsum... and polyphonic lessons
CS-Pu XIV G 46	14th century	[Lux vera lucis radium] Amen.
PL-Kklar 205	mid 14th century	Surrexit Christus hodie (2 settings)
PL-Kklar 1	14th century	fragment
CS-KR10	14th century	Crucifixum in carne
PL-WRu411	14th or early 15th century	Kyrie eleison
PL-WRu417	second half, 14th century	polyphonic lesson
PL-WRu24	late 14th/early 15th century	polyphonic lesson
PL-WRu506	1403	polyphonic lesson
PL-WRu505	1426	polyphonic lesson
CS-Pnm XII A 1	1390	Liber generationis
CS-Ph66	late 14th century	polyphonic lessons
CS-Pu XIII A 5d	14th/early 15th century	polyphonic lessons
CS-Pnm XIII E 8	14th/early 15th century	polyphonic lessons, Benedicamus settings, and versicles.

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Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 1 (PL-St S1) and Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, frag. 1 (PL-Pu1) together form a group of 52 fragments and mirror impressions that are the remnants of a single manuscript which contained Notre Dame polyphony.[4] According to the extensive research of Perz, the original manuscript contained at least the organum Inter natos mulierum, approximately twenty motets, such as Ecclesie vox / Et florebit, Ad veniam perveniam / Tamquam, Agmina militie / Agmina, Homo quo vigeas vide / Et gaudebit, the organal motet Vide prophetie finem adimplete / Viderunt and the conductus Ave gloriosa virginum regina.[5]

The layout of the original manuscript was different from any other Notre Dame source. In most motet manuscripts from the thirteenth century, the tenor has a place either right after the upper voices or at the bottom of a folio. From the evidence of the remaining Polish fragments, the tenors were copied in the margins, entirely within a red circle or on little short staves [Il. 1].[6] Perz, at one point, considered this layout suggestive of local origin;[7] however, this is not reiterated in his later article on these fragments. There, on the basis of the extravagant use of margin space to copy the encircled tenors, he postulates that the manuscript was certainly not prepared

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4. AMP XIII: commentary, ix - xx; facsimiles, 2 - 11. See also M. Perz, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland -- Fragments from Stary Sącz," Polish Musicological Studies I (1977) 9 - 57; and M. Perz, "Organum, Conductus i średniowieczny Motet w Polsce," Muzyka XVIII/4 (1973) 6 - 9.

5. AMP XIII, xviii - xix, and Perz, "Oldest Source," 49 - 57, and 55.

6. The different layouts in the Stary Sącz fragments are illustrated in Perz, "Oldest Source," 42 - 43.

7. Sources XIII, xvii.

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for ordinary use, but perhaps as a presentation copy.[8] In any case, the question of how these works originally came to Poland remains.

Illustration 1: Poznań, Biblioteka Glowna Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza, Archiwium Chybińskiego, frag. 1 (PL-Pu 1)

The manuscript in which the fragments are found is a Franciscan gradual from the late thirteenth century with some later additions, including the insertion of St. Stanislaus (canonized 1253) into the Good Saturday litany.[9] This gradual was in the library of the convent by at least the seventeenth century and may have been copied there in the thirteenth century.[10]

The Stary Sącz convent of the Order of St. Clare had been founded in 1280 by the Duchess of Kraków, Kinga (also known as Kunegunda:

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8. Perz, "Oldest Source," 44.

9. See Sources XIII, xxxiii, for a description of this gradual. See also F. Bak, "Średniowieczne Graduały franciszkańskie," Musica Medii Aevi III (1969) 91 - 111.

10. See Perz, "Oldest Source," 47.

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1234 - 1292).[11] After the death of her husband, Duke Bolesław Wstydliwy ("the Shy"), she retired there along with a few other members of the Polish nobility, eventually including two of her sisters, daughters of the Hungarian king, Bela IV: Iolentha, the widow of Duke Bolesław "the Pious" of Kalisz, and Constancia, the widow of Daniel Romanowicz, the Prince of Halisz.[12] Kinga's foundation became in many senses a royal institution, receiving numerous gifts and becoming a place of retirement for widowed Polish queens and royalty in the succeeding centuries. In this it was similar to two earlier Benedictine convents, St. George's in Praha (founded in 967) and Las Huelgas (founded in 1180), both of which were "royal" foundations and are also important repositories of medieval polyphonic sources.[13]

The primary source for the biography of Kinga is the "Vita et

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11. See Perz, "Oldest Source," 47 - 48. The foundation is also mentioned in J. Długosz, Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae (Varszviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964 - 1978) Liber VII, 206 - 207, the entry for 1279, the year of her husband's death. The foundation document is printed as a footnote to the Vita ... St. Kingi, ed. W. Ketrzyński, Monumenta Poloniae Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski (Lwów i Kraków: 1864 - 1893; reprinted Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960 - 1961) IV, 700 - 701, fn. 1.

12. Concerning Iolentha and Constancia see Długosz, Annales, Liber VII, 247 - 248.

13. On Las Huelgas see the article in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. F. Blume, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-) 8, cols. 242 - 246. A complete musical study, facsimile, and transcription of the late thirteenth-century polyphonic and monophonic manuscript from Las Huelgas was prepared by H. Angles, El Codex Musical de Las Huelgas (Música a veus dels segles XIII - XIV), Biblioteca de Catalunya VI, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans - Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931). On the foundation of St. George's Convent see Długosz, Annales, Liber II, 182.

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Miracula Sanctae Kyngae Ducissae Cracoviensis."[14] Though this is meant to be a record of Kinga's religious life and miracles, its basic narrative can be verified from other medieval sources.[15] A number of passages in this "Vita" document the place of music in Kinga's secular and later religious life.

> De nupciarum sollempnitate.
> ... Leticie variis ludis dant inicium. Cantantibus organis et nimiis multiplicatis solaciis, ipsa felix ancilla Christi soli Domino decantabat cantica leticie interioris hominis.... (p. 690)
>
> (Concerning the rite of marriage: ... The rejoicings began with various diversions. After the organa were sung and a great many consolations had been [further] multiplied, this happy handmaiden of Christ sang to the only Lord of the interior rejoicings of man.)

> De ornatu ecclesiastico.
> ... Legitur, quod hec beata ab ineunte etate racionis sue totis nisibus anhelabat, ut ecclesiasticum cultum in omni decenti ornatu sublimaret....missales vero ac alios ecclesiasticos libros, pallas et cetera munimina matris ecclesie devotissime procurabat.... (pp. 706 - 707)
>
> (Concerning ecclesiastical accoutrements: It is related that this blessed woman from the young age of her reason strove in every way to enhance the ecclesiastical services with every fitting adornment .... Indeed, she procured most devotedly missals and other ecclesiastical books, robes, and other muniments of Mother Church.)

> De cantu.
> Quadam autem vice volens sorores suas in melodia cantus divini officii proficere et audaciam cantandi eis infere, sincera cum devocione supplicavit fratribus, quod in die sancte Clare sorores divinum officium cum cantu et cum vesperis exsolverent. Qui contempta eius peticione soli vesperas incipiunt et intonant ac exsolvunt ei in tedium et

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14. Monumenta Poloniae Historica IV, 662 - 744.

15. Primarily Dlugosz, Annales, Liber VII.

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> detrimentum non modicum; domina autem Constancia, germana eius, ducissa Ruthenorum, que tunc aderat, fratres inclamante et reprehendente, sorori sue preces humiles fudit, quatenus ob reverenciam beatissimi patris Francisci filios ipsius in reverencia habeat et nullatenus ipsos reprehendat. Altera vero vice cum sorores missam inchoassent et eam tonanter prosequerentur, omnes fratres eis in opprobrium de ecclesia recesserunt et nonnisi ex mandato custodis, qui tunc ibi aderat, ad ecclesiam redierunt. Et ea omnia in odium felicis domine agebantur. (p.716)
>
> (Concerning chant: Once, however, desiring that her sisters would make progress in the chant for the divine office and to introduce to them a boldness in singing, Kinga humbly beseeched the brethren [in the neighboring monastery] with sincere devotion that on the feast day of St. Clare the sisters should perform the divine office with chant and with vespers.
>
> Disdaining her petition, the brethren began, chanted, and discharged vespers alone with a view to improper weariness and mischief. However, Lady Constancia (Kinga's sister and the Duchess of Ruthenia), who was there, scolding and censuring the brethren, poured forth her humble entreaties to her sister: how far out of reverence for the most blessed father Francis should she hold his sons in reverence? By no means might she [Constancia] censure them. The next time, when the sisters began the Mass and thunderingly continued, all the brethren retreated from the church in disgrace [because of the sisters], and only by the mandate of the custodian, who was there, did they return to the church. And all these things were done in hatred of the felicitous lady.)

On the basis of these reports, it is not out of place to consider that a source such as St S1 (+ Pu1) would have been in use at the convent, even if only as a reference manuscript.[16] The importance of music and the care for a convent's manuscripts was noted approximately

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16. It should be noted that the early "rule" for the Order of St. Clare did not allow the nuns to participate in singing the divine office. See Francis and Clare: The Complete Works, tr. and ed. R.J. Armstrong and I.C. Brady (New York: Paulist Press, 1982) "The rule of St. Clare," 214: "they are to read [the divine office] without singing."

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a century earlier than Kinga, when Abelard described to Heloise, then Abbess at Paraclete, the duties expected of the "Chantress."[17]

> The Chantress shall be responsible for the whole choir, and shall arrange the divine offices and direct the teaching of singing and reading, and of everything to do with writing or composition. She shall also take charge of the book-cupboard, shall hand books out from it and receive them back, undertake the task of copying or binding them, or see that this is done. She shall decided how the sisters are to sit in choir and assign the seats, arrange who are to read or sing, and shall draw up the list, to be recited on Saturdays in Chapter, in which all the duties of the week are set out. Hence it is most important for her to be lettered, and especially to have some knowledge of music. She shall also see to all matters of discipline after the abbess, and if she happens to be busy with other affairs, the infirmarian shall take her place.

Most of the works copied in these fragments are part of a common repertoire of ars antiqua compositions found in a number of thirteenth-century sources from Western Europe; probably none were composed in Poland.[18] As has been said, it seems most likely that these fragments were once part of a presentation manuscript and, though no specific document exists, it is possible that it came directly to Poland from Rome.

From the period of its conversion and acceptance as a papal fief, a "Patrimonium Petri," the Polish Kingdom was always in constant reli-

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17. The Letters of Abelard and Heloise, tr. Betty Radice (New York: Penguin Books, 1981) 214 - 215.

18. See the concordance tables in Sources XIII, xviii - xix, and Perz, "Oldest Source," 49 - 57.

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gious and diplomatic contact with the papacy.[19] Numerous records demonstrate that papal nuncios and legates were often in Poland and that Polish representatives were often in Rome during the thirteenth century, especially in regard to disputes with the expanding Teutonic Order.[20]

One event during the thirteenth century stands out as most appropriate for either the receipt or purchase of a manuscript such as St S1 (+ Pu1), an event of national significance in which both Duke Bolesław "the Shy" and Duchess Kinga took especial interest. During the years 1251 - 1253, Polish clergy were often in Rome, promoting the canonization of Bishop Stanislaus of Kraków, martyred by some followers of Bolesław II on April 11, 1079.[21] The chronicle of the Kraków cathedral chapter provides a summary of the events leading up to Stanislaus' canonization in 1253.[22]

M CCL ecclesia Beati Wencezlai pavimentatur. Miracula beati Stanyzlai martiris gloriosi per dominum Fulconum

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19. See above, Chapter One.

20. J. Ptaśnik, "Denar świetego Piotra obrońca jedności politycznej i kościelnej w Polsce," Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności, Kraków: Wydział historyczno-filozoficzny Serya II, Tom XXVI [Ogólnego zbioru tom 51] (1908) 133 - 218; and J. Ptaśnik, "Kollektorzy kamery apostolskiej w Polsce Piastowskiej," Rozprawy Akademmi Umiejętności, Kraków: Wydział historyczno-filozoficzny Serya II, Tom XXV [Ogólnego zbioru tom 50] (1907) 1 - 80.

21. On the life and martyrdom of St. Stanislaus see the "Vita sancti Stanislai Cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)," Monumenta Poloniae Historica IV, 319 - 438; the Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series nova V, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe,1978) 51; and also Długosz, Annales, Liber III, 133 - 141.

22. Annales Cracovienses, 83 - 84.

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archiepiscopum Gneznensem, Thomam episcopum Wratizlauiensem et [Henricum] abbatem de Lubes examinantur.
M CCLI magister Jacobus doctor decretorum et magister Gerardus can[onici] Crac[ovienses] cum Predictoribus et Minoribus pro canonizacione beati Stanyzlai certi nuncii et procuratores eiusdem negocii ad Romanam curiam destinantur....
M CC LII magister Jacobus et magister G[erardus] de Romana curia redeunt...
M CCLIII Item magister Jacobus et magister Gozuinus can[onici] Crac[ovienses] ad Romanam curiam remittuntur pro canonizacione dicti sancti Stanyzlai. Qui sanctus eodem anno per dominum papam Innocencium IIII canonizatur et kathalogo sanctorum martirum ascribitur eiusque sollempnitas VIII ydus Maii [8.V] cum reverencia et veneracione statuitur celebranda.

(1250: The [cathedral] church of Blessed Wenceslaus [in Kraków] is covered with stone. The miracles of blessed Stanislaus, glorious martyr, are examined by Lord Fulcon (Archibishop of Gnieźno), Thomas (Bishop of Wrocław) and [Henry] (Abbot of Lubiaz [Leubus]).
1251: Master Jacobus (Doctor of Decretals) and master Gerardus, canons of Kraków, along with Dominicans and Franciscans, appointed nuncios and procurators of the same process, are going to the Roman Curia on behalf of the canonization of blessed Stanislaus....
1252: Master Jacobus and master Gerardus return from the Roman Curia.
1253: Again, master Jacobus and master Gozuinus, canons of Kraków, are sent back to the Roman Curia to promote the canonization of the said saint, Stanislaus, who is canonized a saint in this same year by the Lord Pope Innocent IV and is added to the catalogue of martyr saints and whose feast day, May 8, is ordained by celebrating with reverence and veneration.

This great embassy to Rome of Polish prelates, along with Dominicans, Franciscans, and royal representatives must have been an important occasion for the whole kingdom.

That Rome could have been a source for manuscripts of the Notre Dame repertoire can be demonstrated from the later inventories of the papal library. One such list, prepared in 1295 during the pontificate

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of Boniface VIII, shows that manuscripts similar to the great ars antiqua sources such as F, W2 and W1 were in Rome at that time.[23] In this context, the importance of the Franciscan relationship to the papacy as regards the transmission of musical styles and documents should also be mentioned, since the majority of the early Polish manuscripts with polyphony are found today in Franciscan convents or monasteries.[24]

There is some evidence that similar collections, probably also of Notre Dame polyphony, were known in Bohemia. A reference to a liber discantorum operis Pragensis has been located in an inventory of the library at the Benedictine monastery at Opatovice, dating from about 1340.[25] However, an important text source for the carmina of Philippe the Chancellor, Praha, Archiv prazského hradu, rkp. N VIII (ČS-Ph N VIII), cannot be considered as evidence in this context, since it was not brought to Bohemia until the fourteenth century by Bishop Albert of Praha; he had previously been rector of the University of Paris.[26]

It has always been recognized that the different chant traditions spread freely throughout the ecclesiastical structure of the Western

---

23. P. Jeffery, "Notre Dame Polyphony in the Library of Pope Boniface VIII," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXII (1979) 118 - 124. ("It. duo libri de motetis de nota quadrata.")

24. K. Levy, "A Dominican Organum Duplum," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXVII (1974) 183.

25. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 30.

26. On this text source, Praha, Archiv prazského hradu, rkp. N VIII (ČS-Ph N VIII: ff. 37v - 38v), see G. Anderson, "Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter Dicta," Musical Quarterly LVIII (1972) 361 - 364.

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Church. At times there were local modifications, but evidence of the rapid spread of Franciscan chant, virtually unchanged from the "standard" version, demonstrates the relative ease with which new musical styles reached even into Poland. These fragments of a once extensive manuscript of Notre Dame polyphony witness both that even in thirteenth-century Poland there was a desire for the newest artistic creations of Western Europe and also that this desire was fulfilled.[27]

Early Polish Polyphonic Sources at Stary Sącz

In addition to St S1, the library of the Stary Sącz convent preserves four other sources containing polyphonic compositions and these are apparently of Polish provenance. Two of the sources, PL-St S2 and St S4, are pieces of parchment that had been sewn together and used as binding material; in the others, PL-St S3 and St S5, the few multi-voice works were copied as part of, or as an addendum to, a complete manuscript.

The earliest of these sources is probably St S3, which contains two two-voice settings of the text Benedicamus Domino, Alleluia.[28]

---

27. It should be remembered that some ars antiqua sources from Western Europe are also dated from periods considerably after the flowering of Notre Dame polyphony in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. See, for example, the references to the Las Huelgas Codex cited above in n. 13.

28. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxii; facsimile, 178, and Sources XIV: commentary, 166; transcription, 476; and A. Sutkowski, "Początki polifonii średniowiecznej w Polsce w swietle nowych źródeł," Muzyka VI/1 (1961) 3 - 22 (facsimile, 9; transcription, 10). See also RISM B IV^{2}, 424 - 425 and RISM B IV^{4}, 1151. Another transcription of these two works is published in H. Feicht ed., Muzyka

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They are found in a Franciscan antiphonal de tempore, which, if not copied at, was certainly used in the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Stary Sącz. The antiphonal is written in the black quadratic notation common to many Franciscan chant books and also used to notate the two polyphonic Benedicamus settings added as an addition at the bottom of page 255 as part of the Laudes in Dominica Resurrectionis. Both of the pieces are in an unmeasured note-against-note style.

The first Benedicamus setting is related to at least two other sources containing similar compositions, the fourteenth-century Engelberg manuscript and a sixteenth-century source from Bohemia (ČS-Pu IV H 12).[29] In the Bohemian source, two short rhyming tropes, one in honor of Bishop Martin and the other in honor of Laurentius, have been added in front of the final words, Benedicamus Domino [Ex. 2].[30] In this version, only the upper voice in the first, third and fifth phrases is similar to the opening phrase in the lower voice of the Polish version; the Bohemian version, however, is transposed up a fifth. Černý has proposed that the two voices of the Bohemian version were taken from the middle and lower voices of a hypothetical three-voice setting.[31]

---

staropolska: Wybór nie publikowanych utworów z XII - XVIII wieku (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966) 7 - 8.

29. Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna, rkp. IV H 12.

30. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 69; commentary, 98; transcription, [109].

31. J. Černý, "Czeski aspekt polskich źródeł polifonii średniowiecznej," Muzyka XXI (1976) 87 - 88.

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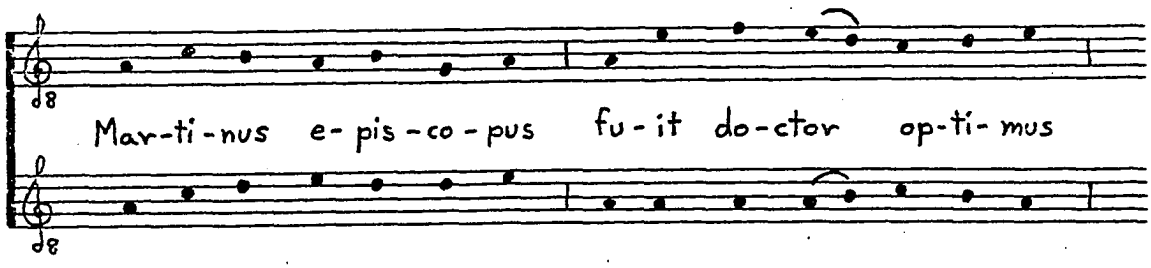
Example 2: Excerpt from Martinus episcopus, CS-Pu IV H 12, f.9r. (Transcribed by J. Černý, "Stredoveky vicehlas....," [p.109].)



The upper voice of the proposed three-voice archetype is the same as the upper voice in the two other sources, St S3 and Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 314 (CH-EN 314) [Ex. 3].[32] These sources set the same three-word text, though with a number of melodic variants. One important difference is the short, organal-like cauda ("tail") in the Polish manuscript.

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32. On the Engelberg manuscript see J. Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 3 (1928) 64 - 96; and RISM B IV^2, 57 - 60. The Benedicamus is transcribed in the "Notenbeilage," #4, 4 - 5.

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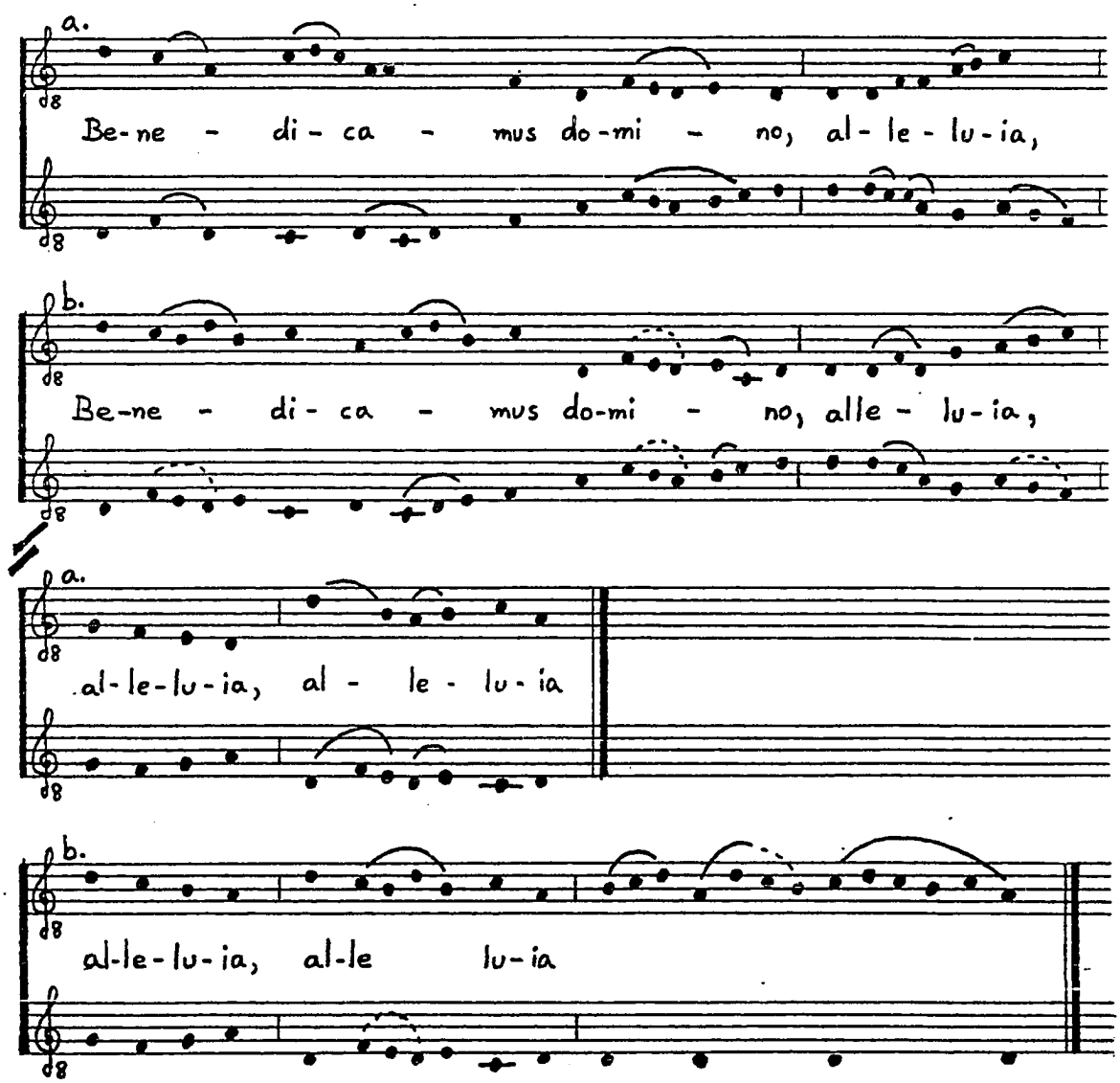
Example 3: a. Benedicamus domino, alleluia, CH-EN 314, f.127r.
(Transcribed by J. Handschin, "Angelomontana Polyphonica,"
"Notenbeilage" #4, pp. 4 - 5.)
b. Benedicamus domino, alleluia, PL-St S3, p. 255.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 178.)



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The second polyphonic setting in St S3 simply adds a second voice to the Benedicamus chant that is copied above it on the folio [Ex. 4].[33]

Example 4: Benedicamus domino, alleluia, PL-St S3, p. 255. (Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 178.)

33. See the facsimile in AMP XIII, 178. The penultimate note in the chant is indicated by a custos in the facsimile and the final note is added by analogy from the polyphonic version.

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The antiphonal which contains these two Benedicamus settings was probably copied in the latter half of the thirteenth century.[34] In his description of the source, Perz proposed a date of about 1300; Černý, on the basis of similarities to other later Bohemian sources, has suggested a terminus post quem of about 1350.[35] The notation of the two polyphonic additions, however, is very similar to the script of the main corpus, and I believe that they were copied into the manuscript soon after its initial compilation, perhaps within the same scriptorium, which makes an earlier date more likely.[36]

In some respects, the Polish Benedicamus settings seem closer to earlier polyphonic works (from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries) than either the shorter (without cauda) Engelberg version or the "edited" and texted Bohemian source, again pointing to an earlier date of origin. As an example for comparison, the two-voice cantilena Divino maduit from the late twelfth-century source, GB-Ff.I.17.1 (f. 3r), shares a number of characteristics with the first Benedicamus setting from St S3, most importantly the simple contrapuntal technique and the short final cauda over a sustained tenor [Ex. 5].[37]

---

34. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxii.

35. Perz, Sources XIII: commentary, xxxii; Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 86 - 87.

36. The chant and the polyphony both have a similar ink tone, to judge from the facsimile.

37. The signature of the Cambridge source has been corrected from that in RISM B IV[1], 485 - 486. On this manuscript, see Cambridge Musical Manuscripts 900 - 1700, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 40 - 44.

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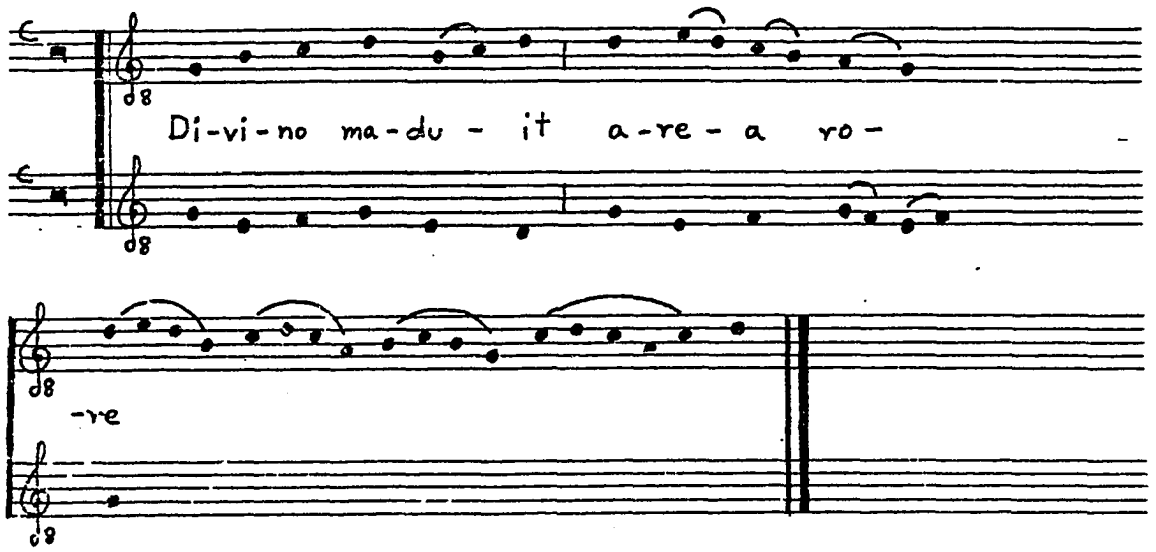
Example 5: Divino maduit area rore, GB-Ff.I.17.1, f. 3r.[38]



Divino maduit area rore,
Virgula fronduit indita flore;
Sit Iudea sacro grata decore,
Ut terra lauacro, flores odore!

Whatever conclusion is reached concerning the dating of these two Benedicamus settings, they still provide a link with earlier polyphonic styles first developed in Western Europe. It seems probable that these works were at least of Central European origin and just possibly, especially as in the case of the second Benedicamus setting known only from St S3, they may have been composed in Poland.

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38. The full text for this piece was published by O. Schumann, "Die jungere Cambridger Liedersammlung," Studi Medievali XVI (1943 - 1950) 82 - 83.

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The fragment St S2 was found sewn together with St S4 in the Stary Sącz library, where they combined to form part of a book binding.[39] The recto of St S2 contains three monophonic works, the sequence Ave mater gratie, an Amen and a Benedicamus Domino. The sequence is helpful in establishing the general provenance of the source, since its earliest versions are all found in manuscripts from East Central European Franciscan cloisters, and St S2 is probably the oldest.[40] The verso of this fragment preserves a unique four-voice, conductus-like setting, Omnia beneficia [Ex. 6], which is most likely of Stary Sacz provenance. The work is written, as are many Notre Dame conducti, in score. Placed beneath the lowest voice are two lines of text, which might be part of a sequence.[41] The text is set in an iso-syllabic style and the majority of intervals are perfect fifths or fourths. According to Perz, the most probable date for this fragment is about 1300 based on his interpretation of the notational style.

St S4 contains what is probably a Benedicamus trope.[42] The pre-

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39. Sources XIII: commentary, xx; facsimile, 12; and XIV: commentary, 15 - 16; transcription, 197. See also Perz, "Organum," 9 - 11. In Examples 6 and 7, which follow, I have applied modal interpretations to the ligatures of the original notation in contrast to the non-rhythmic transcriptions in Sources XIV. It is my opinion that especially in the final melisma of Example 7 the regular ligature patterns in both voices require some form of mensural transcription.

40. Sources XIII: commentary, xx. See also Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 98.

41. Most strophic poetry and sequences set only one verse under the music, and, if provided, other verses were written after the music or in the margins.

42. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxii; facsimile, 179 - 180; and XIV: commentary, 166; transcription, 477 - 478. See also Perz,

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served text begins [...] et via regens devium and concludes with benedicat domino [Ex. 7]. This fragment uses a slightly different style of black square notation; for example, the breves are more rectangular in St S4 than St S2. The text is set alternately in melismatic and syllabic styles ending with a long melisma on domino. Perz has also dated this fragment about 1300, but Černý believes that it is most likely from the mid-fourteenth century.[43]

Example 6: Excerpt from Omnia beneficia, PL-ST S2.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 12.)

"Organum," 4 (facsimile on p. 5, Figure 1).

43. Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 86.

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Example 7: Excerpt from [...] et via regens devium ... benedicat domino, PL-St S4.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, pp. 179 - 180.)

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The thirteenth-century Franciscan gradual in which the fragments known as St S1 were used as binding material also contains in an appendix one polyphonic composition, St S5. This is a two-voice setting of a section from a troped lesson for Christmas matins, Iube domne benedicere: Una cunctis leticie [see Ex. 8].[44] The lesson text is taken from Lesson IV: Sermo sancti Leonis Papae, to which is added a trope, O Maria celi via.[45] This same trope and its melody are also found inserted into the Alleluia: Ave benedicta, and in fact it seems that the polyphonic lesson is derived from this chant.[46]

In a sixteenth-century Hungarian source for the troped Alleluia: Ave benedicta, an alternation between organa and chorus is indicated in the manuscript, implying perhaps that there was a tradition of polyphony, whether improvised or composed (or possibly even instrumental in the case of this late source), attached to this chant.[47] It is possi-

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44. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxiii; facsimile, 182 - 184; and XIV: commentary, 167 - 169; transcription, 479 - 481. See also T. Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen, Müncher Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 15, 2 vols. (Tützing, 1961): diplomatic transcription, I, 120 - 121; commentary, I, 323 - 324; analysis, II, 67 - 73.

45. For the full text of this lesson, without the interpolated trope, see The Liber Usualis ... (Tournai: Desclée Company, 1963) 381 - 382.

46. The Alleluia is published by B. Stäblein, "Alleluia," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart I, sp. 347 - 350; B. Rajeczky, Írásai (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976) 135 - 136; and Z. Nejedlý, Dějiny Husitského zpěvu, 6 vols. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československe Akademie Ved, 1954 - 1956) II, 71 - 74. The relation between the Alleluia and the Polish lesson is examined in T. Göllner, "Eine mehrstimmige tropierte Weihnachtslektion in Polen," Acta Musicologica 37 (1965) 165 - 178; Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen ... Lesungen II, 67 - 73; and Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 83 - 86.

47. Rajeczky, Írásai, 135 - 136. The trope in this source has a

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ble that the lesson reading was an adaptation of an earlier polyphonic

Example 8: Excerpt from Iube domne ... Una cunctis leticie with the trope O Maria celi via, PL-St S5, pp. 378 - 380. (Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, pp. 182 - 184.)[48]

setting of the troped Alleluia. However, the unique character of the transformation, including the migration of the chant melody from one voice to the other, would seem to lend greater credence to the hypothesis that a Polish composer took the monophonic chant with its trope and created a new polyphonic work to ornament a Christmas matins service.

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clear, rhythmic notation.

48. Manuscript: Upper voice has C over "rum" of "liberum."

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The five polyphonic works from these four sources -- the two Benedicamus settings, the conductus Omnia beneficia, the troped Benedicamus from St S4 and the troped lesson from Christmas matins -- are important evidence of polyphonic practices in Poland during the fourteenth century. In two cases, the first Benedicamus setting from St S3 and the troped Christmas lesson from St S5, there are relationships with other medieval compositions, though in the case of the troped lesson, a Polish composer may have reworked the earlier material into a new composition. The other three works have no exact parallels but are similar to many forms of polyphonic composition known throughout the rest of Europe. While St S1 demonstrates the knowledge of Western European ars antiqua polyphony in Poland, the three unica in these other sources from Stary Sącz -- the second Benedicamus setting, the conductus Omnia beneficia and the fragmentary troped Benedicamus from St S4 -- are possibly the earliest examples of native Polish polyphony.

Early Bohemian Polyphonic sources from St. George's Convent, Praha

The oldest polyphonic sources from the Kingdom of Bohemia all stem from the Benedictine convent of St. George in Praha. Though the early fourteenth-century record of a Liber discantorum operis Pragensis in the library of the monastery of Opatovice possibly refers to ars antiqua style polyphony -- perhaps organa, conducti and motets --the manuscripts from the St. George's cloister contain two-voice works from

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a different polyphonic tradition.[49]

Three of these manuscripts -- Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna, VI G 10a (ČS-Pu VI G 10a), VII G 16 (ČS-Pu VII G 16),and V H 11 (ČS-Pu V H 11) -- are related, since each includes a copy of the two-voice Benedicamus trope, Procedentem sponsum de thalamo.[50] This work is found in at least twelve manuscripts, often connected with Christmas matins. The earliest source for this composition is D-MuO, f.88r, from the twelfth century, and the latest is probably D-B-T190, f.32r, from about 1500.[51]

In essence, this work is based on the twelfth- and thirteenth-century technique of voice-exchange (Stimmtausch). There are two phrases, in which the same basic melodic material is exchanged between the two voices, except that a cauda is inserted before the final cadence of the second phrase [see Ex. 9].[52]

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49. On the liber discantorum, see Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 30.

50. The best studies of Procedentem sponsum are V. Plocek, "Nejstarší dvojhlasy v rukopisech universitní knihovny," Ročenka Universitní Knihovny v Praze 1960 - 1961 (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1962) 129 - 148; and Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 23 - 25.

51. Concordances for Prodedentem sponsum are found in A-GO307, A-Gu756, A-Iu457, CH-EN314, D-B-T190, D-Gu220, D-Lk, D-Mbs5023, D-Mbs5511, D-BaB4, D-Göttingen, D-Heid, D-MuO, D-Erf B, D-ETw44, D-Mbs6419, D-Mu156, H-Bn243, I-Rvat488, YU-Zn10. See the entries in the appropriate volumes of RISM B IV$^{1, 2, 3/4}$. A facsimile of Procedentem from YU-Zn10 is published in J. Szendrai, A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, MUhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 1 (Budapest: Közzéteszi az MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981) 254, plate 60.

52. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 24, is a reconstruction of the Urform of this voice-exchange composition.

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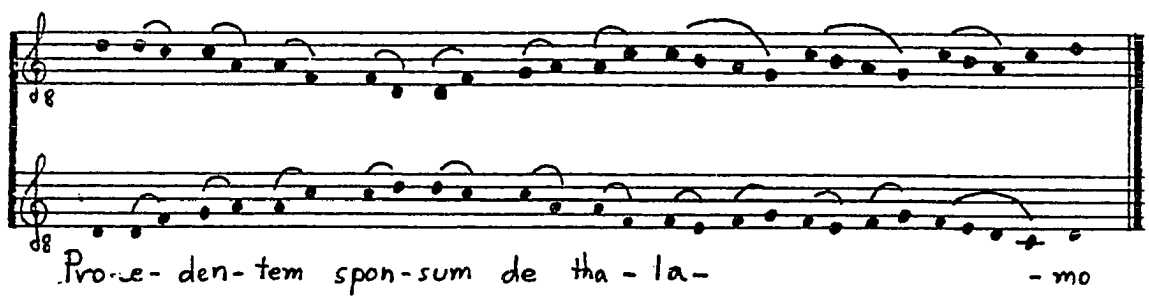
In the majority of the sources, the composition is copied in non-mensural black notation, often in the style called "German Chant notation" (Nagelschrift). There is a simple note-against-note correspondence between the two parts so that there is no need for notating any complex rhythmic durations. The three-voice caca, O Virgo splendens, from the Llibre Vermell is similarly written, using only non-mensural ligatures.[53]

Example 9: Procedentem sponsum, ČS-Pu VI G 10a, f. 114r. (Transcribed after the facsimile in V. Plocek, "Nejstarší dvojhlasy," "Obrazova priloha [Appendix of illustrations]," plate 14.)



In Bohemia, the earliest sources of the polyphonic version of this trope are ČS-Pu VI G 10a, from the early fourteenth century, and ČS-Pu VII G 16, from the second half of the fourteenth century.[54] An

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53. See the edition of this work in the Oxford Anthology of Music: Medieval Music, ed. W. Thomas Marrocco and N. Sandon (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977) 189 - 190..

54. The best descriptions of these sources are in V. Plocek, Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae - in Bibliotheca universitatis

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earlier monophonic form of Procedentem sponsum de thalamo is found in a thirteenth-century source, also from St. George's Cloister in Praha, ČS-Pu VI G 10b.[55] The third Bohemian two-voice setting is in a late fourteenth-century manuscript, ČS-Pu V H 11.[56] In Pu VI G 10a and Pu VII G 16, the Benedicamus trope is the only polyphonic work. In Pu V H 11, it occurs as part of a polyphonic group which also includes two-voice settings of the three lessons from Isaiah read during the first nocturn at Christmas matins: Lesson I - Primo tempore alleviata est terra Zabulon, Lesson II - Consolamini, consolamini, populе meus, and Lesson III - Consurge, consurge, induere fortitudine tua.[57] This grouping is found in a number of sources that also contain the polyphonic Procedentem sponsum.[58]

The polyphonic singing of lessons, especially from Christmas matins, was common in the fourteenth century. A majority of the sources of this repertoire that are still preserved come from Central and East Central Europe.[59] ČS-Pu V H 11 is the earliest Bohemian

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Pragensis servuntur, 2 vols. (Pragae: Academia Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1973) I, 222 - 232 and 274 - 284. See also RISM B IV^3, 254 - 255 and 255.

55. There is a facsimile of this piece in Plocek, "Nejstarší dvojhlasy," "Obrazova priloha," plate 17. See also Plocek, Catalogus, I, 232 - 239.

56. Plocek, Catalogus, I, 103 - 117; and RISM B IV^3 239.

57. The complete texts of these lessons are given in the Liber Usualis, 375 - 377.

58. Among these sources are A-GO307, D-Gu220, D-Mbs5511, D-Göttingen, D-Erf B, CH-EN314.

59. The definitive study of this repertoire is T. Göllner, Die

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source for the three lessons it contains, and is related to a number of similar settings examined by Göllner.[60]

One further fourteenth-century source from the Benedictine cloister of St. George, Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna, rkp. XIV G 46 (CS-Pu XIV G 46), includes a polyphonic work of Bohemian origin.[61] On f. 102 is copied a two-voice Amen for the hymn, Lux vera lucis radium, to St. Ludmilla, patroness of Bohemia.[62] The Amen is simply a discant to the hymn melody. The contrapuntal technique is simple note-against-note counterpoint, similar to Procedentem sponsum and the Benedicamus settings in St S3.

Unfortunately, more sources, similar to those preserved at Stary Sącz, have not been found in Bohemia, though they probably did exist at one time. In addition to the reference to a Liber discantorum operis Pragensis, there is mention of the singing of mensural music in Hradec

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mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen.

60. For a study specifically of the Bohemian sources for polyphonic lesson settings, see Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 30 - 45.

61. For descriptions of this source see RISM B IV^3 262 - 263 and Plocek, Catalogus, II, 712 - 716.

62. An edition of the monophonic hymn was published by B. Stäblein, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, I: Hymnen (Kassel-Basel, 1956), 337 - 338; the polyphonic Amen is published in the critical notes at the end of the volume on p. 594; however, Stäblein gives an incorrect siglum for this source. A further transcription of the polyphony, with a setting of the words from the first verse, is published in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 26.

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Králové from the early fourteenth century.[63] The Amen to Lux vera lucis radium demonstrates that Bohemian composers were able to imitate the style of earlier works and Procedentem sponsum finds an echo in the later two-voice settings of Zachaeus arboris.[64] These few sources are the only remaining evidence of what must have been a strong polyphonic tradition in the convents and monasteries of Bohemia.

Polyphony from St. Andrew's Convent, Kraków

In 1316, a convent of the Franciscan Order of St. Clare was built next to the Church of St. Andrew within the walls of Kraków. This convent, the first for Clarist nuns in Poland, had been originally founded before 1255 in the town of Zawichost (near Sandomierz), where there was already a group of Franciscan monks. But because of the second Mongol invasion of Poland in 1259, the convent was first moved to Skala near Kraków about 1260 and then within the city walls.[65] A

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63. K. Konrád, Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského (Praha: Tiskem a Nákladem Cyrillo-Methodejske Knehtiskany [J. Zeman a Spol.], 1881) 90 ("secundum artis musicae mensuram").

64. On Zachaeus arboris see two works by F. Musík, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Budapest, Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c.l.m.ae. 243)," Acta Universitaties Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 2, 1965: Studie a materiály k dějinám starší české hudby (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1965) 30 - 32; and Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu, Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 3, 1961 (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1961) 34 - 36. Zachaeus arboris is a Benedicamus substitute for the dedication of a church; see Analecta Hymnica I, 149.

65. See J. Stoksik, "Powstanie i późniejszy rozwój uposazenia klasztoru w Krakowie w XIII i XIV wieku," Rocznik Krakowskie XXXV (1961) 94; Długosz, Annales, Liber VII, 120, 128, 137 - 138, 160; and M. Perz, "Quattro esempi sconosciuti del 'Cantus planus

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few works of medieval polyphony have been found in the library of the St. Andrew's convent. These include two complete settings of a strophic Benedicamus trope, Surrexit Christus hodie, and two separate parchment fragments containing the remnants of possibly three polyphonic works.

Both of these fragments had been used to repair torn pages in a late thirteenth-century Franciscan antiphonary, M 207, still preserved in the St. Andrew's library. The later of these two fragments, PL-Kklar2, probably dates from the early fifteenth century and in theory lies outside the chronological limits of this chapter.[66] On one side is copied part of a polyphonic setting for the sequence Ave virgo regia, whose words were written in the early fifteenth century by Adam Świnka de Zielona, a canon of Gnieźno and Kraków. The other side possibly includes a portion of a two-voice setting for another sequence, Fulget dies, in qua quies, concerning St. Jadwiga and probably the initial letter from a new text. At most only a short polyphonic phrase of each composition can be transcribed [Ex. 10], but it is enough to show that these settings were in a simple note-against-note style similar to most of the works discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

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binatim' in Polonia," Memorie e contributi alla musica dal Medioevo all'èta moderna offerti a Federico Ghisi, Biblioteca di "Quadrivium' Serie Musicologica 12 (Bologna, 1971) I, 99 - 100.

66. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxiv; facsimile, 186. See also Perz, "Quattro esempi," 101 - 102; facsimile, plates 5 and 6.

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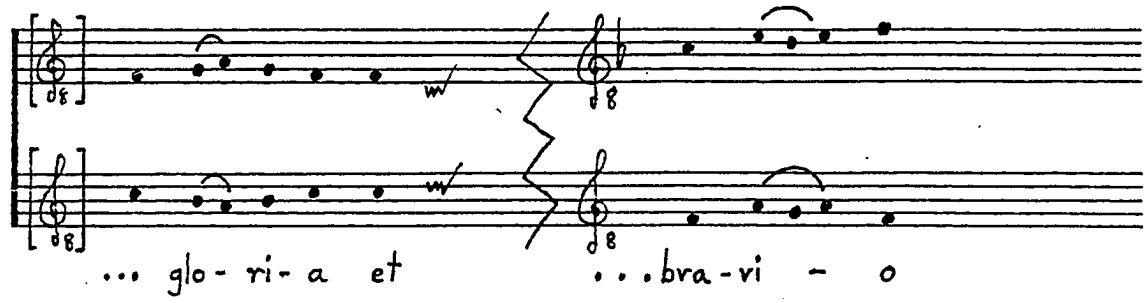
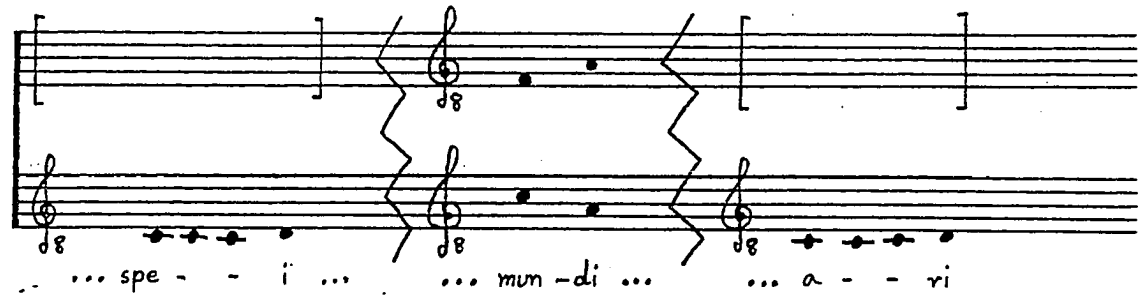
Example 10: Fragments from PL-Kklar2.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 186)



Example 11: Fragments from PL-Kklar1.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 186)



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The older of the two fragments, Kklar1, has been dated by Perz at about 1400.[67] It contains only a few notes in a simple polyphonic style. The similarity of two phrase endings, unfortunately without their upper voices, leads Perz to conclude that they are part of one work [Ex. 11].

The third polyphonic source from the St. Andrew's convent, PL-Kklar 205, occurs in a fourteenth-century appendix added to a late thirteenth-century Franciscan gradual.[68] Copied on a single side of the parchment leaf are two different settings of the strophic Benedicamus trope Surrexit Christus hodie. The appendix is part of a monophonic Kyriale containing parts of the ordinary of the mass (Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei). Some of these single-voice settings are interesting in their own right since they are notated in ars nova notation, that is, black mensural notation using prolation, here indicated by the prominent pairing of semibreve and minim [Ex. 12].[69]

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67. Sources XIII: commentary, xxxiv; facsimile, 186. See also Perz, "Quattro esempi," 100; facsimile, plates 3 and 4.

68. Sources XIII: commentary xxxiii: facsimile, 185; and XIV: commentary, 169 - 170; transcriptions, 482. See also RISM B IV^4 1146 - 1147 (the manuscript signature is printed in error as 206).

69. See A. Sutkowski, "Kompozycje niechoralowe w graduale klasztoru Św. Andrzeja w Krakowie (Sygn. M 205/594)," Musica Medii Aevi I (1965) 89 - 95 and the facsimiles bound at the end of the volume. A full transcription of two Sanctus/Agnus pairs from PL-Kklar 205 is in Appendix V, 412 - 418. In RISM B IV^4, 1147, one of these pairs is described as "a single voice (probably Superior) of a polyphonic composition."

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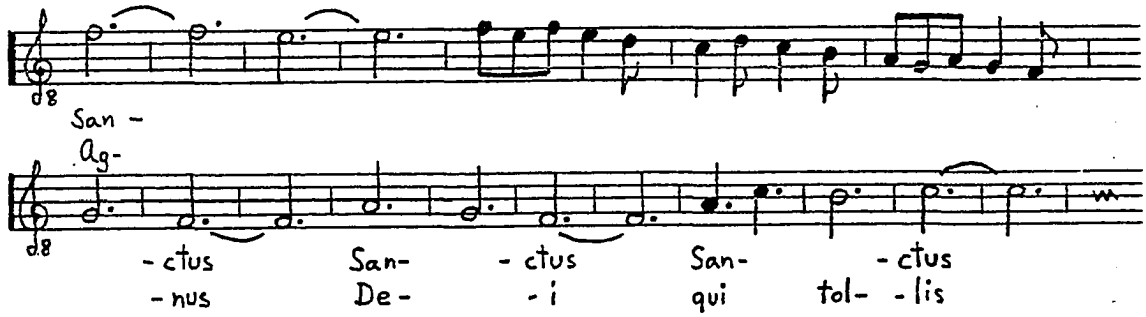
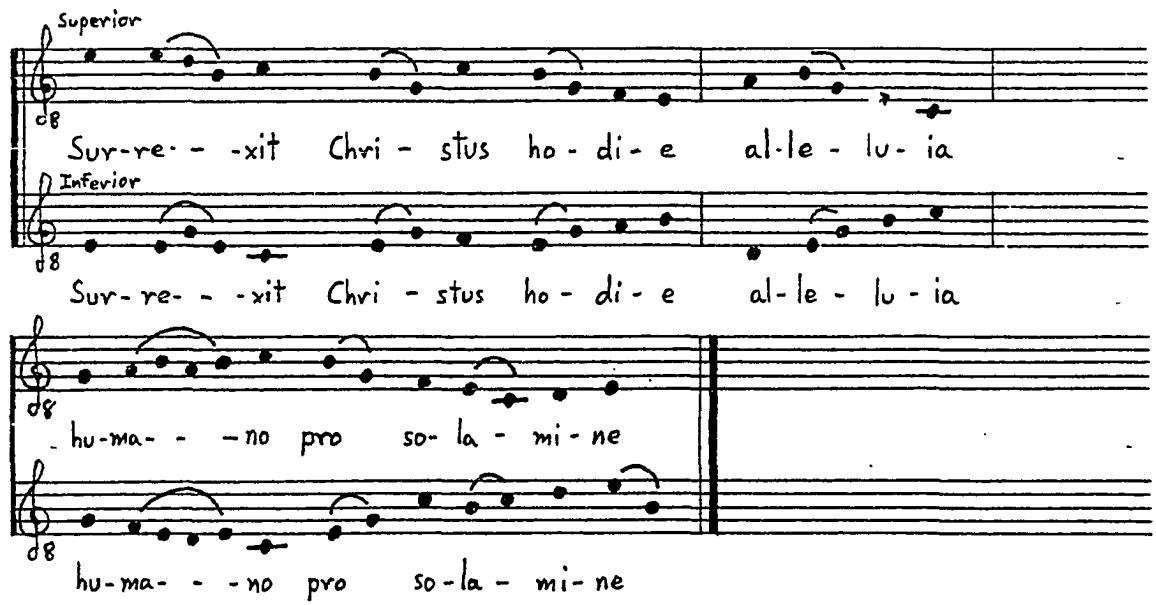
Example 12: Monophonic Sanctus/Agnus from PL-Kklar 205, f. 251v [excerpt].



Example 13: Surrexit Christus hodie, two-voice version, PL-Kklar 205, f. 251r.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 185.)



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Like the earlier untroped Benedicamus settings in St S3, both arrangements of the troped Benedicamus from Kklar 205, which also include the respond Deo Gratias in the final stanza, were used during Paschal time, indicated by the final Aileluia. The two-voice Surrexit [Ex. 13], which is copied at the top of folio 251r in the source, is related to a group of monophonic and polyphonic works which also set the texts to other Benedicamus tropes, In laudem sancti spiritus and Ascendit Christus hodie.[70] Even though the basic melodies are the same in these different versions, their pitch centers vary from source to source. A monophonic setting of Ascendit Christus hodie, similar to the upper voice of the Kklar 205 version, is found in the Moosburg Gradual from 1356 - 1360 centered on F and a polyphonic setting in the sixteenth-century cantional from Chrudim is like Kklar 205 centered on E.[71] Monophonic versions of this upper voice have also been found with the texts In laudem sancti spiritus and Surrexit Christus hodie in the fourteenth-century source, ČS-Pu V H 11, and the fifteenth-century ČS-Pnm XII F 14.[72] It appears that this upper voice had an extensive,

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70. See the extensive discussion of these works in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 59 - 70.

71. Both of these settings are examined in Černý, "Středověký vicehlas," 58 - 59, 62 - 65 and the Chrudim version is edited on p. 110. On Chrudim, see RISM B IV^3 128 - 139. The text and music from the Moosburg Gradual are edited in Analecta hymnica, vol. 21, pp. 52 and 219. For a description of this later source, D-Mu156, see RISM B IV^2, 81 - 82.

72. See Nejedlý, Počátky husitského zpěvu (Praha, 1907) 293 - 298 and Nejedlý, Dejiny husitského zpěvu III, 189 - 196. The monophonic version in Pu V H 11 is also published in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 110.

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independent existence, separate from its use as part of a polyphonic composition, of which the setting in Kklar 205 is only one fourteenth-century witness.

The three-voice setting of Surrexit Christus hodie [Ex. 14] copied below the two-voice version on f. 251r in Kklar 205 also has a concordance in a Bohemian source. The early fifteenth-century manuscript, Vyšší Brod, klasterní knihovna, cod. 42 (ČS-VB 42), was copied in 1410 by Frater Przybiconem, a monk and priest in the Cistercian monastery on the Moldau at Vyšší Brod.[73] On f. 151v of this source there is a concordance with the three-voice setting from the convent of St. Andrew without the media [vox]. The two versions are very similar, with only small variations in pitch. Both versions also show the attempt to notate prolation, and were probably meant to be sung in a measured style.[74] Even though the minim stems in Kklar 205 were perhaps added later, they are not out of style with the other mensural monophonic works in this source.[75] Also, the use of individual semibreves (not even ligated when two notes are sung to one syllable) would seem to indicate that the copyist was notating a work with a definite rhythm.[76]

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73. See RISM B IV^3 305 - 308.

74. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 66 - 67, is a comparative transcription and reconstruction of this polyphonic work and p.110 is a transcription in measured rhythm of the Vyšší Brod composition. A facsimile of the Vyšší Brod composition is published in K. Konrád, Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského "Beilage 2".

75. See, for example, the Sanctus/Agnus pairs edited in Appendix V, 412 - 418.

76. In the Inferior voice, the last note of the second system (semibreve, d) and the fist note of the third system (longa, e)

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Example 14: Surrexit Christus hodie, three-voice version,
PL-Kklar 205, f. 251r.
(Transcribed after the facsimile in Sources XIII, p. 85.)

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are c - d in the manuscript. This difference is not noted in the commentary to the transcription in Sources XIV, 170.

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It has not been possible to find the origin of these two compositions. The Polish copy is probably the oldest polyphonic source but the geographical separation between the late fourteenth-century monophonic settings -- in the Moosburg Gradual and ČS-Pu V H 11 -- only limits the place of composition to Central and East Central Europe. Černý has proposed that the probable origin of these works, especially the two-voice version, is to be located in Bohemia, but the evidence for or against this hypothesis is insufficient for any definite conclusions. In any case, the significance of these two polyphonic settings of Surrexit Christus for the history of Polish polyphonic usage (if not Polish composition) is assured, and they are important evidence of the contacts, in whatever direction, between Poland and its immediate neighbors.

Crucifixum in Carne and Ad dextram Patris

As early as 1924, Ludwig reported the existence of a two-voice setting of the text Crucifixum in carne..., contained in a manuscript from Křivoklát (Püglitz), which he dated from the thirteenth century.[77] This was but one of a number of polyphonic settings of this text that were part of an extended exchange in the issues of the Archiv für Musikwissenschaft in 1924 and 1925, with an addendum added in 1962 / 1963. Wagner had inaugurated the discussion with his comments on two

77. F. Ludwig, "Nochmals zum organum Crucifixum in carne," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft (1924), 215. See also RISM B IV^3, 186: Krivoklát, Hradní knihovna, rkp. I e 10 (ČS-KR 10).

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little-known sources, and in particular two two-voice compositions which he transcribed.[78] One was a partial setting of the Dicant nunc Judei from the respond (or processional antiphon) Christus resurgens, from the so-called Breviarium Lausannense.[79] The second piece was transcribed as an Alleluia (monophonic), followed by a polyphonic setting of its "verse" Crucifixum in carne. This was taken from a source, at present in Karlsruhe, that was copied in Erfurt after 1333, perhaps for the Augustinian nunnery in the Neuwerkskloster.[80] This was almost immediately followed by Ludwig's article mentioned above, where Ludwig demonstrated that the monophonic Alleluia of Wagner's transcription was actually part of a preceding verse in the manuscript, Recordamini, quo modo praedixit, which was along with the verse Crucifixum in carne part of the respond Sedit angelus ad sepulchrum. This respond along with the respond Christus resurgens and the hymn, Salve, festa dies, were part of the elaborate procession before the mass on Easter morning.[81] The placement of this verse in the liturgy was further clarified by Wagner, who also published a monophonic version of the respond Sedit

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78. P. Wagner, "Zu den liturgischen Organa," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VI (1924) 54 - 57.

79. Fribourg, Bib. Cantonale et Univ., L 61. See RISM B IV^1, 51 - 52.

80. See RISM B IV 1, 87 on D-Kar C.

81. A full description of this procession in the Sarum Use is given in the Oxford Anthology ... Medieval Music, 22 - 27, including a transcription of the three works mentioned in the text. The respond Sedit angelus, however, has only the single verse, Crucifixum in carne. See also T. Miazga, Die Gesänge zur Osterprozession in dem handschriftlichen Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

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angelus with its verses from the Karlsruhe manuscript.[82] The early secondary sources concerning this text closed with Handschin's short study and transcription of the two-voice version from the Notre Dame sources.[83]

A postscript to this series of articles was published after Köllner's discovery of a two-part setting of Crucifixum in carne in a Mainz source from the fifteenth century.[84] In this manuscript, Crucifixum in carne is listed as a separate antiphon in the index rather than a verse. In a later liturgical book from this diocese, the Breviarium Monguntinum (dated 1475), this verse / antiphon is designated as a Suffragium after the Benedicamus of first Vespers of the Sundays "in Albis" for all Sundays and feasts until Ascension.[85]

Though the two-voice setting of Crucifixum in carne in the Křivoklát manuscript is definitely part of this tradition, there are a few points of difference [Ex. 15].[86] The Bohemian setting is less elabo-

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82. Wagner, "Zum Organum Crucifixum in carne," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VI (1924) 401 - 406. Wagner published the chant in four sections (pp. 402 - 403): 1. Sedet angelus, 2. Crucifixum in carne, 3. Nolite and 4. Recordamini. In some other sources, Nolite is the end of the respond and is used as a shortened repeat, sung after the first verse. See the Oxford Anthology ... Medieval Music, 23 - 24.

83. J. Handschin, "Zum Crucifixum in carne," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII (1925) 161 - 166.

84. G.F. Köllner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts als Quelle zum 'Crucifixum in carne,'" Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 19/20 (1962/1963) 208 - 212.

85. Köllner, "Eine Mainzer Choralhandschrift," 210.

86. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 49 - 50, is a short study of the Bohemian version and [p. 105] is a full transcription.

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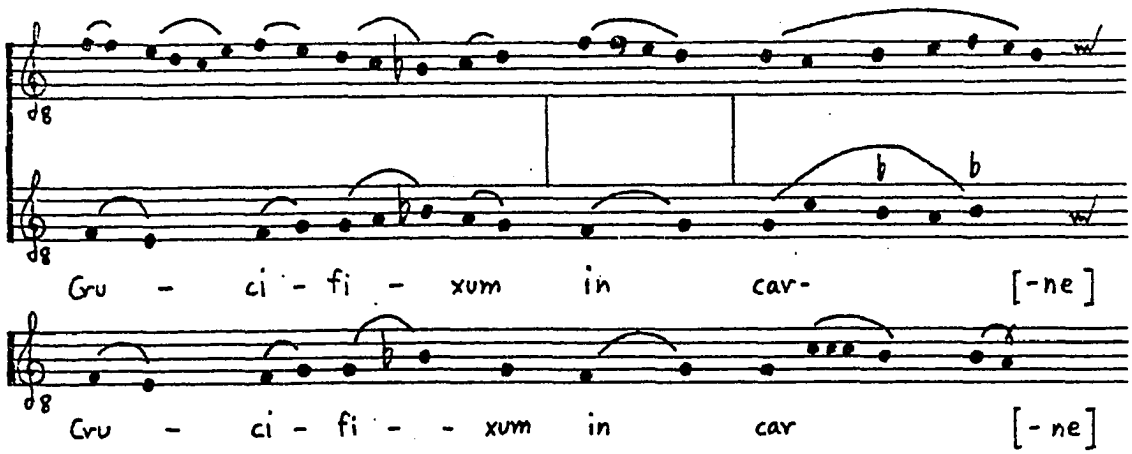
rate than the Notre Dame and Mainz versions, which have long tenor notes and extended melismas. The chants which form the tenors of these settings are also different. The Notre Dame versions are in G, and the Mainz setting though centered on C seems to be based on a similar cantus firmus. The Bohemian version is centered on F and the tenor is very similar in pitch and melody to the monophonic setting published by Wagner from the Karlsruhe manuscript.

Example 15: Excerpt from Crucifixum in carne, two-voice version from Křivoklát and monophonic version from Karlsruhe. (Transcription of polyphonic version from Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," [p. 105]. Transcription of monophonic version from Wagner, "Zum Organum Crucifixum in carne," p. 402 - 403.)



The chant used in the other polyphonic sources is very similar to that of the monophonic version from the Karlsruhe source, though it is slightly simplified and transposed.[87]

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87. Compare the Sarum version of this chant published in the Oxford

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After Crucifixum in carne in the Krivoklát source, there is a two-voice setting of the text, Ad dextram Patris residens.[88] In the Analecta Hymnica this text was published as a trope to an Agnus Dei.[89] Possibly, the setting of Ad dextram Patris was meant to be interpolated into a performance of the respond Sedit angelus with its verses, much as an Alleluia trope was used in the Polish setting of the lesson, Una cunctis leticie.[90] In this case, a verse of the trope could follow each verse of the respond; in the Karlsruhe source, the verse Recordamini is sung to the same melody as Crucifixum and this also might apply to the polyphonic setting.[91] However, it seems as likely that the trope was meant to be an independent composition. According to Černý's transcription, there is an addition of a B-flat signature before the trope in the source that was not part of the version of Crucifixum, which might be an indication that it is a separate composition.

These two pieces, if they are indeed two separate works, are certainly part of the traditions seen in other polyphonic works of probable East Central European provenance. They were written with a simple contrapuntal and harmonic technique, which contrast with the earlier, and more elaborate Notre Dame settings. While not the first

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Anthology ... Medieval Music, 24.

88. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 50, and the transcription on [p. 105].

89. Analecta Hymnica, Band 47, 388. The text is also published in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 96 - 97.

90. Concerning this setting, see above, 127 - 128.

91. See Wagner, "Zum Organum Crucifixum in carne," 402 - 403 for the chant version.

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documents of polyphonic practice in Bohemia, these may be among the earliest remaining evidence of a native composer using his knowledge of polyphonic practice.

A Kyrie and a Troped Lesson from Isaiah: Polyphonic Sources from Silesia

The earliest polyphonic sources from Silesia (Śląsk) can be divided into two groups, one containing a single fragmentary two-voice setting of a Kyrie, and the second including four separate sources, each containing a polyphonic elaboration of a lesson from the Midnight Mass for Christmas.

The Kyrie is found on a fragmentary leaf (f. 125v) bound into a late thirteenth-century gradual, probably from the Church of St. Mary in Kamenz.[92] According to von Fischer, this leaf was part of a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century addition to the gradual.[93] A number of sources contain complete polyphonic versions of the fragmentary two-voice Kyrie setting in the Silesian source. One of these, Mulhouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Cod. Mus. 3 (F-MUm 3) from the sixteenth century, is in three voices, two of which are identical to the preserved

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92. RISM B IV^4 1160. See also F. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege in mittelalterlichen Schlesien (Breslau, 1938; unaltered reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973) 109 - 110. In Feldmann, the folio is given as 139v, and apparently some of this folio has been cut away since his description and transcription.

93. RISM B IV^4 1160.

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parts of the two-voice version.[94] At least three related fourteenth-century settings for two voices use the entire text of the trope, Kyrie, magnae deus potentiae.[95]

The fragmentary Silesian setting is written on two five-line staves -- colored from the bottom up, black, red, green, brown, black -- and uses the so-called German chant notation often referred to as Nagelschrift.[96] The similarity of the different versions can be seen in Example 16.

The four remaining Silesian sources present strong evidence for a local polyphonic practice. In a number of Central European sources, there are polyphonic settings of the final verses, beginning In semper o pie succure katherve, from a trope added to the prophecy of Isaiah (9:2,6,7), which was sung before the epistle of Paul at Christmas Midnight Mass.[97] Before the two-voice setting of these final verses, the two earliest Silesian sources -- PL-WRu 417 from Henryków (Heinrichsau)

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94. RISM B IV^3 435. See also Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," "Notenbeilage," 2.

95. CH-EN 314, f. 93r (see Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," 69 - 70 and "Notenbeilage," 1); the Moosburger Gradual, D-Mu 156, f. 255r/v (RISM B IV^2 81 - 82; reproduced in the text booklet which accompanies the recording, "Ars Antiqua: Organum, Motette, Conductus, Frühe Mehrstimmigkeit," Cappella Antiqua München, Telefunken, Das Alte Werk, SAWT 9530131-B, plates 11 - 12); and GB-Lbm27630, f.32r - 33r (RISM B IV^4 612 - 631). The polyphonic setting is based on the same melody used in the modern Mass V; see the Liber Usualis, 28.

96. RISM B IV^4 1160.

97. For a complete discussion of these sources see Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen ... Lesungen, II, 84 - 93; and the transcriptions and commentary in I, 148 - 160 and 330 - 334.

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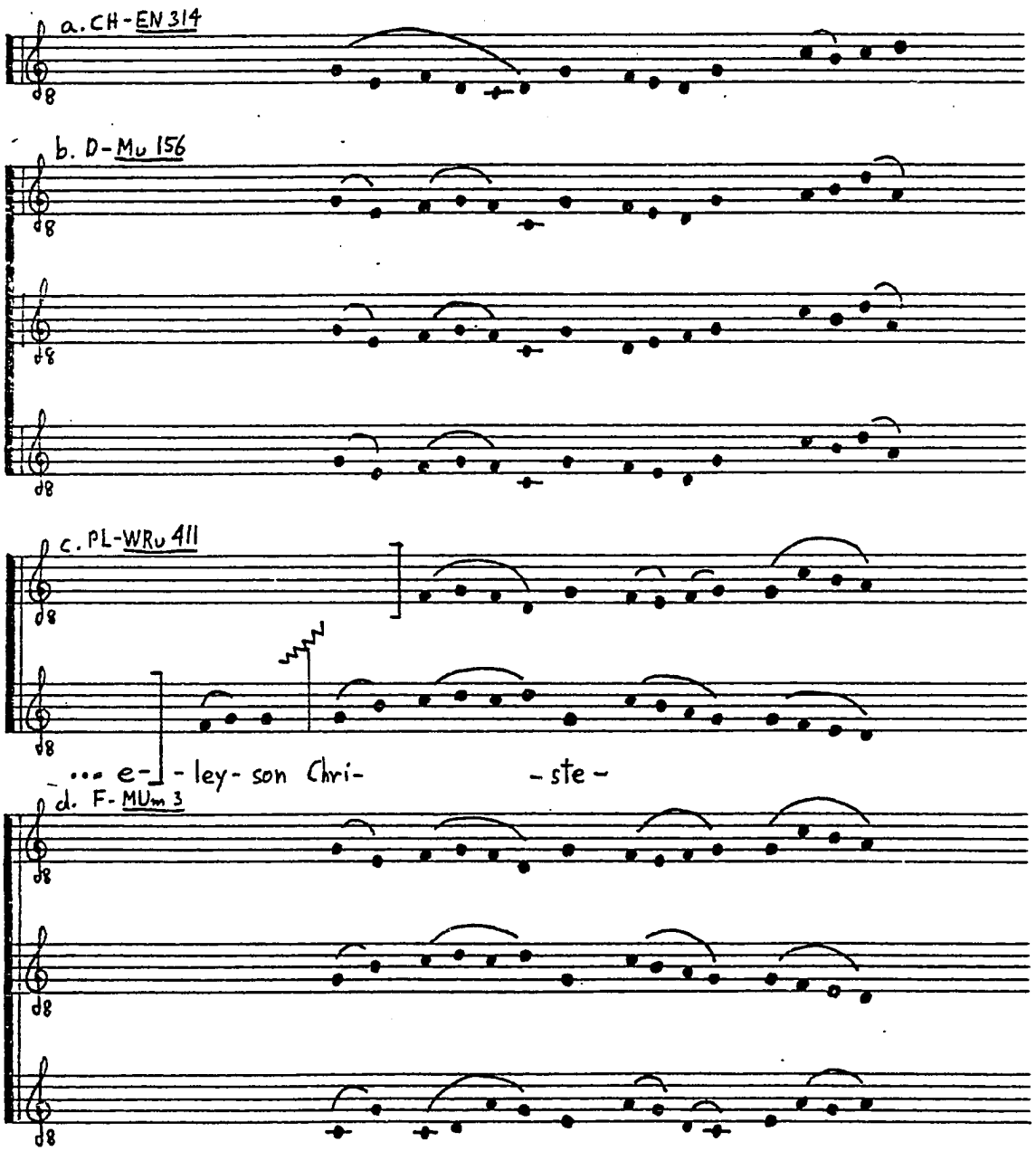
Example 16: Kyrie 2-voice fragment from PL-WRu 411, f. 125v (Ex. 16c) and related versions. (CH-EN 314 [Ex. 16a, discant only] and F-MUm 3 [Ex. 16d] are based on the transcriptions by J. Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," "Notenbeilage, 1,2. D-Mu 156 [Ex. 16b, discant only] is based on the facsimile in "Ars Antiqua," text booklet, Telefunken, SAWT 9530131-B, plates 11 – 12.)



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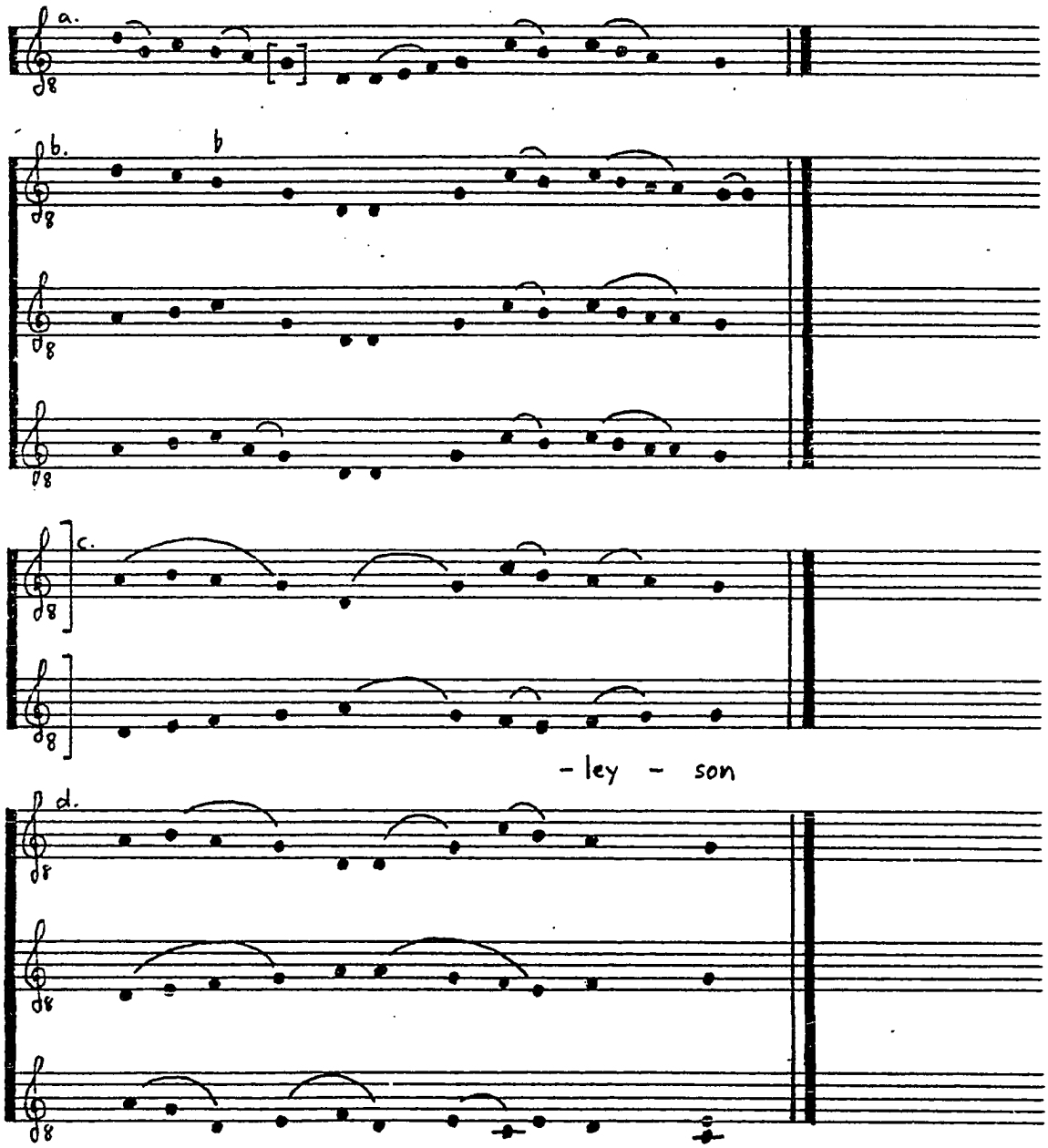

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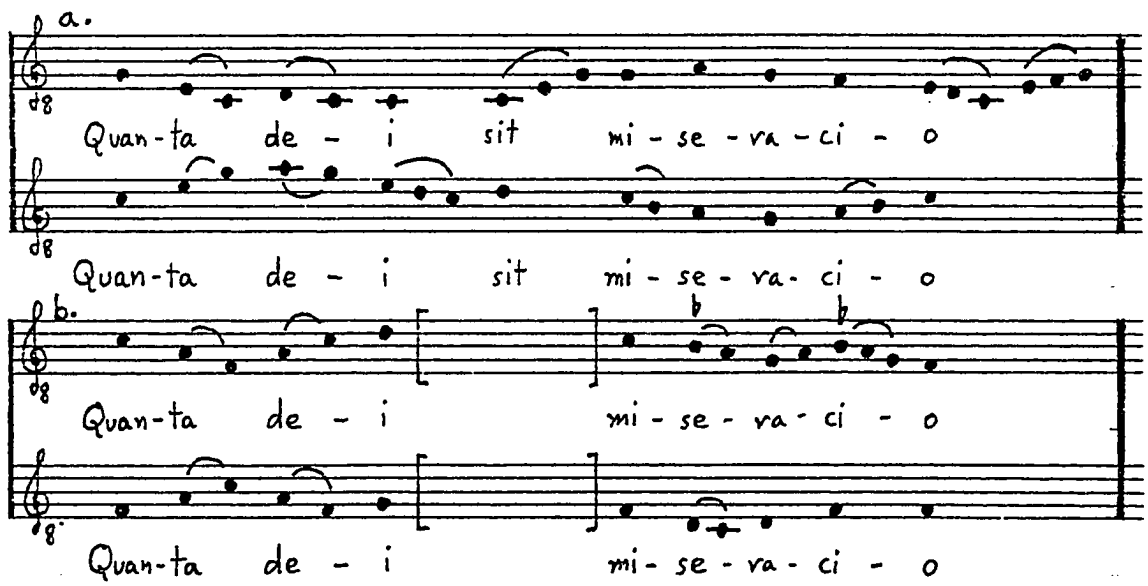
and PL-WRu 24, probably from the region near Brzeg (Brieg), both from the fourteenth century -- add a further two-voice setting of the verse, Quanta dei miseracio, not found in the other sources.[98] Even though they are in sources from such a restricted area, the two settings of Quanta dei sit miseracio are different (Ex. 17].[99]

Example 17: Quanta dei miseracio, PL-WRu 417 (Ex. 17a) and PL-WRu 24 (Ex. 17b).



The two other sources -- PL-WRu 505, dated 1427, and WRu 506,

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98. RISM B IV^4 1160 - 1161 and 1154 - 1155. See also Göllner, I, 154, for transcriptions of these two sources. Also useful is the discussion in Feldman, Musik und Musikpflege, 110 - 111.

99. Perhaps the upper voice in Example 17a was meant to begin a fifth above, rather than a fourth below, the lower voice.

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dated 1403 (this second manuscript is now lost) -- seem to have been parts of an antiphonal from St. Elisabeth's Church in Wrocław for the summer and winter seasons.[100] Only a photo remains of the end of this work as it was copied into WRu 506, but in all respects it is identical to that copied in WRu 505.[101]

The polyphony in both manuscripts was elaborated beyond the settings of only a few final verses. In the first place there is a polyphonic setting of the verse Manifesta declarat racio, which occurs before Quanta dei sit miseracio. In the two earlier sources the same "tenor" melody is monophonic for this verse, however the frequent alternation of fourths could easily imply the improvisation of counterpoint similar to that in WRu 505 and WRu 506. In the second place, there are two-voice settings for the verses following Quanta dei sit miseracio, which is only implied in WRu 24 and missing in WRu 417. In the third place, throughout the lesson as copied in WRu 505 there is an alternation between monophony and polyphony [Ex. 18]. The simple nature of these polyphonic interpolations into the monophony of the lesson and trope again could be evidence of earlier, improvised practices, and was certainly part of a strong tradition as evidenced in the sixteenth-century source, PL-WRu I F 391.[102]

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100. RISM B IV^4 1162 - 1164.

101. The photo was reproduced in H.A. Sander, "Organa und Konduktus in spätmittelalterlichen schlesischen Handschriften," Mitteilungen des schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 35 (1935) 230. See also Göllner, I, 155 - 160, for diplomatic transcriptions from these two sources.

102. Göllner, I, 334.

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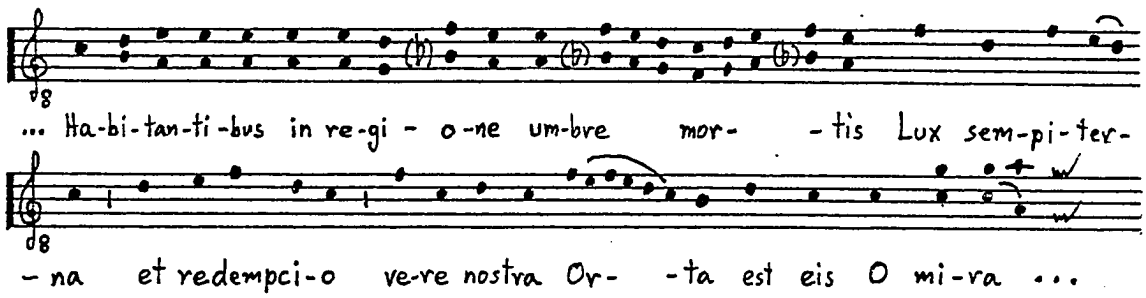
Example 18: Excerpts from the lesson, Populus gentium - Laudem Deo, PL-WRu 505.



The Kyrie is further evidence of the artistic contacts between the eastern borderlands and Western Europe. The tradition of singing the troped Isaiah lesson in polyphony probably entered Silesia from elsewhere, but the fact that these compositions have no parallels demonstrates that indigenous practices could expand on the polyphonic traditions known from other sources.

Polyphonic Christmas Lessons from Bohemia

The celebrations which surround Christmas have often stimulated musicians. The first four-part organa were for the Christmas season and, even though liturgical drama may have sprung from the Easter liturgy, it was soon applied to Christmas subjects: for example, the Three Kings, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the life of St. Nicho-

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laus.[103] To this day, the Christmas carol in its various national forms (including, for example, the Polish kolęda and the Czech koleda) are prominent in all secular and religious celebrations of the festival.

One of the most durable polyphonic traditions of the Middle Ages was the elaboration of the lesson readings which occur in the Christmas liturgy. Examples of this have already been discussed elsewhere in this chapter: Una cunctis leticie (PL-ST S5), the lessons in CS-Pu V H 11 and the settings of the troped Isaiah text from Silesia (PL-WRu 417, WRu 24, WRu 505 and WRu 506). Four other Bohemian sources demonstrate the continuity of that tradition from the late fourteenth into the fifteenth century.

One example of the polyphonic lesson that has not been discussed earlier in this chapter is the recitation of Jesus' genealogy from the first chapter of Matthew. Settings of the Liber generationis Jesu Christi are found in nineteen manuscripts.[104] Though readings from the Evangelists are normally associated with the Mass, in many medieval uses the Liber generationis was recited between the ninth lesson and

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103. For a transcription of the two, four-voice organa by Perotin, see E. Thurston, The Works of Perotin (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1970) 3 - 70. Concerning the liturgical dramas for Christmas see W. Smoldon, "Liturgical Drama," The New Oxford History of Music, II: Early Medieval Music up to 1300 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967) 175 - 219; and also C.W. Jones, The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and Its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries) [With an Essay on the Music by G. Reaney], Univ. of California English Studies 27 (Berkeley & Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1963).

104. See Göllner, II, 107 - 119, for a discussion of this repertoire and I, 188 - 258 and 338 - 348, for diplomatic transcriptions and commentaries.

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the Te Deum at the end of Christmas matins.[105] Most of the sources for the Liber generationis can be roughly divided into two groups.[106] However, one Bohemian source, copied in 1390, Praha, Národní Muzeum, rkp. XII A 1 (CS-Pnm XII A 1), is unique.[107] In the "older" of the two groups, the intervals are mostly open fifths or fifths and fourths. In the "newer" group, the greater use of thirds and the melodic movement by one of the voices in fourths and fifths is in a style appropriate for the fifteenth-century sources in which it is found. In CS-Pnm XII A 1, the resulting sonorities are closer to those of fauxbourdon; in a Bohemian source from 1390 this is a remarkable and early appearance of this style [Ex. 19].

The importance of the final polyphonic Christus in this Bohemian version is further heightened by the use of breves and semibreves in a simple mensural notation [Ex. 20].

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105. See D.P. Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum, ed. L. Mezey (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 83, 238, 293 and 398, for the placement of the Liber generacionis in some medieval Hungarian sources. This placement is also mentioned in F.Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967) 71.

106. See AMP XIV, 179 - 186, for a convenient summary and examples of the different groups.

107. Göllner, I, 195 - 200, 341 and II, 112, 113. See also Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 56.

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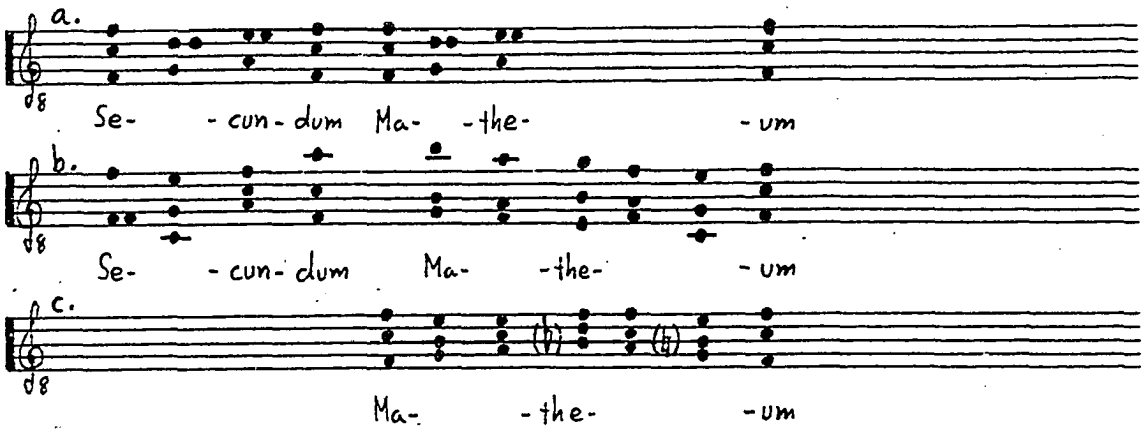
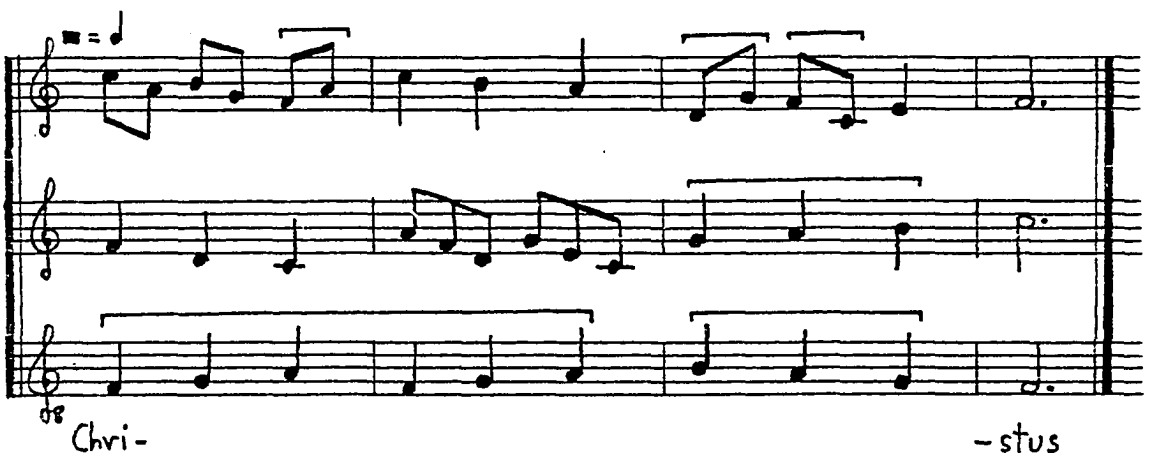
Example 19: Excerpt from the Liber generacionis, ČS-Pnm XII A 1, (Ex. 19c) compared with PL-WRu 386 (Ex. 19a) and PL-Kk 235 (Ex. 19b). (Based on the transcriptions in Sources XIV, 180 - 181 and the diplomatic versions in Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen ... Lesungen, I, 188, 195, and 236)



Example 20: Christus from the Liber generacionis, ČS-Pnm XII A 1. (Transcribed after the facsimile in Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen ... Lesungen, I, xxvii.)



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The common elements in the three remaining fourteenth-century Bohemian sources are the polyphonic settings of lessons from Christmas matins.[108] Three of the most commonly used texts -- Primo tempore, Consolamini, and Consurge -- are also found in the earlier source from St. George's Cloister, ČS-Pu V H 11.[109] These three lesson texts, albeit in different versions, appear in Praha, Archiv prazského hradu, rkp. E LXVI (ČS-Ph 66), a late fourteenth-century source from the chapter library of St. Vitus' (sv. Vit) Cathedral in Praha.[110] The two-voice polyphony in these two sources share the general characteristics of the polyphonic and monophonic lesson reading -- the formal division into intonation (initium), tenor (tuba) and termination or cadence (punctum) -- but often differ as to their pitch center or Tone.[111] The Primo tempore in Ph 66 is related to Göllner's Type "E," not the more popular type "A" found in V H 11. In addition, the manuscript from the Praha Cathedral Chapter has a fragmentary setting from the Fourth Lesson of Christmas matins, Salvator noster, dilectissimi, hodie natus

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108. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 30 - 45, is an excellent study of all the Bohemian sources for this repertoire.

109. Concerning this source, see above.

110. RISM B IV^3 199 - 200. For diplomatic transcriptions and commentary on the lessons in this source, see Göllner, I, 52, 118, 307, 309, 319, and 322.

111. The lesson Primo tempore is centered on d in Pu V H 11 and on e in Ph 66; Consolamini is centered on a in Pu V H 11 and on f in Ph 66. All the settings of Consurge edited by Göllner are centered on d and the versions in Pu V H 11 and Ph 66 are related. On the formal divisions of a lesson reading see the Liber Usualis, 112 - 117, and Göllner, II, 19.

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est, taken from a sermon of Pope Leo.[112]

The second Bohemian source is a late fourteenth- / early fifteenth-century breviary from the convent of St. Crux Maior in the Old Town section of Praha, Praha, Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna, rkp. XIII A 5d (ČS-Pu XIII A 5d).[113] The polyphonic versions of the three popular lesson texts are different from any published by Göllner; only in the case of Consolamini is there a melodic similarity to setting #4, though the versions from Graz and Innsbruck are centered on A and the new Praha source is transposed to E.[114] This source includes in addition a three-voice work which uses the text from the Fifth Lesson at Christmas matins, Alienum quippe ab hac nativitate est, also taken from the same sermon of Pope Leo that served as the source for Salvator noster.

The third source, Praha, Národní Muzeum, rkp. XIII E 8 (ČS-Pnm XIII E 8), is a gradual from Bohemia, whose different sections were

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112. A different setting of this text is found in a fifteenth-century Hungarian source, Budapest, Egytemi Könyvtár, Ms. 124, f. 58r = H-Bu 107, RISM B IV^3 732 - 733. The signature given in RISM, Ms. A 107, is not used in most references to this source. See, for example, Radó, Libri liturgici manuscripti, 545 - 546. This source also includes two-voice, organal-style settings of the lessons Primo tempore and Consolamini and the Alleluia: Fuit virgo. See B. Rajeczky, "Spätmittelalterliche Organalkunst in Ungarn," Studia musicologica I (1961) 15 - 28. An extract from the later part of Lesson IV was used in the polyphonic lesson, Una cunctis leticie, from PL-St S5; concerning which, see above.

113. This source is not in RISM or Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen ... Lesungen. See Plocek, Catalogus, II, 516 - 518; and also Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 87, and the commentary and transcriptions, 95 - 96, 101 - 104.

114. See Göllner, I, 57 - 59.

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copied in the late fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.[115] Two of the popular Christmas matins lessons are also found in this source, probably dating from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The setting of Primo tempore is related to Göllner's type "C," and the fragmentary setting of Consurge is related to versions #1 - #4.[116] There is also a setting of a different selection from the Christmas sermon of Pope Leo that serves as the basis for the fourth matins lesson, Exultet sanctus, quia appropinquat ad palmam.[117] The music of this setting is reported to be identical to the fragmentary setting of Salvator noster in ČS-Ph 66.[118]

A number of other simple polyphonic works are also included in Pnm XIII E 8. These include a fragmentary two-voice Sanctus and Agnus Dei which both use the same musical material,[119] a polyphonic fragment of the trope In semper o pie to the Isaiah reading found in a number of Silesian sources,[120] a fragment of the two-voice Procedentem sponsum known from other Bohemian and Central European manuscripts,[121] and a number of two-voice versicles and Benedicamus settings: In hac precelsa sollempnitate (Benedicamus Domino trope), Spiritus domini replevit

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115. RISM B IV^3 231 - 234. See also Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 50 - 55, for a study of the polyphony in this source.

116. See Göllner, I, 34 - 35, 305, and 319.

117. Göllner, I, 124 - 126, and 324.

118. Göllner, II, 73.

119. Transcribed in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," [106].

120. See Göllner, I, 148 - 160.

121. Concerning this composition, see above, 129 - 132.

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(antiphon), Tamquam sponsus (versicle),[122] Specie tua (Alleluia verse?), Dominus in Syna (Alleluia verse) and a Benedicamus Domino.[123] In a few of these otherwise simple polyphonic settings, mensural elements have been added, similar to the patterns of semibreve-minim-semibreve-minim found in much fourteenth-century music [Ex. 21].

Example 21: Excerpt from Specie tua, ČS-Pnm XIII E 8, f. 134v. (Transcription from J. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," [p.108 - 109].)

These few Bohemian sources demonstrate the variety possible within such a circumscribed area as the lesson readings from Christmas matins. Even within the same city, there are sources with widely divergent settings alongside those that are related to each other. In many respects, this particular polyphonic genre was prone to local variation, perhaps stemming from the improvisatory impulses of the performers. The many interesting facets of these Bohemian lessons are

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122. Also found in ČS-VB 42, f. 164r.

123. Transcriptions for most of these short works are in Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," [104] and [107 - 109].

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evidence for the creativity of Bohemian musicians, which was applied to this tradition-laden polyphonic genre.

Conclusion

Even before the first sources for the ars nova notandi reached East Central Europe, there was a strong tradition of polyphonic practice in the convents, monasteries, and churches based on the forms and styles of the ars antiqua. Some of these sources only provide concordances for compositions previously known in Western European manuscripts. But in other East Central European sources the creativity of local composers can be seen in their adaptation of older compositions or their composition of new polyphonic works in imitation of Western styles. Taken as a whole, especially in the light that the preserved manuscripts are probably only a fraction of those which were in use during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these sources show that the musicians of East Central Europe were open and receptive to new ideas and compositions from the West and that they were ready to make the fullest use of them.[124]

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124. Information concerning an important new Bohemian source, CS-Pnm XII E 5, was received too recently for inclusion in this chapter. The compositions are described in G.A. Anderson, "New Sources of Mediaeval Music," Musicology VII (Melbourne: The Musicological Society of Australia, 1982) 2 - 3 (description), 11 - 16 (texts), and 21 - 25 (transcriptions).

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PART II:

ARS NOVA SOURCES

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CHAPTER FOUR

THREE TREATISES ON ARS NOVA NOTATION AND REPERTOIRE FROM EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

The study of medieval music has relied primarily on two types of sources, those which preserve musical repertoires and those which are primarily theoretical writings about music. Frequently, the theorists seem to have written post factum and described idealized systems rather than the actual practices. But even the most fanciful or conservative theorist, by virtue of the fact that he was closer to the actual music than we are, can provide important information for our present understanding of the older notations.[1] This theoretical information is particularly significant as regards the ars nova notandi, the "new skill of notating," which was developed in France during the early fourteenth century.

This revolutionary new notation was developed during the second decade of the fourteenth century by Philippe de Vitry, possibly at the

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1. Perhaps the best example in this context is the Speculum Musice by Jacobus Leodiensis (Jacobus of Liège), which in Chapter Seven has an attack on the new notational theories of the ars nova. The pertinent sections have been annotated and translated by O. Strunk, Source Readings in Music History, 5 vols. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1965) I: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 180 - 190. The entire treatise has been edited by R. Bragard in Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 3, 7 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1955 - 1973).

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College of Navarre of the University of Paris.[2] The earliest musical source to use a form of this notation is the sumptuous manuscript of the Roman de Fauvel prepared at the French royal court about 1316, which contains musical interpolations that include a few motets ascribed to Philippe.[3] The system that he developed for the notation of triple and duple mensurations and the new musical genres that arose with this new mathematical view of music decisively influenced all of European music.[4]

Unfortunately, Philippe de Vitry's theoretical writings, judging by the few remaining manuscripts, were not the primary medium by which this "new skill" was conveyed from Paris.[5] If anything, his music was

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2. See W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900 - 1600, 5th edition, revised (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953) 450, note to p. 338, and Philippe de Vitry, Ars Nova, ed. G. Reaney, A. Gilles and J. Maillard, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 8 (American Institute of Musicology, 1964) 3.

3. On the dating of the Roman de Fauvel, see E.H. Sanders, "The Roman de Fauvel," The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians, ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1980) 6, 429 - 433. The motets in the Roman de Fauvel have been edited by Leo Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, the Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century I (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956) and the separate Commentary to Vol. I of this series (hereafter, Roman de Fauvel). On the works of Philippe see L. Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," The Musical Quarterly XLII (1956) 330 - 354; and more recently, E.H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXVIII (1975) 24 - 45.

4. See E. Werner, "The Mathematical Foundation of Philippe de Vitry's Ars nova," Journal of the American Musicological Society IX (1956) 128 - 132, for a report on Leo Hebraeus' (1288 - 1344) interpretation of Philippe's notational theories.

5. For a listing of the sources for Philippe's Ars Nova and related treatises, see Philippe de Vitry, Ars Nova, 10 - 11. According to U. Michels, Philippe's treatise was probably written between 1322

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more influential. There are at present fifteen motets and one motet text that are ascribed to Philippe. Some of these compositions were copied in manuscripts now located all over Europe.[6]

The truly international theorist of the new notation was Johannes de Muris. Also working in Paris in the early fourteenth century, Johannes' importance as a mathematician and astronomer was as great as his reputation as a musical theorist.[7] During his career he composed three important treatises that discuss the "new skill": the Notitia artis musicae (dated 1321, ten manuscripts), the Compendium musicae practicae (dated circa 1322, five manuscripts), and the Libellus cantus mensurabilis, which is known in whole or part from forty-eight manuscripts (dated circa 1340).

Even with this large number of manuscripts and their wide distribution, no original work of Philippe de Vitry or Johannes de Muris on ars nova notation is known to have been copied in East Central Europe.

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and 1323; see his edition of Johannes de Muris, Noticia Artis Musicae et Compendium Musicae Practicae, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 17 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972) 9 - 10. It should be noted that both primary sources for Philippe's treatise date from the early fifteenth century, approximately a century after its composition.

6. Most of the sources for Philippe's motets are listed in Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," and Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, Commentary to Vol. I; see also the addendum to Schrade's edition by F.Ll. Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century V (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968) 207. For a source not mentioned by any of the above scholars, see below, Chapter Five, 236 - 250.

7. See above, Chapter Two, 75 - 76, for a short biography of Johannes de Muris. The best general introduction to the life and works of Johannes, including a relatively complete listing of sources, is U. Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VIII (Wiesbaden, 1970).

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Johannes' compendia of arithmetic and speculative music theory were known at the major university centers, including the Universities of Praha (Prague) and Kraków (Cracow), but his writings and those of Philippe on mensural theory probably did not exist in any archive or library in the late medieval Kingdoms of Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland before the fifteenth century.[8]

What fate has preserved relative to the ars nova in Poland, are three theoretical works -- one probably written near Brzeg in Silesia, a second copied or perhaps written during the early fifteenth century in Wrocław (Breslau), the third written in Plzeň (Pilsen) about 1460 by a former student of the University of Kraków -- that discuss the theory and repertoire associated with the ars nova notandi. These treatises are related to a group of such theoretical works from Central Europe and East Central Europe, the earliest of which was written in Praha during 1369.[9] The three texts from Brzeg, Wrocław and Plzeň, though

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8. A copy of the Libellus cantus mensurabilis is located in a manuscript now in Praha, ČS-Pu XI E 9, but this source was copied in Strasbourg during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. See V. Plocek, Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae - in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servuntur, 2 vols. (Pragae: Academia Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1973) I, 401 - 414.

9. For references to editions of the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous and the musical sections from the Libri vigenti artium of Paulus Paulirinus, see below. The 1369 treatise from Praha has been edited by R. Federhofer-Königs, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Stiftsbibliothek Michaelbeuern/Salzburg," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch XLVI (1962) 43 - 60. The majority of sources for this Central and East Central European theoretical tradition stem from Bohemia and Silesia. The major exception is the anonymous Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis, found in Melk, Stiftsbibliothek ms. 950, ff. 76v - 83v (hereafter, Tractatulus).

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perhaps retrospective in their outlook, provide important evidence of how the "new skill" was received in East Central Europe.

The Brzeg Anonymous

The earliest of the three treatises, the Brzeg Anonymous, was probably written about 1400.[10] The manuscript which contains this work -- Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex (catenatus) 312 -- also includes theological writings, one other musical treatise on the differences between Italian and French notation, an incomplete Latin song, three two-voice organa, and the discant of a fourth organum.[11] According to Kellner, this manuscript was part of the old collections of the monastery library, and was perhaps included in a bequest by Johannes Seld de Lewbs, made in 1440.[12] Many of the other manuscripts known to be part of this gift came from the Bohemian - Silesian border areas.[13]

This work has been edited by F. Alberto Gallo, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 16 (American Institute of Musicology, 1971).

10. This is the opinion of P.A. Kellner in his edition of this treatise, "Ein Mensuraltraktat aus der Zeit um 1400," Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 94 (1957) 72 - 85. All page references in square brackets will be to this edition. Kellner has titled this work "Der Brieger Anonymus," but it will be refered to here as the Brzeg Anonymous.

11. Unfortunately, the treatise which compares the two national types of notation has not appeared in a modern edition and has been unavailable for the present study.

12. Kellner, "Ein Mensuraltraktat," 73.

13. Ibid.

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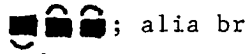
Synopsis

Nothing is known about the author, but the treatise was compiled "at the command of a certain Franciscus, son of Bertholdus, a citizen of Brzeg" in Silesia.[14] After general, primarily philosophical discussions concerning the concept of a definition, music in particular is defined and the note-forms associated with mensural music are illustrated.

> Musica sic diffinitur: Est scientia docens formare melodias secundum debitam exigentiam toni vel euphoni. Et est duplex, scilicet simplex et mensuralis. Simplex musica est cantus simpliciter, secundum debitum sonum et bonum sonum formatus. Sed mensuralis est cantus ex pluribus partibus aggregatus et secundum modum, tempus et prolationem aequaliter proportionatus. Fit autem ille cantus ex figuris subsequentibus sibi appropriatis.
> Figurarum alia brevis ut hic , alia longa simplex , alia duplex longa , alia maxima , alia cardinalis  ; alia brevis plicata [in margin: "vel ut hic "], alia semibrevis , alia minima ut hic , alia semiminima , alia semibrevis altera , alia fusielis ut hic , alia semifusielis , alia semifusielis semi . [74]
>
> (Music is defined thus: It is the science teaching how to form melodies according to a due consideration of mode or euphony. And it is twofold, namely simple and mensural. Simple music is simply song, formed according to proper sound and good sound. But mensural music is that kind of song, put together from many parts, equally proportioned according to modus, tempus and prolation. Moreover, that mensural song is made from the following figures, appropriate to itself.
>
> Of the figures, one is the breve, such as this: ; another

---

14. "Pro facili informatione eorum, qui ad culmen artis musicae scientiae pervenire affectant, ad nutum cuiusdam Francisci Bertholdi filii civitatis brigensis..." [73].

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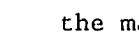
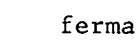
the simple longa, ; another a duplex longa, ; another the maxima,  ; another the cardinalis (note with fermata),  ; another the plicated breve, [in the margin: "or as this: "]; another the semibreve, ; another the minima, as this, ; another the semiminima, ; another the altered semibreve, ; another the fusielis, as this, ; another the semifusielis, ; and another the semifusielis semi, .)

After these illustrations are etymological definitions for the names of the different note-forms. For example: "Brevis dicitur ex singularitate temporum, brevis eo, quod unum tempus designat" ("A breve is defined as an individual time interval, hence, a breve, because it designates one tempus") or "Semibrevis dicitur a semis, quod est dimidium, et brevis" ("Semibreve is defined from semi, that is a half, and breve") [74 - 75].

This is followed by a discussion of what is neccessary for the three, primary, mensural levels.

> Et est notandum, quod ad simplicem modum, tempus et prolationem ad minimum requiruntur quattuor notae. Ut ad modum longa et brevis, ad tempus brevis et semibrevis, ad prolationem semibrevis [et minima]. Sed ad maximum longa duplex et maxima adduntur ad modum, et ad tempus nihil additur sed ad prolationem additur semiminima et residuae notae sunt inventae propter mixturas ut brevis plicata, semibrevis alterata, cardinalis, fusielis, et semifusielis, et semifusielis semi. [75]
>
> (And it must be noted that for simple modus, tempus and prolation at least four note-forms are required: longa and breve for modus, breve and semibreve for tempus, and semibreve [and minim] for prolation. But for maximodus, the duplex longa and maxima are added to modus, and for tempus

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> nothing is added, but for prolation the semiminim is added and the remaining note-forms are devised from combinations, such as the plicated breve, the altered semibreve, the "cardinalis" [a note with fermata], the fusa, the semifusa, and the semifusa-semi.)

This discussion of note-forms is followed by sections on ligatures [75 - 77] and rests [77 - 78].

It is at this point in the treatise that the general and specific characteristics of modus, tempus and prolation are explained, even though the terms had been used earlier [78 - 81]. First each mensural level is defined as regards the note-forms normally used. For example, "Tempus is described thus: it is an aggregation of breve and semibreve figures ordered according to an established number of semibreves."[15] Then, a process which might be called "embellishment" ("colorisatur": "it is embellished") is defined for each of the mensural levels; for example, "It must be noted that if longas or longer values are used [in prolation], such prolation is embellished by modus; if, however, breves are used, then it is embellished by tempus."[16] Following this, the concepts of "perfect" and "imperfect" are defined and applied to modus, tempus and prolation [79 - 81]. Contrary to the usage of most medieval theorists, the Brzeg Anonymous refers to major prolation as "auctior

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15. "Tempus describitur sic: est aggregatio brevium semibreviumque figurarum secundum certum numerum semibrevium ordinata" [78]. This concept is used at a number of other points in the treatise. See below for a parallel passage in the Wrocław Anonymous.

16. "Et notandum si in ea ponuntur longae vel altiores, talis prolatio colorisatur per modum. Si autem breves, tunc per tempus" [78]. For similar uses of this term, see below, 212 - 213.

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(or altior) prolatio" and minor prolation as "brevis (or brevior) prolatio."[17]

The next section, which is summarised in Table 5, explains and illustrates the mensural signs.[18]

TABLE 5

MENSURAL SIGNS IN THE BRZEG ANONYMOUS

: Perfect tempus.

: Imperfect tempus.

: Perfect modus, perfect tempus.

: Perfect modus, imperfect tempus.

: Imperfect modus, perfect tempus.

: Imperfect modus, imperfect tempus.

: Altior (major) prolation.

: Brevis (minor) prolation.

The last sections of the treatise examine the use of dots to indicate division or perfection [82 - 83], alteration (even of minims) [83 - 84], transpositio (syncopation) [84 - 85] and mixtura, the use of coloration [85].

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17. "Omnis prolatio fit ex numero trinario minimarum aut ex numero binario, si primum, sic est auctior, si secundum, sic est brevis prolatio" [79].

18. The signs and their explanations are given in Table 5. See Appendix VI, 419 - 421, for the full Latin text and translation of the relevant section of the treatise.

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Analysis

Though not the oldest East Central European source to describe ars nova notation, the Brzeg Anonymous presents the first thorough examination of its innovations.[19] It seems probable that it was written in Silesia, if not in Brzeg, where the dedicatee, Franciscus lived. The descriptions included in the treatise combine elements of notational theory known from earlier Western European sources with a few individual characteristics, some of which are now associated with a separate Central and East Central European tradition of ars nova theory.[20]

The general mensural theory of the Brzeg Anonymous is similar to that in other Western European treatises. Its definitions of modus, tempus, and prolation, though somewhat repetitive, can be easily seen as part of this common practice. One important feature of this treatise is its terminology for prolation -- auctior (or altior = major) and brevis (or brevior = minor) -- which appears to be unique to this work. The note-forms described are found in many fourteenth-century theory treatises and musical manuscripts.[21]

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19. As noted above, the Praha Anonymous is dated 1369. However, this verse treatise, though providing a relatively complete summary, does not offer the detail contained in the Brzeg Anonymous.

20. See T. Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274," Early Music History 1: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 325 - 343.

21. See Apel, Notation, 405 - 407, and W. Apel, French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication 55 (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1950) 7 - 9, for descriptions of the late fourteenth century nota-

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The mensural signs summarised in Table 5 are similar to those of the common practice; however, their meanings are often different.[22] The circle and semi-circle with dots in their centers normally mean perfect and imperfect tempus respectively, both with major prolation. To the author of the Brzeg Anonymous, these symbols only refer to perfect and imperfect tempus. The mensural signs for the four combinations of perfect and imperfect modus and tempus, in which small circles and semicircles are placed in the middle of larger forms, seem to be unique to this source.

The Brzeg Anonymous also illustrates special signs for major prolation, |:: , and minor prolation, |: . These particular signs, referring to prolation, occur primarily in theoretical works from Central and East Central Europe.[23] Their use in actual musical sources is also restricted to the central and eastern areas of Europe. In addition to the compositions listed by Ward,[24] other examples of this practical use occur in PL-Kj 2464, Progenie ex paganica (f. 11v), a source copied in Kraków about 1420 - 1430,[25] and the newly discovered group of fragments in Ústí nad Orlicí, which contains a fragmentary two-voice

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tion that is also described in the Brzeg Anonymous.

22. Common practice will be defined, for convenience, in reference to the explanations given in Apel, Notation, 96 - 100.

23. Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 326 - 327.

24. Ward, "A Central European Repertory," Table 1, p. 327.

25. See M. Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XIII and XIV (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973/1976) 30, for a facsimile of this piece. See below, Chapter Six, for an examination of this source. For a transcription of Progenie ex paganica, see Appendix XV, 503 - 504.

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Gloria that uses ¢|: in the discantus, and both |: and |: in the tenor.[26] These symbols are also used in one manuscript of Cracovia Civitas, Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. Lat. F.I.378 (PL-Wn 378: ff. 27v - 29r), most likely copied in Kraków about 1425 - 1430.[27]

The didactic quality of the text, with its frequent repetition of the same phrases, whether describing modus, tempus, or prolation, might lead us to associate this treatise with an academic environment.[28] Whatever its genesis, the Brzeg Anonymous demonstrates that its author had more than just a passing familiarity with the notational theory of the ars nova and that Franciscus of Brzeg wished to learn about this new skill from Western Europe, even in Silesia.

The Wrocław Anonymous

The Wrocław Anonymous was first published by Wolf in 1919.[29] The date of the unique manuscript -- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka,

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26. See Appendix VII, 422 - 426, for a transcription of the fragmentary Gloria, copied on ff. 31v - 32r, and Appendix XVII, 520 - 525, for a provisional description and inventory of Ústí nad Orlicí, Okresní archiv, rkp. A 3.

27. See the facsimile in Perz, Sources, XIII, 156 - 159. These symbols are unfortunately not mentioned in Perz, Sources, XIV, 18, the critical commentary. On this source, see below, Chapter Five, 257 - 309.

28. It has not been possible, as yet, to identify either the dedicatee of the treatise, Franciscus, son of Bertholdus, or the presumed donor of the manuscript to the Kremsmünster library, Johannes Seld de Lewbs, in the matriculation records I have been able to check.

29. J. Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft I (1918 - 1919) 329 - 345.

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rkp. IV Q 16 -- is a matter of dispute. Wolf placed it in the beginning of the fifteenth century, but the more recent investigations of Göber propose dating this source in the mid fifteenth century.[30] The manuscript was the possession of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary "in arena wratislaviensi" ("on the 'Sands' of Wrocław") which belonged to the Augustinian Canons.[31] In addition to the musical treatise, the manuscript contains various theological works including Aquinas' "De esse et essentia," a "Summula simplicissimorum confessorum," a "Maius et minus speculum peccatoris," and a "Modus penitendi."[32]

Synopsis

The musical treatise in this source (ff. 144v - 153r) describes the notation and repertoire generally associated with late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century polyphony from Western Europe. The opening

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30. See Wolf, "Mensuraltraktate," 23. The dating by Göber, contained in his handwritten catalogue of Silesian manuscripts, is reported by W. Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Uwagi w sprawie genezy wrocławskiego traktatu mensuralnego," Muzyka XXIII/3 (1978) 89, n.13. My opinion will be reported later in this chapter.

31. This monastery, located on an island in the Odra, was the first established by Augustinians in Poland. For a map of medieval Wrocław, see the Atlas Historyczny Polski, ed. W. Czapliński and T. Ładogórski (Warszawa: Państwowe Przedsiebiorstwo Wydawnictwo Kartograficznych, 1977) 7. The first monks arrived in Silesia from Arrouaise, France about 1134. For further references, see Chapter One.

32. Wolf, "Mensuraltraktate," 23. See also the description of this source in the handwritten catalogue of manuscripts in the Manuscript division of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław.

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text defines the purpose of the treatise.[33]

> Quoniam circa artem musicalis sciencie hodiernis temporibus cantando delyrant, idest deviant, ut ergo ignorancie nubes expellantur de cantu mensurali, ars compendiosa promulgatur. [Wolf, 331a]
>
> (Since today, people are bereft of reason in their singing relative to the discipline of musical knowledge, that is, they err; therefore, so that the clouds of ignorance regarding mensural music may be driven away, a concise method is promulgated.)

The text continues with a general definition of discant including simple concepts concerning counterpoint [Wolf, 331a]. This is followed by an explanation of three types of discant:

> Item sequitur de numero discantus. Unde discantum alius simplex. Et est qui simpliciter pronunciatur et vocatur alio nomine prolatus. Alius vocatur truncatus, qui alio nomine dicitur oghetus, scilicet qui fit per voces obmissas, scilicet per pausas, sicud patebit capitulo de pausis. Tercius vocatur copulatus et est qui per copulam dicitur. [Wolf, 331a]
>
> (What follows concerns the number of discant categories. Of these discant types, one is simple, and it is that type which is performed simply and is called by another name "measured" [prolatus]. Another type is called "truncated," which by another name is called "hocket," namely that which is made by means of omitted pitches, specifically by means of rests, as will be evident in the section concerning rests. The third type is called "connected" [copulatus] and is that which is defined in terms of the connection [copulam].

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33. The treatise has also been refered to as the Breslau Mensural Treatise, Tractatus de musica mensurabili and the Ars compendiosa de cantu mensurali. In the following quotations of the Latin text, all page references refer to the edition by Wolf, cited in fn. 29.

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After this there is a detailed description of the different levels of mensuration: perfect and imperfect modus [Wolf, 331a - 332a], perfect and imperfect tempus [332a - 333a], major and minor prolation [333a - 334a].

Included in the next section is a description of the mensuration signs.[34]

> Cum ergo dictum sit de disposicionibus et cognicionibus modorum, temporum et prolacionum, restat nunc ponere signa generalia modorum, temporum et prolacionum. Unde signum modi perfecti sic formatur O , signum autem modi imperfecti sic C . Signum temporis perfecti in generali sic formatur ⊙ , signum temporis imperfecti sic ☾ . Signum autem maioris prolacionis sic formatur |: , minoris autem sic |: . Signum reincepsionis sic :||: , signum autem rotule formatur secundum placitum. Signum semitonii sic ※ etc.
>
> [Wolf, 334a]

> (Since the regular arrangements and perceptions of modi, tempi, and prolations have been discussed, it remains now to set down the general signs of modi, tempora, and prolations. Whence, the sign of perfect modus is made thus: O ; however the sign of imperfect modus is made thus, C . The sign of perfect tempus is generaly made thus, ⊙ ; the sign of imperfect tempus thus, ☾ . Further, the sign of major prolation is made thus, |: ; however, minor prolation thus, |: . The repeat sign is made thus, :||: ; however, the sign of a rotula is made according to pleasure. The sign of a semitone thus, ※ , and so forth.)

The next section continues with examples of the standard note-forms, which had been used earlier in the examples describing the mensurations: duplex longa or maxima, simple longa, brevis, semibrevis,

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34. The translation given in the text, in reference to the sign indicating the canonic entries in a round, differs from that in Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 336, fn. 31. It appears that Ward mistook the name of a musical form, rotula, and omitted the last phrase of the text, "secundum placitum."

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minim and semiminim. To this list, two further special forms are added: one called fusiel (in Latin) or dragma (in French) -- -- and another called the "cardinalis" or "voluntary" -- -- [Wolf, 334a/b].

After describing the different divisions of these note-forms (e.g.: "But a simple longa in perfect modus is worth three tempora in accordance with the requirements...."), the treatise examines those divisions smaller than two semiminims per minim and some further special note-forms.

> Aliqui tamen subtilisantes se aliquando ponunt tres semiminimas pro una minima sed usque hoc non tenet. Ulterius notandum, in mensuris ultra illas notas adhuc multe alie inveniuntur note. Nam aliqua dicitur semifusiel et formatur sic et valet in tantum sicud semiminima in minori prolacione. Cuius procedens dicitur fusiel, et est cognicio maioris prolacionis, ubi ponitur, quia nullibi ponitur nisi in maiori prolacione et nichil amplius significat in maiore prolacione quam minima in minori. Alia vero vocatur semitoniata, idest in semitonio posita et illa non utimur hic, sed in clavicordis et formatur sic . Alia denominatur valor semibrevis secundum communes proprietates et formatur sic . Alia vocatur semifusiel semi et formatur sic . [Wolf, 334b - 335a]
>
> (Nevertheless, a few sophisticated people sometimes set down three semiminims for one minim, but this hasn't always been customary. Further, it must be observed, many other note-forms are invented smaller in value than those note-forms mentioned above. For instance, one is named semifusiel and is formed so , and is worth the same as a semiminim in minor prolation. The following note-form of this series is named fusiel and is a sign of major prolation whenever it is set down, because it is never set down except in major prolation and it signifies nothing more in major prolation than a minim in minor. Another is called semitoniata, that is, in the position of a semitone, and we do not use that note-form here, but rather in regards to clavichords, and it is formed

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so: . Another is defined as the value of semibreve according to common proprieties and is formed so: . Another is called semifusiel semi and is formed so: .)

This section ends with some additional definitions and a simple chart of the basic interrelations between the note-forms closes the treatise.

The remainder of the treatise examines rests [337a/b], ligatures [337b - 338b], perfection and imperfection [338b - 340b], alternation [341a -343b] and concludes with a discussion of "transmutation" or "transposition," that is, syncopation [344a - 345].

The major importance of this treatise lies in the specific compositions mentioned, which are used to define the different mensurations and musical genres. Most of the 40 citations occur within one section of the treatise [Wolf, 335b - 337a], which is summarized in Table 6a.[35] Two other compositions are mentioned elsewhere, namely Musicorum inter collegia [Wolf, 334a], as an example of longas in perfect tempus causing an "embellishment" of the modus, and Sacrosanctum [Wolf, 338a], an example of a special ligature form.[36]

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35. The full Latin text for this passage and a translation are included in Appendix VIII, 427 - 429.

36. See Table 6a, #25 and #32 respectively. The texts and translations relating to these two works are also included in Appendix VIII, 430.

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TABLE 6

COMPOSITIONS MENTIONED IN THE WROCŁAW ANONYMOUS, THE TRACTATULUS DE CANTU MENSURALI (Melk 950) AND THE ANONYMOUS TRACTATUS DE MUSICA

In the following tables, I have summarized the descriptive comments from the Wrocław Anonymous (Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. IV Qu. 16: Table 6a),* the Tractatulus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis (Ms. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 950: Table 6b)** and the anonymous Tractatus de Musica (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, Ms. latin 36 and Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung, Cod.II,1,2°: Table 6c).*** All additional information not contained in the treatises appears in brackets. Mensuration, referring to both the normal values of the black notation and those of the red or void notation, will be indicated with the abbreviations used by Apel in his notation book and editions.**** For ease of use, italics in the table will be indicated by bold face type. The names used for the musical forms will be those of the treatises, if present in the sources. All page references will be to the published editions of the treatises. Concordances are listed using the sigla from RISM B IV$^{1 - 4}$.***** Fuller information on the location of these concordances will be given in the text.

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* Edited by Johannes Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft I (1918 - 1919) 329 - 345.

** Edited by F. Alberto Gallo; Anonymous, Tractatlus de cantu mensurali seu figurativo musice artis, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 16 (American Institute of Musicology, 1971).

*** Edited by Martin Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XXXI (1974) 237 - 242. All references are to the Latin text printed on page 239.

**** See Willi Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900 - 1600, 5th edition, revised (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953) 97 - 100: italic roman = maximodus, roman = modus, arabic = tempus, italic arabic = prolation; "3's" = perfect (i.e. triple) division, "2's" = imperfect (i.e. duple) division.

***** Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) B IV$^{1 - 4}$ (München-Duisburg: Henle Verlag, 1966-1972).

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Table 6a: The Wrocław Anonymous

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Mensuration	Red Notation	Genre	Concordances	Page
1. Adeschort [See also Virginem mire pulchritudinis]	[A discort sont Desir]	[3, **2**]	2	[ballade]	F-Pn 6771; NL-Uu 37 II; I-FZc 117.	336b
2. Appollinis	[Appollinis eclipsatur/ Tenor: In omnem terram/ Zodiacum signis, B. de Cluny]	III, 2, **3**		mutetus	E-Bcen 853; E-Bcen 971; I-IV; NL-Lu 2515; F-Sm 222; I-Pu 658; F-Pn 23190.	335b-336a
3. Arthus de astris				rondellus		336a
4. Autentica				trumpetum et stampania		336a
5. Ave coronata	[Ave coronata/ Alma parens/ Tenor: Ave coronata (Ave regina celorum)]	[III, 2 **3**]		mutetus	CS-HK II A 6; CS-HK II A 7.	335b-336a
6. Cluit in empirico				katschetum		336a-b
7. Consurge vox				rondellus		336a
8. Daz fewir				rotulum		336b
9. Degentis vita	[Degentis vita/ Cum vix artidici/ Contratenor/ Tenor: Vera pudicitia]	III, 2, **2**		mutetus	B-Ba 758; D-Nst 9; E-Bcen 971; F-CH 564; F-Sm 222; F-Pn 23190.	336a
10. Delibi scriba				baladum		336a
11. Demonis astuto		II, 2, **2**				336a

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Table 6a (continued)

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Mensuration	Red Notation	Genre	Concordances	Page
12. Deo gracias conclamemus	[Deo gracias conclamemus omnes hic...]	II, 3, **3**			D-Mbs3223 [In this source the mensuration is II, 2, 3]	336a
13. Deo gracias papales	[Deo gratias papales]	II, 3, **2**			D-Nst 9; possibly copied in the lost Gdańsk (Danzig) Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 2315	336a
14. Dinum natalicium				trumpetum et stampania		336a
15. Disous dous de ros			[3 (?)]			336b
16. Domine ad adiuvandum				katschetum		336a-b
17. En mira res			[Used to show 3, **2** in 2, **3**]			336b
18. Fenix arabie		III, 2, **3**		mutetus		335b-336a
19. Homelete			[Used to show a change in the mensural level]			336b-337a
20. Jarlephie	[Jour a jour la vie]	3, **2**	2	[rondeau]	F-Pn 568; F-Pn 6771; F-Sm 222; F-Pn 23190; I-Fn 26; I-FZc 117; GB-Lbm A XXVI; D-Mbs 14274; A-InnsU; A-Wnb 2777.	336b

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Table 6a (continued)

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Mensuration	Red Notation	Genre	Concordances	Page
21. La doucze rlor	[La doulce flour]	[2, **3**]	3, **2**	[virelai]	GB-O	336b
22. Lux est presens		[III]	II			336b
23. Monachant de morte wilhelmi	[Mon chant en plaint/ Qui doloreus/Tenor: Tristis est anima mea]	III, 3, **3**		[motet]	GB-DRc 20; I-IV; F-Pn 23190.	335b
24. Musica frawein	[See also Tonat agmen]			piroletum		336a
25. Musicorum inter collegia	[Musicorum inter collegia]	[3, **2**] [Example of longas in 3 causing an "embellishment" of modus (?)]			F-Sm 222.	334a
26. O Maria	[O Maria virgo davitica/ O Maria maris]	III, 2, **2**		[motet]	D-Mbs 14274; I-PadU 1106; I-BolC Q 15.	336a
27. Par mantes foys	[Par maintes foys, Jean Vaillant]	II, 3, **3**		rondellus	B-Bc I; F-CA 1328; F-CH 564; F-Sm 222; I-GR 197; I-Las 184; D-Mbs 14274; A-InnsU; A-Wn 2777.	336a
28. Pater alme		**3**	**2**			336b
29. Patrem papale			[Used to show 3, **2** in 2, **3**]			336b
30. Petri	[Petre Clemens/ Lugentium siccentur/ Tenor, Philippe de Vitry (?)]			katschetum	I-IV.	336a-b
31. Prorumpamus Paruuli				katschetum		336a-b

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Table 6a (continued)

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Mensuration	Red Notation	Genre	Concordances	Page
32. Sacrosanctum	[Sacre sanctus pater/ Sanctus miro gaudio]	[Example of a special ligature form]			E-Bcen 971; or F-APT 16bis.	338a
33. Salve mater salvatoris				rotulum		336b
34. Salve mundi domina	[Salve mundi domina (?)]			piroletum	F-SM 222 (?)	336a
35. Salve pater		**3**	**2**			336b
36. Tibi cordis				baladum		336a
37. Tonat agmen	[Tonat agmen celestis curie]			piroletum	D-TR 322	336a
38. Tripudium [Also Tripudium en]		3	2	trumpetum et stampania		336a,b
39. Tuba sacra fidei	[Tuba sacre fidei/ In arboris/ (Tenor), Philippe de Vitry]	**III**, [II ,2 ,**3**]	**II**, [III, 2, **3**]	[motet]	I-IV; F-Pn 23190.	336b
40. Virginem mire pulcritudinis [See also Adeschort]	[Virginem mire pulcritudinis]	II, 3, **2**	2	baladum	A-Wn 5094; PL-Kras 52; D-Mbs 3725.	336a,b

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Table 6b: Tractatulus de cantu mensurali

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Mensuration	Red Notation	Genre	Concordances	Page
1. **Adiscort id est Virginem mire pulchritudinis**	[See Table 6a, #1 & 40]	3	2	[ballade]		30
2. **Apollinis**	[See Table 6a, #2]	III, 2		[motet]		16
3. **Ave coronata**	[See Table 6a, #5]	III, 2		[motet]		16
4. **Degentis vita**	[See Table 6a, #9]	[III, 2], **2** [Used to illustrate the duple mensuration of semibreves placed between 2 minims in minor prolation.]				28-29
5. **Had bilingis**		II	III			30
6. **Heres unica**		II	III			30
7. **Jam adest dies jubileus**				**motete**	CS-VB 42	30
8. **Ye langis**	[Je languis]	III, 3			CS-Pu XI E 9; F-Pn 568; F-Pn 6771; F-SM 222; I-PAs 75.	16
9. **Tonat agmen celestis curie**	[See Table 6a, #37]			[viroletum]		30
10. **Virginem mire pulchritudinis** [See also Adiscort above]	[See Table 6a, #1 & 40]	II, 3	[2]	[ballade]		16,30

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Table 6c: Anonymous Tractatus de Musica (Philadelphia Anonymous II)

Title in Treatise	Actual Title	Genre	Concordances
1. de che que fol pense	[De ce que fol pense, P. de Molins]	balladus	D-Mbs 15611; F-CA 1328; F-Ch 564; F-Pn 568; F-Pn 6771; F-Sm 222; GB-Lbm 41667; I-Fn 26; I-FZc 117; F-Pn 23190.
2. de petit peu	[De petit peu, G. de Machaut]	balladus	CS-Pu XI E 9; D-Nst 25; F-CA 1328; F-Ch 564; F-Pn 568; F-Pn 1584; F-Pn 1586, F-Pn 9221; F-Pn 22546; I-Fn 26; I-MOe 5; US-NYw.
3. de toute flores	[De toutes flours, G. de Machaut]	balladus	F-Pn 568; F-Pn 1584; F-Pn 6771; F-Pn 9221; F-Pn 22546; F-Sm 222; I-Fn 26; I-FZc 117; I-MOe 5; US-NYpm 396; US-NYw.
4. de vous vestes	[Si vous n'estes, G. de Machaut]	rondellus	CS-Pu XI E 9; F-CA 1328; F-Pn 1584; F-Pn 1586; F-Pn 9221; F-Pn 22546; F-Sm 222; I-Fn 26, I-MOe 5; US-NYpm 396; US-NYw.
5. [I]da capillorum	[Ida capillorum/ Portio nature/ Contratenor/ Tenor:Ante tronum, Henricus & Egidius de Pusiex]	motetus	F-CH 564; F-Pn 23190; F-Sm 222; I-IV; NL-Lu 342.
6. Impudenter	[Impudenter circuivi/ Virtutibus laudabilis/ Contratenor/ Tenor: Alma redemptoris mater & Tenor solus, Philippe de Vitry (?)]	motetus	B-Ba 758; B-Br 19606; CH-BEb 421; F-APT 16bis; F-Sm 222; I-IV; NL-Lu 342 A
7. je languis	[See Table 6b, #8]	vireletus	
8. mais quil vous vierge	[Mais quil vous viengne]	vireletus	D-Frg. Villingen [lost]; F-Pn 6771.
9. se fortune	[Se fortune (?)]	rondellus	F-SM 222 (?)
10. virginis mire pulchritudinis	[See Table 6a, #1 & 40]	balladus	

Analysis

Any study of the Wrocław Anonymous will tend to concentrate on two subjects, the description of the musical notation, and the references to forty polyphonic compositions used as illustrations.[37] With the large number of catalogues, transcriptions, and studies that have appeared in recent years, it is now possible to examine the Wrocław treatise in greater detail, and to offer a theory concerning its provenance and date.[38]

One clear link with the late fourteenth century is found in the notation described, especially the unusual note-forms. The most distinctive, and it is included among the "approved" note-forms, is the "fusiel latine sive dragma gallice" (◆ , fusiel in Latin or dragma in French).[39] The dragma was especially used by composers of the ars subtilior during the late fourteenth century, such as Senleches, Mateus da

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37. See H.J. Moser, Geschichte der deutschen Musik (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1923) I, 348 - 349. References to this treatise also occur in the critical notes to L. Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, the Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century I, Commentary to Vol. I, 110; and RISM B IV^3, 359 (D-Mbs 3223).

38. See E. Witkowska, "Anonimowy traktat mensuralny z I połowy XV wieku jako przyczynek do badań nad repertuarem muzycznym w Polsce," Muzyka XXIII/3 (1973) 132 - 133. See also Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 325 - 343, especially the Table 3 on p. 330. (Unfortunately, Ward does not cite any of the earlier Polish studies on this treatise.) A full table of references and concordances is given in Table 6a.

39. This note-form is also described by Anonymous III (normally dated c. 1350). See Philippe de Vitry, Ars Nova, 88.

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Perugia and Jean Vaillant.[40] Among other newly invented note-forms are the semifusiel (: value of a semiminim in minor prolation), semifusiel semi ( ) and one which has the value of a semibreve ( ). Many of these unusual forms also occur in compositions of this period, but in practice there was no consensus as to their value, which seems to have varied from composer to composer and even from piece to piece.[41] The mention of the semitoniata and its relation to clavichord notation is particularly fascinating. A similar note-form was used mensurally in some late fourteenth-century compositions, but as a note signifying a semitone alteration to the written pitch, the semitoniata appears in many fifteenth-century keyboard tablatures.[42]

The mensural signs mentioned in the Wrocław Anonymous are particularly interesting. Some of the forms are familiar from common practice, but are given slightly different meanings.[43] The circle, O, and semicircle, C, stand for perfect and imperfect modus, respectively.

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40. See W. Apel, French Secular Music, 7 - 9, and Apel, Notation, 405 - 407. See above for a description of this note-form in the Brzeg Anonymous.

41. See the table in Apel, Notation, 405. Even in the treatise most closely related to the Wrocław Anonymous, the anonymous Tractatulus (p. 18), the form of the semifusiel is different: .

42. See Apel, Notation, 23.

43. The varied meanings and special prolation symbols of the Wrocław Anonymous are also described in the Brzeg Anonymous (see above and Appendix VI), the Tractatulus (p. 37), by Paulus Paulirinus (see below and Appendix IX), and in Anonymous XIII, printed in E. de Coussemaker, Scriptorium de musica medii aevi, 4 vols. (Paris: A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1869; reprinted Milano: Bollettino bibliografico Musicale, 1931) III, 483, where the prolation signs are described as "non sunt amplius in usu moderno" ("they are no longer in modern use").

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The same symbols with dots added in the middle -- ⊙ and ⊂ -- stand for perfect and imperfect tempus. The treatise also illustrates the special signs for major prolation, |: , and minor prolation, |: , known only from Central and East Central European sources.

The repertoire of actual compositions mentioned in the Wrocław treatise clearly shows that its author was familiar with a wide range of fourteenth-century music. Some references cannot be traced, but music has been found for seventeen of the forty compositions named. By comparing the author's descriptions with the actual compositions in manuscripts such as Chantilly Mus. Cod. 564, Codex Ivrea, München 5539 and the lost Strasbourg mansucript, we will be able to ascertain how well he knew this repertoire.

Perhaps the oldest composition mentioned is Philippe de Vitry's three-voice motet Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris / [Tenor] [Table 6a, #39].[44] In the Wrocław Anonymous, the tenor is described as using coloration "on account of a contradiction of modus," that is the black notes are used for perfect modus and the red for imperfect modus.[45] However, a canon (i.e. "rule" or instruction) written beneath the tenor in the unique manuscript for this work reads "Nigre notule sunt imperfecte et rube sunt perfecte" ("The black notes are imperfect and the

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44. This composition, which was included in the now incomplete F-Pn 23190, is found only in I-IV, ff. 15v - 16r. A color facsimile is published in Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. III: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Part 5, ed. H. Besseler and P. Gülke (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1973) 59. The piece is transcribed in L. Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, 88 - 90.

45. Wolf, 336b; this text is also given in Appendix VIII, 427 - 429.

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red are perfect"). These two descriptions at first glance seem contradictory, but in fact they refer to different mensural levels [Ex. 22].[46]

Example 22: Excerpt from Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris / [Tenor], I-IV, ff. 15v - 16r.

46. The transcription in Example 22 has been adapted from that by Schrade in The Roman de Fauvel, 88, and the partial transcription in Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, 58. Both have been compared with the facsimile of the manuscript cited in fn. 44.

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The description in the Ivrea manuscript is clear and is evident in the music: the black notation signifies imperfect modus (II) and the red notation, which occurs only in the tenor, stands for perfect modus (III).[47] The bar lines in Example 22 also indicate a rhythmic organization on a higher level, that of the maximodus. Though the rests at the beginning of the tenor -- three pairs of lines, each line covering two spaces -- would normally indicate imperfect maximodus, imperfect modus (II, II), the rests at the start of the Triplum -- three lines, each covering two spaces -- indicate perfect maximodus, imperfect modus (III, II).[48] The phrase organization of the piece also seems to indicate that each group of six breves forms a section. In the "black" sections at the beginning of the work, six breves equal three longas, which would equal an hypothetical triplex longa (or maxima).[49] The "red" sections show six breves equalling two longas, which in turn would equal a hypothetical duplex longa.

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47. In both the "black" and "red' sections of the work, the tempus remains imperfect and the prolation is major.

48. See Apel, Notation, 124. Only the tenor rests are mentioned in Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik, 58.

49. The triplex longa has not been found in any practical source of fourteenth-century music. However, it was mentioned by the theorists. See Philippe de Vitry, Ars Nova, 76 and 77 on the triplex longa and the larga perfecta; and the Tactatus de musica by Petrus de Sancto Dionysio, ed. by U. Michels in Johannes de Muris, Notitia, 160 and 166, concerning the longa triplex (9 tempora), the longa duplex alia perfecta (6 tempora) and the longa duplex alia imperfecta (4 tempora).

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An indication that the term "modus" in the Wrocław Anonymous might also refer to maximodus is found in the description of a duplex longa.[50]

> Duplex longa in modo perfecto valet tres simplices longas et hoc more antiquorum. Sed usu modernorum tantum valet sex tempora vel duodecim semibreves.
>
> (A duplex longa in perfect modus is worth three simple longas and this is the old manner. But in the modern usage, such a note is worth six breves [tempora] or twelve semibreves.)

A similar description appears in the Tractatulus de cantu mensurali.[51]

> Duplex longa, que et maxima dicitur, sic formatur: . Hec in tempore perfecto valet sex tempora, in tempore vero imperfecto valet quatuor tempora, et in modo perfecto valet tres longas, in modo imperfecto valet duas longas.
>
> (A duplex longa, which also is called a maxima, is formed thus: . In perfect tempus this note is worth six breves (tempora), but in imperfect tempus four breves. And in perfect modus it is worth three longas, in imperfect modus it is worth two longas.)

Clearly, in these two treatises, modus could also refer to maximodus. In this sense, the description of Tuba sacre fidei contained in the

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50. The reference to "modern usage" indicates that the author of the Wrocław Anonymous was familiar with the concept, also evident in the practical sources, that a duplex longa always equalled 6 breves, as in the tenor for Philippe's Tuba sacre fidei, though the first longa in the isorhythmic pattern also might be thought of as imperfecting the preceding duplex longa.

51. Tractatulus, 17.

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Wrocław Anonymous is accurate. It appears that the coloration used in the notation of this composition is actually functioning on two mensural levels in two different ways.[52]

A second composition, attributed to Philippe de Vitry, is possibly mentioned in the Wrocław Anonymous. As examples of a katschetum, four compositions are named, but only one can be tentatively identified. The incipit, "Petri," might refer to the motet, Petre Clemens / Lugentium siccentur / Tenor, which is found only in the Ivrea manuscript, ff. 37v - 38r (Table 6a, #30).[53] In the treatise, katschetum is defined as having three voices "in itself," along with a tenor and contratenor. The closest compositions to the exact definition in the treatise are imitative motets by Ciconia and his contemporaries and the canonic mass movements copied in the Old Hall manuscript.[54] Certainly, the long point of imitation that opens the three-voice motet by Philippe might have been seen by the medieval author of this treatise

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52. This also seems to be the meaning of the analysis by Schrade: "Notes: rhythm: Modus perfectus, tempus imperfectum, prolatio major and in red sections modus imperfectus, tempus perfectum, prolatio major;" Commentary to The Roman de Fauvel, 110.

53. See RISM B IV^2 297. This work is edited in Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, 97 - 103.

54. See Ciconia's O felix templum jubila, edited by S. Clercx, Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liegecis et son temps (vers 1335 - 1411), 2 vols. (N.p., 1954) II, 169 - 172. See also the Gloria by Bytteryng (f. 14v), the two Glorias and a Sanctus by Pycard (ff. 22v - 23r, 29v - 30r, and 100v) and the two anonymous Credos (ff. 59v - 60r and 62v - 63r) contained in the Old Hall Manuscript, now London, British Library, add. 57950. These compositions have been edited by A. Hughes and M. Bent, The Old Hall Manuscript, Corpus Mensuralbilis Musicae 46, 3 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1969/1973) I/1, 29 - 31, 70 - 77, 115 - 119 and I/2, 195 - 200, 201 - 209 and 373 - 375.

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as related to a caccia, a fully canonic composition, and the motet also has a free tenor.[55] Perhaps the definition of katschetum was meant to refer to works such as the motets by Philippe de Vitry and Ciconia, which are not fully canonic, but make extensive use of imitation. This seems probable, especially in light of the fact that a round, that is, rotulum, is also defined in the Wrocław Anonymous.

One of the most popular compositions of the late fourteenth century was Jean Vaillant's virelai, Par maintes foys, preserved in nine manuscripts (Table 6a, #27).[56] This work is mentioned twice in the treatise, first as an example of imperfect modus, perfect tempus, and

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55. F.A. Gallo, "Caccia," Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie (1973), believes that the definition of the Wrocław Anonymous refers to canon.

56. Five manuscripts contain the French version: B-Bc I, f. 1v; F-CA 1328, f. 20r; F-CH 564, f. 60r; I-GR 197, ff. 12v - 13r; and I-Las 184, ff. 12av/12br. Two sources have Latin contrafacta: F-Sm 222, f. 65v (Ave virgo gloriosa); and D-Mbs 14274, ff. 27v - 28r (Ad honorem). The remaining two manuscripts contain a German contrafactum, Der May, by Oswald von Wolkenstein: A-IuWo, ff. 22v - 23r; and A-Wn 2777, ff. 19v - 20r. Concerning the German contrafactum see Erika Timm, "Die Uberlieferung der Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein," Germanische Studien 242 (Lubeck, 1972) 126 - 157. A-Wn 2777 has been published in a full facsimile edition, Oswald von Wolkenstein Handschrift A: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex vindobonensis 2777 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, ed. F. Delbono (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977). The German version has been edited in the Harvard Anthology of Music, ed. A. Davison and W. Apel, 2 vols., revised edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970) 64 - 65. The French version has been edited in Apel, French Secular Music, 114* - 116*, and W. Apel, French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53, 3 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1970 - 1972) I, 222 - 225. In Ward, "Repertory," Table 3, p. 330, this composition is called a bergerette, a term commonly used for virelais with only one stanza. See Apel, French Secular Music, 6.

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major prolation, and secondly as a rondellus.[57] Vaillant's notation is actually more complex than the simple description of the treatise would lead us to believe. The composition is clearly in major prolation, but the tempus cannot be clearly established. In Apel's transcriptions, the measures vary between those with the equivalent of three and those with two semibreves. The establishment of modus is more difficult, but the phrase structure seems to indicate a fluid, imperfect modus [Ex. 23].

Example 23: Par maintes foys, Vaillant.
(Adapted from Apel, French Secular Music, 114*)

The musical form of this work, as copied in the manuscripts, is clearly that of a virelai (A - B - B), with two different clausure (cadences) for the second section.[58] The description of a rondellus in

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57. See Appendix VIII for the Latin text and an English translation.

58. A full French virelai would normally have the form of A-b-b-a-A, though exceptions to this pattern even occur in the works of Machaut. However, when the formal characteristics of compositions are defined in the medieval treatises, frequently only the main characteristics are described, such as the number of sections and

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the Wrocław Anonymous is unclear ("qui habet duas partes et in qualibet parte unam clausuram", "that which has two parts and in any part one clausura"), but this can be clarified by comparison with the definition in the Tractatulus.[59]

> Item rundele sic cognoscuntur, quia habent tantum duas partes, scilicet primam et secundam, ut melodie, et habent etiam unam clausulam in prima eius parte.
>
> (Likewise, rundele are recognizable because their melodies have only two sections, namely, a first and a second; and also they have one cadence in the first section.)

This latter definition can certainly be applied to the virelai form, which has only one cadence in the first section and normally two cadences (an ouvert and clos) in the second section. If one word was changed in the Wrocław Anonymous (prima for the original qualibet), the definitions would match.

Other medieval definitions of the virelai form use terms closer to our modern expectations. The anonymous Tractatus de musica (Philadelphia Anonymous II), which was probably copied and perhaps written in southern Germany or Austria, includes a definition with citations of two examples.[60]

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cadences. See below for a few selected examples of such theoretical definitions. These medieval definitions of musical forms will be the basis for this discussion.

59. Tractatulus, 30. Also compare the definition of Paulus Paulirinus given below.

60. M. Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer Formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XXXI (1974) 239 (hereafter, Philadelphia

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> Item de vireletis: omnes sunt vireleti, qui non habent in primo versu clausulum nec overtum, sed in secundo versu habent clausulum et overtum, et apparet in verbis sicut je languis et mais quil vous vierge et in omnibus aliis sic compositis.
>
> (Likewise concerning vireleti: all compositions are vireleti which do not have in the first verse [section] a [full] cadence or incomplete [cadence] but in the second verse have a [full] cadence and an incomplete [cadence], and this is evident in compositions such as Je languis and Mais quil vous viengne, and in all others so composed.)

It appears that the use of the term rondellus to describe the virelai form is a peculiarity of the Wrocław Anonymous and Tractatulus. This is one piece of evidence that these two treatises are part of a local tradition, and not completely indebted to Western European sources.[61]

Anonymous II). This treatise also contains an interesting group of citations to actual compositions, which has been summarized in Table 6c. The provenence of the Philadelphia source for this treatise is discussed in Andreas Briner, "Ein anonymer unvollständiger Musiktraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts in Philadelphia, USA," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 50 (1966) 27. On the lost D-Frg. Villingen, including a facsimile of Mais quil vous viengne from this source, see M. Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus, 2 vols. (St. Blasien, 1774; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968) II, 63 and Table XIX. See Table 6b, #8 and Table 6c, #7 and #8 for sources of the two compositions mentioned. For modern editions, see Apel, French Secular Compositions, III, 23 - 24 and 35.

The definition given in the Tractatus cantus mensurabilis by Aegidius de Murino is not very helpful in this instance: "Item Vironellus simplex habet ante apertum et clausum retro. Item Vironellus duplex habet dimidium apertum et clausum ante, et apertum et clausum retro" ("Likewise, a vironellus simplex has an incomplete [cadence] before and a full cadence after. Likewise, a vironellus duplex has a half-incomplete [cadence] and a full cadence before, and an incomplete and full cadence after"). See Coussemaker, Scriptorium III, 128b.

61. The fact that the Compendium totius Artis Motetorum does not mention virelais, but does mention rondelli might be related to this

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Monachant de morte wilhelmi, the single composition given as an example of perfect modus, perfect tempus and major prolation, probably refers to the three-voice motet: Mon chant en plaint / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneu / Tenor: Tristis est anima mea (Table 6a, #23).[62] Though there is no clear reference in the texts to a "Wilhelmus," the general lamenting character of the texts might refer to someone's death. The special combination of triple subdivision on all levels, as the treatise mentions, is rare in this repertoire and makes the identification likely [Ex. 24].

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use of rondellus = virelai. See J. Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der Ars nova," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 21 (1908) 33 - 38. According to W. Schum, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschrift-Sammlung zu Erfurt (Berlin, 1887) 752 - 753, the manuscript which contains this treatise -- Erfurt, Universitatsbibliothek 8^{o} 94 -- was copied in France during the early and mid part of the fourteenth century, and was included as item #70, "mathematice," in a catalogue from 1412 of the Erfurt collection. This manuscript includes nine other treatises on music. Further evidence that the Wrocław Anonymous and the Tractatulus are part of a separate tradition will be discussed below.

62. The piece is found in three sources: GB-DRc 20, ff. 339r; I-IV, ff. 22v - 23r; and was included in the now incomplete F-Pn 23190, ff. 42v - 43r. All references to F-Pn 23190 are to the inventory published in C. Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364 - 1419: A Documentary History, Musicological Studies XXVIII (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979) 149 - 157. The work is transcribed in F.Ll. Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, 80 - 83.

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Example 24: Excerpt from Mon chant en plaint / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneu / Tenor: Tristis est anima mea.
(Adapted from Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, 80)

The definition for a motet, "that which has no general pause except at the end, and in which every part has a text," mentions two works, Appollinis and Degentis vita, known in the fourteenth-century French repertoire (Table 6a, #2 and #9).[63] The three-voice motet by

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63. Compare the definition of a motet in the Philadelphia Anonymous II, 239, which also describes where motets were to be sung: "Omnes sunt moteti, quorum tenores sunt nullius prolationis, quia tenores motetorum sunt de mo[do] vel de tempore, sicut [I]da capillorum vel Impudenter, et ultra, quorum tenores a se omnes sunt moteti etc. et illi debent cantari in ecclesiis, et est cantus ecclesiasticus." ("All [those compositions] are motets whose tenors have no prolation, because the tenors of motets are notated in modus or in tempus, as in Ida capillorum or Impudenter; further, all the tenors [of these compositions] by themselves are motets, and so forth. And these [tenors] ought to be sung in churches, and indeed [a tenor] is an ecclesiastical chant.") See Table 6c for

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Bernard de Cluny, Appollinis eclipsatur / Tenor: In omnem terram / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus, is also used in the treatise as an illustration of perfect modus, imperfect tempus and major prolation [Ex. 25].[64]

Example 25: Excerpt from Appollinis eclipsatur / Tenor: In omnem terram / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus, Bernard de Cluny. (Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, 50.)

The second motet, Degentis vita / Cum vix arridici / Contratenor / Tenor: Vera pudicitia, is also used to illustrate perfect modus, imperfect tempus and minor prolation [Ex. 26].[65]

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concordances to the two compositions mentioned in the definition. It should be noted that the syntax of the phrase "quorum tenores ... moteti etc." is rather difficult and may be open to a different interpretation.

64. This composition is found in E-Bcen 853, ff. 1r; E-Bcen 971, ff. 11v - 12r; I-IV, ff. 12v - 13r; NL-Lu 2515, ff. Ir; F-Sm 222, ff. 64r - 65r; I-Pu 658, ff. 2v; and the index to the lost F-Pn 23190, ff. 1v - 2r. Two versions of this piece have been transcribed in Harrison, Motets, 50 - 53 and 54 - 61. This work is also mentioned in the Tractatulus, 16, as an example of perfect modus and [im]perfect tempus.

65. This work is found in B-Ba 758, f. 53v; D-Nst 9, f. 1r; E-Bcen

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Example 26: Excerpt from Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici / Contratenor / Tenor: Vera pudicitia. (Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, 116.)

A work with the incipit, O Maria (Table 6a, #26), is used as an example of perfect modus, imperfect tempus, and minor prolation. Ward has identified this as refering to the three-voice motet, O Maria virgo davitica / O maria maris / Tenor, found in three early fifteenth-century manuscripts [Ex. 27].[66]

971, ff. 8v - 9r; F-Ch 564, ff. 62v - 63r; F-Sm 222, f. 81v; and the index to the lost F-Pn 23190, ff. 25v - 26r. Two versions of this work have been edited in Harrison, Motets, 116 - 123 and 124 - 127. It also appears next to Appollinis in the Tractatulus as an illustration of perfect modus and [im]perfect tempus, p. 16.

66. See Ward, "A Central European Repertory," Table 3, p. 330 and also p. 332. The piece occurs in D-Mbs 14274, ff. 56v - 57r; I-PadU 1106, front cover of binding, inner side and f. 1r; and I-BolQ 15, ff. CCXXXv - CCXXXIVr. The work has been edited in D. Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," Journal of the American Musicological Society 8 (1955) 175 - 177; also in K. von Fischer and F.A. Gallo, Italian Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XII (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau'Lyre, 1976) 147 - 150.

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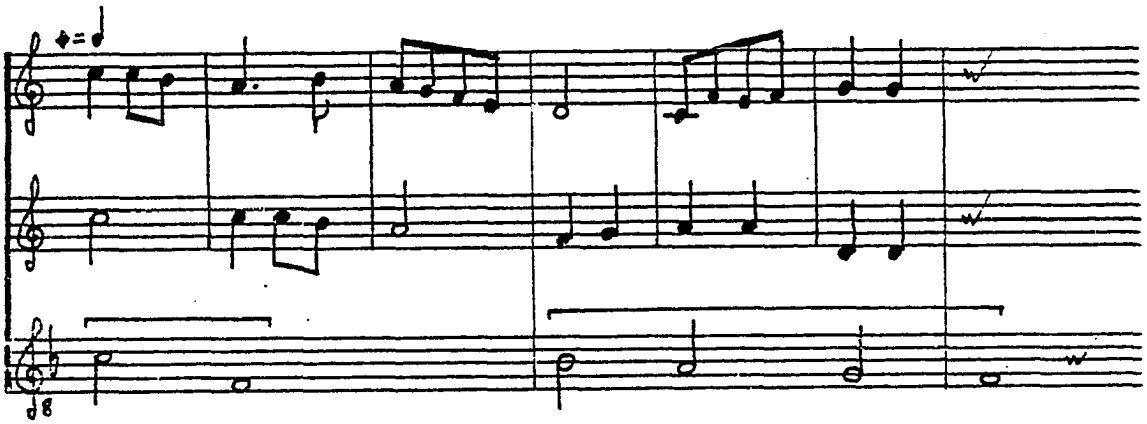
Example 27: Opening from O Maria virgo davitica / O maria maris / Tenor.
(D. Plamenac, "Another Paduan Fragment of Trecento Music," 175.)



Among the uses of red notation defined in the Wrocław Anonymous, one is particularly obtuse.[67]

> Also, red notes are used many times in the same way in major prolation, as in the regular arrangement of perfect tempus, and as regards the requirement of the figures; and three and three of such figures are computed equal to one imperfect tempus, as is evident in Patrem papale, in La doucze flor, and in En mira res, and so forth. [Wolf, 336b]

Fortunately, one of the examples has been discovered, La doulce flour (Table 6a, #21).[68] In the only surviving source, imperfect tempus and

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67. See Appendix VIII, 428, for the Latin text.

68. GB-O, ff. 112v. The composition has been edited by G. Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11, Part IV: Anonymous Chansons from the Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213 (American Institute of Muicology, 1969) 62 -

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major prolation are indicated by the white notation used throughout the manuscript; the colored notation (which is black in GB-O) is used for perfect tempus and minor prolation. This matches the requirements of the definition given above, since red (i.e., colored) groups of "three and three" notes "in the regular arrangement of perfect tempus" are computed equal to one imperfect tempus" (i.e. red / colored 3, 2 = normal 2, 3) [Ex. 28].

Example 28: Excerpt from La doulce flour.
(Reaney, Anonymous Chansons from the Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 213, 62.)

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63. Perhaps the orthography of the Wrocław Anonymous gives an indication that at least the copyist spoke a Slavic language, in Polish and Old Czech, the letters "cz" represent a sound similar to the "ch" in church, which would be an appropriate transliteration of "doulce" ("doucze" in the manuscript).

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Two compositions are named among the examples of coloration to indicate a change of tempus: Adeschort and Jarlephie (Table 6a, #1 and #20). Jarlephie is probably the four-voice rondeau, Jour a jour la vie, which often uses red notation to juxtapose perfect and imperfect tempus, at times producing very complex rhythmic patterns [Ex. 29].[69]

Example 29: Excerpt from Jour a jour la vie.
(Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory, 68.)

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69. This work is found in the following sources: F-Pn 568, f. 121v; F-Pn 6771, f. 66r; F-Sm 222, f. 48r ("Ave Virgo"); I-Fn 26, ff. 73v - 74r; I-FZc 117, ff. 43r - 43v and 50r - 50v (keyboard intabulations); GB-Lbm A XXVI, f. 3v; D-Mbs 14274, ff. 46v - 47r ("Christus rex pacificus"); a German contrafactum by Oswald von Wolkenstein -- Fraw ich enmag / Stand auff / Contratenor / Triplum -- occurs in A-IuWo, f. 21v and A-Wnb 2777, ff. 14v - 15r. The original composition has been edited by N. Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory from the Codex Reina, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 36 (American Institute of Musicology, 1966) 67 - 68. The Latin contrafactum in D-Mbs 14274 has been edited in K. Dézes, "Der Mensuralcodex des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Emmerami zu Regensburg," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 10 (1927) 99 - 102. The keyboard intabulation and vocal original have been printed in D. Plamenac, Keyboard Music of the Late Middle Ages in Codex Faenza 117, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 57 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972) 30 - 31. On the German contrafactum see the article by E. Timm mentioned in fn. 56.

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The incipit Adeschort most likely refers to the three-voice ballade, A discort sont Desir, which also makes extensive use of coloration in one voice against the others [Ex. 30].[70]

Example 30: Excerpt from A discort sont Desir.
(Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory, 23.)

There are three references in the Wrocław Anonymous to Virginem mire pulcritudinis (Table 6a, #40). In the treatise this work is described as a ballade (baladum, "that which has three sections and in the first section two or one clausure") in imperfect modus, perfect tempus and minor prolation. Also, this ballade is said to use red notes to indicate a change of tempus. A work under this title is found in three sources -- incomplete in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbiblio-

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70. Found in F-Pn 6771, f. 70r; NL-Uu 37 II, f. 30v; and I-FZc 117, ff.36r - v (keyboard intabulation). The work is transcribed in Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory, 22 - 24. The keyboard intabulation and the vocal original are edited in Plamenac, Faenza, 9 - 11. This composition is also used to illustrate the use of red notation to show imperfect tempus in the Tractatulus, 30.

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thek, Cod. 5094 (A-Wn 5094), f. 148v; the Buxheim Organbook (D-Mbs 3725), f. 43v -44r (keyboard intabulation); and complete in Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. III 8054 (PL-Kras 52), f. 184r -- and it meets all the criteria established by the definitions in the treatise.[71] The work is in three sections, the first with first and second endings, exactly corresponding to the treatise's definition of a ballade.[72] The third section is a varied repeat of the music for the first section with only the second ending. The mensuration is clearly perfect tempus with minor prolation. The modus is difficult to determine, but some passages, such as the beginning of the second section, seem to indicate the patterns of imperfect modus.

Virginem mire pulcritudinis also appears in the Tractatulus to illustrate coloration, but this citation also helps to demonstrate a

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71. See Perz, Sources; a facsimile of this work in PL-Kras 52 appears in XIII, 59, and a transcription in XIV, 261 - 263. The keyboard intabulation appears in the complete facsimile, Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch, Documenta Musicologica Reihe II: Handschriften - Faksimiles I, ed. B.A. Wallner (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955) ff.43v - 44r, and is transcribed in Das Buxheimer Orgelbuch, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 37, ed. B.A. Wallner, 3 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958) I, 100 - 101.

72. This composition is also used to illustrate the definition of a ballade in the Philadelphia Anonymous II, 239: "Item: balladi vocantur illi, qui habent overtum et clausulum in primo versu. Et postea habent adhuc duas [partes] cum pausis generali[bu]s, et etiam apparet in verbis sicut de toute flores, de che que fol pense et virginis mire pulchritudinis. Et omnes alii sunt balladi, qui sunt sic positi." ("Likewise: those compositions are called ballades which have an incomplete and a full cadence in the first section. And afterwards, they have in addition two sections with general rests [in all voices]; and this is apparent also in examples, such as De toutes flours [by G. de Machaut], De ce que fol pense [by P. de Molins], and Virginem mire pulchritudinis.") See Table 6c for concordances to the two French ballades mentioned.

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relatively common feature of French compositions as they occur in Central and East Central European sources.[73]

> Secundo, vel propter numerationem temporis, ut verbi gratia note rubee sunt imperfecti temporis, nigre vero perfecti temporis, ut in tenore: Adiscort id est Virginem mire pulchritudinis.
>
> (Secondly, because of the numerical arrangement of tempus, as, for example, when red notes are imperfect tempus and black notes are perfect tempus, as in the tenor of Adiscort, that is Virginem mire pulchritudinis.)

In fact, Virginem mire pulchritudinis is a contrafactum of the ballade, A discort sont desir [Ex. 31].

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73. Tractatulus, 30. See also Table 6b, #1 and #10.

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Example 31: Comparison of the openings of A discort sont desir and Virginem mire pulchritudinis.
(Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory, 22, and transcribed after the facsimile in Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, XIII, 59.)

Many French compositions are found in Central European and East Central European sources as Latin or German contrafacta, including many mentioned in the Wrocław Anonymous.[74] The appearance in the Wrocław Anonymous and the Tractatulus of references to both the French and

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74. See above, fns. 56 and 69, for references to other contrafacta in the repertoire of the Wrocław Anonymous.

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Latin versions of this composition is very curious, especially when the references are next to one another.[75] It seems likely that the author of the Wrocław Anonymous was aware of the relationship between the two versions, even if it was not stated explicitly, as in the Tractatulus. Perhaps, in his conception, the different texts constituted two different compositions, even when the notes were the same.

A work entitled Ave coronata is mentioned twice in the Wrocław Anonymous (Table 6a, #5). It is described as a motet in perfect modus, imperfect tempus, and major prolation. The only composition that fits this description occurs in two late Bohemian manuscripts -- ČS-HK II A 7, p. 420 - 421 (the Specialník manuscript) and ČS-HK II A 6, ff. 345v - 346r (the Franus cantional) -- and is for three voices: Ave coronata / Alma parens / Ave coronata [Ex. 32].[76]

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75. This occurs in the Wrocław Anonymous on p. 336b.

76. The piece is transcribed in J. Černý, "Die Ars nova - Musik in Böhmen," Miscellanea Musicologica XXI - XXIII (Praha, 1970) 96 - 102. ČS-HK II A 6 (dated 1505) is also known as the Franus Cantional and ČS-HK II A 7 (dated about 1500) is also known as the Specialník manuscript.

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Example 32: Opening of Ave coronata / Alma parens / Ave coronata. (Adapted from Černý, "Ars nova - Musik in Böhmen," 96.)

The work, as it is preserved, seems to be a reworking of an isorhythmic motet, whose original tenor has been reconstructed by Černý. The mensuration exactly fits the description of the Wrocław treatise. The tenor melody is identical with the antiphon Ave regina celorum, which was also used with a variant text as tenor to two English motets in honor of St. Edmund.[77] In fact, the text of Ave coronata could even be considered a "trope" of the Ave regina celorum, since many key words from the antiphon are worked into the text of the triplum and tenor. The Ave coronata finds its closest parallels in early fourteenth-cen-

77. See M. Bukofzer, "Two Fourteenth-Century Motets on St. Edmund," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950) 17 - 33. This was first noted in J. Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám motetu v českých zemích," Miscellanea Musicologica XXIV (Praha, 1971) 16, fn. 23.

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tury isorhythmic motets by Vitry, Machaut and their contemporaries. Many compositions in CS-HK II A 6 and CS-HK II A 7 have concordances in other early fifteenth-century sources, and in the light of the Wrocław Anonymous, we can suppose that Ave coronata was written at least by 1400 if not earlier.[78]

The works discussed above agree with the incipits and descriptions of the Wrocław Anonymous with a reasonable degree of accuracy. A few other incipits from the treatise can be found in the texts of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century compositions, but with these the degree of probable identity is smaller. A Deo gratias papales is mentioned as an illustration of imperfect modus, perfect tempus and minor prolation. A manuscript in Nürnberg of probable German origin includes a work beginning Deo gratias papales presules, which seems to match the description.[79]

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78. Concerning the preservation of earlier repertoires in later Bohemian sources, see Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám," 7 - 90. On the dating of Ave coronata, see Černý, "Die Ars-nova Musik," 80 - 82.

79. See RISM B IV^2 84 - 85 for a description of the Nürnberg source; the Deo gratias papales appears on f. 2v. This identification was made by Ward, "A Central European Repertory," Table 3, 330 and p. 332. Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, XV, suggests that this work may have been composed for the Council of Constance, and therefore may dated from as late as 1418. According to Ward, this work may also have appeared in the lost Gdańsk (Danzig), Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 2315, f. 222v. See O. Günther, Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, 6 vols. (Danzig, 1892 - 1913) III (1909), 250 - 253 (not vol. II, as in Ward). This source also included music for an "Et in terra pax" (f. 222r) and "Erentreiche lobesam iuncfrawliche czir" (f. 223v).

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A work with the incipit Musicorum inter collegia (Table 6a, #25) illustrates a special characteristic of longas used in perfect tempus.[80]

> Note the remarkable fact concerning tempus: whenever longas are set in perfect tempus, then such tempus is embellished as far as concerns the modus, as is evident in the tenor of Musicorum inter collegia, and so forth.

Only one work with this incipit has been discovered so far, and this was contained in the lost Strasbourg manuscript on f. 94v. Fortunately, E. de Coussemaker made a copy of this work before the destruction of this source,[81] but, as far as I can judge from the modern transcription, the only longas occur at the end of the work.[82]

A passage in the Brzeg Anonymous can provide some clarification for the "embellishment of tempus" described in the Wrocław Anonymous.[83]

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80. Wolf, 334a. The Latin text is given in Appendix VIII, 430.

81. See the description of this source in RISM B IV^3 550 - 592. A full critical study of this manuscript, based on Coussemaker's notes, was prepared by C. van den Borren, Le Manuscrit Musical M.222 C.22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg (XV^e siècle) brulé en 1870, et reconstitué d'après une copie partielle d'Edmond de Coussemaker (Aners: Imprimerie E. Secelle, 1924). Coussemaker's transcriptions have recently been published in facsimile, A. Vander Linden, Le manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, Thesaurus Musicus 2 (Brussels, 1979).

82. The piece is transcribed in Apel, French Secular Compositions III, 205 - 207. The probable longas occur in mm. 62 - 68.

83. See Kellner, "Ein Mensuraltraktat," 78. The examples in the Latin text are given as they appear in Kellner's edition, though it is not always clear how they illustrate the text. In the translation, the examples for the first and third paragraphs are transposed, since the first example contains minims, referred to only in the third paragraph and the third example consists mainly

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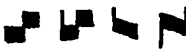
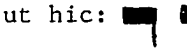
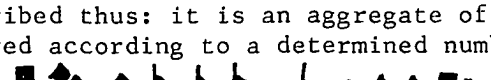
Tempus describitur sic: est aggregatio brevium semibreviumque figurarum secundum certum numerum semibrevium ordinata ut hic:  .

Et notandum quando longae simplices vel longae duplices vel maximae ponuntur in tempore, tale tempus colorisatur per modum ut hic:  .

Si autem in eo ponuntur minimae, tunc tale tempus colorisatur per prolationem ut hic: .

(Tempus is described thus: it is an aggregate of breves and semibreves ordered according to a determined number of semibreves, as this:  .

And it must be noted that, when simple or duplex longas or maximas are placed in tempus, such tempus is embellished as far as concerns modus, as this: .

However, if minimas are placed in tempus, then such tempus is embellished as far as concerns prolation, as this: .)

It seems that the presence of note-forms associated with a different mensural level were thought of as embellishing the prevailing mensuration. For instance, the tenor voice of Musicorum inter collegia is notated primarily with semibreves and minims, and only a few breves. Possibly the longas that occur at the end of the work were considered by the authors of the Wrocław Anonymous and the Brzeg Anonymous to be "embellishing" the tempus "as far as concerns modus."

Two different compositions, each beginning Sacre sanctus pater ingenitus / Sanctus miro gaudio / Tenor, are found in two different sources, but it is not clear from the modern transcriptions that either of these works make use of the special ligature form mentioned as

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of the semibreves, referred to in the first paragraph.

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occurring in Sacrosanctum (Table 6a, #32).[84]

A manuscript in Trier, containing works of probable Bohemian origin, includes a monophonic composition entitled [T]onat agmen celestis curie (Table 6a, #37), which appears to match the definition of piroletum given in the treatise.[85]

> A piroletum is that which has two sections, and in any section two clausure, just as in Musica frawein, which is called by another name, Tonat agmen; similarly Salve mundi domina, and so forth.

This composition is also cited in the Tractatulus to define a similar form; unfortunately, the name of the form is missing in the manuscript and was supplied by the editor because of its similarity to the passage in the Wrocław Anonymous.[86]

> Sed [viroletum] sic cognoscitur, quia habet tantum duas partes et in qualibet parte clausuram, sicut illud: Tonat agmen celestis curie.

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84. One composition with this title is incompletely preserved in F-APT 16bis, ff. 12v - 13r; the second, also incomplete, is in E-Bcen 971, ff. 6v - 7r. A transcription of the Apt version was made by A. Gastoué, Le manuscrit de musique du Trésor d'Apt (XIV^{e} - XV^{e} siecle), Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Premiere série X (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1936) 44 - 49. Transcriptions of both versions appear in H. Stäblein-Harder, Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 29 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962) 114 - 116 (Bcen) and 117 - 118 (APT).

85. Wolf, 336a. The Latin text is also given in Appendix VIII. The composition is published in R. Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle (Köln, 1953) 102.

86. Tractatulus, 30. See Table 6b, #9.

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> (But [a viroletum] is recognized in the same manner, because it has only two sections and in each section a cadence, as this: Tonat agmen celestis curie.)

The composition preserved in the Trier manuscript is without any rhythmic indications. Given that all the other known works mentioned in the Wrocław Anonymous are polyphonic, mensural compositions, the reference to a monophonic Tonat agmen would be unique. Perhaps the version in the Trier manuscript is incomplete. Certainly, the fact that only the first few lines of the text had been copied underneath the music would point to such a conclusion. Until more evidence is found, the identification of this particular composition with the incipit in the Wrocław Anonymous will be inconclusive.

Also mentioned in the definition of the piroletum is a Salve mundi domina (Table 6a, #34). A work with this incipit was contained in the lost Strasbourg manuscript, but unfortunately no copy was made before its destruction, except for a short excerpt copied by Coussemaker.[87] Like Tonat agmen celestis curie, it was probably monophonic.

A Deo gracias conclamemus, used in the treatise to define imperfect modus, perfect tempus and major prolation (Table 6a, #12), can be found incomplete in a München manuscript, but there it is clearly in imperfect tempus with major prolation.[88]

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87. See RISM B IV^3 551.

88. See RISM B IV^3 359 - 360 for a description of D-Mbs 3223, which is probably of Italian provenance. On f. 1r, only a single voice is copied, Deo gratias conclamemus omnes hic.... This was, according to RISM, probably the motetus of a polyphonic work; most of the other works in this source also appear to be incomplete, and as yet, no concordances have been found. However, the reference in

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The number of examples that can be located and their accurate descriptions in the Wrocław Anonymous seem to indicate that the author of the treatise knew this primarily French repertoire from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Although most references in the treatise are to works that originated in Western Europe, the treatise also refers to three things -- one set of mensural signs and two compositions, Ave coronata and the contrafactum of A discort, Virginem mire pulchritudinis -- which are only known in Central and East Central European sources.[89] It seems probable that the treatise was written (not just copied) in Central or East Central Europe, most likely in Silesia, perhaps even in Wrocław at the Augustinian monastery.

The author of the treatise seems to have had direct access to the Western European repertoire he describes, and not to be copying from other theorists, though similar passages also occur in other treatises.[90] The evidence appears to indicate that there was a tradition of treatises on ars nova mensural theory and repertoire stemming from Central and East Central Europe, and the Wrocław Anonymous is just one part of that tradition.

It is more difficult to establish a date of origin for the Wrocław Anonymous. The manuscript is probably from the mid fifteenth

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the Wrocław Anonymous is mentioned in the RISM entry, even though the relationship is not clearly established.

89. It should be noted that many of the French compositions were also copied in Central European sources. See Table 6a, and Ward, "A Central European Repertory," Table 3, p.330.

90. Many of these have been indicated above. See also Ward, "A Central European Repertory," for a summary of these relationships.

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century, and the latest compositions mentioned possibly date from the second decade of that century.[91] Many of the other compositions mentioned can be found in manuscripts from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Given the dating of these musical sources, it seems likely that the treatise was written at some point during the second or third decade of the fifteenth century, though the author may have had access to an earlier work similar to the Compendium totius artis Motetorum.[92]

If this theory of origin is correct, the Wrocław Anonymous is strong evidence for the influence of Western European repertoire and theory in East Central Europe. Based on its citations, we have a view of the musical repertoire known on the eastern borders of Europe, even if most of the manuscript sources are now lost.[93] The author of this treatise has provided a mirror in which we can see reflected his view of the ars nova.

Paulus Paulirinus de Praga on Music

The third treatise which discusses the notation and forms of late medieval music was written in Plzeň (Pilsen) about 1460 by Paulus Paulirinus de Praga (also known as Pavel Žídek z Prahy), and is of

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91. The Deo gracias papales has been dated from before 1418 (see fn. 79 above) and the A discort contrafactum, Virginem mire pulchritudinis probably stems from this same period.

92. See fn. 61, above.

93. For further details on the sources for Western European polyphony in East Central Europe, see Chapters Five and Seven.

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undisputed East Central European provenance.[94] According to Reiss, Paulus was born in Praha in 1413. He began his university studies in Wien (Vienna), where he received his magister artium and followed this with medical studies in Padova (Padua) and Bologna. On his return to Central Europe he was ordained a priest by the archbishop of Regensburg and in 1443 was a teacher at the University of Praha. In 1451, "Magister Paulus de Praga doctor arcium et medicine doctor" was matriculated at the University of Kraków.[95] It is possible that he came to Kraków because of its reputation as a center of mathematical and astronomical (including astrological) studies which were still considered important parts of any medical education.[96] During an outbreak of the plague in Kraków, he resided in Wrocław. For reasons that are still unclear, possibly because of his rumored sympathies for the Hussite revolution, Paulus was imprisoned on his return to Kraków. Through the intervention of Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, he was released. Paulus then returned to Bohemia, where he wrote, circa 1459 - 1463, his Liber

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94. The biographical details which follow are found in J. Reiss, "Pauli Paulirini de Praga Tractatum de Musica (etwa 1460)," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 7 (1924/1925) 259 - 260. Reiss derived most of his information from J. Muczkowski, Pauli Paulirini olim Paulus de Praga vocitati Viginti Artium manuscriptum librum... (Cracoviae: w Drukarni Kwartalnika, 1835).

95. Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus I (ab Anno 1400 ad Annum 1489) (Cracoviae: Typis et Impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1887) 131.

96. For further information on the history of the University of Kraków, see Chapter Two, 67 - 70.

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viginti artium with the financial assistance of King George Podiebrad.[97] After this period nothing else is known of his life.

In the Liber viginti artium, Paulus attempted to discuss many subjects: among them grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy, music, zoology, botany, mineralogy, topography, geography, medicine, metaphysics, theology, and canon law. Unfortunately, the unique manuscript -- Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 257 -- has many gaps in the text, so it is hard to judge what the entire encyclopedia would have been like, but the sections on music are relatively complete.[98]

Synopsis

The passages on music in the Liber viginti artium were planned to contain a prologue and five partitiones (sections). Of the five partitiones, only the first two and the beginning of the third are preserved. These are the "artis septimae partitio prima: musica plana," the "artis septimae partitio secunda: musica mensuralis," and the "artis septimae partitio tertia: musica instrumentalis."

The first partitio is further divided into eight pausae (sub-

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97. See O. Odložilík, The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs, 1440 - 1471 (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1965) 307, in reference to the Spravovna, another work written by Paulus in this period. Concerning this work, see also Z.V. Tobolka, Mistra Pavla Žídka Spravovna (Praha, 1908). See below, fn. 109, for Odložilík's assessment of Paulus' achievements.

98. See Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur: Volumen I, Numeros continens inde ab 8 usque ad 444, ed. Z. Włodek, J. Zathey and M. Zwiercan (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1980) 289 - 293, for a complete description of the unique manuscript. Hereafter, the manuscript will be refered to as BJ 257.

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sections), each of which contains a number of separate definitions. The subject of this partitio is musica plana, which includes the definition of music, its beginnings, parts (in coelestis, mundana, humana, naturalis, artificialis, usualis, armoniaca, etc.). Also defined are the Guidonian hand, clefs, mutation of the hexachord, and the ecclesiastical modes.[99]

The following partitio on mensural music is divided into four pause.[100] The first pausa contains eighteen definitions of general terms and genres: mensural music, mensural notes, ptongus, rests, tenor, discantus, contratenor, consonance, dissonance, motet, rundelus, facetum, trumpetum, rotulum, ballade, stampania, and cantilena [Acta, 58 - 61].[101] Some of the more important definitions follow.

> 9. Consonance is a sweet mixture of sounds arising from the skill of singing and a knowledge of note-forms, concerning which these verses are given to you.
>
> If you should see O, then such a song is
> believed to be a song in perfect [tempus];
> if a semicircle appears, it is said to be a
> song in imperfect tempus.
>
> And the sign of major prolation is |: , the sign of minor prolation 𝄾: ; the sign of perfect modus, major prolation is O|: , the sign of imperfect modus, minor prolation is C|: . the repeat sign is)(or thus :||: . [Acta, 60]

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99. BJ 257, ff. 153v - 159v. For a summary, see Reiss, "Pauli Paulirini," 260 - 261.

100. The text of this partitio has been edited by R. Mužíková, "Pauli Paulirini de Praga Musica mensuralis," Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 2, 1965, Studie a materiály k dějinám starší České hudby (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1965) 58 - 72, including a brief commentary. All references to this text will appear within brackets in the following form, [Acta, page number].

101. BJ 257, ff. 159v - 162v. See Appendix IX, 431 - 437, for the Latin text and an English translation of this pausa.

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11. A motet is a mensural song proceeding in three voices, in which the discant has its own text and the middle voice even has a characteristic text differentiated from the discant. But nevertheless, the text of each concords so well together with its own notes, that this lack of conformity seems to appear as uniformity. The tenor, however, has no text, but it replies to both, sweetly intertwined with them. [Acta, 60]

12. A rundelus is a mensural song proceeding only in two voices, in which work a discant answers its own tenor with sweet proportion, sometimes with the tenor voice silent and the discant voice singing, or the contrary. Or else [it is a rundelus] because it presents equal but also concordant voices against themselves, each voice proceeding with its own chorus. Or a rundelus is a melody having two sections, of which one has a full cadence, the other, however, is entirely lacking a full cadence. [Acta, 60]

13. A [f]acetum is a mensural song proceeding in three voices, in which any tenor, middle voice, and contratenor has its own text appropriate to itself, hence equal in length, because it proceeds in the manner of a round (rota = wheel) in low notes, which properly concord in their pitches, and in each resting place of that song [the pitches] are able to be held where they do not desire any silence of the voices in such a song. [Acta, 60]

14. A trumpetum is a mensural song proceeding in four choruses [i.e., voices], in which any chorus, performing its own role in singing, proceeds with its own individual way of song. But the fourth chorus opposes all with a sonorous voice, somewhat raucous, in the manner of a French trumpet, since to some it makes cacophony or an evil and disagreeable sonority when it answers [the other voices]. [Acta, 60 - 61]

15. A rotulum is a mensural song, proceeding in two or three voices without tenor, in which the singers maintain three choruses according to harmonic proportion and each voice proceeds in its own different way, generating [itself] repeatedly as if into infinity. And it recurs over itself as often as desired with the same or different text, but varied by means of some rests or cadences. [Acta, 61]

16. A balida is a mensural song in which the discant has three sections, and one additional section which has its own cadence distinct from the others. The tenor differs from these sections in the fourth section, contrasting concordantly with them all. And all the sections concord differently with a most sweet melody and each single section

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concords by proceeding with its own most unceasing sweetness. [Acta, 61]

17. The stampania is a most sweet mensural song proceeding with the most exacting measurement in rests, both ascending and descending [steps ?], neither according to high nor according to low. This composition is devised with great fancy so that the stampania may be the measure of all measures, and it is one song containing in itself twelve distinct melodic sections [differencias]; nevertheless, it repeats each distinct melodic section. [Acta, 61]

Pausa II defines in greater detail the proportions of mensural notation. Most of the information varies little from accepted practice. However, the fifth and sixth definitions are unusual in that Paulus applies a division of the note-values by only three or only two. The final equation, however, does not follow from his strict divisions; for example, 1 longa = 3 breves = 9 semibreves = 27 minims = 81 semiminims = 243 anafren = 729 diptice = 2187 fuselli, not 24 fuselli.

5. Perfectus modus est modus, in quo fit notarum repercussio per ternarium ita, quod in eo una longa valet tres breves et quelibet brevium tres semibreves et quelibet semibrevis tres minimas et quelibet minima tres semiminimas et quelibet semiminima valet tres anafren et quelibet anafren valet tres dipticas et quelibet diptica valet tres fusellos ita, quod fusellus valet viginti quatuor notas respectu unius longe.

6. Inperfectus modus est, quo fit notarum repercussio per binarium ita, quod una maxima valet duas longas et longa duas simplices et simplex duas semibreves et quelibet semibrevis duas minimas et quelibet minima duas semiminimas et quelibet semiminima valet duas anafren et quelibet anafren valet duas dipticas et quelibet diptica duos fusellos; tum nunc versus non plus procedit, nisi ad semiminimas licet francigene et lombardi et anglici ultra progerent. [Acta, 62]

(5. Perfect modus is a measure in which an articulation of note-forms is made through threes in such a manner that in this modus one longa is worth three breves, and any one of

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> the breves three semibreves, and any one semibreve three minims, and any one minim three semiminims, and any one semiminim is worth three anafren, and any one anafren is worth three diptice, and any one diptica is worth three fuselli so that a fusellus is worth 24 notes in respect to one longa.
>
> 6. Imperfect modus is that [measure] in which an articulation of note-forms is made through twos in such a manner that one maxima is worth two longas, and a longa two simplices [= breves?], and a simplex two semibreves, and any one semibreve two minims, and any one minim two semiminims, and any one semiminim is worth two anafren, and any one anafren is worth two diptice, and any one diptica two fuselli. In practice, the series does not proceed beyond semiminims, although the French, Lombards, and English proceed further.)

Mensural signs are again discussed in the definitions 7 to 15 [Acta, 62 - 64]. Here, they are the mensural signs "secundum gallicos" ("according to the French"), and their interpretation is similar to accepted modern interpretations.[102] One exception is that Paulus sees the tractus, the line drawn through the sign as in ∅ or ∅ , as signifying imperfect modus.

His definitions of some note-forms, at least as presented in the Kraków manuscript, are very unclear. Quadrata nota (definition 16) seems to define maximas and longas, with and without tails.

> 16. [Q]uadrate note sunt note maxime quadratum omnino ac oblongale pretendentes; que si fuerit sine caudis ■ , talis valet duas longas in modo inperfecto ■ ■ eciam non filatas, si filatur a parte sinistra deorsum, valet duo tempora ■ , si filatur a parte sinistra sursum ■ , valet breves duas, si vero filatur a parte dextra sursum ■ , similiter si filatur ab utraque parte, hoc est ab una parte sursum et ab alia deorsum sic ■ , consuetudo utencium erit investiganda. [Acta, 64]

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102. See Apel, Notation, 96 - 98.

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> (16. Maxima note-forms are square note-forms, entirely square and also stretched oblong. If the note-form is without tails, , such a note-form is worth two longas in imperfect modus, also without tails, ; if it has a tail on the left side downwards, , it is worth two tempi [i.e., breves]; if it has a tail on the left side upwards, , it is worth two breves. If, however, it has a tail on the right side upwards, , similarly if it has tails on both sides, that is, from one side upwards and from the other downwards, , the custom of the users of such note-forms must be found out.)

Paulus' explanation of ligatures is very short and equally unclear (definition 17) [Acta, 64].

The discussion of rests which follows (definition 18) begins with standard information (e.g., a semibreve rest from the line downwards, minim rest from the line upwards) [Acta, 64]. He goes on to discuss a combined minim-semibreve rest (above and below the line), a rest worth four semibreves, "holding together two lines," and other unusual forms, unfortunately without examples.

In definitions 19 - 25, Paulus examines the individual note-forms in greater detail [Acta, 64 - 65]. Here, as elsewhere, Paulus applies a mathematically rigorous method, so that in perfect modus all divisions are strictly triple and in imperfect modus all divisions are strictly duple. with the exception of the relation between semiminims and minims in imperfect modus.

> 21. Brevis nota est, que in modo perfecto ad suam simplicem coordinata, reporigit ei tres breves, longe sex, maxime novem, diverberabilis autem in tres semibreves, in sex minimas, in novem semiminimas et sic continuatur. In modo autem inperfecto tunc offert se duplata sue simpllici et quadruplata longe, maxime aut sextuplata, diverberatur autem in duas semibreves, in quatuor minimas, in sex semiminimas.
>
> [Acta, 65]

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> (21. A breve note-form is that which is ordered in relation to its simplex in perfect modus; such a simplex contains three breves, a longa six breves, a maxima nine breves; however, the breve [in perfect modus] is divided into three semibreves, into six minims, into nine semiminims, and so forth. However, in imperfect modus, a breve note-form offers itself two-fold to its simplex, four-fold to a longa, or six-fold to a maxima; however, it is divided into two semibreves, into four minims, into six semiminims.)

The second pausa ends with short explanations of puncti (definition 26, treated in greater detail in Pausa III), mixte note (definition 27, semibreves between breves) and "disposicio notarum earum" (definition 28, general thoughts that notation should be accurate) [Acta, 66].

Pausa III returns to the recognition of meter. In definitions 1 - 5, Paulus repeats much of the content from definitions 1 - 15 of Pausa II concerning mensural signs, except that here the tractus is also defined as "per medium cantari iubet" (literally "it orders to be sung in half") [Acta, 67]. He also discusses the signa (signs) of the differing mensural subdivisions (definitions 6 - 8) [Acta, 67 - 68]. These are ways the meter of a composition can be established by studying the distinctive patterns and symbols in the actual musical notation. In definitions 9 - 15, Paulus proposes very fine distinctions between seven types of puncti (dots): addicionis, diminucionis, dividens, perficiens, inperficiens, alteratiwus and eductiwus [Acta, 68 - 69]. The pausa concludes with definitions of colored notation (definition 16), altered minims (definition 17), imperfection by minims (definition 18) and altered semibreves (definition 19) [Acta, 69 - 70].

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In the eleven definitions of Pausa IV [Acta, 70 - 72], Paulus gives a relatively clear explanation of the different proportions -- dupla, tripla, sesquialtera, etc. -- by which various mensural relationships could be expressed with the same standard musical notation.

The third partitio discusses musical instruments.[103]

> [I]nstrumentalis musica est, que perficitur instrumentis musicalibus aut flatu humano mediante aut sola percussione aut follium blatu aut flatu et percussione vel appulsu vel quocumque alio modo....
>
> (Instrumental music is that which is executed by musical instruments or by the mediation of human breath or with beating alone or by the breath of bellows or by breath and beating or by blows or in any other manner....)

After the two introductory paragraphs follow definitions of nineteen instruments.[104]

> Monocordium, clavicordium, clavicimbalum, dulce melos, psalterium, arfa, cithara, sistrum smiczecz, organum, portatiwum, virginale, cimbalum, tintinabulum, calcastrum, inportile, ala, ysis, tubalcana, ormfa.

The partitio on instrumental music appears to be incomplete in the manuscript.

The fourth and fifth partitiones are missing in the unique source

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103. The text of this partitio is edited by R. Mužíková, "Musica instrumentalis v traktatu Paula Žídka z Prahy," Miscellanea musicologica XVIII (Praha, 1965) 87 - 95, with a full commentary and descriptions of the instruments named. The following quote is from p. 87.

104. Mužíková, "Musica instrumentalis," 88 - 95.

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for Paulus' encyclopedia. However, their contents were described in the prologue.[105] The fourth partitio was to describe plainsong ("de cantu ecclesiastico") and to examine the modes of the antiphons, psalms, Magnificats, and responsories contained in the antiphonals and graduals.[106] The fifth and final partitio was to examine the place of music within church life and "how each church should use the Gregorian song according to the Roman rubrics" ("quomodo omnis ecclesia debet cantu Gregoriano uti secundum rubricam Romanam"). Chant should be used in the cathedral, collegiate and parochial churches, and also monasteries. However, the chapels of princes were allowed to use mensural music ("capellis autem principium conceditur cantus mensuralis"). Also to be included in the final partitio were instructions for celebrating the festivals of the saints.[107]

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105. BJ 257, ff. 253r/v. The passages summarized in the text are quoted in fns. 106 and 107 from Muczkowski, Pauli Paulirini, 20 - 21.

106. "In quarta autem particione agam de cantu ecclesiastico per omnes sex libros cantuales discurrens, dans modos noscendi in antiphonario, quomodo noscitur, si debet cantari sub primo tono vel secundo, antiphona, psalmi, Magnificat aut Responsorium: similiter et in graduali et in aliis."

107. "In quinta autem particione agam de cantu ecclesiastico chorali, primo subiungendo, quomodo omnis ecclesia debet cantu Gregoriano uti secundum rubricam Romanam, nec debet ab ea dissidere, et universe kathedrales ecclesie et collegiate et parochiales, ymo et claustra, instar metropolitane ecclesie, capellis autem principum conceditur cantus mensuralis; sed nonnisi ad pertongum gregorianam, nisi esset rundelus aut cantilena mensuralis approbata. Et in ista particione, ne pretereatur memoria sanctorum martyrum, qui per carnis interitum vicerant suos persecutores, in die celebri ponam quinque cantilenas et collectam includentem nomina omnium sanctorum, eodem die memorabilium, ut eorum invocacione deriventur nobis mortalibus de superis dona celestia: in die autem non celebri solum tres cantilenas et collectam, ut saltem chorus concinat viris laude dignis debitam gloriam, nec preterat segniter. Cete-

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Analysis

Paulus attempted in his Libri viginti artium to elucidate many subjects of human enquiry. The unique Kraków manuscript has many gaps, mistakes, and linguistic problems, and it is difficult to assess whether these are just copyist's errors or the fault of the author.[108] But looking beyond these surface difficulties, Paulus' work is a document of great learning, and reflects his years of study and teaching, in particular at the Universities of Praha and Kraków.[109]

His description of the forms, notation and instruments of music was certainly outmoded. By the mid fifteenth century, there is evidence of white mensural notation in East Central European sources,

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rum per dominicas discurrere minime pigritabor, etc."

108. Concerning Paulus' amanuensis, Paulus de Novo Castro, the copyist of the manuscript, see Reiss, "Pauli Paulirini," 260. Reiss believes that most of the mistakes are the fault of the amanuensis.

109. For a different view of Paulus Paulirinus, see Odložilík, The Hussite King, 307: "In the last years of his life, George had in his service a man who earned several academic degrees but actually was shallow and mediocre in whatever he attempted to produce. His name Paul was usually connected with a sobriquet Žídek (Little Jew), originating in rumors that, as a child, he was kidnapped from his home and baptized. At the King's request Žídek compiled a theoretical treatise concerning government and the qualifications of an ideal ruler, entitled Spravovna. The book in three parts was a hotch-potch of historical reminiscences, details concerning social conditions in the author's lifetime, food, manners and costumes; all this was interspersed with impertinent remarks, addressed to the King, or, more often, to Queen Johanna. A question can be asked whether George ever did find time to peruse this weird mixture of knowledge and charlatanism from Žídek's pen." I believe this assessment is too harsh in the light of similar works by other authors of the period.

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while Paulus still uses black notation for his examples.[110] The musical genres he defines are those forms common in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The importance of Paulus' work for the present study lies in its value as a document of a tradition of musical knowledge in East Central Europe, which can most clearly be demonstrated by comparison with the Wrocław Anonymous and other treatises from the same tradition.[111]

The notation described in these treatises is basically the black mensural notation common from the beginning of the fourteenth century through the first half of the fifteenth century. Both the Brzeg Anonymous and the Wrocław Anonymous go beyond the standard longas, breves, semibreves, minims and semiminims to mention special usages. Here, however, we can see that the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous, and the the Tractatulus based their discussions on practical usage, while Paulus becomes theoretically involved in the system he is attempting to describe.[112] Paulus' detailed discussion of proportional theory is related more to the treatises and music of the mid fifteenth

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110. Among these are the newly discovered binding fragment from Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 8 (this fragment has been removed from the binding; see the provisional description of this source in Appendix XIX, 542), and PL-Kór 801. On this latter source, see Perz, Sources, XIII, 162 - 163 (facsimile), and XIV, 460 - 462, (transcriptions).

111. Many of the parallels between the two texts were first examined by W. Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Uwagi w sprawie genezy wrocławskiego traktatu menzuralnego," Muzyka XXIII/3 (1978) 88 - 92.

112. Compare the description of note-forms from the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous, and that of Paulus. Also, compare the similar passages in the Tractatulus, 17 - 18.

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century than the older notational systems discussed in the more practical sources.[113]

The treatises in this tradition all describe the special signs for prolation which occur only in theoretical works and practical sources from Central and East Central Europe.[114] Paulus mentions these signs only in the first pausa, later, in Pausa II, he describes the signs "in the French manner," those in common use during the later fifteenth century.

It is particularly the descriptions of the musical forms that demonstrate the ties between these sources. Especially in the definitions of the motet, rondellus, rotulum and baladum there are many similar words and phrases, though, again, the practical treatises are more concise and accurate in their definitions.[115]

Especially interesting is the definition of trumpetum shared by both treatises. The Wrocław Anonymous discusses stampania and trumpetum together as compositions in two or three sections, whose voices frequently display an alternation between fifths and octaves, "in the manner of a trumpet or lyre," though it seems probable that the author of this treatise compressed together two separate definitions. Paulus

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113. On proportional theory in the Renaissance, see Apel, Notation, 145 - 195.

114. See Ward, "A Central European Repertory," 326 - 327.

115. Compare Paulus' descriptions of the motet, rundelus, balida, facetum, rotulum, and stampania with those in the Wrocław Anonymous, the Tractatulus (p. 30), and the Philadelphia Anonymous II (p. 239). Contrary to Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Uwagi," 90, the definitions of facetum in Paulus and katschekum in the Wrocław Anonymous, describe the same basic form.

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discusses trumpetum and stampania separately. Trumpetum is composed for four voices "in the manner of a French trumpet." However, a stampania, according to Paulus, is a "most sweet mensural composition," the "measure of all measures," something quite different from the noise of a trumpetum. These two definitions of trumpetum from East Central Europe are the only theoretical discussions of what seems to have been a special sub-genre of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century music, the compositions "ad modum tube."

It cannot be claimed that Paulus Paulirini was an original scholar. Certainly, a full estimation of his writings must wait until the subjects of his great encyclopedia have each been examined by appropriate experts. As regards music, his occasionally eccentric descriptions provide no new information; they appear to be the last witnesses of a tradition better found in earlier treatises such as the Wrocław Anonymous. Perhaps the value of his work should be judged not from the standpoint of innovation, but from his preservation of important local traditions of musical thought. Without Paulus' encyclopedia, our modern perceptions of these traditions would be much poorer.

Conclusions

These three treatises, which examine ars nova notation and its related musical forms, are the only such works from East Central Europe still preserved. Of these, the Wrocław Anonymous seems to have been based upon a direct knowledge of the actual music. It also provides

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convincing evidence that this music, much of it now found only in Western European manuscripts, was known also in Silesia and most likely also in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.

The Brzeg Anonymous, though not providing evidence of a specific musical repertoire, demonstrates that at least one Silesian, Franciscus, wanted to learn about the new notation, and the unknown author of the treatise provided a relatively complete exposition of ars nova notational theory.

Paulus Paulirinus was not presenting the results of his own first-hand acquaintance with music. His work is a summation of what he had learned about music, whether in Kraków or elsewhere; this includes evidence that connects his work with the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous, and other theoretical works of Central European provenance. His encyclopedia also shows that new concepts of musical theory connected with the Renaissance were beginning to enter East Central Europe about 1460.

The contrast between these three sources is interesting. The Brzeg Anonymous and the Wrocław Anonymous are practical documents, Paulus' encyclopedia is scholastic. But taken together, they demonstrate that the knowledge of the "new skill" and the music connected with it were assimilated into a long-standing tradition of musical theory in East Central Europe.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SOURCES IN ARS NOVA NOTATION FROM POLAND AND SILESIA

The invention of the "new skill of notating" by Philippe de Vitry marks an important point in the history of music. However, it was not the notational system which Philippe described in his treatise Ars Nova that was his greatest accomplishment, but rather the conception of a system of triple and duple mensurations. Though the graphic symbols used for musical notation have changed through the centuries, Philippe's mensural theory has remained the metrical foundation for later European music.[1]

Since this system of mensural relationships differed from its predecessors, Philippe and his contemporaries developed a number of notational signs peculiar to this ars nova notandi ("the new way of notating music"). Foremost among these new forms was the minim, , a note which represented a division of the semibreve into either two or three parts depending on context in the mensural system. Pre-

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1. The best general explanation of this notation and its later developments and adaptations is W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900 - 1600, 5th edition, revised (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953).

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viously, in the late thirteenth century, elaborate rules were developed for the replacement of a breve by three or more semibreves, which sometimes produced rhythmic values smaller than the smallest theoretical value for one semibreve in Franconian theory.[2] The minim became a way to notate these smaller values, all within a simple framework of duple and triple mensurations.

Also characteristic of this new notation were the physical groupings of semibreves and minims on the written page. Even though Philippe developed a set of signs (forerunners of modern meter signatures) to signal the mensurations governing the notation of a composition, the mensurations were often inferable from the notational groupings. This is important, because few sources of late medieval music actually used the mensural signs mentioned by the musical theorists.

As the knowledge of this new skill spread through Europe, it underwent a number of changes. One such change was the introduction of the semiminim, , a note half the rhythmic value of a minim. Later in the century composers used other newly invented notes to write subtle rhythmic variations not included in Philippe's original conception.[3]

As this notation became better known throughout Europe, people not skilled in its principles copied and even composed new works in

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2. See Apel, Notation, 318 - 324. This particular development is often associated with the name of Petrus de Cruce.

3. These are primarily the composers of the so-called ars subtilior. Concerning these see above, Chapter Four, 187 - 188.

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what they conceived of as ars nova notation. Although the sources containing these copies and imitations lack the elegance of the very sumptuous, illustrated Western manuscripts, they still reflect the basic concepts developed by Philippe, even if the understanding of the composers or scribes did not equal that of their more learned colleagues.

One avenue of access to this new skill was through the writings of theorists.[4] Another, evidently popular one, was through copies of music written in this new notation and in the styles which were concurrently developed, such as those of the isorhythmic motet, and also the polyphonic ballade and virelai. Sometimes this music was directly imitated by local composers, often with great skill. At other times the imitation was not so close, but nonetheless an entire repertoire of polyphonic music developed, based on a basic understanding of simple counterpoint and the new skill of notating.

The sources of medieval polyphony which exist today in Poland and Silesia include compositions imported from Western Europe as well as skilled and unskilled imitations. The manuscripts which contain what can be broadly termed ars nova notation are little known; the studies that follow are an attempt to provide fuller descriptions than those which have so far been published. Though many of these manuscripts are now incomplete, they prove that the musical life of medieval Poland was not cut off from the artistic innovations of Western

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4. Concerning the sources relating to ars nova theory from East Central Europe, see above, Chapter Four.

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Europe and that local composers were particularly adept at assimilating new musical knowledge.

Music of the French ars nova in Silesia: The Wrocław Rotulus Fragments

As a result of World War II, a great quantity of manuscript and printed music was destroyed in Wrocław; through catalogues, articles and books we can assess the full extent of this terrible loss.[5] It would be an unusual case, however, for a manuscript, known to have existed and to have had its contents inventoried, to be mostly ignored by scholars since World War II. Such is the case of a source from Wrocław, which was allowed to survive the devastations of war, and whose contents deserve a new examination.

In 1938, Fritz Feldmann published in his Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien a short description of two parchment fragments.[6] These fragments had been used to bind Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka ms. I.Q.411, a manuscript from the library of the Augustinian Cloister in Żagań. Just before the war, the fragments were

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5. See, for example, E. Bohn, Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau (Breslau, 1890). Many of the sources listed in this catalogue are now missing.

6. F. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien (Breslau, 1938; unaltered reprint Hildesheim, 1973) 126 - 127. Previous to Feldmann, these fragments were briefly mentioned by A. Schmitz, "Stand und Aufgaben schlesischer Musikforschung," Schlesisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Kulturarbeit im gesamtschlesischen Raume 7 (1935) 132.

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removed from the binding of ms. I.Q.411 and given the designation "Handschriftenfragmente 82." Today they are also known under their more recent acquisition number, Ak1955 / KN195 (k. 1 & 2).[7] The larger fragment measures approximately 22 x 18 cm., the smaller 22 x 7 cm. Feldmann's inventory listed ten compostions, of which only one was completely preserved. Among the other compositions were the remnants of one work which should have assured the reputation of this source: sections of the two upper voices for Philippe de Vitry's motet Colla iugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / Libera me.

Since World War II, no major work dealing with Philippe's compositions has mentioned this source.[8] It should be remembered that the city of Wrocław received extensive damage at the end of the war and it took an extended period of time to reorganize the surviving university collections. However, these fragments have again been made available for study.

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7. Hereafter Ak1955. The two fragments are reproduced in Brewer, "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," plates I - IV, 16 - 19.

8. See, for example, L. Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, the Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, Commentary to Vol. I (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956) 37 and 107 - 109; L. Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," The Musical Quarterly XLII (1956) 330 - 354; and F.Ll. Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century V (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968) 207 [this is an addendum to Schrade's critical notes for four motets by Philippe de Vitry published in Vol. I of the series]. These fragments are also missing from the RISM volumes published so far. The only exceptions are brief mentions of this source in G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954) 633 and fn.7; and W. Salmen, Die Schichtung der mittelalterlichen Musikkultur in der ostdeutschen Grenzlage, Die Musik im alten und neuen Europa 2 (Kassel, 1954) 106 - 107.

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The manuscript, which contains these fragments along with a collection of sermons and a chronicle of Poland, was copied at the end of the fifteenth century by Johannes Wettziger. After his studies at the University of Kraków, Johannes entered the cloister of the Augustinian Canons in Kłodzko in 1486. During the later part of the century he traveled between cloisters of this order in Wrocław and Zielona Góra before his installation as a preacher in Żagań. At least two other manuscripts in the Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (II.Q.13: dated 1473 and 1481; and I.Q.137: dated 1493 in Zielona Góra) were copied by him.[9]

The compositions are written in ars nova notation on red five-line staves. The initials are alternately blue and red, though the "V" on the top of f. 1v is part blue and part red and the "C" in the left-hand column of this folio is red with blue ornamentation.[10] Feldmann in his inventory obviously felt these were parts of two separate folios and numbered the larger folio 1 and the smaller folio 2.[11] However, we shall see that the foliation established by Feldmann is an inaccurate representation of the source.

My examination of Ak1955 began by comparing the Wrocław source to

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9. A. Świerk, Średniowieczna biblioteka klasztoru kanoników regularnych Św. Augustyna w Żaganiu, Śląskie prace bibliograficzne i bibliotekoznawcze VIII (Wrocław, 1965) 156. Some of the information in this paragraph is also available in the handwritten catalogues still in the Manuscript Division of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław.

10. Some blue ornamentation is visible on f. 2v, line 9, but the initial has been cut off.

11. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, 126.

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Schrade's transcription of Colla iugo / Bona condit / Libera me (#7).[12] Folio 1v, left column (lines 3 - 9), preserves mm. 1 - 69 of the voice Colla iugo (the text from "[cu]-ris" through "ro-[dere]" has been cut off). The right column of f. 1v (lines 3 - 9) has mm. 1 - 82 of the voice Bona condit (in the measure numbering for the voice Colla iugo) and some fragmentary notes thereafter.

Among the other fragmentary compositions on f. 2v are some line endings and parts of an isorhythmic tenor (lines 7 - 8). The tenor pattern -- maxima, longa, longa, longa rest, longa -- is similar to many other tenors by Philippe de Vitry, and in fact is part of the tenor Libera me of the above-mentioned motet. In addition, lines 1 - 4 of f. 2v contain fragments and the ending of the voice Bona condit; lines 5 - 6 contain fragments and the ending of the voice Colla iugo. The text at the top of f. 2v -- "...saporifera ser..." -- was found to match the few notes preserved on the bottom of f. 1v, showing that these two parchment fragments were once joined.

The evidence suggests that the original manuscript, though not wider, must have been much longer. The top of f. 1 (r and v) contains the ends of two compositions and the bottom of f. 2 (r and v) the beginnings of two other compositions. If these incomplete works along with the complete composition on f. 1r and Philippe's motet represent all the music copied into this source, the manuscript had the approx-

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12. L. Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, 85 - 87. The numbers in parentheses refer to the inventory in Table 7.

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TABLE 7

Inventory of Wrocław, Biblioteka uniwersytecka, rkp. Ak1955 / KN195 (k. 1 & 2)
(olim "Handschriftenfragmente 82 aus Cod. ms. I.Q.411).

Recto of rotulus:			
1. [Triplum] / ...preve de loial amour / Tenor	f. 1r, lines 1 - 2	Feldmann #1*	End of 3-voice piece, fatras distich (?).
2. Triplum / Amis loial / Tenor	f. 1r, lines 3 - 6	Feldmann #2	3-voice fatras distich from fatras #11 by Watriquet de Couvin
3. Triplum / Souveraine de bonte / Tenor	f. 1r, lines 7 - 9 & f. 2r, line 1	Feldmann #3 & #6	Beginning of 3-voice piece, fatras distich (?).
4. Patrem o[mnipotentem]	f. 2r, lines 2 - 6	Feldmann #7	Fragment of a Credo.
5. Sans merchi... / [...]	f. 2r, lines 7 - 9	Feldmann #8	Triplum for a 3-voice piece (?).
Verso of rotulus:			
6. [...] / Virga aaron Tenor	f. 1v, lines 1 - 2	Feldmann #4	Complete tenor.
7. Colla iugo / Bona condit / [Libera me] (Philippe de Vitry)	f. 1v, lines 3 - 9 & f. 2v lines 1 - 8	Feldmann #5 & #9	3-voice motet. Concordances: RISM B IV2, E-Tc, 1; F-APT 16 bis, 31 (f.20v-21r); F-AS 983, 1 (f.62r); F-CA 1328, 42 (f.19r); F-Pn 23190, 1 (f.1v); I-IV, 29 (f.17v-18r); and RISM B IV3, F-Sm222, 110/111 (f.69v-70r).
8. [Se grasse] / [C]um venerint / [Ite missa est]	f. 2v, line 9	Feldmann #10	3-voice motet. Concordances: RISM B IV2, B-Tc476, 8 (f.33v); I-IV, 35 (f.21v); and F-Pn 23190, f."XIII."

* From the inventory published in F. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien (Breslau, 1938; reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973) 126.

imate and unlikely size of 65 x 18 cm.[13] The conclusion is that these two fragments were cut from a rotulus (roll) and are not, as Feldmann indicated, parts of two separate folios.[14]

From the remaining compositions in Ak1955, I have been able to find a musical concordance only for the incomplete piece (#8) on the bottom of f. 2v (line 9). Feldmann identified this work as number 10 in his list, "(Anfang einer Stimme?) Inuenerunt...."[15] This is actually the beginning of the duplum from the three-part motet Se grasse n'est mon meintiem / Cum venerint miseri / Ite missa est found in Tournai, Bibliothèque capitulaire, 476 (f. 33v) and Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare (I-IV) (f. 21v).[16] Most of the opening initial "C" was cut

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13. This estimate is based on the stylistic similarities between the three works on f. 1r and an examination of the concordances to #8 (f. 2v: line 9) in this source.

14. Other examples of rotuli which include fourteenth-century French repertoire are Bruxelles, Bibliotheque Royale, 19606 (Br); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection de Picardie, 67 (Pic). On Br see RISM B IV^2 43 - 45; and Richard H. Hoppin, "A Musical Rotulus of the Fourteenth Century," Revue belge de musicologie IX (1955) 131 - 142. On Pic see RISM B IV^2 197 - 199; and R. Hoppin, "Some Remarks a propos of Pic," Revue belge de musicologie X (1956) 105 - 112. These manuscripts are compared with Ak1955 below. The now lost "Maggs" rotulus (London, Maggs Bros.) contained Machaut's Le Lay mortel. On this source see Guillaume de Machaut, Musikalische Werke, ed. F. Ludwig and H. Besseler, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926 - 1943; unaltered reprint, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1954) II, 14*.

15. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, 126.

16. See RISM B IV^2 48 - 51 and 282 - 304, respectively. This piece also occurs in the medieval inventory on f. 1r of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouv. acq. frç., 23190 (olim Serrant [Maine-et-Loire], Château, ms. of the Duchess de la Trémoïlle) under "XIII." See RISM B IV^2 205 - 206 (F-SERRANT). On this source see E. Droz and G. Thibault, "Un Chansonnier de Philippe le

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off by the binder's knife and led to Feldmann's mistranscription. Only one line of the duplum remains.

In addition to the motet by Philippe de Vitry and the Ite missa est motet, Ak1955 has fragments of two more compositions with Latin texts: a Credo (#4) on f. 2r (lines 2 - 6) and a tenor labeled Virga aaron (#6) on f. 1v (lines 1 - 2). The Credo presents some difficulties, since what remains of the left column contains the liturgical text only through "lumen de [lumine]."[17] Even if the voice part continued into the right column, it seems impossible that the whole text could have been copied in this space. At present, there is insufficient evidence in the source for any definite conclusion concerning the form of this work, though it is possibly monophonic. The mensuration is imperfect tempus with major prolation and the declamation of the text is primarily in breves and semibreves with an occasional ornamental minim.

The Virga aaron Tenor is perhaps the most unusual vestige of a polyphonic composition in the repertoire of this manuscript because of the notation of its tenor. Only this voice remains complete; on the

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Bon," Revue de musicologie X (1926) 1 - 8 and facsimiles (on p. 3 of this work the duplum text is mistranscribed "Cum venerunt" and the wrong folio number is given); H. Besseler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters (II)," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII (1926) 235 - 241; and C. Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364 - 1411: A Documentary Study, Musicological Studies 28 (Pennsylvania: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979) 147 - 158. The work is transcribed in Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel, 129 - 131, and C. van den Borren, Missa Tornacensis, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 13 (American Institute of Musicology, 1957) 32 - 33.

17. Most of f. 2r, line 6 is illegible.

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lowest line of the staff at the top of f. 1v fragments of a breve, longa and possibly a semibreve from another voice are just visible. After a short introitus (followed by a double bar) the tenor is notated entirely in maximas. The two ligatures are written using notes the size of the maximas, though it would ordinarily be read longa - longa. The only rests occur in the introitus. The melody is composed of two sections, melodically similar except for different cadential formulas.[18] I have been unable to trace a liturgical source for this tenor.[19]

The last four works in Ak1955 all have French texts. Of these four, the beginning of Sans merchi (#5) on f. 2r (lines 7 - 9) is different from the others since it has a texted triplum. Only three lines of this voice are preserved (the ends have been cut off). The mensuration is imperfect tempus with major prolation and there probably was some hocketing with the other voices, as suggested by the frequent minim rests. As is the case in the other three French works, the composition was most likely in two sections, the first one ending with the

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18. There are earlier motets which have tenors composed entirely of longas, but none of these works have an introitus or use maximas. See, for example Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fond français 146, f. 13r, f. 4r and f. 43v (see RISM B IV^2 163 - 172); Montpellier, L'université, Faculté des Médecins, H 196: f. 344r - 345v, f. 347r - 348r, f. 366r - 367r and f. 397r -397v (see RISM B IV^1 272 - 369); and I-Fn BR18, ff. 146v -148r.

19. The only Biblical references to Aaron's rod are in Exodus 7:12; Numbers 17:6; and Hebrews 9:4. There are no chants for these texts listed in C. Marbach, Carmina scripturarum scilicet antiphonus et responsoria ex sacro scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae (Argentorati: Typis Fr. Xav. Le Roux, Epi. Argentinen, 1907).

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longa at the end of line 8.

The three remaining French works have untexted upper-voices (labeled Triplum in #2 and #3), and texted duplums; the Tenor is so labeled in all three works. Each of these compositions has only one line of text in each of its two sections.

The first of these compositions, on f. 1r (lines 1 - 2), ... preve de loial amour (#1), is probably missing the opening two lines of both the triplum and duplum. The piece is in imperfect tempus with major prolation. E-flat is used as a signature in the tenor and B-flat occurs at the beginning of line 1 in the triplum.

The third piece, Triplum / Souveraine de bonte / Tenor (#3), has the first two of three lines for the triplum and duplum completely preserved at the bottom of f. 1r (lines 7 - 8); only a few notes in the third line (line 9) of each part are visible. The beginning of the tenor is at the top of f. 2r (line 1). This is the only composition in these fragments to use a mensuration of perfect tempus with major prolation. B-flat is used as a signature in the duplum at the beginning of each section, and E-flat appears as a signature in the tenor, though it is cancelled before the first occurrence of this pitch by a sharp.

The single complete composition in Ak1955 is the three-voice Amis loial vous ay trouvé (#2), copied on f. 1r (lines 3 - 6). This work appears to be the first complete example of a rare polyphonic genre, the fatras distich. The text has been discovered in a collection by Watriquet de Couvin which begins with the incipit, "Ci commencent li fastras de quoi Raimmondin et Watriquet desputerent le jour de Pasques

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devant le roy Phelippe de France."[20]

A fatras distich consists of the two introductory lines for a fatras simple, whose complete form is made up from the introductory distich followed by an eleven line stanza, the first and last lines of which are respectively the first and second lines of the distich.[21]

Ami loial vous ai trouvé,
S'est drois qu'a vous me rende prise.

Ami loial vous ai trouvé,
Dame, car uns bues m'a couve
Tant que je sui li vens de bise
C'on a pris pour larron prouve,
Pour ce que j'ai voie escouve
Luxure hors de sainte eglyse,
Que nus n'ainme au monde ne prise,
S'en a si son cors esprouve
Que toute en a arsse et esprise
La mer, qui mon cuer m'a rouve,
S'est drois qu'a vous me rende prise.

Amis loial is in imperfect tempus with major prolation. Its notation includes some note-forms rarely found in the other compositions copied in Ak1955. Three times in the duplum of Amis loial and once in the triplum of #1 there is a note having the form of a plicated longa (f. 1r: lines 1, 3 & 5). There is a clear grouping of this

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20. "Here begin the fatras which Raimmondin and Watriquet disputed on Easter before King Philippe of France." See L.C. Porter, La Fatrasie et le fatras: Essai sur la poésie irrationnelle en France au Moyen Age (Paris, 1960) 149. See also the Dits de Watriquet de Couvin, ed. August Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868) 295 - 309.

21. A complete treatment of this genre is given in Porter, La Fatrasie et la fatras. See also the article, "Fatras," Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. Alex Preminger (Princeton, 1974) 272. The full text of Amis loial is edited by Porter, p. 152 and in the Dits de Watriquet, 300.

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note-form with a single following minim. Since the harmonic context seems to preclude its interpretation as a plicated longa, it is possible that it signifies a value of five minims. The other occurrences in the tenor of #2 (f. 1r: line 6), the duplum of #1 (f. 1r: line 1) and the voice Bona condit of #7 (f. 1v: line 3) probably have the more traditional meaning of a plicated longa, though the exceptions in Amis loial create some doubt.

The notes in Amis loial that have right- and left-turned flags are unique in the repertoire of this manuscript. Twice in the triplum (f. 1r: line 3) and twice in the duplum (f. 1r: line 4) there are groups of four symbols (notes and rests). The harmonic context seems to require that these groups take the place of a perfect semibreve in the form of quadruplets. A group of four semiminims is used to notate this same proportion in Adeu, mon cuer, car departir, a two-voice virelai contained in the Codex Reina, and this use is also described in the treatises by Philippus de Caserta, Anonymous X, and the Compendium totius Artis Motetorum.[22]

A fatras distich by Watriquet also occurs as the tenor to a

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22. On the Codex Reina, see RISM B IV^3 485 - 549; and N. Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory (52 Ballades, Virelais, Rondeaux) from the Codex Reina (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6771), Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 36 (American Institute of Musicology, 1966) xix and 61 - 62.
For the pertinent passages from Philippus de Caserta and Anonymous X see E. de Coussemaker, Scriptorium de musica medii aevi nova series, 4 vols. (Paris: A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1864 - 1876; facsimile editions, Graz, 1908 and Milan: Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931) III, 121 and 413 respectively. The Compendium totius Artis Motetorum was edited by J. Wolf, "Ein anonymer Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der Ars nova," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 21 (1908) 33 - 38, see esp. p. 36.

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three-voice composition in Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.Mus.7 (f. 267v - 268r: pp. 532 - 533): Deus, creator omnium / Rex genitor ingenite / Doucement mi reconforte.[23] The voice Doucement mi reconforte, though in tenor clef, and the duplums of the other two French works in Ak1955 (#1 and #3), whose texts may also be fatras distiches, share many characteristics with the duplum of Amis loial.[24] The alternation of longas and breves with melismatic passages of semibreves and minims is one general element of their style. The overall form and length of these four works is quite similar to most fourteenth-century French rondeaux: two approximately equal sections without ouvert and clos.

Ak1955 represents the fourth known rotulus containing works from the fourteenth-century French polyphonic repertoire.[25] Its width is similar to both Br and Pic, but since both Ak1955 and Pic have been cut at the top and bottom it is difficult to estimate how long these two sources were originally. In physical appearance, Ak1955 is similar to Br; it is a carefully prepared manuscript, uses red five-line staves,

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23. RISM B IV^2 257 - 261. Facsimile in Early Bodleian Music, ed. John Stainer, vol. I (London, 1901) plates XII and XIII. The tenor, Doucement mi reconforte, is repeated three times. The full text of this fatras is edited by Porter, p. 149. I am grateful to Peter M. Lefferts of the Univ. of Chicago for much of the information on this source.

24. The texts for #1 and #3 do not occur in Nico Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e, Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Series D: Initiation, textes et documents 3 (Paris, 1969).

25. See above, fn. 14.

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and has alternating blue and red initials.[26] The general repertoire and notation of the Wrocław rotulus are much closer to Pic. Though these two manuscripts have no common concordance between them, Ak1955 has two and Pic three works contained in the Ivrea manuscript (I-IV). It seems that the copyist of Ak1955 placed the works in an older style -- the Virga aaron Tenor, the motet by Philippe de Vitry and the Ite missa est motet -- on one side of the rotulus (ff. 1v and 2v), and the newer compositions -- the four French works and the Credo -- on the other side (ff. 1r and 2r).

The two pieces of evidence that provide an approximate terminus post quem for Ak1955 are the dating of Philippe's Colla iugo / Bona condit / Libera me about 1320[27] and the probable period of Watriquet's activities at the court of Philip VI from 1328 to circa 1340.[28] These data, along with the similarity of the notation and repertoire to I-IV, Pic, and F-Pn 23190 (the Trémoïlle manuscript), suggest that Ak1955 was copied in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

The original rotulus was probably of French provenance, perhaps from Picardy, since some of its texts contain elements associated with the Picard dialect.[29] How and when it arrived in Silesia will probably

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26. See Hoppin, "Some Remarks a propos of Pic," 106.

27. Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry," 353, and E.H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXVIII (1975) 37.

28. Porter, La Fatrasie, 145 and the Dits de Watriquet de Couvin, xii - xiii.

29. In particular the form "merchi." See Hoppin, "Some Remarks a propos of Pic," 105, and RISM B IV^2 197.

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remain a mystery. Hoppin mentions that the rotulus format was possibly adopted for ease of transport and use.[30] Wrocław during the later Middle Ages was located on a major trade route which included such cities as Dresden and Praha (Prague) to the west and Kraków and Lvov to the east.[31] Feldmann, quoting Georg Jensch, says that there was evidence of the advanced French motet style in Wrocław by the year 1375, and Ak1955 would seem to corroborate this statement.[32]

It seems improbable that a manuscript such as Ak1955 would have been imported to fifteenth-century Silesia for use only as binding material. Most likely, when it was cut apart, it was already in the collections of the cloister at Żagań or another of the neighboring Augustinian cloisters. The Silesian Augustinians had strong contacts with the West beginning in the early twelfth century, when the first monks arrived in Wrocław from Arrouaise (Alsace).[33] Since there would have been little reason to bring such a manuscript to East Central Europe after the popularity of the repertoire it contained had passed, Ak1955 was probably in Silesia by the late fourteenth century.

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30. Hoppin, "A Musical Rotulus," 132.

31. See the Atlas Historyczny Polski, ed. W. Czapliński and T. Ładogórski (Warszawa-Wrocław, 1977), maps on pp. 12 - 13 and 16 - 17. See also R. Strohm, "European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century", Early Music History 1: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 305 - 323.

32. Georg Jensch, "Musikgeschichte der Stadt Breslau" (diss.: Universität Breslau, 1919). This work has unfortunately been unavailable for my research. Quoted in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, 126, and Schmitz, "Stand und Aufgaben," 132.

33. See above, Chapter One, 35, concerning the arrival in Wrocław about 1134 of the first Augustinian monks.

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The importance of Ak1955 for the history of medieval music is manifold. As a source for Philippe de Vitry it extends the geographical distribution of his works from England, Spain and France to Poland. It is an important addition to our knowledge of musical rotuli. Part of its contents may represent a new polyphonic genre, the fatras distich. And finally it is valuable evidence that East Central Europe was not a byway, but part of a route that led directly from the artistic centers of fourteenth-century Europe.

Imitations of ars nova Techniques in Poland

In recent years many new sources of medieval polyphony have appeared, but, as in the case of Ak1955, some are only fragments. In this, we should be thankful that even when the music these manuscripts contain was outmoded, a use was found for them that has preserved a record of their existence. For some of these fragments concordances can be found and their exact place in relation to the other sources established. Some, however, are unica, and the enigmas they present are that much greater.

One such fragment, Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, frag. 2 (PL-Pu2), was found in a service book published in Kraków during the seventeenth-century.[34] This single sheet of parchment contains the

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34. A description and facsimile of this source are contained in M. Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XIII (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973) xx - xxi and 13 - 14 (hereafter, Sources, XIII and page reference). For the earliest notice of this fragment see M. Szczepańska, "O najstarszym zabytku muzyki wielogłosowej w Polsce z

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remnants of three sections from the Ordinary of the Mass: a Sanctus (almost illegible, probably only in two voices), a Gloria (probably complete, in two-voices) and a Kyrie (only one voice appears in the fragment). There are no concordances to these three works, and thus theories concerning their date and provenance must rest on a comparison with other contemporary compositions.

As is all too often the case, this source did not receive the attention of non-Polish scholars, but was the subject of an excellent critical study by Szczepańska.[35] The earliest discussions of this fragment in a Western European language were by Feicht, who only mentioned the Gloria.[36] The first citations in Western musicological literature appeared almost simultaneously with the first critical description and facsimile of the fragment.[37]

The two published inventories agree that the sheet was copied in

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końca XIV wieku (Et in terra w Bibl. Zakl. Muzykol. UJK)," Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Lwowie 1928/1, 3 - 5.

35. See M. Szczpańska, "Do Historiji muzyki wielogłosowej w Polsce w XV wieku (U źródeł wielogłosowej muzyki Kościelnej w Polsce)," Muzyka Kościelna 6-10 (1928) 3 - 15 (my references are to the offprint in the Katedra historii i teorii muzykii, Kraków).

36. H. Feicht, "Polen: III, Die Mehrstimmigkeit in Mittelalter und Renaissance," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949-) 10, col. 1391 - 1392, and "Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik in Polen vom späten Mittelalter bis 1600," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, Bydgoszcz 1966, Acta Scientifica Congressus I (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966) 282.

37. See RISM B IV^4 1150, and G. Abraham, "The Slav Countries: From the Beginnings to 1600," Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. F.W. Sternfeld (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973) 416.

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the early fifteenth century.[38] On the basis of the notation and Angles' assertion that the compositions are related to mass settings from the Avignon repertoire, Perz places the compositions in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.[39] A comparison of these three compositions and other Ordinary settings from the late Middle Ages does not necessarily refute these opinions, but it does raise other possibilities.

The Sanctus on the "recto" of the folio was probably meant to be in only two voices, a "discantus" and a "tenor." The work was divided into a number of sections: an opening Sanctus with three invocations (there are three occurrences of the syllable Sanc visible in the discant and two in the tenor), possibly a division at Pleni (visible in the discant and tenor), the first Osanna, Benedictus and a final Osanna. There are no mensural signs, but there is enough visible at the beginning of the piece to transcribe the incipit in perfect tempus with minor prolation.[40] Also visible are a group of semiminims, their only occurrence in this source.

The Gloria is the only composition that can be fully recovered from this fragment. A transcription produces a two-voice work in three sections: the first containing the liturgical text from Et in terra

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38. Perz, Sources, xx - xxi, and RISM B IV^4 1150.

39. In addition to Perz, Sources, xx - xxi, see M. Perz, "Die Einflüsse der ausgehenden italienischen Ars Nova in Polen," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento: Secondo Convegno Internazionale 17 - 22 liuglio 1969, ed. F. Alberto Gallo (Certaldo, 1970) 468 - 470.

40. See the incipits given in RISM B IV^4 1150, and Perz, "Einflüsse," 469; the opening is transcribed in Perz, Sources XIV, 198.

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through Agnus Dei, filius Patris, the second has the text from Qui tollis peccata mundi to in gloria Dei Patris, and the third contains only the Amen.[41] The first and third sections have a mensural sign, C, which in this context means imperfect tempus with major prolation, the second uses ↄ , which should be transcribed as imperfect tempus with minor prolation, diminutum.[42] The lack of a dot within the mensural sign of the first section has led one scholar to transcribe the opening of this work in minor prolation, but, as Apel explains, in the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century the meaning of these mensural signs had not yet been rigidly codified.[43] Therefore, their use in this composition is one of several possibilities.

The work is written in a rather simple two-voice style, mostly with short note values in the discant over a tenor moving mostly in breves and longas. An analysis of the Gloria shows that there was a degree of thought involved in its composition, previously overlooked, beyond what is apparent in its surface features. Except for one note, the succession of longas and breves in the first two sections matches [Ex. 33].

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41. See Sources, XIV, 198 - 203 and H. Feicht, ed., Muzyka staropolska: Wybór nie publikowanych utworów z XII - XVIII wieku (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1966), 8 - 10, an earlier transcription by M. Perz.

42. The transcription in Sources XIV, by retaining the same notational reduction in all sections of the Gloria, obscures the significance of ↄ for the tempo of the second section.

43. See Apel, Notation, 405. The partial transcription of this work by G. Abraham, "The Slav Countries," 416, is erroneous due to the fact that he took the mensural signs to have their later, rigid, meanings.

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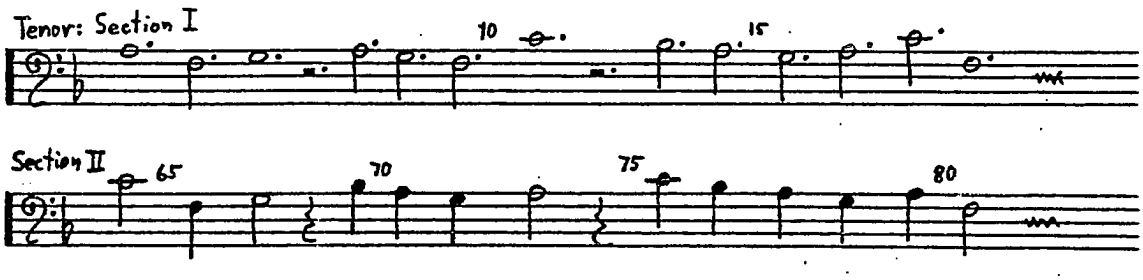
Example 33: Excerpt from the Gloria, PL-Pu2, Tenor.



This kind of simple isorhythmic technique is rare in the late medieval French repertoire, where most works were either fully isorhythmic (at least in their tenors) or free secular compositions.[44]

The Kyrie was probably a two-voice work, but its tenor would have been on the following folio, now lost.[45] The setting included four sections: Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison and Finis eleison (end, or final Kyrie). The first of these sections is marked with a mensural sign, C, here meaning imperfect tempus with minor prolation. The second section, in perfect tempus with minor prolation, was marked with an O, and the third (apparently unmarked) section is also in this mensuration. The last section was marked with ¢, meaning imperfect tempus with major prolation. Because of its incomplete state, it is

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44. See, for example, the compositions in F.Ll. Harrison, Motets of French Provenance, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century V (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968) and W. Apel, French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53, 3 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1970 - 1972).

45. The remaining voice is transcribed in Sources XIV, 202 - 203.

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difficult to be certain about its construction but some details are apparent. There are a number of sequential passages which form an integral part of the texture for this voice [Ex. 34].[46] Also, the first three sections must have had a similar cadence structure, since the discant in each case is C-sharp - D, and the fourth section seems to be a variant of this formula.

Example 34: Excerpt from the Kyrie, PL-Pu2.
(Adapted from the transcription in Perz, Sources XIV, 202 - 203.)

As mentioned above, there are few parallels to the three works on this parchment fragment. In the entire fourteenth-century repertoire of French settings for the Ordinary of the Mass edited by Stäblein-Harder, there are no two-voice compositions.[47] In the early fifteenth-century repertoire edited by G. Reaney, only a two-voice Gloria by Johannes Le Grant is remotely similar.[48] Among the works of proba-

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46. Examples of these sequential passages occur in mm. 10 - 14, 43 - 45 and 68 - 73.

47. H. Stäblein-Harder, Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 29 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

48. G. Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11, 6 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1958 - 1978). For the Gloria of Johannes Le Grant, see vol. 2, 74 - 76.

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ble Polish provenance, only the incomplete Gloria by N[icholas?] de Orog[...] is possibly in two parts, but doesn't show a change of mensuration.[49]

Some of the closest stylistic parallels are to be found in fourteenth-century Italian sacred polyphony. There are two settings of the Benedicamus Domino which have a discantus written in patterns of semibreves and minims over a tenor of longas and breves, but the tenors in these works are derived from an appropriate chant source.[50] The tenor to the Gloria in Pu2 has an opening similar to a number of chants, but these are all centered on G, not F.[51] Also, many of the leaps in this tenor seem uncharacteristic of most chant melodies.

Many aspects of the three compositions in Pu2 are unique, and there are no clear parallels anywhere in the late medieval polyphonic repertoire. It seems that the composer (or composers) used elements from different traditions: a notation known from late fourteenth-century French and Northern Italian sources, a style derived from isorhythmic techniques (in the case of the Gloria) and a two-voice texture which was more common in the Italian repertoire.

These works have little in common with the repertoire of sacred music by Ciconia, Zacharius, Grossin and others which spread over all of Europe in the early fifteenth century. By the 1420's, Nicolaus de

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49. See below, 282, for further information on this work.

50. See K. von Fischer and F. Alberto Gallo, Italian Sacred Music, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XII (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1976) 102 - 103 and 104.

51. See J. Bryden and D. Hughes, An Index of Gregorian Chant, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969).

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Radom was composing in Kraków mass movements and cantilene in the style of these Western European composers.[52] It is probable that the three works in Pu2 predate this repertoire, especially if these were the works of a composer in East Central Europe adapting the musical styles known to him. There is no firm evidence beyond the fact that the sheet was found in a Kraków book to indicate such a provenance. But the differences between Pu2 and the known repertoires of Western Europe make the hypothesis of local origin a strong possibility.

Early Fifteenth-Century Polyphony from Northern Italy and Poland

Before the Second World War, two important manuscripts of late medieval polyphony were housed in the Warszawa (Warsaw) Biblioteka Narodowa. These sources -- Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. III 8054 (PL-Kras) and rkp. Lat. F.I.378 (PL-Wn378) -- suffered different fates as a result of the war. Wn378 is now lost except for an incomplete set of photos, but extraordinary good fortune allowed Kras to be recovered during 1948 in Germany and returned to Poland.

Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, an ever increasing amount of attention was directed to these sources by Polish and other scholars.[53] It seems, though, that most earlier Western scholars knew of these sources only at second hand, reporting their existence and

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52. See below, concerning the compositions of Nicholas de Radom.

53. Apparently, the earliest notice of these sources appeared in A. Sowiński, Les musiciens polonais et slaves (Paris, 1857) 424. For further references, see the bibliography in Sources, XIII, xxv - xxvi and xxix.

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general contents, but not attempting a full examination of the relevant Polish literature.[54] During the last few decades this situation has changed rapidly, and the most significant work is the recently published full facsimile and transcription of these manuscripts edited by Perz.[55]

These two sources are important evidence of the cultural ties between Poland and Western Europe in the later Middle Ages. Their contents include compositions by a number of important Western European composers and at least one native Pole. Many of the anonymous compositions show strong similarities to other works by known composers. An examination of these two repertoires -- foreign and native -- proves their stylistic similarities, and makes some beliefs concerning the contents of the manuscripts less tenable.[56]

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54. The first important descriptions of these sources in Western musicological literature were by J.-B. Thibaut, La notation musicale, Conference de St. Pétersbourg (St. Petersbourg/Paris, 1912) [this work has been unavailable to me], and F. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Messe des 14. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft VII (1925) 430. Even the commonly available discussions of medieval Polish music by F. Merlan, "Music in Poland: 1. The Fifteenth Century," in G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954) 741 - 746, and G. Abraham, "The Slav Countries: From the Beginnings to 1600," Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. F.W. Sternfeld (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973) 411 - 424, relied on only a few of the earlier Polish studies. The dissertation by A. Sutkowski, "Deux sources de l'Ars nova tardive, les manuscrits: Varsovie Ms. Kras 52 et St.-Pétersbourg-Varsovie F.I.378" (unpublished dissertation; Univ. of Tours, 1968) has been unavailable to me.

55. Both of these sources have been published in facsimile and transcriptions with full descriptions, commentaries and bibliographies in Perz, Sources, XIII, 37 - 160 and Sources, XIV, 204 - 459.

56. A synopsis of this subject was published by M. Perz, "Die Einflüsse," 465 - 483. See also W. Kamiński, "Twórczość kompozytorów obcych w polskich rękopiszach XV wieku," (typescript in the

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Composers

Aside from a large group of anonymous works, these two sources contain a number of compositions that can be ascribed to specific composers on the basis of rubrics, concordances or similar style [see Table 8].[57]

TABLE 8

ASCRIBED COMPOSITIONS IN KRAS AND Wn378

Johannes Ciconia	Kras 25 = Wn378 15; Kras 28 = Wn378 8; Kras 33; Kras 34 = Wn378 5; Wn378 16.
Egardus	Kras 35.
Estienne Grossin	Kras 7; Kras 12.
Nicolaus de Radom	Kras 2; Kras 13; Kras 17; Kras 22; Kras 23; Kras 31 = Wn378 14; Kras 31a; Kras 32; Wn378 3; Wn378 13.
Sweitzl (?)	Kras 30.
Antonio Zachara da Teramo	Kras 27 = Wn378 6; Wn378 4; Wn378 9; Wn378 10.
Nicola Zacharie	Kras 26 = Wn378 2.

Aside from Nicolaus de Radom, the best represented composer in this table is Johannes Ciconia (ca. 1335 - 1411).[58] His earliest

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Biblioteka Uniwersytetu, Poznań, 1954).

57. The inventory numbers used throughout this section are from the descriptions by Perz in Sources, XIII, xxiv - xxv, and xxviii - xxix.

58. The standard study of Ciconia is S. Clercx Lejeune, Johannes Ciconia: Un musicien liégecis et son temps (Vers 1335 - 1411), 2 vols. (N.p., 1954). The recent article by S. Clercx-Lejeune, "Ci-

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training was probably received in Liège, but his career soon took him to the court of Pope Clement VI at Avignon. While at the papal court, he received a prebend at the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Liège. Johannes entered the service of Cardinal Albornoz in 1358 and accompanied the papal armies in their campaign to regain the papal territories. Following the death of the Cardinal in 1367, Johannes seems to have remained in Italy, at least until 1372, when he returned to Liège.

Even in Liège, his contacts with Italy remained strong; perhaps he even returned there for brief periods. Johannes also seems to have remained in contact with the papal court at Avignon, since he wrote a motet in honor of Pope Benedict XIII. Leaving Liège in about 1400, he became a canon of Padova (Padua) Cathedral with the support of the archpriest and professor of Canon law, later Cardinal, Zabarella. After Padova was conquered by Venezia (Venice) in 1405, Johannes' contacts with the Republic increased and some of his last works are dedicated to Venice or its rulers. He died in Padua between the 15th and 24th of December, 1411.

The works of Antonio Zachara da Teramo and Nicola Zacharie are often difficult to separate, since compositions frequently have only the ascription Zacharias.[59] Nothing is known of the life of Antonio

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conia, Johannes," in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1980) 4, 391 - 394, should be consulted for more recent information.

59. See N. Pirrotta, "Zacarus musicus," Memorie e contributi alla musica dal Medioevo all'eta moderna offerti a F. Ghisi nel settantesimo compleano (1901 - 1971), 2 vols. (Bologna: A.M.I.S.,

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Zachara except that he was a popular composer, his works being copied into manuscripts from England, Italy, Central Europe, and Poland. Nicola Zacharie had been a singer and chaplain at Sta. Maria del Fiore in Florence. He left to become a papal singer, and was still connected with that choir in 1434, when he returned after a ten-year absence.

The only facts known about the life of Estienne Grossin are that in 1418 he was a chaplain of St. Merry in Paris, and in 1421 a clerk of matins (chorister) at the Cathedral of Notre Dame.[60] Nothing is known about the life of Egardus, whose Gloria, Kras 35, is his only complete sacred work.[61] More mysterious is the Sanctus, Kras 30, which has the obscure rubric, Sanctus Sweitzl, in the index to the Emmeram manuscript.[62]

For the present study, Nicolaus de Radom is the most significant person listed in Table 8, for he is the first Polish composer of poly-

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1971) I, 153 - 175. See also the article by G. Reaney, "Zacar," The New Grove, 20, 609 - 610. In the following discussions, I have used the attributions of Perz in Sources XIII, xxiv - xxv, and xxviii - xxix.

60. See "Grossin (Grossin de Parisiis, Grosin, Grossim), Estienne," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart 5, cols. 956 - 958, and C. Wright, "Grossin, Estienne," The New Grove 7, 745.

61. See K. von Fischer, "Egardus," The New Grove 6, 62.

62. See K. Dézes, "Der Mensuralcodex des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Emmerami zu Regensburg," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 10 (1927) 88. See also the extensive new study of this source by I. Rumbold, "The compilation and Ownership of the 'St Emmeram' Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274)," Early Music History 2: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 161 - 235.

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phony known by name.[63] His biography, however, must be based largely on suppositions.[64]

The single known fact concerning Nicolaus' life derives from his three-voice composition, Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2).[65] The poem used in this work was written by Stanisław Ciołek, and refers to the second son of King Władysław Jagiełło, Prince Kazimierz. However, this royal scion, born on May 16, 1426, lived only until March 2, 1427.[66] The

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63. His "complete" works have been transcribed in Per , Sources, XIV and in Les oeuvres completes de Nicholas de Radom, ed. A. Sutkowski, Institute of Mediaeval Music: Collected Works V (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1969). For complete references, see the discussions of the individual works below.

64. See the article by M. Perz, "Nicolaus de Radom," The New Grove, 13, 216. The recent article of H. Musielak, "W poszukiwaniu materiałów do biografii Mikołaja z Radomia," Muzyka XVIII/1 (1973) 82 - 89, contains much useful information.

65. The musical composition is discussed below, and the poem translated in Appendix X, 440 - 441. The text has been edited with a commentary and Polish translation by R. Gansiniec, "Lyrika Stanisława Ciolka," Księga Pamiatkowa w stulecie Poznanskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciol Nauk: Roczniki historyczne XXIII (1957) 157 - 175.

66. See above, Chapter One, 58, fn. 56, and Gansiniec, "Lyrika," 164 and 168. The date given in the text derives from the calendar of Kraków Cathedral; the poem gives the date 1425. See also, J. Długosz, Opera Omnia, 14 vols., ed. A. Przezdzieki (Kraków, 1863 - 1887) XIII, 342 and 346. According to Długosz, the King and his consort greatly mourned the death of Price Kazimierz: "Secunda autem die Martii, filius Wladislai Regis noviter susceptus, Kazimirus, apud Cracoviam mortus, et in ecclesia Cracoviensi ante altare Sancti Erasmi sepultus, afflictionem Regi et consorti, suae Reginae Sophiae attulerat, qui de illius excessu turbati, moerori plus quam sat erat, indulgebant." ("However, on the second day of March, the newly born son of King Jagiełło, Kazimierz, died in Kraków, and was buried before the altar of St. Erasmus in the Kraków Cathedral. His death brought such torment to the king and his consort Queen Zophia, both of whom, overwhelmed by the loss of their son, gave themselves up excessively to grief.")

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piece was probably written for the christening on June 2, 1426.[67]

Two records from the early fifteenth century mention the forename "Nicolaus," in contexts that might refer to the composer.[68]

> 15 Oct. 1422. Nicolaus clavicembalista domine regine Polonie in causa, quam habet cum Marco clerico de castro Cracoviensis, constituit suos procuratores legitimos videlicet Nicolaum de Strzelcze et Laurencium de Wyssegrod ... cum potestate substituendi ut in forma meliori. Presentibus Michaele notario et Johanne presbytero.
>
> ("October 15, 1422: Nicolaus, the harpsichordist of the Lady Queen of Poland, in the case which he has with Marcus, a clerk of Kraków Castle, names as his legitimate attorneys

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67. For references to music used at christenings in the Burgundian court see C. Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364 - 1419: A Documentary Study, Musicological Studies 28 (Pennsylvania: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979) 34. According to Długosz, Opera Omnia XIII, 342, the christening was cause for celebration by the court: "Cracoviam autem adveniens, solennia secunda Iunii baptismi egit et Kazimirus infanti nomen imposuit. Exultans insuper de ortu alterius filii, curiam regalem instituit, ac militibus in palaestra certantibus praemia proposuit, eaque athletis donavit." ("However, coming to Kraków, he instituted the rite of baptism on the second of June, and gave the name Kazimierz to the infant. Exulting because of the birth of a second son, the king commenced a royal court, and to certain soldiers in the wrestling place he offered rewards, and he also gave them to the athletes.")

68. See J. Ptaśnik, Cracovia artificium 1300 - 1500, Polska Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie: Źródła do historyi sztuki i cywilizacyi w Polsce IV and V (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1917 and 1936) IV, 66, and 71 - 72. H. Feicht, "Polskie średniowiecze," Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej I: Kultura staropolska, ed. Z.M. Szweykowski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958) 55, does not accept this identification. A further extract from Ptaśnik, Cracovia artificium, p. 64, is of interest, since it mentions another musician active in Kraków: "14 Novembris 1421. Sigismundus laborator organorum de Cracovia constituit suum procuratorem Nicolaum de Lancicia presentem in causa, quam habet cum Nicolao studente de Cracovia alias de Wyschegrad cum potestate substituendi ut in forma" ("Sigismund, a 'worker' of the organ from Kraków, names as his attorney with the power of substitution as is normal, Nicolaus de Lancicia, present in this case, which Sigismund has with Nicolaus, a student in Kraków, also known as de Wyschegrad").

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Nicolaus de Strzelcze and Laurencius de Wyssegrod ... with the power of substitution as is normal. In the presence of Michel, the notary, and Johannes, presbyter.")

1425. Salsatores: Jan Schikirka, Nicolaus Organista, Johannes Navroy....

("1425: Servants [of the king]: Jan Schikirka, Nicolaus "the Organist," Johannes Navroy....")

The first notice has often been quoted as possibly referring to the composer. In the second extract, which lists a number of minor court officials, Nicolaus "the organist" is also probably Nicolaus "the harpsichordist."

A recent biographical study mentions that the signature of a "Nicolaus de Radom" occurs in some manuscripts from the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, though it is unlikely that any stem from the composer.[69] However, a search through the university matriculation records from the early fifteenth century showed that three students entered the University of Kraków in this period with the surname "de Radom."[70]

1400. Nicolaus Janussi de Radomske.
1420. Nicolaus Johannis de Radom.
1426. Nicolaus Andree de Radom jur.

While there is no concrete reason to presume that Nicolaus de Radom, the composer, attended the University of Kraków, there are a

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69. Musielak, "W poszukiwaniu materialów," 83 - 84.

70. See the Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis, Tomus I (ab Anno 1400 ad Annum 1489) (Cracoviae: Typis et Impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1887) 14, 48, and 62.

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number of factors that make an identification with Nicolaus Johannis de Radom very likely.

At a slightly later period, on October 17, 1440, the names of six cantors of the Cardinal of Kraków, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, were entered in the university records.[71] This may indicate that some schooling may also have been expected of the members of the royal chapel, and given the subject of Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2), it seems likely that Nicolaus de Radom had close ties with the Polish court.[72]

Another factor is that of age. In my opinion, Nicolaus Janussi might have been about 43 - 49 years old in 1427, probably too old to be identified with the composer. At first sight, Nicolaus Andree might appear too young, but it should be remembered that often scholars who had received degrees elsewhere would continue their studies at other schools. Even with a rather youthful estimate of 25 years of age in 1427 (if he entered the university at the age of 18), Nicolaus Johannis is a strong possibility.

An interesting coincidence was revealed during a search of the university records for the names of Nicolaus de Strzelcze and Laurencius de Wisegrod, mentioned in the lawsuit of 1422. A Laurencius Nicolay de Wisegrad is listed as entering the University of Kraków in 1414 / 1415.[73] There are three students who could be the Nicolaus de

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71. See above, Chapter Two, 100.

72. This was also a practice in the West, Ciconia had probably received some schooling, and G. Dufay had studied Canon law. See Clercx-Lejeune, "Ciconia," The New Grove 4, 391, and C. Hamm, "Dufay, Guillaume," The New Grove 5, 675.

73. Album studiosorum, 35.

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Strzelcze, Nicolaus Alberti de Strzelcze, who entered in 1410, and Nicolaus Andree de Strzelicze and Nicolaus Stanislai de Strelicz, both enrolled in 1420, the same year as Nicolaus Johannis de Radom.[74] It is not known at present whether any of these people studied law, but it would seem natural for a scholar to obtain legal advice from his colleagues at the university.

A final piece of circumstantial evidence, related to the biography of Nicolaus de Radom, involves the poet of Hystorigraphi aciem, Stanisław Ciołek. He was born at the latest in 1382.[75] After his studies at the University of Praha from 1392 to 1402, Stanisław then entered the chancellery of King Władysław Jagiełło.[76] Attaining a number of high positions, Stanisław became prepositus of Sandomierz and eventually Bishop of Poznań. In a few documents, from late in his career at the Kraków court, he is called cantor.[77] A number of lyrics

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74. Album studiosorum, 28, 46, and 48.

75. For biographical information, see E. Maleczyńska, "Ciołek, Stanisław," in the Polski Słownik Biograficzny IV (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1938) 82 - 83, and I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Dokumenty królewskie i ich funckja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów 1370 - 1444 (Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 1977) 204 - 206.

76. See J. Caro, "Liber cancellariae Stanislai Ciołek: Ein formelbuch polnischen Königskanzlei aus der zeit der husitischen Bewegung," Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 45 (1871) 319 - 545; and 52 (1875) 1 - 273. The "Liber Cancellariae" ends by August 24, 1426, the date of Stanisław's elevations as Bishop of Poznań.

77. The documents are dated from 1421 - 1426. See Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Dokumenty, 205. For instance, in a Kraków University document from 1425, he is called "Stanislao Czolconis Cantore, Regni Poloniae Vice cancellario." This document is printed in Codex diplomaticus universitatis studii generalis Cracoviensis continet privilegia et documenta quae res gestas academiae eiusque

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besides Hystorigraphi aciem are attributed to him.[78] He composed a rather satirical poem on the death of Queen Elisabeth of Poland and the lyrics to the polyphonic setting of Cracovia Civitas, which also refers to the birth of the short-lived Prince Kazimierz.

It has not been noticed by previous biographers of Nicolaus de Radom that Stanisław Ciołek also entered the University of Kraków in 1420, as recorded in the university matriculation book.[79]

> Dominus Stanislaus palatini Prepositus Sandomiriensis solvit totum.
>
> ("Lord Stanisław of the royal palace, prepositus of Sandomierz, paid the total fees.")

To which a later hand added, "Episcopus Poznaniensis Czolek."

Given these coincidences -- that other Polish cantores were

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beneficia illustrant: Pars Prima pertinet ab Anno 1365 usque ab [sic] Annum 1440, 2 vols. (Cracoviae, 1870) I, 149. For further references, see Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia XVII: Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski, Tom IV: 1386 - 1450 (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1905) 207, 214, 215, 216, 224, 229. In this connection, it should be noted that two earlier cantores at the Kraków Cathedral had received their magister degrees: Magister Martinus (1335 - 1338) and Magister Petrus (1344 - 1364). See the list of cantors printed in Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia I: Kodeks dyplomatyczny Katedry Krakowskiej S. Wacława - część pierwsza: obejmujaca rzeczy od roku 1166 do roku 1366, ed. F. Piekosiński (Kraków: Leon Paszkowski, 1874) 365, and the further references in the index.

78. See Gansiniec, "Lyrika," 157 - 175, and H. Kowalewicz, Zasób, zasieg terytorialny i chronologia polsko-łacińskiej liryki średniowiecznej, Uniw. im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Prace wydziału filologicznego, Seria filologia polska 13 (Poznań: UAM, 1967) 85 - 92.

79. Album studiosorum, 49.

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entered in the university records at a slightly later period, that two of the attorneys in the process of 1422 are probably found in the university records, and that Stanisław Ciołek, the lyricist for at least one datable composition of Nicolaus de Radom, entered the university in 1420 -- it is tempting to identify the composer, Nicolas de Radom, and the keyboard player for the Queen of Poland, Nicolaus "clavicembalista" (or "organista"), with Stanisław Ciołek's classmate of 1420, Nicolaus Johannis de Radom.

Liturgical Compositions

The majority of works in Kras and Wn378 are settings of texts for the Ordinary of the Mass. Of these texts, the Gloria was most favored, having seventeen separate settings, and only four of these appear in both manuscripts. Four of the Glorias also include tropes. Of the remaining texts of the Ordinary, there are eight Credos, one Sanctus and possibly two Kyries. One Magnificat, a "Discantus ad Magnificat" and an Alleluia are also preserved. Except for the Magnificat, there is no indication that any of the compositions in these two sources use a cantus firmus.

The five compositions of Johannes Ciconia, contained in these two Polish sources, consist of three Glorias, one Credo and a setting of a Latin poem, Regina Gloriosa.[80] The Gloria (Kras 25 = Wn378 15) is set

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80. The works of Ciconia have been edited by S. Clercx in Johannes Ciconia, vol. 2. A new edition of Ciconia, edited by M. Bent, is in preparation for the series Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century.

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for three voices, with the liturgical text only in the discant.[81] The mensuration is perfect tempus with minor prolation. What is particularly interesting is the form of this work, since many contemporary Mass settings were through-composed. It begins with a short section, which is musically reminiscent of earlier introitus passages for two voices in isorhythmic motets by Philippe de Vitry and Guillaume de Machaut. This is followed by two long sections, which are virtually the same. The tenor is repeated exactly in both, and there are only small variants in the discantus and contratenor. To this is added a final section with the Amen. Within the repeated section, there is an eleborate sequential passage (mm. 29 - 33 and 63 - 67) [Ex. 35].

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81. Perz, Sources XIII, 76 - 77 (facsimile from Kras), and XIV, 307 (transcription). According to the inventory by M. Szczepańska in "Nowe źródło do historiji muzyki średniowiecznej w Polsce," Ksiega pamiatkowa ku czci prof. Adolfa Chybińskiego (Kraków, 1930) 43 - 45; Wn378 15 was on f. 25r, which is missing in the photographic copy. (My references are to the separate offprint of this article in the Katedra historii i teorii muzyki, Kraków). As noted in Perz's critical notes to the transcription, Szczpańska mentioned that only one section of the repeated tenor was copied on this recto, which accounts for it taking less space then the copy in Kras. This work is also published in Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, II, 108 - 111; Polyphonia Sacra, ed. C. van den Borren (Burnham, 1932) 88; and the Historical Anthology of Music, ed. A.T. Davison and W. Apel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1966) 59. In all following references, those to vol. XIII of Perz, Sources, will be to the facsimiles (if a work appears in both sources, the first reference is to the facsimile of Kras and the second to Wn378). All references to vol. XIV of Perz, Sources, will be for the complete transcription, and measure numbers mentioned in the text will be from these transcriptions. Full bibliographic references to all concordances will be found in the appropriate transcription commentaries contained in Sources XIV.

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Example 35: Excerpt from the Gloria by Ciconia, Kras 25 = Wn378 15. (Adapted from Perz, Sources XIII, 76 - 77 [facsimile], and XIV, 309 [transcription], mm. 63 - 67.)

The Gloria (Kras 28 = Wn378 8) and the Credo (Kras 34 = Wn378 5) seem to form a Mass-pair.[82] Both works are for four voices, in imperfect tempus with minor prolation, use the same clefs and have similar forms.[83] The Gloria, attributed as an Opus Ciconie in Kras, begins with a long introitus-like passage by the two discants. After this, there is a long repeated section and at the end a short, two-note Amen

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82. Gloria: XIII, 84 - 85 and 132 - 133 and XIV, 332 - 339. Credo: XIII, 96 - 97 and 120 - 121 and XIV, 360 - 371. These two works are also published in Clercx, II, 102 - 107 and 143 - 150.

83. On Mass-pairs in the early fifteenth century see S. Clercx, "Les débuts de la Messe unitaire et de la Missa parodia au XIV siècle et principalement dans l'oeuvre de J. Ciconia," L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, Primo Convegno Internazionale 23 - 26 luglio 1959 (Firenze: Edizioni Centro di Studi sull'ars nova italiana del Trecento Certaldo, 1962) 97 - 104; P. Gossett, "Techniques of Unification in Early Cyclic Masses and Mass Pairs," Journal of the American Musicological Society XIX (1966) 205 - 231. See also R. Jackson, "Musical Interrelations between Fourteenth-century Mass Movements," Acta Musicologica XXIX (1957) 54 - 64, for fourteenth-century examples of related Mass movements.

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(the long Amen in the Bologna manuscript might be a later addition). The repeat is only exact in the tenor and contratenor; the two discants are varied. The Credo, again called an O[pus] M[agistri] Ciconie in Kras, also starts with only the two upper voices, and is followed by a section which is based not on a single repetition, but a three-fold statement of the tenor and contratenor. As in the Gloria, the two discants are newly composed for each section. In both works there are occasional short points of imitation.

These similarities would be enough evidence to show that these two works belong together. It has also been further suggested that both works are based on the setting of the Latin poem Regina gloriosa (Kras 33).[84] The basic musical form of this work, A - B - B, matches the definitions of a virelai (or rondellus) given in medieval treatises.[85] The interplay between the texted discant, and the untexted tenor and contratenor is rather elaborate, with some extended points of imitation between the discant and tenor. This interplay contrasts with the rapid discants and slow-moving tenor and contratenor of the Mass movements. One possible relationship between Regina gloriosa and the Credo can be seen in the opening measures of their respective discants and the similar openings of the tenors. But certain characteristic melodic patterns of Regina gloriosa do not occur in either the Gloria

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84. XIII, 95 - 97 and XIV, 357 - 359. Also transcribed in Clercx, II, 157 - 159. Concerning the attribution, see Clercx, Johannes Ciconia, I, 60 - 61, 80, 120 - 122, and II, 32. See also Clercx, "Les debuts," 102 - 103.

85. See above, Chapter Four, for further discussion of these medieval definitions of musical forms.

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or Credo. If there is a relationship between the Mass movements and this setting of a Latin lyric, it seems rather distant, especially compared with other examples of parodies from this period.[86]

The last work by Ciconia in these sources is a three-voice Gloria, with the trope Suscipe Trinitas (Wn378 16).[87] The Polish manuscript is at present the only complete version of this composition. In contrast to the other four works, which are in minor prolation, this uses imperfect tempus with major prolation. The composition does not have the elaborate repetitions of the other Mass movements, but it is interesting in that all the sections with the liturgical text use three voices, whereas the alternating troped sections are for only two voices. This kind of alternation between two and three voices occurs in a number of other early fifteenth-century Mass settings.[88]

An anonymous three-voice Gloria (Kras 24) shares many characteristics with the Gloria (Kras 25) by Ciconia.[89] Except for the Amen in imperfect tempus with minor prolation, it is identical in mensuration and form. The only noticeable difference is that on the one hand,

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86. See the study by R. Jackson, cited in fn. 83 above, and K. von Fischer, "Kontrafakturen und Parodien italienischer Werke des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento," Annales Musicologiques V (1957) 43 - 59.

87. XIII, 152 - 155 and XIV, 449 - 457. Also published in U. Günther, "Quelques remarques sur des feuillets récemment découverts à Grottaferrata," L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 3 (Certaldo, 1970) 383 - 397..

88. Concerning this stylistic feature, see M. Bukofzer, "The Beginnings of Choral Polyphony," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950) 176 - 189.

89. XIII, 74 - 76 and XIV, 302 - 306.

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the anonymous Gloria has more passages where all three parts move in 6/3 sonorities; on the other hand, the voice-parts of the Ciconia work have slightly more rhythmic independence. While I believe there is insufficient evidence for a definite ascription of this work, the similarities point to the anonymous Gloria being among the opera dubia of Ciconia.

There are three Glorias and one Credo by Antonio Zachara da Teramo in these two manuscripts. The Gloria: Ad ogni vento (Kras 27 = Wn378 6) is for four voices, each texted, and begins with an imitative duet by the two discants.[90] The remainder of the work consistently uses all four voices, and the tenor and contratenor are only slightly less active than the discants. In contrast to the iso-syllabic style of Guillaume de Machaut's Gloria and Credo (from his Missa de Notre Dame), the rhythmic interplay among the four voices is rather hectic at times.[91] Many of the cadences contain parallel fifths and octaves, more characteristic of an earlier generation than that around Johannes Ciconia [Ex. 36].

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90. XIII, 83, 87 - 91 and 126 - 129; XIV, 322 - 331. In Kras, the Gloria is ascribed as an O[pus] Czakaris mgri Anthony. Also published in G. Reaney, Early Fifteenth Century Compositions, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 52, 6 vols. (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: AIM / Hänssler Verlag, 1977) 6, 92 - 97. Concerning the mis-appellation, Ad ogni vento, see G. Reaney, "Sequence, Hocket, Syncopation and Imitation in Zacar's Mass Movements," L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento 4 (1975) 345 - 346.

91. See Reaney, "Sequence," 345 - 347 and 353 - 354, on the similarities between Machaut's Mass and other Mass settings by Zachara.

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Example 36: Excerpt from the Gloria: Ad ogni vento by Antonio Zachara. (Adapted from Perz, Sources XIII 83, 87 - 91, and 126 - 129 [facsimile], and XIV, 330 [transcription], mm. 165 - 170.)

Except for the opening, there is little imitation, but in some places the sequential patterns and hocketing create small areas of formal cohesion in this rather amorphous work.

Antonio's Gloria (Wn378 10) is found in manuscripts from England, Italy and Central Europe.[92] The work is for three texted voices, with the difference that the contratenor sets only the words of the trope "Gloria, laus, honor, qui ses conspirat...." There are two small imitative passages (mm. 31 - 33 and mm. 57 - 59), but the most important

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92. XIII, 137 - 139, and XIV, 420 - 426. For the concordances, see the commentary published in Perz, Sources XIV, 125. The work is also published in Reaney, Compositions, 72 - 76, and A. Hughes and M. Bent, Old Hall Manuscript, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 46, 3 vols. (American Institute of Musicology, 1969/1973) I:1, 105 - 111.

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formal characteristic is the extensive use of recurring motives in the tenor, sometimes with recurring material also in the contratenor (mm. 6 - 8, 18 - 20, 41 - 44, 51 - 52, 90 - 92 and 119 - 120) [Ex. 37].[93]

Example 37: Excerpt from the Gloria (Wn378 10) by Antonio Zacharia. (Adapted from Perz, Sources, XIII, 137 - 139 [facsimile] and XIV, 420 [transcription], mm. 6 - 8 and 119 - 121.)

The Gloria: Anglicana (Wn378 9) is attributed to Antonio Zachara by G. Reaney; in the Bologna manuscript it is labeled only Zacar anglicana.[94] It is one of the few works in these manuscripts to use perfect tempus with major prolation. All three voices are texted. In two places, small points of imitation break up the constant flow of minims

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93. See Reaney, "Sequence," 348 - 349.

94. XIII, 134 - 136 and XIV, 413 - 419. Also published in Reaney, Compositions, 6, 97 - 103. Concerning the appellation, see Reaney, "Sequence," 350.

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(mm. 9 - 12 and 74 - 76). This work uses more 6/3 sonorities than the other two Glorias.

The three-voice Credo by Antonio Zachara (Wn378 4) is closer in style to the Gloria: Ad ogni vento than the other two works.[95] There are few 6/3 sonorities, and many cadences use parallel fifths. It begins with only the discantus singing "Patrem omnipotentem"; the remainder of the text is entirely set for three voices. However, as in the Gloria (Wn378 10), the formal design of this composition is punctuated by two sets of recurring motives (mm. 36 - 39, 157 - 160 and 235 - 238; also mm. 143 - 146, 211 - 214 and 266 - 269). The six measure sequence in the Amen (mm. 305 - 310) provides an elaborate conclusion for this work.

The Credo by Nicola Zacharie (Kras 26 = Wn378 2) is similar to the four compostions by Antonio Zachara in the Polish manuscripts.[96] It is nominally set for three voices, but the discant voice is often

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95. XIII, 114 - 119 and XIV, 395 - 403. Also published in Reaney, Compositions, 6, 77 - 85.

96. XIII, 78 - 81 and 106 - 109; XIV, 311 - 321. Also transcribed in Reaney, Compositions, 6, 103 - 112. Perz attributes this work to Nicola on the basis of a Polish attribution in Wn378 (slowye szacharie mneysche = Opus Zacharie minoris) with Antonio presumed to be the older and therefore maior composer. See Perz, "Einflüsse," 474. Reaney (Compositions 6, ix) ascribes this work to Antonio. He points to an attribution in D-Mbs 14274 of the Gloria with the trope Gloria, laus, honor, which reads Zacharie maioris O; "maioris" in his opinion refers to the prolation. However, the Credo (Kras 26 = Wn378 2) is in major prolation, and either the "maioris" and "mneysche" refer to something else or the copyist of Wn378 did not understand this convention. Given that O in most Central and East Central manuscripts and theorists refers only to tempus, it seems likely that both attributions in Wn378 and D-Mbs 14274 must be understood as modifying the composer's name. Concerning the theoretical discussions of mensural signs in Central and East Central Europe, see above, Chapter Four.

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split into two parts, one notated with red ink and the other with black on the same stave. Most of the work uses 6/3 sonorities, but two major cadences near the end revert to parallel fifths. The form of this work is created by an interlocking pair of melodic and contrapuntal groups. The first member of the pair involves the use of coloration in the tenor with a syncopated discant (mm. 37 - 44, 77 - 84, 122 - 129, 257 - 264, and 308 - 309) [Ex. 38].

Example 38: Excerpt from the Credo by Nicola Zacharie.
(Adapted from Perz, Sources XIII, 78 - 81 and 106 - 109 [facsimile], and XIV, 319 [transcription], mm. 257 - 264.)

The second member of the pair is a short, two-measure "interlude" in the tenor and contratenor (mm. 23 - 25, 163 - 165 and 236 - 238) [Ex. 39].

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Example 39: Excerpt from the Credo by Nicola Zacharie.
(Adapted from Perz, Sources XIII, 78 - 81 and 106 - 109 [facsimile], and XIV, 311 [transcription], mm. 23 - 25.)

Two anonymous Mass movements in Wn378 are quite similar to the Credo by Nicola Zacharie. The Gloria (Wn378 12) is for three voices.[97] Only the discant is texted, and the trope Bone Ihesu Christe is interpolated into the liturgical text.[98] In contrast to Ciconia's Gloria with the trope Suscipe Trinitas (Wn378 16), there is no regular alternation of solo discant and "chorus" to set off the trope text. The long passages for solo discant seem rather bare in this style, and perhaps they were originally meant for a divided discant. There are occasionally points of imitation that demonstrate the composer's attempt to provide a degree of structural coherence to this long work (for example, mm. 142 - 146 or mm. 154 - 161).

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97. XIII, 142 - 144, and XIV, 434 - 442.

98. Edition of the text in Perz, Sources XIV, 136 - 137.

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In many respects, the Gloria (Wn378 7) is remarkably similar to Nicola's Credo.[99] If the two works had the same finals, they could have been considered a Mass-pair. Both use the same mensuration, imperfect tempus with major prolation, and both occasionally use a divided discant. Particularly interesting is a short section which is repeated once (mm. 56 - 60 and 136 - 140) [Ex. 40]; it is remarkably similar to Example 38, quoted above.

Example 40: Excerpt from the anonymous Gloria (Wn378 7). (Adapted from Perz, Sources. XIII, 130 - 131 [facsimile] and XIV, 406 [transcription], mm. 56 - 61.)

Perhaps the imitative setting of the words "Et in terra pax hominibus" on f. 15v of Wn378 was meant as a substitute for the opening duo of this Gloria.[100]

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99. XIII, 130 - 132, and XIV, 404 - 412.

100. XIII, 132, and XIV, 119.

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The Gloria (Kras 7) by Estienne Grossin has four sections, all in perfect tempus with minor prolation.[101] The first three sections are built on an identical tenor, over which Grossin has composed a free contratenor and discant. It is possible to see in these an extension of the formal principles of the Glorias (Kras 25 = Wn378 15 and Kras 28 = Wn378 8) and the Credo (Kras 34 = Wn378 5) by Ciconia. Only in the Emmeram manuscript is the tenor written out three times in full. In Kras, the Aosta manuscript, and the Bologna manuscript, the tenor is copied only once, and the three-fold repetition is indicated by mensural signs: O, Ø, O. Even though the rhythmic material of all three sections is virtually identical, mostly semibreves and minims, the Ø implies diminution. The Amen is quite short, but the beginning of the tenor is parallel to the other three sections, changing only at the end into a broad hemiola cadence.

Grossin's Kyrie (Kras 12) is the only setting of this liturgical text in these two manuscripts.[102] It is also one of two pieces in Kras that require the improvised performance of fauxbourdon, indicated in the Polish source by the rubric, A discantu contratenor. The version in Kras is centered on D; the other two sources that preserve this work are centered on F. There are three sections, matching the three main divisions of the liturgical text. In the Aosta manuscript, each section is preceded by three mensural signs which imply that each section

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101. XIII, 46 - 47, and XIV, 228 - 232. See also, Reaney, Compositions 3, 44 - 46.

102. XIII, 54, and XIV, 250 - 251. Also transcribed in Reaney, Compositions 3, 42 - 43.

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was to be stated three times. The sections are interrelated by the use of similar melodic elements. The first presents the basic material. The second section begins differently, but in mm. 21 - 29, the tenor is exactly as in mm. 6 - 14 of the first section, and the discant and contratenor are only slightly varied. The tenor in the third section begins as in the first (mm. 30 - 34 = mm. 1 - 5), continues with part of the second (mm. 35 - 39 = mm. 16 - 20), and then has an ending similar to the other two sections (mm. 40 - 48 = mm. 21 - 29 = mm. 6 - 14).

Kras 3 is unascribed and untexted in the manuscript.[103] Perz has suggested that Grossin might be the composer of this work, and that it is probably a Kyrie.[104] In many ways it is similar to the Kyrie (Kras 12) by Grossin. The work has three sections, each approximately the same length as Kras 12, and uses the same mensuration, perfect tempus with minor prolation. Although it is not as elaborate as Grossin's Kyrie, there are some similar phrases in each of the three sections. The opening of this work is also similar to the opening of Grossin's Gloria (Kras 7).

Perz has also suggested that the Credo (Kras 8) forms a Mass-pair with Grossin's Gloria.[105] It is interesting that these are the only settings of these texts in this fascicle, that they share similar finals and are copied one after another. The differences, though, are also very evident. The two works have different clef combinations,

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103. XIII, 42, and XIV, 218 - 219.

104. See Perz, "Einflüsse," 471, fn. 9, and Sources, XIV, 23.

105. XIII, 48 - 51, and XIV, 233 - 242. See Perz, "Einflüsse," 471, fn. 9.

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different mensurations (the Credo using imperfect tempus with major prolation) and have no formal similarities. The Amen of the Credo consists of five sections, the first four of which end with a minim and two minim rests at the beginning of a perfection, .

Of the five remaining settings for the Gloria and Credo, only two are ascribed: Kras 35, a Gloria by Egardus, and Kras 36, a Gloria described as O[pus] N[icolaus?] de Orog[...]."[106] The Gloria by Egardus (Kras 35) is for three voices, all texted.[107] There is very little use of imitation and, overall, the work does not show the technical expertise of Ciconia, Antonia Zachara, Nicola Zacharie or Nicolaus de Radom. It was evidently popular, since it appears in three Italian sources from the early fifteenth century.

The Gloria by N[icolaus?] de Orog[...] (Kras 36) is unfortunately incomplete.[108] Most of the discant remains, except the Amen, and there is the beginning of the tenor, but whether this was a two-voice work or, as is more likely, a three-voice composition with the contratenor appearing on the following, now lost, recto cannot be determined. From the remaining fragments it is possible to see some small imitative cells (mm. 50 - 54 and mm. 150 - 154) and that there was at least one short interlude for the tenor (mm. 68 - 69).

The three anonymous settings include one Credo and two Glorias. The three-voice Credo (Wn378 1) is in four sections, the first, third

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106. The compositions of Nicolaus de Radom will be discussed below.

107. XIII, 100 - 101, and XIV, 372 - 376.

108. XIII, 102, and XIV, 377 - 379.

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and fourth (Amen) are in imperfect tempus with major prolation and the second in perfect tempus with minor prolation.[109] This work makes extensive use of little interludes between phrases of the discant (for example, mm. 28 - 29 and m. 46). Sometimes they even begin little points of imitation that continue in the discant (mm. 57 - 60, mm. 87 - 90, and mm. 98 - 101).

The four-voice Gloria (Kras 29) is in two sections: the first is in imperfect tempus with minor prolation, and the second section changes to major prolation.[110] The tenor and contratenor are only written once, but sung twice, the second time in diminution.[111] The liturgical text is divided between the two discants, and is sung simultaneously.

The three-voice Gloria (Wn378 11) begins with a long introduction by the two upper voices, which is freely imitative, that is, they sing the same succession of pitches, but not in identical rhythms.[112] Each following section, including the Amen, is a strict canon at the unison between the two upper voices over a free tenor. This is the only instance of such contrapuntal technique in the entire repertoire of these two manuscripts.

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109. XIII, 103 - 105, and XIV, 380 - 386.

110. XIII, 86, and XIV, 340 - 342.

111. Perz provides no reason for his interpretation of the ligatures "with opposite propriety" in diminution as and not [= in the first section].

112. XIII, 140 - 141, and XIV, 427 - 433.

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In these Polish sources, there is only one setting of the Sanctus (Kras 30), which is enigmatically described in the index to the Emmeram manuscript as "Sanctus Sweitzl."[113] The Emmeram source only contains the discant and tenor of the present composition, and the Aosta manuscript includes fragmentary parts of the tenor and contratenor. The one complete version of this work appears to be in the Polish source. The first of the three invocations, "Sanctus," is monophonic, and may possibly derive from a plainsong setting unknown at present. The remaining setting of the liturgical text through the first Hosanna is only for the discant and tenor, including the trope "Gustanti necis pocula...."[114] The Benedictus also begins monophonically, but continues with three voices, including a trope, "Lumen luminum...." The discant and tenor parts for the Hosannas of both sections are identical, the only difference is the addition of the contratenor in the Benedictus and second Hosanna.

The discant voice for the three-voice piece, Kras 20, includes the rubric "ad Magnificat."[115] There is no further text set. Repeat signs are placed at the end of each voice part, and Perz supposes that the Magnificat text was accommodated to this setting.[116] The opening

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113. XIII, 90 - 91, and XIV, 343 - 346. See above, fn. 62, concerning the attribution of the Emmeram manuscript.

114. The text of this Sanctus trope has been edited by H. Kowalewicz in Perz, Sources XIV, 84.

115. XIII, 64 - 65, and XIV, 279.

116. Sources XIV, 50.

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of the tenor contains intervals similar to a number of chants, but most of these are for different finals than this work in D.[117]

The Works of Nicolaus de Radom

Ten works are ascribed to Nicolaus de Radom in Kras and Wn378.[118] For many reasons, the Gloria and Credo (Kras 22 and 23) seem to form a Mass-pair: they are copied together in the manuscript, have common finals, their final cadences are identical, the clefs are identical, their mensuration is the same, all three parts are texted and both begin with a long point of imitation in the order discant, tenor, contratenor. In the Gloria, this introitus is elaborately melismatic, in the Credo, rather simple.[119]

The Gloria (Kras 22) includes a short Marian trope, "Maria tripartitum harmonice clangimus tis" ("Maria, with three-part harmony we sing to you"), appropriately set for three voices as a separate section (mm. 198 - 211). Like some of the Mass settings by Antonio Zachara and

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117. The Polish setting has been compared with the incipits in Bryden and Hughes, Index of Gregorian Chant.

118. See above, 261 - 268, for a brief biographical sketch of Nicolaus de Radom. A short, general examination of Nicolaus' Mass compositions was prepared by W. Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Kilka uwag o kształtowaniu frazy w twórczości mszalnej Mikołaja z Radomia," Muzyka XVIII/1 (1973) 90 - 94.

119. Gloria: XIII, 66 - 69, and XIV, 282 - 291; Credo: XIII, 70 - 73, and XIV, 292 - 301. See also the transcriptions in L'Oeuvre de Nicholas de Radom 19 - 28, and 29 - 38; Muzyka staropolska, 11 - 19 and 20 - 27; and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, ed. J. Morawski (Kraków: Polski Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1972) 32 - 37 and 38 - 43.

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Nicola Zacharie, Nicolaus uses short passages of recurring material to provide a degree of formal cohesion (mm. 65 - 70 = mm. 138 - 143 = mm. 227 - 230). The setting of the word "pax" in mm. 17 - 18 as a hocket between the three voices is similar to the corresponding place in Antonio Zachara's Gloria (Wn378 9, m. 5). Extended three-voice rhythmic sequences, sometimes partly imitative, sometimes closer to hocket, seem to be an important element in Nicolaus' style (for example: mm. 166 - 168, mm. 230 - 235 and mm. 270 - 275). In these passages, each voice will have a rhythmic motive which will be overlapped with the motives of the other voices and repeated a number of times, sometimes lasting for as long as five or six measures (= breves) [Ex. 41].

Example 41: Excerpt from the Gloria (Kras 22) by Nicolaus de Radom. (Adapted from Perz, Sources, XIII, 66 - 69 [facsimile] and XIV, 290 [transcription], mm. 230 - 237.)

Except at cadences, Nicolaus rarely uses passages in 6/3 sonorities in

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his works (with the exception of his Magnificat), a characteristic he shares with Antonio Zachara.

The Credo (Kras 23) does not have the repeated passages of the Gloria; instead it concentrates on a generally syllabic setting of the long liturgical text. Some passages are strongly reminiscent of the Gloria, such as mm. 42 - 46 and 123 - 125 of the Credo, which may be compared with the Gloria, mm. 65 - 70 [Ex. 42].

Example 42: Comparison of the Gloria (Kras 22: a.) and the Credo (Kras 23: b.) by Nicolaus de Radom.
(Adapted from Perz, Sources, XIII, 66 - 69 and 70 - 73 [facsimiles] and XIV, 284 and 293 [transcriptions]; Gloria, mm. 65 - 68 and Credo, mm. 42 - 46.)

The only extensive three-voice rhythmic sequence in the setting of the text occurs in mm. 149 - 155. As could be expected from its

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short text, the Amen is more elaborate. There are two extensive passages where the discant and tenor imitate one another, while the contratenor repeats a rhythmic motive (mm. 232 - 239, imitation at the seventh; and mm. 247 - 253, imitation at the sixth). There is also a three-voice rhythmic sequence in mm. 240 - 244.

The Gloria and Credo (Kras 31 = Wn378 14 and Kras 32) probably form another Mass-pair.[120] As above, there are many similar features in both compositions: mensuration, clefs, identical finals and similar final cadences. Both works begin with an introitus-like section. In the Gloria, this section is definitely perfect tempus with major prolation, while in the Credo the prolation is equivocal, since the introduction is notated only in longas, breves and semibreves. The Gloria continues with a long section, which is then repeated, producing a form similar to some of the Mass movements by Ciconia contained in these sources. There is one long three-voice rhythmic sequence in the repeated section (mm. 39 - 44 = mm. 81 - 86). The Amen contains only one such passage, mm. 105 - 108, and, by contrast, seems rather staid. The Credo contains one passage (mm. 45 - 48) similar to a part of the Gloria (mm. 30 - 32 = mm. 72 - 74). Both of these works make greater use of 6/3 sonorities than the preceding Mass-pair (Kras 22 and 23). The Credo is unascribed in the manuscript, but in the light of its position after the Gloria and the similarities discussed above, it was

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120. Gloria: XIII, 92 - 93, and 148 - 149 (without text); XIV, 347 - 351. Credo: XIII, 94 - 95, and XIV, 353 - 356. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 39 - 43 and 44 - 48. The Credo alone is transcribed in Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie: Wybór utworów XV - XVIII w., edited by Z.M. Szweykowski (Kraków: Polski Wydawnicwo Muzyczne, 1964) 14 - 16 and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, 43 - 45.

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probably composed by Nicolaus de Radom.

The Credo (Wn378 3) by Nicolaus begins with an imitative duo opening for two discants written on a single staff in two different colors, a technique used in the Credo (Kras 26 = Wn378 2) by Nicola Zacharie.[121] The constant alternation of sections only for the two discants with sections for a single discant, contratenor and tenor is one formal aspect of this work. Nicolaus also uses the technique of recurring melodic groups: mm. 30 - 41 = mm. 111 - 115 = mm. 189 - 192. There is one three-voice rhythmic sequence in the body of the work (mm. 157 - 164) and the Amen has a long, similar sequence, which includes some imitation between the discant and tenor (mm. 248 - 254).

Nicolaus' Gloria (Wn378 13) also uses a divided discant, but since all three (or four) voices are texted, and the clefs and finals are different, it is unlikely that it was meant to be paired with the Credo discussed above (Wn378 3).[122] There is one passage in this Gloria, mm. 78 - 82, which is similar to a passage in the Credo (Wn378 3), mm. 71 - 77. The only three-voice rhythmic sequence is in the Amen, mm. 134 - 141. In many respects, this work is simpler in style than the other Mass settings by Nicolaus.

The short Alleluia by Nicolaus (Kras 31a), which is written in the space left at the end of the Gloria (Kras 31 [= Wn378 14]), has no

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121. XIII, 110 - 113, and XIV, 387 - 394. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 8 - 18.

122. XIII, 146 - 147, and XIV, 443 - 448. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 1 - 7; Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie, 17 - 22; and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, 29 - 32.

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connection with this later work.[123] Set for three low voices, the work begins with a short opening phrase (mm. 1 - 3), continues with a canon for the discant and tenor at the unison with a free contratenor (mm. 4 - 12) and finishes with a cadential section (mm. 12 - 18).

Nicolaus de Radom's Magnificat (Kras 13) is the second of two works in these sources to use the technique of improvised fauxbourdon, the other being Grossin's Kyrie (Kras 12) which precedes it in the manuscript.[124] The instructions for the performance of the fauxbourdon sections are not easily understandable, perhaps indicating that either Nicolaus or the notator was not familiar with the verbal conventions of this practice.[125] The liturgical text through the beginning of the Doxology is set for three voices, with the discant paraphrasing the chant intonation for the first tone. Following the divisions in the liturgical text, each verse was composed as a separate section. What is interesting is the resulting pattern of verses set in three-part counterpoint and those set with fauxbourdon [Table 9].

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123. XIII, 93, and XIV, 352. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 43. In Perz, Sources XIII, xxv, this work is numbered along with the preceeding Gloria as in L'Oeuvre, 43. However, in Perz, Sources XIV, 88 - 89, it has been separated.

124. XIII, 55 - 58, and XIV, 252 - 260. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 49 - 59; Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie, 22 - 28; and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczna, 46 - 51.

125. The canons indicating the fauxbourdon are: "per bardunum," "Hic recipe in quinta et fiet contratenor," "per bardunum Hic recipe in tercia," and "Hic incipe in quinta contratenorem."

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TABLE 9

THE SECTIONS OF NICOLAUS DE RADOM'S MAGNIFICAT

1.	Magnificat	three-part counterpoint
2.	Et exultavit	fauxbourdon
3.	Quia respexit	three-part counterpoint
4.	Quia fecit	three-part counterpoint
5.	Et misericordia	three-part counterpoint
6.	Fecit potenciam	fauxbourdon
7.	Deposuit	three-part counterpoint
8.	Esurientes	three-part counterpoint
9.	Suscepit Israel	three-part counterpoint
10.	Sicut locutus	fauxbourdon
11.	Gloria Patri	three-part counterpoint

As is common in many early fifteenth-century Magnificats, Nicolaus uses similar music for more than one section: section 2 ("Et exultavit") is similar to 10 ("Sicut locutus"); 5 ("Et misericordia") is similar to 9 ("Suscepit Israel"); and 7 ("Deposuit") is similar to 11 ("Gloria Patri"). In each instance, the music has been slightly altered to accommodate the different texts.

Nicolaus' setting of the Doxology is incomplete. Section 11 sets only the words "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto;" the text in the manuscript stops at a fermata (corona), which is missing in the parallel section 7. The short passage of music at the end of the section is without text, and is clearly too short to set the remaining text. How was the final verse of the Doxology to be performed?

In a similar three-voice Magnificat by Dufay, the first verse of the Doxology and the verse "Deposuit" are set to the same music, as in Nicolaus' setting.[126] Dufay's Magnificat then uses the music for the

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126. G. Dufay, Magnificat (6. Toni), Opera Omnia, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 1, ed. H. Besseler, 6 vols. (American Institute of Musico-

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verse "Esurientes" to set the end of the Doxology. This is clearly one possibility for the end of Nicolaus' Magnificat, but I feel the evidence of the manuscript does not justify such an alternative.

There is no indication that the composition as copied in the manuscript is incomplete; most of the verso in the source is ruled with blank staves following the end of Nicolaus' Magnificat. Since Nicolaus was careful to make slight alterations in his music to accommodate the different texts in his parallel sections, as is also true of Dufay's setting, it seems likely that he would have made similar alterations in repeating the verse "Esurientes" with the end of the Doxology. Any solution to this problem must also take account of the short untexted passage at the end of the "Gloria Patri" and the prominent fermata, which is missing in the parallel verse.

Given the regularity of the alternation between free and faux-bourdon counterpoint, it seems improbable that the conclusion of the Doxology was meant to be sung to the music of an earlier section. Possibly, the final verse, "Sicut erat in principio ..," should be sung in plainsong following the fermata in the final section; the concluding "Amen" then could be set to the remaining three-voice polyphony in the source.[127] Admittedly, this solution is without parallel in similar settings of the Magnificat from this period, its only recommendation is that it accounts for the peculiarities of the unique manuscript copy.

The final two works by Nicolaus are both ballades, one with text,

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logy, 1960 - 1966) V, 75 - 81.

127. This is possibly the solution intended in L'Oeuvre, 59, which sets the word "Amen" in italics at the end of section 11.

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the other without. The more elaborate work sets a Latin poem by the Polish royal chancellor, Stanisław Ciołek, Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2).[128] As noted above, this composition was probably written for the christening on June 2, 1426 of the short-lived Prince Kazimierz.[129] There are three sections, of which the first is repeated, but without a different text, so that only the music follows the ballade form, A - A - B. The mensuration is mostly perfect tempus with minor prolation, but there is extensive use of coloration to indicate imperfect tempus, even at the beginning of the work. It appears that the main intent of the composer was to set clearly the Latin text: see, for example, the "highlighting" of the word "Cracovia" in mm. 61 - 64. Given this emphasis on the text, it is not surprising that there are only two short imitative passages (mm. 12 - 14 and 94 - 99).

It is impossible to judge whether the textless ballade, Kras 17, was meant to have lyrics or was just an instrumental work.[130] It is in a rounded ballade form, A - A - B - A'. The final section, A', begins differently from the A section, but the last measures (mm. 70 - 88) match the conclusion of the first section with the second ending (mm. 19 - 41). The counterpoint in this work is not so sophisticated as in most of Nicolaus' other compositions, and there is a high propor-

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128. XIII, 40 - 41, and XIV, 212 - 217. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 60 - 66; Muzyka wdawnym Krakowie, 10 - 13; and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, 51 - 54. The text has been translated in Appendix X, 440 - 441.

129. See above, 262 - 263.

130. XIII, 62, and XIV, 270 - 272. Also transcribed in L'Oeuvre, 67 - 70.

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tion of dissonance on both strong and weak beats. One elaborate three-voice rhythmic sequence occurs in the first and third sections (mm. 25 - 31 and 76 - 82).

These ten works show that Nicolaus was able to use elements also found in the compositions by many of his contemporaries. Certain stylistic traits, such as Nicolaus' use of the divided discant and recurring phrases, are most similar to those used in the works of Antonio Zachara and Nicola Zacharie. Nicolaus' Gloria (Kras 31 = Wn378 14) uses a form closer to the practices of Ciconia. The extensive use of three-voice rhythmic sequences by Nicolaus, a prominent characteristic of his compositional style, is also similar to Ciconia. Whatever their origin, Nicolaus de Radom was able to assimilate these "western" techniques and develop his own musical language on the eastern borders of Europe.

Sacred and Secular Latin Lyrics

There are sixteen settings of sacred and secular Latin lyrics in Kras and Wn 378. Six of these compositions are in the form of a balladum. The anonymous Virginem mire pulcritudis (Kras 14) is an example of a balladum mentioned in the Wrocław Anonymous and the anonymous Tractatulus de Cantu Mensurabili.[131] The other compositions in this form -- three sections, A - B - C, of which the first may or may not be

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131. XIII, 59, and XIV, 261 - 263. This piece is also found in A-Wn 5094, f. 148v, and D-Mbs 3725 (Buxheimer Organbook), ff. 43v - 44r. Concerning the citations of this work by contemporary theorists, see above, Chapter Four, 205 - 209.

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repeated and the last may be a variation of the first -- are Kras 2, 4, 10, 15, 17.[132]

Some of these settings in ballade form with Latin texts are in fact contrafacta of French ballades. For instance, Virginem mire is a contrafactum of the three-voice ballade, A discort.[133] The three-voice setting of Ave mater summi nati (Kras 15) is possibly a contrafactum for an unknown French ballade, En vergier.[134] In time, vernacular originals may be found for the other settings of Latin texts in the musical form of a ballade or the other formes fixes.

One of these ballade-like compositions, Nitor inclite claredinis (Kras 10), is one of three compositions that help date the repertoire of these two sources.[135] There are two texts underneath the music; however, certain words of the text for Christmas have been glossed so that it refers to the birth of King Władysław Jagiełło's first son, Prince Władysław (later known as "Warenczyk").[136] Prince Władysław was

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132. Concerning the two ballades of Nicolaus de Radom -- Kras 2, Hystorigraphi aciem and Kras 17, untexted -- see above. The only work not discussed in the text, Maria en mitissima (Kras 4), is for three-voices, has a full ballade form (three sections, with the first repeated), and uses imperfect tempus with minor prolation throughout. See XIII, 43, and XIV, 220 - 221. Please note: for measures 18 - 20 of the transcription in XIV, 220, the manuscript clearly reads minim e', semibreve d', minim c' and breve d' (mm. 13 - 20 are written a third too low in the manuscript). There seems to be no need for the reconstruction proposed in Perz, Sources, XIV. This work is also transcribed in Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczna, 24 - 25.

133. See above, Chapter Four, 207 - 208.

134. See Perz, Sources XIV, 41.

135. XIII, 52 - 53, and XIV, 244 - 248.

136. See above, Chapter One, 61 - 63, for a short biography of Włady-

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born on October 31, 1424, and the glossed text was probably provided for his christening on February 17, 1425. The composition is in three sections, the first and third in imperfect tempus with major prolation and the second in perfect tempus with minor prolation. The change in the second section is achived entirely through coloration. The most problematic aspect of this work is that only one voice is copied in the source. There appears to be enough space on the recto of folio 181 for at least one and probably two accompanying voices. However, another possible solution is that this composition was part of a small repertoire of mensural, monophonic works.[137] Unlikely as this may be, given the otherwise exclusively polyphonic contents of Kras, it also would be improbable that a piece written in Kraków and modified to refer to a member of the royal family would be copied incomplete.[138]

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sław "Warenczyk." For the original text of the lyric and an English translation, see Appendix X, 442 - 443. The text to this work has been attributed to Stanisław Ciołek, but in the opinion of H. Kowalewicz, its most recent editor, it was probably written by Nicolaus of Blonie, a chaplain to Stanisław Ciołek in Poznań, since the text contains the acrostic "NICOLAUS." See Perz, Sources XIV, 33. This is an interesting possibility, but equally likely are the members of the royal chancellery named Nicolaus, especially since they were in Kraków at the time of Prince Władysław's birth. See the list of known chancellery members in Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Dokumenty krolewskie i ich funckja, 194 - 275.

137. Concerning a similar composition, Pregrata erat nunc regali, attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, see below, Chapter Six, 357, and Appendix XV, 500 - 502 (transcription). This work was also composed in Kraków at about the same period as Nitor inclite claredinis. See also the monophonic carol by Bartholomeus de Jassel, Chapter Two, 95, and Appendix IV, 407 - 411.

138. Many works in Kras show the hand of a corrector, and Cracovia civitas (Kras 1) was corrected on f. 195v, because the tenor was incorrectly copied on f. 173r.

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Two compositions have two sections, each of which is repeated. The text of Pastor gregis egregius (Kras 18) concerns the martyrdom of Poland's patron saint, Stanisław, who was killed by followers of King Bolesław Szczodry ("the Bold") on April 11, 1079.[139] Under the sixth system on f. 186r, a name has been entered, N[icolaus?] de Ostrorog. Most attributions in Kras are centered on the top of a folio, as on f. 185v. However, it is still possible that Nicolaus de Ostrorog is the name of the composer; perhaps he also composed the incomplete Gloria (Kras 36) asscribed to N[icolaus?] de Orog[...].[140] It has two final cadences (clausule) in each section, though only one text is given.[141] The second section is labled repeticio, a designation common in many cantilenas for the second section, which are frequently re-

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139. XIII, 63, and XIV, 273 - 275. Also transcribed in Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie, 8 - 9; Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczna, 26 - 27. Further transcriptions are listed in Perz, Sources XIV, 44. The text for this work is translated in Appendix X, 443 - 444. For further references concerning the martyrdom and canonization of Stanisław, see above, Chapter Three, 114 - 115.

140. Concerning this composition, see above, 282.

141. H. Kowalewicz, in his commentary to the text (Perz, Sources XIV, 44), proposes that it is part of a sequence text for which only the first halves of each double-strophe are copied in Kras. However, as set in the manuscript, the first halves of two separate strophes (according to Kowalewicz) are set in the same section, so that if repeated, using the lost second halves, the form of the text would be 1a - 2a - 1b - 2b. In most earlier instances of sequence texts being incomplete in a source, only the first half of a strophe is set in each section. See, for example, the setting of Nulli beneficium; only two musical sources have the complete sequence text, W1 and Fauvel; the others, F and M, have just the first halves of each double-strophe. The textual transmission of this work is discussed in Carmina Burana, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann, 4 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930 - 1970) I, 1: Die moralisch-satirischen Dichtungen, 58 - 59.

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frains.[142] The style of Pastor gregis is very florid; only the discant is texted in the manuscript, while the untexted tenor and contratenor provide harmonic support.

In Cristicolis fecunditas (Kras 21), the second composition in two sections, the repeats are implied by the double texts underlaid in each section.[143] The work is in simple note-against-note counterpoint.

Four pieces -- Kras 5, 16, 19 and Wn378 18 -- have two sections, without repeats. Ave mater O Maria (Kras 19) is primarily homorhythmic, though the two upper voices of the four voice texture will use syncopated patterns common in perfect tempus with minor prolation.[144] This composition is an Italian/Latin lauda also known in two Italian manuscripts and in a reworking by Oswald von Wolkenstein.

Omnes sancti (Wn378 18) may have been composed as a two-voice piece, but the rubric "I do not have the contratenor, I had... etc." seems to imply that one existed.[145] The discant uses semiminims, but the basic rhythmic patterns primarily follow the movement of the tenor.

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142. See above, fn. 137, for references to this work.

143. XIII, 65, and XIV, 280 - 281. Also transcribed in Muzyka staropolska, 28 - 29, and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, 28. The text setting in Perz, Sources XIV, should probably be emended so that phrase endings in the text fall on consonances: compare Sources XIV, mm. 18 - 22, with the transcription in Muzyka staropolska, mm. 17 - 21.

144. XIII, 64, and XIV, 276 - 278. For a full listing of concordances see Perz, Sources XIV, 45. See also K. von Fischer, "Die Lauda Ave mater und ihre verschiedene Fassungen," Colloquium amicorum Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag (Bonn, 1967) 93 - 99, and M. Perz, "Znajomość i recepcja laudy włoskiej w Polsce XV i XVI wieku," Pagine 3 (1979) 59 - 80.

145. XIII, 160, and XIV, 458 - 459. The rubric reads: "Contratenorem non habeo, habui etc."

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The compositions Kras 5 and Kras 16 are more complex than the preceding two works. Caro mea (Kras 5) is incomplete, lacking its lower voice (or voices).[146] It is in two sections, the first in perfect tempus with minor prolation, the second in imperfect tempus with major prolation.[147] This is the only composition in these two sources to use the unusual noteform (=).

Kras 16 is interesting in that it has two texts. The original text, Postaris in presepio, is for Christmas while Maria amphioribus, the second, subsequently added text, is for the Virgin Mary.[148] It is also one of three works in these two Polish sources that use perfect tempus with major prolation, which allows for a lively rhythmic interplay between the voices.[149]

There are two works with only one section. Salve, thronus Trinitatis (Kras 9), is a simple three-voice setting in note against note counterpoint.[150] The first through third and seventh through ninth verses are primarily in semibreves (imperfect tempus with minor prolation), though there is a constant movement of minims in the contra-

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146. XIII, 44, and XIV, 222 - 225.

147. I doubt Perz's interpretation of m. 13 (Discant I) and m. 28 (Discant II) as triplets, since the semiminims are used normally elsewhere in the work. The lost lower voice(s) would have clarified this ambiguous passage.

148. XIII, 61, and XIV, 268 - 269.

149. The other compositions are Nicolaus de Radom, Gloria (Kras 31 = Wn378 14: Section I) and Antonio Zachara, Gloria: Anglicana (Wn378 9).

150. XIII, 51, and XIV, 243. Also transcribed in Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczna, 24.

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tenor. Verses four through six use a homorhythmic minim movement. The whole work uses mainly 5/3 sonorities. Bonus aprobatus (Kras 6) is in a completely different style.[151] Although the opening of the discant is missing, it is possible to see its relation to other works in these manuscripts. Perhaps even the opening was partially imitative among the three voices. The more complex rhythms (imperfect tempus with major prolation) and frequent 6/3 sonorities in Bonus aprobatus contrast with the simpler texture of Salve thronus.

Beneath Bonus aprobatus on f. 177r, copied in a slightly later hand, there is a short two-voice response, Dignum et iustum est ("it is right and just"), which occurs just before the Canon of the Mass.[152] In relation to the other works in these sources, this little addendum seems out of place with its frequent perfect fourths.[153] However, this little response could also be rare evidence of improvised polyphony sung beside the more elaborate polyphony for the Ordinary of the Mass contained in the two Polish sources.

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151. XIII, 45, and XIV, 226 - 227. The beginning of the contratenor is written twice, the first time incorrectly. The incorrect version was canceled and a remark added: "malus viciatus" ("a bad error"). It cannot be the beginning of a new strophe as proposed by H. Kowalewicz in Perz, Sources XIV 26, since there is no sectional division in the music as in the other strophic settings of Kras and Wn378.

152. The transcription in Example 43 differs in rhythmic detail from that in Perz, Sources XIV, 26. I believe that the groups of alternating semibreves and minims are a fingerprint of major prolation.

153. Perhaps the lower voice was meant to be sung an octave higher, thereby eliminating the unusual opening and close on perfect fourths. It is also possible to reconstruct a third voice, lower than the two written voices, which would eliminate the open fourths.

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Example 43: Dignum et iustum est, Kras f. 177r.
(Transcribed from Perz, Sources, XIII, 45.)

Breve regnum (Kras 11), for two voices, is the subject of some controversy.[154] The text of this composition refers to an old student tradition at the University of Kraków, when a "King" of students was elected for a week of festivities, during which all lectures are deserted.[155] The music for this text is clearly in two sections, each ending with a similar cadence. A problem arises because of the text, which consists of five strophes, each of four lines: 8 + 8 + 8 + 7 syllables, rhyming a-a-a-b. In the discant, strophe 1 is given in the first section, strophe 2 in the second section. The remaining text for strophes 3, 4 and 5 is copied between the staves of the tenor. The

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154. XIII, 54, and XIV, 249. Also transcribed in Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie, 7, and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczne, 58 - 59. See Perz, Sources XIV, 34, for references to further transcriptions.

155. This text is translated in Appendix X, 443. Concerning the traditions of the work see H. Kowalewicz, "Średniowieczna poezja polskich Żaków," Pamietnik Literacki LXIV/1 (1973) 197 - 202 and the edition on p. 207. This tradition finds its present day echo in the annual Spring festival of "Juvenalia," still celebrated in Kraków.

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problem is to determine with which music these three strophes should be sung.[156] Since both the first and second sections of the discant set strophes identical in line and syllable count, any of the remaining strophes could be set to either of the two sections. In many respects, the second section is a "shortened" version of the more elaborate first section. The melodies and counterpoint of both are similar: see, for example, the openings of the discant (mm. 1 - 2 and mm. 24 - 25) and the cadences at the end of each phrase (mm. 5 - 6 and 26 - 27, mm. 9 - 10 and 30 - 31, mm. 15 - 16 and 34 - 35, mm. 21 - 22 and 38 - 39). It is as if any strophe could be sung either to the first or second section. Though there cannot be a conclusive answer, one possible solution is that the first, third and fifth strophes were sung to the music of the first section, and the second and fourth strophes were sung to the music of the second section.

The most important work for localizing the origin of these two manuscripts is Cracovia civitas (Kras 1 = Wn378 17).[157] The long poem set in this composition was by the royal chancellor, Stanisław Ciołek, and combines an encomium of Kraków with references to the Polish royal family, especially to the short-lived Prince Kazimierz.[158] Because of

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156. For the scholars who have discussed this textual problem, see the bibliography in Perz, Sources XIV, 34 - 35.

157. XIII, 37 - 39, 82, and 156 - 159; XIV, 204 - 211. Also published in Muzyka w dawnym Krakowie, 1 - 6, and Musica Antiqua Polonica: Średniowieczna, 54 - 58. For further transcriptions, see Perz, Sources XIV, 17.

158. Gansiniec, "Lyrika Stanisława Ciołka," 158 - 164. The text is translated in Appendix X, 438 - 440. On the place of civic eulogies in Latin poetry, see E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 157 -

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this allusion, the work can be dated between May 16, 1426 and March 2, 1427. It was probably a companion piece to Nicolaus de Radom's setting of Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2), which also uses a lyric by Stanisław Ciołek, and was most likely performed at the young prince's christening on June 2, 1426.[159] The work is in four large sections: the first section uses imperfect tempus with major prolation; the second, perfect tempus with minor prolation; the third, imperfect tempus with major prolation; and the fourth, imperfect tempus with minor prolation. The copy of this work in Wn378 uses mensural signs, some known only in Central and East Central European sources: O|: , |:: , and |: .[160] The composition uses the same clefs as Hystorigraphi aciem and is in a very similar style. Possibly Cracovia civitas was also composed by Nicolaus de Radom, though if the references to Stanisław Ciołek as a "cantor" are to be trusted, perhaps Stanisław himself composed the music for his own text.[161]

Notation, Dating and Provenance

The notation in these two manuscripts is that common to many early fifteenth-century sources containing similar compositions. There are no special note-forms, but the entire range from longas to semimi-

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159. See above, 262 - 263, for a fuller discussion of the historical circumstances surrounding these compositions.

160. See above, Chapter Four, 171, 173 - 174, 177, 188 - 189, 220, 230.

161. See above, fn. 77.

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nims is used.[162] Coloration serves two purposes. One is its common mensural significance indicating a change of mensuration, normally to imperfect from perfect tempus and to minor from major prolation. This use is quite extensive in these manuscripts, even to the point that entire sections of a composition are notated in red or void note forms, for example in Cracovia civitas (Kras 1 = Wn378 17) or Nitor inclite (Kras 10). There is a variation within both manuscripts between void and red forms, probably reflecting the availability of red ink at different points during their preparation. The second use of coloration is for notating the second voice of a divided discant on a single staff. This occurs in Wn378 3, Wn378 7, Wn378 13 and the Credo by Nicola Zacharie in both sources, Kras 26 = Wn378 2.

There is little information available about the original form of the manuscripts. Since Wn378 can be studied only in a photographic copy, it is impossible to proceed with a detailed examination of its structure and the methods of its copyist. Kras was probably quite different from its present form. Probably the "b" fascicle (ff. 184r - 195v) was placed before the "a" fascicle (ff. 173r - 183v), since it seems likely that the corrected tenor for Cracovia civitas would be copied on a folio next to the composition so it could be sung. Also the present arrangement of ff. 196r - 200r is unusual. The Discant I for Ciconia's Gloria is on the recto of f. 197, which is contrary to the practice in this manuscript and what is common in other sources.

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162. The only exception is the appearance of in Caro mea (Kras 5), Discant I, second section.

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On examination, it appears that ff. 196 and 197 were cut and reglued in the manuscript. Fascicle "c" originally began as follows: ff. 197v, 197r, 196v, 196r, and 198r - 205v.

As noted above, the poems and polyphonic settings for Cracovia civitas (Kras 1 = Wn378 17) and Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2) date from the period between 1426 and 1427. The poem Nitor inclite claredinis (Kras 10) and its monophonic setting can be dated from before 1425, when one of its texts was revised for the birth of King Władysław Jagiełło's first son, Prince Władysław. These topical lyrics along with the references in Breve regnum (Kras 11) and Pastor gregis egregius (Kras 18) establish that the two manuscripts were prepared in Kraków, since they are copied along with other compositions by Nicolaus de Radom throughout both sources, placed among the works of foreign provenance. Wn378 also contained annotations written in Polish by a fifteenth-century hand. Many of these are attributions, such as "slowye mycolayowo radomskiego" (= "a work of Nicolaus de Radom") or even performance indications, such as "Amen Trzymay dobrze" (= "Amen, hold well").[163] Perz states that some elements of these annotations are related to a dialect used in Wielkopolska, and that this may indicate something concerning the provenance of the source.[164] However, many officials at the Kraków court and university students were from this region in the northwest of Poland, and it is also possible that such a

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163. These annotations, which also included miscellaneous verses from a Polish love song, are transcribed in Perz, Sources XIII, xxviii - xxix.

164. Perz, Sources XIII, xxvii, and Perz, "Einflüsse," 479.

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person would have retained his native dialect, even in the Polish royal city.[165] Using these lyrics and other circumstantial evidence -- including watermarks and the approximate date for the common use of white mensural notation in Poland -- Perz proposed that a date about 1440 is most likely for both sources.[166]

The paper in Kras is of Italian origin, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century; Perz seems to postulate a delay of one to two decades between its manufacture and arrival in Poland. While this is a commonly applied caution, in the early fifteenth century Poles frequently traveled to Italy either on ecclesiastical business, for study, or for trade.[167] In addition, Italian banking firms had offices in Kraków. Given this close intellectual and commercial contact, it is also possible that paper might have been directly imported from the Italian mills, thereby lessening any delay in its use.

Another criterion that should be reconsidered relates to the two dated poems concerning Prince Kazimierz. Not only do these poems refer to a certain short-lived Polish royal scion, but both also refer to the

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165. See the listing of chancellery officials in Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Dokumenty Krolewskie, 194 - 272. Concerning students from Wielkopolska at the University of Kraków, see J. Krzyżaniakowa, "Wielkopolanie na Uniwersytecie Krakowskim w pierwszej połowie XV wieku," Munera Poznaniensia: Księga pamiatkowa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu dla uczczenia 600-lecia założenia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (Poznań: Drukarnia Uniw. im. A. Mickiewicza, 1965) 59 - 109.

166. Perz, Sources XIII, xxiii and xxvii. Perz, "Einflüsse," 470 and 475, had earlier suggested a date of 1420 - 1430 for Kras and circa 1430 - 1440 for Wn378, an opinion repeated in "Sources, MS, IX, 14. Polish Manuscripts," The New Grove, 17, 687.

167. Concerning the whole issue of relations between Poland and the West, see above, Chapter One.

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Polish king, Władysław Jagiełło and his last wife, Queen Zofia. Jagiełło died in 1434 and was succeeded by his first son, Prince Władysław. In 1440 (the proposed date for these two manuscripts), these two poems would have been out of date by six years following the death of Jagiełło, and about twelve to fourteen years too old because of the references to the ill-fated prince.

Also by 1440 the repertoire and notation of the manuscripts would have been old-fashioned. From periods before and after the first quarter of the fifteenth century, it can be demonstrated that music and notational styles from Western Europe were soon present in East Central Europe.[168] It is my opinion that music of the post-Ciconia generation and white mensural notation were also quickly known in East Central Europe, especially at a royal court such as that in Kraków, though unfortunately there is, as yet, no direct evidence.

I suggest that an equally tenable period for the preparation of these manuscripts is between 1425, the probable date of Nitor inclite claredinis, and 1434, when the dated works would have lost their direct meaning upon the death of King Władysław Jagiełło.

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168. M. Perz supposes that PL-Kór 801 is the earliest preserved source with white mensural notation from Poland, dated about 1450. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxix - xxx. However, I believe that the newly discovered fragment from Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 8, dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. See below, Chapter Six, 361 - 362, and Appendix XIX, 542.

Concerning the late thirteenth-century fragments of Notre Dame polyphony from the convent at Stary Sącz, see above, Chapter Three, 106 - 117. Among the most important later sources are a group of fragments from about 1500 containing Dufay's Missa Ave Regina Celorum and Josquin's Missa L'homme armé sexti toni, at present in Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Archiwium Chybińskiego (manuscript fragments without signature). Perz is presently preparing a critical study of this source.

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Contrary to accepted opinion, I would propose that Wn378 is probably the slightly earlier source.[169] Of the ascribed works in this manuscript, four are by Antonio Zachara, one by Nicola Zacharie, four by Ciconia and three by Nicolaus de Radom. The works of Zacharias and Ciconia would have been the oldest, and those of Nicolaus de Radom, who probably was composing about 1427, the youngest. The copy of Cracovia civitas in Wn378 possibly was added as an addendum at the end of the manuscript. In contrast, Kras adds to this older repertoire compositions in a newer style, Nicolaus de Radom's Magnificat and the Kyrie and Gloria by Grossin.

This proposed dating also affects the question concerning the origin of fauxbourdon as practiced by Dufay and his contemporaries. Besseler's hypothesis was that the earliest composition to use this technique was Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi, written about 1427, and its earliest source was the Bologna manuscript, copied about 1430.[170] However, not only is it likely that Grossin's Kyrie in this new style was transmitted to Poland before 1434, but a native Pole, Nicolaus de

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169. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxvii, and Perz, "Die Einflüsse," 475. Perz notes that Wn378 contains fewer errors than Kras and was probably copied from a better exemplar. In a few cases, Reaney, in his critical notes to Compositions 6, intimates that Wn378 was based on manuscripts close to known Italian sources and that Kras was based on Wn378. See, for example, Compositions 6, xxix.

170. See B. Trowell, "Fauxbourdon," The New Grove, 6, 435. Concerning the Bologna manuscript, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 15 (olim 37), see "Sources, MS, IX, 2," The New Grove, 17, 675. For an edition of the Missa Sancti Jacobi, see G. Dufay, Opera Omnia, ed. H. Besseler, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae I, 6 vols. (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1960) 2, 17 - 44; the Communio, Vos qui secuti, the only section to use fauxbourdon is printed on p. 44. Besseler discusses the dating of this work on p. VI of this volume.

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Radom, had in fact assimilated the new technique and composed his Magnificat using fauxbourdon, probably before 1430. Therefore, it seems likely that the origin of fauxbourdon as used in the works of Dufay, Grossin, Nicolaus de Radom, and their contempories should be sought in the period before 1427.

The importance of these two sources from Poland should not be underestimated. The compositions they preserve, including many unica, are valuable documents for our understanding of this early fifteenth-century repertoire. Equally significant is their meaning for the cultural history of East Central Europe, since the style and notation of the music graphically demonstrates the close ties that must have existed between Poland and the West.

Towards a Definition of Popular Polyphony

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the polyphonic compositions of Philippe de Vitry, Guillame de Machaut, Johannes Ciconia, Nicolaus de Radom, Guillame Dufay, and Johannes Ockeghem -- to select only a few well-known names -- were the products of an elitist society, whether courtly or ecclesiastical. About 1300, Johannes de Grocheio had written an important social description of the motet.[171]

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171. The translation is adapted from Johannes de Grocheo, On Music, tr. A. Seay, Colorado Music Translations 1, 2nd edition (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1974) 26. The Latin text for this passage follows, taken from the critical edition by E. Rohloff, Die Musiktraktaten des Johannes de Grocheio (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, [1967]) 144, ll. 23 - 26: "Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari, eo quod eius subtilitatem non [anim]advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur, sed coram litteratis et illis, qui subtilitates artium sunt

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> This kind of song ought not to be propagated among the common people, since they do not understand its subtlety nor do they delight in hearing it, but it should be performed for the learned and those who seek after the subtleties of the arts.

With few exceptions, the number of sources which preserve works by composers such as those named above is rather small. For example, Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi survives only in the Bologna manuscript Q 15, and some works of Ockeghem exist only in Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigi Codex C VIII.234.[172] Even taking into account the incidents of wanton destruction which have occurred throughout history, the initial number of these precious sources must have been small.

But, coexistent with this late medieval / early Renaissance "art music," there was a second repertoire, whose importance has long been overlooked in the musical histories of this period. When this second repertoire is mentioned at all, the connotation of the adjectives used to describe it often reflect an author's otherwise unexpressed prejudice: "retrospective," "peripheral," "simple," "archaic," "primitive," especially when referring to the style of the polyphonic compositions. While the use of these words can be justified whenever this second repertoire is compared with the contemporary art music, there is at least one more adjective that can aptly describe this music: "popular."

The use of the word popular in this context may appear unusual,

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quaetentes."

172. For the sources of Dufay's Missa Sancti Jacobi, see G. Dufay, Opera Omnia, II, vi. Concerning the sources for the sacred works of J. Ockeghem, see the Opera Omnia, ed. D. Plamenac, 2 vols. (New York: Galaxy Music Corp., 1959 & 1966). Ockegham's Missa "Ma maistresse", Missa "Fors seulement", Missa sine nomine (#14) and Requiem are preserved only in the Chigi manuscript.

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but is not without precedent. J. Stevens and Bukofzer have also used this term to describe a similar repertoire found in English sources from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[173] Stevens has clearly described his use of this term in his chapter on "Popular Songs."[174]

> The word "popular", in relation to art, is a difficult one. It can be used to mean "made by they people" -- that is, popular in origin -- or "made for the people" -- that is, adapted to their tastes, popular in aim. Or it can be simply a synonym for "well-known" or "well-liked." In this chapter I shall use the term "popular music" in a combination of the second and third senses, to mean "music composed or adapted to meet the people's taste and current amongst them."

This study will attempt to justify the application of the term popular, in the senses adopted by Stevens, to an extensive Central and East Central European repertoire of monophonic and polyphonic compositions. The focus will be on the style and sources for two fifteenth-century settings of the Credo. These two works, typical of the popular repertoire, can be shown to have had "general currency," and were "easy to understand."[175]

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173. See J. Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, second corrected edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), especially pp. 40 - 57; and M. Bukofzer, "Popular and Secular Music in England (to c. 1470)," Ars Nova and the Renaissance 1300 - 1540, The New Oxford History of Music III, ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960) 106 - 133.

174. Stevens, Music and Poetry, 41. At the end of the following quote, Stevens adds this useful distinction: "'People' in the present context means 'the nation at large', not merely 'the court circle'."

175. The words in quotations are from the definition of "popular" in Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, MA: G. &

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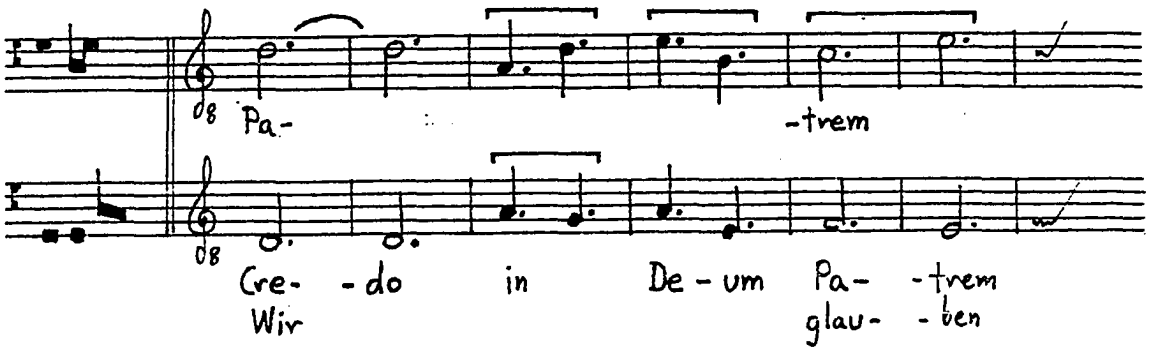
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I Q 466 (PL-WRu 466), was written by Nicolaus de Cosel between about 1416 and 1421, and is probably the earliest source for the two-voice Credo / Wir glauben it contains (ff.25v - 27v) [Ex. 44].[176]

Example 44: Incipit from the two-voice Credo / Wir glauben, PL-WRu 466, ff. 25v - 27v.



Nicolaus had been a Franciscan monk in Časlav, Bohemia. When he traveled to Silesia during the Hussite revolution, he probably brought this manuscript collectio with him. In addition to the two polyphonic works (besides the Credo / Wir glauben, there is a polyphonic gospel reading), the manuscript contains sermons, letters, treatises (including one musical treatise on chant theory) and also Latin and Czech verse.[177]

C. Merriam Co., 1969) 660 - 661.

176. RISM B IV^4 1161 - 1162. The German text used to distinguish this Credo will be explained below.

177. For the career of Nicolaus de Cosel, a study of this manuscript, and an edition of the Latin poems, see J. Klapper, "Nikolaus von Kossel: Oberschlesische Kultur am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts,"

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It is unlikely that this manuscript was ever used for performance. The two parts of the Credo / Wir glauben are written one after the other, with the beginning of the discant separated from the beginning of the tenor by a full folio.[178] Whereas the tenor melody is the same in each of the five sections, the discant uses the same music for the first, third and fifth sections, and a variant of that music for the second and third sections. The tenor was initially set with a Latin paraphrase of the liturgical text, and is followed by a second "verse" copied in the space at the end of the tenor part. At some later stage, perhaps in Silesia, perhaps still in Bohemia, a German paraphrase was added above the Latin text in the tenor. Later, this German text, Wir glauben in eynen Got, and this tenor tune became the standard Lutheran setting of the Credo.[179]

Mitteilungen des Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 36 (1939) 1 - 106. For an edition of the musical treatise, see R. Mužíková, "Hudebne teoretický traktát Mikuláse z Kozlí," Miscellanea musicologica XIII (Praha: 1960) 5 - 26. The Franciscans were also prominent in the development of the popular repertoire in England; see Bukofzer, "Popular and Secular Music," 117 - 119.

178. The full Credo / Wir glauben in eynen Got is transcribed in Appendix XI, 445 - 457.

179. See for example the settings by Arnoldus de Bruck (#XXVIII not "33" as in the index), Stephanus Mahn (#XXXIX), Baltasar Resinarius (#XL & #XLI) and Virgilius Hanck (#XLII) published in Georg Rhau, Neue deutsche geistliche Gesänge (Wittemberg: Georg Rhau, 1544; facsimile edition ed. L. Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969); by Hans Leo Hassler, Kirchengesang (1608), ed. R. von Saalfeld, BA 129 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968) 41 - 42; Heinrich Schütz, Kleine geistliche Konzerte, Book I (1936), ed. H. Hoffman, BA 1703 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) 12 - 18; Samuel Scheidt, Das Görlitzer Tabulaturbuch aus dem Jahre 1650, ed. F. Dietrich, BA 1565 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965) 36 - 37; Johann Rudolph Ahles, Neu-gepflantzter Thuringischer Lust-Garten (1657), ed. J. Wolf, Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst 5 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901) 121 - 131; and those by J.S. Bach, BWV 437, 680, 681, and 765.

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This combination of a repeating tenor with a varying discant is related to the so-called Engelberg motet style.[180] It is possible to see the distant antecedents to this method of composition in motets from the mid-thirteenth century. But the simple counterpoint (mostly parallel fifths and octaves) and rhythm in the motets from the Engelberg manuscript and other works in this style from the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mark a significant departure from the development of the motet as seen in the works of Philippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Machaut, and Guillaume Dufay.

There are at present fifteen sources known for the Credo / Wir glauben [Table 10].[181]

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180. Concerning the Engelberg motet style, see F. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmigen Werke der Handschrift Engelberg 314," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 21 (1908) 48 - 61, and also J. Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 3 (1928) 65 - 84, especially 81 - 84 on the motets, and the selected motet transcriptions in the "Notenbeilage," 14 - 18..

181. For ease of reference, Table 10 uses the inventory numbers from RISM where available. I have consulted #1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15 of this table. It should be noted the CS-HK II A 15 5 - 7 are three sections of one composition, not three separate pieces as catalogued in RISM.

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TABLE 10

SOURCES FOR THE TWO-VOICE CREDO / WIR GLAUBEN IN EYNEN GOT IN PL-WRu 466

1. PL-WRu 466 2, c.1420
2. CS-Pnm II.C.7 10, mid 15th cent.
3. D-Bs 100 9, early 15th cent.
4. A-Wn 5094 9, 15th cent.
5. CS-Pnm XII.A.1 3, 1473
6. A-Wn 15501 2, late 15th/ early 16th cent.
7. CS-HK II A 7 fol. d16b, c.1500
8. CS-Pnm XIII.A.2 2, 1522
9. CS-CH 6, 1530 - 1549
10. CS-KL 403 13, 1537
11. D-Zr 119 4, early 16th cent.
12. CS-Pu XVII B 20 6, 1557-1570
13. CS-HK II A 8 12, 1564
14. CS-HK II A 13b 10, 1585-1604
15. CS-HK II A 15 5-7, 16th cent.

The chronology of these manuscripts is rather long, extending from the early fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. Most of these sources were copied for the use of the "Literati" or Literary Brethren in Bohemia.[182] These lay societies often formed choirs, at times including as members the most prominent merchants and burghers of a town. In many of the later sources, a Czech paraphrase has been substituted for the Latin liturgical text, and the number of repetitions of the tenor and discant has been reduced.[183] The original notation is often changed from primarily breves and semibreves to mostly semibreves and minims, and frequently the prolation has been changed

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182. For a short essay on the Literary Brethren from Hradec Králové, see J. Mikan, "Literary groups in Hradec Králové," Pearls of Old Parchments: Musical Manuscripts of East Bohemia (Hradec Králové: Regional Museum, 1967) 12 - 23. K. Konrád, Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského od XV. věku do zrušeni Literátských Bratrstev I: XV. věk a dějiny Literátských Bratrstev (Praha: Nákladem Dedictví sv. Prokupa, 1893) 111 - 113, gives references to "literati" from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. See also the article, "Literatska bratrstva," Československy Hudebni Slovnik (Praha: Statní Hudebni Osob a Instituci Vydavatelstvi, 1963) 837 - 838.

183. See, for example, #12, 13 and 14 in Table 10.

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from major to minor. It should be noted that one Latin version of this Credo / Wir glauben, which was to have such meaning for the Reformation, was copied in the so-called "Jistebnický Cantional" (ČS-Pnm II C 7), a manuscript of songs and chant, mostly in old Czech, which is the most significant document of Hussite liturgical practice.[184]

If number of surviving sources is any indication of a work's popularity, the second Credo was more admired than the first [Ex. 45].[185]

Example 45: Incipit from the two-voice Credo (II). Praha, Státní ustřední archív, K Vš. 376 (ČS-Pst 376).

184. As yet, no full musical study of this source has appeared. The texts are examined in J. Hrabák, "Jistebnický kancionál," Dějiny ceske literatury I: Starší česká literatura, ed. J. Hrabák et al. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1959) 238 - 251. See the references in each volume of Z. Nejedlý, Dějiny husitského zpěvu, 6 vols. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1954 - 1956), including selected transcriptions. See also RISM B IV^3 210 - 212 for a listing of the polyphonic contents of this source.

185. Hereafter this will be referred to as Credo (II). This work is transcribed in Appendix XII, 458 - 462.

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This composition is found in at least thirty-four manuscripts from the fifteenth through early seventeenth centuries [Table 11].

TABLE 11

SOURCES FOR THE TWO-VOICE CREDO (II)

1. CS-Pst 376 4, mid 15th cent.
2. H-Bn 534 3, mid 15th cent.
3. D-TR 322 7, mid 15th cent.
4. A-Wn 5094 12, mid 15th cent.
5. CS-Pnm XII A 2 1, mid 15th cent.
6. CS-Pnm XII A 23 1, 1527
7. CS-Pnm XII A 1 2, 1473
8. CS-JH 3, late 15th cent.
9. CS-HK 6351 1, late 15th cent.
10. CS-Pu XII A 21, ff.214v-215r, late 15th cent.
11. A-Wn 15501 1, late 15th/early 16th cent.
12. CS-Pu XIII A 5 1, late 15th/early 16th cent.
13. CS-HK II A 6 8, 1505
14. CS-Pnm XIII A 2 1, 1512
15. CS-Pnm XII F 14 1, mid 15th cent.
16. CS-CH, ff.236v-38v, 1530-1549
17. CS-KL 403 12, 1537
18. CS-TRCH 134 10, 1559
19. CS-TEA 2, 1560
20. CS-L 8, 1561-63
21. CS-HK II A 8 9, 1564
22. CS-Pu VII A 39 8, 1574
23. CS-ROU A 5, 1591
24. CS-UO 5, 1592
25. CS-HK II A 13b 9, 1585-1604
26. CS-HK 8553 4, mid 16th cent.
27. CS-Pnm V B 5 7, mid 16th cent.
28. CS-S 3 1, mid 16th cent.
29. CS-Pu XVII B 19 4, late 16th cent.
30. CS-RA 2, late 16th cent.
31. CS-RY 6, late 16th cent.
32. CS-HK II A 15 4, 16th cent.
33. CS-Pu VI B 24, ff.39v-40r, 16th cent.
34. CS-S 4 2, 16th cent.

Its simple form and counterpoint (again, mostly parallel fifths and octaves) probably led to the large number of variants in the sources I was able to examine.[186] The composition is built from four

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186. I have been able to examine manuscripts #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 24, 30 and 31. A different version (related to that in Ex. 48), has been published in B. Rajeczky, "Többszólamú zenénk emlékei a 15. sz. első feléből," in B. Rajeczky, Írásai (Budapest: ZenemUkiadó, 1976) 178 - 180, based on H-Bn 534 and D-TR 322. The Trier version is transcribed in R. Ewerhardt, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle (Köln, 1953) 67 - 68. An excerpt is transcribed and only three sources discussed in K. von Fischer, "Ältere und jüngere Stilelemente in der böhmischen Musik des 14.

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sections that are repeated or intermixed to create a whole. But each source has a different series of sections (especially after the first nine, which are the same in a majority of the manuscripts). Sometimes the entire liturgical text is set, sometimes only part. The following selection will provide some idea of these variants [Table 12].

TABLE 12

SELECTED VARIANTS IN THE FORMAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE CREDO (II)

ČS-Pnm XII A 1:	A-B-B-C-A-B-D-C- A-B-B-C'-B-A-D-A-A.
ČS-HK II A 8:	A-B-B-C-A-B-D-C- A-B-B-A.
ČS-HK 8553:	A-B-B-C-A-B-D-C- A.
ČS-Pu XIII A 5:	A-B-B-C-A-B-D-C- B-A-B-D -B-C-D.
ČS-Pu VI B 24:	A-B-B-C-A-B-D-D- A.

Even if the exact sequence of sections is followed in more than one source, they may still have different text settings.

Beyond this variation in form, there appear to be three significant melodic variants. The first, found mostly in fifteenth-century manuscripts, eliminates a problem of musica ficta, i.e., the tritone, by contrary motion [Ex. 46].

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bis 16. Jahrhunderts," De musica disputationes Pragenses II (Praha, 1974) 17 - 18.

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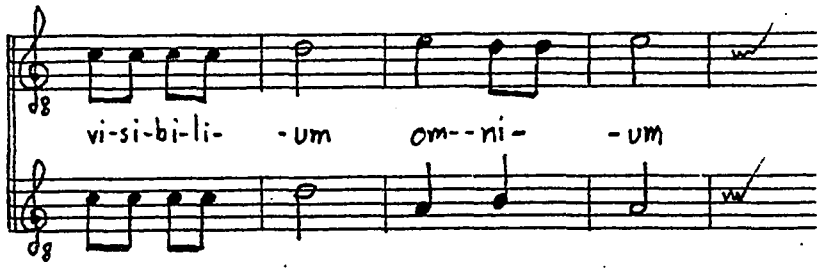
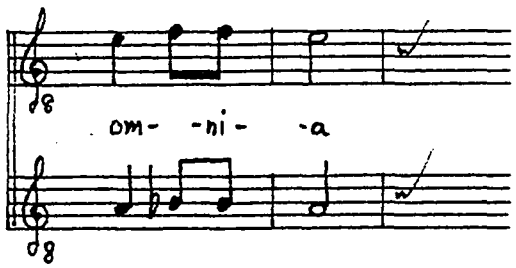
Example 46: Excerpt from the two-voice Credo (II), ČS-Pst 376



The second variant, which occurs in the majority of sources, notates this short phrase in parallel motion [Ex. 47].

Example 47: Excerpt from the two-voice Credo (II), ČS-CH



Only in ČS-CH, of the sources examined, is there a B-flat written to correct the tritone. The third variant (actually a group of similar variants), which exists in a few manuscripts, consists of a slightly different opening [Ex. 48].[187]

187. See also the transcriptions by Rajeczky and Ewerhardt cited in fn. 186 above.

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Example 48: Excerpt from the two-voice Credo (II). ČS-HK II A 6

The simple counterpoint and repetitive forms of these two Credos are characteristic of the entire repertoire of popular polyphony. Approximately sixty sources from the late fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries preserve works in this style.[188] The notation of these manuscripts was also subject to a strong tradition. Even in the late fifteenth century, when white mensural notation was common throughout Europe, the popular compositions were, with few exceptions, still copied in black mensural notation. In a manuscript such as ČS-HK II A 7 (Specialník), probably compiled for a group of "Literati," the traditional pieces in black notation are found next to compositions by Agricola, Isaac and Josquin in white notation; works in both styles are listed together in the original index on pp. 606 - 608 of the manuscript. This intermixture of simple and complex polyphony also occurs in the earlier Emmeram manuscript, an

188. All of the manuscripts that contain works of "Popular Polyphony" are listed in the Manuscript section of the Bibliography. They have been signaled by using an asterisk after the manuscript abbreviation.

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important source for music of Dufay and his contemporaries.[189] It seems that the choirs who sang this music wished to sing the new art music in the modern, white notation, but sang the old, popular songs in the older, traditional black notation.[190]

In Central and East Central Europe, this music was one way that the laity could participate in the religious service as members of the "Literati" choirs. It was easy to learn, and also simple to adapt and imitate. In some sources from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there are works that must have been composed by members of the "Literati." A few of these new compositions even use harmonies based on parallel sixths, in imitation of Western European models, rather than the traditional parallel fifths and octaves.[191]

Certainly, this music seems simple when compared to the complex counterpoint, puzzle canons and intricate harmonies of Renaissance art music. But it was those diametrically opposite elements of sim-

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189. See Dézes, "Der Mensuralcodex ... Sancti Emmerami," 79 - 99, and Rumbold, "Compilation," especially 182 - 191 where the different scribes are discussed.

190. An interesting example of this is the illumination by Matous Radous in ČS-HK II A 13b, f. 256v. This pictures the literati of Hradec Králové around an open choirbook opened to Jiří Rychnovský's four-voice motet, Decantent populus laudem, in white notation. It is the only composition in white notation in the entire two-volume gradual; the majority of its contents, monophonic and polyphonic, use black notation. A black and white facsimile of this picture is published as plate 67 in T. Volek and S. Jares, Dějiny české hudby v obrazech (Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1977). Rychnovský's composition has been transcribed in J. Snížková, Česká polyfonni tvorba (Praha, 1958) [this work has been unavailable to me].

191. See, for example, the two-voice cantilena, Salve mater gracie, from ČS-HK II A 7, pp. 456 - 457, written in black notation. This work is transcribed in Appendix XIII, 463 - 467. This composition is also found in ČS-HK II A 6, ff. 314v - 315r, and ČS-Pu VI B 24, ff. 152v - 154r.

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plicity in harmony, counterpoint and form that made this music well-known throughout Central and East Central Europe, and therefore popular.

Three Sources of Popular Polyphony from Poland and Silesia

The manuscripts containing popular polyphony form a web of interrelationships which encompasses all of Central and East Central Europe. Excepting the works contained in Ak1955, Pu2, Kras and Wn378, the majority of compositions in early fifteenth-century manuscripts from Poland and Silesia are part of this trans-national repertoire.

Often many concordances are found in sources from the Kingdom of Bohemia, where the popular repertoire remained a vital part of that country's musical culture even in the early seventeenth century. Three sources of Polish and Silesian provenance from the early-fifteenth century -- Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.Q.132 (PL-WRu 132); Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.269 (PL-WRu 269); and Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. Lat. Q.I.201 (PL-Wn 201) -- provide ample evidence of the direct musical connections between Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary.[192]

There are few polyphonic compositions in these three sources from Wrocław and Warszawa since they were never meant to be primarily music manuscripts. The two musical leaves from WRu 269 were used in

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192. A fourth source, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2464 (Kj 2464), and two recently discovered fragments from the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, will be the subject of a separate examination in Chapter Six.

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the fifteenth century to bind a late fourteenth century manuscript of Bible texts, theological works and sermons.[193] Manuscripts WRu 132 and Wn 201 are collectiones, that is, miscellaneous collections of texts and notes compiled by a monk or clerk for his own use.[194]

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.Q.132 (WRu 132)

The earliest of these three sources seems to be WRu 132. This manuscript was compiled about 1423 by Nicolaus Menczel (Menzel), who was also known as "Magister de Reychenbach," from the monastery of the Augustinian Canons at Zielona Góra.[195] The musical works are a monophonic Cum animadverteram quod demo in mensa, a three-voice rotulum (canon) Ave virgo sanctissma, and a two-voice cantilena Serena mente iubilo.[196]

In a recent inventory, Cum animadverteram (f.1r) was catalogued as a work for three voices.[197] The three musical sections notated on folio 1r are each separated by a double bar, and the texts of each section begin with a large initial letter. However, Feldmann had already published a correct monophonic transcription in 1938 and

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193. See RISM B IV^4 1157.

194. Concerning collectiones, see R. Hunt, "The Collections of a Monk of Bardney: A Dismembered Rawlinson Manuscript," Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5 (1961) 30.

195. See Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, 92, fn. 266 and 128 - 129. This "cognominatum" occurs on f. 1v of the manuscript.

196. See RISM B IV^4 1156 - 1157.

197. RISM B IV^4 1156.

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correctly related this work to other late-medieval cantilene or cantiones.[198]

The text on Saint Katherine, Ave virgo sanctissima, was twice used for polyphonic works, once in the rotulum from the Wrocław source (ff.1v-2r) and for a two-voice cantilena in PL-Kj 2464.[199] The only indication that the rotulum was meant for polyphonic performance is the short cue on folio 2r to the opening text and music. When all three parts are sung concurrently, the resulting harmonies are about equally divided between full triads and 6/3 sonorities.

Until recently the two-voice Serena mente iubilo was known only from this Silesian manuscript (ff.2v-3r).[200] The composition is written in a typical form for the cantilena repertoire, which consists of two sections, the first sets the verses and the second is called repeticio, that is, a refrain. In the Wrocław source this refrain is in German. The newly discovered source from Český Krumlov, Státní Archiv, kaplanské knihovny, rkp. c.179 (back binding), is also for two voices, but is entirely in Latin.[201] The notation of the Český Krumlov source is clearer and more accurate than that of Nicolaus Menczel.

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198. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, 92.

199. The version of the Wrocław rotulum is transcribed in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 13.

200. Transcribed in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 11 - 12.

201. Concerning this new source, see the full description, transcriptions and facsimiles in M. Horyna, "Hudba a hudební život v Českem Krumlove v 15. a 16. stoleti," (Diplomová práce; filosofická fakulta University Karlovy: Katedra hudební, divadelní a filmové vědy, 1980) 23 - 29, 152 - 153, and Appendix (facsimiles and transcriptions).

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Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.269 (WRu 269)

Probably dating from the same period as WRu 132, the two binding fragments, WRu 269, contain five polyphonic works, two unfortunately incomplete.[202]

Two compositions set Office texts: Tamquam sponsus, Dominus de thalamo suo from Christmas matins (Ir) and Constantes estote videbitis auxilium domini super vos, the verse from the respond at Christmas vespers, Judea et Jerusalem (IIr = 169r). In the three-voice Tamquam sponsus, each of the two sections begins in a pseudo-organal style with open fifths.[203] Both sections end with a long cauda; in the second section the notation implies major prolation (groups of semibreve-minim) and includes more 6/3 sonorities. The four-voice Constantes estote is more syllabic than Tamquam sponsus.[204] Each word is set as a separate section, separated by double lines from the next word. Of the six cadences, only one (that on "domini") omits the third of the triad. The first two cadences are unusual, in that the third is placed between the two lowest sounding voices. The notation of Constantes estote implies major prolation because of the semibreve-minim pairings and the use of void notation to indicate coloration at two points in the uppermost voice.

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202. RISM B IV^4 1157 - 1158. See also Feldman, Musik und Musikpflege, 127 - 128.

203. Transcribed in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 15.

204. Transcribed in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 16.

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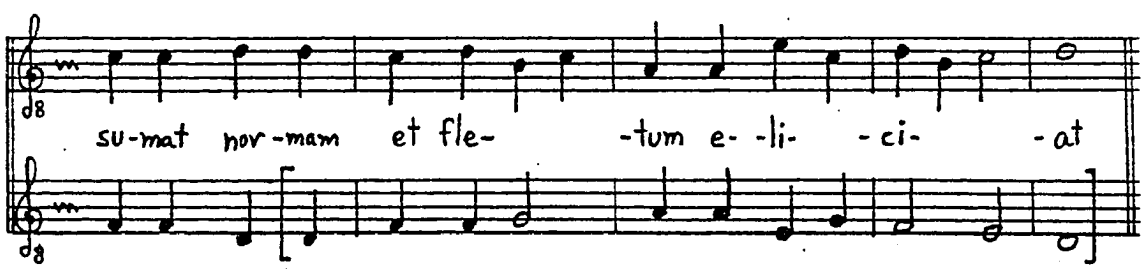
[O]mnisa grata neumata (f.IIv=169v) is a work for two voices.[205] The upper voice is notated first in two sections with Latin text, and then with the music of the first section with a free German paraphrase of the Latin. The music for the two sections is, with minor variants and the repetition of one measure, identical. The tenor is missing its last line, which was copied on another folio, but because the music for the first section is complete, it is possible to reconstruct the last few measures [Ex. 49]. Except for the greater use of the interval of the sixth, this work is very similar in style and form to the Credo / Wir glauben copied by Nicolaus de Cosel (WRu 466 25v - 27v).

Example 49: Ending of [O]mnisa grata, PL-WRu 269, f. IIv = 169v. (After the transcription in Feldman, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 14.)



The texts for the last two polyphonic works in this source both begin with an acrostic spelling PETRUS. One work, Predulcis eurus turbinis rigore ventilante, unfortunately incomplete in this source

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205. Transcribed in Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege, "Notenbeilage," 13 - 14. In Feldmann, the incipit reads "[G]avisa grata," and in RISM B IV^4 1158 as "[Omnis] a(?) grata."

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(f.Iv), has been attributed on the basis of this acrostic and other stylistic features to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.[206] It is found complete in three later manuscripts of Bohemian provenance, and is a simple two-voice cantilena in two sections, the second being the repeticio.[207]

The final work in this source is listed in RISM as probably being a single voice of a polyphonic composition.[208] Promitat eterno trini regi ve superno (ff.Ir and IIr) is in fact a three-voice rotulum. As in Ave virgo sanctissima, there is a short cue at the end of the notated part to the opening text and music. In addition, the notator of the Wrocław manuscript has inserted a sign at the points where each new voice should enter (⁘). The work is similar to another rotulum attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi, Presulem ephebeatum, which is copied as a rotulum in most early sources, but was later notated as a four-voice motet.[209] In all probability, Promitat eterno should be included among the works attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi.[210]

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206. See J. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz - neznámý skladatel doby Dufayovy v českých pramenech," Hudební věda XII (1975) 201 and 224.

207. A transcription by J. Černý of all works attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi will be published shortly by Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne. For complete manuscript references, see Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 224.

208. RISM B IV^4 1157.

209. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 229.

210. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 201, recognized that this might be by Petrus but did not include in in the catalogue of works. See Example 50, p. 331, for a complete transcription. See Appendix XIV, 468, for a translation of the text for this composition.

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Example 50: Promitat eterno, Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (?), PL-WRu 269, ff. Ir and IIr.

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Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. Lat. Q.I.201 (Wn 201)

The two-voice Sanctus-Agnus pair from PL-Wn 201 (ff. 56r - 57r) was probably copied in the early fifteenth century.[211] This source is now lost, but, according to Jachimecki, these were the only polyphonic compositions in the whole manuscript.[212] They can, however, be treated as one work since the same music is used for both. It is copied in score using breves, semibreves and minims. The basic compositional technique used is voice exchange. There are two simple melodic lines which can be simultaneously combined and these are constantly interchanged between the discantus and tenor.

A concordance for this work occurs in the so-called Jistebnický Cantional (CS-Pnm II C 7, pp. 241 - 242).[213] This source contains only the Sanctus copied in monophonic chant notation. A comparison, however, with some contemporary sources indicates that even though written as a single voice, it probably was meant to be sung polyphonically.

A similar Sanctus-Agnus pair was very popular in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and occurs in a number of sources from Central and East Central Europe, including two Polish manuscripts from about 1500. In these Polish sources, both voices are written

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211. Perz, Sources: XIII, 188 - 189 (facsimile) and XIV, 483 (transcription). See also RISM B IV^4 1153 - 1154. The compositions are examined and transcribed in M. Perz, "Organalne Sanctus-Agnus z zaginionego rekopisu Lat. Q.I.201," Muzyka 150/3 (1970) 20 - 34.

212. Z. Jachimecki, "Zabytki muzyki polskiej w Bibliotece Carskiej w Petersburga," Sprawozdanie Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 15/6 (Kraków, 1910) 5 - 6.

213. For references to this manuscript, see above, fn. 186.

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separately and labeled either prima vox and secunda vox, or discantus and tenor.[214] In most earlier sources, this same composition is notated as monophony.[215] An important clue to the polyphonic character of these pieces is given in one Bohemian manuscript from the mid fifteenth century. On folio 4r of CS-Pst 376 there is a monophonic version of this Sanctus-Agnus pair, but the rubrics indicate that it is a rotula ("round") and the entries are haphazardly marked primus and secundus.[216] It seems probable that these seemingly monophonic works were conventionally performed as polyphony.

The works in these three Polish and Silesian sources are strong evidence that music did not respect normal national borders. The compositions they contain in the popular style are also found in many sources from Bohemia, Hungary, Germany, and Poland and are evidence of a cultural bond between these kingdoms which could not be affected by political boundaries. In addition, the compositions in these manuscripts demonstrate the depth of influence that the ars nova notandi had on composers in Poland and Silesia. Though the notation and musical styles of the ars nova may have been incompletely understood by some of the composers in East Central Europe, they created

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214. See Perz, Sources: PL-TM, XIII, 194 - 196 (facsimile) and XIV, 484 - 485 (transcription); PL-TM 2015, XIII, 200 (facsimile).

215. See the references in Perz, Sources XIV, 171.

216. See RISM B IV^3 235 - 238, an incomplete inventory of this source. Corrections to this inventory are given in the entry for this source in the Bibliography: Manuscripts, below.

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from its precepts a vital and long-lived repertoire of monophonic and polyphonic compositions in a popular style.

Conclusions

The influence of the ars nova notandi can be clearly seen in these sources from Polish and Silesian archives. It is possible to trace the development of this influence from the importation of western manuscripts and compositions to the adept (or not so adept) use of the new notational principles by local composers. Though the variation in musical style in these sources is particularly wide, from the elegant compositions performed in an Augustinian cloister or at the royal court in Kraków to the simpler works composed and sung by the university students and friars, the notation of the music in each manuscript was still based on the principles of the ars nova.

The Church was perhaps the greatest cultural force during the Middle Ages, but its influence was primarily restricted to the dissemination of religious works; in music, this meant liturgical or para-liturgical compositions in Latin. Except for the few French works from the Wrocław rotulus, there are no secular works preserved in the Polish and Silesian manuscripts. Even Breve regnum, which celebrates a student festival, is given a clerical aura by its Latin text. There is evidence in the sources studied above of how even French secular works were transformed into Latin cantilene so that they could be used for religious purposes. The fact that the Polish sources contain primarily religious compositions is comparable with

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the situation in medieval England, Spain, and Germany. The Latin ecclesiastical culture of the Middle Ages was immediately transferrable while the secular vernacular culture of France and Italy was not.

Though Poland was distant from the cultural centers of the West, the few sources examined here demonstrate that it was not isolated. Even though the ars nova notandi was invented in Paris, its principles were far from being totally remote and ill-understood on the eastern borders of Europe.

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CHAPTER SIX

POPULAR POLYPHONY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF KRAKÓW: THE MUSIC OF PL-Kj 2464

The discipline of historical musicology has occasionally been known to overlook sources it has deemed unimportant, corrupt, or "peripheral." All three adjectives could be applied to the musical contents of Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2464 (PL-Kj 2464).[1] In contrast to other manuscripts of medieval polyphony found in Poland, Kj 2464 with its inelegant notation and obvious mistakes would appear inconsequential.[2] However, its position as one of the few remaining sources for ars nova notation in Poland and as one of the earliest manuscripts in East Central Europe showing the characteristics of popular polyphony should have assured it of more than passing consideration. Moreover, it provides a unique insight into the musical repertoire and musical knowledge common among the students at the University of Kraków in the early fifteenth century.

Since its first published description by Wisłocki as "Notae musicae cum regulis," most musicologists have foregone a detailed exam-

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1. See W. Wisłocki, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis, 2 vols. (Cracoviae, 1877 - 1881) II, 590; RISM B IV^4 1138 - 1144; and M. Perz, Sources XIII, xxi - xxii, and 15 - 35 (complete facsimile).

2. Concerning other sources of medieval polyphony in Poland and Silesia, see Chapters Three and Five above.

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ination of its contents because of its problematic notation. In earlier works on the history of Polish music the only expansion of Wisłocki's description was to mention that the music is polyphonic.[3] This state of affairs remained constant through 1966 when Feicht wrote that Kj 2464 contained twenty-three polyphonic works, probably student exercises which were erroneously copied.[4]

The only exception to this trend during the period before 1970 was Szczepańska's article on polyphonic hymns to Mary from Polish sources.[5] Though primarily a study of the Marian compositions in Kras 52 and Wn378, she included a short study of three pieces from Kj 2464.[6]

Both sources of information readily available to Western scholars on late medieval polyphony in Poland -- the article by Merlan in Music in the Renaissance and the inventory in RISM B IV[4] -- contain incom-

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3. A. Chybiński, Zbiór Rozpraw z zakresu historyi muzyki polskiej: II Stosunek muzyki polskiej do zachodniej w 15 i 16 wieku (Kraków, 1909) [this work has been unavailable to me, but is cited in Perz, Sources, XIII, xxii], and Z. Jachimecki, Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym, Vol. I, part 1 (Kraków, 1948) 85.

4. H. Feicht, "Quellen zur mehrstimmigen Musik in Polen vom späten Mittelalter bis 1600," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis Bydgoszcz 1966 Acta Scientifica Congressus (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966) 283. This opinion was shared by M. Perz, who noted that the problematic nature of the notation forced its exclusion from the volume of transcriptions; see Sources, XIV, 11.

5. M. Szczepańska, "Wielogłosowe opracowanie hymnów marianskich w rekopisach polskich XV wieku," Kwartalnik Muzyczny I (1928 - 1929) 1 - 19, 107 - 125, 219 - 227, 339 - 345.

6. Her article included a full text and fragments of a transcription for Regina celi (#2; pp. 225 - 227), a partial text for Arida virga mices (#15; pp. 124 - 125), and mentioned Rosa de spinis (#20a; p. 2). The numbers refer to contents listed in Table 10. The same numbers, with only two small variants, are used in Sources, XIII, xxi - xxii.

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plete and partially inaccurate data concerning Kj 2464.[7] The manuscript is certainly difficult to decipher and the published facsimile in Sources, XIII, is not adequate for a detailed study, but a first-hand examination has provided solutions for many of its puzzles.[8]

Contents and Signatures

The musical sections of Kj 2464 are additions to the beginning and end of a larger manuscript. The main corpus consists of two treatises. The first is a commentary on Donatus by Jan Kanty: "Explicit Donatus per venerabilem magistrum Joannem de Kanthii Miechovie reportatus Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo, 1421 et cetera" (Donatus, reported [i.e., lectured on] by the venerable Master Jan Kanty of Miechów in 1421).[9] The second work is a commentary on the

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7. F. Merlan, "Music in Poland: 1. The Fifteenth Century," in G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: W.W. Norton, 1959) 745. Merlan implies the existence of only three polyphonic works, one of which is certainly monophonic. Her study was based only on the article by Szczepańska cited in fn. 5. K. von Fischer in RISM B IV^4, 1138 - 1144, omits one possible two-voice work on f. 5r (#11b) and mistitles Altitonanti cantica (#11), by transcribing the beginning of the tenor for the second section of Celebris dies colitur (#10), among other smaller errors.

8. An important aid in this examination was the discovery of a photographic copy of the musical contents of Kj 2464, probably made for M. Szczepańska before much of the deterioration, evident today, had occurred. The photographs are especially helpful for the first few folios, and copies of these will be published along with a full transcription of Kj 2464 in C. Brewer, Collectio cantilenarum, Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, in press).

9. The text of this treatise is on ff. 14r - 84v. For a short biography of Jan Kanty see O. Romuald Gustaw, OFM, "Jan Kanty - Jan z Kęt, z Malca, Maleus, de Martha, Wacięga," Hagiografia polska:

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Laurea Sanctorum by Hugh de Trimborg, a collection of sermons for the important feast days.[10] Before the final musical leaf, there is a mnemonic poem concerning grammar, fragments of an epistle, one leaf with musical notation and, on folio 107r, a collection of astronomical data related to the moon, dated 1433.[11]

Three signatures appear in the manuscript, two within the first fascicle and one on the inside front cover. The earliest is probably that on the cover: "Liber domini Joannis de Jaszona." This name most likely can be identified with Johannes Jacobi de Jasszona, mentioned in the Album studiosorum in 1400 and in the Liber promotionum as having

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Słownik bio-bibliograficzny, 2 vols. (Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha, 1971) I, 536 - 558. He entered the University of Kraków in 1413, received his bachelor's degree in 1415 and his master's degree in 1417. Jan was canonized in 1767.

Z. Siemiątkowska, "Rkp. 2464," (typescript in the Oddział rękopisów, Biblioteka Jagiellońska) states that the commentary stems from Jan Kanty's teaching at the cloister school of the Canons Regular in Miechów. However, the syntax of the explicit is obscure, does "Miechovie" modify "Joannem de Kanthii" or "reportatus?" As used in J. Długosz, Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae (Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978) Liber IX, 86 - 87, the ablative of Miechów is "Myechoviensi." (The genitive, "Miechoviensis," is used in the modern critical notes to this passage on p. 379.) Since the form "Miechovie" does not fit the declension used by Długosz (indicating at least that the scribe of Kj 2464 perhaps perceived the nominative as "Miechovia"), and since the preposition "in" is not used (which would appear neccessary if "Miechovie" modifed "reportatus"), I believe that the word only refers to where Jan Kanty was then employed, not where the commentary was reported.

10. The text for this treatise is on ff. 86r - 100v. See Siemiatkowska, "Rkp. 2464."

11. See Siemiątkowska, "Rkp. 2464." Siemiatkowska had thought that the calendar was in the hand of Jan Kanty, but this opinion is not shared by Dr. M. Kowalczyk of the Oddział rękopisów, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (personal communication).

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received his master's degree in 1406.[12]

On f. 5r following the designation "tenor huius," a similar hand, but in a different shade of ink, has added "sed falsus ergo asininus tza quia hoc videtur fore de racione bestialitatis Rambowsky." The relationship of this statement to the actual music will be discussed below, but the surname Rambowsky is most likely identified with Bartholomeus Nicolai de Rambow, who entered the university in 1427.[13] Two other students, both with the name Jacobus Jacobi de Rambow, were matriculated in 1472 and 1481, a period much too late for the early-fifteenth-century character of the signature.[14]

The last signature is that of a Hans Schulteth, upside down in the bottom margin of f. 4r. This signature is not particularly illuminating; anyone of five possible students matriculated during the fifteenth century could have written his name in this manuscript while studying in the university library.[15]

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12. See Siemiątkowska, "Rkp. 2464." Album studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis: Tomus I (ab Anno 1400 ad Annum 1489) (Cracoviae: Typis et impensis Universitatis Jagellonicae, 1887) 14; and Statuta nec non Liber promotionum philosophroum ordinis in universitate studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849, ed. J. Muczkowski (Cracoviae: Typis Universitatis, 1849) 5.

13. Album studiosorum, 67.

14. Album studiosorum, 208 and 209.

15. Album studiosorum, 19 (Johannes Sculteti de Olsyni, 1403); 52 (Johannes Johannis Sculteti de Bleywicz, 1421); 87 (Johannes Johannis Sculteti de Cunradi, 1436); 140 (Johannes Nicolai Sculteti de Yawer, 1454); and 172 (Johannes Sculteti de Archilli fouea, 1463).

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TABLE 13

THE MUSICAL CONTENTS OF Kj 2464

1. Miretur omnis nacio (f. 1r), 2 voices
2. Regina celi letare, alleluya (f. 1v), 2 voices
3. Serene mentis iubilo (f. 2r), 2 voices
4. Ave virgo sanctissima (f. 2r - 2v), 2 voices
5. Verbum gratum / prophetatum (f. 3r), 2 voices
6. Mirificis vocibus (f. 3v), 2 voices
7. Generari voluit (f. 3v - 4r), 2 voices
8. Deus in adiutorium meum intende (f. 4r), 2 voices
9. Celiparis domina (f. 4r - 4v), 2 voices
10. Celebris dies colitur (f. 4v - 5r), 2 voices
11a. Altitonanti cantica (f. 5r), 2 voices
11b. [untitled] (f. 5r), 2 voices
12. Exordium quadruplante / Nates nate dei / Concrepet infanti nanti / Verbum caro factum est (f. 5v - 6r), 4 voices
13. Ab ethere lumen claret (f. 6v), 2 voices
14. Tu felix excelsus es (f. 6v - 7r), 2 voices
15. Arida virga mices (f. 7r), 2 voices
16. Da domine colere (f. 7v), 2 voices
17. Iam legatur [Deitatis a superno] (f. 7v - 12r), 2 voices
18. Pregrata erat nunc regali vera stirpe (f. 9r), 1 voice [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz?]
19. Progenie ex paganica (f. 11v), 2 voices [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz?]
20a. Rosa de spinis oritur (f. 12r), 1 voice
20b. Tremet tumet dum claruit (f. 12r - 12v), 1 voice
21. De summa gerarchia (f. 12v), 2 voices
22. Presulis eminenciam totam (f. 12v / 13r), 3 voices [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz?]
23. Laureato Christo nato (f. 108r), 1 voice
24. Superno nunc e culmine (f. 108v), 1 voice
25. Populi cum gencium lucis fulmine ... (f. 108v), 1 voice

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Notation

The musical compositions contained in the first two fascicles and on f. 108r/v were possibly copied by at least five different notators.[16] The majority use a variety of black mensural notation characterized by "round" noteheads (rather than rhomboid), ascending or descending minim stems (normally ascending only in other Western sources), forgotten stems, incorrect or missing clefs, inaccurately notated ligatures and the use of dots over notes to indicate mensural subdivisions contained in a single breve, long or ligature.[17] The notation on ff. 1r - 2v has a few special characteristics -- the crowding of minims and very inelegant oblique ligatures -- and was probably copied by one notator (hand a).

The notator of ff. 3r - 7v, top of f. 12r and possibly part of f. 12v (the piece #21, De summa gerarchia) can be designated as hand b. It is probable that more than one scribe was involved but the notation of the relevant compositions exhibits more similarities than differences. Most ligatures are clearly notated (though often with a different mensural meaning than would be expected) and the minims are very clear and uncrowded. The form of the c-clef is distinctive, , and

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16. It should be noted that in the opinion of Dr. M. Kowalczyk the scribe who copied the texts beneath the music also copied the main corpus of Kj 2464 (personal communication).

17. Many of the mensural characteristics of this notation are described in F. Mužík, Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu, Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 3, 1961 (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1961) 50 - 59; and R. Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle (Köln, 1953) 12 - 17.

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appears often, though frequently incorrectly placed. Other similar characteristics are the rubric tenor huius as it appears in many of the relevant compositions and the large initials on f. 3v (space was left for such an initial on f. 3r).

The two hands c and d use a style much closer to that of a professional notator.[18] Hand d copied the monophonic compositions on f. 108r/v (excluding the fragmentary #25, Populi cum gencium). This is a clear mensural notation with rhomboid semibreves and minims, although it appears that the notator neglected to add minim stems to some noteheads. The notation, in particular the c-clef on f. 108v, is similar to Kras 52, but it is unlikely that the same copyist is involved.

Texts

Most works in Kj 2464 are unica; only four compositions have previously known texts. Regina celi letare (#2) is an antiphon and Deus in adiutorium (#8) is a versicle. The tenor Verbum caro factus est for the four-voice motet Exordium / Nates / Concrepet / Verbum caro (#12) is the eighth responsory at matins of the Nativity. The other three texts of this motet are also known in part from later concordances.[19] The poem, Ave virgo sanctissima (#4), is also found set as a rotulus (canon or round) preserved in Wrocław, University Library ms.

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18. See below, 354 - 359, for a discussion of the works copied by hand c.

19. See below, 349 - 354, for a study of this composition.

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I.Q. 132.[20] The text of this poem in Kj 2464 does add one extra line.

The remaining texts are primarily accentual-syllabic lyrics, generally of a para-liturgical character. Some consist only of a single stanza (e.g., #1, 7, 11a, 16, 17?, 20a, 20b, and 21), others of multiple stanzas, often with repeticiones (i.e. refrains; #3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, and 24). Three compositions are in honor of Saint Katherine (#4, 18, and 19) and one in honor of Pope Martin V (#22).[21] The remaining lyrics have no specific liturgical references beyond general invocations to Christ or Mary, and many seem appropriate for Christmas.

The Musical Compositions

The compositions in Kj 2464 are written primarily in a very simple two-voice polyphony. The closest stylistic antecedent to these two-voice compositions is the conductus.[22] Some writers, on the basis of later rubrics, have called works in this style cantiones.[23] The evidence in this manuscript shows that they were also called cantilene.

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20. See above, Chapter Five, 323 - 324, for a study of this source.

21. The identification of "martini" in Presulis eminenciam (# 22) with Pope Martin V was made by Dr. M. Kowalczyk.

22. See, for example the fourteenth-century examples from the Engelberg manuscript, published by J. Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 3 (1928), "Notenbeilage," 6 - 7, 10 - 13.

23. For example, W. Salmen, "European Song (1300 - 1530)," New Oxford History of Music III: Ars Nova and the Renaissance (1300 - 1540), ed. Dom A. Hughes and G. Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) 368 - 370.

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The two most important rubrics are on f. 1r, "Contra ista cantilena est prima" (Miretur omnis nacio, #1), and on f. 4v, "Alter versus istius cantilene" (Celiparis domina, #9).[24] The two voices generally have an iso-syllabic text setting; at times also with cauda. The rhythm of the two-voice settings is, with two exceptions, in imperfect tempus with major prolation.[25]

The contrapuntal structure of the compositions in Kj 2464 is very simple, based mostly on perfect consonances (primarily the fifth and octave), at times in parallel motion.[26] Though many of the transcriptions are neccessarily tentative, it seems that in most of the pieces dissonances occur rather freely between the perfect intervals. Though the contrapuntal and harmonic texture may be simple, there is generally a strong movement towards the cadences.

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24. The rubric for Miretur omnis nacio can be clearly read in the photographic copy now in Poznań.

25. The first exception, Da domine (#16), appears to use imperfect tempus with minor prolation. Concerning the second exception, Progenie ex paganica (#19), see below, 357 - 358.

26. Octaves and fifths occur most frequently, though Da domine (#16) seems to be based on fourths. For another short two-voice work, Dignus et iustus est from Kras 52, apparently based on fourths, see above, Chapter Five, 300 - 301.

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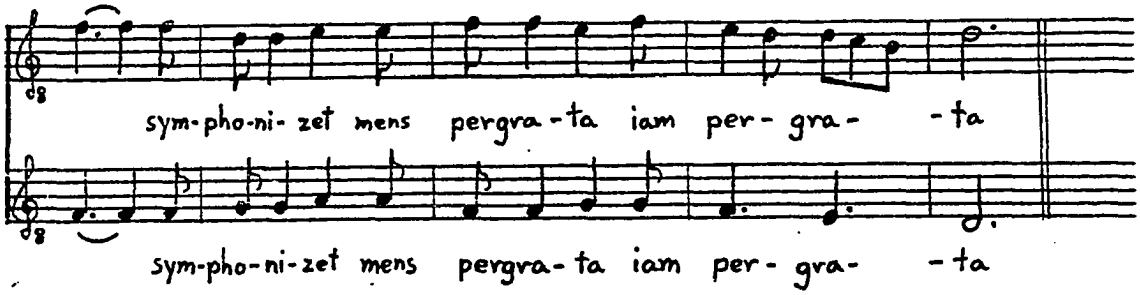
Example 51: Excerpt from Ab ethere lumen claret (#13), mm. 25 - 29.



The lyric, Mirificis vocibus (#6), is a typical example. It consists of four verses with a repeticio (refrain).[27] That the second section is, in fact, a repeticio was deduced from the text copied directly after the music. Due to the similarity between the words of the first section and the remaining text, in particular the distinctive repetition of the last word (e.g., "decantemus decantemus, rogitemus rogitemus," etc.), it is apparent that these are further verses.

The composition is based on F; the combined ambitus of both voices is an octave and a third (f to a'). All important cadences are octaves (mm. 4, 12, 21), each time approached from a major sixth. In m. 11 and m. 20, the pattern is identical (excluding anticipations): minor sixth - major sixth - octave. Most phrase beginnings are unisons (mm. 1, 5, 9, 15, 18).

Two characteristics of all compositions in Kj 2464 are especially

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27. See Appendix XV, 475 - 476, for a transcription of this work. Since most compositions in Kj 2464 are similar, I have selected one typical example, and a few special works for examination. The reader is referred to the forthcoming publication of the complete musical contents of Kj 2464 for further examples.

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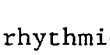
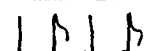
evident in Mirificis vocibus. One is the free use of dissonance. Apparently, sevenths occur frequently on strong beats (mm. 3, 7, 8). One possible ninth at the beginning of a perfection (m. 10) could be a scribal error for a tenth (see the parallel passage in m. 19).[28] The second characteristic is the prominence of thirds and sixths. The use of sixths at cadences, as mentioned above, is typical of all compositions in this source. The use of parallel thirds, as in mm. 13 - 14 and mm. 16 - 17, is, however, unusual.

Celebris dies colitur (# 10) is a through-composed cantilena in two sections.[29] A unison opening, as in mm. 1 - 2, also occurs in some other two-voice pieces (#5, #7, #9, #13) and is found in other works from the popular repertoire.[30] Particularly arresting and unusual is the unison passage in mm. 24 - 25. The rhythmic pattern,  , often combined with  in the other voice (see mm. 4, 6 - 9, 11 - 12, 19 - 22), occurs in a number of other compositions (#5, #6, #13, #17 and the monophonic #18). This same rhythm also occurs in a number of Bohemian sources from about 1420, many written in Czech, for example the famous Hussite war song, Ktož jsú božĭ bojovníci.[31]

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28. In fact, the final measures of both sections, verse and repeticio, are similar (mm. 9 - 12 = mm. 18 - 21).

29. See Appendix XV, 477 - 479, for a transcription of this composition.

30. See for example, ČS-HK II A 6, ff. 280v - 281r (Profitentes trinitatem), f. 297v (Modulisemus omnes corde), and f. 332r (Samsonis honestissima).

31. See J. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz - neznámý skladatel doby Dufayovy v českých pramenach," Hudební věda XII (1975) 214 - 215. Ktož jsú božĭ bojovníci has been edited in Z. Nejedlý, Dějiny Husitskeho zpěvu, 6 vols. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československe Akademie Věd, 1954 - 1956) VI, 342 - 344; J. Pohanka,

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Altitonanti cantica (#11a) is known for its rubric, "tenor huius sed falsus ergo asinus" ("the tenor of this [discant], but false, therefore an ass"), signed by Rambowsky.[32] As mentioned by Feicht, this rubric has been taken as evidence that the music has been incorrectly copied.[33] It should be noted that the words "tenor huius" are in a slightly different shade of ink from the writing of Rambowsky, though the text hand is similar. The statement is, however, not entirely true. Admittedly all minim stems are omitted from the tenor. But when the rhythmically notated discant is aligned with the tenor, matching breves at cadences, a consistent interpretation and transcription is possible. With the exception of two semi-cadences in mm. 7 and 17, all other final cadences are unisons, octaves or fifths. The resulting work is similar in style to the other two-voice compositions in Kj 2464, and far from being completely false. Rambowsky probably examined Kj 2464 at some time later in the fifteenth century when its music had ceased to be in active repertoire, and certainly compared to professionally copied codices, such as Kras 52 and Wn378, the tenor of Altitonanti cantica would be "asinine" indeed.

Dějiny české hudby v příkladech (Praha: Státní Nakladatelství Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umení, 1958) 28; and G. Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York: W.W. Norton, 1954) 734. A facsimile of this work from the Jistebnický Cantional is published in T. Volek and S. Jares, Dějiny české hudby v obrazech (Praha, 1977) plate 49. The full poem is translated in F. Heymann, John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955; reprinted New York: Russell & Russell, 1969) 497 - 498.

32. See above, 337, concerning the possible identification of Rambowsky. See also Appendix XV, 480 - 482, for a transcription of this work.

33. Feicht, "Quellen," 283.

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Though it shares many chracteristics with other works in Kj 2464, the antiphon, Regina celi letare (#2), is set apart because of its form, dictated by the liturgical text.[34] The first and third verses are for two voices, the second and fourth were sung as chant and are cued in the source by their opening words and melodies. In fact, the first two polyphonic sections are identical: the discant has been written twice with two different texts and the common tenor voice only once with the text for the first section. The tenor voice is found twice in ČS-VB 42 (ff. 144r/v and 158r/v) copied as a monophonic cantilena.[35]

The final "Alleluia" of Regina celi letare is also set as two-voice polyphony; however, it has been troped.[36] The tenor melody for this section in Kj 2464 was used to set many similar tropes in other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts, both monophonic and polyphonic, from East Central Europe. The text and melody as found in Kj 2464 is also copied as part of a monophonic Regina celi letare setting in BJ 1267, ff. 173v - 174r.[37] This melody alone with a similar trope is copied with the rubric, "Tropus super Regina," in ČS-Pst 376,

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34. See Appendix XV, 470 - 474, for a transcription of this work. The liturgical form is not as evident in Deus in adiutorium (#8).

35. It is possible that other cantilene in ČS-VB 42 are also parts of polyphonic compositions, at present unknown. The lyrics have been examined in E. Pokorova, "Latinské písně Vyšebrodského rukopisu č. 42" (Diplomová pracé; Filosoficka fakulta University Karlovy: Katedra hudební, divadelní a filmové vědy, 1970).

36. This trope does not appear in the two versions contained in ČS-VB 42.

37. See Wisłocki, Catalogus, I, 320. The manuscript is an early-fifteenth-century pergament gradual, probably from Kraków.

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f. 112r.[38] Another three-voice setting of Regina celi letare with a similar trope from the Glogauer Liederbuch has only recently been published.[39] Though it has not been possible to trace all the sources for this melody and its different tropes, their longevity in East Central European sources, at least from the early fifteenth through the early sixteenth centuries, can be demonstrated by a three-voice Regina celi letare found in ČS-HK II A 7 (pp. 338 - 339) and ČS-HK II A 6 (ff. 355v - 356r).[40]

Arida virga mices (#15), in contrast to the other eighteen two-voice works in conductus style, is related to the rundellus, whose primary characteristic is a texted discant with an untexted tenor (mostly written in ligatures).[41] The name is derived from the rubric to the two-voice Flos florum found in a late fourteenth-century manuscript from Praha.[42] Arida virga mices is part of a small repertoire

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38. Transcribed in Pohanka, Dějiny, 14.

39. Das Glogauer Liederbuch, Das Erbe deutscher Musik 85, ed. C. Väterlein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1981) 151 - 153.

40. This work is transcribed in Appendix XVI, 510 - 519.

41. See Appendix XV, 497 - 499, for a transcription of this composition. On this work see J. Černý, "Czeski aspekt polskich źródeł polifonii średniowiecznej," Muzyka XXI/1 (1976) 100. See also the definition of rundellus by Paulus Paulirinus de Praga, Appendix IX, 435.

42. At present, the only correct transcription of this work is that in J. Černý, "Die Ars nova - Musik in Böhmen," Miscellanea musicologica XXI - XXIII (Praha, 1970) [90] (facsimile), and 91 (transcription). All earlier transcriptions, such as those in Nejedlý (Dějiny, I, 219 [diplomatic facsimile] and 220 - 221 [transcription]), Pohanka (Dějiny, 8 - 9), and the excerpt in G. Abraham ("The Slav Countries: From the Beginnings to 1600," Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. F.W. Sternfeld [New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973] 415) are incorrect due to a misreading of a clef in the source, which probably derives from Nejedlý's

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of such pieces found in East Central European sources.[43]

The monophonic works present a greater variety than those for two voices.[44] The two compositions, Rosa de spinis and Tremet tumet (#20a and #20b), have been proposed as two voices of a polytextual composition, but my attempts to reconstruct such a piece have failed. They are probably two separate monophonic cantilene.[45]

The exact form of Rosa de spinis (#20a) is unclear, though some form of repetition is implied by the rubric "secundus finis" and the repeat of the opening phrase at the end of the voice part on f. 12r. The same suggestion has been made concerning Laureato Christo nato (#23) and Superno nunc e culmine (#24). In my opinion, these are mensural monophonic cantilene, having two sections, the second being a repeticio. The text of Laureato Christo nato (#23) does show some similar rhymes in both of its two sections (e.g., Laureato Christo nato should be compared with Hymnisemus regi nato), but the presence of a second verse copied after the music confirms the textual form as verse

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mistranscription of the original notation, cited above.

43. A complete study of the Bohemian rundelli, including transcriptions, is available in Cerný, "Die Ars nova - Musik," 47 - 106.

44. The monophonic Pregrata erat nunc regali (#18) will be examined below, 357.

45. See Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 103, fn. 59. Due to the problematic nature of both #20a and #20b, no transcription is given here. The reader is referred to the forthcoming complete edition for a tentative transcription.

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and repeticio. In any case, the clearly mensural notation of these works does not allow enough music for them to be combined.

The Engelberg Motet Style in East Central Europe

Exordium quadruplante / Nates nate dei / Concrepet infanti nate / Verbum caro factum est (#12) is one of approximately thirty polytextual motets known from Central and East Central Europe.[46] The manuscripts containing these compositions all include monophonic and polyphonic works of the popular repertoire.[47] The predecessors of this style are clearly the polytextual motets of the thirteenth century. An example, the three-voice motet, Iam novem sidus / Iam nubes desolvitur / Ave Maria, copied in the early fifteenth century Trier manuscript, is ultimately derived from a three-voice motet known from four earlier sources, including the Montpellier and Las Huelgas manuscripts.[48]

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46. See the inventory in J. Černý, "K nejstarsím dejinám moteta v ceských zemích," Miscellanea musicologica XXIV (Praha, 1971) 47 - 51. This motet, for convenience, will be referred to as Exordium (#12), whether referring to the version in Kj 2464 or its later concordances.

47. See above, Chapter Five, 309 - 331, for a definition of this style and a study of four sources from Silesia and Poland containing polyphonic works from the popular repertoire.

48. See Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994, 50 - 55, for a transcription and comparison of the Trier and earlier versions. The tenor in the earlier sources is labeled "Solem." To the works cited by Ewerhart (p. 53, fns. 4, 5, and 6), the following two publications should be added: H. Tischler, The Montpellier Codex, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance II - VII (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978), especially II/III, lxv (commentary); and VI/VII, 105 - 107 (transcription); and W. Dömling, Die Handschrift London, British Museum, Add. 27 630 (LoD), Das Erbe deutscher Musik 52 (facsimile) and 53 (transcription), 2 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), especially

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Another important precursor of this style is exemplified by the two-voice motets in CH-EN 314, the so-called Engelberg motet-manuscript.[49] In these works, the entire tenor is repeated to accommodate the repetitions of the discant. Recently, the only known concordance to a motet in the Engelberg manuscript was found in Ústí nad Orlicí (CS-Uo A 3). Though many of the pages are now damaged, this manuscript was an extensive collection of liturgical music, and also included both monophonic and polyphonic compositions of the popular repertoire.[50] The copy of Voce cordis / Pulcre Sion filia it contains, has only the first verse of the discant, but the tenor is copied twice with two different texts.[51] Similar compositions have been found in H-Bn 534 (O pastor eterne / Et confessor dei) and D-TR 322 (Christus surrexit / Chorus nove iherusalem / Crist ist entstanden).[52] In all likelihood,

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vol. 52, ff. 50v - 51r (facsimile, #52).

49. On this source see F. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmigen Werke der Handschrift Engelberg 314," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 21 (1908) 48 - 61; concerning the motets, see pp. 55 - 59. See also J. Handschin, "Angelomontana polyphonica," 65 - 84; on the motets, see especially pp. 81 - 84 and the selected transcriptions in the "Notenbeilage," 14 - 18.

50. See Appendix XVII, 520 - 525, for a provisional description and inventory of this source.

51. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain a microfilm of this source, and Voce cordis / Pulcre sion filia is not among those works selected by Handschin for his article, cited in fn. 49.

52. Concerning O pastor eterne / Et confessor dei, see B. Rajeczky, "Többszólamu zenénk emlékei a 15. sz. elsö feléböl," in B. Rajeczky, Irásai (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976) 163 and 190 - 191, for a facsimile and transcription; this article (pp. 151 - 196) contains a complete facsimile and study of H-Bn 534. See also Rajeczky's shorter study of this source, "Ein neuer Fund zur mehrstimmigen Praxis Ungarns im 15. Jahrhundert," Studia musicologica 14 (1972) 147 - 168, however, without facsimiles and

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most of the motets listed in Černý's inventory originally had repeating discants and tenors, but the versions remaining in the Bohemian sources have been divested of their extended texts. The only clue to their origin is given by the frequent cues at the end of each voice part to the opening words and music.[53]

Exordium (#12) is the most complex composition in Kj 2464, and not merely because it is the single four-voice work in its repertoire.[54] It is found in five later sources: H-Bn 534, CS-Uo A 3, CS-HK II A 7, CS-HK II A 6, and CS-CH.[55] Though these manuscripts contain the same composition, each has its own unique characteristics. All versions present the same verbal texts, except that Kj 2464 provides the music and words of two extra stanzas for the voice Concrepet in-

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only selected transcriptions; O Pastor eterne / Et confessor dei is transcribed on pp. 164 - 165. Concerning Christus surrexit / Chorus nove iherusalem / Crist ist entstanden, see Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994, 32 - 33.

53. See, for example, the transcription of Exordium (#12) in Pohanka, Dějiny, 34.

54. See Appendix XV, 483 - 496, for a transcription of this work based on Kj 2464.

55. For further information on these sources see the entries in the Bibliography: Manuscripts. See also, Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám moteta," 7 - 90, for a study of the late-medieval polytextual motet, and especially, pp. 32 - 33 and 50 for this composition. This article is an expanded version of his paper, "Die mehrtextige Motette des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen," Colloquium Musica Bohemica et Europaea Brno 1970, ed. R. Pecman (Brno, 1972) 71 - 88. The composition is also mentioned, with a short excerpt in transcription in Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 101 - 103. Transcriptions based on the later Bohemian manuscripts are found in D. Orel, Kancionál Franusův z roku 1505 (Praha, 1922), 163; and Pohanka, Dějiny, 34; however both contain errors. A more recent, critical transcription based on H-Bn 534 and CS-HK II A 7 (including facsimiles of both sources) was printed in Rajeczky, "Többszólamu zenénk emlékei," 155 - 156 and 171 - 174.

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fanti. The music for the additional text differs only in detail from that used to set Concrepet infanti. The way that this voice is notated in the manuscript, with the two "x" marks (one on f. 5v and the other on f. 6r) indicating where the additional stanzas begin, implies a repetition of the entire piece. This is verified by the rubric ut supra at the end of the tenor, Verbum caro, on f. 5v and the repetition of the opening words and music at the end of Exordium quadruplante on f. 6r. This repetition has been changed in the later sources to a single performance with only a repetition of the opening phrase with the original text. Kj 2464 also differs from the concordances by its use of major prolation instead of minor.

The three basic versions of the motet -- exemplified by Kj 2464, H-Bn 534, and the version contained in the Bohemian manuscripts (CS-Uo A 3, HK II A 7, HK II A 6, and CH) -- exhibit different interpretations of pitch. Both of the later versions are clearly notated: H-Bn 534 is centered on D and the Bohemian sources on C.[56] The music in Kj 2464, in comparison with these later versions, is inconsistent. Even if the clefs of Kj 2464 are disregarded (in fact, the voices Nates nate dei and Exordium quadruplante have no clefs), the voice Concrepet infanti has been mistakenly transposed a third for half of its length. If the clefs for the first two lines of Concrepet and for Verbum caro are read literally, they show a version centered on F. That such an interpretation might not be meant could be inferred from the attempt to renotate the opening of Concrepet a third lower, but the resulting

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56. To use the anachronistic terminology of Glareanus, the version of H-Bn 534 is dorian and that of the Bohemian sources ionian.

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transcription on D (as in H-Bn 534) contains many tritones which would require the liberal application of musica ficta. A transcription on F, however, requires no additional accidentals. Apparently, even if the original notator of Kj 2464 made mistakes in his copy, the clefs were placed correctly. Possibly at the same time that someone attempted to renotate the beginning of Concrepet infanti, some minim stems and semiminim flags were added to Exordium so that the original patterns of semibreve-minim-semibreve-minim in major prolation were transformed into those of minor prolation, found in all the later sources of this work.

Exordium (#12) is one of three remaining polytextual motets (in more than two voices) to have a fully texted repeating discant. The two other motets are both found in H-Bn 243, a late fourteenth- / early fifteenth-century manuscript from the Bohemian/Slovakian borderlands: Ave lumen dei verum / Tu sine principio / Ave Iesu Christe / O premium (f. 48v) and Veni sancte spiritus reple / Da gaudiorum premia / Veni sancte spiritus (f. 49v).[57] As in Exordium (#12), only the discants --

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57. See the study of this source by F. Mužík, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Budapest, Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár c.l.m.ae. 243)," Acta Universitatis Carolinae; Philosophica et Historica 2, 1965: Studie a materiály k dějinám starší české hudby (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1965) 5 - 44 and plates I - XII. Both compositions are only partially transcribed in Mužík's study, pp. 35 - 36 and 38 - 40. On these motets, see Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám moteta," 12 - 14 and 47. For a transcription of the later Trier version for Ave lumen, see Ewerhardt, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994, 40 - 41, as three separate two- voice pieces. Černý points out (p. 47) that Quondam stillans, transcribed as a separate monophonic work in Ewerhart (p. 99), does fit as an additional fifth voice to Ave lumen dei verum (etc.). For the LoD version of Ave lumen, see Dömling, Add. 27 630, vol. 52, ff. 53v - 54r (facsimile, #57), and vol. 53, 40 - 41 (transcription). Complete transcriptions of both works, based on H-Bn 243, are given in Appendix XVIII, 526 - 541.

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Ave Iesu Christe and Veni sancte spiritus reple -- are copied in full; the remaining voices in each work are written only once with cues that they should be repeated. In fact, the discant of Veni sancte spiritus gives the complete liturgical text for the antiphon, Veni sancte spiritus reple.[58]

These three works are the last examples of the full development of the Engelberg motet style. In the later concordances, the full texts have been cut, and the repetitions have been shortened to mere cues of the opening words and music. Even in this foreshortened form, the motets were copied in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, next to compositions by Isaac, Agricola and Josquin, as the last true descendants of the medieval motet.[59]

Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz

There are three compositions which may be attributed to hand c: Pregrata erat nunc regali vera stirpe (#18: f. 9r); Progenie ex paganica (#19: f. 11v); and Presulis eminenciam totam rite vox

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58. See The Liber Usualis, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclée Co., 1963) 1837 - 1838. The text, Da gaudiorum premia, was a famous lyric, sometimes associated with the sequence Veni sancte spiritus, sometimes used as a separate piece. See Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322 / 1994, 47.

59. This is especially the case in CS-HK II A 7, where the works by or in the style of Isaac and Josquin (in white mensural notation) occupy approximately the first half of the source and the music of the popular repertoire (in black mensural notation) occupies approximately the second half. Works in both styles are listed together in the original index on pp. 606 - 608. Concerning the "last" isorhythmic motet, Ave coronata / Alma parens / Ave coronata, see above, Chapter Four, 209 - 211.

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symphonat (#22: ff. 12v / 13r). These works are written in a clear mensural notation, including semiminims and puncti divisionis, but clefs are lacking in each case.

Of the three compositions ascribed to hand c, Presulis eminenciam (#22) has a text which clearly begins with the acrostic PETRUS.[60] Černý has examined a group of approximately twenty compositions, all of which contain this acrostic, and proposed that they represent works by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.[61] This name appears fully as an acrostic in the first letters of the four voices to the motet Pneuma eucaristiarum / Veni vere illustrator / Dator eya gratiarum / Paraclito tripudia and a Kyrie fons bonitatis contained in the Emmeram manuscript is ascribed to Petrus Wilhelmi.[62] Černý's ascription of Pregrata erat (#18) and Presulis eminenciam (#22) to Petrus Wilhelmi is plausible since the earliest records related to his life are connected with the University of Kraków. His name was first entered in the matriculation book in 1418, the bachelor's degree was granted in 1425 and the master's in 1430.[63] He is known to have attended the Council of Basel

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60. J. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 224, reads the title of #18 as Pregrata era tunc regali vera stirpe (= the acrostic PETRUS). In the text I have given the clear reading of Kj 2464. This does not preclude the possibility of a scribal error, and I will discuss this as a work ascribed to Petrus Wilhelmi, which I believe to be true, based on other stylistic factors. These include the mensuration change found in most of his ascribed works and the general character of the text, even if the acrostic is inaccuarate.

61. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 195 - 238; a thematic catalogue is printed on pp. 223 - 235.

62. See Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 196, 202 - 203, 230, and 232. Pneuma eucaristiarum (etc.), is transcribed in Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám moteta," [77] - [80].

63. Album studiosorum, 42; Liber promotionum, 17 and 23. See also,

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(1431 - 1449) and to have written the poem Pontifices ecclesium to induce Emperor Frederick III to aid in church reform.[64]

In addition to a number of compositions from the Bohemian repertoire of popular polyphony, Černý also attributes the isorhythmic motet Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare from the Glogauer Liederbuch to Petrus primarily on the basis of the common acrostic.[65] This motet, which contains satiric references to Andreas Ritter, was composed circa 1465. Because of the topical nature of this motet, both Feldmann and the editors of the modern edition of the Liederbuch hypothesized that the composer of Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare was the compiler of the manuscript, which was copied by a single scribe about 1480.[66] Since Petrus Wilhelmi appears to have composed the motet Probitate eminentem / Ploditando exarare, Černý therefore proposes that Petrus compiled the Glogauer Liederbuch.[67] He is believed to have lived the last years of his life in Silesia (perhaps Głogów [Glogau in German]), and to have died there about 1480.

It is probable that the two works which Černý ascribes to Petrus in Kj 2464 -- Pregrata erat (#18) and Presulis eminenciam (#22) -- are

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Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 196.

64. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 203 - 204.

65. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 219 - 220. The work has been edited in Das Glogauer Liederbuch, vol. 8, 9 - 13. The manuscript of the Glogauer Liederbuch, which was lost after the war, is now on deposit in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Oddział rekopisów.

66. F. Feldmann, Musik und Musikpflege im mittelalterlichen Schlesien (Breslau, 1938; reprinted Hildesheim: George Olms Verlag, 1973) 139 - 140, and Das Glogauer Liederbuch, vol. 8, 79 - 80.

67. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 196 - 197.

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holographic copies. In comparison with the other works in the manuscript the style and accuracy of the notation is exceptional and indicates that these versions are close to, if not the original copies. The change of mensuration, the use of a mensural sign and the clear notation all point to an experienced composer and copyist even if they are not the same person. Based on later compositions (ascribed or attributed), Petrus Wilhelmi was such a composer. Since Progenie ex paganica (#19) shares many of these same characteristics, including the same hand, it is probable that this work should also be attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz.

Pregrata erat nunc regali (#18) is a monophonic cantilena divided into two sections, the first in major prolation, the second in minor prolation.[68] To indicate the change to minor prolation, a mensuration sign is used: |: . This particular sign and usage is known only from Central and East Central European sources.[69] It also contains an extensive passage in coloration unique in this manuscript.

In contrast to Pregrata erat nunc regali, Progenie ex paganica (#19) is a short two-voice cantilena, which begins in minor prolation and changes to major prolation in the second section.[70] The same men-

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68. See the transcription in Appendix XV, 500 - 502. Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 224, believes that this is the discant of a polyphonic composition. In view of its place in the manuscript, the notator would have had to deliberately omit copy the remaining voice parts, if any. I believe, especially in light of the other mensural monophonic compositions in Kj 2464 (e.g. #23 and #24), that Pregrata erat nunc regali is another such work.

69. See above, Chapter Four, 173 - 174, for further information on this peculiarly Central and East Central European mensural sign.

70. See Appendix XV, 503 - 504, for a transcription of this work.

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suration sign used in Pregrata erat for minor prolation is written at the beginning of the tenor. Since the second section of the discant (in major prolation) immediately precedes the tenor, the sign was probably placed to eliminate any rhythmic ambiguity in the notation of the two parts.

Presulis eminenciam (#22) is the only three-voice composition in Kj 2464.[71] It is in two sections, each in a different mensuration: major prolation in the first changes to minor prolation in the second section. The counterpoint is less dissonant than in the majority of pieces in Kj 2464 and the melodic lines bear a strong resemblance to those of other fifteenth-century chansons. The change in texture from polyphonic to iso-metric at the end of the first section (mm. 14 - 19) also demonstrates a care for contrast not present in any of the other compositions in Kj 2464. Noteworthy are the "trumpet" imitations of the second section. Pieces in a similar style are called trumpetum in the Wrocław Anonymous and in Paulus Paulirinus de Praga's encyclopedia of the arts, though the characteristics they mention are slightly different from those of Presulis eminenciam.[72]

By the notational and stylistic standards of late medieval western compositions, these three works attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi are the most elegant in the entire repertoire of Kj 2464. Based on the evidence of the other polyphonic works in Kj 2464, Petrus was probably

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71. See Appendix XV, 505 - 509, for a transcription of this work.

72. See above, Chapter Four, 230 - 231, and the translations of the pertinent passages in Appendix VIII (Wrocław Anonymous), 427 - 429, and Appendix IX (Paulus Paulinirnus), 436.

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exceptional in his musical knowledge among his fellow students at the University of Kraków.

BJ 2188 and BJ 8: Two Further Sources of Popular Polyphony

Until recently, Kj 2464 was the only known musical source directly related to the musical life of the University of Kraków in the early fifteenth century.[73] In the process of recataloging the entire manuscript collection, two further fragmentary sources have been discovered: Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2188 (BJ 2188) and rkp. 8 (BJ 8).[74] BJ 2188 is probably the earlier of the two. It is a single paper leaf found in the binding of a later manuscript and contains fragments of three works, all copied in black mensural notation, similar, but not identical to Kj 2464. The only indication of date is an explicit which states that the manuscript was finished in 1438.[75] What can be transcribed of the two-voice Prothoplasti aviditas

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73. I am, for present purposes, distinguishing between a practical musical source, such as Kj 2464, and the manuscripts related to the teaching of speculative musical theory, which are more scientific than musical. See above, Chapter Two, for an examination of this aspect of musical knowledge at the University of Kraków. The monophonic carol of Bartholomeus de Jassel, which is transcribed in Chapter Two, 95, and Appendix IV (music, text, and translation), 407 - 411, was previously printed as only a text and was not mentioned in any of the histories of Polish music I have examined.

74. See Appendix XIX, 542, for a provisional description of these two sources. I would like to especially thank the members of the Oddział rekopisów of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska for bringing these fragments to my attention.

75. Wisłocki, Catalogus, II, 525.

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(f. 371r) shows that it is related to the cantilene in Kj 2464: simple rhythm and counterpoint, with a predominance of perfect intervals.

Example 52: Excerpt from Prothoplasti aviditas, BJ 2188, f. 371r.

Venit verna (f. 371v) is probably a mensural monophonic cantilena. A third composition is too fragmentary for analysis. Based on the style of the notation and of the music, BJ 2188 probably dates from the first half of the fifteenth century.

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The two paper leaves which were removed from the binding of BJ 8, are now kept separately from the original manuscript.[76] The compositions they contain use white mensural notation, similar to that which occurs in Třeboň, Státní archív, rkp. A 4, and Ústí nad Orlicí, Okresní archív, rkp. A 3.[77] Two works are unidentifiable in any other known manuscripts: the fragments of an untexted tenor and "contratenor huius" (f. IVr/v), and Ecce tu pulcra es amica mea (f. IVv), perhaps a single voice from a polyphonic work. The remaining two compositions are found in a number of sources containing the popular repertoire. Folio IIIr contains the incomplete top voice from the five-voice Panis ecce angelorum / Panis aevus / Pange exsul / Patribus veteribus / Tantum ergo, attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi.[78] Two voices from a motet are copied on the verso of this same folio: Ave lumen dei verum / O premium (f. IIIv). These are part of the elaborate polytextual motet, Ave lumen dei verum / Tu sine principio / Ave Jesu Christe / O premium.[79] The use of white notation in this source is not an a priori reason for a late date.[80] The musical fragment from BJ 8 probably dates from the

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76. See the new description of BJ 8 in Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae aservantur: Volumen I, Numeros continens inde ab 8 usque ad 331, ed. Z. Włodek, J. Zathey and M. Zwiercan (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1980).

77. On the Třeboň source, see Soupis rukopisu v Třeboni a v Českem Krumlove, ed. J. Weber, J. Triska, and P. Spunar (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1958) 29 - 53, especially 47 - 52. For the Ústí nad Orlicí fragments, see Appendix XVII.

78. See Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 231. The entire piece has been transcribed in Černý, "K nejstarším dějinám moteta," [81] - [83].

79. See above, 353 - 354, concerning this work.

80. See, for instance, the description of Cambridge, University

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second quarter of the fifteenth century or at the latest from the mid-fifteenth century.

Conclusions

Kj 2464 contains only three definite indications concerning its date and provenance. The first and second are contained in the explicit to Jan Kanty's Donatus Commentary, "reported" when he was employed at the cloister school of the Canons Regular in the town of Miechów (north of Kraków) in 1421. Though Jan was employed in Miechów when be prepared his commentary, it is possible that he returned to Kraków to present it for the university students, since in 1429 he became a professor of arts at the university and this could have been one of his preliminary lectures.[81] The third is the date included among the astronomical data on f. 107r, 1433.

The main corpus of the manuscript was probably bound soon after 1421, perhaps by a Kraków follower of Jan Kanty.[82] Most of the music

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Library, Add. MS 5943, in Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900 - 1700, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982) 84 - 87, a manuscript using white notation from the early fifteenth century. This source has been published in facsimile, A Fifteenth-Century Song Book, introduction R. Rastall (Leeds: Boethius Press, 1973).

81. According to N.C. Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958; reprinted New York, Da Capo Press, 1972) 123, music was also a common introductory lecture for those beginning their teaching careers. It seems unlikely that Jan Kanty would have prepared an elaborate commentary on Donatus for the pupils of a cloister school.

82. It seems likely, if the signature "domini Joannis de Jaszona" on the inside front cover is related to the Johannes Jacobi de Jasszona (see above, 336 - 337), that he was still in Kraków at

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in the first two fascicles probably existed before this date. The fascicle which contains two compositions attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi (Pregrata erat, #18, and Progenie ex paganica, #19) apparently was added at about the time of binding since it is an insertion into a previously copied fascicle.[83] I believe that most of the material at the end of the manuscript was placed there circa 1433, the date included among the astronomical data, though some, such as the musical compositions on f. 108r/v, could have been written earlier. Except for the main corpus, containing the two treatises, the overall picture of this source is one of accretion, both at the beginning and the end.

The musical repertoire of Kj 2464, BJ 2188, and BJ 8 has strong stylistic and notational affinities with the popular repertoire found in sources stemming from Central and, especially, East Central Europe.[84] The two closest manuscripts in age and style come from the territory of the fifteenth-century kingdom of Hungary: H-Bn 534 and H-Bn 243.[85] The so-called St. Emmeram Manuscript is also important in this regard. Its repertoire includes works by many Western composers,

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this date, perhaps in one of the monastic houses in the city.

83. This fascicle, ff. 8r - 11v, begins with a fragmentary grammatical text (ff. 8r - 9r), Pregrata erat follows (f. 9r), ff. 9v - 11r are blank staves with occasional scribblings (including one group of white mensural notes), and on f. 11v, Progenie ex paganica. It appears in the middle of Iam legatur (or Deitatis a superno, #17). The discant for this composition is on f. 7v and the tenor on f. 12r.

84. For a definition of "popular" in the context of the polyphonic music contained in these manuscripts, see above, Chapter Five, 309 - 322.

85. See above, 350, fn. 52, and 353, fn. 57, for further references to these two sources.

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such as Zacharius, Ciconia, and Dufay, and also compositions ascribed or attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi.[86] In a recent study, Rumbold has shown that the earlier sections of the St. Emmeram manuscript were copied in the 1440's by Hermann Poetzlinger while he was a student at the University of Wien.[87] In Kraków, though there is not a single source similar to the St. Emmeram manuscript, the evidence of Kras 52 and Wn378, in conjuntion with Kj 2464, BJ 2188, and BJ 8, presents an almost identical picture. These Polish sources are dated only a decade or two before the compilation of the St. Emmeram manuscript.[88]

Among the sources for ars nova notation from Poland and Silesia, Kj 2464 is unique because of its strong connections with the musical life of the newly refounded University of Kraków. It contains three compositions attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi, which he apparently composed during his studies at the univesity. The presence of three liturgical texts may be connected with the participation of the scholars at church services, and the non-liturgical cantilena may have been a further ornament to the festivities on important feast days.[89]

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86. See Dézes, "Sancti Emmeram," 72 and 80, for the Kyrie ascribed to Petrus Wilhelmi. On the attribution of other works in the Emmeram manuscript to Petrus, see Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 229 and 233.

87. I. Rumbold, "The Compilation and Ownership of the 'St Emmeram' Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274)," Early Music History, 2: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 161 - 235.

88. See above, Chapter Five, 305 - 308, concerning the dating of Kras 52 and Wn378.

89. See above, Chapter Two, 100 - 103, for excerpts from two letters which refer to the participation of scholars in the divine service.

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The majority of compositions in Kj 2464, BJ 2188, and BJ 8 would seem to derive from what was a large pool of simple polyphony available in Central and East Central Europe during the later Middle Ages. Some of its contents, however, are certainly original works, and those interested students at the University of Kraków, such as Petrus Wilhelmi and possibly Nicolaus de Radom, probably learned there the fundamentals of mensural composition, though not all attained the same degree of proficiency.[90] That the principles of the ars nova notandi were known in Poland by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century is shown by many sources.[91] These three sources -- Kj 2464, BJ 2188, and BJ 8 -- demonstrate that this knowledge, even if imperfectly understood, was not confined to the cantores but had also reached the potential musici, the scholars of the University of Kraków.

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90. Concerning the possibility that Nicolaus de Radom was a student at the University of Kraków, see above, Chapter Five, 261 - 268.

91. See the theory treatises on ars nova notation and repertoire examined in Chapter Four, especially that of Paulus Paulirinus, an alumnus of the University of Kraków, and the musical sources described in Chapter Five.

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PART III:

CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER SEVEN

POLAND, ITS NEIGHBORS, AND WESTERN EUROPE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES: MUSIC AS AN ASPECT OF CULTURAL HISTORY

Introduction

Artistic influences, especially when written documentation is lacking, can be very difficult to trace. This is especially true of the Middle Ages, since so many sources have been lost through the centuries. Clearly, the newest artistic styles had influence away from the cultural centers of Western Europe, but how and when this knowledge was transferred to more distant realms is, in most cases, unknown.

Consider, for example, the three kingdoms of medieval East Central Europe: Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. From the period of their conversion to Catholicism during the tenth and eleventh centuries, these states were woven into the political, economic, and cultural fabric of Western (that is, Catholic) Europe. Though distant geographically from the artistic centers of the West, by the thirteenth century there is documentary evidence that Western artisans were traveling to the east.[1]

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1. For example, the Romanesque bronze doors of Gniezno Cathedral, containing scenes from the life of St. Adalbert, may have been cast with the help of French artisans. See N. Davies, God's Playground I, 78. The thirteenth-century French architect,

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The Middle Ages were a period of great internationalism in the arts and music is one of the arts whose influence can be seen throughout medieval Europe.[2] Particularly in medieval music, the notation used to preserve the compositions can provide graphic evidence of artistic relationships, even across national boundaries.

During the second decade of the fourteenth century, Philippe de Vitry and his contemporaries developed a new rhythmic notation for music, described as an ars nova ("a new skill").[3] Though based on

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Villard de Honnecourt, traveled to Hungary and made sketches of churches and ornamentation he found there; see The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, ed. T. Bowie (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959) 102 - 103, and 108 - 109. Another Frenchman, the goldsmith William Buchier of Paris, was met between 1253 and 1255 at the court of Mangu Khan in Karakorum by William of Rubruck. Rubruck reports that William Buchier had been captured in Hungary and brought to the Mongol capital because of his talents. William of Rubruck's account is translated in Contemporaries of Marco Polo: Consisting of the Travel Records to the Eastern Parts of the World of William of Rubruck [1253 - 1255]; The Journey of John of Pian de Carpini [1245 - 1247]; The Journal of Friar Odoric [1318 - 1330]; and the Oriental Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela [1160 - 1173], ed. M. Komroff (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928) 135, 157 - 160, 163 - 164, 168, 187, 192 - 193. In the fourteenth century, the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Praha was begun by the French architect, Matthew d'Arras, and then construction continued under the direction of Peter Parler. See J. Burian, Katedrála sv. Víta na pražském hradě (Praha: Odeon, 1980), especially XVIII - XX.

2. I purposely exclude literature from this discussion, since the spread of vernacular literature for the most part was coterminous with national -- or at least linguistic -- boundaries. Poems such as Beowulf, the Germanic sagas, French romances, or even Dante's Commedia had a limited audience. However, the pictorial, sculptural, and musical arts (excluding the use of vernacular texts) could easily transcend any political and linguistic barriers.

3. See above, Chapters Four and Five for further references.

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earlier notations, in which the rhythm was derived primarily from the context in which each single note occurred, Philippe's innovation was to develop a set of mathematical mensurations which circumscribed the possible rhythmic values. These same mensurations, using only multiples of two (duple) and three (triple), are still the foundation of Western musical notation.

The knowledge of ars nova notation spread throughout Europe following its invention in Paris. Within decades, its influence can be found in manuscripts from England, Spain, and Germany. By the end of the fourteenth century it even replaced the distinct indigenous notation used in Italy. The most distant sources for the new notation are found in the three medieval kingdoms of East Central Europe: Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary.

Certain distinctive musical forms were transferred along with the new notation. These included the isorhythmic motet and certain of the formes-fixes, such as the ballade and virelai, associated with medieval French poetry. A number of compositions originally in French are found in later non-French sources with Latin contrafacta, or with only the incipits of the foreign texts copied; in this way, the dissemination of the compositions was not hampered by their having foreign texts.[4]

The presence of ars nova sources in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, copied in France or Italy or containing compositions by Western composers, provides direct proof of cultural contacts with the West. That

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4. See above, Chapter Four, 206 - 209, and Chapter Five, 294 - 295, on the subject of contrafacta mentioned in musical treatises and notated in manuscripts from Poland and Silesia.

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native composers from East Central Europe, using ars nova notation and musical forms, created works of artistic as well as historical merit, shows that Western models were not passively imported, but fully understood. Finally, the adaptation of ars nova notation and musical forms demonstrates how Western models were utilized and modified in the development of an indigenous East Central European musical culture.

The ars nova sources from medieval Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland are partial evidence for a long tradition of musical and cultural contact with the West beginning with their conversion to Catholicism, and they should be studied in this context. The view that these are peripheral sources is entirely a modern one. In the Middle Ages, these countries were full participants in Western political, economic, social, and cultural developments. Sources preserved in their archives relative to European cultural history may be of great importance -- indeed, may be unique -- given that many Western manuscripts are lost or only incompletely preserved. For example, the Wrocław Rotulus (PL-Ak 1955) discussed in Chapter Five, copied in the West but brought to Silesia early in its history, contains the only completely preserved fatras distich; only one other Western source contains even a partial setting.[5] The value of the musical sources from East Central Europe must be based on the intrinsic merit of their contents in the historical context of late medieval cultural history, not merely their geographical position.

The direction of the cultural contacts was primarily from West to

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5. See above, Chapter Five, 236 - 250.

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East, based on the evidence of the remaining sources. Yet it is possible that among the anonymous compositions in western sources from the Middle Ages there may be works by musicians from East Central Europe who had traveled west and participated in the musical life of Western Europe, even if only for a brief period.[6] There is, however, no evidence to support or deny such a supposition.

In the context of this study, the question of influence of the East on the West is not the main issue. After all, Italian music of the fourteenth century exerted little influence outside of the Italian peninsula (in fact, by the late fourteenth century it was greatly influenced by French notational practices and repertoire), but its importance as a distinct national repertoire is not denied. The purpose of this dissertation is to expand our knowledge of medieval European culture, in which the countries of East Central Europe were full participants, and these countries deserve appropriate consideration, especially where they contribute new information to our otherwise incomplete picture of that milieu.

The medieval manuscripts from Poland and Silesia are perhaps the best preserved sources for ars nova notation in East Central Europe, and they provide the most clues concerning its introduction from the West and its creative adaptation by native composers. But they are not unique. Though less completely preserved, the sources from Bohemia and

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6. See below, 376 - 377, concerning the case of the Pole, Gregorius Sanocens, who seems to have been a member of the papal chapel in the early fifteenth century.

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Hungary present a similar picture of Western influence, and Eastern imitation and adaptation. In the medieval musical history of East Central Europe, the Polish and Silesian mansucripts with ars nova notation should be thought of as just one important key to understanding how Western artistic developments traveled east.

Western Influence and Local Adaptation: Music in Medieval Poland and Silesia

The ars nova sources from Poland and Silesia are not the earliest records of Western musical influences. When the monastic orders first arrived in Poland, they brought with them the manuscripts necessary for the divine service.[7] The earliest Benedictine sources come from places as diverse as Liège, Köln, and Niederaltnich. The Missale plenarium, now in the chapter library of Gnieźno Cathedral, was probably copied in Bavaria in the eleventh century and sent soon afterwards to Kraków.[8] The liturgical books of the Franciscans were based on their standard Western prototypes, the earliest of which in Poland is dated about 1232 - 1255.[9]

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7. The best summary in English of early Polish music history is H. Feicht, "Liturgical Music in Mediaeval Poland," Polish Musicological Studies I (1977) 58 - 124.

8. See the full study and facsimile, Missale Plenarium, Bibl. Capit. Gnesnensis, Ms. 149, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XI and XII, ed. K. Biegański and J. Woronczak (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1970). Also, Feicht, "Liturgical Music," 65 - 66.

9. Feicht, "Liturgical Music," 72. See also, F. Bak, "Średniowieczne Graduały franciszkańskie," Musica Medii Aevi (1969) 91 - 111.

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Western contacts are also clearly demonstrated in the earliest polyphonic sources. At some point, possibly as early as the eleventh century, a copy of the Musica enchiriadis was brought to Poland.[10] The only direct indication of its use in Poland are some marginal annotations attributed to a fifteenth-century professor at the University of Kraków. It seems probable, however, that this manuscript was brought to Poland by the early Benedictines.[11]

As described in Chapter Three, the oldest manuscripts containing polyphonic compositions are still preserved in Polish Franciscan archives. The earliest remaining source (St S1 and Pu 1), which contains primarily compositions of thirteenth-century French origin, was probably brought to Poland from Italy in the mid-thirteenth century. There were many opportunities for such a source to be brought to Poland either by native or papal ecclesiastics, who frequently traveled to and from Rome.

Other Franciscan manuscripts probably contain the earliest polyphonic compositions by native Poles. Some of these works appear to be local adaptations of compositions known from other sources; others seem to be the original works of local composers. In addition, there are many manuscripts containing polyphonic compositions, which are part of the extensive tradition of singing liturgical lessons, common throughout Central and East Central Europe. In contrast to many of the

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10. See above Chapter Two, 89 - 90, for a discussion of BJ 1965.

11. See below, 386, concerning another manuscript of this treatise, presently in Wien, which was found in an Hungarian archive.

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sources for this repertoire, which are frequently variants of a common model, some of the Polish compositions appear to reflect unique local practices and are likely to have been specifically composed for local use. Thus, even in the earliest manuscripts, there is evidence that Polish composers could creatively adapt Western techniques.

The musical manuscripts containing ars nova notation from medieval Poland, and in fact from all of medieval East Central Europe, can be divided into two repertoires, one comprising compositions by Western composers or in Western styles, and the other including compositions from the popular repertoire. In the former, Western influence is clear, either in the form an actual Western manuscript that was brought to the East (PL-Ak 1955, for instance), or in the form of Western compositions copied in Poland (as in Kras 52 and Wn 378).

The importance of the popular repertoire in relation to Western influences is perhaps more difficult to establish. Most of the sources discussed in Chapter Five lack the elegant notation and script used by the professional notators, such as those who copied the two "royal" Polish manuscripts, Kras 52 and Wn 378. The music of the popular repertoire seems to have been written mostly for use in parish churches or by university students; in either case, by and for people who were perhaps still learning the rudiments of musical notation, which may not have included a full understanding of the subtleties of ars nova notation expected of professional musicians.

Some works in the popular repertoire were certainly composed by Poles, for example, those discussed in Chapter Six by Petrus Wilhelmi

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de Grudencz, composed while he was a student at the University of Kraków. In fact, Petrus is a figure who stands midway between the two repertoires. Though many of his compositions show the simple counterpoint associated with the popular repertoire, he was also capable of writing in a more "Western" style. The popular repertoire represents a strong local tradition; even though colored by Western influences such as that of the ars nova notation, its traditions were respected even by the musicians and composers who were adept in Western musical styles.

The pattern of Western influence and its adaptation by local musicians is also evident in the surviving theory treatises from East Central Europe analyzed in Chapter Four. In each of these three works, the Brzeg Anonymous, the Wrocław Anonymous, and the musical sections of Paulus Paulirinus' encyclopedia -- the notational principles of the ars nova are defined; in the case of the Wrocław Anonymous, Western compositions are even named as examples. However, each treatise shows evidence of local adaptation in the form of specific mensural signs, mensural practices, or the citation of compositions known only from Central and East Central European sources.

The teaching of speculative music theory at the University of Kraków was current with Western European standards. This is shown in particular by the prominent place of the Musica Muris in the curriculum and in the manuscripts from the university collections, as examined in Chapter Two. Given the practical knowledge of mensural music on the part of at least three Kraków students -- Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, Gregorius Sanocens, and probably also Nicolaus de Radom -- it appears

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likely that ars nova theory was also taught, even if not part of the official curriculum.

The history of Western influence on Polish musical culture did not end with the Middle Ages. Prominent Poles continued to travel to the West and returned home carrying the fruits of this contact. The prominent fifteenth-century bishop of Lvov, Gregorius Sanocens (Grzegorz z Sanoka), was particularly fond of music, both during his studies at the University of Kraków and during his travels in Italy.[12] Philippus Callimachus, a noted Italian humanist who worked for Gregorius in Lvov and wrote his biography in the late fifteenth century, provides evidence of Gregorius' musical activities in Italy.[13]

> Quam exercitationem interrupit postea, coactus Italiam petere ad impetrandam curam ecclesiae, tunc casu vacantis. Nam qui iampridem ducendae uxori parum se idoneum a natura sentiret, sacerdotio se mancipare instituerat. Itaque cum vacaret ecclesia in salinis regiis, quae prope Cracoviam sunt, suadentibus amicis atque id impensius efflagitantibus Bononiam petiit atque inde Florentiam se contulit ad Eugenium Pontificem Maximum, qui Roma pulsus, a Florentinis propter ipsorum singularem pietatem in religionem non solum susceptus fuerat, sed quam honorificentissime habebatur. Ibi cum voti compos factus esset, vix, ut regrederetur in patriam, extorsit a quamplurimis, qui suadebant ei remanere in collegio musicorum Pontificis et nolentem propemodum invite retinere procurabant.
>
> (Afterwards, he interrupted his training, since he was compelled to travel to Italy for the purpose of obtaining the

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12. Concerning Gregorius' early aptitude for music, see above, Chapter Two, 98 - 99.

13. Philippus Callimachus, "Vita et Mores Gregorii," Monumenta Polonica Historica / Pomniki Dziejowe Polski, 6 vols. (Lwów & Kraków, 1864 - 1893; reprinted Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960 - 1961) VI, 183 - 184. I would like to thank Miroslaw Perz for bringing this passage to my attention.

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> care of a church, at that time in the misfortune of vacancy. Long since, he felt himself unfit by nature to have a wife, so he determined to bind himself to the priesthood. Therefore, when the church in the salt mines of the king was vacant, which are near Kraków, with counselings and indeed greater entreaties from his friends, he went to Bologna and from there, Florence. He directed himself to Eugenius, a most magnificent pontiff, who, while expelled from Rome, not only had been received by the Florentines because of their singular piety, but was treated with the greatest honor. And when his [Gregorius's] wish had been fulfilled there, he barely managed, in order to return to his homeland, to extricate himself from the great many people, who recommended that he should remain in the college of musicians of the pontiff, and they nearly managed to keep him there against his will.)

It would appear from this passage that Gregorius may have been a singer in the papal choir during his stay in Italy; this would probably have been in the period between 1439, when Gregorius received his "magister artis," and 1442, when he is named as "magister" of the royal chapel after his return to Poland.[14] As a singer in the papal chapel, he would have been acquainted with the most recent works of Dufay and his contemporaries and may have returned to Poland with copies of these compositions.

Further evidence of the close ties between Poland and the West is found in later manuscripts. A collection of fragments probably dating from about 1500, now in Poznań but originally from Lvov, contain parts of Dufay's Missa Ave regina celorum and Josquin's Missa L'homme armé

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14. See the short biographical sketch of Gregorius in I. Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1977) 251.

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sexti toni.[15] In the mid sixteenth century, a collection of French chansons was copied in the city of Gdańsk.[16] The sixteenth-century tablature copied by Jan of Lublin contains many intabulations of works by Western composers such as Josquin in addition to works that may have been by other local composers.[17]

Throughout its history, Poland has always been receptive to Western influences, in all aspects of its culture, not just music. The sources for ars nova notation and theory from Polish archives are just one aspect of this relationship. The examples from Poland's medieval musical history provide concrete evidence for the strength and depth of this influence.

Music in Medieval Bohemia

Though the sources for Bohemian music history are fewer than in Poland, the pattern of Western influence and local adaptation is equally evident.[18] As with Poland, the monastic orders were the

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15. These fragments will be fully examined in a forthcoming study by Mirosław Perz.

16. See the two studies by J. Klobukowska, "Rękopis 4003 z biblioteki PAN jako źródło do historii chanson francuskiej w Polsce," Muzyka VI/3 (1961) 81 - 88, and "Repertuar rękopisu 4003 z biblioteki PAN w Gdańsku i jego znaczenie historyczne," Muzyka VI/3 (1961) 74 - 80.

17. See the complete facsimile edition with thematic index, Tabulatura organowa Jana z Lublina, ed. K. Wilkowska-Chomińska, Monumenta Musicae in Polonia B:1 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1964).

18. The best surveys of medieval Bohemian music remain Z. Nejedlý,

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strongest influence on early Bohemian liturgical practices.[19] As described in Chapter Three, the earliest polyphonic sources in Bohemia date from the late thirteenth century. None of the remaining Bohemian manuscripts contain compositions from the Notre Dame repertoire, such as St S1 and Pu 1, but these early sources preserve a composition in simple note-against-note counterpoint found in many earlier Western manuscripts. There is evidence that at this period (late thirteenth century through the fourteenth century) Bohemian composers and scribes had some knowledge of more advanced styles. A lost "Liber discantorum operis pragensis," is listed in a fourteenth-century library catalogue.[20] The meaning of "discantorum" in this context is open to different interpretations; most likely it refers to polyphonic works, probably using some form of rhythmic notation derived from Western models, if not actually Western compositions. It has not yet been established whether the newly discovered fragments of thirteenth-century motets, probably from France, were actually used in Southern Bohemia before being used as binding material.[21] Even though the documen-

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Dějiny husitského zpěvu, 6 vols. (Praha: Nakladatelství Československe Akademie Věd, 1954 - 1956), and J. Racek, Středověka hudba (Brno: Nakladatelství Rovnost, 1946).

19. For a list of monastic establishments in Bohemia and Moravia through 1419, see Z. Fiala, Před-husitské Čechy 1310 - 1419 (Praha: Nakladatelství Svoboda, 1978) 397 - 403.

20. See above, Chapter Three, 116.

21. See G.A. Anderson, "New Sources of Medieval Music," Musicology VII (Melbourne, 1982) 2 - 3, 11 - 16 (texts), and 21 - 25 (transcriptions). Some preliminary corrections to Anderson's description of this source are given in the entry CS-Pnm XII E 5 in the Bibliography: Manuscripts.

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tary evidence is not as intact as that found in Polish archives, since many sources were destroyed during the Hussite revolution in the early fifteenth century, it seems likely that Bohemian contacts with Western polyphony of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were equally strong.

Under John of Luxemburg, who ruled Bohemia in the early fourteenth century, French contacts were probably quite prominent. His secretary at that time, Guillaume de Machaut, may have been of some musical influence at the royal court in Praha, but many of his works seem to stem from a later period, and most of the reports in his poems about Eastern affairs appear to be reminiscences or second-hand information rather than truly contemporary accounts. Yet there is strong evidence of the influence of the ars nova in Bohemia. The earliest treatise in East Central Europe on the new notation was written in 1369, probably at the University of Praha, founded in 1348 by Charles IV.[22] In addition, there is a small repertoire of two-voice compositions which use ars nova notation and are similar in style to some Western works.[23]

One probable reason for the lack of Bohemian sources stems from the vast social, economic, political and religious upheavals associated with the Hussite rebellion (1419 - 1434).[24] The restriction of musical

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22. See above, Chapter Four, 166, fn 9.

23. See J. Černý, "Die Ars nova - Musik in Böhmen," Miscellanea musicologica XXI - XXIII (Praha, 1970) 47 - 106, for a complete examination and transcriptions of these compositions.

24. See F.G. Heymann, John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution (Prince-

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activities and also the destruction of church books, vestments and ornaments is specifically mentioned in the contemporary chronicle of Vavřince z Březove, who described the tenets of the radical Hussite sect centered at Tabor.[25] As a group, the Hussites did not abhor all music or even polyphony, but, as in many later Protestant sects, music that could be sung by the laity -- congregational music -- was of greater value, even if simpler in style. The importance of lay comprehension was also stressed, and early in the fifteenth century much of the Latin liturgy was translated into Czech. However, these new liturgical texts were set not to new melodies, but to modified versions of the Catholic liturgical chant [Example 53].[26]

In addition to the chant, the Hussite factions quickly adopted compositions from the popular repertoire. Some of these works were probably current before the rebellion, since they are also found in Catholic sources.[27] Especially after the Hussite rebellion was subdued

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ton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955; reprinted New York: Russell & Russell, 1969) and H. Kaminsky, A History of the Hussite Revolution (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

25. Vavřince z Březove, "Kronika husitska," Fontes rerum Bohemicarum / Prameny dějin českých V (Praha: Nakladem nadani Frantiska Palackého, 1893) 327 - 534, esp. 401 - 402, 404 and 408.

26. Extensive examples of the Hussite liturgical chant are published in Nejedlý, Dějiny, VI.

27. See above, Chapter Five, 312 - 316, for an examination of one such work, a Credo found both in a Franciscan manuscript and in the Jistebnický Cantional, which contains mostly compositions using Czech, but this work retains its original Latin. The work is transcribed in Appendix XI, 445 - 457.

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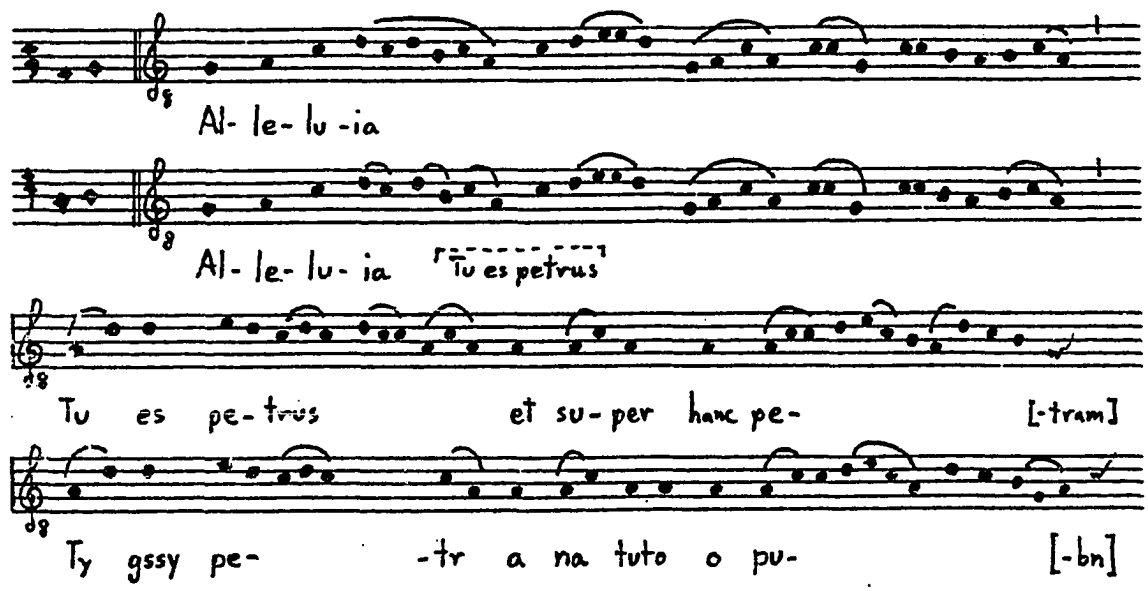
Example 53: Comparison of the Latin and Czech versions of the Alleluia: Tu es Petrus.
(Ex. 50a: CS-Pnm XII.F.14, ff. 64v - 65r;
Ex. 50b: CS-Pnm II.C.7, p. 29.)



and the endorsement of the Compacta of Praha, which allowed for communion under both species, the Utraquists continued the traditions of the popular repertoire. Also, the lay societies of "Literati," the Literary Brethren, were prominent in spreading the influence of this repertoire throughout the Bohemian kingdom.[28]

In the manuscripts commissioned for the Bohemian churches, the popular compositions held an important place, almost equal to that of

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28. See, for example, J. Mikan, "Literary groups in Hradec Králové," Pearls of Old Parchments: Musical Manuscripts of East Bohemia (Hradec Králové: Regional Museum, 1967) 12 - 23.

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the liturgical chant. Among the monophonic cantilene are many tunes that later were used by Luther and his colleagues to create the German chorale repertoire. Among the polyphonic works are copies of compositions over a century old, including one which was originally an isorhythmic motet.[29] Many of these works retained medieval styles, even if, as is likely, they were new compositions by East Central European composers. In fact, the scribes who copied these works retained the older style of ars nova notation for these traditional works, even into the early seventeenth century.

Throughout the later fifteenth century, and in many manuscripts from the sixteenth century, the texts of the popular repertoire remained in Latin. About 1500, however, many of the compositions, including the polyphonic works, received Czech contrafacta, many apparently by Johannes Taborský, whose workshop produced some of the most sumptuous manuscripts of this repertoire.

The popular repertoire had an especially long life. Its influence was still felt in Bohemia even after the repression of the Utraquists following the Battle of White Mountain (1614) at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Though the popular repertoire was probably the strongest influence on Bohemian musical culture, new Western compositions and styles were also known. By the late fifteenth century, Bohemian scribes were copying the newest Western works by Isaac, Agricola and Josquin using the white mensural notation which was stan-

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29. See above, Chapter Four, 209 - 211, for an examination of Ave coronata / Alma parens / Ave coronata.

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dard in the West. In some instances, these new compositions are copied in their new-style white notation next to works from the popular repertoire which retain their traditional black notation.

Though historical circumstances have deprived modern scholarship of many sources, the musical traditions of late medieval Bohemia are nonetheless richly documented. Even though much of the evidence is circumstantial, it is evident that strong cultural contacts were maintained with the West, and that new compositions and styles were assimilated by native composers. Even in the popular repertoire associated with the most radical Hussite factions, this influence is still apparent, even if somewhat distant.

Music in Medieval Hungary

In the Middle Ages, the kingdom of Hungary was quite different from the state indicated by its present borders. Included in its territories were what is now Hungary, Slovakia (now incorporated in Czechoslovakia), Transylvania (now in Rumania), and the northern areas of present-day Yugoslavia (primarily Croatia). Until the Turkish conquests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Hungarian kingdom was a strong political force on the eastern borders of Europe. Unfortunately, during the long period of Ottoman rule (through the eighteenth century), many important sources for Hungarian history were destroyed or lost; the musical sources were no exception.

As with its neighbors, the early church in Hungary had a strongly

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monastic character.[30] The Benedictine monks who established the first cloisters arrived from Germany, Italy, Flanders, and Lotharingia and brought their liturgy and its associated manuscripts with them. Three manuscripts remain from this eleventh-century heritage: the Sacramentarium of Zagreb, the Codex of Hahot, and the Agenda pontificalis of Hartvig, the bishop of Györ. The twelfth-century Codex Albensis uses a notation related to that developed at the great Benedictine monastery at St. Gall.[31] The sacramentarium known as the Pray Codex, written by eight Benedictine monks at the monasteries of Boldva and of Somogyvar between 1192 and 1216, shows Italian-French influence, and contains the earliest document in the Hungarian language, a funeral oration, along with some chants that are probably the work of native composers.[32]

In the thirteenth century, a Hungarian student or monk, possibly in Paris, made a Hungarian translation of the well-known Marian lament, Planctus ante nescia.[33] Though only the Hungarian text remains, it is

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30. T. von Bogyay, Grundzüge der Geschichte Ungarns (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) 37.

31. This source has been published in facsimile, Codex Albensis, ed. Z. Falvy and L. Mezey (Graz: Akademische-Verlagsanstalt, 1963).

32. See Szabolcsi, Concise History, 14, and the extensive notes to the recording of the Funeral Oration, with facsimile, text, and translation which accompanies the recording Magyar gregoriánum 6, Schola Hungarica (Hungaroton SLPX 12170).

33. Concerning the Hungarian translation see L. Mezey, "Notes lovaniennes sur la Complainte en vieux hongrois," Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 11 (1969) 21 - 38. For a full bibliography of sources of the Latin text, see Carmina Burana, ed. A. Hilka, O. Schumann, and B. Bishop, 4 vols. (Hildesheim: 1930 - 1963) I/3, 129 - 134. The music has been published in F. Gennrich, Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes (Halle: Max

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probable that it was sung to a version of the existing melody.[34] Evidence to support this hypothesis is provided by two notated Middle English paraphrases of this same sequence from a slightly later period.[35]

There is possibly one source of polyphonic music from the early thirteenth century. This source, from the monastery of Zadar, contains a two-voice troped Sanctus.[36] Though this territory was frequently part of the kingdom of Hungary, it was also often under Venetian control. Also, a manuscript of the Musica enchiriadis was brought to Hungary at some point during the Middle Ages; perhaps it arrived with the first Benedictines during the eleventh century.[37]

The remaining manuscripts which contain polyphony stem from a much later period. A two-voice Alleluia: Fuit virgo and a few other fragmentary compositions are found in an early fifteenth-century manu-

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Niemeyer Verlag, 1932) 143 - 147, and F. Ll. Harrison, Medieval English Song (London: Faber Music, 1979) 238 - 240 (transcription) and 116 - 120, 296 - 297 (text and translation). Neither of these transcriptions refers to the variant version of the melody contained in London, British Library, add. 36881, ff. 25r - 27v, a thirteenth-century addendum to a twelfth-century Aquitanian manuscript. The relationship of these versions will be the subject of a forthcoming study.

34. See the fragmentary attempt to combine the Latin music with the Hungarian text in B. Szabolcsi, Concise History, 112.

35. See Harrison, Medieval English Song, 229 - 237.

36. See above, Chapter Three, 106, fn. 3, for references to descriptions, facsimiles, and transcriptions of this work.

37. See J. Szendrei, A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, MUhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 1 (Budapest: Közzéteszi az MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981) 69, on Wien, Öst. Nationalbib. Cpv. 55.

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script; they are similar to a number of compositions found in Central European and East Central European manuscripts from this same period.[38]

In recent years, a number of fragmentary sources, recovered from the bindings of later manuscripts and books, have greatly increased our knowledge of Hungarian musical culture in the later Middle Ages.[39] One important musical fragment was probably copied in northern Italy in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[40] It contains the remnants of four French compositions which had been copied without their French texts; the foreign vernacular was frequently dropped when music was copied in another country. Discovered in a seventeenth-century book printed in Wien, but kept in the library of the Jesuit College of Zagreb from the late sixteenth century, it probably came to Hungary directly from Italy. It cannot now be determined whether the original manuscript was brought to Hungary by Italian ecclesiastics or merchants, or was obtained by Hungarians who had traveled to Italy, perhaps to attend the famous universities.

Another fragmentary manuscript was found in the binding of a

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38. Facsimiles of the Alluluia: Fuit virgo are printed in B. Szabolcsi, Concise History, 15; B. Rajeczky, "Spätmittelalterliche Organalkunst in Ungarn," Studia musicologica I (1961) 17; and B. Rajeczky, Írásai (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976) 133.

39. These fragmentary sources were found during the comprehensive search now being conducted under the direction of Prof. László Mezey of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I would like to express my thanks for his making these new sources available for my work and for his advice on these and other matters concerning Hungarian history.

40. See Appendix XX, 543 - 546, for a provisional description of this source.

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fifteenth-century Franciscan antiphonal.[41] The original source for the binding material was probably brought to the Bratislava (Pressburg [German], Poszony [Hungarian]) Clarist cloister by Premonstratian nuns from St. Lambert de Somlevasharhely, who were fleeing before the Turkish incursions during the sixteenth century. From what remains, it is possible to discover copies of three sacred compositions, two Glorias and a Sanctus, known from other Western manuscripts.

A fourth composition, copied in the same elegant musical hand, is particularly interesting. This work, Veni sancte spritus reple / Da gaudirorum premia / Veni sancte spiritus, was previously known only from manuscripts of the popular repertoire.[42] Though the few melodic fragments preserved in the Budapest source show that its version of this work was different from all later concordances, it still demonstrates that the popular and Western repertoires were not mutually exclusive entities to the medieval musicians who performed this music.

Two other fifteenth-century Hungarian sources contain only works from the popular repertoire. One set of fragments, H-Bn 534, was discovered in a manuscript from Slovakia.[43] It is particulary important, since its concordances link it with sources from Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Germany. The second fragment, only a single leaf, was

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41. See Appendix XXI, 547 - 550, for a provisional description of this manuscript.

42. See above, Chapter Six, 353 - 354, for an examination of this work and its manuscript sources.

43. See above, Chapter Six, 350, fn. 52, for further references to these fragments.

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recently found in a binding in the University Library, Budapest.[44] The compositions found in this latter source are not known from any other manuscript of the popular repertoire, and probably were compositions by a native composer.

Another group of fragments from Slovakia, probably dating from about 1450, contain, in addition to works stylistically related to the popular repertoire, a sacred work by Walter Frye, found in numerous Western manuscripts.[45] The Mellon Chansonnier, from the later fifteenth century, may have been brought to the Buda court from Naples.[46] A large group of manuscripts found in the town of Bártfa provide ample evidence of the continuing contacts between Hungary and the West in the sixteenth century.

Though much has been lost, enough evidence remains to show the strong influence Western music had on medieval Hungarian musical culture. In the ninth century, when the Magyar tribes first invaded Europe, their cultural traditions were probably quite far from medieval Western European standards. The recently discovered fragments of Western polyphony from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,

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44. See Bibliography: Manuscripts, H-Bu Fr. 299 for a provisional description of this fragment.

45. Concerning these fragments see B. Rajeczky, "Mittelalterliche Mehrstimmigkeit in Ungarn," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, Bydgoszcz 1966 Polska, Acta Scientifica Congressus I (Warszawa: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966) 230 - 236; and Rajeczky, Írásai, 141 - 150.

46. See L.L. Perkins, "The Mellon Chansonnier as a Central European Source," Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis VI (1982) 651 - 667; and his critical edition, The Mellon Chansonnier, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979) I, 17 - 32.

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together with sources from the popular repertoire, are evidence of the close cultural relations between Hungary and the West that had developed by the end of the Middle Ages. Musicians of the Hungarian kingdom had adopted and were continuing to adapt Western models.

The Ars Nova in East Central Europe

From each of the medieval East Central European kingdoms examples can be found of Western compositions, either contained in imported manuscripts or copied by local notators. At present, only four manuscripts are known which were brought to East Central Europe during the Middle Ages: the "Stary Sącz" fragments, mostly likely brought to Poland from Italy in the thirteenth century (St S1 and Pu 1); the fragments of late thirteenth-century motets of probable French provenance found in a manuscript from the collections at Český Krumlov (CS-Pnm XII E 5); the Wrocław rotulus (PL-Ak 1955), copied in France and brought to Silesia, probably in the late fourteenth century; and the fragment recently discovered in Budapest (H-Bu Fr. 298) with copies of French compositions probably notated in northern Italy about 1400. The latter two sources are important for the present study since both contain compositions by Western composers which use ars nova notation. Some of the compositions they contain are known from other Western manuscripts, but a few, for example, the unique polyphonic setting of a fatras distich in the Wrocław rotulus, can occasionally present us with hitherto unknown Western compositions.

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Some of the preserved East Central European sources contain works by Western composers copied by local notators. Foremost among these are the Budapest fragments containing sacred music known from late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Western manuscripts (H-Bu Fr. 297), and also the two sources copied in the milieu of the Polish royal court during the third and fourth decades of the fifteenth century (Kras 52 and Wn 378). Especially evident in these Polish "royal" manuscripts are the connections with northern Italy; most of the composers represented were active in this region or their works are found in other north Italian sources. The Budapest fragments demonstrate similar connections, since the Western compositions they contain are also found in Italian manuscripts. These three sources show that local notators and singers were capable of copying and performing the most advanced Western polyphonic works.

The knowledge of Western musical forms and notation, as evidenced in these three manuscripts, goes beyond the mere copying of foreign works. In each, there are works that can be attributed to local composers. In this regard, perhaps the most significant are the ten compositions by Nicolaus de Radom. Their form, compositional style, and notation may be Western in spirit, but they were composed in Kraków by a native Pole. Nicolaus was not just an imitator, he creatively adapted Western models for his own use.

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Overall, the ars nova sources from East Central Europe demonstrate that Western musical styles were not distant phenomena, but a direct stimulus to the development of local musical traditions.

The Popular Repertoire and the Ars Nova

The popular repertoire is on the one hand evidence of the strong conservative tendencies of all popular culture, but on the other hand it demonstrates that even the old musical traditions were open to change. In the earliest sources, many of the compositions show the influence of late thirteenth-century practices, including an occasional motet known from thirteenth-century Western manuscripts. However, in a few cases, these older motets have been adapted in later manuscripts of the popular repertoire using ars nova notation.

The musical forms associated with the popular repertoire are also derived from earlier models. The settings of sacred cantilene are related to the monophonic and polyphonic compositions called conductus. The motet-like compositions, which in contrast to the common medieval definition do not use a fragment from the repertoire of monophonic ecclesiastical chant, are similar to the so-called Engelberg motet style.[47] These simple two-voice compositions contained in a mid-fourteenth-century source from Engelberg are the earliest preserved exam-

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47. See above, Chapter Six, 349 - 354, for further information on the Engelberg motet style and the related compositions from East Central Europe.

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ples of what must have been in its time an extensive repertoire of such works known in Central and East Central Europe. The only known concordance for a composition in the Engelberg manuscript was just recently discovered in a manuscript probably copied in Vysoké Myto (ČS-Uo A 3) during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Even if further concordances do not appear as a result of future discoveries, the relationship between the style of these motets and the motets copied in later manuscripts of the popular repertoire is clear.

In certain areas it is difficult to divide the popular repertoire from that directly influenced by Western models. As noted, some compositions are directly derived from earlier Western motets. One example from the early fifteenth century, the three-voice motet Veni sancte spiritus reple / Da gaudiorum premia / Veni sancte spiritus, a work found in a number of later sources for the popular repertoire, is copied in this source along with compositions otherwise known only from Western manuscripts. This is also true of other manuscripts such as the "Emmeram" codex where works from the popular repertoire appear next to compositions by noted Western composers such as Dufay. The fact that an anonymous three-voice isorhythmic motet, Ave Coronata / Alma parens / Ave coronata, is known only from two Bohemian manuscripts from about 1500 shows the extent of the stylistic continuity of Western forms in this repertoire.

Some compositions by native East Central European composers are difficult to classify as simply Western or popular in style. For example, the small group of rondelli found in a few Bohemian sources could

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be seen as local imitations of Western models. However, a few of these compositions are also found in manuscripts of the popular repertoire.

The works ascribed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz are equally difficult to assign to any one repertoire. Among his compositions are works which appear very close to Western models and sometimes they are copied next to pieces by his better known contemporaries.[48] Others are copied primarily in manuscripts associated only with the popular repertoire.

Whatever the individual characteristics may be, the compositions in this popular style are found in manuscripts from all of Central and East Central Europe; their sources range in age from the mid-fourteenth through the early seventeenth century. Ars nova notation became the standard used in all sources; even in the most recent manuscripts it was retained in its earliest form, as black mensural notation. Philippe de Vitry's notational innovations were undoubtedly an important influence on all later Western music, but it can be argued that its deepest and longest influence was on the music of the popular repertoire.

Conclusion

The sources of medieval music from Poland provide important evidence that Western music and musical styles were known in East Central

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48. See above, Chapter Six, 354 - 359, for a brief examination of his works.

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Europe. Foremost among the channels for such contacts between West and East were the institutions of the Church. Throughout the medieval period, the monastic orders established in the East were in constant touch with their Western brethren. Ecclesiastical officials were also frequent travelers to and from the eastern borderlands of medieval Europe. The destination for many of these travelers was the papal court, since the pope was a symbol of the common culture held by all Catholic nations. As regards Poland, which was in theory a papal fief during the Middle Ages, this contact was political, religious, and cultural.

A second institution which stimulated intellectual contact among the European nations was the university. Before the fourteenth century, many students from East Central Europe traveled West to attend the studia generalia in England, France, and Italy. With the establishment of universities in the East, in particular at Praha and Kraków, local students came in contact with professors who had returned to their native lands following study at foreign schools. Often they carried the works and ideas of the foremost Western scholars. The newly founded universities in the East modeled their curricula on those of Paris, Oxford, and Bologna, and sought to obtain the most recent texts to aid the studies of their students. Among these texts were works on musical theory. The speculative theory as taught in Johannes de Muris' Musica speculativa was an official part of the traditional curriculum. Works on mensural theory, and in particular ars nova theory, may have formed part of the unofficial curricula which were

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studied as examples of intellectual and artistic innovations from the West.

Other prominent meeting places of European clerics and scholars were the great church councils, in this period especially that held at Constance between 1414 and 1418, where music is known to have played an important role.[49]

Economic ties between Poland and the West were also an important factor. Italian banking firms were prominent in many cities throughout the region. In Kraków, for example, they established a banking house and were even given control of the royal salt monopoly from the mines south of the city. The Hansa even had offices in Wrocław and Kraków.

Trade routes criss-crossed over the entire eastern borderlands. West-East routes led from Leipzig and Dresden in the West through Praha, Wrocław, Kraków and Sandomierz to Lvov in eastern Poland. North-South routes led from Gdańsk through Kraków to Buda and then on to the Hungarian Adriatic ports. The cities of East Central Europe were not isolated from the economic life of Western Europe.

Cultural developments were part of this interchange between East and West. The ars nova is only one specific example. At present, the evidence for this artistic innovation in East Central Europe is found primarily in manuscripts from Polish and Silesian archives. In these sources is pictured a broad spectrum of musical life, both of Western and local provenance. These manuscripts provide strong evidence that

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49. See M. Schuler, "Die Musik in Konstanz während des Konzils 1414 - 1418," Acta Musicologica XXXVIII (1966) 150 - 168.

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Polish musicians were receptive to and adapted Western models. This was not mere imitation of foreign models, but creative adaptation. The musical sources from the late Middle Ages are an important document of the cultural contact between Poland and the West.

Poland was, however, part of the European community. What has been shown concerning the Polish and Silesian sources is equally true of Poland's neighbors: the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. It cannot be overly stressed that it is only an accident of history that more musical sources are not known from Bohemia and Hungary. From the manuscripts that still remain, it can be seen that these two nations were also influenced by their artistic contacts with the West.

Though modern perceptions may still influence our attitudes, the evidence given in the medieval musical sources is that of a vital, creative musical culture. The musicians of East Central Europe were open to new artistic developments from the West, such as the innovations associated with the ars nova, and used this knowledge to create a varied musical repertoire, whether in a pure Western style or in the local traditions associated with the popular repertoire. Far from being cut off and distant from Western European culture, these countries must be seen as part of a European community bound together by the Catholic faith throughout the Middle Ages.

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THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ARS NOVA INTO EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:

A STUDY OF LATE MEDIEVAL POLISH SOURCES

Volume II

APPENDICES / BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

CHARLES E. BREWER

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Music in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1984

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I:

EXCERPTS FROM THE KRAKÓW UNIVERSITY STATUTES OF 1406

The following excerpts are taken from the Statuta necnon Liber promotionum philosophorum ordinis in universitatis studiorum Jagellonica ab anno 1402 ad annum 1849, ed. J. Muczkowski (Cracoviae: Typis Universitatis, 1849) xii - xv.

Qui libri sunt audiendi:

Item placuit omnibus magistris quod hy libri audiantur ante gradum baccalariatus: secunda pars Alexandri, liber nove poetice, aut exercicium rhetorice, computus cyrometralis, tractatus petri hispani, vetus ars, libri priorum, posteriorum, liber eleucorum, liber phizicorum, libri de anima, et liber spere materialis.

Subscripti autem: topicorum, de celo, de generacione, metherorum (sic), parua naturalia, methaphysica, ethicorum, polliticorum, yconomicorum, arismetrica (sic) communis, tres libri euclidis, musica muris, theorica planetarum, et perspectiva, ante magisterium audiantur.

Per quantum tempus debent legi libri predicti:

Secunda pars Allexandri legatur per sex septimanas, computus per mensem, tractatus p.h. (Petri Hispani) per tres menses, vetus ars per quatuor menses, priorum per quatuor menses sine mixcionibus, posteriorum quatuordecem ebdomadas cum secundo tractatu primi libri, Elencorum per tres menses, phizicorum per tria quartalia anni, de anima per quatuor menses, Thopicorum per tres menses, de celo per quatuor menses, metherorum similiter, de generacione per decem septimanas, methaphysica per medium annum, Ethicorum per tria quartalia anni, politicorum per quinque menses, yconomicorum per unum mensem, arismetrica similiter, musica per mensem, perspectiva per tres menses, theorica per sex septimanas, parva naturalia per quatuordecim ebdomadas.

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Quantum autem unusquisque pro laboribus magistrorum tenebitur soluere:

Primo: ab exercicio parvorum locialium quilibet tenetur dare mediam marcam pecunie communis. Attamen, si magistro suo sub exercicio unum fertenem dederit, magister tenebitur stare contentus, ac si totum pastum exsolvisset. Item a veteri arte mediam sexagenam, si tamen sub exercicio medium istius dederit, erit a residue addendo absolutus. Item a nova loica similiter ut a veteri arte. Similiter a thopicorum et elencorum simul, tres fertones. Si vero alterum illorum et non ambos, alias per medium annum, disputaverit, cum aliquo addito, habebit mediam sexagenam. Item ab exercicio phisicorum quadraginta grossos. Qui, si tres partes sub exercicio soluerit, per magistrum pro alia residuitate non moveatur. Idem ad moralem philosophiam et metaphysicam volumus extendi, dummodo disputentur serotino tempore, que disputacio solita est fieri duabus horis. Similiter fiat de philosophia naturali maiori, videlicet: dum aliquia disputaverit aliquos vel aliquem ex illis quatuor libris: de celo, de generacion, metherorum, et de anima, per medium annum duabus horis, habebit XLta grossos; si vero una hora, tunc mediam sexagenam: et hoc fiat cum moderamine prius scripto. Item, qui per medium annum disputaverit parva naturalia per duas horas, habebit similiter XLta grossos; si vero per unam, tunc mediam sexagenam. Item a zophistica, prout communiter disputatur, media sexagena. Similiter de exercicio zophismatum alberti. Item ab exercicio donati et secunde partis allexandri, a quolibet mense per quatuor grossos. Idem fieri debet de exercicio rethoricali (sic). Item a leccionibus quislibet pastum solvat iuxta numerum mensium, quibus liber secundum statutum finiri debet, exceptis libris infra scriptis: a metaphysica octo grossos, a theoretica sex grossos, ab euclide sex, a musica duos grossos, ab arismetrica duos grossus; sic tamen, quod in libris aliis ab istis nominatis, si sub leccionibus duos grossos solverit, ubi tres grossos tenetur dare, liber totaliter sit et absolutus; a theorica planetarum quatuor grossos, similiter a perspectiva quatuor grossos.

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APPENDIX II

EXCERPT FROM THE MUSICA MURIS

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BIBLIOTEKA JAGIELLOŃSKA

This appendix does not attempt to present a full critical text for this selection from the Musica Muris. Enough information has been provided so that some of the interrelationships between the sources proposed in Chapter Two can be discerned.

The orthography follows that of the manuscripts, rather than attempting to standardize the text to the anachronistic norms of Classical Latin. Those parts underlined represent the sections in BJ 546 which were corrected to read as in BJ 1970.

...ymo quasi medio delatus itinere ac si consonanciis armoniarum officio famulus sit auditus, judex autem ac imperans intellectus sit ibi ut sentiat auditus per experientiam sensibili cognicione prima id, de quo scienciam et doctrinam apud se ordinet intellectus per primam conceptionem ipsam. In nullam aliam ulterius resolvendo per secundum conceptionem.

Pytagoras quidem in anxietate diu manens, quomodo artem de melodiis rationabiliter inveniret, quadam vice divino nutu iuxta fabrorum officinas preteriens, hanc cognicionem in se mentaliter circumvolvens, quosdam malleos super incudem mirabilem armoniam emitentes iam quasi attonitus exaudivit. Et statim ad se vehementis, ut quod diu quesiverat inspiceret ad malleos est conversus, quasi ab ista delectabili concordancia tractus quemadmodum adamas attrahit ferrum, hominibus que more solito salutatis attencius intuens armoniam malleos circumspiciens sicut fervens veritatis inquisitor, dubitansque ne ex viribus hominum tanta melodia proveniret, iussit inter se permutanti malleos singulos permutari quibus alternatis redit eadem simphonia sicut prius, ex qua animadvertit non in lacertis virorum sed in natura malleorum tales concordantias contineri.

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Tam mutur quam mensure quam ponderis ratione. Numerus autem malleorum erat quinque, sed quintus foras eictus quem sicut inutilis comparatus cuilibet dissonabat. Dedit tamen ecce res grandis occasionem per sui dissonanciam de consonanciis iudicandi. Nam appositis iuxta se contrariis peiora aut meliora spiritibus esse videntur. Consideratis itaque ponderibus reliquorum, in dupla, sesquialtera, sesquitercia proportione pondera reperta sunt. Quare hanc experienciam discernens domo sua in instrumentis nervorum, ventorum, flaminum, aquarum, vasorum, in nolis, acceptabilis, tympanis, tyntinnabulis, namquam instanciam percipiens repertus est. Et tunc animo sedatus, mente gavisus in hac experiencia requievit per tertiam conceptionem. Ex quibus experientis deductis diversis modis variisque spiritibus tenens, quod quodvis si in natura rei contra experientiam latuisset, multociens ad memoriam concurrentibus traxit universale, quod fuit inicium artis et sciencie musicalis per quartam. Hoc est prime proporcionis declaracio.

Textual variants:
A = BJ 1970 / B = BJ 546 / C = BJ 1927 / D = BJ 1865 / E = BJ 568 / F = Berlin SB 175.

Line:
1. After quasi B, D, E, F add quodam; after medio C adds quodam / after consonanciis B, C, D, E add vel.
2. D, F atque = ac.
2-3. E imperitans ibi sit intellectus ut sensiat = imperans...sentiat.
3. A correction in B = ibi ubi sentiat; C, D ubi = ut.
4. After prima B, D add ergo; C, D primo = prima = E primo illud.
5. E omits per / D alterus = aliam.
6. D, F omit conceptionem.
7. E in quam = quidem / E permanens = manens.
8. E totaliter = rationabiliter.
10. After iucudem B, F add ferientes; D, E ferientes ac / C circa = super.
11. A emittens = B, C emitentes.
12. After vehementis B, F add admiratione attraxit; D adds rediit a miratione attraxit; E adds admirationem / D omits inspiceret.
13. C reversus = conversus / E illa = ista / F ista consoncia delectabilis tractus = ista...tractus.
14. After adamas B, D add ad se / D omits que.
18. After quibus E adds permutatis seu alternatis.
21. D omits Tam...ratione.
23. D repertus = comparatus.
23-24. B eiectus occasionem = ecce rex grandis; F originally ecce res grandis corrected superscript to eiectus grandem.
24. C grandem & E eictus grandem = grandis / B, C, E consonantias = de consonanciis.

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25. After se F adds positis / C, D, F peiora aut meliora hominibus vel spiritibus; E aut meliora vel hominibus vel spiritibus.
26. B, D que = itaque / E malleorum = reliquorum.
27. After sesquitercia E adds sesquioctava & B adds sexquiquarta which another hand has changed to sexquioctava.
28. A quaris corrected in margin to quare / B, D omit in / after instrumentis C adds suis.
29. B, C foraminum = flaminum / A has the following glosses: to nervorum - id est cordarum, to flaminum - id est foraminum; F reads nervorum foramium ventorum / B omits in.
29-30. D reads in nolis et thabulis.
30. B, C ac thabulis & E acetabulis in = acceptabilis.
31. B fuit = tunc / D, F omit et / E conpertus est = repertus est / F animo corrected to anima suo / E menteque / after gavisus B adds et.
32. B suppositionum (gloss superscript reads id est conceptionem) = conceptionem / B de (superscript ex) = ex.
33. D omits deductis.
34. B, F omit quodvis / after latuisset B, C, D, F add in experiencia claruisset.
35. After concurrentibus B, C, D add unum / after memoriam D adds que.
36. C, D musice = musicalis / B, C, D, F suppositionum sic = hoc (F omits sic); B superscript id est conceptionem, see line 32.
37. B, D declaratum = declaracio.

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APPENDIX III

PRO RECOMENDACIONE ARTIS MUSICE: CHAPTER HEADINGS AND INCIPITS

The text of this appendix is based on the two manuscripts listed below. The folio numbers before the slash are from BJ 1927, those after from BJ 1861. In addition to the chapter headings, which are listed on the same line as the folio numbers, I have added the first sentence or phrase from that section of the treatise on the following line(s).

BJ 1927 213 recto - 238 verso /
BJ 1861 128 recto - 148 recto (incomplete)

123r/128r
Pro recomendacione artis musice adveniat nobis dictum quod scribit aristotiles primo polliticorum....

213v/128v QUID SIT MUSICA.
Musica que est de septem artibus liberalibus una....

213v/129r UNDE DICATUR MUSICA.
Dicitur autem musica a moys quod est aqua....

214r/129r DE DIVISIONE MUSICE.
Multipharíam multisque modis olim locuti sunt partes....

215v/131v QUID UTILITATIS CONFERAT MUSICE NOTICIA.
Expedit iam et consonum est rationi ut utilitatis artis musice noticia conferat brevi perstringamus racione....

216v/132v DE INVENTORIBUS ET AUCTORIBUS ARTIS MUSICE.
Quia modica sollicitudo debet esse de inventoribus et auctoribus huius artis...

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216v/133r QUID SIT MANUS MUSICA QUID PROPRIETAS MANUALIS QUID CLAVIS ET ALIA (PLURA MANUM MUSICAM CONSONENCIAM [in BJ 1861 only]).
Hys tamen amotis que areus seria ludis....

217v/133v DE SEX SILLABIS ARTIS MUSICE.
Istis breviter expeditis nunc literarum et silbarum musicalium....

217v/134r DE NUMERO ET ORDINE LITERARUM SEU NOTULARUM MUSICARUM.
Hys itaque digestis quo de silabis musicis fuerant breviter disserenda restat ut numerum ac seriem literarum seu notularum musicalium ordine....

218v/135v DE DIFFERENTIA LITERARUM SEU MUSICALIUM NOTULARUM.
Quamque primisse septem litere seu notabileter [= notule in BJ 1861] musice ab exordio alphabeti rudimenti....

219v/137r DE MONOCORDO ET PRIMO QUID SIT MONOCORDUM.
Iuxta ordinem primissum nunc ad declaracionem monocordi accedamus....

220r/137v DE INSTITUCIONE MENSURA AC DIVISIONE MONOCORDI.
In monocordi itaque spacio alii plures alii paucioneres sonos constituerent....

(220r)/138r (DE) MENSURA MONOCORDI. [Heading in BJ 1861 only; full text occurs as part of the preceding section, without separate heading, in BJ 1927.]

221v/139v DE MUSICA DISTANCIA ET QUID SIT ET QUOT SUNT IN GENERE ET IN SPECIE.
Quoniam autem in monocordo alibi maior distancia alibi rumor reperitur....

221v/140r DE DISTANCIIS EX TONO ET SEMITONIO AGREGATIS.
Sunt adhuc et aliie extra tonum et semitonium distancie spacia seu intervalla....

224r/142v DE SEPTEM SPECIEBUS DIAPASON. [Heading in BJ 1861 only.]

224r/143r DE TRIBUS PERFECTIS CONSONANCIIS SCILICET DIATESSERON DIAPENTE ET DIAPASON. [Heading in BJ 1861 only]
[D]egressus ad premissa paucula sed utilia circa triplicem speciem modorum seu intervallorum musicorum....

225v/145r DE PROPORCIONIBUS CONSONANCIARUM (PREMISSARUM [in BJ 1861 only]).
Ut autem evidencius pateant premissa de dictis proporcionibus....

227r/147r DE VALORE MANUS MUSICE DIVISE PER SPACIA SEU INTERVALLA.
Quia sufficienter ut arbitror quantum videram teneris intellectibus parvulorum expedire....

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227v/147v DE CONIUNCTIS MUSICALIBUS.
Ut autem omnis ambiguitas in cantu simplici vel mensurato tollatur....

227v/148r DE MUTACIONE VOCUM MUSICALIUM ET QUID SIT MUTACIO ET CUR [= QUOD in BJ 1861] NON FIT MUTACIO IN BFABMI [= BFAHMI in BJ 1861] ET QUESTIO CONVINCI POSSIT MI ESSE ALCIUS QUAM FA IN BFABMI [= BFAHMI in BJ 1861].
Quia de mutacione vocum musicalium communiter in quibus libet sere locis tractatur....
...et ita in similibus unum sequitur corelarie [= correlarie in BJ 1861] quod ubicumque est mutacio. [BJ 1861, f.148r, end of text; text continues in BJ 1927, f.228r, l. 11].

229r
[I]stis expeditis de b rotunda et b quadro locuturus expedit ut mage....

229v
[Q]uoniam autem mutacio vocum musicalium fit propter ellevacionem vel disposicionem cantus...

230r/v
[R]epedita materia monocordice seu manualis determinacionis....
[Extensive diagram of the gamut]

232r
[D]ico quod tropus vel modus qui eciam et tonus....

232v
[D]ictum est quatuor esse modos seu tropos principales....

233r
[E]spremi constat esse tres tropos restat ut de eorum tenoribus paucula disseramus Sicut ergo octo sunt toni....

233v
[T]ractatus de cursu sive de excursu troporum quid cursum sive excursum velimus signare....

234v [Diagram in circular form, in margins:] chorus superior/descendendo Mediocris/chorus inferior/ascendendo Mediocris.

236r
[Q]uavis si memius in prohemio huius opusculi vel paulopus fuerat recitatum/musicam naturatur nobis in sitam fore....

237r
[Q]uia aliqualiter in fine capituli precedentis tetigius....

238r
l.17-19: Actus et/datis in studio alme universitatis prahensis sub anno domini 1411 die vicesima tercia mensis septembris....

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APPENDIX IV

BARTHOLOMEUS DE JASSEL, BUCCINEMUS IN HAC DIE

BJ 2210, ff. 104 verso - 105 recto

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The full text of this poem is taken from the edition by Maria Kowalczyk, published in Kolędy polski, ed. J. Nowak-Dłuzewski, 2 vols. (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1966) II, 501 - 503.

Buccinemus in hac die Sacra sono melodie, Recolitur qua vicina Nativitas Christi trina:	1a. Let us resound on this holy day with the sound of melody, in a like manner, the threefold birth of Christ is renewed:
A Patre qua progreditur Et in alvo, ut dicitur, Natus dehinc ex utero, Que testantur scripto vero.	1b. How he proceeds from the father and, as it is said, into a womb; afterwards, born from the womb, which is attested by the true word.
Repeticio. Refert harum primam recens Misse noctis cantus decens, Quo fit latens designata Isaye nota devota Inenarrabilis fata.	1. Refrain The vigorous, beautiful song of the night Mass recounts the first of these things, where the hidden is made manifest: the famous, pious, indescribable prophecies of Isaiah.
Tonans cantus in aurora, Noctis ac in lucis hora Celat Christum alvo natum, Partim nobis scire datum.	2a. A song sounding at dawn, and also in the time of night and light, adorns Christ, born from the womb, given to us to know only partly.
Hic est modus obumbratus, Quo Deus est humanatus, Lux est caro fabricata, Forme ut est copulata.	2b. This is the concealed manner, because God is man, light is made flesh, as it is joined to form.
Repeticio. Oppacum hoc preferebat, Indignum cum se dicebat Christi solvere calceum Baptista, sed lucem cum ducem Sensit alvo matris Deum.	2. Refrain This betrayed the darkness, when the Baptist affirmed himself unworthy to bind the shoe of Christ, but indeed he perceived in the mother's womb, a light, a leader, God.
Locuntur sed officia Clara die sonancia Ex utero procedentem Celum terramque regentem,	3a. But brilliant sounding offices are established on the day [when] proceeding from the womb, ruling heaven and earth,

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Omnibus qui demonstratur
Stella lucens, ut testatur,
Et angeli concinentes,
Terris pacem nuncciantes.

3b. A burning star is shown to
everyone, as it is attested,
and singing angels,
declaring peace to the earth.

Repeticio.
Monet vox racionales,
Trahit astrum sensuales,
Singuli ut querant natum
Gressu cordis, oris, operis
Mundo regem prophetatum.

3. Refrain
A voice warns the reasonable,
a star leads the sensitive,
so that individuals would seek the
king and prophet born to the world
by way of the heart, mouth and work.

Est preter has nativitas
Christi cordis, qua puritas
Ipsum gignit in patrante
Voluntatem Patris ante,

4a. The birth of Christ is more than
these things of the heart, how purity
produces itself in accomplishing
the will of the Father,

Ut describit hoc Matheus.
Sic gignere prestat Deus
Multis suum verum natum
Ex Maria incarnatum.

4b. As Matthew will describe this.
Thus, to many, God vouches to produce
his own true birth,
incarnate from Mary.

Repeticio.
Summe parens, nobis presta,
Nec tu, pya mater, obsta,
Sed pocius nunc imprime
Salvatorem nasci ac pasci
Iam in vi nostre anime.

4. Refrain
Most perfect parent, vouch for us,
do not hinder us, you, pious mother,
but rather now impress
the savior to arise and feast
in the strength of our soul.

Dum vult Christum quis gignere,
Sibi debet assumere
Obstitricum suffragium
In partu adminus trium.

5a. While Mary wishes to bring forth
Christ, she ought to assume to
herself a mother's assent,
in part less than three-fold.

Ex amari cordis unda
Contricionis profunda
Parens dici mereatur
Maria dum impregnatur,

5b. From the profound surge of a
contrite heart to be loved,
it is right that Mary is called a
parent, while she is impregnated,

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Repeticio.	5. Refrain
In habitu castitatis	She should be, at first, in a dress
Sit in ortu deitatis	of divine chastity with the care of a
Obstitricis prime cura,	first-time mother, as she carries the
Puerum ut vehat, teneat	child, the purely fashioned woman
Puro conformata pura.	should hold first to the pure.
Ast paupertatis spiritu	6a. Yet, let the woman be in the
Sit altera in vestitu	spiritual vestments of poverty
Que infantem involueret	who would cover the infant with rags;
Pannis, feda qui tolleret,	he who would lift the fief,
Sociata hiis humilis	6b. Society ought to be humble
Esse debet ac non vilis,	and not vile to them,
Natumque ut reclinaret,	as the born-one reclines,
In presepique locaret.	he lays in a manger.
Repeticio.	6. Refrain
Sic angelus has signavit,	Thus, the angel marked these things
Pastoribus cum nostravit	when he announced Jesus' birth
Ihesum natum indicio:	to the shepherds with a sign:
Videbitis merum puerum	You will see the true child
In pannis ac presepio.	in rags and in a manger.
Et ut per has proscribatur	7a. And so through these it is pro-
Quod per carnem affectatur,	scribed because one is influenced
Et quod male vult visio	by the flesh, and because an appari-
Vel adamat ambicio.	tion wrongly desires or ambition approves.
Languencium restaurator,	7b. Restorer of the weak,
Ihesu, nostri reformator,	Jesus, our reformer, we should
Nos parere non despice,	comply, not despise, but now,
Te nunc dignos sed effice.	with you, produce a worthy people.
Repeticio.	7. Refrain
Nam in carne non sufficit	Now, flesh is not adequate
Ad salutem, si defficit	for well being, if
Nativitas per graciam	Your birth is missing through grace,
Tua, nostre menti egenti	to our poor mind
Origenis per sophiam.	through the wisdom of Origen.

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Repeticio secunda.	7. Second Refrain[1]
Elementa quater nomen	The four-times-five elements
Penta legunt et prenomen	read the name and fore-name
Editoris per capita	of the writer at the heads
Versuum, quem nota et dota	of the verses, which note and endow
Ihesu in eterna vita.	with Jesus in eternal life.

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1. In BJ 2210, a marginal comment indicates that only the first refrain is the true final refrain.

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APPENDIX V

TWO MONOPHONIC/MENSURAL SANCTUS-AGNUS PAIRS

FROM PL-Kk 205, ff. 243 recto/verso, 248 recto/verso AND 251 verso.

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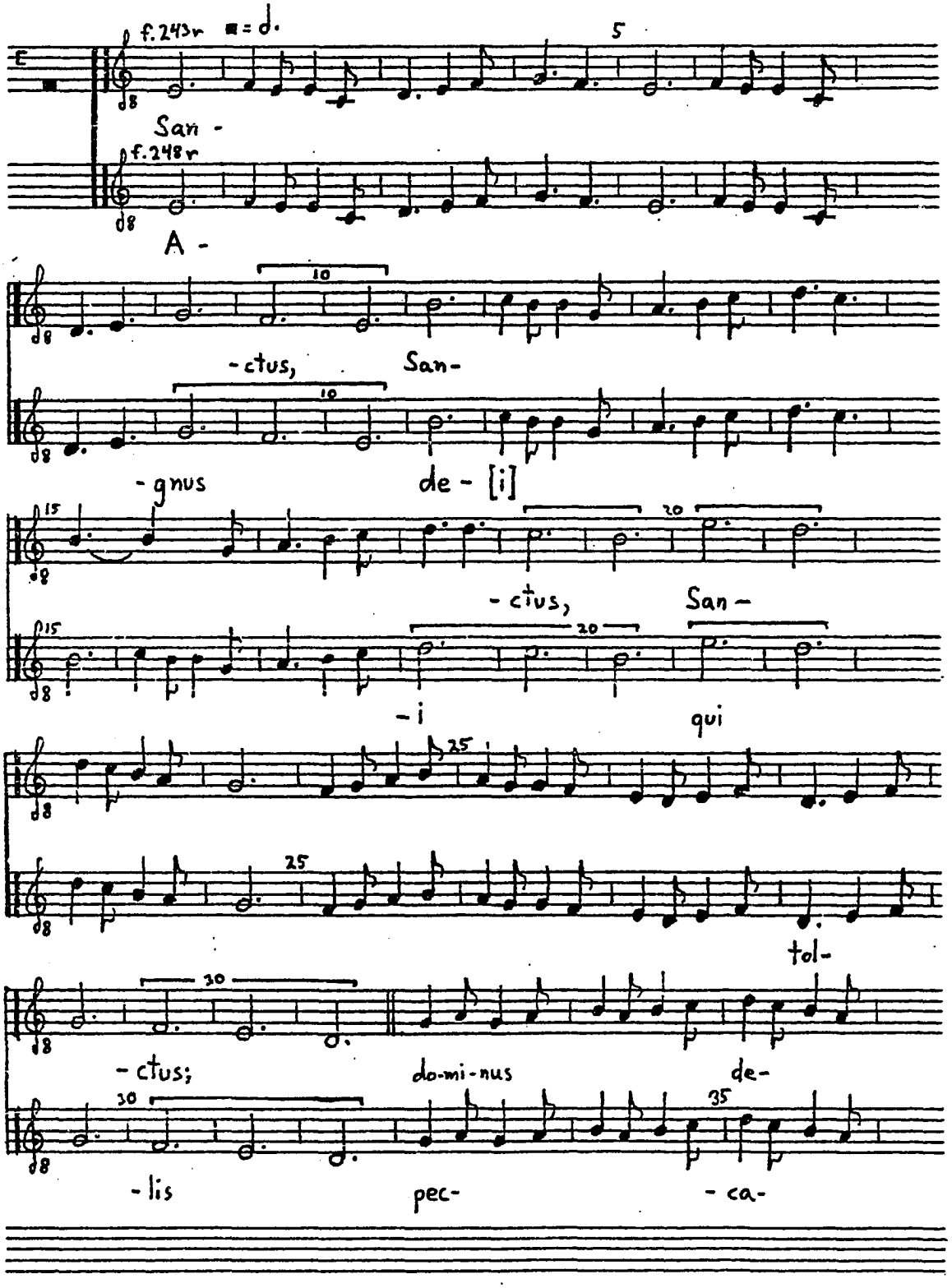

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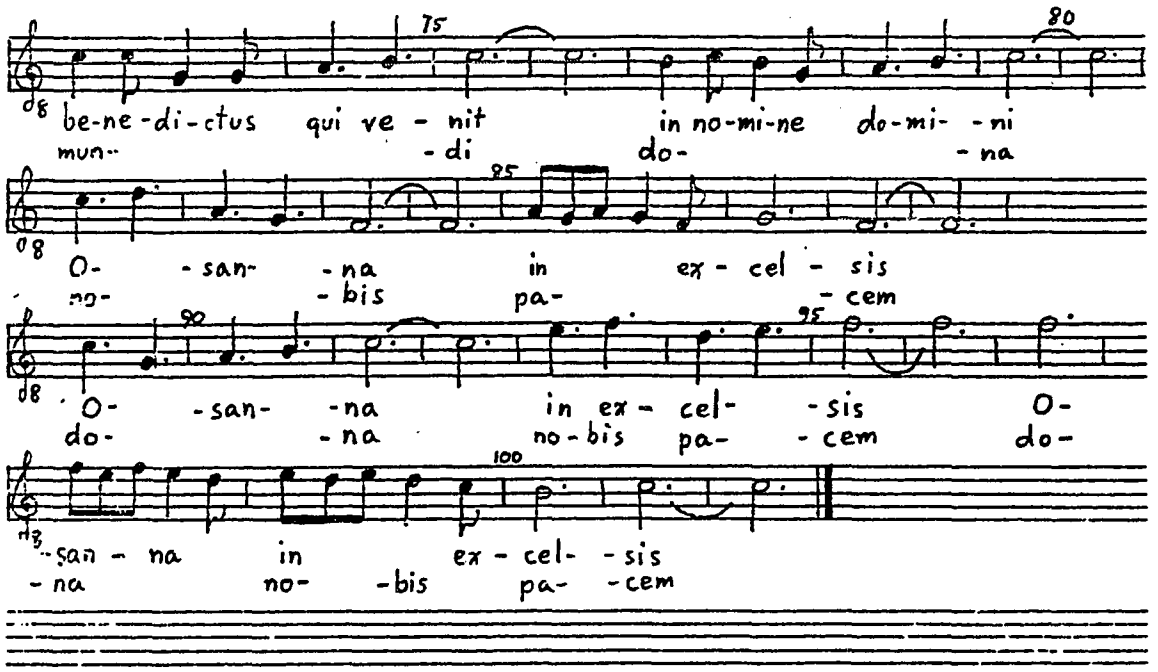

m.98: 5th note semibreve in ms.

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APPENDIX VI

THE PASSAGE ON MENSURAL SIGNS FROM THE BRZEG ANONYMOUS

The Latin text of the following selection is from the edition by Altman Kellner, "Ein Mensuraltraktat aus der Zeit um 1400," Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch - historische Klasse 94 (1957) 81 - 82. In the translation, the word tempus ("time") has been retained in order to preserve some of the ambiguity between its general and specifically musical senses.

> Est autem signum temporis circulus ut hic ⊘ . Nam dicitur communiter "per circulum anni," circulus mensis vel ebdomadae. Ex tali locutione vel proverbio comperitur tempus esse rotundum et ideo congruenter rotunditas vel circulus est signum temporis: signum temporis perfecti est circulus perfectus et signum temporis imperfecti est circulus imperfectus. Exemplum primi ⊘ , exemplum secundi ☾ . Sed quia modus ex pluralitate temporum est, sic signum modi est ex pluralitate circulorum et sufficiunt ad omnem modum duo circuli. Nam per exteriorem designatur modus et per interiorem tempus et per perfectum exteriorem designatur perfectio modi et per imperfectum eiusdem circuli designatur imperfectio modi. Sed per perfectionem interioris designatur perfectio temporis et per imperfectionem eiusdem designatur imperfectio temporis. Ergo signum modi perfecti et temporis perfecti est sic ⊙ . Signum modi perfecti et temporis imperfecti est sic ☉ . Signum modi imperfecti temporis

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perfecti est sic . Signum modi imperfecti et temporis imperfecti sic . Datur autem notitia prolationis per puncta, nam per numerum trinarium punctorum intelligitur altior prolatio, quia fit ex numero trinario minimarum ut hic . Et per numerum binarium brevior quia fit ex numero vinario minimarum ut sic . Signum inceptionis est hoc [...], signum receptionis est hoc [...]. [81 - 82]

(However, the sign of <u>tempus</u> (time) is a circle, as this, . For commonly it is said: "through the circle of the year," the circle of the month or week. From such a saying or proverb, time is ascertained to be round and therefore appropriately the sphere or circle is a sign of tempus. But because tempus is two-fold, therefore the sign of tempus is two-fold: the sign of perfect tempus is a complete circle and the sign of imperfect tempus is an incomplete circle. An example of the first: , an example of the second: . But because modus is made from a plurality of <u>tempora</u>, so the sign of the modus is made from a plurality of circles, and two circles suffice for each modus. For instance, through the exterior circle modus is designated and through the interior tempus and through a complete exterior cirle the perfection of the modus is designated and through an incomplete exterior circle the imperfection of the modus is designated. But through the perfection of the interior circle, the perfection of tempus is designated and through the imperfection of the interior circle the imperfection of tempus is expressed. Therefore, the sign of perfect modus and perfect tempus is so, . The sign of perfect modus and imperfect tempus is so, . The sign of imperfect modus and perfect tempus is so, . The sign of imperfect modus and imperfect tempus is so, . However, the idea of prolation is given through dots, for through the use of three

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dots major ("altior") prolation is perceived, because it is made from a triple number of minims, as this, . And through the binary number of dots the minor ("brevior") prolation is perceived, because it is made from a binary number of minims, as this, . The sign of beginning is this, [...]; the repeat sign is this, [...].)

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APPENDIX VII

GLORIA FROM ÚSTÍ NAD ORLICÍ, OKRESNÍ ARCHIV, rkp. A 3, ff.31v - 32r

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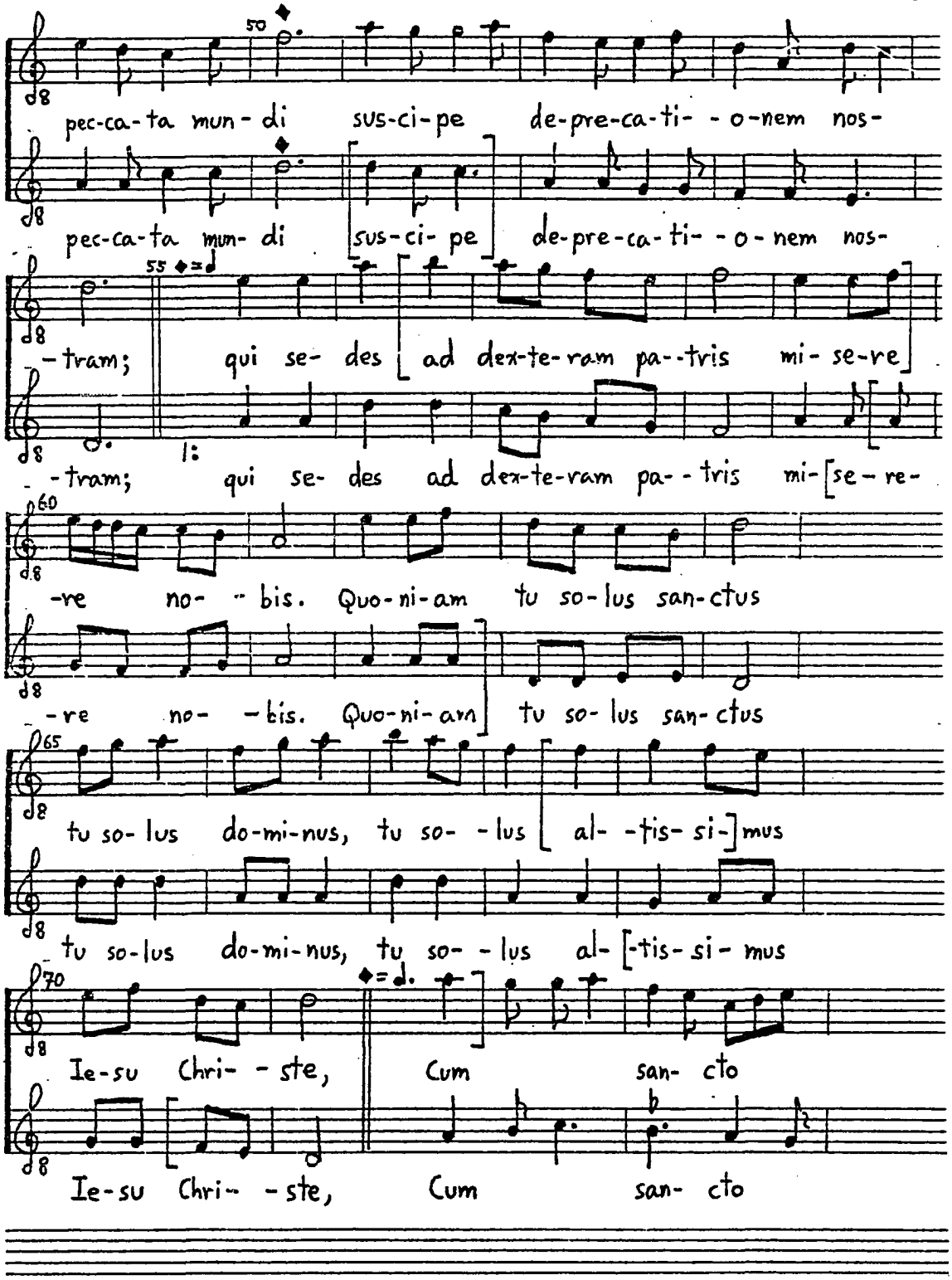

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m.29, Tenor, 2nd beat, b in ms. / m.30, Tenor, 1st beat, b in ms. / m.34, Tenor, 1st beat "domine"

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APPENDIX VIII

SELECTIONS FROM THE WROCŁAW MENSURAL TREATISE

The Latin text in the following excerpts is taken from Johannes Wolf, "Ein Breslauer Mensuraltraktat des 15. Jahuhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft I (1918 - 1919) 329 - 345.

1.

[I]tem propter maiorem evidenciam priorum est sciendum, quod in numero canticorum quidam sunt modi perfecti temporis perfecti et maioris prolacionis. Et illorum pauca inveniuntur ut: monachant de morte wilhelmi. Quidam sunt modi perfecti temporis imperfecti et maioris prolacionis, ut Appollinis, Ave coronata, Fenix arabie et sic de aliis. Quidam sunt modi perfecti et temporis imperfecti et minoris prolacionis ut Degentis vita, O Maria. Quidam sunt de modo imperfecto, de tempore perfecto et minori prolacione, ut Virginem mire pulcritudinis, Deo gracias papales. Quidam sunt modi imperfecti de tempore perfecto et maioris prolacionis, ut Deo gracias conclamemus, Par ma[i]ntes foys. Quidam sunt modi imperfecti, temporis imperfecti et minoris prolacionis ut Demonis astuto et communiter alie probationes.

Item sciendum differencia est inter mutetum, rondellum, piroletum, baladum, stampaniam sive stampetum, katschetum et rotulum. Unde mutetus est, qui nullam habet pausam generalem nisi finem cuius quelibet pars habet textum, verbi gracia: Appollinis, Ave coronata, Degentis vita, Fenix arabie et sic de aliis. Sed rondellus est qui habet duas partes et in qualibet parte unam clausuram, ut Par ma[i]ntes foys, Arthus de astris, Consurge vox etc. Sed piroletum est, quod habet duas partes et in qualibet parte habet duas clausuras sicud est musica frawein, que alio nomine dicitur Tonat agmen; similiter Salve mundi domina etc. Sed baladum est, quod habet tres partes et in prima duas clausuras vel unam ut Virginem mire pulcritudinis, Delibi scriba, Tibi cordis. Sed trompetum et stampania possunt habere duas vel tres partes et delyrant frequenter ad quintam notam vel ad dyapason idest ad octavam ad modum tube vel lyre ut Tripudium en / Autentica / Divum natalicium. Sed katschetum est, quod habet tres choros in se cum tenore et suo contratenore sicud Prorumpamus parvuli. Similiter Cluit in empirico, domine ad adiuvandum, Petri etc. Sed rotulum est, quod voluitur ad

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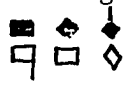
modum rote sine tenore et contratenore ut Salve mater salvatoris similiter Daz fewir.

Item sciendum, quadruplici de causa rubee note sive alterius coloris sive vacue ponuntur inter nigras in diversis cantibus quocumque nomine nuncupatis: primo, propter diversitatem modi sicud in tenore Tube sacre fidei similiter Lux est presens et sic de aliis. Et nigre sunt de modo perfecto et rubee de modo imperfecto. Ergo rubee note ponuntur propter mutacionem temporis ut in Jarliphie, in Adeschort, in Tripudium, similiter in Virginem mire pulcritudinis. Namibi nigre sunt de tempore perfecto, rubee de tempore imperfecto. Tercio ponuntur propter mutacionem prolacionis ut in Pater alme, in Salve pater etc. Et sic nigre sunt maioris prolacionis et rubee minoris prolacionis. Quarto rubee note quandoque ponuntur in canticis gracia illius, ne longa ante longam valeat tria tempora. Eciam ponuntur alio modo scilicet, quod que notentur in f fa ut, debent cantare in C sol fa ut. Eciam ut plurimum ponuntur isto modo in maiori prolacione in disposicione in figurarum, et tamen semper tres et tres talium pro uno tempore computantur imperfecto, sicud patet in Patrem papale, in La douze flor, et in En mire res etc. Et hoc intelligitur de valore sive mutacione prolacionis. Eciam multociens reperiuntur poni in disposicione temporis imperfecti et mutacione temporis; que tamen ponuntur per appositum implicite quam apparent explicite. Exemplum Disous dous de ros. Eciam ponuntur interdum rubee inter nigras opposito modo quam sunt disposite, ut patet in Homelete etc.  [Wolf, 335b - 337a]

(Likewise, in order to clarify the previous discussion, it must be understood that, in a number of songs, certain ones use perfect modus, perfect tempus and major prolation. And few of these are known, such as Monachant de morte Wilhelmi. Some use perfect modus, imperfect tempus and major prolation, such as Appollinis, Ave coronata, Fenix arabie and similarly with any others. Some use perfect modus, imperfect tempus and minor prolation, such as Degentis vita and O Maria. Some are measured according to imperfect modus, perfect tempus and minor prolation, such as Virginem mire pulcritudinis and Deo gracias papales. Some use imperfect modus, perfect tempus and major prolation, such as Deo gracias conclamemus and Par ma[i]ntes foys. Some use imperfect modus, imperfect tempus and minor prolation, such as Demonis astuto and other commonly known examples.

Likewise, the difference must be understood between **mutetus, rondellus, piroletum, baladum, stampania** or **stampetum, katschetum** and **rotulum.** A **mutetus** is that which has no general pause except at the end, and in which every part has a text; for instance: Appollinis, Ave coronata, Degentis vita, Fenix arabie and similarly with any others. A **rondellus** is that which has two sections and in any section, one **clausura** [cadence], such as Par maintes foys, Arthus de astris, Consurge vox, and so forth. A **piroletum** is that

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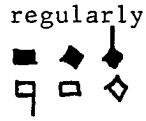
which has two sections and in any section two **clausure** [cadences], just as in Musica frawein, which is called by another name, Tonat agmen; similarly Salve mundi domina, and so forth. However a **baladum** is that which has three sections, and in the first section has two or one **clausure**, as in Virginem mire pulcritudinis, Delibi scriba and Tibi cordis. A **trumpetum** and **stampania** are able to have two or three sections and rant in the manner of a trumpet or lyre, frequently sounding the fifth or the diapason, that is, the octave, as in Tripudium en, Autentica and Divum natalicum. A **katschetum** is that which has three voices in itself with a tenor and its own contratenor, just as Prorumpamus parvuli; similarly, Cluit in empirico, Domine ad adiuvandum, Petri, and so forth. However, a **rotulum** is that which was intended to be like a **rota** [wheel], without tenor and contratenor, such as Salve mater salvatoris, and similarly Daz fewir.

Likewise, the four reasons that red or another color or void notes are placed among black notes in the various songs must be understood, however the songs are defined. First, on account of a change of modus, as in the tenor of Tuba sacra fidei, similarly Lux est presens, and thus concerning any others. And the black notes are in perfect modus and the red in imperfect modus. Second, red notes are used because of a change of tempus, as in Jarlephie, in Adeschort, in Tripudium, and similarly in Virginem mire pulcritudinis. For there the black notes are in perfect tempus, and the red in imperfect tempus. Third, they are placed on account of a change in prolation, as in Pater alme, in Salve pater, and so forth. And so the black notes are in major prolation, and the red in minor prolation. Fourth, red notes are occasionally placed in songs where a longa before a longa is not worth three **tempora** [breves]. Also, they are used in another way, such that the notes which are notated in **f fa ut** (f') should be sung in **C sol fa ut** (c'). Also, red notes are used many times in the same way in major prolation, as in the regular arrangement of perfect tempus, in regards to the requirement of the figures, and three and three of such figures are computed equal to one imperfect tempus, as is evident in Patrem papale, in La doucze flor and in En mira res, and so forth. And this is understood concerning the value or change of prolation. Also, red notes are often discovered placed in the regular arrangement of imperfect tempus and in accordance with a change of tempus; these notes, nevertheless, are placed near to each other implicitly rather than explicitly. Example: Disous dous de ros. Also, red notes are occasionally placed among black notes in accordance with an opposite manner than they are regularly arranged, as is evident in Homelete, and so forth.) 

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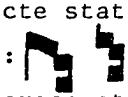
2.

Nota verum notabile de tempore: Quandocumque in tempore perfecto ponuntur longe, tunc tale tempus colorisatur per modum, ut patet in tenore Musicorum inter collegia, etc. [Wolf, 334a]

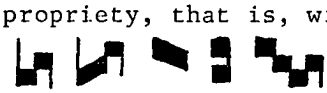
(Note the remarkable fact concerning tempus: whenever longas are set in perfect tempus, then such tempus is embellished as far as concerns the modus, as is evident in the tenor of Musicorum inter collegia, and so forth.)

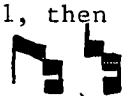
3.

Septima regula: Quandocumque ultimus punctus alcior est penultimo et habet tractum descendentem a parte dextra et recte vel obliquo stat sub penultima, sine proprietate dicitur, idest cum perfeccione, ut hic:

Sequitur valor illarum regularum: Omnis ligatura sine proprietate habet ultimam longam. Circa septimam regulam considera: Si punctus quadratus descendens directe stat sub ultimo, tunc non valet longam, sed brevem. Exemplum ut hic:  . Et talia exempla plura occurrunt in tenore super Sacrosanctum. [Wolf, 338a]

(Seventh rule: whenever the final note is higher than the penultimate note and has a line descending from the right side and rightly or obliquely stands under the penultimate note, it is called without propriety, that is, with perfection, as this:



(The meaning of those rules follows: All ligatures without propriety have for the final note a longa. In respect to the seventh rule: if the descending square note stands directly under the final, then it is not worth a longa, but a breve. An example as this:  . And more such examples occur in the tenor of Sacrosanctum.)

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APPENDIX IX

SELECTIONS FROM THE LIBRI VIGENTI ARTIUM OF PAULUS PAULIRINUS DE PRAGA

The Latin text contained in this appendix was published by R. Mužíková, "Pauli Paulirini de Praga Musica mensuralis," Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 2, 1965, Studie a materiály k dějinám starší české hudby (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1965) 58 - 72. The text has occasionally been altered on the basis of the manuscript, BJ 257.

1. Mensuralis cantus est cantus, in quo note ad notam sit proportionalis correspondencia aut unius note ad plures diverberate occurentes cum dulci consonancia, per quem neumata discurrencia constituunt cantilenas simfoniales [f. 160a] deorum hominumque ac iumentorum corda letificancia, quibus nota e pectore emergens exultanter quantasque in aere disparet; deum tum protunc laudibus terrigenas nectit celicolis, tristes exhilarat et celum, terram, maria et sidera volventes, serpentes, delfines armoniata provocat suavitate.

(1. Mensural song is song in which there should be a proportional correspondence of note to note or of one note divided into many parts, replying with sweet consonance. Through this [mensural song], the flowing melodies effect the harmonious cantilenas of the gods and of men and also the joyful hearts of the beasts; from these, a single note, exultantly emerging from the breast, may dispurse as great [cantilenas] in the air. Then, with praises of God, the cantilena connects the earth-born to the heaven-dwellers, gladdens the mournful, and it calls forth with harmonious sweetness to the heaven, earth, seas, and turning stars, serpents and dolphins.)[1]

---

1. Though the Dolphin and Serpent are both constellations, and the phrase "sidera volventes" can refer to constellations, the plural is never used when naming constellations in medieval and

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2. Nota mensuralis est signum maioris nomine prolacionis, quo aut quibus quantitative habitudo longitudinem ac brevitatem cuiuslibet cantus commensuratur, aut qualitatem in multas aut eorum aliquantas repercutitur, faciens in omni symphonia de istis certam fidem per caudas, per traccionem aut colorem unum aut variatum.

(2. A mensural symbol is a sign with the name "major prolation" [more exacting measurement], whereby either a figure is quantitatively equal to the length and also the brevity of any song, or [the figure] is reflected as a quality in many or some of [the note-forms], specifying a certain value from the [note-forms] in every symphonia through tails, through shape or color, alone or varied.)

3. Ptongus est sonus aptatus in sillabas, cui in mensurali cantu debent sillabe sic coaptari, ut eciam sine notis per se auditum condelectarent propter dulcedinem sue sonoritatis in expressione, que eciam non intelligentis dulcificarent audicionem, et ut offerat dulcem sentenciam intelligenti, cui dulcis nota coadiuncta faciet dulcem melodiam.

(3. A ptongus is a sound adapted to syllables, to which [sound], the syllables in mensural song ought to be joined, so that even without actual note-forms, they might delight the hearing because of the sweetness of their sonority in expression. These syllables [by themselves] might not even delight the hearing of a connoisseur, but [the ptongus] presents a sweet meaning to the connoisseur, to whom, when a sweet note-form is joined]to the syllables], it makes a sweet melody.)

4. Pausa est distinctio faciens congruum respiracionis locum, qua si fuerit proporcionata et silencium dulcificabit auditores, qua maxime in cantu metrico debe proporcionari, ut quot pausam fecerint sillabe sensum terminantes in primo versu, post hoc pause ita procedant metris demptu sola repeticione; qua potest variari ab aliis ob varietatem porrigentem auditum delectaverit.

(4. A rest is a punctuation making an agreeable place of breathing, in which, if it will be proportional, the silence will delight the listeners. [The rest], especially in a song with a poetic text, ought to be proportioned, so that, however many, the syllables terminating the sense in the first verse will make a rest; after this, the rests proceed according to the meters, excepting only repetitions. This rest can be varied from the other

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Renaissance astronomical treatises. At present, Paulus' exact meaning remains unclear.

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rests for the sake of variety in length and will delight the listener.)

5. Distinctio est omnis cuiusque note differencialis prolacio, qua unaqueque nota recipit suum distinctum esse ex suo sono in tempore scilicet perfectam debenti, et ut in tranquillis iocunde proferatur, in eufortuniis exultanter, in diffortuniis tristanter et acute et reflexe, et us non discantialis occurat decer[nens] suo tenori atque e converso; et si debet acui, ut acuatur, si liquescere, ut liquescat et nota, qua debet longari, ut non conprimatur, ita, qua debet exprimi, ut non subticeatur.

(5. A distinction is the entire length of each different note-form [taken together], in which [length] each single note-form receives its own distinguishing quality from its [own] sound in time, namely owing to its completeness. Thus [a distinction] maybe performed delightfully in tranquil times, exultently in happy times, sadly in unhappy times, both discerningly and reflectively, also so that the little discant answering its own tenor may not clash and also the converse. And if a note-form ought to be raised, thus it may be higher, or if it ought to be soft [i.e., lower], thus it may be softer; and a note-form, which ought to be lengthened, thus is not pressed together; so also, [the note-form] which ought to be pronounced, is thus not silent.)

6. Tenor est cantus grosse vocis, quo tenorista bassiori voce et notis longioribus occurrens multis notis repercussis temperat melodiam in sono, ne sit plus sonora eius vox quam requirit repercusse; et in tempore ut magna nota occurrat concordabiliter brevibus notis ac semibrevibus, caconsonancia prorsus elisa.

(6. The tenor is a song of a deep voice, whereby, sounding in a lower pitch [range] and longer notes, answering the articulations of many notes [in the discant], it regulates the melody in sound, lest its voice be more sonorous than required by the articulation [of the discant]; and [the tenor also controls the melody] in time, so that a large note-form replys concordantly to the breve and semibreve note-forms, with cacophony being completely avoided.)

7. Discantus est diversus cantus supra tenorem progrediens, in quo note breves, semibreves ac minime longioribus equipolentibus ... occurrent cum suavi resonancia ita, quod tenore descendente discantus ascendat et e converso, autem ut altum et bassum, acutum et grave sic se contemperent, ut nec elevacio depressioni obnubil[etur] nec e converso.

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(7. The discant is a varigated song proceeding above the tenor, in which breve, semibreve, and also minim note-forms reply to equivalent longas with delightful resonance, so that with the tenor descending the discant ascends, and the converse, but in such a way that the high and low, acute and grave, mutually mix themselves; thus neither is an elevation obscured by a descent nor the converse.)

8. Contratenor est acuti et gravis soni mixtura, occurrens utrique, hoc est tenori et discantui secundum coequacione elevacionis et depressionis, acuminis et gravitatis ad utrumque; ex contemperancia super utrumque relapsa faciens suavem resonanciam in auribus humanis et re creacionem cordibus mestificatis.

(8. The contratenor is a mixture of high and low sound, replying in two ways, that is to the tenor and to the discant, according to an equivalence of elevation and descent [and] of acuteness and gravity with respect to both parts, making from this suitable recurring mixture in respect to both [voices], a sweet resonance in human ears and a refreshment to sad hearts.)

9. Consonancia est dulcis sonorum mixtura proveniens ex arte cantandi et intellectione notarum, de quibus tibi dantur metra:

O si tu videris,
tunc talis cantus
creditur esse
cantus perfectus,
si semicirculus
extat, temporis
inperfecti cantus
dicitur esse.

Et signum maioris prolacionis est |: , signum minoris ↶|: , signum modi perfecti maioris prolacionis est O|: , signum modi inperfecti minoris prolacionis est C|: , signum inchoacionis est)(vel sic :||: .

(9. Consonance is a sweet mixture of sounds arising from the skill of singing and a knowledge of note-forms, concerning which these verses are given to you.

If you will see O, then such a song is
believed to be a song in perfect [tempus];
if a semicircle appears, it is said to be a
song in imperfect tempus.

And the sign of major prolation is |: , the sign of minor prolation is ↶|: ; the sign of perfect modus, major prolation is O|: , the sign of imperfect modus, minor prolation is C|: . the repeat sign is)(or thus :||: .)

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10. Cacosonancia est mala sonoritas in cantu proveniens aut ex vocibus non registratis, aut quia in canendo una nota surripit aliam, vel quia intenduntur laxande aut laxantur intendende, ac quia inmiscet se nota unius sedis in alteram ei incomparatibilem sedem, vel quia cantantes discrepant dissonantes propter notarum non intellectionem, quod significent.

(10. Cacophony is an ugly sonority arising in a song either from unwritten notes, or because, in singing, one note-form steals from another; or because the notes are extended [in time] through stretching [the note-forms] or they are stretched through extension; or because a note-form of one rank mixes itself with another incompatible with it; or because the singers sound discordant since they lack the knowledge of the note-forms and that which they may signify.)

11. Mutetus est cantus mensuralis per triplum vadens, in quo discantus habet textum proprium et medium, eciam non (?) habet textum proprium diversificatum a discanto, sed tamen uterque textus una cum suis notis ita bene concordat, quod haec difformitas uniformitatem videtur parer; tenor autem nullum textum habet, sed occurit utrique suaviter se inmiscendo.

(11. A motet is a mensural song proceeding in three voices, in which the discant has its own text and the middle voice even has a characteristic text differentiated from the discant. But nevertheless, the text of each concords so well together with its own notes, that this lack of conformity seems to appear as uniformity. The tenor, however, has no text, but it replys to both, sweetly intertwined with them.)

12. Rundelus est cantus mensuralis solum per duplum vadens, in quo discantus cum dulci proporcione occurrit suo tenori, interdum tenorista silente et discantorista cantante aut e converso, aut quia contra se voces porrigit coequatas et rursum concordantes suo procedit quisque choro, aut est melodum habens duas partes, quarum una habet clausuram, alia vero caret prorsus clausura.

(12. A rundelus is a mensural song proceeding only in two voices, in which work a discant answers its own tenor with sweet proportion, sometimes with the tenor voice silent and the discant voice singing, or the contrary. Or else [it is a rundelus] because it presents equal but also concordant voices against themselves, each voice proceeding with its own chorus. Or a rundelus is a melody having two sections, of which one has a full cadence, the other, however, is entirely lacking a full cadence.)

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13.[2] [F]acetum est cantus mensuralis per triplum vadens, in quo tenor et medium et contratenor quilibet habet suum textum sibi coapropriatum sic comensuratum, quod procedit in modum rote in gravibus sibi decenter obviantes in vocibus, et in omni pausa illius cantilene possunt sistere, ubi volunt nullo eorum in tali cantu silente.

(13. [F]acetum is a mensural song proceeding in three voices, in which any tenor, middle voice, and contratenor has its own text appropriate to itself, hence equal in length, because it proceeds in the manner of a round [rota = wheel] in low notes, and in each resting place of that song [the pitches] are able to be held where they do not desire any silence of the voices in such a song.)

14. Trumpetum est cantus mensuralis per quatuor choros procedens, in quo quilibet suo fungens officio in cantando, via sua cantacionis directa progreditur, sed quartus obviat omnibus voce sonora aliquantulum rauca in modum tube gallicane, sine hoc quod alicui faciat suo occursu caccofoniam seu malam et dissidentem sonoritatem.

(14. A trumpetum is a mensural song proceeding in four choruses [i.e., voices], in which any chorus, performing its own role in singing, proceeds with its own individual way of song. But the fourth chorus opposes all with a sonorous voice, somewhat raucous, in the manner of a French trumpet, since to some it makes cacophony or an evil and disagreeable sonority when it answers [the other voices].)

15. Rotulum est cantus mensuralis per dupplum aut triplum cantibilis sine tenore, in quo cantantes ponunt tres choros secundum proporcionatam armoniam et unusquisque procedit sua differencia generando eciam quasi in infinitum, et in se tociens, quociens placuerit, regenerando textu variato aut non variato, sed per aliquas pausas ac clausulas tamen permutato.

(15. A rotulum is a mensural song, proceeding in two or three voices without tenor, in which the singers maintain three choruses according to harmonic proportion and each voice proceeds in its own different way, generating [itself] repeatedly as if into infinity. And it recurs over itself as often as desired with the same or different text, but varied by means of some rests or cadences.)

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2 The reading "procedit" in line 3 of this passage is taken from F.A. Gallo, "Caccia," Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie.

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16. Balida est cantus mensuralis, in quo discantus habet tres partes et una pars habet suum clausorium ab aliis distinctum, quibus tenor quarta parte obvians concorditer omnibus dissonat et dissonanter omnes concordant melodia suavissima et unaqueque pars suo incessu dulcissime progrediendo.

(16. A balida is a mensural song, in which the discant has three sections, and one additional section which has its own cadence distinct from the others. The tenor differs from these sections in the fourth section, contrasting concordantly with them all. And all the sections concord differently with a most sweet melody and each single section concords by proceeding with its own most unceasing sweetness.)

17. Stampania est cantus mensuralis dulcissimus, summa mensura in pausis et elevacione et depressione nec secundum altum nec secundum bassum progrediens; qui tanto ingenio repertus est, ut stampania sit mensura omnium mensurarum, et est una cantilena duodecim modis continens in se differencias, quarum tamen quamlibet bis repetit.

(17. The stampania is a most sweet mensural song proceeding with the most exacting measurement in rests, both ascending and descending [steps?], neither according to high nor according to low. This song is devised with great fancy so that the stampania may be the measure of all measures, and is one song containing in itself twelve distinct melodic sections [differencias]; nevertheless, it repeats each distinct melodic section.)

18. Cantilena in genere est omnis modulacio cuiusque mensure ac modi existat, dum modo acutorum et gravium sonorum vocalium mixtura; suaviter humanis auribus prurit, resonancias quoniam species cantuum mensuralium vero potest ad perfectum enumerare, quanto ingenio natatur, influit vocibus humanis diversitates; ideo hoc uno vocabulo cantilene omnium cantacionum mensuralium vocabuntur diversitates.

(18. Cantilena is generally every modulation of any length and mode, provided only that a mixture of acute and grave vocal sounds emerges. It sweetly tickles human hearing, since, in fact, a cantilena is able to encompass completely the sounding species of mensural composition. It is full of great fancy, it insinuates [itself] into the different kinds [of song] with human voices. Therefore, all the varieties of mensural song are called by this one word, cantilena.)

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APPENDIX X

CRACOVIA CIVITAS, HYSTORIGRAPHI ACIEM, NITOR INCLITE CLAREDINIS, BREVE REGNUM ERIGITUR AND PASTOR GREGIS EGREGIUS: TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The Latin texts in this appendix are derived from the editions by R. Gansiniec, "Liryka Stanisława Ciolka," Roczniki Historyczne XXIII (1957) 157 - 176, and H. Kowalawicz, in M. Perz, Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XIV (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1976).

I. Cracovia civitas (Kras 1 = Wn378 17)

1.	Cracovia civitas, Te civium unitas, Te cleri pluralitas, Virorum maturitas, Matronarum fecunditas, Rerum ornat copia.	City of Kraków, the unity of your citizens, the plurality of your clerks, the maturity of your men, the fertility of your matrons, honor you with the riches of the world.
2.	Te perfundunt clari fontes, Vallo tegunt alti montes, His pereunt omnes sontes, Sumunt dona innocentes, Decoraris gracia.	Shining fountains anoint you, high mountains protect you with a palisade; here all sinners perish, innocents acquire sacred gifts, you are embellished with grace.
3.	In te corpus iacet sacrum Stanislai patris patrum, Hic thezaurus ingens fratrum, Tu reluces ut theatrum;	In you lies the holy body of Stanisław,[1] father of fathers, here is an enormous treasure of holy brethren, you glow as a

1. Stanisław, patron saint of Poland, and bishop of Kraków, martyred on April 11, 1079.

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Hic regina, mater matrum,
Despiciens iam baratrum
Hedwigis sumpsit gaudia.

theater; here the queen Jadwiga,[2]
mother of mothers, already
distaining the abyss, received her
inward joys.

4. Flos militum strennuorum
In te fulget, cetus morum,
Hic reperit tristis chorum,
Hic fons manat mel amorum
Carens flamma odiorum,
Scema spernis viciorum,
Tu paris tripudia.

The flower of brave knights
glitters in you, as an assembly of
the law; here the mournful man
discovers a chorus, here a spring
trickles the honey of lovers, free
from the flame of enmities, you
reject the figures of vices, you
bring forth jubilations.

[5. Gaudes pacis presidio
Creatore propicio,
Wladislai inicio
Vivens absque flagicio,
Docet et hec ediccio
Ut viteris a vicio,
Contempnas et turpia.]

[You rejoice with the protection
of a peace from a well-disposed
creator, from the beginning of
Władysław's reign,[3] living without
shame, and this edict teaches that
you shall be shunned by vice,
and you shall despise the
unseemly.]

6. Tu regine venustatem,
Cuius vultus vetustatem
Nescit, solam honestatem,
Ut ver tendens ad estatem
Prefigurat maiestatem,
Intueris puritatem
Per clara pallacia.

You have the beauty of a queen,
whose visage knows not
old age, only honesty;
as spring changing into summer,
it prefigures majesty;
you contemplate purity,
in the midst of brilliant palaces.

7. Quam agmina puellarum
Astant pulcre consertarum;
Si quis ferat cor amarum
Et inspectet valde parum
Tantam formam specierum,
Mox resumit cor sincerum
Et intrat solacia.

Indeed, multitudes of entwined
girls stand beautifully by;
if anyone should bear a bitter
heart and would view, even
insufficiently, so much beauty of
form, instantly he regains a whole
heart and he begins his
consolations.

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2. Jadwiga (1373/1374 - July 17, 1399), daughter of Louis of Hungary (king of Poland, 1370 - 1384), crowned "king" of Poland on October 15, 1384, and first wife of Władysław Jagiełło.

3. Władysław Jagiełło (c. 1351 - 1434), crowned king of Poland on January 18, 1385.

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8. Phibi stellis constipatur, Duobus natis recreatur, Wladislaus primus fatur, Kazimirus alter datur, Summus parens collaudatur, Pater deo commendatur Et inclita Zophia.	Phebus is pressed to the stars, by two sons he is restored, the first is called "Władysław,"[4] the second is given "Kazimierz,"[5] the highest parent is greatly praised, their father is entrusted to God and also the illustrious Zophia.[6]
9. Consolentur corda mesta Que abs prole sunt congesta; Concrepemus leta festa, Wladislai quod ex testa Nostro evo sunt digesta Stirps preclara et honesta, Futuris solacia.	Let sorrowful hearts be comforted who are brought together by these progeny; let us celebrate the joyful feasts, because from Władysław's head are distributed, in our time, these noble and honest offspring, consolations to the future.
10. Rerum primus conservator, Carismatum qui es dator, Ens encium et plasmator, Collapsorum restaurator, Supplex oro te peccator: Esto nostri adamator, Da letari patria.	First defender of all things, you, who are the giver of divine gifts, being of beings and creator, renovator of the weak, as a humble sinner, I pray you: Be our beloved, give the fatherland rejoicing.
Alleluia.	Alleluia.

II. Hystorigraphi aciem (Kras 2)

Hystorigraphi aciem Mentis lustrate faciem, Nove prolis magnalia Pingite natalicia	Illuminate an historian's acuteness, the countenance of his mind; adorn throughout the world the mighty deeds of the new

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4. Władysław Warenczyk (October 31, 1424 - November 10, 1444), first son of Jagiełło, baptized on February 18, 1425, crowned king of Poland on July 25, 1434.

5. Kazimierz, the so-called "rex iuvenis," second son of Jagiełło, born on May 16, 1426, baptized on June 2, 1426, and died on March 2, 1427. Not to be confused with Jagiełło's third son, Kazimierz IV Jagiellonczyk (October 31, 1427 - June 7, 1492), baptized on December 21, 1427, crowned king of Poland on June 25, 1447.

6. Zophia (c. 1405 - 1461) was the fourth wife of Jagiełło, whom she married in 1422.

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Opima per diversoria,	race by this sumptuous birth,
Euge faustis donaria.	excellent offerings from the fortunate.
Vandalorum propages,	Offspring of the Vandals,
Preconia compages	worshipful covenant,
Dona sortis ceteris	gifts of fate are favorable
Favent, sed a superis	to others, but from the gods
Tibi naturalia	to you flow natural gifts
Manant crassa copia.	with abundant copiousness.
Vernithronos vernulus	A natural spring-throne
Cristi gignitus, inclitus	born of Christ, renowned
Kazimirus Cristi gracia	Kazimierz[7] born through Christ's
Genitus in Cracovia	grace and indeed in Kraków:
Etate cosmos machina	In the age of the cosmos' machine
Semianalla, totidem centena,	four-thousand, just as many
Cum quinquies pentenaria	hundreds (4) with five times a
Atque quinta feria	pentenaria (25) and also the fifth
Post ascensum yditi	day after the ascension
Nostri Domini editi.	of our sweetest high lord.[8]
Cancli yros genitor	Salutations, o hero father,
Wladislae, rex gignitor,	Władysław,[9] king begetter,
Tante prolis gloria	make manifest the glory of so
Laresce fecunda Zophia;	great a child from fruitful
Saba Austri tu prozelica,	Zophia;[10] O southern queen, you
Voluntate deica:	are a convert, by divine will your
Tanti stipatur cuneis,	child is encompassed by crowds of
Leticie laureis,	such size, with laurels of joy,
De fetus magnitudine	because of the child's greatness
Atque claritudine.	and also his renown.
Non est tam grandis nacio,	There is not so strong a nation,
De regum ramis duccio,	nor such a leader from the
Que tis compar stadiis	branches of kings, who is your
In terrenarum variis.	peer in stature in the diversities of the world's lands.

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7. See above, fn. 5.

8. This reference can only refer to the short lived Kazimierz, "rex iuvenis," and not Jagiełło's third son. However, it should be noted that in the calendar of Kraków Cathedral, Kazimierz's birthday is listed as 1426, probably indicating that Stanisław Ciołek kept a different calendar than the cathedral chapter.

9. See above, fn. 3.

10. See above, fn. 6.

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III. Nitor inclite claredinis (On the birth of Prince Władysław)
(Kras 10)

	Nitor inclite claredinis	The splendor of a glorious
	Ovans laxat valedinis	brilliance releases the loud
	Sitientis genticule	rejoicing of a national desire,
	Gaudimonia Polonorum	the sacred joys
5.	Conducentis cerimonia.	of the Polish nation.
	In laudem, gloriam,	In praise, glory,
	Assurgant pueruli,	the little children rise up,
	Senes, virgines, viri,	the old, the virgins, the men,
	Honoris baiuli,	the honorable officials,
10.	Nati ante secula	of the son, before the ages,
	Qui dignatus facula	who, deemed worthy, illuminates
	Luminare servulos,	with a torch his humble servants,
	Polonicos herulos,	a little Polish hero,
	Grato nato Zophia,	by his blessed birth from
15.	Genitrice regia,	Zophia,[11] the royal mother,
	Genitore largifico,	and from a bountiful father,
	Wladislao regifico	Władysław[12] the kingly
	Atque invictissimo.	and also invincible.[13]
	Gratus natus claruit,	The blessed son is renowned, as
20.	Ut Iesus Cristus voluit,	Jesus Christ wished, a new king
	Novus rex poli soli patrie	of the Polish fatherland,
	Wladislaus nomine,	Władysław[14] in name, in the
	Vibrante noctis stadio,	gleaming contest of the night,
	Lune diei termino,	at the end of the moon's day
25.	In vigilia sanctorum omnium	(Monday), on the Vigil of All
	Anno Cristi scribencium	Saint's (October 31), from the
	Mille cum quadrigens titulo	year of Christ of the Scriptures,
	Addendo vigiqua latulo	one thousand with four-hundred by
	Virgine Maria.	inscription with the addition of
		twenty-four from his birth by the
		Virgin Mary (1424).

---

11. See above, fn. 6.

12. See above, fn. 3.

13. Perhaps, an oblique reference to the victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald on July 15, 1410.

14. See above, fn. 4.

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30. Pange, clange feliciter,
Tripudia triforiter
Cuncta gens Polonica
Prole de magnifica
Producta ac sereniter
35. Serenis imis ex natalibus
Regiis ex penetralibus.

Compose, sound happily
jubilations three-foldly,
O entire Polish people,
on account of a magnificent
begotten child, and sound
serenely, from the joyous
peasants to the kingly
sanctuaries.

IV. Breve regnum erigitur (Kras 11)

1. Breve regnum erigitur,
Sublimatum deprimitur
Et depressum elabitur
Transmutato tempore.

A brief kingship comes forth;
the lofty is laid low
and the lowly is passed away
by a transmutation in time.

2. Puerilem miliciam
Perargutam periciam,
Regencium industriam,
Eduxit in opere.

A youthful soldiery,
very acute skill,
the industry of his rulers,
this king leads forth in labor.

3. Cracoviensem filium,
Fulgentem velud lilium
Ac de numero milium
Cunctis preferendum.

A Kraków son,
shining just as a lily,
and even with the number of
thousands, he will be carried
forth by all together.

4. Octo dierum spacium
Hoc sustinet solacium,
Post hoc regis pallacium
Plagis feriendum.

Of eight days length,
this king sustains a recreation,
after this the king's palace
will be struck with blows.

5. Namque regis eleccio
Fit studii negleccio
Ac desolatur leccio
Tota septimana.

For indeed, this king's election
becomes a neglect of study
and even the lecture room is
abandoned for an entire week.

V. Pastor gregis egregius (Kras 18)

1. Pastor gregis egregius,
Stanislaus cultor verus
Orthodoxe fidei.

Illustrious shepherd of the
flock, Stanisław,[15] true supporter
of the orthodox faith.

---

15. See above, fn. 1.

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2. Stans pro plebis iniuria Boleslai nequicia Cadit cesus gladio.	Standing up for an injustice of the people from Bolesław's[16] wickedness, he is exposed to a murderer with a sword.
3. Membra sparsa feris dantur, Sed tutelis defensantur Aquilarum sedulis.	Your scattered members are given to wild animals but they are protected by the zealous guardianship of the eagles.
4. Ergo pastor et patrone, Stanislae, in agone Nos tuta ab hostibus.	Therefore, shepherd and patron, Stanisław, in the battle protect us from our enemies.

---

16. Bolesław Szczodry (1038/1039 - April 2/3, 1082), the Polish king who ordered the murder of Stanisław.

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APPENDIX XI

CREDO / WIR GLAUBEN IN EYNEN GOT, PL-WRu 466, ff. 25v - 27v.

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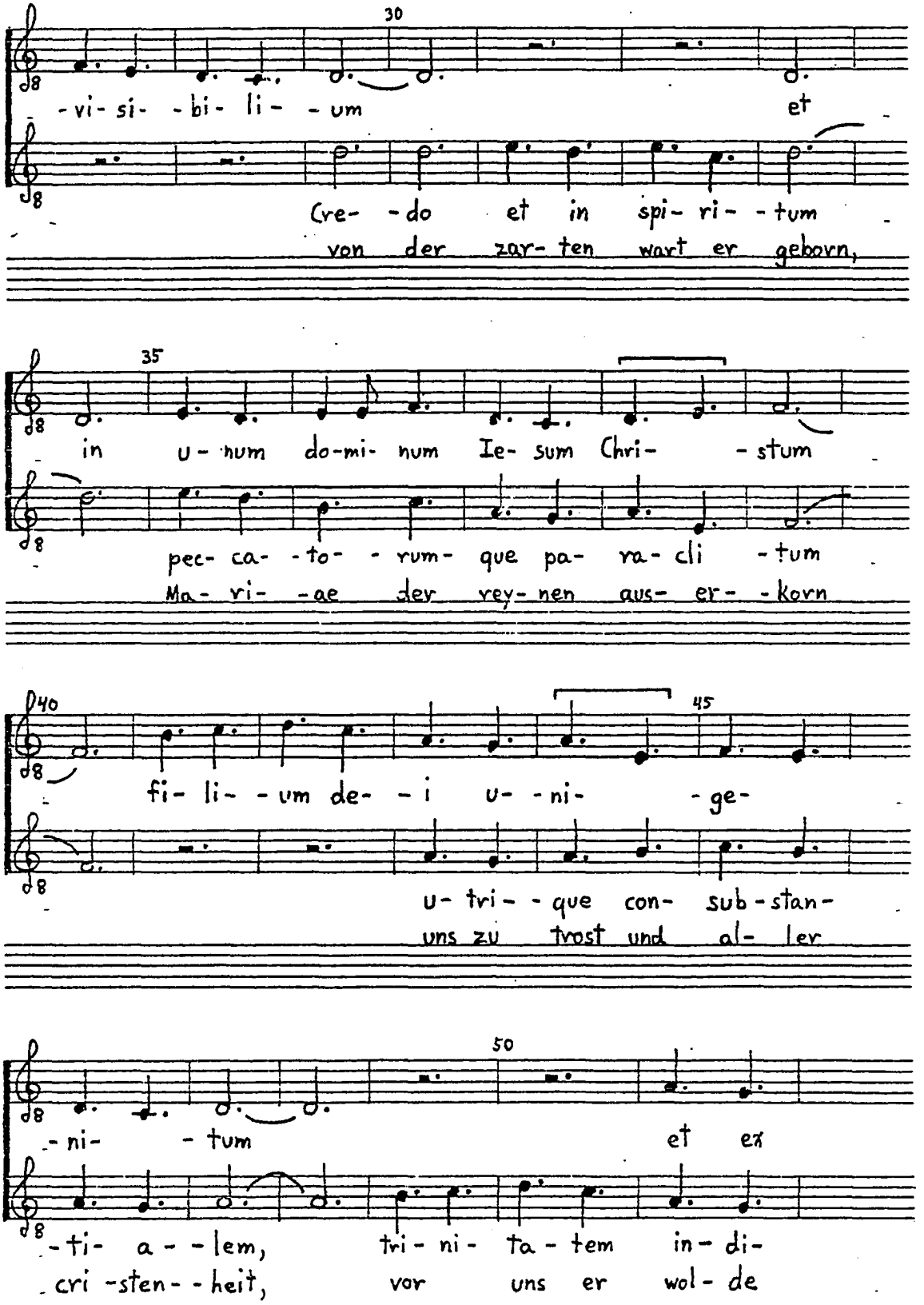

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* m. 140: discant 2nd too high; custos indicates c'

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APPENDIX XII

TWO-VOICE CREDO (II) FROM CS-PST 376, ff. 36v - 38r

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APPENDIX XIII

SALVE MATER GRACIE, ČS-HK II A 7, pp. 456 - 457

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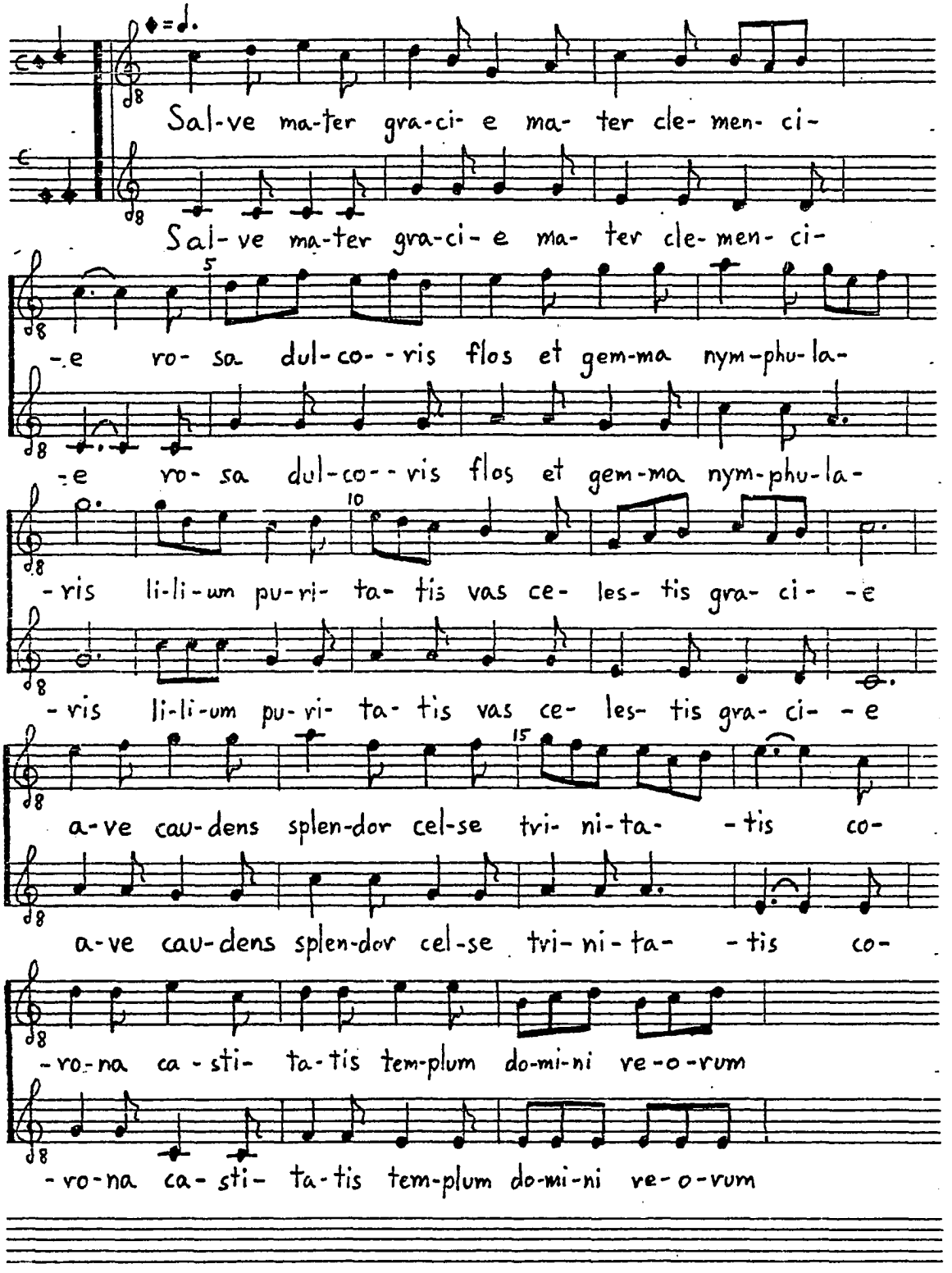

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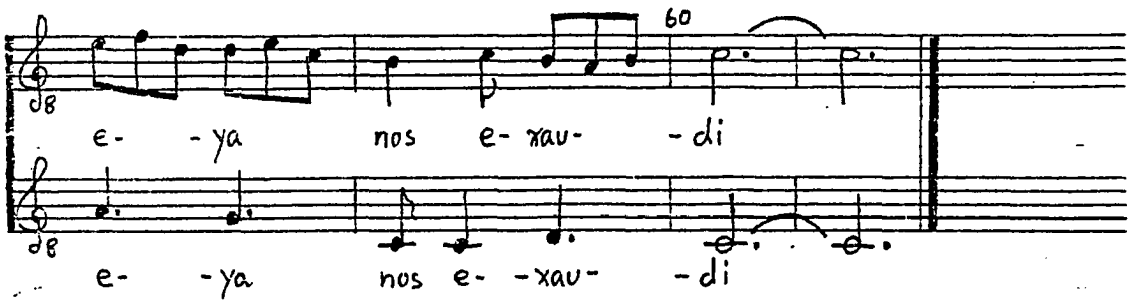

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APPENDIX XIV

PROMITAT ETERNO TRINI REGI VE SUPERNO,

ATTRIBUTED TO PETRUS WILHELMI DE GRUDENCZ, PL-WRu269, ff. I & II.

1. Promitat eterno trini regi ve superno patri regnanti super ethera cuncta cantu.	Let him go forth to the eternal three-fold king or to the celestial father reigning above the aether, with joined song.
2. Psallant clerorum modulamina preconiorum cum devotorum libramine mentis aviorum ut nos sacrorum.	Let them sing with the melody of the clerical watchmen, with the pious solitaries' balance of discernment, just as we [sing] of the holy.
3. Pius mundus veniarum, huic, adam evorum nos ducat, regna polorum, regna polorum.	O holy world of forgiveness; to this, let the Adam of the ages lead us, the kingdom of the heavens, the kingdom of the heavens.

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APPENDIX XV

SELECTED TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM PL-Kj 2464

The transcriptions in this appendix are often free interpretations of the original source. As can be seen by comparison with the published facsimile in Perz, Sources XIII, 15 - 35, the notation is often open to many interpretations. For further information, the reader is directed to my forthcoming critical edition, Collectio cantilenarum, Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, in press).

2. Regina celi letare (f. 1v) 470
6. Mirificis vocibus (f. 3v) 475
10. Celebris dies colitur (ff. 4v - 5r) 477
11a. Altitonanti cantita (f. 5r) 480
12. Exordium quadruplante / Nates nate dei / Concrepet infanti nanti / Verbum caro factum est(ff. 5v - 6r) 483
15. Arida virga mices (f. 7r) 497
18. Pregrata erat nunc regali (f. 9r) 500
19. Progenie ex paganica (f. 11v) 503
22. Presulis eminenciam (ff. 12v / 13r) 505

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2. Regina celi letare (f. 1v)

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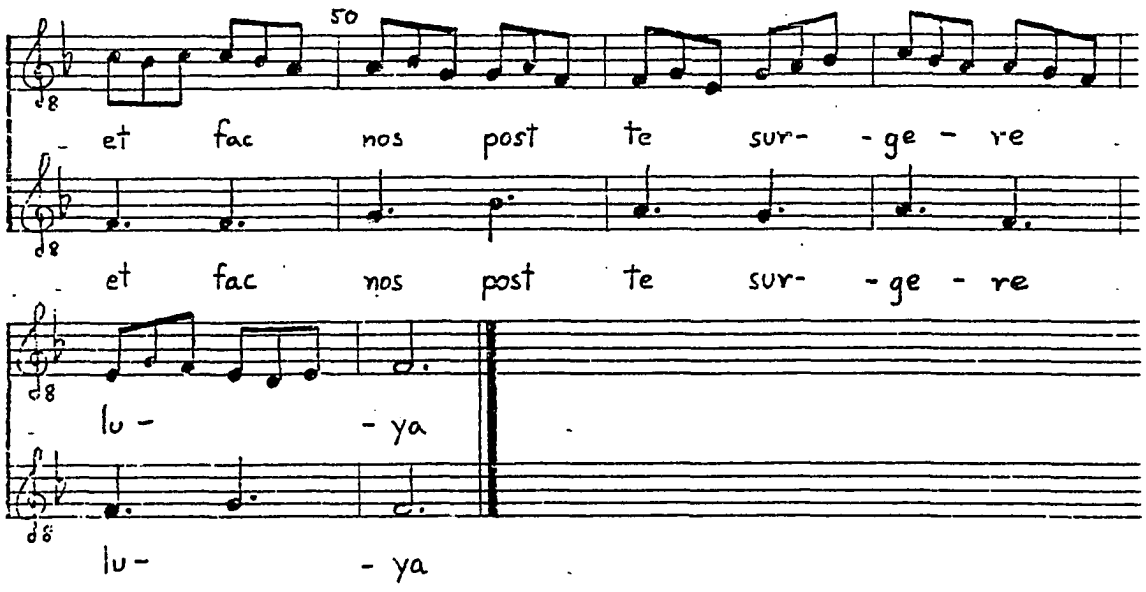

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Regina celi letare	Joy to thee, O Queen of Heaven,
alleluya	alleluya:
Quia quem [meruisti portare	He whom thou wast meet to bear,
alleluya]	alleluya:
Resurrexit sicud dixit	As He promised, hath arisen,
alleluya	alleluya.
Ora [pro nobis deum,]	Pour for us to Him thy prayer,
Alle- domine	Alle- O Lord,
nate matris deus alme	God, born of a nurturing mother,
nobis confer prestaque vivere	bestow and give us to live
[Quoniam (laus) te	since praise and honor
honor decet o domine	becomes you, O Lord,
qui de morte surgebas valide][1]	who robustly rose from the dead
et fac nos post te surgere -luya.	and make us rise after you, -luya.

---

1. The text "Quoniam ... valide" is taken from BJ 1267, ff. 160v - 161r, with the exception of the word "laus," supplied from the three-voice setting of Regina celi edited in Appendix XVI.

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6. Mirificis vocibus (f. 3v)

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I:
1 Mirificis vocibus
odas decantemus.

With wonderful voices,
let us sing odes.

Repeticio:
Pueri iam concinite
summopere iam psallite
5 regi angelorum.

Children, now sing
of the highest works, now sing
to the king of the angels.

II:
Sedulis cum laudibus
christum rogitemus.

With zealous praises
let us beseech Christ.

III:
Iungant cum leticiam
choris angelorum.

They bind with joy,
the choruses of the angels.

IV:
Sume ut clemencia
solis populorum.

The highest would be clemency
of the sun of the people.

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10. Celebris dies colitur (ff. 4v - 5r)

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I:	
Celebris dies colitur	The festive day is adorned
in quo sol novus oritur	in which a new sun is arises
absque virili semine	without the seed of man.
Propterea nunc pueruli	Now therefore [are] the little
psalentes omnes infantuli	children all singing of the little
cum corde letabundo.	infant with a joyful heart.
II:	
In quo res mira agitur	In which a wonderful thing is
dum filius el nascitur	declaimed, now a son of God is born
de virginali sanguine	from a virgin's blood.
stupet celestis ierarchia	the hierarchy of heaven is amazed,
deum laudans cum symphonia	praising God with symphonia
voce incessabili.	with an unceasing voice.
III:	
Precemur ergo singuli	Therefore let us each one proclaim
victorem natum seculi	the birth of the conqueror of the
in hoc festo laudabili	world, during this praiseworthy feast.
Ut de umbrarum dominio	How from the shadows' domain
nos liberat locans solio	he frees us, laying in a coffin,
a vinclo volumptatis.	from the fetters of desire.

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11a. Altitonanti cantita (f. 5r)

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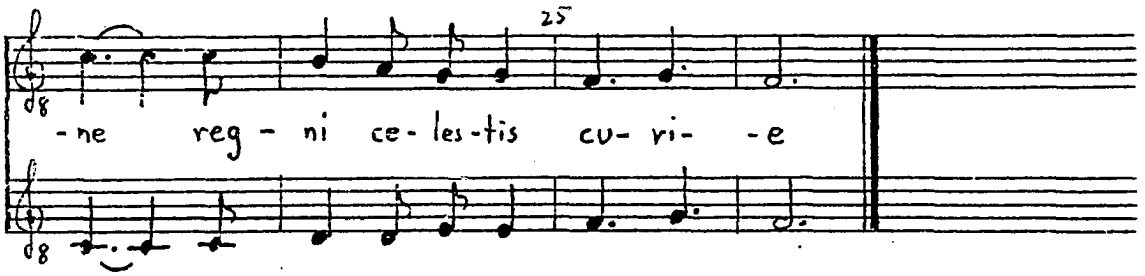

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1 *Altitonanti* cantica	Let us sing songs to the thunderer,
abs viri semine	to the Son, born without man's seed
puero nato de virgine	of a virgin,
psalamus ipsius in nomine	in thes name of Him,
qui redemit nos sanguine	who redeemed us with His blood:
ergo nos domine	therefore, grant us, O Lord,
frui fac agmine	to delight with the multitudes
regni celestis curie.	of the court of the heavenly realm.

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12. Exordium quadruplante / Nates nate dei / Concrepet infanti nanti / Verbum caro factum est (f. 5v - 6r)

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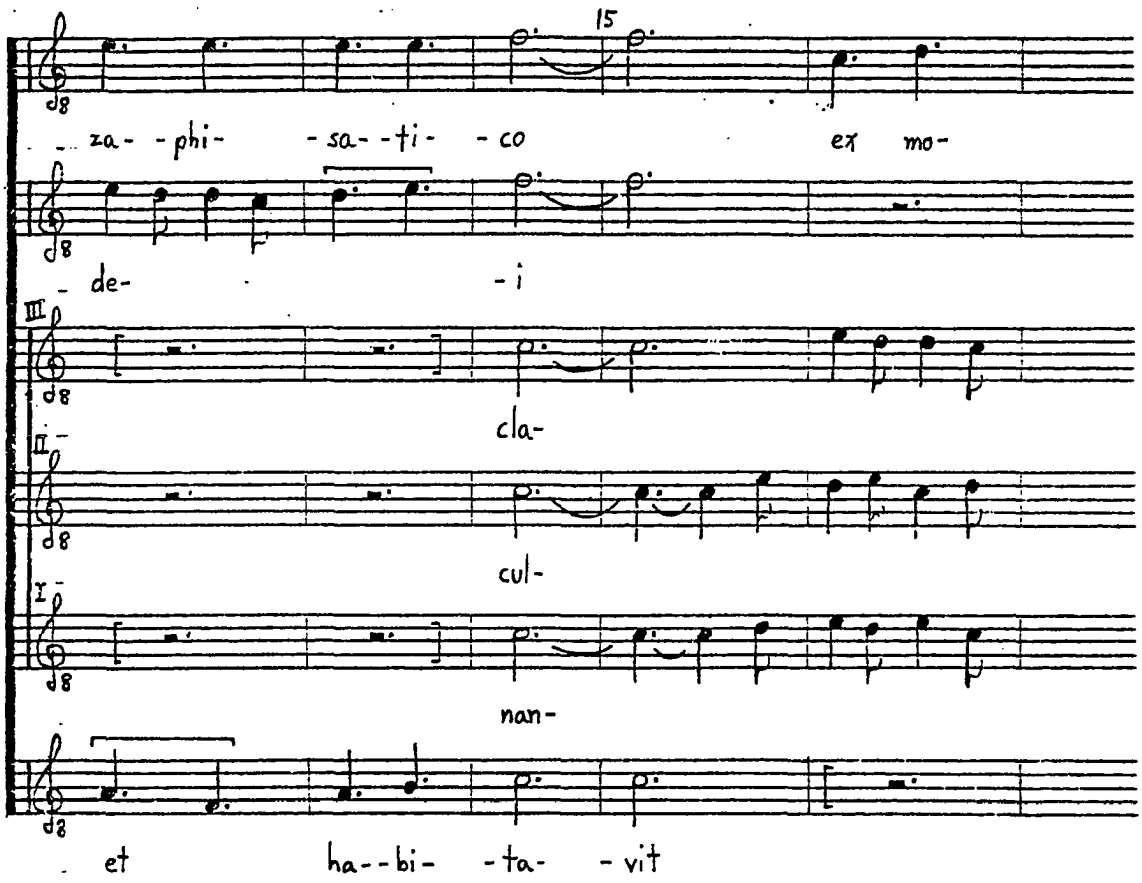

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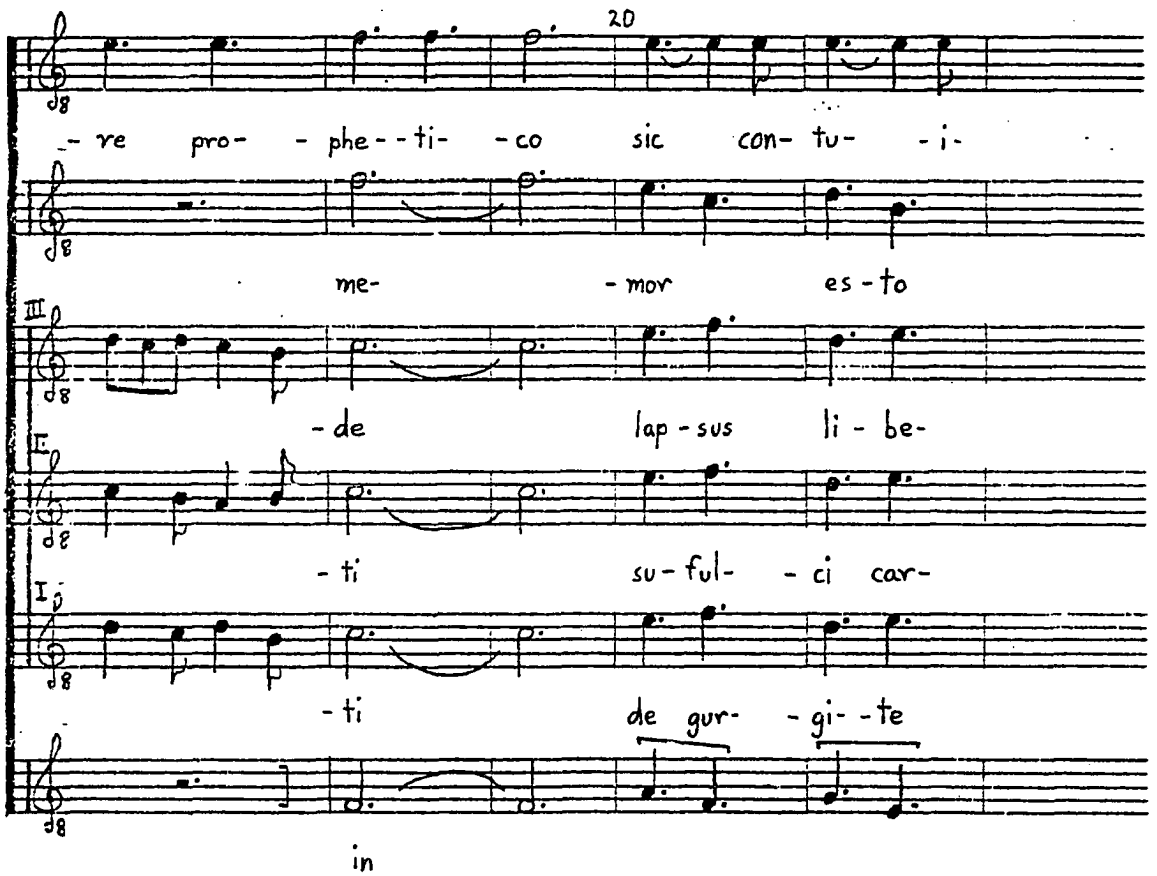

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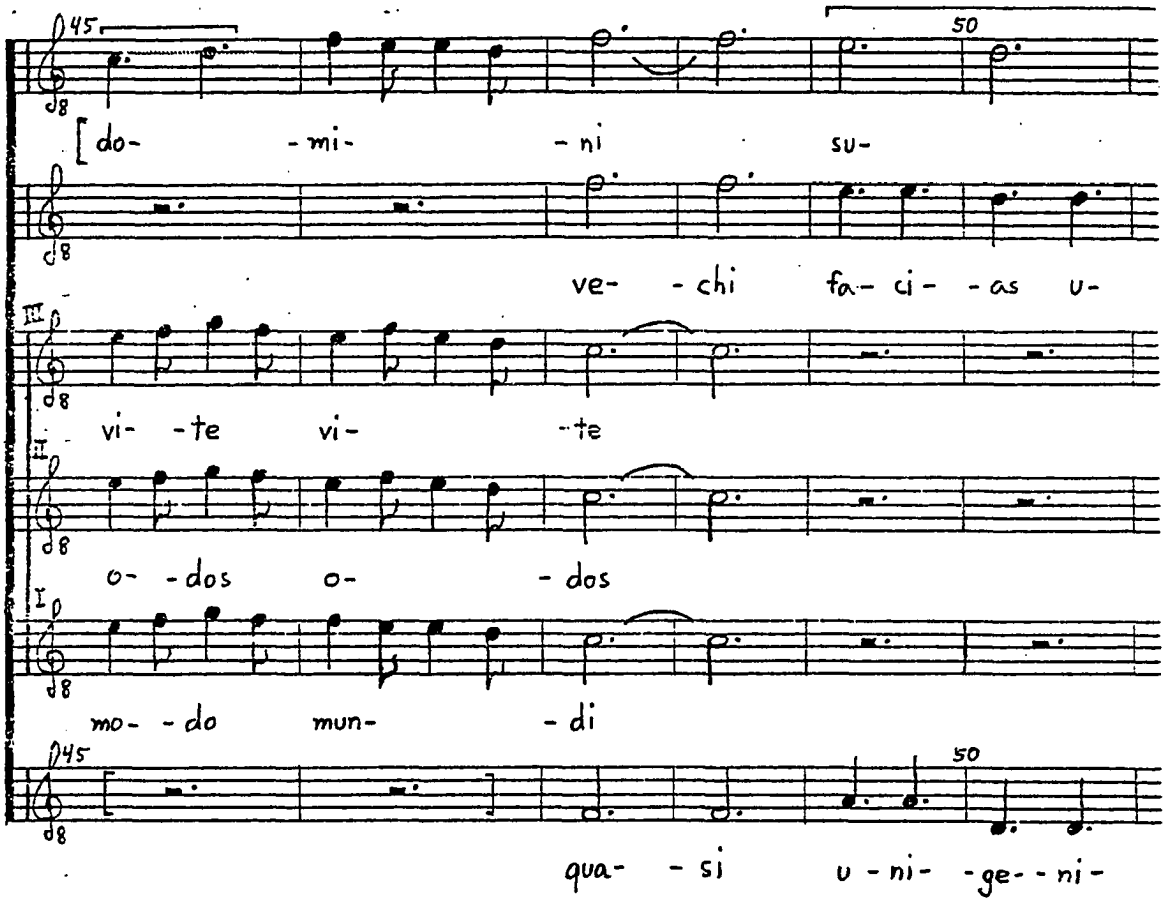

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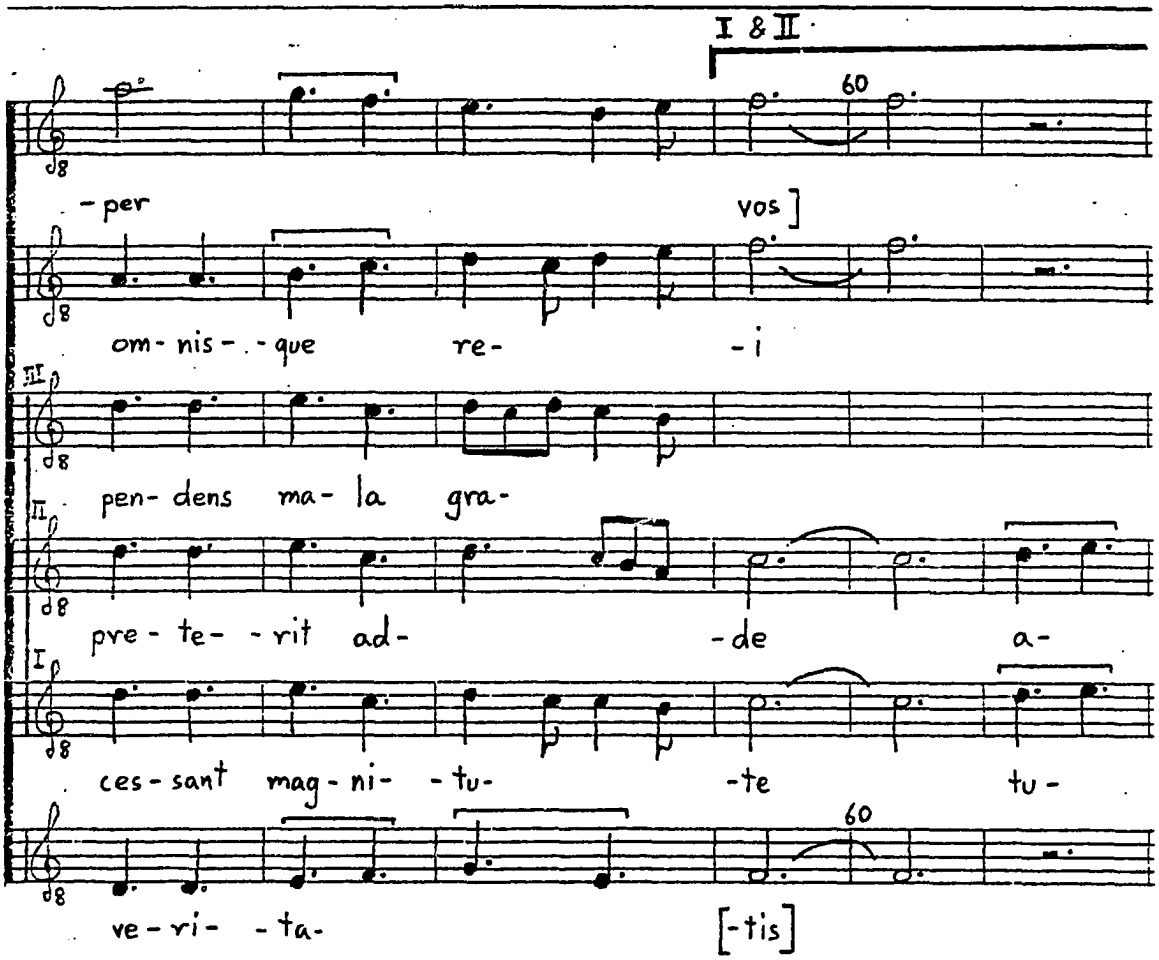

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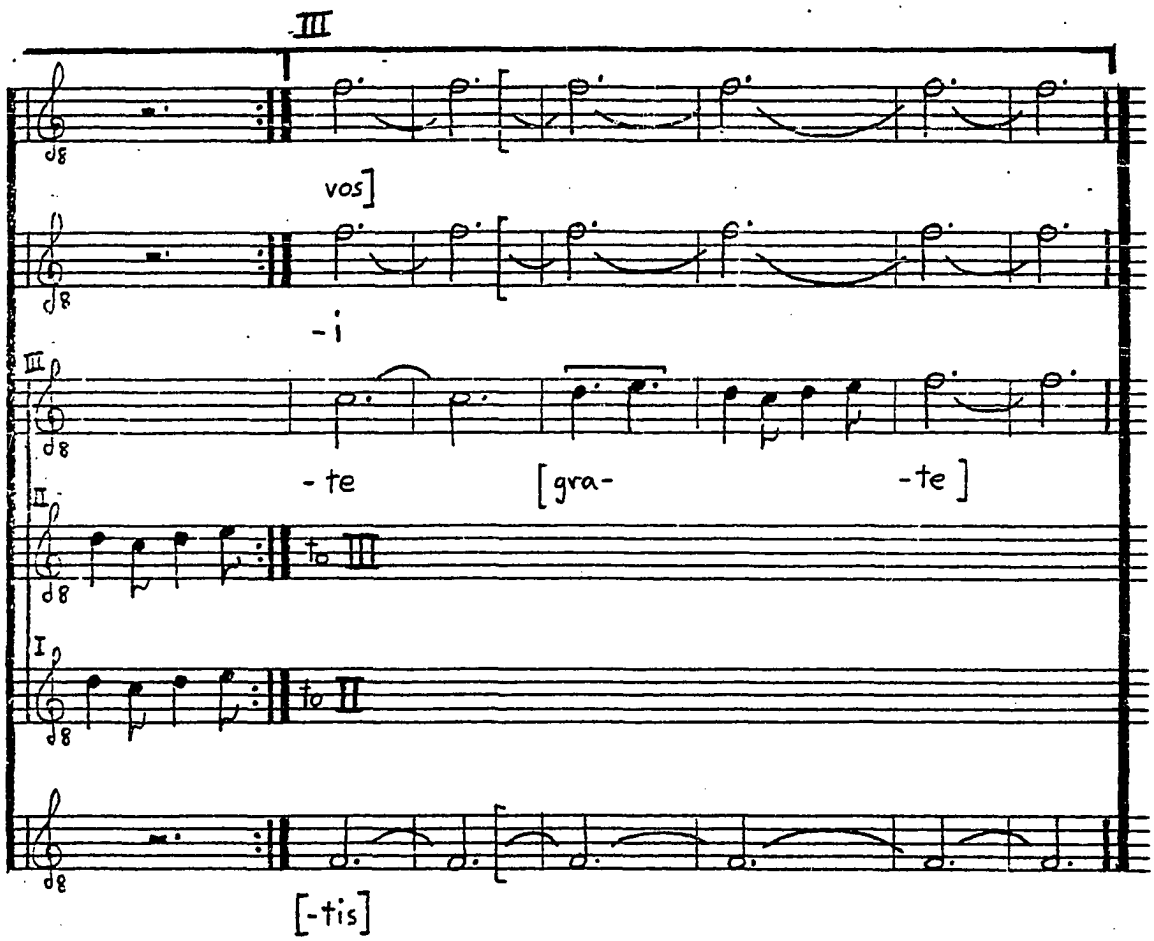

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Voice I:	
1 Exordium quadruplante phono	It is an exordium with four-fold
hoc mutetico zaphisatico	voice from this model motet,
[quod] ex more prophetico	because from the prophetic custom,
5 sic contuita personante	it is thus perceived resoundingly.
state tantum confidenter	Stand firm, alone, confidently;
contra hos videbitis clementer	facing these, you will see
auxilium [domini super vos].[2]	clemently the help of the Lord above you.
Voice II:	
1 Nates nate dei	Son of God, be mindful
memor esto mei	of me, cleric and
cleri quoque rei	also sinner; You would
neumata nostra	make our spirits travel
vechi facias ubi	where is found the consummation
summa trophei spei	of victory, hope, and of
finis omnisque rei.	the end of every thing.
Voice III:[3]	
I:	
1 Concrepet infanti nanti	Let the voice of the foolish
de gurgite rivi vivi	sound to the floating infant from
vox gentis dementis	the waters of the river of life;
mentis modo mundi	sound only of the world's mind,
5 unde supervacue nocue	from which superfluously,
cessent magnitute	harmfully, let them cease with greatness.
II:	
virtute culti sufulci	
carmine laudent plaudent	
quem natum vatum	
10 precotiunt odos	
odos quos discent [.....]	
preterit adde	
III:	
adelictorum clade	
lapsus liberando dando	
15 libes sursum	
sponsalia vite rite	
dei nate victis	
pendens mala grate.	

---

3. The text for this voice is particularly corrupt, especially in verses II and III. The translation of the first verse is given only as a vague guide to the meaning of the text.

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Voice IV:	
Verbum caro factum est	The word was made flesh
et habitavit in nobis	and dwelt among us,
et vidimus gloriam eius	and we saw his glory --
eius gloriam quasi	his glory as of the
unigeniti a patre	only-begotten of the father --
plenam gratie et verita[tis].	full of grace and truth.

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15. Arida virga mices (f. 7r)

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I:	
Arida virga mices	A dry twig sparkling [with blossoms],
integra virgo deum	the virgin, inviolate, brought into
contulit ewe neces	being both God and Eve's death;
Maria parit Ihesum	Maria gives birth to Jesus,
Solem stela pariter	Like a star the sun,
aurora diem	the dawn the day,
petra fontem	a rock a fountain,
patrem nata	a daughter a father,
virum femina	a woman a man,
virgo deum.	a virgin God.
II:	
Lavit enim mentem	Truly, she cleansed her soul
carnem sacravit pascentem	and consecrated her nourishing
intus sincera mens	flesh; a pure soul within,
caro munda florens	the unblemished flowering body
venit salutis ave	of our salvation comes, hail!
ecce venit ab Ewa	Lo, she comes from Eve.
ve ve que tolis ana	You, who take away our woe,
parata salus ara	our salvation prepared equally on the
salves genus ave ave.	altar, save mankind, hail, hail!

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18. Pregrata erat nunc regali (f. 9r)

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Pregrata erat nunc	A most dear woman was born at this
regali vera stirpe	time from the royal root,
nata mox concepit deum	she soon perceived that God
flagrare fidem	enflamed faith
et paganicam pastergare	and shepherded the pagan;
ad discipliam cum daretur	when she was given to the discipline
statim nepharia veretur	of the faith, instantly her sin was
liberalibus insistebat	obliterated; she tread upon the
quibus deum devincebat	nobles, whose earth-god Bellial
mundum bellial orratores	she conquered, and also the orators
qui tunc fuere melliores	who then were better.
he cum laudes viderent	These [orators], when the praises
se ad christum converterent	were seen, themselves were converted
ergo katerina nos	to Christ; therefore, Katherine,
instrue pervincere	prepare us to conquer
hanc audaciam protervam	this violent and raging
ac furibundam	boldness,
ut interventu tuo	when by your intervention
omnes salventur	all are saved
a periclo tecum ut perpetue	from destruction, as we constantly
capiamus celli gaudium amen.	partake with you of heaven's joys.
	Amen.

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19. Progenie ex paganica (f. 11v)

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1	Progenie ex paganica	From the lineage of a heathen
	erat hec nymphulla	was this maiden,
	Sancta Katarina	Saint Katherine;
	Tradat laudet	May the outpouring of holy oil
5	dignam et benignam	tell the legend and praise
	sacri olei fussio.	the worthy and kind maiden.

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22. Presulis eminenciam (ff. 12v / 13r)

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1	Presulis eminenciam totam rite vox symphonat clericorum rite cuius diversis vigebat virtutibus	Let the voice of the clerics solemnly resound the full eminence of the bishop, through whose divers strengths of war, the old pontiff
5	millicie senex pontificatus exaltatione iactitans	properly flourished, boasting in exaltation.
	Sublime rogittamus quod vestigia martini det sequi	We eagarly ask on high that the most strong Gigas[5] himself would enlist to follow
10	gigas gigas gigas gigas ipse fortissimus.	the footsteps of Martin.[6]

---

5. One of the giant sons of Earth and Tartarus.

6. This work probably refers to Pope Martin V.

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APPENDIX XVI

REGINA CELI LETARE FROM ČS-HK II A 7 (pp. 338 - 339) AND ČS-HK II A 6 (ff. 355v - 356r)

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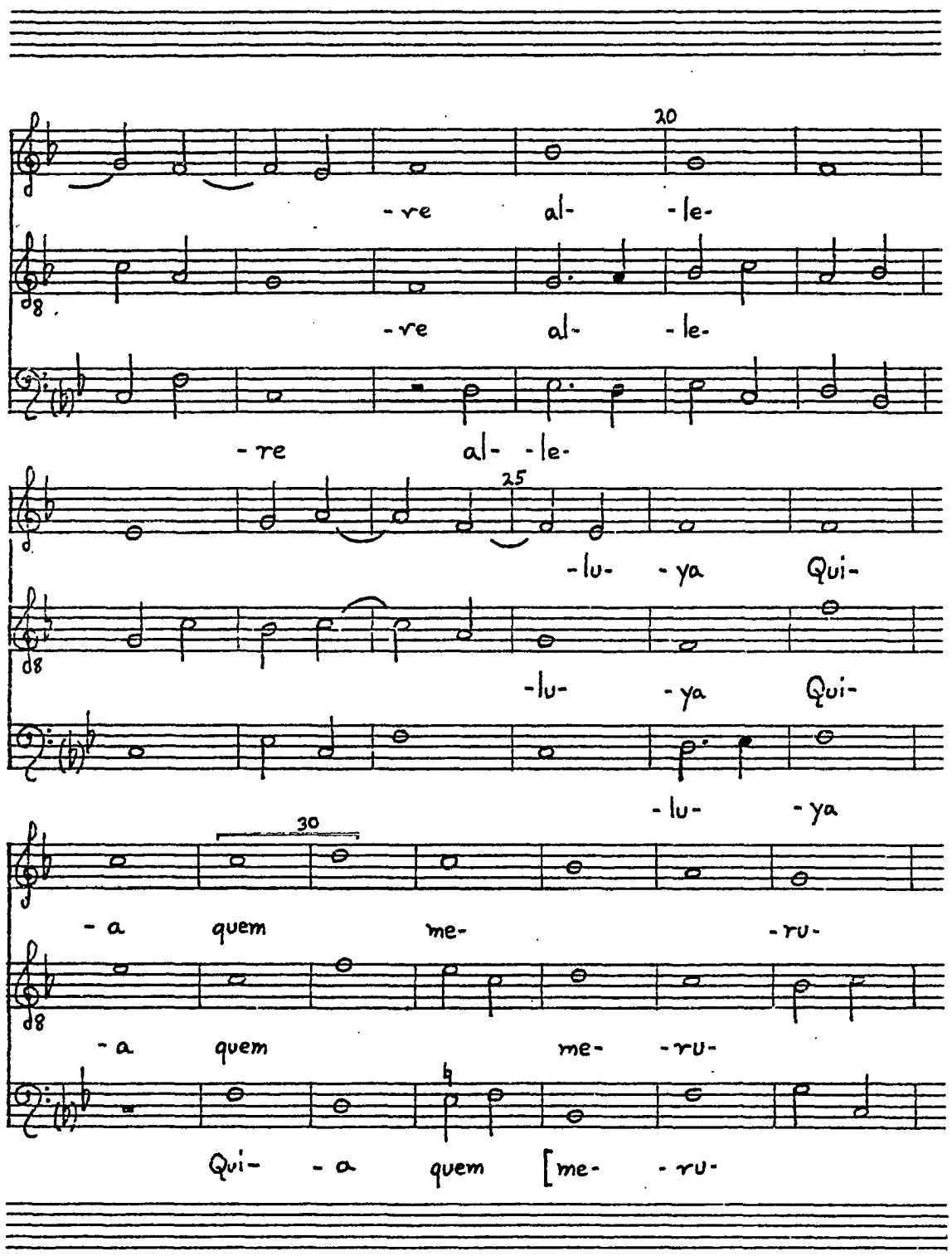

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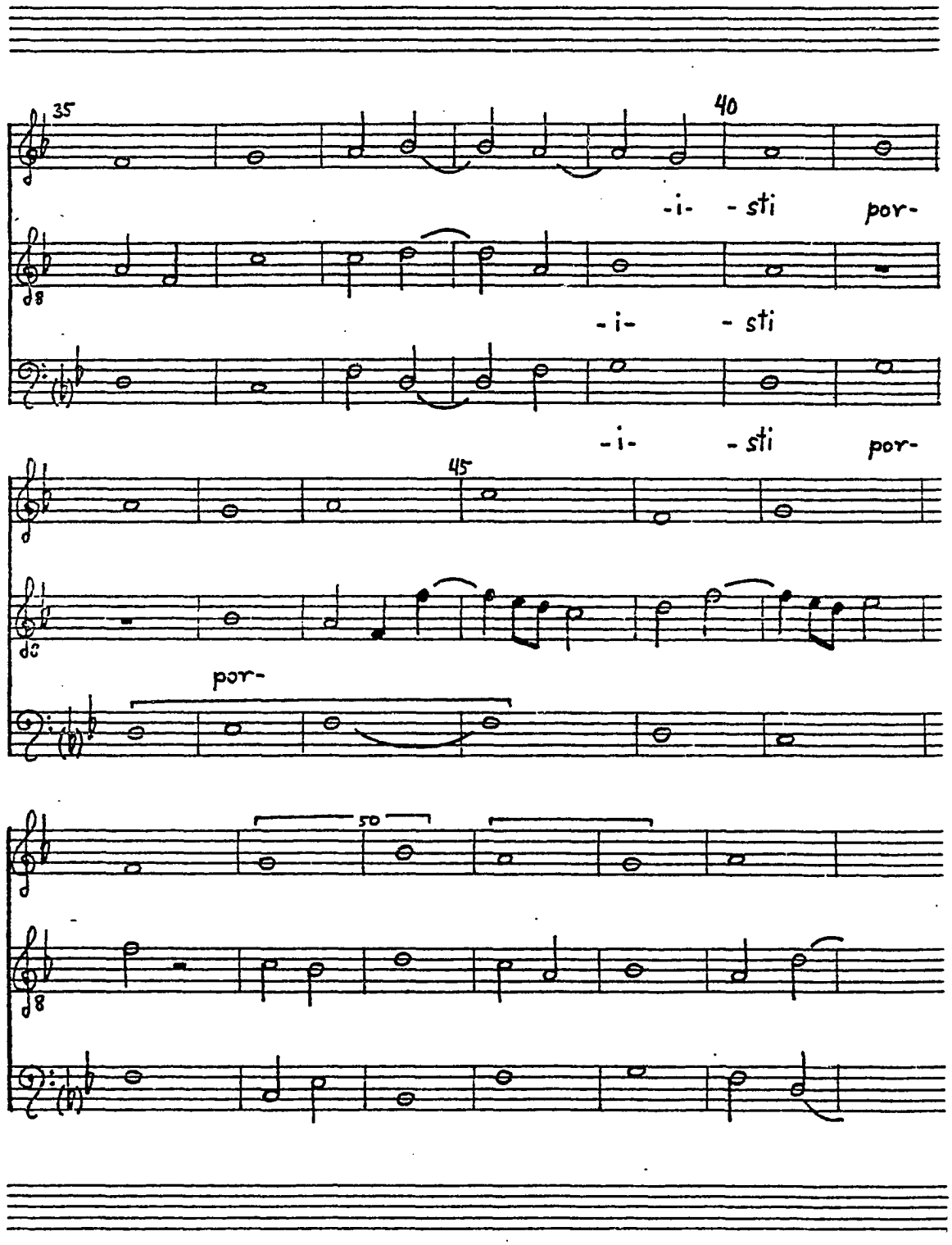

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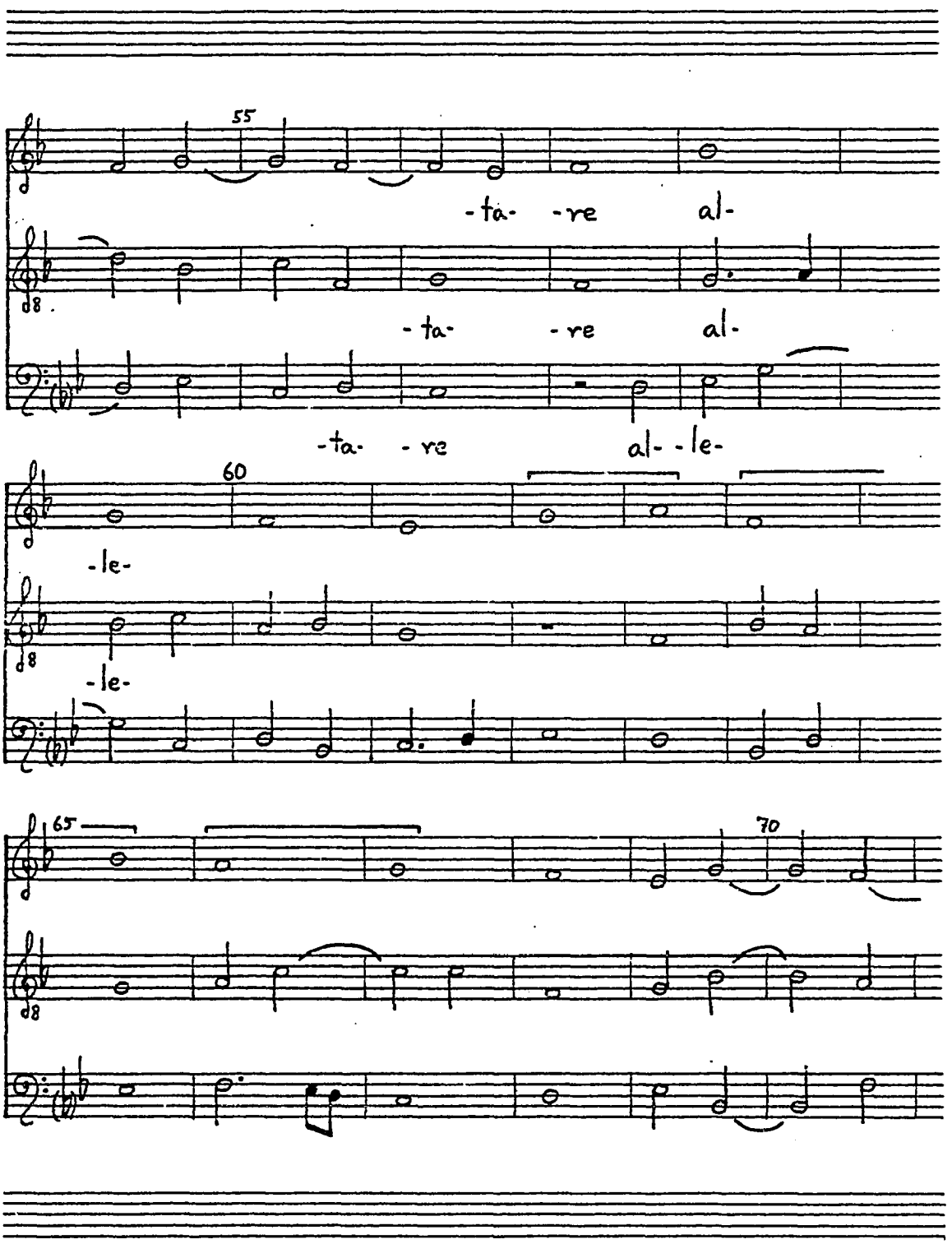

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APPENDIX XVII

ÚSTÍ NAD ORLICÍ, OKRESNÍ ARCHÍV RKP. A 3:

PROVISIONAL DESCRIPTION AND INVENTORY

The thirty-four paper leaves of this source were discovered in a book from Vysoké Myto, datable in the period from 1512 to 1555.[1] Most of the source is badly damaged, and its contents are incomplete in many respects. The music is copied in Bohemian chant notation, black mensural notation and white notation. Most of the polyphonic contents are related to other manuscripts which contain "popular polyphony" from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see the concordances listed below).

The source was undoubtedly of Bohemian provenance. At the bottom of f. 16v there is a fragment of a song about Jan Hus. Also included was a now fragmentary monophonic Passion according to Matthew in Old Czech.

J. Kouba has dated this source at the end of the fifteenth century or about 1500. His opinion is based on the repertoire and the appearance of white mensural notation on ff. 26v - 28v. This, however, cannot be taken as indicative of such a late date. The white notation in this source is similar to that in Třeboň, Archiv, A 4 (dated

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1. Most of this physical description is derived from that prepared by J. Kouba in 1974 for the Ústí nad Orlicí, Okresní archív. See also, Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 205, n. 35; and Černý, "Středověký vícehlas," 36, fn. 98.

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ca. 1460 by Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 205) and other sources, for example PL-Kór, which can be dated in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Černý has proposed the dates ca. 1480 and second half of the fifteenth century.[2] I believe that Ústí nad Orlicí A 3 (CS-Uo A 3) was copied somewhat earlier, in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

INVENTORY

(Unless otherwise specified, all compositions, monophonic or polyphonic, use black mensural notation.)

#	Folio	Description
1.	1r	end of monophonic, troped Sanctus: "... sit gloria in excelsis;" Bohemian chant notation.
2.	1v-2r	fragmentary, monophonic Gloria; Bohemian chant notation with mensural elements.
3.	2r-2v	fragmentary, troped Kyrie: "Angelorum;" Bohemian chant notation with mensural elements.
4.	2v	monophonic intonation for "Gloria ... lsis deo. Et in terra pax;" Bohemian chant notation.
5.	2v-3r	monophonic, troped Kyrie: "Magne deus;" Bohemian chant notation.
6.	3r	monophonic Sanctus; Bohemian chant notation, related to #7.
7.	3r	monophonic Agnus; Bohemian chant notation, related to #6.
8.	3v	monophonic Sanctus with Agnus text added underneath; Bohemian chant notation.
9.	3v	Ave virgo gloriosa / celi iubar ... decosa; Bohemian chant notation with mensural elements.
10.	4r	Ave Ihesum qu... nosus / nova luce...; text only.
11.	4r	Ave Ihesum ducs donis / iam te tue spon...;" text only.
12.	4r-4v	monophonic, troped Sanctus: "Sacrosanctus semper tua. O dulce ... Benedictus mariae ...;" Bohemian chant notation. Related to #13.
13.	4v	monophonic, troped Agnus: "... miserere nobis dere ...;" incomplete; Bohemian chant notation. Related to #12.
[break in the manuscript]		
14.	5r	Salvatoris memoria recollitur die ista (Repeticio: Ergo dulcis et benigne Iesu rex altissime);" 2 voices.

---

2. See Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 205; and "Středověký vícehlas," 36, fn. 98, and 89.

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15. 5r Sacris solemnis iuncta ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation; text continued on f. 5v?.
16. 5v Exurgens autem maria ... Evouae; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation. #16 - 21 are from a Marian office.
17. 5v Et factum est ut audivit elizabet salutationem ... Evouae; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
18. 5v-6r Exclamat elizabet voce inagria et dixit Benedicta ... Evouae; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
19. 6r Et unde michi hoc ut veniat mater domini ad me ... Evouae; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
20. 6r Et beata que credi ... alleluia. Evouae; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
21. [6r?]-6v [Magnifi]cat anima mea dominum; antiphon with verse "Ecce enim ... Quia. Gloria patri ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
22. 6v Assunt festa iubilea in ma...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.

[break in the manuscript]

23. 7r O quanta vis amo ... magnificat anima me[a] ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
24. 7v ... mirabilem in universa terra ... humilem alleluia. Domine Deus noster; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
25. 7v Celi ... tot singularia sunt collata ... Celi enarrant; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
26. 7v Ferax est ... virginis quem thezaurum fert ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
27. 7v-8r ...nem illum nasci prole ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
28. 8r Ad te clamant omnes ...; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
29. 8r-8v Su... datus misericor... ; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.
30. 8v Iuravit dominus da... ; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.

[break in the manuscript]

31. 9r Voce cordis et oris in laude / Tenor: Pulcre sion filia inclita; 2 voices. Concordance: CH-EN 314 17: ff. 138r - 138v.
32. 9r Surrexit Christus hodie, humano ...; 2 voices.
33. 9v Nitore claro collitur alleluia (Repeticio: Resonemus festa ...); 2 voices.
34. 9v-10r Zophia nascifertur / [O quam pulcra racio] / [Magi videntes stella]; 3 voices. Concordances: ČS-HK II A 7 (Specialník), ČS-HK II A 6 (Franus), Český Krumlov fragments.
35. 10v-11r [Pani aevus / Pange exsul / Panis ecce / Patribus veteribus] / Tantum ergo; 5 voices, attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz; lacks repeticio. Concordances: ČS-HK II A 7 (Spec.), ČS-HK II A 6 (Franus), ČS-Pnm XIII A 2, Chrudim. See Černý, "K nejstarším dějnám,"

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60-63 (critical notes) and [81-83] (transcription). See also Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," p. 231 (however, with an earlier foliation).

36. 11v-12r [Concrepet infanti] / Na[tes Nate dei] / Exordium quadruplate / Verbum caro; 4 voices. Concordances: CS-HK II A 6 (Franus), CS-HK II A 7 (Spec.), H-Bn 534, PL-Kj 2464 et al. See Brewer, Collectio cantilene: PL-Kj 2464, Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, in press), transcription; and Orel, Franus.

37. 12r Resonet in laudibus; 2 voices. Concordance: CH-SGs 392, p. 87.

38. 12v-13r Plasmatori extuanter tinnitum reciprocanter; 2 voices, attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. See Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 226.

39. 13v-14r O Maria, mater pia / porta celi, nymphareli; 2 voices.

40. 14r En celestis puer; 2 voices (tenor without text).

41. 14r Ecce renascentis testati; 2 voices. Concordance: CS-Pst 376, 134v.

42. 14v Compangant omnes; 2 voices, incomplete. Concordances: H-Bn 534 and Český Krumlov fragments. Transcription in Horyna, "Hudba a hudební život v Českem Krumlove."

[break in the manuscript]

43. 15r end of voice.

44. 15r Templum hoc factum...; single voice of polyphonic work?

45. 15v ... Modulemur dulciter Christo; 2 voices, beginning missing.

46. 15v ... [dies iam leticie (?)] ... hodie de stella sol iusticie; 2 voices.

47. 15v ... gedeonis; end of voice (?), part of preceeding piece (?).

48. 16r Problemata enigmata; 2 voices (at top and bottom of page), attributed to Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz. See Černý, "Petrus Wilhelmi," 227.

49. 16r Adoretur virginum rex in seculorum; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.

50. 16v Verus panis et vinum -- verse: Parasti in dulce; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation.

51. 17r-22v Passion according to Matthew; monophonic, Bohemian chant notation, in Old Czech.

52. 23r tenor (?) of 2 voice composition. 1st section incomplete; Repeticio: Paradisi ppsiti amator michael archangele advocate....

53. 23v ... Martinus apostolicus presul atque katholic...; monophonic (?).

54. 23v-24r ... nubes divat or... (Repeticio: O ... benigus); monophonic.

55. 24v Jube domine ...; 3 voices. See Černý, "Středověký vícehlasy," 36 for transcription.

56. 25r Bethlem natum deo propinatum; monophonic.

57. 25r Nascitur de virgine / sine viri semine; monophonic.

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58. 25v sequence; ... lucena saxonie. Demon pro... pastor sanctissimus salus fit bo.... O beatus pontifex que... supernus artifex.... Rome...; Bohemian chant notation.
59. 26r single voice labeled "tenor" in Bohemian chant notation.
60. 26v fragments of 2 voices for a polyphonic work, white mensural notation; no text.
61. 27r [...] / Tenor / Contratenor; 3 voices, white mensural notation; no text.
62. 27v fragments for 2 (?) voices; white mensural notation; no text.
63. 28r monophonic fragment; white mensural notation, no text; 3rd voice to #62 (?).
64. 28v monophonic fragment; white mensural notation; no text.
65. 29r G[audent] ... quo cum triga...; monophonic antiphon.
66. 29v [...] / Ave maris (katherina superscript) stella matrix et regina virgo de ... / Medium; probably 3 voices; white mensural notation.
67. 29v ... Repeticio: O dulcis katheri... / Tenor; 2 voices.

[break in the manuscript]

68. 30r Kyrie; 2 voices (?).
69. 30v monophonic Gloria.

[break in the manuscript]

70. 31r ... laudens nicolaum virtutum ...; monophonic; white mensural notation; possibly part of polytextual motet with #71, 72, and 73.
71. 31r Mentura sanctimonia cuius pronoscicatur; monophonic; white mensural notation; see #70.
72. 31r Nam quarta sex feria lac niris respu... sic carnis; monophonic; white mensural notation; see #70.
73. 31r Huic ergo pontifia psallus confidenter ut ...; monophonic; white mensural notation; see #70.
74. 31v-32r Gloria; 2 voices; with mensuration signs.
75. 32v Congaudemus pariter / En lux immensa; 2 voices. Concordances: ČS-HK II A 7, p. 464; ČS-HK II A 6, f. 325v; ČS-Pst 376, f. 78v.
76. 32v-33r [Pro]cedentem sponsum ... / Prophetavit ...; 2 voices; white mensural notation; see Plocek, "Nejstarší dvojhlasy."
77. 33r Methaphisice salut vatumque / In tempesto adiit / Ordo naturae; 3 voices. Concordance: ČS-HK II A 7, pp. 544 - 545.
78. 33r M... ; beginning of a voice part (?), copied without text.
79. 33v ...norum dominum ...; monophonic; possibly part of a polytextual motet; see #79 and 80.
80. 33v Q[...] talia mira ...; monophonic; see #78.
81. 33v M[...] salutem vetus torum nam vita lite ...; monophonic; see #78.

[break in the manuscript]

82. 34r Resultet gens angelica; 2 voices; end of second voice

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preserved. Concordances: ČS-HK II A 7, pp. 524 - 525; ČS-HK II A 6, f. 343b.

83. 34r Imperatrix gloriosa plena laudis titules; monophonic (?).

84. 34v Genti confer opem isti, O martine verna Christi (Repeticio: Panonie genitus Italie a litus; 3 voices; 1st and 2nd voices black mensural notation; 3rd voice white mensural notation added at bottom of folio. Concordance: ČS-HK II A 6, f. 288b.

Selected Bibliography:

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Černý, J. "K nejstarším dějinám moteta v českých zemích," Miscellanea musicologica XXIV (Praha, 1971) 7 - 90.

_____. "Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz - neznámý skladatel doby Dufayovy v českých pramenech," Hudebni veda XII (1975) 195 - 234.

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Horyna, M. "Hudba a hudební život v Českem Krumlove v 15. a 16. století" (unpublished dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Praha, 1980).

Kouba, J. ["Ustí nad Orlicí, Okresní archív, sign. A 3"], typescript description (without inventory) in the Ústí nad Orlicí, Okresní archív.

Orel, D. Kancionál Franusův z roku 1505 (Praha, 1922).

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APPENDIX XVIII

TWO MOTETS FROM H-Bn 243 (ff. 48v - 49r and 49v - 50r)

AVE LUMEN DEI VERUM / TU SINE PRINCIPIO / AVE IESU CHRISTE / O PREMIUM

AND

VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS REPLE / DA GAUDIORUM / VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS

Ave lumen dei verum / Tu sine principio /
Ave Iesu Christe / O permium 527

Veni Sancte Spiritus reple / Da gaudiorum /
Veni sancte Spiritus 535

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Ave lumen dei verum / Tu sine principio / Ave Iesu Christe / O Premium

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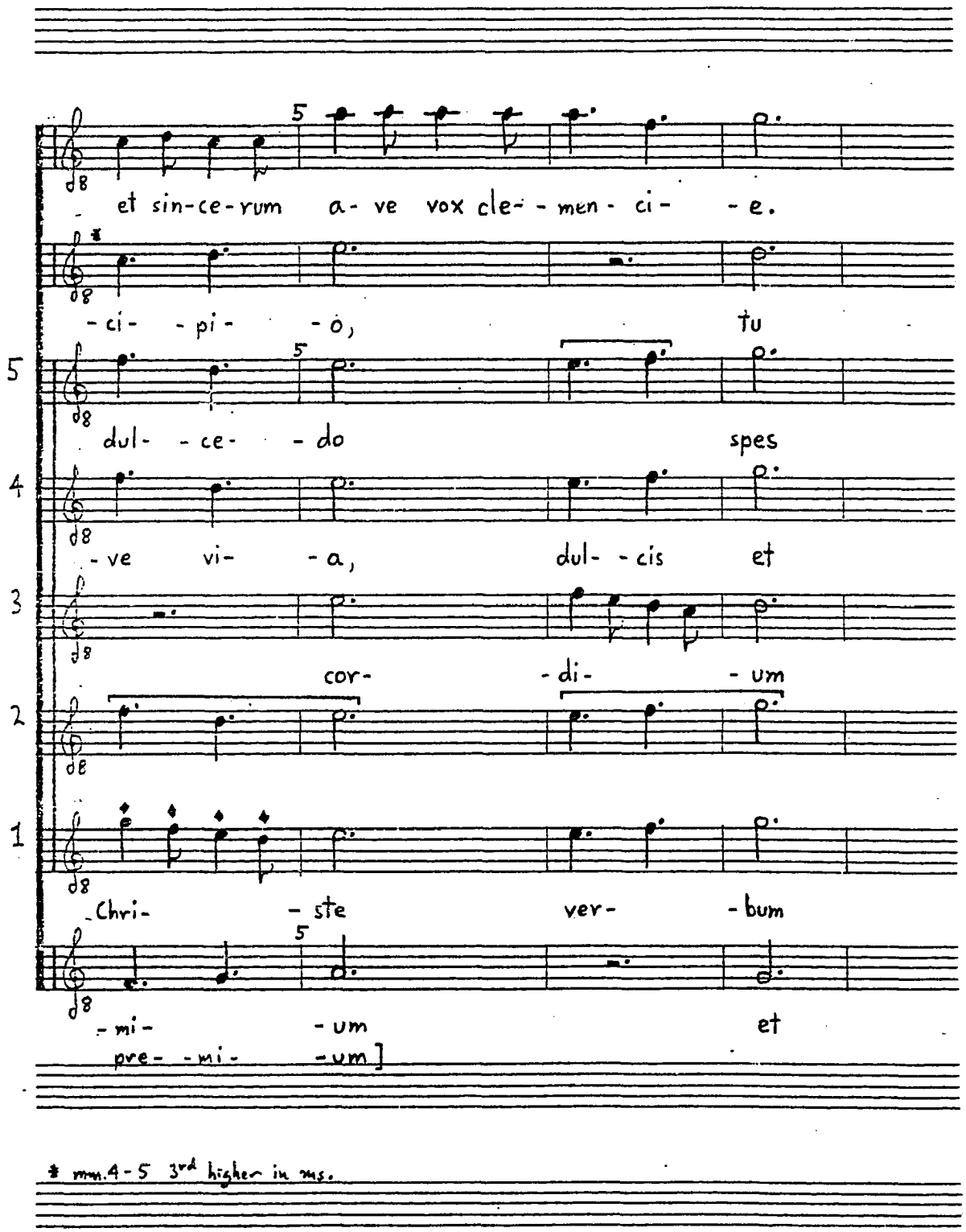

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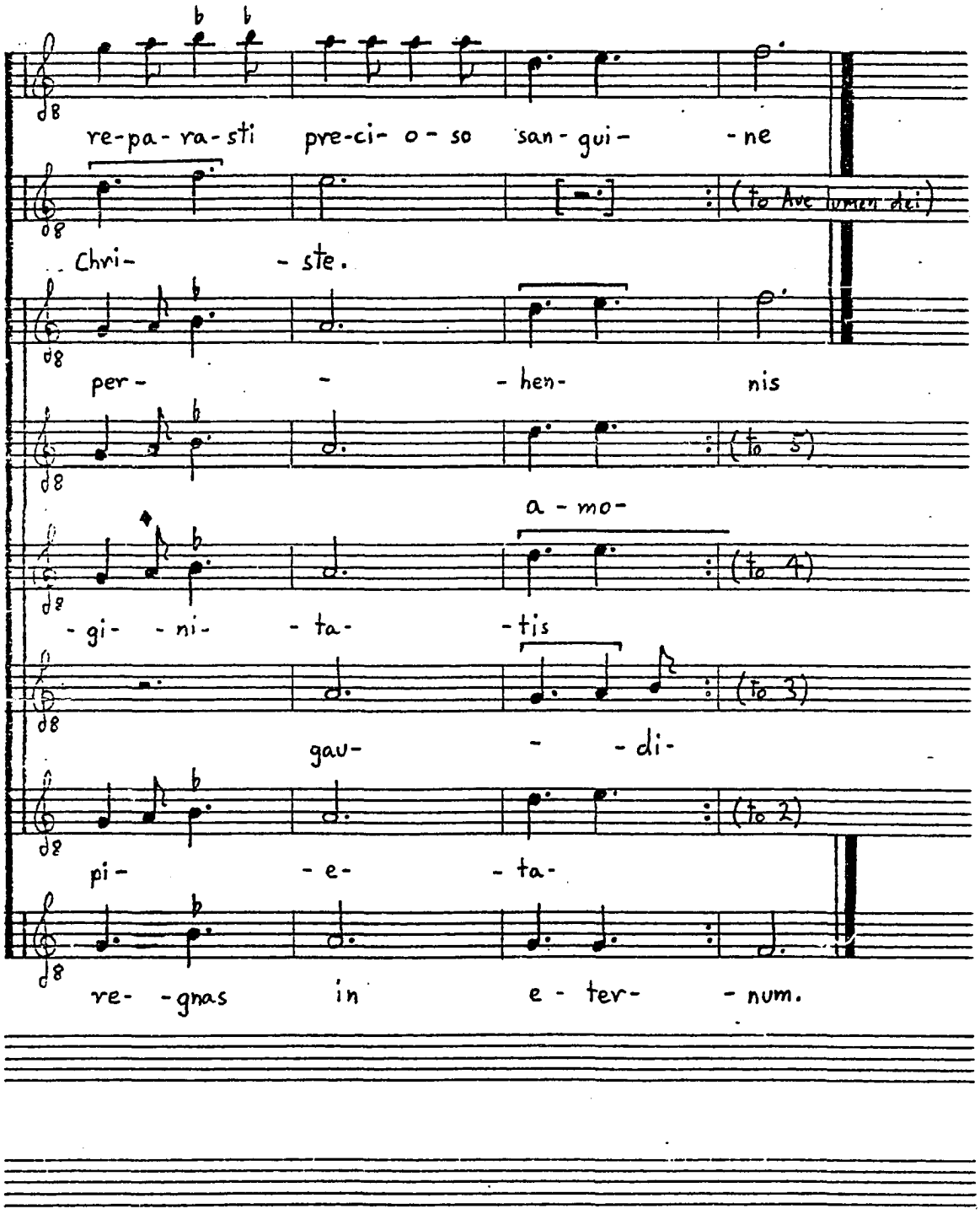

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Veni Sancte Spiritus reple / Da gaudiorum / Veni Sancte spiritus

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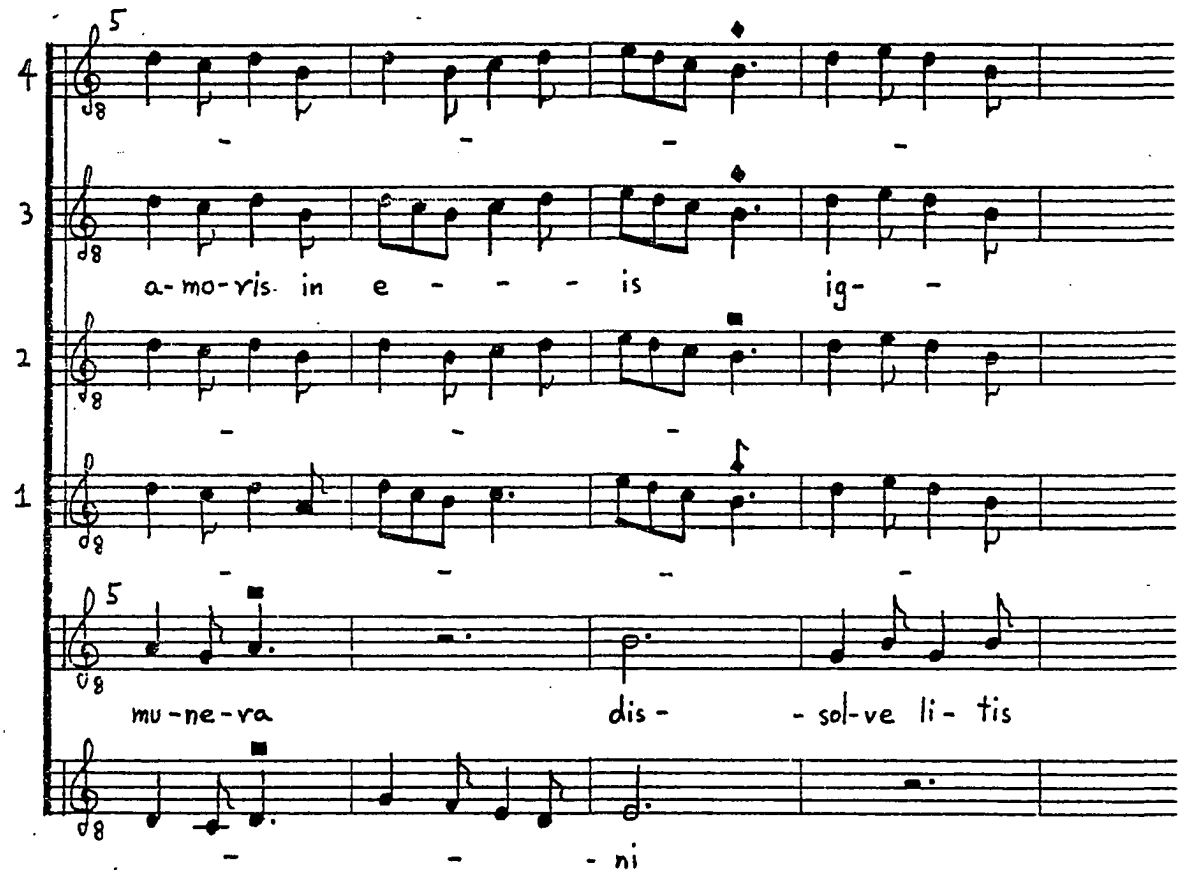

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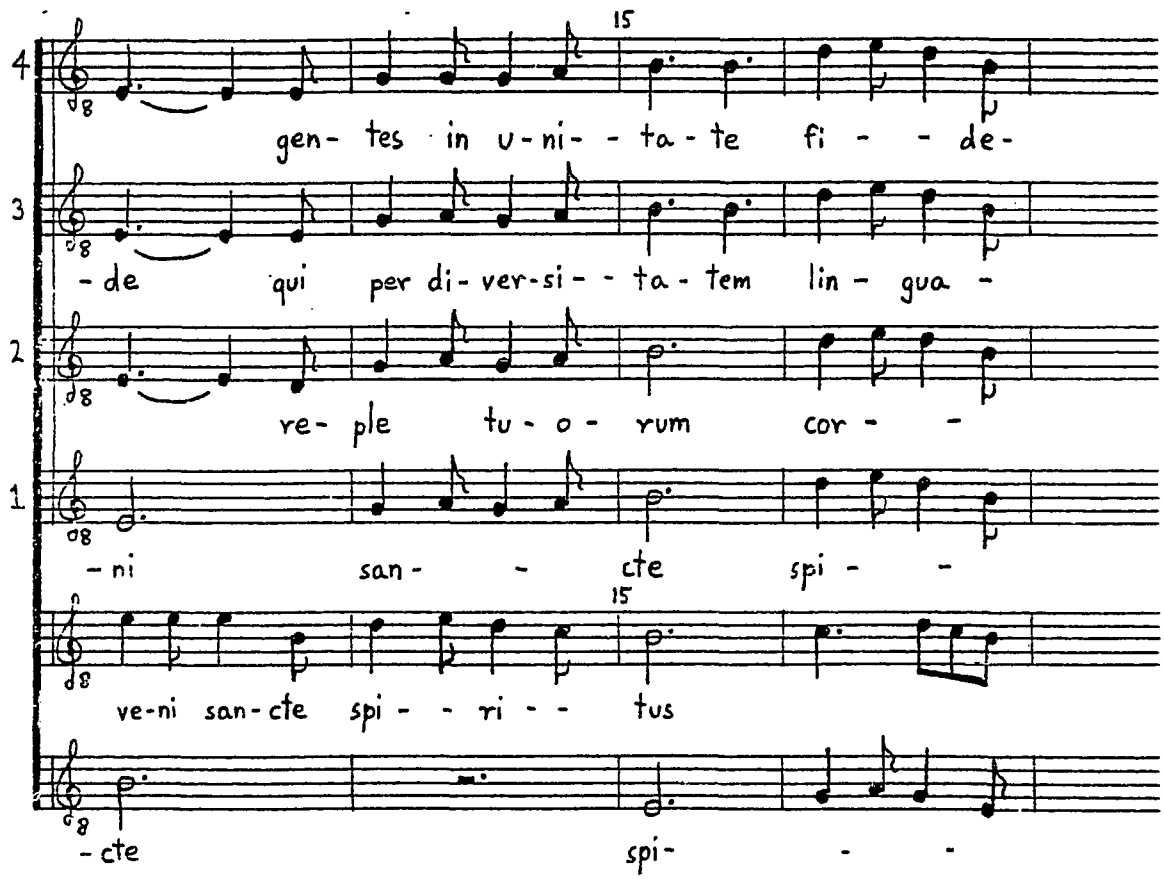

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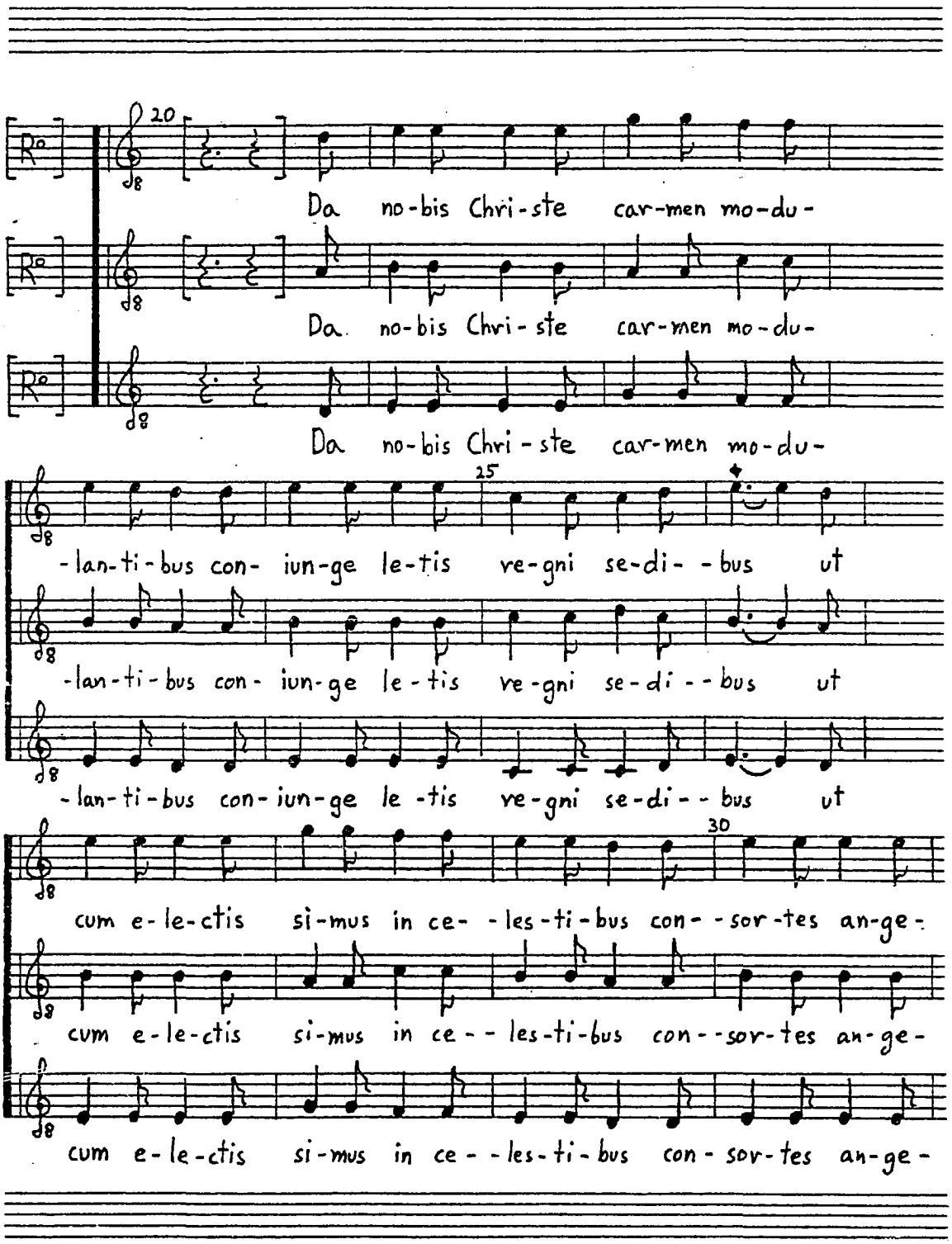

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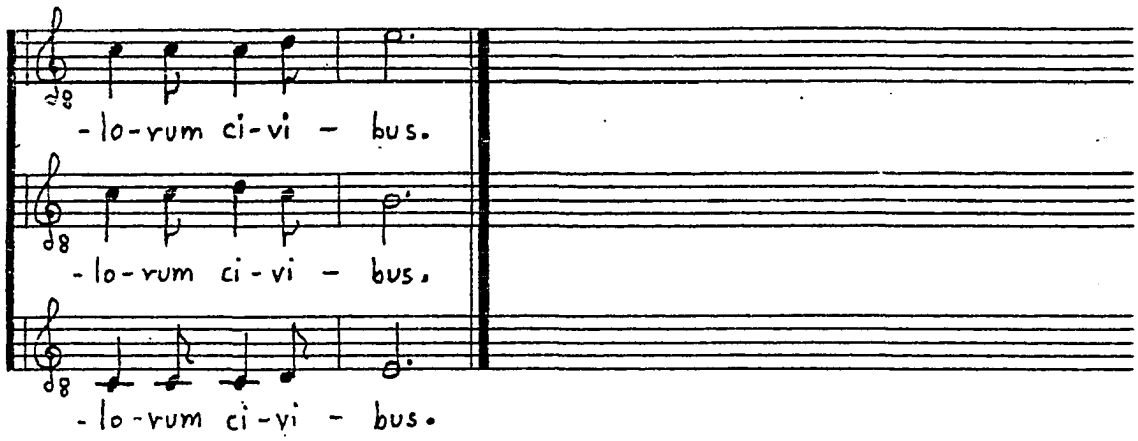

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APPENDIX XIX

PROVISIONAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MUSICAL FRAGMENTS FROM BJ 2188 AND BJ 8

PL-Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2188 (BJ 2188)

Single paper leaf, probably copied before 1438. Black mensural notation.

Contents:
f. 371r
1. Prothoplasti aviditas [fragmentary two-voice composition].

f. 371v
2. Venit verna [mensural, monophonic cantilena].
3. [fragmentary voice-part, beginning of text is missing].

PL-Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 8 (BJ 8)

Two paper leaves, now separated from the binding of BJ 8. Mid-fifteenth century. White mensural notation.

Contents:
f. IIIr
1. Incomplete top-voice from Panis ecce angelorum / Panis aevus / Pange exsul / Patribus veteribus / Tantum ergo [5 voice; concordances in CS-HK II A 7, CS-HK II A 6, CS-Pnm XIII A 2, CS-CH].

f. IIIv
2. Ave lumen dei verum / O premium [2-voice; concordances in H-Bn 243, D-Tr 322, H-Bn 297].

f. IVr/v
3. Unidentified fragments from an untexted tenor and contratenor huius.

f. IVv
4. Ecce tu pulcra es amica mea [single voice of a polyphonic work].

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APPENDIX XX

H - BUDAPEST, EGYETEMI KONYVTÁR, U.Fr.l.m. 298

A single parchment fragment removed from the binding of the Cantica of Franciscus Montmoreneus, published in Wien, 1632.[1] The book contains the names of two previous owners: "1651. Ex libris Simonis Kundek concessus Domino A.R. Jacobo Bogkovich Praeposito Chasmensi." In 1664 the book was given to the Jesuit college in Zagreb (at that time part of the Kingdom of Hungary). Though printed in Wien, most copies of the book are found within the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary. The music is written on red, five-line staves.

RECTO:

1. **Zephirus.** End of tenor, complete contratenor; discantus and beginning of tenor probably appeared on the verso of the preceding folio. The end of the tenor matches the tenor of Grimace's ballade, Se Zephirus. The contratenor in the fragment is completely different and does not seem to belong to this composition.

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1. On this publication see Régi Magyar Könyvtár III - DIK Kötet, Magyar szerzöktöl külföldön 1480 - Tól 1711-IG Megjelent nem Magyar Nyelvü Nyontatványoknak Könyvészeti Kézikonyve, Elsö Rész: 1 - 2547. sz. (1480-1670), ed. Károly Szabó and Árpád Helebrant. (Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadó Hivatala, 1896) 440, #1474 (univ. lib. sign. 271/a [the Budapest copy]. The entry in this source reads: "Becs. 1632. *(Ferenczfy, Laurentius). Francisci Montmorenci E Societate Iesu Cantica. Viennae Austriae Anno MDCXXXII." See also, Anton Mayer, Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte 1482 - 1882, 2 vols. (Wien: herausgegeben von den buchdruckern Wiens, 1883 & 1887) I, 332, #2165. The entry in this source reads: "Montmorenci, Francisci S.J. Cantica. 8°. f.4: Epistola dedicatoria von Laurentius Tesenczfy ... Secretarius Hungaricus Aulicus. (Bibliothek der Rechtsakademie in Kaschau; fürstbischofliche Seminar-Bibliothek in Laibach.)."

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F-CH 564, f. 19r.
F-Pn 568, f. 43r.

Edition: Apel, French Secular Compositions..., I, 70 - 71.

2. **Phiton.** Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse: Magister Franciscus. Complete discantus, beginning of tenor.

F-CH 564 18, f. 20v (facsimile: MGG IV, Tafel 28).
F-Pn 6771 112, f. 56r.

Edition: Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory..., 4 - 6.

VERSO:

3. **Spernestoyt.** S'espoir n'estoit qui me donne confort. Complete discantus, except for a small part of the first line, and complete tenor and contratenor.

NL-Uu37 II 10, f. 29v (fragmentary).
F-Pn 6771 124, f. 60v.

Editions: Wilkins, A 14th-Century Repertory..., 13 - 14 and Apel, French Secular Compositions..., III, 136 - 137.

4. **De....** De Narcissus, home tres ourguillens: Magister Franciscus. Beginning of discantus.

F-CH 564 16, f. 19v (facsim: MGG IV, sp. 633 - 634).
F-Aut 152 3, f. (cantus only).
F-Pn 568 54, f. 33v - 34r.
F-Pn 6771 173, f. 81r.
F-Bibl. Nat. frç. 6221 (text only).
Also included in the index to F-Pn 23190.

Edition: Apel, French Secular Music..., 90 - 91.

The ballade by Magister Franciscus, Phiton, Phiton, beste tres venimeuse, was composed in the period between 1370 and 1376 and refers to Gaston Phebus, Comte de Foix.[2] This provides a reliable terminus post quem for U.Fr.l.m. 298. Three of the four works in this fragment

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2. MGG IV, sp. 634 - 636.

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also occur in F-Pn 6771 (the Codex Reina), which was probably copied during the late fourteenth century in Italy. The majority of the concordant sources -- F-CH 564, F-Pn 6771 and F-Pn 568 -- all stem from Southern France or Northern Italy during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The size, appearance and notation of the present fragment is comparable with many sources containing similar repertoire from this area of Western Europe.

The use of only incipits to title French compositions occurs in some manuscripts from northern Italy, for example F-Pn 568. This probably indicates that U.Fr.l.m. 298 also stems from a non-French speaking region, and it seems most likely that U.Fr.l.m. 298 was copied in northern Italy. Though its date is more difficult to establish, it probably was copied during the period 1390 - 1410.

At least by the early seventeenth century, it was within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Hungary. At that period it was probably in the region of modern Yugoslavia near Zagreb, the area in which the Cantica of Montmorencus received its protective cover. How long the fragment was within the Kingdom of Hungary before this period, and in whose possession, will probably remain a mystery. It is probable, nevertheless, that it was already in this region by about 1400.

Bibliography:

Manuscripts:

RISM B IV^2:

F-Ch 564, Chantilly, Musée Condé, 564 (olim 1047).
F-Aut 152, Autun, Bibliothèque municiple, 152 (olim 130).
NL-Uu 37, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheck, 6 E 37.

RISM B IV^3:

F-Pn 568, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds ital. 568.

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F-Pn 6771, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds nouv. acq. fr. 6771 (Codex Reina).

Printed Sources:

Apel, Willi. French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth Century, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 53, 3 vols. American Institute of Musicology, 1970 - 1972.

_____. French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century, The Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 55. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1950.

Reaney, Gilbert. "Magister Franciscus," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG), Band IV (1955) sp. 634 - 636 + Tafel 28.

Wilkins, Nigel E. A 14th-Century Repertory (52 Ballades, Virelais, Rondeaux) from the Codex Reina (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. Fr., 6771), Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 36. American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

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APPENDIX XXI

H - BUDAPEST, EGYETEMI KONYVTÁR, U.Fr.l.m. 297

This signature represents a collection of musical fragments removed from the binding of a fourteenth-century Franciscan/Clarist antiphonal from Bratislava (H-Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 119). The fragments stem from a manuscript brought to the Clarist Convent in Bratislava by nuns from the Praemonstratentian order of Saint Lambert de Somlevasarhely, who were fleeing before the Turkish incursions into Hungary during the sixteenth century.

The music is mostly written on red, five-line staves, 2.65 cm high, with about .6 cm between the staves. As far as can be judged, the original manuscript was approximately 48 cm x 30 cm.

The folio numbers and fragment letters are those assigned by Laszlo Mezey in his forthcoming catalogue of fragments removed from manuscripts and books in the Budpest Egyetemi Könyvtár.

f. 1 recto (fragments **a** + **c**):

Et in terra with trope **Qui sonitu melodie.**

The discantus probably appeared on a preceding (now lost) verso. The tenor and contratenor, in as far as they can be read, contain a number of variants from the other versions of this work, including what appears to be a different Amen. Some mirror images of this folio appear on fragment **h.**

Concordances:
Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, ff. 36v - 37r (RISM B IV^2 282 - 304).

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Apt, Trésor de la Basilique Sainte-Anne, Ms. 16 bis, ff. 5v - 7r (RISM B IV^2 104 - 115).
Padova, Biblioteca Universitarnia ms. 684, ff. 2r (RISM B IV^4 990 - 992).
Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Collocazione provisoria 197, ff. 2v - 3v (RISM B IV^4 923 - 926).
Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, III, 25, ff. 2v - 3v (RISM B IV^2, 82 - 84).
Rochester, N.Y., Sibley Music Library, Fleischer Fragment 44, ff. 1v - 2r (RISM B IV^2 369).
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 222 C.22, ff. 40v - 41r (RISM B IV^3 550 -592; now lost).

Edition: Hanna Stäblein-Harder, Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 29. American Institute of Musicology, 1962, 39 - 44.

f. 1 verso:

"... fide pura ut ...gat opera quae in h... celebranti ... celis nos eterna ditet gloria O beate Augustine p...."

This fragmentary composition is part of a monophonic sequence or prosa on Saint Augustine. The notation is similar to many Bohemian manuscripts, though there are some individual forms. This work was probably a later addition to the original manuscript.

f. 2 recto (fragments b + d + f):

Sanctus [Sant Omer].

Much of the discantus is unreadable, and large parts of the tenor and contratenor are now lost. The complete work was probably copied entire on this recto.

Concordance:
Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1475, f.[41r] (2r) (fragmentary) (RISM B IV^4 999).

f. 2 verso:

Et in terra [Antonius de Cividale].

Though large sections are now missing, the discantus and tenor were copied complete on this verso; the contratenor begins on this verso and continued on a following (now lost) recto.

Concordances:
Bologna, Liceo mus. Q 15 (olim 37), f. 81v - 82r (BL).
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. mus. 3232a, f. 39v.
München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. mus. 3224, f. 2v.

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Edition: Gilbert Reaney, Early Fifteenth-Century Music, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 11/V. American Institute of Musicology, 1975, 14 - 17.

f. 3 recto (fragment e):

[Veni] Sancte Spiritus / [Da gaudiorum] / [Veni Sancte Spiritus].

This fragment contains parts of a three-voice motet. The music in this fragment is most similar to the version copied in Trier, but the text remaining indicates a full performance of the antiphon, Veni Sancte Spiritus reple, as in the Tyrnauer manuscript (H-Bn 243). The repeticio in the fragment is different from all other sources. The verso appears blank.

Concordances:
Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, c.l.m.ae. 243, f. 49v (RISM B IV^4 730 - 732; facsimiles in Mužík, Úvod do kritiky hudebního zapisu, plates XI and XII, and Muzik, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift," plates VI and VII).
Trier, Stadtbibliothek ms. 322/1994, f. 211v - 212r (RISM B IV^3 385 - 389).
Hradec Králové, Okresní muzeum, H II 7 (Specialník) p. 503.
Hradec Králové, Okresní muzeum, H II 6 (Franus) f. 335v - 336r (RISM B IV^3 141 - 163).
Praha, Národní Muzeum, XIII A 2, f. 368v - 369r (RISM B IV^3 220 - 230).
Chrudim, Muzeum, rkp. I 2380, f.324v (RISM B IV^3 128 - 139).
Klatovy, Okresní muzeum, rkp. C3/403, f. 473v - 474r (RISM B IV^3 180 - 186).

Editions: Frantisek Mužík, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift," 35 - 36 (incomplete transcription after H-Bn 243); and Rudolf Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322/1994, 45 - 46 (after D-Tr322). [See above, Appendix XVIII, for a complete transcription after H-Bn 243.]

f. 4 recto (fragments g + i):

This is possibly part of a polyphonic Kyrie.

f. 4 verso:

Possibly antiphons for the Magnificat.

The fragments were in Hungary by the late fifteenth century, and probably were there much earlier. The Praemonstratentian nuns of

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St. Lambert de Somlevasarhely were a royal foundation, and probably received the original source of these fragments as a gift, most likely after it had been used elsewhere (perhaps at the royal court). The manuscript was taken with them in their flight to Bratislava (an indication of its value), but in the sixteenth century, it was cut apart to bind a manuscript for the Clarist convent where they were staying.

Select Bibliography.

Rudolf Ewerhart, Die Handschrift 322/1994 der Stadtbibliothek Trier als musikalische Quelle (Köln, 1953).

Frantisek Mužík, "Die Tyrnauer Handschrift (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár c.l.m.ae. 243)," Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 2, 1965: Studie a materiály k dějinám starší české hudby (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1965) 5 - 44 and plates I - XII.

_____, Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu [Introduction to the critical study of musical notation]. Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica 3, 1961 (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1961).

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Manuscripts

In the following list, reference has been given only to the most recent bibliographic description of each source and to any significant literature that has appeared since its publication. In general, the manuscript abbreviations are those from RISM, but in a number of cases I have used the more accurate sigla provided in Perz Sources XIII and have assigned similar sigla to sources missing in RISM. Those manuscripts which belong to the Popular repertoire have an asterisk after their abbreviation.

Abbreviations:

Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum = Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Medii aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur: Volumen I, Numeros continens inde ab 8 usque ad 331, ed. Zofia Włodek, Jerzy Zathey and Marian Zwiercan. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1980.

Census-Catalogue = Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400 - 1550, compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 2 vols. published [vol. 3 in press] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology / Hänssler-Verlag, 1979 - 1982).

Perz, Sources = Perz, Mirosław. Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500, Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia XIII and XIV. Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973/1976.

Plocek, Catalogus = Václav Plocek, Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae - in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servuntur, 2 vols. (Pragae: Academia Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovacae, 1973).

RISM B IV^1 = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: B IV^1: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music 11th - Early 14th Century, ed. Gilbert Reaney. München-Duisburg: Henle Verlag, 1966.

RISM B IV^2 = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: B IV^2: Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320-1400), ed. Gilbert Reaney. München-Duisburg: Henle Verlag, 1969.

RISM B $IV^{3/4}$ = Répertoire International des Sources Musicales: B $IV^{3/4}$: Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16.

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Jahrhunderts, 2 vols., ed. Kurt von Fischer. München-Duisburg: Henle Verlag, 1972.

Truhlář, Catalogus = J. Truhlář, Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in c. r. bibliotheca publica atque universitatis asservantur, 2 vols. Pragae, 1905 - 1906.

Wisłocki, Catalogus = Władysław Wisłocki, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis, 2 vols. (Cracoviae, 1877 - 1881).

AUSTRIA [A]

Göttweig, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts, Ms. 307 (olim 345) — A-GO 307

RISM B IV^3 75 - 76. Fifteenth century.

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, II.756 — A-Gu 765

RISM B IV^2 326 - 327. Late fourteenth century.

Innsbruch, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. without number. — A-IuWo

RISM B IV^3 80 - 81. Copied 1432 - 1438.

Innsbruch, Universitätsbibliothek, 457 — A-Iu 457

RISM B IV^2 333 - 335.

Kremsmunster, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex (catenatus) 312 — A-Ks 312

Census-Catalogue II, 24. Early fifteenth century; Bohemian or Silesian provenance.

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 950 — A-Ms 950

RISM B IV^3 90 - 91. Probably copied in the Melk Benedictine cloister about 1462.

Salzburg, Bibliothek des Benediktinerstifts St. Peter, Ms. a IX 3 — A-Ssp 3*

RISM B IV^3 91 - 93. Fifteenth century.

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Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2777 — A-Wn 2777

RISM B IV^3 98 - 104. Copied 1425 - 1436.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4784 — A-Wn 4784

See Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris, Beihefte zum Archiv zür Musikwissenschaft VIII (Wiesbaden, 1970) 124.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5094 — A-Wn 5094*

RISM B IV^3 108 - 112. Copied in the mid- or second-half of the fifteenth century; probably from the München Augustinian cloister. Microfilm: CUNY Graduate Center.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 15501 — A-Wn 15501*

RISM B IV^3 113. Fifteenth century; copied for the Cathedral of St. Jakob in Kutná Hora.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 15503 — A-Wn 15503*

RISM B IV^3 113 - 114. 1557; copied by Johannes Táborský.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 15509 — A-Wn 15509*

RISM B IV^3 114. 1568; copied by Johannes Táborský.

BELGIUM [B]

Bruxelles, Archives du Royaume, Archives Ecclésiastiques, Ms. 758 — B-Ba 758

RISM B IV^2 41 - 42. Mid-fourteenth century.

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, fonds St. Gudule fragment I — B-Bc I

RISM B IV^2 42 - 43. Late fourteenth century.

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 19606 — B-Br 19606

RISM B IV^2 43 - 45. After 1314.

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Tournai, Bibliothèque capitulaire, 476 — B-Tc 476

RISM B IV^2 48 - 51. Dated about 1330.

SWITZERLAND [CH]

Basel, Staatsarchiv, Urkunden-Fragment — CH-Bst*

RISM B IV^3 117 - 118. Fifteenth century; from the cloister of St. Clare in Basel.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, C 50 — CH-BEb 50*

RISM B IV^2 55 - 57. Two-part polyphony copied in a Germanic hand from the fifteenth century. Facsimile in MGG I, Sp. 1767 - 1768. Microfilm: Collection of the author.

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. A 421. — CH-BEb 421*

RISM B IV^2 53 - 55. Mid-fourteenth century.

Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 314 — CH-EN 314*

RISM B IV^2 57 -60. Copied in 1372.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA [CS]

Ceský Krumlov, Státní archív, rkp. kaplanské knihovny 179 — ČS-CK 179*

See Martin Horyna, "Hudba a hudební život v Českem Krumlově v 15. a 16. stoleti" (Diplomová práce; Filosofička fakulta University Karlovy: Katedra hudební, divadelní a filmové vědy, 1980) 23 - 29, 152 - 153 and Appendix with facsimiles and transcriptions.

Chrudim, Vlastivedne muzeum, latinsky gradual, bez sign. — ČS-CH*

RISM B IV^3 128 - 139 [the signature in this source is given as Chrudim, Mestské muzeum, Ms. 12580; this manuscript number is not used at present by the museum]. Copied by Johannes Táborský, 1530 - 1549. Microfilm: collection of the author.

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Chlumec nad Cidlinou, Archív, rkp. bez sign. ČS-CHLa*

RISM B IV^3 139 - 140. 1583; from Nový Bydzov.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 6 ČS-HK II A 6*

RISM B IV^3 141 - 163. Also known as the Franusuv kancional. Comissioned by Johannes Franus in 1505 for the Cathedral of the Holy Ghost in Hradec Kralove. Possibly illuminated by Janícek Zmilelý z Písku. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 7 ČS-HK II A 7*

Late-fifteenth/early-sixteenth century; possibly from Praha. See J. Černý, Soupis hudebních rukopisu Muzea v Hradci Králové, Miscellanea musicologica XIX (Praha, 1966) 40 - 41. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum sign. II A 8 ČS-HK II A 8*

RISM B IV^3 164 - 166. 1564; gradual of Girzik Orfus, "Malírz z Chotiessyc" ("Painter of Chotesice).

Hradec Králové, Muzeum sign. II A 11 ČS-HK II A 11*

RISM B IV^3 166 - 167. 1585/1586; Rorate collection of Cantor Jan, from the Cathedral of the Holy Ghost in Hradec Králové.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 13a ČS-HK II A 13a*

RISM B IV^3 167 - 168. With ČS-HK II A 13b, this manuscript forms the two volumes of the Gradual of Matous Radous (a painter from Chrudim). Dated between 1584 and 1604.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 13b ČS-HK II A 13b*

RISM B IV^3 169 - 171. See also ČS-HK II A 13a.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 14 ČS-HK II A 14*

RISM B IV^3 171 - 174. Written between 1599 and 1605.

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Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 15 — ČS-HK II A 15*

RISM B IV^3 174 - 175. Sixteenth century; probably from Hradec Králové or Bohdanec.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. II A 44 — ČS-HK II A 44*

RISM B IV^3 176 - 177. Copied by Johannes Hradecký from Hradec Králové for the Church of St. Mary in Lochenice.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. 6351 — ČS-HK 6351*

RISM B IV^3 177. Late fifteenth century; probably copied for the Literati in Zizelice.

Hradec Králové, Muzeum, sign. 8553 — ČS-HK 8553*

RISM B IV^3 178 - 179. Mid-sixteenth century; copied for the Literati in Zizelice.

Jindrichuv Hradec, Státní archiv v Třeboni pracoviste, rkp. bez sign. — ČS-JH*

RISM B IV^3 179. Circa 1491; from the Literati of Jindrichuv Hradec.

Klatovy, Mestské muzeum, latinsky gradual, bez sign. — ČS-KL 403*

RISM B IV^3 180 - 186 (which gives the signature Okresní muzeum, Ms. C3/403). Copied by Johannes Táborský in Praha, 1537.

Křivoklát, Hradní knihovna, rkp. I e 10 — ČS-KR 10

RISM B IV^3 186. Fourteenth century.

Litomysl, Muzeum, rkp. bez sign. — ČS-L*

RISM B IV^3 186 - 189. Copied between 1561 and 1563 for the Literati in Litomysl. Illuminated by Matous Ornis.

Mladá Boleslav, Muzeum, Cod. II.A.3 — ČS-MB 3*

RISM B IV^3 189. 1572; Utraquist cantional.

Praha, Archiv hlavního mesta Prahy, rkp. bez sign. — ČS-Pa*

RISM B IV^3 189 - 197. Cantional copied by Jakub

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Hradecký in 1590.

Praha, Muzeum hlavního mesta Prahy, rkp. bez sign. ČS-Pm*

RISM B IV^3 201 - 204. Belonged to the "Fleischer" of Praha, 1560 - 1573.

Praha, Archiv pražského hradu, N VIII ČS-Ph N VIII

Fourteenth-century manuscript containing, among other works, texts by Philippe the Chancelor. Sometimes also refered to as Domkapitel or Knihovna metropolitni kapituly N VIII. See Gordon Anderson, "Thirteenth-Century Conductus: Obiter Dicta," Musical Quarterly LVIII (1972) 361 - 364. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Praha, Archiv pražského hradu, N XXIX ČS-Ph 29

RISM B IV^3 197 - 198. End of the fourteenth century. [Please note that the archive name in RISM is incorrect.]

Praha, Archiv pražského hradu, E LXVI ČS-Ph 66

See J. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas v českých zemích," Miscellanea musicologica XXVII-XXVIII (Praha, 1975), 86.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. I A 17 ČS-Pnm I A 17*

RISM B IV^3 204 - 209. Second quarter of the sixteenth century; gradual of Solnice.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. I A 34 ČS-Pnm I A 34*

RISM B IV^3 209 - 210. 1556; from the Literati of Rychov nad Kneznou.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. II C 7 ČS-Pnm II C 7*

RISM B IV^3 210 - 212. A copy from the mid-fifteenth century of an "Urhussite" cantional from Jistebnice [or Praha]. Known as the Jistebnický kancionál. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. IV B 9 ČS-Pnm IV B 9*

RISM B IV^3 312 - 215. 1556 / 1557; cantional from Krolmasuv.

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Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. V B 5 — ČS-Pnm V B 5*

RISM B IV^3 215 - 216. Mid-sixteenth century.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. X A 6 — ČS-Pnm X A 6*

See Martin Horyna, "Hudba a hudební život v Českem Krumlově v 15. a 16. století" (Diplomová práce; Filosofická fakulta University Karlovy: Katedra hudební, divadelní a filmové vědy, 1980) 23 - 29, 152 - 153 and Appendix with facsimiles and transcriptions.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XII A 1 — ČS-Pnm XII A 1*

RISM B IV^3 217 - 218. Fifteenth century.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XII A 23 — ČS-Pnm XII A 23*

RISM B IV^3 218 - 219. 1527; copied by Paulus Melnicensis from Plzen.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XII E 5 — ČS-Pnm XII E 5

See Gorden Anderson, "New Sources of Mediaeval Music," Musicology VII (Melbourne, 1982) 2 - 3 (description), 11 - 16 (texts), and 21 - 25 (transcriptions). See also F.M. Bartoš, Soupis rukopiś Národniho muzea v Praze / Catalogus manu scriptorum Musei Nationalis Pragensis, 2 vols. (Praha, 1926) II, 232. The Bartoš' description of this source is mistranslated in Anderson's article. The source has an old signature (#79) from the Kaplanské knihovna in Český Krumlov, and is one of approximately 50 such manuscripts now in the Národní muzeum.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XII F 14 — ČS-Pnm XII F 14*

RISM B IV^3 219 - 220. Known as the Jistebnický gradual; mid-fifteenth century.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XIII A 2 — ČS-Pnm XIII A 2*

RISM B IV^3 220 - 230. Written in 1512 by Martinus Baccalarius de Vyskytna; comes from Kolin nad Labem.

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Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XIII E 8 — ČS-Pnm XIII E 8

F.M. Bartoš, Soupis rukopiś Národniho muzea v Praze / Catalogus manu scriptorum Musei Nationalis Pragensis, 2 vols. (Praha, 1926) II, 270.

Praha, Národní muzeum, rkp. XVI C 7 — ČS-Pnm XVI C 7

RISM B IV^3 235. Circa 1400.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK,[1] rkp. III D 10 — ČS-Pu III D 10*

Copied in the second half of the fifteenth century. Plocek, Catalogus I, 87 - 91.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. IV H i2 — ČS-Pu IV H 12*

RISM B IV^3 238. Sixteenth century.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. V F 6 — ČS-Pu V F 6

Truhlář, Catalogus I, 382. Fifteenth century; Collectio.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. V H 11 — ČS-Pu V H 11

RISM B IV^3 239. Late fourteenth century; probably comes from a collegium library of the University of Praha. Plocek, Catalogus I, 103 - 117.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. V H 31 — ČS-Pu V H 31

RISM B IV^3 240. Circa 1400; belonged to a collegium library of the University of Praha. Plocek, Catalogus I, 117 - 118.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. VI B 24 — ČS-Pu VI B 24*

RISM B IV^3 241 - 248. Sixteenth century, probably from St. Castullus Church, Praha. Plocek, Catalogus I, 122 - 146.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. VI C 20a — ČS-Pu VI C 20*

RISM B IV^3 248 - 254. Late-fifteenth / early-sixteenth centuries. Plocek, Catalogus I, 150 - 181.

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1. SK ČSR - UK stands for the Státní knihovna ČSR - Universitní knihovna.

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Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. VI G 10a — ČS-Pu VI G 10a

RISM B IV^3 254 - 255. Early-fourteenth century. Plocek, Catalogus I, 222 - 232.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. VII G 16 — ČS-Pu VII G 16

RISM B IV^3 255. Fourteenth century. Plocek, Catalogus I, 274 - 284.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XI E 9 — ČS-Pu XI E 9

RISM B IV^3 255 - 262. Late fourteenth / early-fifteenth century; copied in Strasbourg. Plocek, Catalogus I, 401 - 414.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XII A 21 — ČS-Pu XII A 21*

Plocek, Catalogus II, 430 - 433. Fifteenth century; "Pro templo S. Matthiae in Ssarka Graduale cum Introitu."

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XIII A 5c — ČS-Pu XIII A 5c*

RISM B IV^3 262. Late-fifteenth / early- sixteenth century. Plocek, Catalogus II, 508 - 516.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XIII A 5d — ČS-Pu XIII A 5d*

See J. Černý, "Středověký vícehlas v českých zemích," Miscellanea musicologica XXVII-XXVIII (Praha, 1975) 87. Plocek, Catalogus II, 516 - 518.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XIV G 46 — ČS-Pu XIV G 46

RISM B IV^3 262 - 263. Fourteenth century; from the monastery of St. George in Praha. Plocek, Catalogus II, 712 - 236.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII A 32 — ČS-Pu XVII A 32*

RISM B IV^3 263 - 266. 1567; from the Praha "Neustadt Fleischer."

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII A 39 — ČS-Pu XVII A 39*

RISM B IV^3 266 - 269. 1574; from the Praha "Neustadt Fleischer."

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Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII A 41 — ČS-Pu XVII A 41*

RISM B IV^3 269 - 270. 1576; Praha.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII A 42 — ČS-Pu XVII A 42*

RISM B IV^3 271 - 272. Sixteenth century; paid for by Jan Biskup, burger of Hradec Králové, probably for the Literati in Nové Mesto nad Metují. Related to ČS-HK II A 13a/b.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII B 8 — ČS-Pu XVII B 8*

RISM B IV^3 272 - 273. Sixteenth / seventeenth century.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII B 19 — ČS-Pu XVII B 19*

RISM B IV^3 273 - 274. Second half of the sixteenth century; for the Literati of St. Gall Church, Praha.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. XVII B 20 — ČS-Pu XVII B 20*

RISM B IV^3 274 - 276. 1557 - 1570; from Český Brod.

Praha, SK ČSR - UK, rkp. 2815, adlig. 44.E.8 — ČS-Pu 2815

Truhlář, Catalogus II, 387. Fifteenth century; collectio.

Praha, Státní ústřední archív, K VŠ. 376 — ČS-Pst 376*

RISM B IV^3 235 - 238.[2] Olim Vyšehrad V/Cc 4. Mid-fifteenth century; from the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul at Vyšehrad in Praha. Microfilm: collection of the author.

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2. The following corrections should be made to the RISM entry. #10: Laudes dicat omnis etas, actually began on f. 53r, but was cancelled and recopied. A monophonic version with the text Jesu dulcis appears in the same manuscript on f. 83v. #11: Omnis nunc microcosmus, actually runs from ff. 76v - 78r. The following three works do not appear in the RISM inventory: #14, 91v - 92r, Sedit yemps eminus surrexit Christus, 2 voices; #15, 93r - 93v, Insignis infantule, 2 voices, see ČS-HK II A 6, #49; #16, 134v, Ecce renascentis testatur, 2 voices, see ČS-Uo A 3, f. 14r.

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Příbram, Muzeum, rkp. bez sign. ČS-PRm*

RISM B IV^3 276 - 277. 1563; Rorate collection.

Rakovník, Mestské muzeum, rkp. II ČS-RA*

RISM B IV^3 277 - 278. Late sixteenth century; from Decons choir in Rakovník.

Roudnice, Archiv probustství, rkp. A (bez sign.) ČS-ROU A*

RISM B IV^3 278 - 279. Second half of the sixteenth century; gift to the Literati of Roudnice.

Roudnice, Archiv probostství, rkp. B (bez sign.) ČS-ROU B*

RISM B IV^3 279 - 283. About 1600; copied for the church of Roudnice.

Rychnov, Okresní muzeum, rkp. bez sign. ČS-RY*

RISM B IV^3 283 - 286. Second half of the sixteenth century; from the church of Kostelec nad Orlicí.

Sedlcany, Mestské muzeum, rkp. M 3 ČS-S 3*

RISM B IV^3 286 - 290. Mid-sixteenth century; from the church of St. Martin in Sedlcany.

Sedlcany, Mestské muzeum, rkp. M 4 ČS-S 4*

RISM B IV^3 290 - 291. Sixteenth century; provenance as in ČS-S 3.

Teplice, Oblastní vlastivedné muzeum, rkp. A (bez sign.) ČS-TE A*

RISM B IV^3 291 - 292. 1560; copied in the workshop of Johannes Táborský for the Literati in Teplice.

Teplice, Oblastní vlastivedné muzeum, rkp. B (bez sign.) ČS-TE B*

RISM B IV^3 292 - 300. About 1560; possibly copied in the workshop of Johannes Táborský for the Literati in Teplice.

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Trebenice, Muzeum českého granítu, rkp. bez sign. ČS-TR*

RISM B IV^3 300. 1574 - 1583; copied by Matous Ornys z Lindperka for the Utraquist church in Trebenice.

Trebechovice, Muzeum, rkp. 134 (olim 1) ČS-TRCH 134*

RISM B IV^3 300 - 303. 1559; copied for the Literati of Andreas Church in Trebechovice.

Třeboň, Státní archív, rkp. A 4 ČS-Ta A 4*

Second half of the fifteenth century (dates from 1450 - 1459 appear in the manuscript). See J. Weber, J. Tříška, and P. Spunar, Soupis rukopisů v Třeboni a v Českém Krumlové (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1958) 29 - 53.

Ústí nad Orlicí, Farní Archív, rkp. bez sign. ČS-UO*

RISM B IV^3 303 - 304. 1592; copied for the Literati of Ústí nad Orlicí.

Ústí nad Orlicí, Okresní archiv, rkp A 3 ČS-Uo A 3*

Mid-fifteenth century. See Appendix XVII for a provisional description and inventory. Photocopy: collection of the author.

Vodnany, Dekanský úrad, rkp. bez sign. ČS-VO*

RISM B IV^3 309 - 314. About 1530 - 1540; from the workshop of Johannes Táborský.

Vyšší Brod, klasterní knihovna, cod. 28 ČS-VB 28

RISM B IV^3 304 - 305. Fifteenth century; from the Cistercian cloister at Vyšší Brod. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Vyšší Brod, klasterní knihovna, cod. 42 ČS-VB 42*

RISM B IV^3 305 - 308. 1410; from the Cistercian cloister at Vyšší Brod. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Vyšší Brod, klasterní knihovna, cod. LXV ČS-VB 65

RISM B IV^3 308 - 309. In the binding of a

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fourteenth-century antiphonal is a fragment from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century; possibly from the Cistercian Cloister at Vyšší Brod. Microfilm: collection of the author.

GERMANY [D]

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Ms. R.B.174 — D-BAs 174*

RISM B IV^3 340. 1578 / 1583.

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Theol. 74 — D-BaB

RISM B IV^1 74 - 75. Fourteenth century.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. 4° 46 — D-Bs 46*

RISM B IV^3 321 - 322. Fifteenth century; copied in Osnabrück or Hannover.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. thelo. lat. 4° 100 — D-Bs 100*

RISM B IV^3 323 - 325. First half of the fifteenth century; from Hildesheim.

Berlin, Preussischer Staatsbibliothek, mus. 40098

Census-Catalogue I, 43 - 44. The so-called Glogauer Liederbuch. Olim Z98 and Z8037. Presently in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Poland.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek mus. mscr. 4° 40 580. — D-Bds 40580*

RISM B IV^3 317 - 320. Lost since 1945; film in the Musikwiss. Seminar of Erlangen University. Fourteenth/fifteenth century; once belonged to the Minorite cloister in Wien. Also known as BerlA.

Berlin - Tübingen, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. 8° 190 — D-B-T 190*

RISM B IV^3 328 - 339. About 1500.

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Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek ms. lat qu. 175 — D-Bds 175

Fifteenth century; Collectio. See Chapter Two, pp. 77 and 81.

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Hs. Folio 169 — D-ErfC*

RISM B IV[1] 81 - 83. Three manuscript fragments (bifolios) from the early fourteenth century. Microfilm: collection of the author & CUNY Graduate Center.

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 8° 44 — D-ETw 44*

RISM B IV[2] 69 - 71. Early fourteenth century with later additions. Also known as ErfB.

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Cod. fol. 395 — D-ETw 395

Wilhelm Schum, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887) #395.

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Luneb. 78 — D-Gu 78*

RISM B IV[3] 344 - 345. Fifteenth century.

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 220g — D-Göttingen

RISM B IV[1] 83 - 89. Manuscript fragment, fourteenth century.

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 220g — D-Gu 220ç

RISM B IV[3] 345 - 346. Manuscript fragment, fifteenth century.

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588 — D-Heid

RISM B IV[1] 84 - 85. Thirteenth/fourteenth century.

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Ms. St. Blasien 77 — D-KA 77*

RISM B IV[3] 348 - 349. Assembled in the 1440's by Heinrich Otter; from the Benedictine Cloister of St. Blasien.

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Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter Perg. 16 D-Kar C

RISM B IV[1] 87. About 1400.

Konstanz, Rosgarten-Museum (olim Lyzeums-bibliothek, Cod. 1089). D-KZr*

RISM B IV[2] 73 - 74. Mid fourteenth-century binding fragments from a Biblia pauperum.

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1236 D-Lu 1236*

See T. Ward, "A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274," Early Music History 1: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981) 337 - 338.

Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. ms. 1470 D-Lu 1470

See Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Muris, Beihefte zum Archiv zür Musikwissenschaft VIII (Wiesbaden, 1970) 121.

Lüneberg, Kloster Lüne, Ms. without signature D-Lk

RISM B IV[3] 351 - 352. About 1400.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. germ. 716. D-Mbs 716

RISM B IV[3] 354 - 359. Written circa 1430 in the Benedictine cloister of Tegernsee. Also known as MuD.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 560 D-MüO

RISM B IV[1] 93 and 873. Twelfth century.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. mus. 3223. D-Mbs 3223

RISM B IV[3] 359 - 360. Late fourteenth / early fifteenth century, possibly of Italian provenance.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 3725 D-Mbs 3725

The Buxheim Organbook. Third-quarter of the fifteenth century.

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München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 5023 D-Mbs 5023*

RISM B IV^3 360 - 372. Late fifteenth century; from Benedictbeurern.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 5511 D-Mbs 5511

RISM B IV^3 373 - 374. About 1400.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 6419 D-Mbs 6419

RISM B IV^2 79. Fourteenth century.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274. D-Mbs 14274*

Also refered to as Ms. mus. 3232a. About 1440. See K. Dézes, "Der Mensuralcodex des Benediktinerklosters Sancti Emmerami zu Regensburg," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 10 (1927), 65 - 105; thematic catalogue, 79 - 99; and I. Rumbold, "The Compilation and Dating of the 'St Emmeram Codex' (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14274)," Early Music History 2: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982) 161 - 235. See also Census Catalogue, II, 239 - 240.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 15611. D-Mbs 15611

RISM B IV^3 377 - 378. Early fifteenth century.

München, Universitätsbibliothek, 2° 156 D-Mu 156*

RISM B IV^2 81 - 82. 1360; the Moosburg Gradual.

Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. lat. 9 D-Nst 9

RISM B IV^2 84 - 85. Late fourteenth century.

Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, III, 25 D-Nst 25

RISM B IV^2 82 - 84. Second half of the fourteenth century.

Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. phil. 100/2 D-ROu 100*

RISM B IV^3 383 - 384. Fifteenth century. Also known as the Rostocker Liederbuch.

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Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung, Cod. II, 1, 2° — D-SHf II,1,2°

See M. Staehelin, "Beschreibungen und Beispiele musikalischer formen in einem unbeachteten Traktat des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 31 (1974) 237 - 242.

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 322/1994 — D-TR 322*

RISM B IV^3 385 - 389. Second half of the fifteenth century; from Eberhardsklausen.

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, Ms. CXIX, 1 — D-Zr 119*

RISM B IV^3 407 - 411. First half of the sixteenth century; from Zwickau.

DANMARK [DK]

København, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut, Ms. AM 76, 8° — DK-Kar 76*

RISM B IV^3 413 - 415. Fifteenth century; Dominican provenance.

København, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut, Ms. AM 687B, 4° — DK-Kar 687*

RISM B IV^3 422 - 424. About 1500; fom Iceland.

SPAIN [E]

Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, Ms. 853. — E-Bcen 853

RISM B IV^2 89 - 90. Second half of the fourteenth century.

Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, Ms. 971. — E-Bcen 971

RISM B IV^2 90 - 93. Fourteenth century.

FRANCE [F]

Apt, Trésor de la Basilique Sainte-Anne, Ms. 16 bis — F-APT 16 bis

RISM B IV^2 104 - 115. Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.

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Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 152 (olim 130) F-Aut 152

RISM B IV^2 117 - 118. Late fourteenth century.

Cambrai, Bibliothèque communale, B.1328 F-CA 1328

RISM B IV^2 119 - 128. Late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 564 (olim 1047). F-Ch 564

RISM B IV^2 128 - 160. Late fourteenth century.

Colmar, Bibliothèque de la ville, Ms. 352 F-COL 352

RISM B IV^2 161 - 162. Fourteenth century fly-leaves from the Cistercian Abbey of Pairis.

Montpellier, L'université, Faculté des Médecins, H 196 F-Mo

RISM B IV^1 272 - 369. Second half of the thirteenth century. Microfilm: CUNY Gradate Center.

Mulhouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, Cod. Mus. 3 F-MUm 3

RISM B IV^3 435. First half of the sixteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection de Picardie, 67 F-Pn 67

RISM B IV^2, 197 - 199. Fourteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds ital. 568 F-Pn 568

RISM B IV^3 436 - 485. About 1400.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds frç. 1584. F-Pn 1584

RISM B IV^2 174 - 178. Late fourteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds frç. 1586 F-Pn 1586

RISM B IV^2 179 - 182. About 1400.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, F-Pn 6771
ms. fonds nouv. acq. frç. 6771.

RISM B IV^3 485 - 549. Also known as the Codex Reina. Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.

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Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds frç. 9221 F-Pn 9221

RISM B IV^2 182 - 192. About 1400.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds frç. 22545 - 22546 F-Pn 22545-22546

RISM B IV^2 192 - 197. Fourteenth century.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouv. acq. frç. 23190 F-Pn 23190

RISM B IV^2 205 - 206 [there given the abbreviation, F-SERRANT]. Copied in 1376. Olim Serrant [Maine-et Loire], Château, ms. of the duchess de la Trémoïlle. Also refered to as the Trémoïlle manuscript. See Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419: A Documentary Study, Musicological Studies 28 (Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979) 147 - 158.

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque, man. mus. M.222 C.22 F-Sm 222

RISM B IV^3 550 - 592. Early fifteenth century. Destroyed in the late-nineteenth century. Facsimile of Coussemaker's incomplete diplomatic copy: A. Vander Linden, Le manuscrit musical M 222 C 22 de la Bibliothèque de Strasbourg, Thesaurus Musicus 2 (Brussels, 1979).

GREAT BRITAIN [GB]

Cambridge, University Library, ms. Ff.I.17.1 GB-Ff.I.17.1

RISM B IV^1 485 - 486. Late twelfth / early thirteenth century; probably of English provenance.

Durham, Cathedral Library, Ms. C.I.20. GB-DRc 20

RISM B IV^2 218 - 222. Mid-fourteenth century.

London, British Library, Ms. add. 27630. GB-Lbm 27630*

RISM B IV^4 612 - 631. Late-fourteenth / early-fifteenth century, from the Augustinian cloister at Indersdorf or St. Blasien. See Wolfgang Dömling, Die Handschrift London, British Museum, Add. 27 630 (LoD), Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 52

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[Teil I: Faksimile], 53 [Teil II: Übertragung der Organa und Motetten] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972).

London, British Library, Add. 41667 (I) GB-Lbm 41667

RISM B IV^2 240 -241. Mid-fourteenth century.

Oxford, Bodleian Libary, Ms. Canonici Misc. 213 GB-O

Census Catalogue, II, 275 - 276.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, E.Mus. 7 GB-Ob 7

RISM B IV^2 257 - 261. Mid fourteenth century.

HUNGARY [H]

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, MS. Cod. lat. 124 (olim A 107). H-Bu 107*

RISM B IV^4 732 - 733. Fifteenth Century. Also known under the signature, Ms. A 107. See B. Rajeczky "Spätmittelalterliche Organalkunst in Ungarn," Studia musicologica I (1961), 15 - 28; B. Rajeczky, Írásai (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976) 16 - 23; and J. Szendrei, A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, Műhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 1 (Budapest: Közzéteszi az MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981) 66.

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U.Fr.l.m. 297 H-Bu Fr. 297*

See Appendix XXI, 547 - 550.

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U.Fr.l.m. 298 H-Bu Fr. 298

See Appendix XX, 543 - 546.

Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, U.Fr.l.m. 299 H-Bu Fr. 299*

Single paper leaf from the first half of the fifteenth century. Contains fragments of two two-voice compositions: Be[...]e armo, with refrain Sit salus illi and Novum decus oritur. A German text is added under the tenor voice of Be[...]e armo: "Tenor huius kukuk Thu diz maul, Sit Salus illi sperling alz uns sing daz clyng ho ho."

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Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár, Priester Seminar, frag. without signature.

Single parchment leaf, containing two-voice polyphony, possibly conductus. Fourteenth century.

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, c.l.m.ae. 172a — H-Bn 172a

Early fifteenth century. See J. Szendrai, A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai, MUhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez 1 (Budapest: Közzéteszi az MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981) 62.

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, c.l.m.ae. 243 — H-Bn 243*

RISM B IV^4 730 - 732. First half of fifteenth century. Probably from Trnava (Nagyszombat). Microfilm: collection of the author.

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, c.l.m.ae. 534 — H-Bn 534*

See B. Rajeczky, "Ein neuer Fund zur mehrstimmigen Praxis Ungarns im 15. Jahrhundert," Studia musicologica 14 (1972) 147 - 168 and B. Rajeczky, Írásai (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976) 151 - 196 [including a full facsimile and transcriptions]. Microfilm: collection of the author.

ITALY [I]

Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms. Q 15 (olim 37). — I-BolC Q 15

Census Catalogue, I, 69 - 70.

Faenza, Biblioteca communale, Cod. 117 — I-FZc 117

RISM B IV^4 898 - 920. Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 19. — I-F 19

RISM B IV^1 790 - 791. Fourteenth century, possibly Italian (Florentine ?) provenance. Also referred to by the signature, Bibl. Naz. II, 1, 212.

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Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Panciatichi 26. — I-Fn 26

RISM B IV^4 835 - 896. Late fourteenth century.

Grottaferrata, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Collocazione provisoria, Ms. 197 — I-GR 197

RISM B IV^4 923 - 926. Third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare — I-IV

RISM B IV^2 282 - 304. Late-fourteenth century. Microfilm: CUNY Graduate Center.

Lucca, Archivo di Stato, Ms. 184 — I-Las 184

RISM B IV^4 929 - 947. Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. a.M.5.24 (olim lat. 568) — I-MOe 5.24

RISM B IV^3 950 - 981. About 1400.

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS. 658. — I-Pu 658

RISM B IV^3 988 - 989. Late fourteenth century.

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 684. — I-Pu 684

RISM B IV^3 990 - 992. About 1400.

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1106 — I-Pu 1106

RISM B IV^3 992 - 994. Early fifteenth century.

Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1475. — I-Pu 1475

RISM B IV^4 998 - 1002. About 1400.

Parma, Archivio di Stato, Ms. Busta n. 75. — I-PAs 75

RISM B IV^3 1005 - 1007. Early fifteenth century.

Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Pal. lat. 488 — I-Rvat 488

RISM B IV^4 1027 - 1028. Fourteenth century.

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NETHERLANDS [NL]

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliothek, L.T.K. 342A — NL-Lu 342A

RISM B IV^2 309 - 310. Mid-fourteenth century.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliothek, ms. B.P.L. 2515 — NL-Lu 2515

RISM B IV^2 310 - 311. Second half of the fourteenth century.

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, ms. 6 E 37 — NL-Uu 37

RISM B IV^2 317 - 325. About 1400.

POLAND [PL]

Cieszyn, Relics Division, Silesian Library, rkp. DD.I.28 — PL-C*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxvii (description) and 211 - 214 (facsimile). Late fifteenth century; probably from the Bendictine Abbey at Tyniec.

Gdańsk, Biblioteka miasta, rkp. 2315 (lost) — PL-GDbm 2315

See O. Güther, Katalog der Danziger Stadtbibliothek, 6 vols. (Danzig, 1892 - 1913) II (1909), 250 - 253.

Kórnik, Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, rkp. 801 (olim D.I.) — PL-Kór 801

Perz, Sources XIII, xxx (description) and 162 - 163 (facsimile). About 1455; possibly copied at the University of Kraków.

Kraków, Library of the Bernardine Monastery, Stradom, rk. 18/RL — PL-Kb 18*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxvi (description) and 206 - 210 (facsimile). Early sixteenth century; probably copied in the Bernardine scriptorium in Kraków.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 8 — BJ 8*

See Appendix XX. See Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum I, 3 - 5.

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Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 257 — BJ 257

This manuscript is the unique source for the Libri viginti artium by Paulus Paulirinus de Praga. See Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum I, 289 - 293. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 389 — PL-Kj 389

Parchment fragments containing mensural notation, used as binding material. See H. Musielak, "W poszukiwaniu materiałów do biografii Mikołaja z Radomia," Muzyka XVIII/1 (1973) 83. Slides: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 546 — BJ 546

Collectio. Wisłocki, Catalogus I, 169. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 554 — PL-Kj 554*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxv - xxxvi (description) and 201 (facsimile). Third quarter of the fifteenth century; probably copied at the University of Kraków.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 568 — BJ 568

Collectio, includes Musica Muris. Wisłocki, Catalogus I, 177. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1267 — PL-Kj 1267*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxvi (description) and 202 - 205 (facsimile). Third quarter of the fifteenth century; probably copied in Kraków.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1859 — BJ 1859

Collectio. Wisłocki, Catalogus I, 442 - 443. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1861 — BJ 1861

Collectio. Wisłocki, Catalogus I, 444. Microfilm: collection of the author.

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Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1865 — BJ 1865

Collectio. Wisłocki, Catalogus I, 445 - 446. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1927 — BJ 1927

Collectio. Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 462 - 463. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 1970 — BJ 1970

Collectio, from Erfurt, includes Musica Muris. Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 479. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2188 — BJ 2188*

See Appendix XX. Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 525. 1438; copied in Kraków.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2192 — BJ 2192

Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 525 - 526. Early fifteenth century.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2210 — BJ 2210

Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 530. Early fifteenth century.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 2464 — PL-Kj 2464*

RISM B IV^4 1138 - 1144. Copied about 1420 - 1430 in Kraków. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxi - xxii (description) and 15 - 35 (facsimile). Slides and microfilm: collection of the author.

Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rkp. 3295 — BJ 3295

Collectio, includes Musica Muris. Wisłocki, Catalogus II, 723 - 724. Late sixteenth century (about 1562 - 1564); copied in Kraków.

Kraków, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, rkp. 205 — PL-Kklar 205

RISM B IV^4 1146 - 1147 (RISM has incorrect signature, Kklar 206). From the Cloister of St. Andrews. Leaf containing polyphonic compositions, dated about 1320. Later additions, late-four-

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teenth / early-fifteenth century. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxxiii (description) and 185 (facsimile).

Kraków, Biblioteka klasztoru SS. Klarysek, fragments. PL-Kklar 1 PL-Kklar 2

See Perz, Sources XIII, xxxiv (description) and 186 (facsimiles) concerning these two fragments. From the Cloister of St. Andrews in Kraków.

Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, frag. 1 PL-Pu 1

Parchment fragment from the late-thirteenth century, in the Archiwium Chybińskiego. See PL-St S1. See Perz, Sources XIII, ix - xx (description) and 2 - 11 (facsimile). Microfilm: collection of the author.

Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, frag. 2 PL-Pu 2

RISM B IV^4 1150. Late-fourteenth century, parchment fragment, in the Archiwium Chybińskiego. See Perz, Sources XIII, xx - xxi (description) and 13 - 14 (facsimile). Microfilm: collection of the author.

Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, PL-Kj 2464 (photos)

Photographic copy of the musical sections of PL-Kj 2464, in the Archiwium Chybińskiego. Microfilm: collection of the author.

Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, PL-Wn 378 (photos)

Photographic copy of PL-Wn 378, in the Archiwium Chybińskiego. See Perz, Sources, XIII, xxvi - xxix (description) and 103 - 160 (facsimile).

Poznań, Raczyński Municipal Public Library, rkp. 1361 PL-Racz*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxi (description) and 165 - 176 (facsimile). Late fifteenth century; probably from the Bernardine Monastery at Kobylin.

Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 1 PL-St S1

Perz, Sources XIII, ix - xx (description) and 2 - 11 (facsimile). See also M. Perz, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland--Fragments

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from Stary Sącz," Polish Musicological Studies I (1977), 9 - 57.

Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 2 PL-St S2

Perz, Sources XIII, xx (description) and 12 (facsimile).

Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 3 PL-St S3

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxii (description) and 178 (facsimile). Also RISM B IV^2: Supplementary Sources to RISM B IV^1, 424 - 425.

Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 4 PL-St S4

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxii (description) and 179 - 180 (facsimile).

Stary Sącz, Biblioteka Klasztoru SS. Klarysek, frag. 5 PL-St S5

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxiii (description) and 182 - 184 (facsimile).

Tarnów, Diocesan Museum, rkp. bez sign. PL-Tm*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxv (description) and 190 - 199 (facsimile). Late fifteenth century; possibly from the Benedictine Abbey at Tyniec.

Tarnów, Diocesan Museum, rkp. 2015 PL-Tm 2015*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxv (description) and 200 (facsimile). Late fifteenth century; possibly from the Benedictine Abbey at Tyniec.

Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. III 8054 PL-Kras 52

Olim Krasiński 52. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxii - xxvi (description) and 37 - 102 (facsimile).

Warszawa, Biblioteka narodowa, rkp. Lat. Q.I.201 PL-Wn 201*

Perz, Sources XIII, xxxiv - xxxv (description) and 188 - 189 (facsimile). Fifteenth century; possibly from the Benedictine monastery at Sieciechów. Present location unknown.

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Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, rkp. Lat. F.I.378 PL-Wn 378

Now lost, known only from earlier descriptions and the photographs in Poznań, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Archiwium Chybińskiego. See Perz, Sources XIII, xxvi - xxix (description) and 103 - 160 (facsimile).

Warszawa, Biblioteka narodowa, parchment fragment, bez sign. PL-Wn

Perz, Sources XIII, xxx - xxxi (description) and 164 (facsimile). Last quarter of the fifteenth century. Present location unknown.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Kapitulna, rkp. 58 PL-WRk 58

RISM B IV^4 1154. Fifteenth century (1474, f. 54).

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. Ak1955/KN195 PL-Ak1955

Late-fourteenth century parchment fragment of a rotulus. Description and facsimile: C. Brewer, "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," Studia musicologica 24 (1982) 5 - 19.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. K 24 PL-WRu 24

RISM B IV^4 1154 - 1155. Late fourteenth/early fifteenth century; from Brzeg.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.Oct.110 PL-WRu 110

RISM B IV^4 1155. Fifteenth century antiphonal from Głogów.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.Q.132 PL-WRu 132*

RISM B IV^4 1156 - 1157. 1423, written by Nicolaus Menzel in the Augustinian cloister in Zielona Góra.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.269 PL-WRu 269

RISM B IV^4 1157 - 1158. Fifteenth century, from the Church of St. Elisabeth in Wrocław.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.386 PL-WRu 386

RISM B IV^4 1158 - 1159. Fifteenth century, from cloister library of Kamieniec Zabrowkicki.

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Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.391 PL-WRu 391

RISM B IV^4 1159 - 1160. Early sixteenth century antiphonal from St. Vincent's in Wrocław. Also known as Bres D.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.411 PL-WRu 411

RISM B IV^4 1160. Polyphony copied in an addition to the source from the late-fourteenth / early fifteenth century, probably from S. Maria in Kamenz.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.F.417 PL-WRu 417

RISM B IV^4 1160 - 1161. Gradual from the second half of the fourteenth century, from Henryków.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. I.Q.466 PL-WRu 466*

RISM B IV^4 1161 - 1162. Copied between 1416 and 1421, with some later additions, by Nicolaus de Cosel in the Franciscan cloister in Czaslau. Also known as Bres A. Partial microfilm: collection of the author.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. R.505 PL-WRu 505

RISM B IV^4 1162 - 1164. Dated December 13, 1426 (f. 229v), from St. Elisabeth's Church, Wrocław. Also known as Bres B.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. R 506 PL-WRu 506

See Theodor Göllner, Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen, Müncher Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 15 (Tutzing, 1969) I, 155 - 160 and the critical commentary.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. R.3067 PL-WRu 3067

RISM B IV^4 1164. "Special" gradual copied between 1442 and 1468, from St. Elisabeth's Church, Wrocław.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, rkp. IV.Q.16 PL-WRu IV Q 16

See above, Chapter Four, 174 - 217.

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UNITED STATES [US]

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 396 — US-NYpm 396

RISM B IV^2 341 - 368. Late Fourteenth century. Formerly in the Wildenstein collection.

Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Charles Patterson Van Pelt Lib., Ms. Latin 36 — US-Pu 36

See Andres Briner, "Ein anonymer unvollständiger Musiktraktat des 15. Jahrhunderts in Philadelphia, USA," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 50 (1966), 27 - 44.

Rochester, Sibley Music Library, Fleischer Frag. 44 — US-Rs

RISM B IV^2 369. Mid-fourteenth century.

YUGOSLAVIA [YU]

Zadar, Archiv of St. Marien — YU-ZAa

RISM B IV^2: Supplementary Sources to RISM B IV^1, 425 - 426. Early thirteenth century, from St. Mary's Abbey in Zadar.

Zagreb, Nacionalna i Sveucilisna Biblioteka, Ms. MR 10 — YU-Zn 10

RISM B IV^4 1176 - 1178. Fifteenth century.

PRESENT LOCATION UNKNOWN

Villingen Fragment — D-Frg. Villingen

Fourteenth century. See M. Gerbert, De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus, 2 vols. (St. Blasien, 1774; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1968) II, 63 and Table XIX (facsimile).

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An Outline of Czech and Slovak Music: Part I: Czech Music, by Vladimír

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