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FRAGMENTS OF ARS ANTIQUA MUSIC AT STARY SĄCZ
AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE CLARIST ORDER IN
CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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ADDENDUM

p. 221 n.37 Continue the existing footnote with
this additional reference:

On the association of the Franciscans with Scandinavian sources of this type of polyphony, see John Bergsagel 'The Practice of *cantus planus binatim* in Scandinavia,' in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa*, edited by Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 4 (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 75.

ERRATA

The convention adopted capitalises proper names: friars, the Friars Minor. The Office hours are always capitalised: Vespers, Matins, etc.

p. 27 line 10	friars (lower case)
p. 39 n.75	Atlas des Monastères de Clarisses (capitals)
p. 45 n.89	friars' (lower case)
p. 101 line 25	Gospel (spelling)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
DISCLAIMER	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF EXAMPLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
 INTRODUCTION	 1
 _ CHAPTER I _	
Rules and Royal Foundations	
Introduction	9
The Rules of the Order of St Clare:	
1. <i>Cum a nobis petitur</i>	19
2. <i>Cum omnis vera religio</i>	24
3. <i>Solet annuere</i>	29
4. <i>Quaelibet inspirata Divino</i>	33
5. <i>Beata Clara</i>	35
Double monasteries	38
Royal foundations in the Polish-Czech Province:	
Prague	42
Wrocław	53
Zawichost and Grodzisko/Skała	60
Gniezno and Stary Sącz	72
Service books	83

CHAPTER II

The Folio Containing '*Omnia beneficia*,'
PL-STk(Perz St S_2)

Introduction	87
Discovery of St S_2	89
Codicological description of the folio	93
Notation	95
The Music: recto	104
verso	108
Conclusion	118
Appendix: Checklist of the oldest service books in St Andrew's, Kraków, and St Kinga's, Stary Sącz	120
Plates and transcriptions	127

CHAPTER III

PL-STk2 - Fragments from the Binding of
Graduale D.2

Background	136
Annotated catalogue of <i>PL-STk2</i> :	
Concordances	140
Bibliographic abbreviations	141
Conventions and other abbreviations	143
Explanation of sigla	144
Codicological description	170
Repertoire	174
Conclusion	179
Appendix: Distribution and concordances	182
Plates and transcriptions	184

CHAPTER IV

A New Version of Philip the Chancellor's
'Ave gloriosa'- PL-STk2 Perz inv.24

Background	196
Physical description	198
Notation	200
Reconstruction: Text	207
Music	214
Observations on style	219
Conclusion	225
Plates and transcriptions	228
 CONCLUSIONS	 237
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Primary sources	243
Secondary works	244

ABSTRACT

For over thirty years St Kinga's Clarist monastery, Stary Sacz, Poland, has been known to musicologists for its holdings of *ars antiqua* music: liturgical items set in archaic-style polyphony, and fragments of the *Magnus liber organi* and associated Latin motets, i.e. the thirteenth-century Parisian repertoire commonly referred to as Notre Dame polyphony. Given the severity of the Order's Rule and the common presumption that the Clarisses did not sing the liturgy, it has long seemed somewhat incongruous that such music should be found in a Poor Clare house.

The author's discovery of additional fragments of Notre Dame polyphony at Stary Sacz provided the impetus for a thoroughgoing study of this source which collates all the extant fragments. Previous musicological investigations had not addressed the issue of the relationship between the material and its locale, the connection (if any) between the *ars antiqua* repertoire and the musico-liturgical practices of the Order which is custodian of this material. Since information on this latter topic was negligible, it was apparent that a study was also needed of the Poor Clares, their Rule, and particularly of the evolution of their Order in Central Europe during the first century of its existence.

The Order had five different Rules and special dispensations abounded. In the Polish-Czech province the earliest Clarist foundations were royal double monasteries, a phenomenon hitherto not associated with the Franciscans. The study locates the Stary Sacz *ars antiqua* material in this mixed aristocratic milieu.

DISCLAIMER

I, Robert Michael Curry, declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I consider myself privileged to have been afforded the opportunity of studying the musical material held in St Kinga's Clarist monastery, Stary Sącz, and St Andrew's, Kraków. To the diocesan bishops and the abbesses of those houses, Mother Małgorzata Michalik and Mother Barbara Bobko, I express my sincere thanks for granting me permission to consult these sources on several occasions. I am indebted to the archivists of St Kinga's, Sr Apolonia Annu Ręk and her successor, Sr Salomea, for their invaluable assistance, as I am to Fr Roman Deszcz, one-time chaplain to the Stary Sącz sisters, for the hospitality of his lodgings and the help he gave me in obtaining unpublished material.

Poor Clares in various countries have generously provided me with bibliographic information and gently corrected my ill-founded assumptions about their Order. Among the many, I single out for special thanks Sr Agnes van Baer of Bethlehem Monastery, Campbelltown, Australia.

Polish art historians, Dr Barbara Miodońska and Dr Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, provided me with copies of their unpublished papers on Clarist service books for which I am most grateful.

To my colleagues Jana Kovářová, Anthony Maydwell, Alan Lourens and Stewart Smith at the Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts, and to Suzanne Wijsman at the University of Western Australia, I extend my sincere thanks for their professional expertise and forbearance.

This study aims to complement Professor Mirosław Perz's work on the *Stary Sącz ars antiqua* fragments by providing a adjunct to his publications and a supplement to the invaluable facsimiles which appeared as volume XIII in the monumental series, *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*. I wish to thank Professor Perz for his support of my research over the years.

And finally, the greatest debt of gratitude is owed to my advisors at Monash University, Associate Professor Constant Mews, Director of the Centre for Studies in Religion and Theology, and Dr Carol Williams in the School of Historical Studies. Fortunate indeed is the student of these scholars for they combine love of learning with virtues befitting a Poor Clare: commitment, patience and unfailing generosity.

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Text and translation of ' <i>Omnia beneficia</i> '	104
2.2	Text and translation of the sequence, ' <i>Ave mater gracie</i> '	109
3.1	Dimensions of ' <i>Notre-Dame</i> ' manuscripts	171
3.2	Contiguous pieces in <i>PL-STk2</i>	175
3.3	Pieces to texts by of attributed to Philip the Chancellor	177
3.4	<i>PL-STk2</i> concordances with <i>Magnus liber</i> discant sections and clausulae	178
3.5	<i>PL-STk2</i> concordances with conductus-motets à3..	178
4.1	Text of ' <i>Ave gloriosa</i> ' transcribed from <i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.24 showing recoverable sections and melodic cells	208
4.2	Melodic cells and line syllable-count of <i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.24	213
4.3	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.24 realigned text under- lay of strophes VII-X compared with manu- script version	215

LIST OF EXAMPLES

2.1	Tenor line of ' <i>Omnia beneficia</i> '.....	104
3.1	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.1, concluding discant section of Ol1: ' <i>et ceperunt loqui</i> '	147
3.2	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.1, Ol3: discant section, ' <i>iohannes erat</i> '	150
3.3	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.1, Ol3: discant section, ' <i>et spiritu[i]</i> '	150
3.4	<i>PL-STk2</i> item 4 [Perz inv.5] conclusion of (70) <i>Manere vivere debet / Manere</i> (M5)	155
3.5	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.10, beginning (no text extant) and ending of an unidentified motet	159
3.6	<i>PL-STk2</i> Perz inv.17, opening of (505a) <i>Domine homine prosperato / Et Sperabit</i> (M49)	162
3.7	<i>PL-STk2</i> Add.1, section ' <i>facinoris O O O O livoris</i> ' of (98) <i>In Bethlehem Herodes / In Bethleem</i> (M8)	169

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk</i> (Perz St <i>S</i> ₂), recto. Reproduced with permission	127
2.2	Transcription of ' <i>Omnia beneficia</i> '	128
2.3	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk</i> (Perz St <i>S</i> ₂), verso. Reproduced with permission	130
2.4	Transcription of ' <i>Ave mater gracie. Amen</i> ' ...	131
2.5	Transcription of <i>Benedicamus domino</i> + <i>Amen</i> ; and two-part organal realisation of '[<i>Ave mater</i>] <i>Amen</i> ' with second <i>Amen</i>	132
2.6	Colour plate of Antiphonal <i>PL-STk1</i> olim <i>STk 389/1</i> (Perz St <i>S</i> ₃). Responsory for <i>Sexagesima, Dixit Domine ad Noe</i> . Reproduced with permission	133
2.7	Colour plate of <i>Stary Sącz Gradual</i> D.1 ' <i>średni</i> ,' ff. 102v-103. Easter. Photo © Robert Curry	134
3.1	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.1</i> . Recto. Office organa, O11, O13. Photo © Robert Curry	184
3.2	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.1</i> . Verso. Office organa, O13, O14. Photo © Robert Curry	185
3.3	Diplomatic transcription of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.1</i> .	186
3.4	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 item 4</i> [Perz inv.5], (70) <i>Manere vivere debet</i> / <i>Manere</i> (M5); and <i>PL-STk2 Add.3</i> (1037?) <i>Parens nostri</i> . Photo © Robert Curry	191
3.5	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.10</i> (-)... / <i>Latus</i> (M14) <i>PL-STk2 Add.2</i> (778b) <i>Ave Maria</i> / <i>Ave maris stella</i> (O51). Photo © Robert Curry	192
3.6	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.13 #new 3'</i> (313) <i>Homo quo</i> / <i>Et gaudebit</i> (M24). Photo © Robert Curry	192

3.7	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.19 recto</i> #new 7' & #new 6' (58) <i>Adesse festina / Adiuva me</i> (M3) Photo © Robert Curry 193	193
3.8	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.19 verso</i> #new 6 & #new 7 (58) <i>Adesse festina / Adiuva me</i> (M3), cont'd Photo © Robert Curry 194	194
3.9	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Add.1 #new 2</i> (98) <i>In Bethleem / In Bethleem</i> (M8); and <i>PL-STk2 item 3 [Perz inv.21]</i> (101) <i>Et illumina / Et illuminare</i> (M9) Photo © Robert Curry 195	195
3.10	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.22 #new 1</i> (215?) <i>Salve OR Ave virgo / Nostrum</i> (M14); <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.23</i> (216) <i>Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum</i> (M14) Photo © Robert Curry 195	195
4.1	Colour plate of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.24</i> ' <i>Ave gloriosa virginum regina</i> ' Photo © Robert Curry 228	228
4.2	Tabulation of melodic cells in <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.24</i> 229	229
4.3	Transcription of <i>PL-STk2 Perz inv.24</i> and poly- phonic realisation with standard version 232	232

INTRODUCTION

Situated in the foothills of the Carpathian mountains that separate Slovakia from south-eastern Poland, Stary Sącz was once an important entrepôt on the trade route between medieval Hungary and Kraków. Today the town is synonymous with the Clarist monastery founded there in 1280 by Kinga, the Hungarian-born Árpád princess who married into the Małopolska branch of the House of Piast. Despite invasions, floods, fires and political misfortunes visited upon this house over seven centuries, and the Austrians' dispersion of its library during the last partition of Poland, the Clarisses of St Kinga's have managed nonetheless to preserve for posterity precious remnants of their monastery's aristocratic patrimony, material which continues to draw the attention of art and architectural historians, liturgists, and musicologists.

The research of this latter group of scholars has tended to focus rather narrowly either on the chant books or on the fragments of polyphony. Little cognizance has apparently been taken of possible connections between them, or of the insights that other disciplines can offer into better understanding the peculiar character of the musical artifacts at St Kinga's. The monastery library, in fact, has extensive holdings of music, repertoires of instrumental and vocal music spanning many centuries. All of this material yet remains to be researched. It is the fragments of *ars antiqua* music that continue to attract musicological interest.

The terms *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* both derive from medieval music theory; as period labels, they are relative new-comers to music historiography. Whilst the original definitional distinction primarily had to do with rhythm and notation (the *ars nova* accrediting imperfect mensuration the same legitimacy as perfect), in modern usage *ars antiqua* has come to designate thirteenth-century mensural music in general, a rubric covering the major genres of organum, conductus, and clausula-derived motet. Although debates over the theoretical merits of the 'new' versus the 'old' musical arts had to do with characteristics of Parisian polyphony, there are good reasons for also considering under the rubric of *ars antiqua* a corpus of music only tangentially associated with Paris and of much broader geographic and temporal spread. Throughout Europe, and particularly in East and Central Europe, is to be found a style of polyphony which sits on the cusp of improvisation and composition, an idiom which partakes of characteristics of both oral and written transmission.

Cantus planus binatim, also variously described as 'simple,' 'archaic,' 'retrospective,' or 'primitive' polyphony, takes many forms and is found in diverse sources spanning half a millennium from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.¹ Prevalent though it may be, its many and varied manifestations do not cohere into large organised

1. None of these terms is entirely satisfactory as a generic descriptor for the phenomenon. Jaromír Černý has recently proposed another term, 'neo-organum.' See "Das retrospektive Organum oder Neo-organum," *Hudební věda* 38, no. 1-2 (2001): 3-4.

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repertoires, unlike the greatest corpus of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century *ars antiqua* music, the *Magnus liber organi*, the compilation and redaction of which are attributed respectively to the Notre-Dame *magistri*, Leoninus and his successor, Perotinus. Some two generations later, in the 1270s, this repertoire was still in use,² and it is found transmitted in sources that date from well into the fourteenth century. What we do not have, unfortunately, is information on the ramifications of this prestigious repertoire, its impact on subsequent generations of *cantores* and *musici*.

In Sary Sącz we find *Magnus liber* fragments from a mid-thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript, and pieces of *cantus planus binatim* polyphony, liturgical and non-liturgical, dating from the mid-fourteenth century. Not only are the earlier and later types of *ars antiqua* music found in the same monastery, fragments of both turn up in the same mass book. The coincidence of both types in one place naturally makes one wonder whether knowledge of the *Magnus liber* might have exerted, however indirectly, some compositional influence over the *cantus planus binatim* pieces. On this point Edward Roesner has recently observed that

the relationship between the composer, the work, and the performer, between the text and its transmission, may have been a less linear one - or a less

2. The reference is to Anonymous IV whose treatise dates from around 1270. In describing the 'great book of polyphony' this English theorist intended organum to be understood in its broadest sense as embracing all measurable music. See Edward H. Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, I: Les Quadrupla et Tripla de Paris*, Musica Gallica (Les Remparts, Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), lix.

compartmentalised one - than we are often wont to suppose. In this regard, the music of Notre-Dame may have more in common with earlier polyphonic idioms and with much of the retrospective and peripheral polyphonic practice contemporaneous with the Parisian tradition than generally thought.³

This observation is particularly apposite in the case of the four-voice conductus, *Omnia beneficia*, which is studied in Chapter Two. In its scoring and notation the piece brings to mind the three four-voice conducti in *I-Fl Plut.29,1* where they precede the most complete transmission we have of the *Magnus liber organi*. In just about every other respect, however, *Omnia beneficia* could not be more different from these pieces. Valuable information about this piece can be gleaned from the monophonic compositions on the reverse side of the conductus. The fact that these items have until now never received anything more than cursory noting is due in large part to the folio's inaccessibility. It was taken down from the cloister wall and removed from its picture frame specially to facilitate this study.

Sadly, the fragments of the *Magnus liber* and related motets have not fared as well as *Omnia beneficia*. Indeed, determining their full significance has probably been irreparably jeopardised by the lack of appropriate

3. Edward Roesner, "Who 'made' the *Magnus liber*?" *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 234. Jessie Ann Owens has expressed the view that the way composers of the period 1450-1600 'put together' their music "may well be valid for earlier music. It is helpful to see the period from 1250 or 1300 to 1550 or 1600 as being unified, in a general way, by systems of notation, pitch, and harmonic organisation. [One category] that deserves systematic investigation is 'archaic' or 'primitive' polyphony." See Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work. The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 6 and 108 n.2.

professional conservation. New discoveries made by the author and the progressive deterioration of previously recovered material argued for a thoroughgoing reassessment of these fragments. As essential part of such a re-appraisal was accurately identifying all the extant fragments and producing an annotated catalogue. This is the stuff of Chapter Three.

The most recent addition to this complex of Notre-Dame fragments, the subject of Chapter Four, raises the topic alluded to earlier: the 'afterlife' of the Parisian *ars antiqua* and possible evidence for compositional engagement *in situ* with this repertoire or with pieces which circulated within its orbit.

The repertorial similarities and concordance patterns which emerge from a comparison of the 'Sary Sącz' Notre-Dame material and the version of this material transmitted in *I-Fl Plut.29,1* take on even greater interest in light of Michel Huglo's recent research into this latter manuscript's association with Sainte-Chapelle and the Franciscans' staunch supporter, Louis IX. During the mid-1240s, when the King's luxury presentation copy of the *Magnus liber* was being prepared, and Julian of Speyer, the Franciscans' cantor *Parisiensis et corrector mensae*, was completing his great rhymed office to the Order's saintly founder, Louis IX's sister, Isabella, was firming her resolve to take the veil and enter the women's branch of the Franciscans, the so-called Second Order of St Francis, or Clarisses.

Amongst the Friars Minor there is ample evidence of compositional activity in the liturgical genres of rhymed office and sequence, and the vernacular *laude spirituali* and *carole*. The best known thirteenth-century witness to this activity is Friar Salimbene de Adam whose chronicle mentions Franciscan composers, specific works, contrafacting and polyphonic techniques.⁴ Salimbene also observed that "Pope Alexander [IV] canonized St Clare and composed hymns and collects for her."⁵ One therefore might expect to see in the standard surveys of 'Franciscans and music' entries on the musical traditions of Franciscan women, the Order of St Clare. Instead, they are silent.⁶ Commonly received opinion, influenced no doubt by the 1253 Rule of St Clare, has it that Poor Clares did not sing, *tout court*:

The Sisters who can read shall celebrate the divine Office...but they are to read it without singing [...]

4. Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane, eds. and trans., *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 40 (Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1986).

5. "Qui Alexander papa canonicavit sanctam Claram et fecit hymnos eius et collectas." Giuseppe Scalia, ed., *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam* (Bari: Gius, Laterza & Figli, 1966), 554 lines 14-15.

6. Agostino Ziino, "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII-XIV," in *Francesco d'Assisi, Storia e Arte*, edited by Carlo Pirovano and Francesco Porzio (Milan: Electa, 1982), 127-58; Mary Berry, "Franciscan friars," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols., edited by John Tyrrell and Stanley Sadie (London & New York: Grove, 2001), 9:175-76; Friedrich W. Riedel, "Franziskanische Liturgie und Musik," in *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters*, edited by Johannes Gründler (Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung / Kulturabteilung, 1982), 729-42.

Let them also continually be silent in the church⁷

Are we then to conclude that after almost 800 years of existence the Poor Clares possesses no distinctive musical traditions worth remarking? Are we to believe that hymns, composed by a pope and former cardinal protector of the Clarisses, not to mention the scores of other liturgical songs in honour of St Clare,⁸ were not sung by the very religious community dedicated to following in the Saint's footsteps?

Marie Roussey, author of a recent four-volume history of the Poor Clares, opines that

Unfortunately, music rarely comes into this history because I hardly ever found information on the topic in the course of my research. The liturgy was very straightforward, except in the big Urbanist royal abbeys which had adopted a rather Benedictine style."⁹

Aristocratic Clarist foundations in the thirteenth century were few in number; the majority of them were concentrated in

7. "Form of Life of Clare of Assisi," in Regis J. Armstrong, ed. and trans., *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents*, Revised ed. (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1993), 67(\$3) and 70(\$5).

8. In *Analecta Hymnica* alone there are over seventy items dedicated to St Clare.

9. "Malheureusement, il n'est guère question de musique dans cette histoire car je n'ai guère trouvé de renseignements sur ce sujet durant mes recherches. La liturgie y était très simple, sauf dans les grandes abbeyes royales urbanistes qui avaient adopté un style assez bénédictin." Marie Colette Roussey OSC. Personal communication, 30 June 2002 (Monastère sainte Claire, Nice). Three volumes of her projected four-volume history of the Poor Clares have appeared: *Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses*, I: "La petite plantation" - le printemps franciscain et les débuts de l'ordre au XIIIème siècle (1212-1253), Revised & expanded edition; II: *L'épanouissement de l'ordre et le second printemps franciscain* (1253-1520); III/1: *D'une tempête à l'autre* (1520-1648), (Paray-le-Monial: Atelier Sainte Claire, 1984, 1982, 1995).

the Order's Polish-Czech province. In point of fact, the Clarist royal abbeys in this province were the exclusive preserve of three dynastic houses: the Polish Piasts, the Hungarian Árpáds and the Czech Přemyslids.

In these houses the liturgy may well have been un-Franciscan, and some of them might have observed a rule more indebted to Benedict than to Francis or Clare. In the last decades of the thirteenth century, around the time of the foundation of Stry Sącz, came gibes about the 'rich clares' and the 'poor clares.'¹⁰ It is to the first category that the aristocratic foundations of the Polish-Czech province belonged, and none more so than Stry Sącz. In these houses a *modus vivendi* was arrived at whereby they could remain well endowed while yet observing the Rule's commitment to poverty. No doubt also in these houses the existence of a *modus canendi* can be tacitly assumed, for even the most severe version of the Rule did not mandate musical deprivation.

10. "Le manque d'unité et l'affluence des candidates entraînèrent un déclin notable de l'observance religieuse. C'est depuis cette période qu'on parlera de 'riches claires' et de 'pauvres claires'. Les premières furent appelées 'urbanistes', parce qu'elles professaient la règle, mitigée en matière de pauvreté, promulguée par Urbain IV en 1263." See Heribert Roggen OFM, "François (IIe Ordre de Saint). §IV. Les Clarisses," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, edited by Alfred Baudrillart, Albert de Meyer, and Roger Aubert (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1977), 18: 962.

CHAPTER I

RULES AND ROYAL FOUNDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Tres ordines hic ordinat
 Primusque fratrum nominat
 Minorum pauperumque
 Fit dominarum medius
 Sed penitentum tertius
 Sexum capit utrumque.¹

Charismatic and inclusive, early Franciscan communities comprised men and women, married and single, drawn from across all social classes. That the Franciscan ethos could be realised through different ways of life was surely a source of its wide appeal. How those different ways of life were to be ordered in the form of a Rule acceptable to the Church became a source of appeal of a different kind. Juridical appeals and protracted disputation over the Rules, particularly those pertaining to the Second and Third Orders, engaged the attention of successive papal administrations

-
1. Three were the Orders he arrayed:
 The Friars Minor he called the first;
 And the Poor Ladies were the next,
 Becoming the middle order;
 Then thirdly came the Penitents,
 Comprising men and women.

Third Antiphon at Lauds from Julian of Speyer's rhymed office of St Francis. Poetic translation in Regis Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and William Short, eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3 vols (New York: New City Press, 1999), I: 338.

throughout the thirteenth century. Beyond dispute (albeit much discussed) and intrinsic to the Franciscan way of life however it be realised, was the devotion to *opus dei*. Liturgical directions for the Divine Office appear in every Rule. Since communal observance of the Hours was incumbent upon all Franciscans, literate and illiterate, the Office served as the *de facto* medium for group musical education.

Single men and women had a choice: they could realise their Franciscan vocation either as religious in the First and Second Orders, or as seculars in the Order of Penitents. Married folk, too, could enjoy the fellowship of communal life and pastoral care of the friars through membership of this Third Order.² The First Order, its Rule patterned on Francis's mendicant life, and approved by Innocent III in 1210, tends to be seen historically as the *primus inter pares*. In evolutionary terms, however, there are good grounds for regarding the Order of Penitents, or Tertiaries, as the progenitor of the First and Second Orders.³

The Order of St Clare, the Second Order, takes its name from Francis's companion, Chiara Offreduccio (1194-1253), the well-educated daughter of a wealthy Assisian patrician family. During her lifetime women in this Order were referred to variously as Poor Enclosed Nuns [*pauperes moniales reclusae*], then as Nuns of the Order of St Damian

2. Octavian Schmucki, "The Third Order in the Biographies of St Francis," *Greyfriars Review* 6, no. 1 (1992): 81-107.

3. Raffaele Pazzelli, *St Francis and the Third Order* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1989), 102-06.

[*moniales ordinis sancti Damiani*], or simply as Damianites after Clare's monastery, San Damiano. Only with Urban IV's bull of 1264, promulgated almost a decade after Clare's canonisation, did they become known as the Enclosed Sisters of the Order of St Clare [*sorores inclusae ordinis sanctae Clarae*]. The change in papal designation acknowledged Clare as co-founder of the Second Order; it can also be seen as retrospective recognition of her status in the Franciscan movement, that of spiritual successor to Francis himself.⁴ The true extent of Clare's influence cannot be gauged by the meagre amount of her correspondence that survives from the twenty-seven year period between Francis's death and her own. What it does convey quite clearly is a sense of Clare's tenacity and unswerving commitment to an ideal.

Given the First and Second Orders' equivalence in venerable longevity one cannot but be struck by the disparity between the amount of scholarly attention which has been devoted to the First and the almost total neglect of the Second.⁵ Of course, it is always difficult to write the

4. Regis J. Armstrong, ed. and trans., *Clare of Assisi: Early Documents*, Revised ed. (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 1993), 10ff.

5. Apart from entries in general and specialised encyclopedias, the Order has two chapters devoted to it in John R H Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). However, in the other standard history: Cajetan Esser OFM, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, translated by Aedan Daly & Irina Lynch. (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970), Clare's name does not even appear in the index. German-language studies are usually devoted to specific houses. This is largely the case with the recent monograph by Ancilla Röttger and Petra Groß, *Klarissen. Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Ordensgemeinschaft*, Franziskanis-

history of a contemplative enclosed order, and the more so of one which traditionally put little store by literary activities or the documentation of its own history. When the German ecclesiastical historian, Eduard Lempp, began his pioneering attempts towards a history of the Poor Clare Order he found his undertaking circumscribed as much by the inaccessibility of sources as by the indifference of the Clarisses themselves. He decided as a consequence to focus just on the Order's Rules.⁶ Inevitably perhaps, what has been written on the Poor Clares has tended to be delimited by region, period, source material and language. And so it is with this study.

The Franciscan movement quickly gathered momentum during the thirteenth century, and its membership and geographical reach expanded rapidly.⁷ The widespread appeal of the

ches Leben, 1 (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1994); it is not the synthetic coverage of the Order's past and present that the title implies. To date, the four-volume study by Marie Colette Roussey OSC, *Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses* (Paray-le-Monial: Atelier Sainte Claire, 1984-) is the only attempt at a general history of the Poor Clare Order.

6. Eduard Lempp, "Die Anfänge des Clarissenordens," *Gothaer Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1892): 181.

7. By the time of Clare's death in 1253 there were some one hundred and fifty Damianite houses. See Marie-Colette Roussey OSC, "Atlas des monastères de clarisses, étapes de l'expansion géographique," in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa Postérité: Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du VIIIe Centenaire de la naissance de Sainte Claire; UNESCO (29 septembre - 1er octobre 1994)*, compiled by Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, Dominique Dinet, Jacqueline Gréal, and Damien Vorreux (Nantes: Association Claire Aujourd'hui, 1995), 447. Sr Marie-Colette's catalogue provides a much needed update to John Moorman's *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, Franciscan Institute Publications, History Series, 4 (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute of St. Bonaventure University, 1983). There remain, however, inaccuracies in the coverage of Polish and Czech houses.

Franciscan ethos must be attributed in large measure to the tireless travelling of the friars, their persuasive preaching, and the obvious simplicity of their mendicant lifestyle. What more vivid image of saintliness and spiritual fervour could there have been than the stigmata of the movement's founder.

For women who desired to emulate St Francis's identification with the poor Christ, the most potent sources of inspiration were probably not the virtuous lives of cloistered nuns for these could only be known anecdotally. Rather, they were inspired by the demonstrable good works, founding of hospitals and tending of lepers, carried out by a number of highborn Franciscan Tertiaries. Breaking the norms of behaviour for their social station, these women led ascetic lives and often endured extraordinary privations in pursuit of their Franciscan vocation. Foremost among them was Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia (1207-1231).⁸ For women in the Polish-Czech province, especially her close Přemyslid and Piast relatives, Ages and Anna, Salomea, Kinga and Jolanta, St Elizabeth was the paragon of Franciscan asceticism.⁹

8. Michael Bihl, "St Elizabeth of Hungary," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia Online Edition*, edited by Kevin Knight (1909/2003), accessed 15 June 2003.

9. In a recent paper Paul Crossley has highlighted 'the francophile tastes of Elizabeth's Andechs-Meranien family,' and advanced the thesis that her church in Marburg 'directly reflected the reputation of her family as one of the most powerful forces in the introduction of French Gothic architecture into central and eastern Europe.' See "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture," in *Queens*

Both Orders, the Penitents and the Damianites, undoubtedly counted amongst their number some saintly women; and yet, as John Moorman put it, "the Third Order, like the Second, was always a cause of some embarrassment to the First."¹⁰ The Franciscan movement's appeal to women tapped the same wellsprings of popular piety that had given rise to the Beguines, and not infrequently membership of the two became blurred. As happened in many countries, with the arrival of the friars in Poland beguinages tended to spring up around their churches. Large numbers of Beguines took up the *forma vitae* of Tertiaries and they, in turn, were looked after by Damianite/Clarist nuns.¹¹ In practice, the distinction between the Order of Penitents and the Second Order was probably less clear cut than received opinion would have it, particularly in Central Europe.¹²

and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995, edited by Anne J Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 263-300. On Elizabeth's Franciscan asceticism, see Brygida Kürbisówna, "Asceza chrześcijańska i jej interpretacje hagiograficzne. Polski model ascezy franciszkańskiej w XIII i XIV wieku," in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, edited and compiled by Teresa Skarbek, *Zakony franciszkanów w Polsce*, I/1 (Kraków: Prowincjałat Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych Prowincji św. Antoniego i bł. Jakuba Strepy, 1983), 159-80.

10. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 216.

11. Urszula Borkowska, "Beginki i Begardzi," in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, edited by Feliks Gryglewicz, Romuald Łukaszuk, and Zygmunt Sułowski (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1976), 2: 178-80.

12. In his preface to the reconstituted text of an anonymous Franciscan's *Vita beate Elyzabeth*, Lori Pieper observes that 'In many ways her life was close to that of the Beguines, who engaged in active service and were not cloistered.' This *Vita*

By mid-century there were six, possibly seven, Clarist houses, three of them aristocratic foundations, in present-day Slovakia, southern Poland, and the Czech Republic: Wrocław in Silesia, Sandomierz in Małopolska, Prague and Cheb in Bohemia, and Olomouc and Opava in Moravia.¹³ Franciscan administration designated this area the Polish-Czech province. In the latter part of the thirteenth century the make up of the Polish-Czech province seemed to change with every chapter-general: Pisa (1263) transferred the Moravian custody to the Austrian Province and the custody of Budziszyn to the Saxon Province. Paris (1266) reversed those decisions. Assisi (1269) joined Kraków to the Hungarian Province. Lyon (1272) overturned that decision, and decided instead to join Wrocław to the Saxon Province.¹⁴

The particular appeal of the Order to highborn women, which is a striking feature of its spread in this province,

makes specific reference to the connections between Elizabeth and Jolenta, Kinga and Salomea. See "A New Life of St Elizabeth of Hungary: The Anonymous Franciscan," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 93, no. 1-4 (2000): 44-45 and 77-78.

13. The first Clarist house in Central Europe was founded in Trnava [Nagyszombat], present-day Slovakia. In the thirteenth century it belonged to the Hungarian Province. The town is only a few miles away from Bratislava [Pozsony], the birthplace of St Elizabeth.

14. See Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Bracia mniejsi w Polsce średniowiecznej," in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, edited and compiled by Teresa Skarbek, *Zakony franciszkanów w Polsce*, I/1 (Kraków: Prowincjałat Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych Prowincji św. Antoniego i bł. Jakuba Strepy, 1983), 34-45. A none too reliable English summary of Kłoczowski's detailed article can be found in Jerzy Kłoczowski, *La Pologne dans l'Eglise médiévale*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 417 (Aldershot: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing, 1993), IX: 101.

is more than the traditional choice '*aut maritus, aut murus*'; it touches on a radical element in the Franciscan movement. By choosing a life of communal poverty, women removed themselves from becoming vehicles of investment and exchange in matrimonial contracts. The Poor Clares maintained greater autonomy than other women's orders by not being subsumed under, or directly subject to governance by, the male religious Order. During their first half-century especially, they were, to a large degree, *sui juris*.¹⁵

Communal poverty did not obliterate social status. The social composition of foundations which came about as a result of aristocratic patronage differed markedly from those which arose spontaneously. The princely foundations of the Polish-Czech province comprised not only cloistered, professed nuns from aristocratic and patrician families, but also children and oblates entrusted to the monastery by their families to be raised and educated by the sisters; dowagers who lived in discrete quarters within the monastery without taking solemn vows, that is, as Franciscan Tertiaries;¹⁶ and servants [*servientes* or *servitales*], women of lower social class who attended upon the nuns and liaised with the world outside the cloister.¹⁷ These princely foundations also

15. Luigi Pellegrini, "Female Religious Experience and Society in Thirteenth-Century Italy," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts*, edited by Sharon Farmer and Barbara H Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 104.

16. Patrycja Gasiorowska, "Klaryski z dynastii Piastów," *Nasza Przyszłość* 94 (2000): 120.

17. Clara Gennaro, "Clare, Agnes, and Their Earliest Fol-

included communities of non-mendicant friars, who acted as chaplains to the women, and of lay brothers [conversi], who attended upon the friar-priests.

For the sisters, Mass was an occasional, special solemnity. In 1237 Agnes of Prague received from Pope Gregory IX the privilege of attending Mass five times a year in the choir of her monastery and looking upon the priest celebrating it.¹⁸ Clare's Rule of 1253 stipulated sisters were to receive the Eucharist seven times a year.¹⁹ The main focus of the monastery's liturgical life was therefore the Hours, which also included the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Office of the Dead. This latter Office, in conjunction with perpetual commemorations and suffrages, would have assumed ever greater importance in mausoleum monasteries, the majority of houses in this study.

What each of the Order's Rules says about the manner of praying the Hours is considered below. What these texts do not give us is an understanding of the logistics, the 'mise-

lowers: From the Poor Ladies of San Damiano to the Poor Clares," in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, edited by Daniel Borstein and Roberto Rusconi, *Women in Culture and Society* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 45-46 & 59-61.

18. Armstrong, *Clare Documents*, 366-67.

19. The Isabellan Rule was exceptional in this respect for it allowed for the sisters to make their communion twice a month, and in Advent and Lent, every Sunday if they wished [Sacratissimum autem corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi sorores concessione praemissa cum fuerit necesse, cum reverentia et devotione duabus vicibus quolibet mense recipiant. In quadragesima vero et in adventu Domini si expedire videbitur omni die dominico]. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, 4 vols, edited by Johannes H. Sbaraglia, reprint, 1983-85 (Assisi: Edizione Porziucola, 1759-68), II: 480.

en-scène' of how the Office and other liturgical services were observed by a mixed but segregated community of men and women, children and lay folk, the illiterate saying paternosters while the musically and verbally literate chanted and read. Nor do we have source documents that provide clues to what ratios might have obtained between the aforementioned groups; at best, we can glean approximate figures from the relative proportions of designated spaces within the monastic complexes.

In the Franciscan and all the Clarist Rules provision is made for those who are illiterate. On this point the observations of Stephen van Dijk and Joan Walker are particularly apposite:

In fact, many clerics, seculars and religious, were unlettered. Unless they were in holy orders or prebendaries, they had no obligation to instruct themselves. And, although canon law assumed that those who were ordained or had prebends could read the Psalter, many of them could not. On the other hand, laics were often well educated; many had at least so much instruction that they could assist at the services and share or even lighten the duties of a cleric. This was the case, especially, in the Mendicant Orders, who adopted the principle of a Daily Office, although their members were neither canons nor monks, neither prebendaries nor beneficiaries. Among the friars, the educated clerics in minor orders and their unlettered confrères in holy orders were considered to have no choir duties or obligation to further their knowledge, except through their respective Rules or constitutions. Likewise, the educated lay-brothers, who had no canonical obligation and yet were able to share in the performance of the Office, could be bound by the same.²⁰

Although we have no empirical data on literacy levels amongst the upper-class women in the Clarist houses which are the

20. *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), 39.

subject of this study, we do have snippets of circumstantial evidence from *vitae* and other hagiographical literature. It seems reasonable to presume, too, that the ability to sing would have been deemed a refinement befitting women of this social stratum. In short, there is every likelihood that in aristocratic Clarist foundations the number of literate women exceeded the number of literate friars.

No topic seems to have more exercised the literary prowess of aristocratic Poor Clares than concern over their Order's Rule. Throughout the thirteenth century the *forma vitae* of the Second Order remained an open file for successive papal administrations. Not infrequently, requests to the pope for modifications, dispensations, and special privileges came with political undertones, as, for example, when Agnes of Prague and Isabella of France enlisted the support of their sovereign brothers, Václav I and Louis IX.²¹

The Rules of the Second Order of St Francis, for what they say and for what can be inferred from that which is left unsaid, are a necessary starting point for any consideration of musical practices in Clarist aristocratic foundations.

RULES

No.1 - *Cum a nobis petitur* (1218-19)²²

The first Rule came about as a response on the part of

21. Both kings were Franciscan Tertiaries. St Louis IX endowed a beguinage in Paris for impoverished noble women. See Jo Ann McNamara, "The Need to Give: Suffering and Female Sanctity in the Middle Ages," in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*,

the Church to a social and religious phenomenon, namely, the increasing number of pious women who, in quest of apostolic perfection, were choosing to renounce all their worldly possessions and live a life of communal poverty and penitential asceticism. In this respect "the Franciscans were the catalyst for a movement already in existence."²³ These communities gravitated to centres where Franciscan friars were preaching, and the women sought to be accepted as Franciscans themselves by dint of having adopted aspects of the Franciscan lifestyle.

Recognising the need to regularise matters affecting these communities of Poor Ladies, Pope Honorius III authorised the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and personal friend of St Francis, Hugolino de Segni, to draw up a Rule.²⁴ In addressing this matter Hugolino was mindful of the Fourth Lateral Council's decree (1215) that any new religious orders should adopt a pre-existing, approved rule.²⁵ The result was

edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), 205.

22. Ignacio Omaechevarría, "Textos legislativos," in *Escritos de Santa Clara y documentos contemporaneos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1970), 216-32. The text is based on the oldest available copy dating from 1228. Later reiterations of the Rule in 1239 & 1245 are published in *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 263-67 & 394-99. They contain slight textual variants which are noted in Omaechevarría's edition.

23. Gennaro, "Clare, Agnes," 39.

24. *Litterae tuae* (27/08/1218-19) in *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 1-2

25. "Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis." Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 1. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 242.

a rigorous *forma vitae*, or Constitution, which insisted on rigid claustration and was firmly based on the Rule of St Benedict. Perhaps not surprisingly, when Hugolino became Pope Gregory IX in 1227, moves to see his 1219 *forma vitae* more widely adopted by communities of 'poor enclosed nuns' received added impetus.²⁶

Nowhere in the Constitution is there any mention of St Francis and his Order, nor is the issue addressed of what relationship was to obtain between the nuns and the Friars Minor. The latter issue became increasingly contentious and remained a source of friction between the First and Second Orders of St Francis until the end of the century.²⁷

The sections from Hugolino's Constitution concerning the Office are as follows:

Regarding the Divine Office offered in homage to the Lord both during the day and at night, this is to be observed: those who can read the psalms (and the canonical hours) celebrate the regular Office. If they also know how to sing, they may say the Office and join in giving praise to the universal Lord by singing the hours competently in a most dignified and sober way, with humility and great devotion, as may prove edifying to those listening. Those who are not familiar with the psalms should faithfully strive to praise the Creator by offering the Lord's Prayer during the Canonical Hours, as is the custom. If the abbess feels there are some

26. *Pauperes moniales inclusae* is the designation most commonly used in papal documents up to c.1230. As Luigi Pellegrini points out, until the last years of the 1220s, when it had to introduce the *forma vitae* of Ugolino, the Assisian female community was not bound to rigorous claustration. Under Hugolino's Constitution the internal life of these women's monasteries "was measured both day and night by liturgical prayer - the only voice that broke the rigorous silence." See "Female Religious Experience," 113.

27. See Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, Translation of the corrected & expanded reprint (Munich, 1961) by Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, ID: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 109-24 & 130-37.

young or mature-age sisters who are humble and show a natural aptitude, she should have them taught to read, assigning them a discerning and capable teacher.²⁸

The sisters were therefore not obliged to chant the Office, they were merely permitted to do so if they had the ability to perform it decorously and with due reverence. What was important was maintaining the dignity of the divine praise. Since the juridical basis of this Rule is the Rule of St Benedict,²⁹ one must presume that "*Officium faciant regulare*" refers to the standard Benedictine monastic *cursus*, as opposed to the form observed by the friars.³⁰

In 1215, or shortly thereafter, the Friars Minor had adopted Pope Innocent III's liturgy for the Office, an *ordo* 'always shorter and often altered' from that followed outside the Roman Curia.³¹ Confirmation of this practice is found in the final version (1223) of the Franciscan Rule:

28. "De Divino vero Officio tam in die quam in nocte Domino persolvendo hoc observetur, ut eae, quae Psalmos et (Horas) legere noverint, Officium faciant regulare. Quod si etiam canere sciant, liceat eis horis competentibus canendo Officium dicere, et universorum Dominum collaudare, cum summa tamen tamen gravitate et modestia, cum humilitate et multa devotione, ut ad salutem aedificari valeant audientes. Quae autem Psalmos nesciunt, Orationem Dominicam in suis horis, secundum morem, suo devote studeant persolvere Creatori. Quod si iuenculae aliquae, vel etiam grandiores, capaces ingenii et humiles fuerint, si Abbatis-sae visum fuerit, faciat eas litteras edoceri, magistram eis deputans idoneam et discretam." Omaechevarria, "Escritos," 220 S5.

29. "Regulam Beatissimi Benedicti...vobis tradimus observandam in omnibus," Omaechevarria, "Escritos," 218 S3.

30. Regis Armstrong observes that "It is difficult to determine the meaning of 'regular Office.' In specifying the Rule of Saint Benedict, Hugolino implicitly prescribed the Benedictine version of the Divine Office which was essentially a modified form of the Roman liturgy. However, it is possible that the Office of the local cathedral was employed." *Clare Documents*, 92 note d.

31. van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 2-3.

The clerics are to say the Divine Office in accordance with the rite of the Holy Roman Church, with the exception of the Psalter; and accordingly they may have breviaries. The laics are to say twenty-four paternosters at Matins, five at Lauds, seven at Prime, Terce, Sext, None and whatever other hours, twelve at Vespers and seven at Compline. And they are to pray for the dead.³²

Thus, in the matter of the Canonical Hours, the First and Second Orders differed from the start, with men observing the secular Office and women the monastic *cursus*. The custom of illiterate religious saying paternosters was a traditional and longstanding one, a provision probably used mostly by new members of the community who had not yet been taught to read.³³ Cajetan Esser, citing Thomas Celano, points out that "The friars said the Lord's Prayer 'not only at the prescribed times, but at any hour'; under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit they would even chant it."³⁴ Nothing in Hugolino's Rule precludes the possibility that Poor Ladies, too, would have responded to divine inspiration in the same way.

32. "Clerici faciant divinum Officium secundum ordinem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, excepto psalterio, ex quo habere poterunt breviaria. Laici vero dicant vigintiquatuor Pater noster pro matutino, pro laudibus quinque, pro prima, tertia, sexta, nona, pro qualibet istarum septem, pro vespers autem duodecim, pro completorio septem, et orent pro defunctis." *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum romanorum pontificum taurinensis edito*, 23 vols, edited by S. Franco, H. Fory, and H. Dalmazzo (Rome: Augustae Taurinorum, 1857-72), III: 395 §3.

33. Théophile Desbonnets OFM, "Franciscan Rite," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 5: 192.

34. Esser OFM, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 107.

Since the full cycle of psalms was recited each week it surely would have been only a matter of time before the illiterate had committed a large part of the psalter to memory. Chanting the canonical hours, however, presumes conversance with texts and at least a passing familiarity with ecclesiastical Latin; it also presumes a modicum of musical training, that is, familiarity with solmisation. The provision for having sisters taught to read is of a piece with the role the nuns played in educating child oblates.

No. 2 - *Cum omnis vera religio* (6 August 1247)³⁵

The Order of Poor Ladies for which Pope Innocent IV formulated a new Rule was an Order much changed from the one for which his predecessor's Hugolinian Constitution had been designed. During the almost three decades since the introduction of Hugolino's Constitution, objections had been raised repeatedly by Clare and her staunchest supporter, Agnes of Prague, to the 1218-19 Rule's non-Franciscan character. Sundry concessions and dispensations had been given to individual houses, the most famous being the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty that was granted in 1228 to Clare's house, San Damiano, and, ten years later, to St Francis's, the Prague monastery established by Agnes.³⁶

35. *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 476-87; *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 527-35.

36. The juridical language of Pope Gregory IX's bull, *Pia credulitate tenentes* (15 April 1238) in which he grants Agnes's monastery the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty is the same as that in the bull *Sicut manifestum est* (17 September 1228) which bestowed

Four years earlier, in August 1234, Agnes had received an indult from Pope Gregory IX permitting her house to observe the Franciscans' secular Office, i.e. the *Regula* office of Pope Innocent III.³⁷ In this respect, Agnes's foundation anticipated by some thirteen years what was to be mandated for the whole Order in the second Rule of 1247. Given the collaboration between Agnes and Clare it is highly likely that San Damiano also received the same indult.³⁸ Notwithstanding his predecessor's concession to Agnes of the 'Franciscan' Office, Innocent IV continued to uphold the appropriateness of the 1218-19 Constitution's Benedictine juridical foundation. Thus, the pontiff to Agnes in 1243:

The addition about the Rule of Blessed Benedict has been made so that your form of religious life would be found authentic [...] this Rule does not bind the sisters of your Order to anything other than obedience, the giving up of personal property, and perpetual chastity.³⁹

the Privilege on Clare's house. See Joan Mueller, *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, Clare Resources Series, 5 (St Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, St Bonaventure University, 2001), 220.

37. "Statuimus insuper, ut iuxta morem Ecclesiae Romanae ibi divinum officium celebretur excepto psalterio, quod secundum consuetudinem possitis dicere Gallicanam." *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 35 & 171 (25 July 1235), 215 (14 April 1237).

'Gallican,' according to van Dijk & Walker [*Origins*, 207], was the misleading name given to the version of the Psalter used outside Rome. The friars and all those who, later on, adopted the court liturgy conformed in this point to the general custom. For an explanation of the term *regula*, see *Origins*, 217.

38. Octave d'Angers, "Le chant liturgique dans l'Ordre de saint François aux origines," *Études franciscaines* 25 (1975): 296. Joan Mueller remains circumspect, cautioning that one cannot be certain that either Clare or Agnes had the use of a *Regula* breviary. *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 116.

39. "adjectus de Beati Benedicti Regula, ut per ipsam quasi praecipuam de Regulis approbatis [...] Regula ipsa Sorores sui Ordinis non ligat ad aliud, nisi ad obedientiam, abdicationem

By the mid-1240s just about every monastery had its own particular statute or dispensation, such that the Order now "constituted a very variegated mosaic."⁴⁰ Indeed, Innocent IV admitted as much in his bull *Quoties a nobis* of 23 August 1247:

already many different types of dispensations have been made concerning it [the Rule], with a result that there appears to be not one, but many professions.⁴¹

The new Rule of 1247 represented an attempt on the part of Innocent IV to introduce consistency and uniformity into the Second Order's *forma vitae*. For the most part, it reiterates Hugolino's 1218-19 Rule, except for the following changes: fasting is ameliorated; houses can receive and possess goods in common; in place of St Benedict the Rule now recognises St Francis; and spiritual direction is entrusted to the minister-general and to the Order's provincials. The section on the Divine Office reads as follows:

Regarding the Divine Office, offered to the Lord both during the day and at night, the following is to be observed: those who can read and sing are to celebrate the Office according to the custom of the Friars Minor in a dignified and sober way. Those who cannot read shall say twenty paternosters [etc.] This manner is to be observed by everyone in the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and they are to pray for the dead. If the

proprii, ac perpetuam castitatem." *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 315-17 *In Divini timore nominis* (13 November 1243) as quoted in and translated by Joan Mueller, "Agnes of Prague and the Juridical Implications of the Privilege of Poverty," *Franciscan Studies* 58 (2000): 280.

40. "A force de régler les questions au fur et à mesure et cas par cas, presque chaque monastère avait son statut particulier et l'Ordre constituait une mosaïque bien variée." Roussey OSC, *Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses*, I, 131.

41. "...multae iam, et diversae dispensationum formae factae fuerint circa ipsam, propter quod non una, sed multiplex videbatur professio." *Bullarium franciscanum* I: 488.

abbess feels there are some young or mature-age sisters who are humble and show natural aptitude, she should have them taught to read, assigning them a discerning and capable teacher.⁴²

It might be supposed that in stipulating the Franciscan Office the new Rule was simply bringing the whole Order into line with what had hitherto been the privilege of Agnes of Prague's monastery. But during the thirteen years since Agnes adopted the Franciscans' secular Office, dissatisfaction had continued to grow among the Friars themselves over shortcomings in their *Regula* service books, as Salimbene points out:

In 1215 Innocent III held a solemn council in the Lateran, at which he corrected and reorganised the ecclesiastical service, making his own additions and rejecting undesirable accretions. Yet even up to the present day, some flaws remain, as many men say, and it is indeed true. For it contains much that is superfluous, which causes boredom rather than devotion, both to the congregation and to the celebrant [...] Even now, there are many things in the ecclesiastical service which could be changed for the better, and rightly so, since, though not recognized by everyone, it is full of crudities.⁴³

42. De divino Officio, tam in die quam in nocte, Domino persolvendo, taliter observetur quod eae quae legere et canere noverint, secundum consuetudinem ordinis fratrum minorum, cum gravitate tamen et modestia officium debeant celebrare; illiteratae vero dicant virginti *Pater noster* ... *Mariae Verginis* ... capaces ingenii et humiles fuerint, si abbatissae visum fuerit, faciat eas litteras edoceri, magistram eis deputans idoneam et discretam." *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 529; and *Bullarium franciscanum* I: 476.

43. "Anno Domini MCCXV Innocentius papa tertius apud Lateranum sollemne concilium celebravit. Hic etiam officium ecclesiasticum in melius correxit et ordinavit et de suo addidit et de alieno dempsit; nec adhuc est bene ordinatum secundum appetitum multorum et etiam secundum rei veritatem, quia multa sunt superflua, quae magnis tedium quam devotionem faciunt tam audientibus quam dicentibus illud [...] Sunt adhuc multa, in ecclesiastico officio, quae possent mutari in melius, et dignum esset, quia plena sunt ruditatibus, quamvis non cognoscantur ab omnibus." *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam*, edited by Giuseppe

In the early 1240s their General, Haymo of Faversham (d.1244), composed an ordinal which provided the basis for a new issue of service books. But, as van Dijk and Walker make clear, Haymo's work did not at once do away with the old, *Regula* editions. The friars copied them just the same, making corrections more or less accurately according to their knowledge. Only as the years went by did the revised books slowly replace the old ones.⁴⁴ And in Poor Clare houses the adoption of Haymonian books is unlikely to have advanced very far, if at all, before the requirement was itself quashed. In 1250, less than three years after promulgating *Cum omnis vera religio*, the Rule that was to be binding on all Franciscan women, Innocent IV found himself obliged to declare its observance optional: "See to it," Innocent IV wrote to the Cardinal of Ostia, "that the old formula which they accepted at the creation of their Order be observed by them inviolably if an advantage to their souls may be better gained by it."⁴⁵

The new Rule was not accepted by all houses and consequently Innocent's attempt at unifying the Order of St

Scalia (Bari: Gius, Laterza & Figli, 1966), 43 lines 1-7 & 13-15; translation by Joseph L. Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi, and John Robert Kane, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 40 (Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1986), 4-5.

44. van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 11.

45. "sed antiquam ab eis, quam in institutione sui Ordinis susceperunt, si per eam melius suarum procuratur utilitas animarum facias inviolabiliter observari." *Inter personas alias* (6 June 1250), in *Bullarium franciscanum supplementum*, 22-24. Translated by Paige McDonald in Mueller, "Agnes and Juridical Implications," 282-83.

Damian through a single Rule was effectively thwarted. As Grundmann's research revealed, only a few of the German women's houses placed under the Order after 1250 are known to have committed themselves to the new Rule. And not a single house in Italy, France, and Spain is known to have accepted the new rule; indeed, many had their right to follow the old Ugolinian rule confirmed in writing.⁴⁶ It may be that the same held true of houses in the Polish-Czech province. We do not know. What is clear, however, is that one provision in particular of the 1247 Rule clearly recommended itself to aristocratic double monasteries and especially to those established outside major population centres:

In accordance with the visitor's determination, the chaplain and laybrothers may pledge obedience to the abbess promising stability of place...⁴⁷

No. 3 - *Solet annuere* (9 August 1253)⁴⁸

It is ironic that the Rule, or more correctly, 'Form of Life,' most closely modelled on the 1223 Rule of St

46. Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, 123.

47. "Cappellanus et conversi secundum dispositionem visitatoris promittant obedientiam abbatissae, voventes loci stabilitatem..." *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 534. Regis Armstrong (*Clare Documents*, 127 n. [a]) notes that this provision follows a prescription enacted by the Cistercians who permitted the chaplain and conversi to profess obedience to the abbess of the monastery entrusted to their care. See the Conclusion, page 240.

48. *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 671-79. *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 570-77. The Rule was approved by the Cardinal Protector, Rainaldo dei Conti di Segni on 16 September 1252; it received papal approval in the bull dated 9 August 1253, two days before Clare died.

Francis,⁴⁹ the one written by and approved specifically for the Order's foundress, should have been the Rule which garnered the fewest adherents.⁵⁰ Clare's Rule confirmed by Pope Innocent IV shortly before her death, was approved only for San Damiano, Florence (Santa Maria di Monticelli), Prague (Holy Saviour), and possibly Wroclaw;⁵¹ to these can be added three houses which freely adopted the Damianite pauperistic *forma vitae*: Reims (St Elizabeth), Siena (St Petronilla) and San Severino (Holy Saviour).⁵² Alone of the Order's five Rules, that of Clare specifically prohibits singing the liturgy:

Let the sisters who can read celebrate the Divine Office according to the custom of the Friars Minor. For this [reason] they may have breviaries, reading them without singing. Those who, for some reasonable cause, are at

49. *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 394-97.

50. To quote Mario Sensi's rhetorical question, 'Clare is an Ideal. But how many sisters practised this ideal?' See his contribution to the Round Table discussion in *Sainte Claire d'Assise et sa Postérité: Actes du colloque international organisé à l'occasion du VIIIe Centenaire de la naissance de Sainte Claire*; UNESCO (29 septembre-1er octobre 1994), compiled by Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon, Dominique Dinot, Jacqueline Gréal, and Damien Vorreux (Nantes: Association Claire Aujourd'hui, 1995), 190.

51. Grundmann confidently asserts that "the houses of S. Agnes in Prague and Breslau certainly kept this Rule," but no sources are cited. See *Religious Movements*, 340 n. 231. Section IV of Agnes's *Legenda* mentions her receiving the Rule from Clare and subsequently seeking confirmation of it from Pope Alexander IV: "[Clara] studiose in sancto proposito confortavit, regulamque suam per bone memorie Innocencium quartum confirmatam veluti pignus hereditarie successionis eidem transmisit. Quam agna Christi devote suscipiens denuo per felicis recordacionis dominum Alexandrum quartum pro se & sororibus sui monasterii perpetuis temporibus obtinuit confirmari." *Legenda sanctae Agnetis, Vita illustrissime virginis sororis agnetis ordinis sancte clare de praga*, ff.173v-174, 13 February 2003. Unfortunately the papal bull is no longer extant.

52. Roussey OSC, *Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses*, I, 115-18.

times unable to recite their hours by reading them, may, like the other sisters, say the *Our Father's*. Let those who do not know how to read say twenty-four *Our Father's* for Matins; [etc.]. For the deceased, let them also say seven *Our Father's* with the *Requiem aeternam* at Vespers; twelve for Matins, whereas the sisters who can read are obliged to recite the *Office of the Dead*. When a sister of our monastery shall have departed this life, however, let them say fifty *Our Father's*.⁵³

Two clauses are new: permission to use breviaries, and the prohibition against singing. Breviaries, both noted and portos [*breviaria portotalia*], had been in use by the friars since the 1220s. The former are compendia or reference choir books;⁵⁴ the latter are without music and are designed for the *officium in itinere*.⁵⁵ The Franciscan Rule of 1223 obliged friars to say the Office always and everywhere because they now had both types of breviaries, *Regula* choir books and portos. Since personal use of costly books would have constituted a contradiction of the Order's ideal, an exemption from poverty was obtained to allow friars to

53. "Sorores litteratae faciant divinum Officium secundum consuetudinem fratrum Minorum, ex quo potuerint habere breviaria, legendo sine cantu. Et quae occasione rationabili non possunt aliquando legendo dicere horas suas, liceat eis sicut aliae sorores dicere *Pater noster*. Quae vero litteras nesciunt, dicant viginti-quatuor *Pater noster* pro matutino [etc.]; pro defunctis dicant etiam in vesperis septem *Pater noster* et *Requiem aeternam*, pro matutino duodecim. Sorores litteratae teneantur dicere Officium Mortuorum. Quando vero soror monasterii vestri migraverit, dicant quinquaginta *Pater noster*." *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 572 §3. Translation taken from Armstrong, *Clare Documents*, 67-68.

54. The Breviary of St Clare (a misnomer as it has no connection with the person of Clare) is such a compendium: a composite noted missal & breviary. See van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 135-44.

55. Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office. A Guide to their Organisation and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 122-23 (#633).

possess porto breviaries.⁵⁶ It is by no means apparent, however, what sort of breviary Clare had in mind for those sisters who could read. Her steadfast opposition to ownership of property, personal and communal, would seem to rule out expensive portos; while her opposition to singing the Office argues against breviaries with music.

It may be, though, that the injunction '*legendo sine cantu*' was inserted for the very reason that the Franciscan breviaries supplied to the Clarisses were the noted, choir-book type which presented musically literate sisters with a temptation to sing the notated texts.⁵⁷ The impetus for Clare's ban on singing the Office probably derives from the same concern which finds expression in St Francis's admonition to clerics, viz. that when reciting the office they should be concerned not with vocal tunefulness but

56. See van Dijk and Walker's useful diagram plan which shows the date and succession of all Franciscan books, 1227-c.1275, and their explanation of the Rule with respect to breviaries. *Origins*, 322, and 208-211.

57. Niezgoda interprets the clause differently: "...what is meant here are the short Office breviaries [portos] from which the sisters could communally pray the Divine Office. For singing, on the other hand, complete service books with music were necessary. The Poor Ladies of San Damiano would not have permitted themselves such books; moreover, saying the Office in this straightforward way was obviously to have been an expression of the poverty on which St Francis and St Clare built their communities [chodzi tu o skróty (*breviaria*) *oficjum*, z których siostry mogłyby wspólnie odmawiać *Oficjum* Boże. Do śpiewu natomiast konieczne były księgi pełne, z nutami. Na takie księgi ubogi klasztor św. Damiana nie mógł sobie pozwolić, zresztą, ów prosty sposób odmawiania *Oficjum* miał być najwidoczniej wyrazem ubóstwa, na którym św. Franciszek i św. Klara budowali swoje wspólnoty]." See "Reguła. Bulla Papieża Innocentego IV," in *Wczesne źródła franciszkańskie*, vol. 2, compiled and edited by Salezy Kafel, translated by Cecylia T. Niezgoda, *Collectanea Theologica* (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1981), 311 n.7.

rather with being mentally attuned in the presence of God.⁵⁸ Noteworthy, too, is the absence of the clause which appears in all the other Rules: that illiterate sisters should be taught to read.

On 31 December 1266 Pope Clement IV reconfirmed the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty for the sisters of St Damiano and re-issued *Solet annuere*, the bull approving Clare's Rule of 1253. Unfortunately, the bull only gives the incipit of the Rule so it is open to speculation whether the proscription *legendo sine cantu* was maintained.⁵⁹

No. 4 - *Quaelibet inspirata Divino flamine*

(2 February 1259)⁶⁰

The Rule of Isabella de Valois (1225-1270), daughter of King Louis VIII and Blanche of Castille, was intended only for her monastery at Longchamp, outside Paris. In time, however, it came to be accepted by a number of other French houses, by two houses in Italy, and by all English houses.⁶¹

58. "quod clerici dicant officium cum devotione coram Deo non attendentes melodiam vocis, sed consonantiam mentis," "Opuscula. Epistola ad capitulum generale," in *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi*, edited by Heinrich Boehmer (Tübingen & Leipzig: J C B Mohr, 1904), 61.

59. d'Angers, "Le chant liturgique," 306.

60. *Bullarium franciscanum*, III: 64-69 (b) for the 1259 version of Isabella's *Regula sororum Ordinis humilium ancillarum Beatissimae Mariae Virginis*; and II: 477-486 for the 1263 revision.

61. Longchamp was the mother-house of the English branch of the Order. See A. F. Claudine Bourdillon, *The Order of Minoreesses in England* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1926), 17; and Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 213.

In a slightly revised form Isabella's *Regula sororum Ordinis humilium ancillarum Beatissimae Mariae Virginis* was reconfirmed by the Pope Urban IV in July 1263. The paragraph concerning the office remained unchanged:

Regarding the Divine Office offered to the praise and glory of God both during the day and at night, the following is to be observed: those who can read and sing are to solemnly celebrate the Office according to the custom of the Friars Minor in a dignified and sober way. The others say twenty-four paternosters [etc.] The Office of the Blessed Virgin is observed in the same way by everyone; and every day each sister prays for the dead. If the abbess feels there are some sisters of considerable natural aptitude, she should have them taught, assigning them a capable and honest teacher by whom they should be instructed in singing and in the Divine Office.⁶²

In respect of the Office, Isabella's Rule follows almost word for word the Constitution of Hugolino. Drawn up by her brother's confessor, Brother Mansuet, the Isabellan Rule does not reflect any influence of Clare's Rule which Innocent IV had approved a mere six years earlier. This clearly demonstrates, so Octave d'Angers believes, that for Innocent IV the Rule approved in *Solet annuere* was only ever intended to apply to Clare's monastery at San Damiano.

Three points in Isabella's Rule should be noted. First, the instruction to abbesses has been broadened: sisters of

62. "Circa divinum Officium, tam in die quam in nocte, ad laudem Dei et gloriam celebrandum, observantia talis fiat, ut Sorores quae legere scient et canere, Officium secundum consuetudinem fratrum minorum, cum gravitate tamen et modestia celebrent reverenter. Aliae vero dicant viginti quatuor Pater noster [etc.] Hic idem tamen modus per omnia in Officio Beatissimae Virginis Mariae observetur; et orent etiam singulae diebus singulis pro Defunctis. Si vero Sorores aliquae aptae et capacis ingenii fuerint, Abbatissa, si sibi videbitur, eas instrui faciat, magistram eis deputans idoneam et honestam, per quam illae in cantu et in divinis officiis instruantur." *Bullarium Franciscanum*, III: 65 n. (b).

requisite ability are to be taught not only to read but also to sing the Divine Office.⁶³ Secondly, it required Franciscan confessors to be in continuous residence in the houses.⁶⁴ Thirdly, it emphasised that the daily obligation of saying the Office of the Dead is incumbent on all sisters. Clarist royal foundations, Longchamp a case in point, were often mausoleums to the founding dynasty, and hence suffrages, i.e. obsequies and commemorations, held special significance in these houses.⁶⁵ Moreover, as a consequence of the Franciscans' enthusiastic endorsement and active propagation of the newly confirmed doctrine of Purgatory, services for the dead were increasingly in demand.⁶⁶

No. 5 - Beata Clara (18 October 1263)⁶⁷

The Rule of Urban IV sought to regulate the Poor Clares' way of life in relation to the ups and downs of our poor human lot; it seemed to be an intelligent compromise with Clare's 'holy folly' and no doubt this is what

63. Anne Bagnall discusses this Rule and an English translation of it in her dissertation "Musical Practices in Medieval English Nunneries," Ph.D. diss. (New York, NY: Columbia University, 1975), 38-47.

64. See Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, 342 n.249.

65. Kathleen Louise Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

66. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, Translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 275-76. On the "ever more pressing demand for masses for the dead," see Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 260.

67. *Bullarium franciscanum*, II: 509-21. Revised by Cardinal Cajetan in 1264. See *Bullarium franciscanum*, III: 82.

accounts for its success and for its almost universal adoption.⁶⁸

Urban's more accommodating *forma vitae* for the Poor Clares, as Marie-Colette Roussey states, did become the most widely observed of the Order's Rules; it co-existed nonetheless with Isabella's and Clare's Rules. And although Urban's successfully supplanted the 1247 and 1218-19 Rules in many houses, by no means did all Clarist monasteries comply with the pontiff's will.⁶⁹ This, the Order's fifth Rule, follows Innocent IV's in granting the Poor Clares the right to hold property in common, and have it administered by a proctor appointed by the monastery. In theory, Urbanist houses need not have been any poorer than Benedictine nunneries since they were not bound to a form of poverty any more stringent than that entailed in the ordinary monastic three-fold vow.

Whereas Innocent's 1247 Rule vested legal obligation for the pastoral care and visitation of the sisters with the Friars Minor, in Urban's Rule the *cura monialium* reverted to the Cardinal Protector, as in the Hugoline Rule. The Protector would probably prefer Franciscans in appointing

68. "La Règle d'Urbain IV essayait donc d'aménager la vie des clarisses à la mesure de nos pauvres contingences humaines; elle apparut un peu comme un sage compromis face à la 'sainte folie' de Claire et c'est sans doute ce qui explique son succès et son adoption à peu près générale." Roussey OSC, *Regard sur l'histoire des Clarisses*, I, 142.

69. Grundmann points out that as late as 1297 the new cardinal protector had to commission the minister general and provincials of the Friars Minor to introduce Urban IV's 1263 Rule wherever it was not yet being followed. *Religious Movements*, 134-35.

chaplains to the sisters, but the Rule did not oblige him to do so. In essence though, Urban's differed little from the Rules of Hugolino and Innocent, and where it did, the changes mostly served to ameliorate the severity of earlier Rules.⁷⁰

The passage on the Office is almost identical with what Urban had approved for Isabella less than five years before:

[§6] Regarding the Divine Office offered in homage to the Lord both during the day and at night, it should be observed as follows, that those with the ability to read and sing have to celebrate the Divine Office according to the custom of the Friars Minor in a dignified and sober way. Those who cannot read should say twenty-four paternosters [etc.] This manner is to be observed by everyone in the Office of the Blessed Virgin. At Vespers the sisters who cannot read say seven paternosters for the dead with the *Requiem aeternam*, and twelve at Matins, at which time the literate sisters pray the Office of the Dead. Those who for some reasonable cause are occasionally unable to read and pray the Hours may say paternosters like the sisters who cannot read.

[§8] If the abbess feels there are some young or mature-age sisters who show natural aptitude, she should have them taught, assigning them a discerning and capable teacher by whom they should be instructed both in singing and in the Divine Office.⁷¹

As in Isabella's Rule so in Urban's, the sisters are to be

70. For example, the new Rule permitted the abbess to waive the obligation of silence at certain times.

71. "§6. De divino officio, tam in die quam in nocte, Domino persolvendo, taliter observetur, quod hae, quae legere et canere noverint, secundum consuetudinem ordinis fratrum minorum, cum gravitate tamen et modestia, divinum officium habeant celebrare. Illitteratae vero dicant vigintiquatuor *Pater noster* [etc.] Qui modus in Officio B. Virginis per omnia observetur. Pro Defunctis decant in Vesperis septem *Pater noster* cum *Requiem aeternam*, pro Matutino duodecim, tempore quo sorores litteratae faciunt Officium Mortuorum. Quae vero occasione rationabili non possent aliquando legendo dicere Horas suas, liceat eis sicut illitteratis dicere *Pater noster*....§8. Si aliquae iuveniles vel grandiores capacis ingenii fuerint, eas instrui faciat, si sibi videbitur, Abbatissa, Magistram eis deputans idoneam et discretam, per quam, tam in cantu quam in divinis officiis instruantur." *Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 712 & 713; and *Bullarium franciscanum*, II: 509.

taught both to read and to sing the Office.

DOUBLE MONASTERIES

What the Rules say about how the sisters are to observe the Canonical Hours raises a host of questions not least of which is the nature and extent of interaction during services between the male and female religious within the monastery. Obviously, no picture of the musico-liturgical life of a Clarist monastery would be complete unless an attempt were made to sketch in the role of the menfolk, the chaplain-friars and the lay brothers. Although that matter is not treated in any specific section of the Rules, information on their role can be gleaned nonetheless from brief, sometimes oblique, references. This is the topic that Octave d'Angers addressed in the conclusion of his monograph-length study of Franciscan liturgical chant. After providing a detailed exegesis of all references to *capellanus* and *conversi*, and taking cognisance of those passages where directives to the sisters are predicated on there being men present,⁷² d'Angers drew the following conclusions:

The fact that clearly emerges is the presence in all the nuns' churches of clergy, however many, who were charged with ensuring the observance of the Canonical Hours there, or at the very least, with presiding at them. [...] Moreover, these Rules presuppose that the sisters always took an active part in this celebration, by singing.⁷³

72. For example, the grille separating the nuns' choir from the rest of the church was to be kept firmly shut except during celebration of the Office and Mass.

73. "On est donc autorisé à admettre, dans chaque église de Moniales, l'existence d'un clergé plus ou moins nombreux, chargé

And with reference to Urban's Rule in particular:

Everything leads one to believe that these men comprised the monastery's chaplaincy or chantry. The conversi themselves, according to this Rule at least, were required at the main Hours no doubt so as to take part in singing the chant and ensuring its dignity. They had a dispensation from the additional Little Offices to afford them the necessary time each day to gather alms which was the main reason for their residing in the monastery, and which bound them in special service to the abbess.⁷⁴

The phenomenon of male and female Franciscan communities abiding at the same monastery was not unknown to Salimbene, as can be seen in his story about the Lady Cecilia,

abbess of the convent at Chiavari, a convent which Cardinal William, a relative of Pope Innocent [IV], had had built at his own expense near Lavagna, his native country.⁷⁵ Chiavari was a very rich establishment, occupied by both Ladies of St Clare and the Friars Minor.... While the Visitor was still at the convent, though in that section set aside for the friars where he was taking his dinner, suddenly the abbess rose up angrily against the new guest... Then the young woman went directly to the Visitor in the brothers' section⁷⁶

d'y assurer la célébration des offices canoniques, ou tout au moins de les présider. [...] Or ces Règles supposent par ailleurs que les Sœurs prennent toujours, en chantant, une part active à cette célébration." d'Angers, "Le chant liturgique," 302-03.

74. "Tout porte à croire que ce personnel masculin formait la Chapellenie ou Chantrerie du Monastère. Les Convers, eux-même, du moins d'après cette Règle, étaient tenus au grand office, sans doute pour participer au chant et en assurer la dignité. On les dispensait des offices surrogatoires, pour leur laisser le temps nécessaire à la quête quotidienne, qui motivait surtout leur présence à l'hôtellerie, et les attachait au service particulier de l'Abbesse." d'Angers, "Le chant liturgique," 300-01. The only study of chantries in a Clarist context focuses on the records of a 15th-century house in France. See Marie Richards, "Chapels and Chantries in Late Medieval and Early Modern Besançon: the Record Book of Jean Ferreux, Chaplain," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 121-32.

75. The putative foundation date for St Eustache's Clarist monastery in Chiavari is given in Marie-Colette Roussey's inventory as 1254? See "Atlas des monastères de clarisses," 463.

76. "Domina Cecilia...fuit abbatissa in monasterio

The question arises as to whether some Clarist houses might be considered double monasteries? Coined by Hilpisch in the early 1920, the term 'double monastery' has been widely criticised by a number of scholars, especially when it is used to refer to nothing more than the common occurrence of a handful of chaplain-confessors residing at a women's monastery for the purpose of providing pastoral care to the sisters. And indeed, if that is all the term means then just about all women's houses could be considered 'double monasteries'.⁷⁷ Properly understood,

The double monastery entails a community of men and a community of women living in the same place, following the same Rule and subject to one and the same authority, from which it follows virtually automatically that both communities share one and the same patrimony.⁷⁸

Certain Clarist houses were more likely than others to function as *de facto* double monasteries: the handful which followed Clare's Rule of 1253, and the handful of royal

Claverensi, quod suis expensis dominus Guilielmus cardinalis, nepos pape Innocentii, fecit edificari prope Lavaniam terram suam, et est ditissimum monasterium, in quo et fratres Minores et sorores inhabitant... Et ecce subito, dum visitator comederet in domo fratrum qui ibi habitant, abbatissa irato animo et rugosa fronte contra novam hospitam insurrexit... Venit igitur soror expulsa et stetit coram visitatorem qui in domo fratrum..." Baird, Baglivi, and Kane, *Chronicle of Salimbene*, 39; and Scalia, *Cronica*, 88 lines 8-11 & 21-23, 89 lines 1-2.

77. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession*, 7.

78. "Das Doppelkloster umfaßt eine Gemeinschaft von Männern und eine von Frauen, die am selben Ort leben, dieselbe Regel befolgen und derselben Autorität unterstehen; daraus folgt nahezu automatisch, daß die beiden Gemeinschaften auch ein und dasselbe Patrimonium innehaben." Michel Parisse, "Doppelkloster," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, edited by Robert Auty (Munich & Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1986), 3: 1257.

foundations.⁷⁹ The former were totally dependent for their daily sustenance on the alms gathering of the friars hence the beggar-friars needed to be *in situ*, an integral part of the women's house. The royal foundations were often mausoleum monasteries, the chosen last resting place of the aristocratic patron and members of his dynastic line.⁸⁰ Offering suffrages for the repose of these souls was one of the monasteries' prime duties,⁸¹ and it fell to the chantry to discharge this responsibility.⁸² These services were all the more in demand as a consequence of the Franciscans' enthusiastic endorsement and active propagation of the newly confirmed doctrine of Purgatory.⁸³ As the mausoleum grew, so too, did the size of the chantry.

79. The architectural historian, Marian Kutzner, lists as Poor Clare double monasteries, Prague, Znojmo, Buda, Königsfelden, Gniezno, Zawichost and (in its original form) Wrocław. "Klaryski, SIII. Sztuka," in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, edited by Antoni Bednarek, et al. (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2002), 9: 44. The two houses not in the Polish-Czech province, Buda and Königsfelden, were fourteenth-century foundations.

80. See the foregoing discussion of the Isabellian Rule.

81. "Aristocratic women, moreover, had long been the chief remembrancers of ancestral dead, however that role might be devalourised by male ecclesiastical writers." See John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solumnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, edited by Anne Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 1997), 328.

82. Jerzy Dowiat, "Normy postępowania i wzory osobowe," in *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X-XII w*, edited by Jerzy Dowiat (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985), 318.

83. St Thomas Aquinas held that the three most effective suffrages are alms, prayer and the Mass. See Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 275-76.

What follows is a consideration of the royal foundations in the Polish-Czech province. All of them were mausoleum monasteries; all of them were daughter-houses (direct or at one remove) of St Francis's, Prague, and were strongly influenced by its founder, princess Agnes of Prague (1211-1282).⁸⁴ Her monastery most assuredly followed the Rule of St Clare - for a period, at least.

ARISTOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS

PRAGUE

As the daughters of King Přemysl Otakar I of Bohemia and Queen Constantia [née Árpád], it was a given that Agnes's marriage and that of her elder sister, Anna, would be matters determined by dynastic considerations. Both Přemyslid princesses, in fact, were betrothed as children to the sons of Duke Henryk I Brodaty of Silesia and Jadwiga (canonised 1267). In preparation for that union with the Silesian branch of the House of Piast, Agnes and Anna's upbringing was entrusted to Jadwiga's daughter, Gertruda, who was abbess of the recently established (1202) Cistercian monastery in Trzebnica, Silesia. Anna married Henryk II Pobożny and became Duchess of Silesia; Agnes's marriage never eventuated because Bolesław, her betrothed, died unexpectedly in 1217.

84. The most recent general coverage of this topic is found in Jaroslav Némec, "Le origine del francescanesimo in Boemia e Moravia," *Miscellanea Francescana* 89 (1989): 237-69; and Cecylia Niezgoda, "Św. Agnieszka Czeska (1211-1282). Zarys życia, działalności i duchowości," in *W nurcie franciszkańskim*, vol. 3, edited by Joachim R. Bar, J. St. Synowiec, and B. J. Urban (Kraków: Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych, 1993), 77-89.

For the next decade and a half Agnes found herself the subject of marriage negotiations, none of which came to fruition. In preparation for the proposed union with the Hohenstaufs (to Heinrich, son of Emperor Friedrich II) she spent two years (1217-1219) in the Norbertine monastery in Doksany broadening her moral and general education.⁸⁵ When that proposal fell through she was sent off to the court of Leopold of Austria and spent the next five years in Vienna. Two years later, after protracted negotiations over a suitable dowry, the proposal from King Henry III of England was withdrawn. In 1231, Agnes rebuffed (for the second time) the proposal of the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II. Her will was respected and a diplomatic incident narrowly avoided only thanks to the timely intervention of Pope Gregory IX and her brother, Václav I.

This latter incident attracted the attention of Clare of Assisi and initiated their exchange of letters over the period 1234-1253:

Hearing the account, one that brings you the highest honor, of your holy conversion and manner of life, an account that has been reputably disseminated not only to me but to nearly every region of the world, I rejoice and exult exceedingly in the Lord [...] because you more than others could have enjoyed public ostentation, honors, and worldly status having had the opportunity to become, with eminent glory, legitimately married to the 'illustrious Emperor', as would befit your and his preëminence.⁸⁶

85. The convent was founded by Agnes's grandmother, Queen Gertrude in 1143 for the purpose of educating aristocratic young women.

86. "Vestrae sanctae conversationis et vitae honestissimam famam audiens, que non solum mihi, sed fere in toto est orbe terrarum, egregie divulgata, gaudeo plurimum in Domino et exulto

Agnes's contact with Franciscans occurred some years before when the Friars Minor settled in Prague, possibly as early as 1225.⁸⁷ The friars' church, St Jacob's, was started in 1225 during the reign of Přemysl Otakar I and completed in 1232 under his successor, Václav I. But it was her cousin, St Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, a Franciscan Tertiary renowned for her charitable work and for her hospital in Marburg, whose saintly life Agnes sought to emulate.⁸⁸

Some time after her cousin Elizabeth's death (17 November 1231) and before her formal profession as a Poor Clare (1234), Agnes founded a hospital and a monastery adjoining it for the Poor Sisters in the area of Prague that

[...] quod, cum perfuri potuissetis prae ceteris pompis et honoribus et saeculi dignitate cum gloria excellenti valentes inclito Caesari legitime desponsari, sicut vestrae ac eius excellentiae decuisset..." Latin/English in Mueller, *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 28/29. Mueller believes this first letter was probably written after Agnes's profession, 11 June 1234.

87. As John Freed points out, one of the difficulties in establishing precisely when Franciscans took up residence in a place is the fact that they often regarded taking charge of a church or accommodation as somewhat against their vow of poverty and consequently avoided recording the fact. See "Dzieje saskiej prowincji franciszkanów w XIII w," in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, edited and compiled by Teresa Skarbek, *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, I/1 (Kraków: Prowincjałat Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych Prowincji św. Antoniego i bł. Jakuba Strepy, 1983), 212.

88. Sources for this section are Helena Soukupová-Benáková, "Přemyslovské mauzoleum v klášteře blahoslavené Anežky na Františku," *Umění* 24, no. 3 (1976): 193-97; and Barbara Sasse, "Das Doppelkloster der Přemyslidenprinzessin Agnes in Prag," in *Agnes von Böhmen 1211-1281: Königstochter, Äbtissin, Heilige*, Jaroslav Polc, Barbara Sasse, and Aleš Zelenka, *Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der Böhmisches Länder*, 6 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1989), 219-42.

has become known as "Na Františku".⁸⁹ Management of the hospital was entrusted to a lay brotherhood, the Crosiers of the Red Star.⁹⁰ In addition to looking after Prague's poor and indigent, Agnes's well endowed hospital - her mother and younger brother were its most generous patrons⁹¹ - also managed the finances of her Clarist monastery.⁹² This *modus operandi* enabled women's monasteries to observe the vow of personal poverty and yet be well provisioned and supplied with the necessities of daily life. But, as Agnes must have realised, it fell short of Clare's eschatological vision of Franciscan pauperism, one of absolute commitment to communal as well as personal poverty. Remedying this 'shortcoming'

89. By the last quarter of the thirteenth century the 'Na Františku' complex comprised the chapels of St Barbara and Mary Magdalen, St Francis's church, the Friars' and the Poor Clares' monasteries, Agnes's quarters, and the mausoleum church of the Přemyslid dynasty, St Salvator (Christ the Saviour) which was modelled after Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle. See Helena Soukupová's detailed entry in *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, edited by Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer, and Dušan Foltýn (Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, 1998), 508-15. On the stylistic connection with Sainte-Chapelle, see Kutzner, "Kiaryski, SIII. Sztuka," 9: 45.

90. The red star was added to their eschutcheon in 1252. See Jan Nepomuk Jiriste, "757 Years of the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star," <www.smom-za.org/bgt/redstar.htm>, 28 May 2002. The brotherhood was recognised by Pope Gregory IX in 1237 as an order of canon-knights under the rule of St Augustine.

91. For her brother's donation of 2 October 1234, see *Cum deceat principalem* in *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 157-58. For her mother's of 12 February 1235, see *Noverit tam praesens*, letter incorporated within *Filius summi regis* (18 May 1235) in *Bullarium Franciscanum* I: 159. English translation in Mueller, *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 241 nn. 24 & 28.

92. *Omnipotens Deus*, in *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, edited by Gustav Friedrich and Zdenek Kristen, et al. (Prague: Sumptibus Comitum Regni Bohemiae, 1907), III: 195-98. Also Sasse, "Das Doppelkloster," 220.

was the task to which Agnes addressed herself after her profession. That ceremony, a state occasion befitting a princess, took place on Pentecost Sunday, 11 June 1234:

[Agnes] after having renounced all worldly pomp, together with seven high-born virgins from her own realm, in the presence of seven bishops, the king, her brother, and the queen, with many princes and barons and an innumerable number of both sexes from different nations, like an innocent dove, she escaped from the flood of the sinful world into the ark of this saintly Order.⁹³

Agnes and her seven Czech novices joined the five Clarist nuns who had arrived in November of the previous year from Saint Michael's monastery, Trent⁹⁴ - sent by Pope Gregory IX at Agnes's request.⁹⁵ Within a year of her profession Agnes was confirmed as abbess of her own house by Pope Gregory IX.⁹⁶

During the next four years or so Agnes conducted a vigorous correspondence with the Holy See that saw no less than sixteen papal bulls in reply.⁹⁷ Her goal was to live

93. Cecylian Niezgoda, trans., "Najstarsza 'Legenda' o św. Agnieszka z Pragi," in *W nurcie franciszkańskim*, vol. 3, edited by Joachim R. Bar, J. St. Synowiec, and B. J. Urban (Kraków: Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych, 1993), 96.

94. Foundation date according to Roussey's inventory is before 1228; see "Atlas des monastères de clarisses," 490.

95. Joan Mueller suggests that sisters from Trent were requested because, coming from the Austrian Tyrol, they would have spoken German and that language was more widely understood in Prague than were Italian dialects. See Mueller, *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 9

96. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, I: 136 n.139

97. Joan Mueller has charted the course of Agnes's correspondence with the Holy See in recent publications: "Agnes and Juridical Implications," *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 207-32; and "Poverty Legislation and Mutual Relations in

according to the Rule of St Francis. To that end she strove to achieve for her Prague monastery the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty which had been granted to Clare and community at San Damiano, and the Damianite *forma vitae* that revolved around it. Were this privilege to be granted, Agnes's monastery would become dependent for its day-to-day sustenance not on provisions shared with the hospital but exclusively on alms and the proceeds of the friars' begging. As a necessary first step towards realising this goal Agnes sought to divest her monastery of its hospital.

For his part, Gregory IX's overriding concern was to ensure the unification of the women's monastic movement.⁹⁸ He could not countenance the prospect of the sister of the King of Bohemia living destitute under the auspices of the Church, and consequently he ruled:

We have decided that the Hospital of St Francis situated next to your monastery, which you, daughter and abbess, built on land of the Roman church, is to be conceded to that monastery with its appurtenances forever. Also, we

the Early Franciscan Movement," *Collectanea Franciscana* 71 (2001): 409-19.

98. Gregory IX's bull of 21 February 1241 speaks of "women roaming through the cities and the dioceses [who] are deceitful, lying that they are of the Order of S. Damian; in order to extort people's good faith they go barefoot, wearing the habit and the belt of the nuns of S. Damian, for which they are called *dis-calceatae*, or *cordigerae*, or even *minorites*." (*Bullarium Franciscanum*, I: 290). This "great diaspora, starting in the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, involving groups of women who did not succeed in entering into the new monasteries, or who did not want to," is discussed by Luigi Pellegrini in "Female Religious Experience," 119-20. The phenomenon is also discussed by Hubert Lipiński with reference to Trnava in the late 1230s in his paper "Kościół a franciszkanizm żeński," in *Święta Klara z Asyżu w 800-lecie urodzin*, edited by Stanisław Celestyn Napiórkowski and Wiesław Koc, Biblioteka Instytutu Franciszkańskiego, 12 (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1995), 41.

order that the same hospital with all its goods cannot be separated from the monastery by any means or plan. Moreover, let the income of its possessions fall to the use of yourselves and those who succeed you, always recognizing the authority of the apostolic see.⁹⁹

But, what Gregory IX decreed was to obtain 'forever', in fact lasted for less than two years. When King Václav I wrote to the pontiff championing his sister's cause,¹⁰⁰ Gregory had to weigh up both the political as well as the juridical ramifications of Agnes's petitions. In the circumstances he had little choice but to accede to Václav's request. First, the hospital was put under the authority of the Holy See then transferred to care of the Dominican Order.¹⁰¹ Then the bull of 25 July 1235 which had confirmed donations to the monastery was re-issued, duly emended so as to omit all references to possessions and endowments, and citing Clare's San Damiano as the precedent for Agnes's foundation.¹⁰² On 15 April 1238 Gregory IX granted Agnes the much-sought-after Privilege of Seraphic Poverty:

99. "Hospitale Sancti Francisci, juxta Monasterium vestrum situm, quod tu filia Abbatissa in fundo Romanae Ecclesiae construxisti, cum pertinentiis suis eidem Monasterio perpetuo duximus concedendum: nihilominus statuentes, ut idem Hospitale cum omnibus bonis suis a Monasterio ipso nullo modo, vel ingenio valeat separari; sed proventus possessionum illius usibus vestris, et earum, quae successerint vobis, cedant; auctoritate Sedis Apostolicae semper salva." (18 May 1235). *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 156; translation from Mueller, *Clare's Letters to Agnes. Texts and Sources*, 242 n.32.

100. *Primum quidem excellentissie* (5 February 1237), see Mueller, "Agnes and Juridical Implications," 273-74.

101. *Omnipotens Deus* (14 April 1237), and *Vota devotorum Ecclesiae* (22 April 1238), *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 237-38.

102. *Prudentibus virginibus* (25 July 1235), emended and reissued on 14 April 1237.

bound by your prayers and tears, we grant with the authority of the present document that you cannot be forced to receive unwillingly any possessions in the future. We do so having received your free resignation of the Hospital of Saint Francis of the Diocese of Prague that was conceded with all its legal rights and appurtenances to you, and through you to your monastery by the apostolic see.¹⁰³

What the pontiff would not agree to was Agnes's repeated requests to live according to the Rule of St Francis.

"Gregory IX did not," to quote Peter Demetz, "even bother to hide his iron fist in a glove of velvet rhetoric: he admonished Anežka to distinguish between zeal and expert knowledge and told her in no uncertain terms to follow in God's grace the old rule."¹⁰⁴

Sources for the decade of the 1240s are sparse. One obvious implication, however, of Agnes's aforementioned successes would have been the ever greater dependence of Agnes's community on the good will of the friars at St Jacob's. The uncertain state of relations between the two Orders of St Francis can be inferred from Agnes's decision, some time before 1251, to take a "quite extraordinary step," as Barbara Sasse puts it.¹⁰⁵ She had a Franciscan convent

103. "Hinc est, quod Hospitalis Sancti Francisci Pragensis Diocesis, cum juribus, et pertinentiis suis, olim vobis, et per vos Monasterio vestro ab Apostolica Sede concessi, vestra libera resignatione recepta [], devicti precibus vestris, et lacrymis praesentium auctoritate concedimus, ut invite cogi ad recipiendum de cetero possessiones aliquas non possitis." *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 215-16; translation by Paige McDonald (Catholic University of America)

104. Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold. The History of a City* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1997), 20. In 1243 Agnes petitioned Innocent IV over the same matter and was again rebuffed.

erected next to her own monastery, despite the fact that the friary of St Jacob's founded by her brother was but a short walk away.¹⁰⁶ In bypassing St Jacob's and incorporating a new Minorite convent within the 'Na Františku' complex,¹⁰⁷ Agnes seems to have been intent on institutionalising a more stable arrangement between the Prague Poor Clares and the Friars Minor. Her solution took the form of a double monastery. Given the sisters' almost total dependence on the friars, a concomitant of the Privilege of Poverty which they had been granted in 1238, what may have been an 'überraschenden Schritt' on Agnes's part was probably quite an astute move. Sasse speculates that disagreements between Agnes and St Jacob's over her Order's strict Rule probably lay behind her decision, but, as Christian-Frederik Felskau has recently pointed out, there is no direct evidence to support such a claim. He believes the more likely reasons are the friars' fear of loss of independence if they had to take on

105. "... einem ganz überraschenden Schritt: Sie errichtete neben ihrem Frauenkloster ein Franziskanerkloster. Die Anlage wurde damit zum ersten Doppelkloster des Franziskanerordens überhaupt, obwohl ein weiteres Franziskanerkloster, das Jakobs-kloster, in unmittelbarer Nähe lag. Gewiß mußten Gottesdienst und Seelsorge des Nonnenklosters von Mönchen gewährleistet werden, doch kann dies allein nicht das Doppelkloster in Prag erklären. Der eigentliche Grund dürften Unstimmigkeiten mit St. Jakob wegen der strengeren Ordenregel gewesen sein, welche Agnes durchsetzen wollte." Sasse, "Das Doppelkloster," 221.

106. P. Heřman, "Počátky výstavby Anežského areálu a stručný přehled jeho vývoje až do 19. století," *Staletá Praha* 16 (1986): 109f.

107. For a sketch of the groundplan of Agnes's 'Na Františku' monastery complex, see Soukupová-Benáková, "Přemyslovské mauzoleum," 194 fig.1. The same sketch, re-oriented, is reproduced in Sasse, "Das Doppelkloster," 225, Abb. 1b.

responsibility of begging for the Clarisses; their reticence due to being Czech- not German-speaking;¹⁰⁸ and above all, their aversion to the role of being providers for the nuns as this cura would distract them from their own spiritual obligations. Furthermore, the fact that other double monasteries were established in Znojmo, Opava, Olomunc and Cheb, suggests there must be more to the concept of 'double monastery' than just a pragmatic solution to a particular dispute.¹⁰⁹

There can be little doubt that friars who took up continuous residence in Agnes's monastery were subject to the authority of the foundress and abbess of 'Na Františku' and therefore were bound under the Rule on which her house was based. As a royal foundation the patrimony of 'Na Františku' was assured, and it was evidently ample enough to fund three ambitious building programmes into the next century, the beneficiaries of which were both the sisters and the friars.¹¹⁰

108. The Přemyslid court spoke Middle High German or a variant thereof influenced by *Ostmitteldeutsch*. Courts in Silesia (Anna's) and Małopolska (Leszek Czarny's) followed the Czechs' example. See Jerzy Dówiat, ed., *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X-XIII w.* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985), 208.

109. Christian-Frederik Felskau, "Vita religiosa und paupertas der Přemyslidin Agnes von Prag. Zu Bezügen und Besonderheiten in Leben und Legende einer späten Heiligen," *Collectanea Franciscana* 70 (2000): 456 n.111.

110. As Helena Soukupová-Benáková and Barbara Sasse have shown, the influence of Agnes's forebears can also be seen in the architecture of Na Františku which reflects the stylistic traits of St Elizabeth's church in Marburg, and Jadwiga's chapel in Trzebnica. See also footnote 9 above.

Agnes's commitment to following the Rule of St Clare and its ideal of absolute poverty is well attested; equally well documented is the absence of poverty 'Na Františku':

The fact that she built her churches so magnificently seems to conflict with the simplicity of her approach [...] She never hesitated to accept precious gifts from the Pope, her brother and other donors when they concerned the adornment of God's house and the beauty of liturgical festivals. Chalices for the mass, precious chasubles and reliquaries were not property for Agnes but a means of expressing reverence. Here Agnes based her ideas not only on her royal knowledge of festivals and sovereign splendour, which is not in conflict with poverty, but also on another aspect of Francis's ideal - his feeling for beauty. Whereas Francis found it in the first place in nature, Agnes, cloistered in her convent, had to create it around her."¹¹¹

What remains one of the most striking features of this Order - Pitha's imaginative rationalisation notwithstanding - is the glaring contrast between ideals and reality, poverty and plenty. Eduard Lempp, the first scholar to attempt a synoptic coverage of the early years of the Poor Clares, expressed it well:

In all these cases there is nowhere to be found any suggestion that these possessions come into conflict with vows taken by the Clarisses or that dispensation from some stipulation or other of the Order's Rule might be required; rather it has about it the complete naturalness of a clear conscience."¹¹²

111. Petr Pitha, "Agnes of Prague - A New Bohemian Saint," *Franziskanische Studien* 72 (1990): 333-34.

112. "In allen diesen Fällen ist nirgends auch nur eine Andeutung zu finden, daß dieser Besitz mit einem von den Clarissen etwa übernommen Gelübde kollidiere oder der Dispensation von irgendeiner Bestimmung der Ordensregel bedürfe, sondern es herrscht die volle Unbefangenheit des guten Gewissens." Lempp, "Die Anfänge," 196.

WROCŁAW

The influence of Agnes's Prague foundation, 'Na Františku' was far-reaching, and it was natural that it should serve as a model for the Franciscan foundations that were established in Wrocław by her sister and Polish brother-in-law, Duchess Anna and Duke Henryk II Pobożny, the Piast rulers of Silesia.¹¹³ All three religious communities brought to Wrocław by Henryk and Anna came from Prague: the Friars Minor in 1229/1238¹¹⁴ at St Jacob's¹¹⁵ (named after their Prague mother-house), the Crosiers of the Red Star in 1242/45 at St Elizabeth's,¹¹⁶ and the Poor Clares in 1257 at St Clare's.¹¹⁷ As part of the Polish-Czech Province the orders were mutually supportive of one another and maintained close

113. For a narrative account, factually accurate but unreferenced, of the Anna's political and religious activities, see the posthumously published monograph by Maria Przywecka-Samecka, *Z dziejów wrocławskich konwentów klarysek i urszulanek* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza 'Signum,' 1996), 7-15.

114. The most frequently given date is 1238; Ewald Walter in his recent paper argues for the earlier date. See "Zu den Anfängen des Franziskanerkloster St. Jacob und des Klarissenklosters St. Klara auf dem Breslauer Ritterplatz," *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1996): 228-30.

115. 'Kościół p.w. św. Jakuba st., Franciszkanów', descriptive entry by Andrzej Włodarek in Teresa Mroczko and Marian Arsyński, gen. eds., *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, Part 2: Katalog zabytków, edited by Andrzej Włodarek, *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, II/2 (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1995), 270.

116. 'Kościół par. p.w. św. Elżbiety', descriptive entry by Stanisław Stulin & Andrzej Włodarek in Mroczko and Arsyński, *Architektura gotycka*, Katalog, 266.

117. 'Kościół i klasztor klarysek p.w. św. Klary, 3 ćw. XII w.', in Michał Walicki, gen. ed., *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, Part 2: Katalog i bibliografia zabytków, edited and compiled by Maria Pietrusińska, *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, I/2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), 785.

administrative connections with Prague. The Clarist houses shared the same Visitor.¹¹⁸ The late arrival of the Franciscan sisters, some two decades after the friars, can be attributed to the general vicissitudes of political life for Anna in the wake of the Mongol incursions of 1241 which saw the pillaging of Wrocław (St Jacob's was burnt down) and the death of her husband at the battle of Legnica.¹¹⁹ Both the friars and the Crosiers, however, continued to receive generous ducal endowments,¹²⁰ and it may be, as Ewald Walter has suggested, that Anna was obliged to delay the arrival of the Poor Clares, the fulfilment of her late husband's wish, until the coffers had recovered from the costs of reconstructing the city.¹²¹

But there was also the matter of the Wrocław friars' concerted opposition to the establishment of a Poor Clare

118. The procurators of St Clare's Poor Clare monastery in Wrocław were drawn from the Wrocław community of the Czech order, the Crosiers of the Red Star. See Antoni Barciak, "Rola kościoła w polityce czeskiej wobec Polski w XIII i w początkach XIV wieku," in *Czechy a ziemie południowej Polski w XIII oraz w początkach XIV wieku*, Prace naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach, Nr.1264 (Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1992), 26.

119. On the general ramifications of the 1241 Tartar [i.e. Mongol] incursions, see Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Polski piastowskiej (VIII wiek - 1370)*, Wielka Historia Polski, 2 (Kraków: Fogra Oficyna Wydawnicza, 1999), 221-25; and more briefly in Norman Davies and Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosm. Portrait of a Central European City* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2002), 89-90.

120. Duchess Anna's endowment of the Friars Minor included annual income of 200 grzywnas from the Wrocław merchants' hall. The Crosiers and their parish of St Elizabeth's, received various endowments which included mills, fishing rights and country holdings on the outskirts of Wrocław. See Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Najdawniejszy Wrocław (Wrocław-Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1992)*, 112 & 114.

121. Walter, "Zu den Anfängen," 232.

monastery in their city, a stance that put them at odds with their chief benefactors, Duchess Anna and her family. The friars' objections were the selfsame ones Franciscans had been raising for decades, and, as with their confreres elsewhere, so too the Wrocław friars seized upon papal legislation which could be interpreted as favourable to their cause:¹²² Innocent V's Bull of 7 July 1245 confirming Franciscans were only obligated to serve convents which had arisen under Gregory IX, before 1241;¹²³ the Rule of 6 August 1247 stipulating approval of the Franciscan chapter-general was required before any new Clarist houses could be established; and the Bull of 6 March 1250 restricting the accumulation of further obligations of visitation and pastoral care over women's houses.¹²⁴

In 1253, as an act of homage to the memory of Henryk II Pobożny, Anna and her four sons decided on the terms of long-term endowments for the Crosiers and the Friars Minor, and for the retinue of unmarried women who attended upon her. Among various benefactions and privileges, Anna bequeathed to the two orders equal halves of the ducal estates and her court residence [*curia*].¹²⁵

122. Irena Czachorowska, "Klaryski wobec śląskiej dynastii piastowskiej," in *Święta Klara z Asyżu w 800-lecie urodzin*, edited by Stanisław Celestyn Napiórkowski and Wiesław Koc, Biblioteka Instytutu Franciszkańskiego, 12 (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1995), 188.

123. Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, 116.

124. *Ibid.*, 131.

125. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Najdawniejszy Wrocław*, 114.

Although sources are scarce for the next few years it would appear that the Duchess's proposed bequest did not mollify the friars. If anything they hardened their stance against the establishment of a Franciscan women's house. The Minorites' resolve probably stiffened on realising that the Poor Clares who were coming to Wrocław hailed from Agnes's monastery 'Na Františku',¹²⁶ and that, just as in Prague, the Wrocław Poor Clares would be living alongside the friars. Archaeological research conducted in the late 1950s revealed that, in its original form, the sisters' church (St Clare's, consecrated 1260) adjoined St Jacob's monastery, and their cloister extended from the northern side of the church. In other words, the ground plan was not dissimilar from the configuration of church and cloisters 'Na Františku'. And the location of Anna's *curia* afforded her ready access to both monasteries.¹²⁷

Although it is not known precisely when news of the Prague Clares' imminent arrival became known,¹²⁸ some time during the mid-1250s seems most likely, for on 13 December 1256, Pope Alexander IV acceded to a request from Anna

126. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, III: 690 & 695

127. Tadeusz Kozaczewski, "Kościół klarysek, dwór księżnej Anny a dom kupców," *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Wrocławskiej Architektura IV*, no. 36 (1960): 83-90.

128. Ewald Walter believes that shortly after Henryk II Pobożny's death in 1241 the friars of St Jacob's would have been aware of Anna's intention to fulfil her husband's wish and erect a Poor Clare house in Wrocław. He interprets her decision in 1253 to divide the ducal estate between the Crosiers and the friars as tacit recognition of the strength of the friars' opposition and of her having given up on the idea. Walter, "Zu den Anfängen," 233 n.34.

(prompted by her sister, Agnes) instructing the bishops of Wrocław and Lubusz to assist the Duchess of Silesia in her efforts to establish a Poor Clare house in Wrocław.¹²⁹ The next two bulls appealed to the faithful of the Olomouc, Kraków and Wrocław dioceses offering an indulgence to those who rendered assistance towards the construction of the Poor Clares' house in Wrocław.¹³⁰

The friars' disappointment was no doubt compounded by a decision the Duchess took in the year the Clares arrived from Prague. She amended the clause in her 1253 endowment bequest which dealt with the disposal of ducal estates and residences: that half which was to have gone to the Friars Minor, Anna now promised to the Poor Clares.¹³¹ Deprived of what had been promised to them they now faced the prospect of incorporation into Anna's Clarist foundation.

The friars of St Jacob's Wrocław observed the more relaxed Rule followed by their Prague motherhouse, while the sisters coming from Agnes's monastery, on the other hand, almost certainly would have been committed to upholding the

129. Heinrich Appelt and Winifried Irgang, eds., *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch* (Graz and Cologne: Böhlau, 1971), III: #193. As Czacharowska ["Klaryski wobec śląskiej dynastii piastowskiej," 188] points out, Bishop Thomas of Wrocław, would have had difficulty complying with the Pope's directive for at the time he was being held prisoner in Legnica by Duke Bolesław II.

130. Barciak, "Rola kościoła w polityce czeskiej," 45 citing *Schlesische Urkundenbuch*, III: #195.

131. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Najdawniejszy Wrocław*, 113. Kozaczewski, "Kościół klarysek," 85 citing G. Korn *Breslauer Urkundenbuch* (Breslau, 1879), no.17; and L. Burgemeister & G. Grundmann *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Breslau* (Breslau, 1934), III: 31

strict Rule of St Clare (1253) which enshrined the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty.¹³² And the ramifications of this Rule would have been known to the friars of St Jacob's Wrocław from their confreres' experience in Prague: continuous attachment to sisters' house and the attendant responsibility of *cura monialium*. The change of recipients Anna effected in her bequest may also be interpreted as reflecting the new status of the friars of St Jacob's: they remained potential beneficiaries of the Duchess's largesse, not in their own right as previously, but rather as co-residents now of Anna's Clarist monastery.

According to her *Vita*, Anna made donations to the sisters for their clothing and other necessities of life, but nowhere is it related that she bestowed upon them possessions or income which would have obviated the daily necessity of their being provided with alms.¹³³ That task, presumably, fell to the friars, as it did 'Na Františku'.

The *Vita* also recounts dramatic tales of the Minorites' opposition to the Poor Clares shortly after the sisters had taken up residence, i.e. after 1257: Anna shed tears and begged the friars on bended knee to stop hindering her. Such was the abusive treatment meted out that the sisters who had

132. Grundmann confidently asserts that "the houses of St Agnes in Prague and Breslau certainly kept this [St Clare's] rule." See Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, 340 n.231 & 131.

133. *Vita Annae Ducissae Silesiae*, edited by Alexander Semkowicz in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, IV: 659 as cited in Walter, "Zu den Anfängen," 235.

come from Prague wanted to go back.¹³⁴

How matters resolved themselves is not recorded, nor is it known just how long the Wrocław Poor Clares scrupulously observed St Clare's Rule. Indications are that it did not last long, for in April 1260, in response to a request from the abbess and convent of St Clare's monastery, Wrocław, Pope Alexander IV confirmed their rights to property which they currently held and to any endowments which they might acquire in the future."¹³⁵ With this papal approval in advance, there would be no impediments to St Clare's receiving in full the benefits of its founder's bequest when Anna died on 26 June 1265. In any case, by the time Anna was laid to rest in her monastery the Poor Clares had received their fifth Rule (1263) which specifically approved receiving and holding property and endowments.¹³⁶

What is clear, however, is the fact that Anna's monastery would have had increasing need of the chantry services of its resident friars, for the church of the

134. Walter, "Zu den Anfängen," 113; and Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Najdawniejszy Wrocław*, 113 Czachorowska makes the point that Anna's short *Vita* differs from other hagiographical literature in not having a list of miracles and containing many observations about contemporary culture. Noteworthy too is its unbiased tone when reporting the friars' treatment of Anna and the sisters. "Średniowieczne biblioteki klarysek śląskich," in *Święta Klara z Asyżu w 800-lecie urodzin*, edited by Stanisław Celestyn Napiórkowski and Wiesław Koc, Biblioteka Instytutu Franciszkańskiego, 12 (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1995), 205ff.

135. Appelt and Irgang, *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, III: #330, as cited in Walter, "Zu den Anfängen," 238.

136. *Liceat vobis in communi redditus et possessiones recipere et habere, ac ea libere retinere. Bullarum diplomatum*, III: 718 §21.

Wrocław Poor Clares soon became the chosen burial place for members of the House of Piast.¹³⁷ Some seventeen Clarist nuns of that clan, ten of them past abbesses, are interred in the monastery church.¹³⁸ In this respect, too, Anna's foundation followed her sister's Prague monastery.¹³⁹

The expansion of the Order of St Clare and fraternal opposition to it had once again brought the friars of St Jacob's into conflict with a determined Přemyslid Poor Clare. In Prague they were bypassed by Agnes; in Wrocław they were incorporated by Duchess Anna into Silesia's first Clarist foundation.

ZAWICHOST-GRODZISKO

During the decade after Henryk II Pobożny's death when Anna was planning the establishment of the first Poor Clare house in Silesia, another member of the House of Piast, whose husband had also been killed in 1241, was in the process of founding the first Poor Clare house in Małopolska [Little Poland]. Salomea Piastówna (1211/12-1268), daughter of Leszek Biały, Duke of Kraków-Sandomierz, and Grzymisława of Ruthenia, was married - *sponsalia in futuro* - at eight years of age to Kálmán, the eleven-year old son of King András II.

137. Kazimierz Jasiński, "Franciszkańskie pochówki piastów," in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, edited and compiled by Teresa Skarbek, *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, I/2-3 (Kraków: Prowincjałat Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych Prowincji św. Antoniego i bł. Jakuba Strepy, 1989), 177-95.

138. Gąsiorowska, "Klaryski z dynastii Piastów," 125.

139. Soukupová-Benáková, "Přemyslovské mauzoleum."

of Hungary.¹⁴⁰ The couple were installed as King and Queen of Galicia [Halicz], "a kingdom of but fleeting duration;"¹⁴¹ in fact, they lived much of the time at the Hungarian court. And it was there that Salomea became acquainted with Franciscan ideals through her Franciscan confessor, Friar Albert¹⁴² and perhaps inspired by the reputation of her sister-in-law, the Franciscan Tertiary, St Elizabeth.¹⁴³

Following Kálmán's death in battle, Salomea returned to Małopolska, to her brother's courts in Kraków and Sandomierz. We next have record of her making her solemn profession as a Clarist nun at the 1245 Chapter of the Czech-Polish Province of the Franciscan Order, held in Sandomierz and presided over by the provincial, Brother Raymond, from whom Salomea received her nun's habit. Also present was the Bishop of Kraków, Prandota of Białaczewiec, from whom she received the

140. The most exhaustive study of Salomea is Cecylian Niezgoda's monograph *Biogospławiona Salomea piastówna* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1996) For recent research on the earlier period of her life in Galicia see Karol Hollý, "Salomea. Blahoslavená z rodu Piastovcov" (2002), <www.kultura-fb.sk/dejiny-17.htm>.

141. Halicz had been conquered by Duke Leszek and King András together, and on the marriage of their children in 1219, it was presented to Salomea and Kálmán as their Kingdom of Galicia. "Doch war der Bestand dieses Reiches," according to Kantak, "nur von ephemerer Dauer" - just two years in fact. "Die Entstehung der polnischen Konvente der böhmisch-polnischen Franziskaner-Provinz," *Franziskanische Studien* 16, no. 1/2 (1929): 88 n.32

142. "Albertus de ordine fratrum minorum," *Monumenta Poloniae Historia* IV: 779 as cited in Bronisław Włodarski, "Salomea królowa halicka (Kartka z dziejów wprowadzenia zakonu klarysek do Polski)," *Nasza Przyszłość* 5 (1957): 73 n.44

143. L. D Veselý, "Volné kapitoly z dejín Františkánov na Slovensku," *Serafický Svet [Nábožensko-poučný časopis a úradný orgán III rádu sv. Františka a Armády sv. Kříža]* 5 (1926): 388-89.

veil.¹⁴⁴ The coincidence of her profession with the Franciscan provincial chapter and the sacerdotal participation in the ceremony of both the Provincial and the diocesan bishop, strongly imply *de facto* existence, or at least the imminent establishment, of a Clarist monastery in Sandomierz.¹⁴⁵ A friary had been in existence there since shortly after the Mongol incursions, c.1242/43, and it is reasonable to presume that this community of Franciscans would have been called upon to support Salomea's Sandomierz monastery of Poor Ladies from 'Na Františku', Prague.¹⁴⁶

For the decade after Salomea's profession there is no mention of any Clarist house in Sandomierz. In 1254 she received permission from Pope Innocent IV to inherit certain valuables from her brother, Bolesław V Wstydliwy (1226-1279), in the event he should die without issue, but on condition that such valuables remain hers alone and are passed on to Bolesław's heirs when she dies.¹⁴⁷ In the following year, her brother founded and generously endowed a hospital, St Francis's, in the small town of Zawichost to the north-east of Sandomierz.¹⁴⁸ The brevet of donation instructs that the

144. Marian Kanior, "Błogosławiona Salomea," in *Polscy święci*, vol. 11, Joachim Roman Barr, gen. ed. (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1987), 49.

145. Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea*, 111.

146. On the Prague origin of Salomea's first Poor Clares, see Kanior, "Bł. Salomea," 50; and Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea*, 58.

147. "Tuæ devotionis sinceritas," *Bullarium franciscanum*, I: 758-59.

148. The endowment included, *inter alia*, ten estates, six

Poor Ladies of St Damian of Assisi are to have charge of the hospital and from it their monastery is to derive its support.¹⁴⁹ And the friars in turn were to be maintained from the income of the sisters.¹⁵⁰

In 1257 - just one week after Prague Clares from 'Na Františku' arrived to join Duchess Anna's sisters in Wrocław - Bolesław V Wstydlivy chose a state occasion attended by his cousins, Kazimierz, Duke of Kujawy-Łęczyca, and Siemowit, Duke of Mazowia, and the Bishop of Kraków, Prandota, for the proclamation of his generous act of endowment of his sister's new monastery.¹⁵¹ The hospital was now put under the exclusive control of the friars and, by way of compensating the sisters, they were given substantial new estates in the town of Grodzisko, some three miles north of Kraków on the Vistula river.¹⁵² This occasion also witnessed Bolesław's act of donation of the Sądecki region to his Hungarian-born wife

fiefs, 2 colts, 40 silver grzywnas, income from the Wieliczka salt mine, and income from customs duties. "Ex parte tua fuit," *Bullarium franciscanum*, II: 65-66.

149. A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, (Rome, 1860), I: 125 as cited in Kanior, "Bł. Salomea," 52. *Kodex Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, II: 446 as cited in Włodarski, "Salomea królowa halicka," 74.

150. Jan Długosz, *Liber Beneficiorum*, III: 464 as cited in Kantak, "Die Entstehung der polnischen Konvente," 91 n.48.

151. *Kodex Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, I: 57; and Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum*, III: 309-310, and *Historia*, II: 368, as cited in Włodarski, "Salomea królowa halicka," 75 For a black & white photograph of this, and other charters, pertaining to the Clarist monasteries in Grodzisko/Skała and Kraków, see Andrzej Włodarek, ed., *Pax et bonum. Skarby klarysek krakowskich: Katalog wystawy* (Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999), 3-4 plate I/1.

152. Kanior, "Bł. Salomea," 53.

(Salomea's niece), Kinga [Kunegunda] Árpád, who later founded a Poor Clare house in that region.

The move from Sandomierz to Zawichost, the first step towards which had been the founding and endowment by Bolesław of a hospital, is interpreted by Bronisław Włodarski as a decision on the part of Salomea "to follow the Prague model."¹⁵³ His view is of a piece with Cecylian Niezgoda's assertion that

Salomea did not just bring Damianite sisters from St Agnes's in Prague, she also adopted - and this is of fundamental importance - her model with respect to poverty, i.e., one way or another, the Zawichost monastery was not to have property or possessions, rather it was to avail itself of the hospital's endowments.¹⁵⁴

As we have seen, "The Prague model" entailed a double monastery where the resident community of chaplain-friars was large enough to meet the spiritual needs of the monastery as a whole (the professed nuns, *servientes*, children, dowagers, and oblates), and large enough to secure adequate daily sustenance both for themselves and for the cloistered Clarist sisters. This situation came about 'Na Františku' as a consequence of Agnes's being granted the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty and her monastery divesting itself of the hospital, hitherto its main source of support. Since the Privilege of Seraphic Poverty was never granted to Salomea's

153. "Wobec tego postanowiono naśladować przykład praski," Włodarski, "Salomea królowa halicka," 74.

154. "Salomea nie tylko sprowadziła siostry Damianiki od św. Agnieszki z Pragi, ale także, i to jest istotnie ważne, przyjęła jej model klasztoru w odniesieniu do ubóstwa, iż mianowicie klasztor jako taki nie miał mieć majątku, ale miał korzystać z uposażenia szpitala." Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea*, 116.

house, and there is no evidence of the hospital being divested from the monastery, "the Prague model" as realised in Zawichost must have differed from what obtained 'Na Františku' in Prague. Furthermore, if it were intended that the Zawichost monastery sustain itself exclusively from the proceeds of begging, what rationale could there be for moving the monastery from the Duchy's second city, Sandomierz, to a small town where there was hardly anybody from whom to beg alms?¹⁵⁵ Corroborating evidence, however, for at least one aspect of "the Prague model" in Zawichost, namely, the existence of a double monastery,¹⁵⁶ can be found in architectural-cum-archeological studies of the monastery's church, St John the Baptist's.

Salomea's Zawichost Franciscan monastery was carefully planned, particularly in terms of its fortifications. The compound, with its walled church in the centre, was ringed by a parapet with twelve guard towers.¹⁵⁷ No doubt equal care and foresight went into the architectural layout of the

155. Kamil Kantak first raised this question. He also mused on the fact that Salomea invited sisters from Prague rather than from Hungary which, given her family connections, would perhaps have been the more likely choice. See *Franciszkanie polscy, I: 1237-1517* (Kraków: Nakładem Prowincji Polskiej Ojców Franciszkanów, 1937), 55. The only known Damianite house at the time in Hungary was Nagyszombat [Trnava], founded before 1239.

156. In his 1929 paper Kantak referred, *en passant*, to Zawichost being a double monastery: "... das Klarissenkloster zu Skala, wohin die Schwestern aus dem ursprünglichen Doppelkloster zu Zawichost hinübergeführt worden sind 1268," "Die Entstehung der polnischen Konvente," 87. Kantak's article is cited by John Moorman in his entry on Zawichost but no reference is made to its being a double monastery. See *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, 688.

157. It was popularly known as "the convent of the twelve-towers" [konwent o dwunastu basztach].

monastery church to ensure that it accommodated male and female communities appropriately. In addition to the foundation sisters from 'Na Františku', Prague, the monastery comprised Polish nuns, a hospital staffed by friars who were under the authority of the abbess,¹⁵⁸ and a requisite number of chaplain-friars and *conversi*. In trying to envisage what size the men's community was relative to the number of women Marek Machowski's 1989 study of Franciscan architecture proves most instructive, especially his consideration of "the problem of the Zawichost church:"

To date it has been established that this church was built for the Poor Clare sisters. The smallish oratory adjoining the north side of the chancel would have been intended for the several dozen sisters, while for the choir of the friars who looked after the sisters' pastoral needs, there was a disproportionately big chancel.¹⁵⁹

158. Salomea was *fundatrix* of Zawichost and later of Grodzisko/Skała, but not abbess. See Niezgoda, Bł. Salomea, 118-19.

159. "Według dotychczasowych ustaleń kościół ten był budowany dla klarysek, przy czym dla kilkudziesięciu sióstr miało być przeznaczone niewielkie, przylegające od północy oratorium, zaś dla chóru braci sprawujących opiekę nad żeńskim konwentem - nieproporcjonalnie duże prezbiterium." Marek Machowski, "Architektura franciszkanów w Polsce w XIII wieku," in *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej. Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich*, edited and compiled by Teresa Skarbek, *Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce*, I/2-3 (Kraków: Prowincjałat Ojców Franciszkanów Konwentualnych Prowincji św. Antoniego i bł. Jakuba Strepy, 1989), 201. The disproportionately long chancel was also commented on by Alojzy Karwacki in a much earlier study: "the construction is elongated, no rear naves, a narrow chancel which ends with a smooth gabled wall behind the high altar. This disproportionately long chancel ... was divided by the high altar into two parts: the part beyond the altar served as an oratory or choir in which the Poor Clares could say their prayers; and the second half in front of the altar (including the central nave with its wooden ceiling) was for the chaplains and the lay folk [Budowa jest podłużna, bez naw bocznych, ma wąskie prezbiterium zakończone za wielkim ołtarzem gładką ścianą szczytową. Nieproporcjonalnie długie owo prezbiterium ... przedzielone było wielkim ołtarzem na dwie połowy, z których część poza ołtarzem służyła za oratorium czyli chór do odmawiania pacierzy dla Klarysek, druga zaś połowa przed ołtarzem,

Women's monastic churches take many different forms; by and large, the majority of chancels are mostly short or non-existent, in which cases the nuns' choir is generally located in the western part of the central nave.¹⁶⁰ In pre-existing churches that were reworked to meet the needs of Clarist nuns, the choir was positioned in an upper room of the conventual building that usually adjoined the church, with a small hole cut through the wall so that services could be heard within.¹⁶¹ The straightforward explanation for the size of the friars' choir (i.e. the chancel) in the Poor Clares' church of St John the Baptist, is that Salomea's Zawichost community comprised a greater number of resident Minorites than has been hitherto entertained.¹⁶² Residing within a fortified monastery removed from a population centre, the lifestyle of these friars was obviously very different from the mendicant existence of Franciscans in other provinces. While Zawichost was atypical compared with locations preferred by Franciscans in the West European provinces, it was by no means unusual for monastic churches of the Czech-Polish Province, as research by the architectural historian,

razem z nawą główną o drewnianym pułapie, przeznaczona dla kapłanów i ludu]. See *Błogosławiona Salomea za życia i po śmierci* (Kraków, 1911) as quoted in *Niezgoda, Bł. Salomea*, 115-16.

160. Machowski, "Architektura franciszkanów," 201.

161. Caroline A. Bruzelius, "Hearing is Believing: Clarissan Architecture, ca.1213-1340," *Gesta* 31, no. 2 (1992): 86.

162. Niezgoda claims that the Zawichost cloister was designed to accommodate around sixty nuns collectively and a score or so friars individually but there is no indication on what he bases this assessment. *Bł. Salomea*, 115.

Marian Kutzner, has shown:

Polish Franciscan monastic churches also differ from Western European ones in their unusual location. While the former were erected on principle in centres of public life, or in the densely populated poor urban ghettos, Polish ones were erected near the seats of feudal lords in areas which, throughout the 13th century, were oftentimes poorly provided for [...] How could friars in Zawichost, Śrem, Oborniki or Radziejów fulfil their mission when they were located far from the centre of town - and a small town at that? The cult of monastic relics & saints and commemorations of deceased founders & their kinsmen, these were the only ways of broadening the basic function of these churches [...] The typical mendicant activities of the Franciscans did not appear in Polish churches until into the second half of the 14th century.¹⁶³

Fortified though it was, Salomea's "convent of the twelve towers" was deemed to be unsafe for a community of aristocratic women. Within two years of her taking up residence in Zawichost she moved to Grodzisko, also known as Skała św. Maryi [*lapis sancte marie*], a small town on the Vistula River where the Order had holdings as part of its 1257 endowment from Bolesław V Wstydlivy. The earliest extant document of donation to the new Grodzisko foundation

163. "Różnią się także od zachodnioeuropejskich swą nietypową lokalizacją. Gdy tamte wznoszono z zasady w centrum życia publicznego czy w gęsto zaludnionych gettach biedoty miejskiej, to polskie powstawały w pobliżu siedzib feudałów, na terenach, które przez cały wiek XIII były częstokroć słabo zagospodarowane [...] Jak swoją misję mogli pełnić bracia konwentu w Zawichoście, Śremie, Obornikach czy Radziejowie skoro znajdowali się z dala od centrum miasta i to na dodatek małego?"

Jedynymi elementami, które poszerzały podstawowy program tych miejsc sakralnych, był kult relikwii zakonnych, świętych oraz komemoracji zmarłych fundatorów i ich rodzin [...] Owe typowe, mendykanckie funkcje zjawiają się w polskich kościołach 'Braci Mniejszych' dopiero w 2 połowie XIV w." Marian Kutzner, "Architektura średniowiecznych klasztorów i kościołów franciszkańskich w Polsce (zarys problematyki)," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i konserwatorstwo*, XIII. Nauki humanistyczno-społeczne, no. 176 (1989): 39-40.

is another endowment from Bolesław, the Sułkowice estates.¹⁶⁴

When Salomea moved from Zawichost to Grodzisko she did so without prior approval from the Holy See, or so it would seem, as papal letters for Salomea's new community continued to be addressed to Zawichost. The move did not involve all the nuns from Zawichost; not until Pope Alexander IV formally approved the Grodzisko in his bull of 13 July 1260 did the then abbess of Zawichost, Mother Świętosława, and the remaining sisters move to the new house.¹⁶⁵ Until that time Salomea's two foundations co-existed.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, even by the 17th century little remained of this monastery, and consequently we have no way of making any meaningful comparisons between Salomea's double monastery in Zawichost and the Grodzisko foundation.¹⁶⁷ Most of the surviving documentation deals with Salomea's consolidation and expansion of her monastery's holdings as she systematically set about acquiring the lands around Grodzisko; in one year alone she expended 225 silver grzywnas on new estates. Requests for dispensation to receive further endowments is also the subject of much of her correspondence with the Holy See.¹⁶⁸ It is clear that Salomea retained executive rights

164. Włodarek, *Pax et bonum*, 5 plate I/2.

165. Ibid., 5-8, plate I/3.

166. *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, III: 57, as cited in Cecylia Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea piastówna*, 122 & 125.

167. Kantak sees parallels between Salomea's Zawichost and Grodzisko monasteries: attached to both was a hospital and a men's convent. *Franciszkanie polscy*, 57.

over these extensive holdings for in 1267 she located the town of Skała with German-law privileges, ten years exactly after her brother had done the same for the city of Kraków.¹⁶⁹ In light of the above it seems most unlikely that Salomea's monastery at Grodzisko/Skała followed a version of 'the Prague model', rather that it was Urbanist *avant la lettre*.

Salomea's solicitous attention to securing her monastery's patrimony can best be seen in her Last Will and Testament, dated 30 August 1268.¹⁷⁰ The signing was witnessed, *inter alia*, by her brother, Bolesław V Wstydlivy, and by the Bishop of Kraków, Paweł z Przemankowa.¹⁷¹ It is apparent that her vows as a Clarist nun were not seen to conflict with her royal prerogative, as *fundatrix* of Zawichost and Grodzisko/Skała monasteries, to determine how the monasteries' possessions should be disposed of.¹⁷² Of

168. April 1260, Salomea informs Rome of the move to Skała, of the damage caused to Zawichost's properties by the mongols, and requests permission to accept new endowments to offset these losses. September 1260, Pope Alexander IV grants permission for the Skała Poor Clares to accept gifts. January 1262, Duke Bolesław Pobożny endows the monastery with three estates: Mników, Rybna and Pławna. The donations are approved in the same month by Pope Urban IV. See Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea*, 126.

169. *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, I: 75, as cited in Włodarski, "Salomea królowa halicka," 78 n.68.

170. For a black & white photo of the document, see Włodarek, *Pax et bonum*, 10, plate I/8. On Salomea's Vita as an historical source, see Brygida Kurbisówna, "Żywot bł. Salomei jako źródło historyczne," in *Studia historica w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, edited by Aleksander Gieysztor (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1958), 145-54.

171. Władysław Karasiewicz, "Paweł z Przemankowa biskup krakowski 1266-1292," *Nasza Przyszłość* 9 (1959): 168.

172. A number of the liturgical books and precious objects

particular interest is Salomea's explicit references to liturgical and pedagogical books:

Choir books, books for study, and those books purchased for my lector, Friar Boryslaw, are to be passed on after his death for the use of those brothers who remain with my aforementioned dear sisters and administer the Divine Sacrament to them. I strictly prohibit anyone, in any way, from removing them [the books] from the aforementioned friary.¹⁷³

To the last prohibition Salomea added the caveat that should the sisters undergo great hardship as a consequence of fire or invasion, they may then, on the advice of the friars, sell precious items she bequeathed to the monastery in order to alleviate their poverty.¹⁷⁴

By the time of Salomea's death in 1268, Franciscan liturgical books embodying Haymo of Faversham's reforms would have been in circulation for a decade or so.¹⁷⁵ The 'libri chorales' referred to would therefore most probably have been post-Haymonian choir books, the Gradual (completed and copied 1247-1251) and the Antiphonal (1254-1257). No mention is

alluded to in Salomea's last will and testament are to be found in the Kraków Poor Clare monastery: St Andrew's. For an illustrated descriptive catalogue see Włodarek, *Pax et bonum*.

173. Libros autem tam chorales quam ad studium pertinentes, et eos quos pro fratre Borizlao lectore comparavit, post decessum ipsius conferre fratribus ad usum qui circa predictas sorores meas karissimas morabuntur et eis divina ministrabunt sacramenta. Prohibeo autem firmiter ne quis eos a predicta domo fratrum quomodo alienare presumat... *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, III: 76.

174. Hoc excepto, quod si sororibus meis karissimis per incendium aut per hostilem insultu in rebus domus aliquod dampnum contigeret, quod tunc ad reparacionem domus et ad sue paupertatis sublevamen aliquas de predictis, quas voluerint, possint vendere et distrahere de consilio fratrum minorum discretorum... *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, III: 76.

175. van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 322ff.

made of the very book most closely associated with the Franciscans, the *breviarium*. It could be that breviaries (i.e. portos) were considered the friars' possessions whereas choir books were supplied by Salomea for use in Poor Clares' monastery church. The reference to '*libri ad studium pertinentes*' recalls the direction to abbesses which concludes the section on the Divine Office in the Rules of Innocent IV (1247) and Urban IV (1263), namely, that illiterate sisters should be taught to read. Although abbess of neither house, Salomea took it upon herself to provide the necessary teaching materials.¹⁷⁶

GNIEZNO and STARY SACZ

Salomea was the first in a long line of women of the House of Piast who became Clarist nuns. Following in her footsteps were her Hungarian-born nieces, the princesses Kinga (1234-1292) and Jolenta/Helena (c.1244-1298), two of the eight daughters of Árpád Béla IV and his Byzantine wife, Queen Maria [née Laskaris].¹⁷⁷ The sisters were both betrothed

176. Sr Antonina Janusz, a former abbess of St Andrew's Poor Clare Monastery, Kraków, has pointed out that the sisters' library dates from 1257, the foundation of the Zawichost house, and that for centuries it attracted endowments from the ducal and patrician families from which, overwhelmingly, the sisters were drawn. See Antonina Janusz OSC, "Geneza sióstr klarysek w Polsce," unpublished typescript (Kraków: Archiwum kościoła i klasztoru św. Andrzeja, 1979), 27 & 63. I am indebted to Mother Barbara Bobko, abbess of St Andrew's, for providing me with a copy of Sr Antonina's unpublished study.

177. Béla IV fostered a close association between his court and the Friars Minor, and was himself a Franciscan Tertiary. See Willliell R. Thomson, "Checklist of Papal Letters relating to the Three Orders of St Francis. Innocent III - Alexander IV," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 64 (1971): 416 n.3.

as children to Piast dukes - Kinga to Bolesław V Wstydlivy of Kraków-Sandomierz [Małopolska], and Jolenta to Bolesław Pobożny of Kalisz [Wielkopolska] - for dynastic reasons much the same as those that had determined the betrothal of the Přemyslid princesses, Agnes and Anna, daughters of Přemysl Otakar I. Both Kinga and Jolenta spent their minority at court in Sandomierz and Kraków, Kinga having been sent there at age five.

Jolenta was fourteen when she left Kraków to join her husband in Kalisz shortly after he had inherited the duchies of Poznań, Gniezno & Kalisz in 1258. The following year, Bolesław Pobożny founded a Franciscan monastery in Gniezno, one of the five Minorite houses in his domain which he endowed. Formally, Jolenta's Poor Clare monastery in Gniezno also owed its establishment to Bolesław's largess. Initial work on it started in 1276, the year of the birth of their third daughter, Anna, whom they dedicated as an oblate to the Poor Clare Order.¹⁷⁸ The nuns' monastery, however, took eight years to finish, brought to completion by Bolesław's successor, Przemysław II.¹⁷⁹

178. Niezgoda, *Bł. Salomea*, 222.

179. Przemysław II made two donations to the Poor Clares in Gniezno: the first in 1284 to have their house finished; the second in 1295 to mark his coronation as Duke of Wielkopolski. It also received donations from other nobles: Mściwój Pomorski in 1286 & 1294; and Władysław Łokietek in 1298. Sawicki speculates that Przemysław II's first donation was expiation for murdering his wife, Ludgarda. See Witold Sawicki, "Błogosławiona Jolanta," in *Polscy święci*, Joachim Roman Barr, gen. ed. (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1984), 61 & 67-68.

It is not known when Jolenta took the veil. If, indeed, she did make her solemn profession it probably occurred after the death of her husband in April 1279.¹⁸⁰ That year also saw the death of Kinga's husband, Bolesław V Wstydlivy (7 December), and there are records of Jolenta attending his state funeral in Kraków in the garb of a Clarist nun.¹⁸¹

The death of her husband was probably the catalyst for Kinga, too, to enter the monastery which she had founded. The established castellan town of Sącz on the trade route between Małopolska and Hungary had been chosen several decades earlier as the site of her future Clarist house. Exclusive rights over the surrounding Sądecki region had been bestowed on Kinga in 1257 by Bolesław Wstydlivy by way of recompense for his use of her dowry to finance defensive campaigns against the invading Mongols.¹⁸² Stary Sącz,¹⁸³ daughter-house of Grodzisko/Skała and the Second Order's third Polish monastery, was formally established on 6 July

180. Both Jolenta and Kinga had been Tertiaries long before entering the monasteries they founded. Witold Sawicki has pointed out that the ornateness of Jolenta's burial casket and vault are quite out of keeping with the modest grave accorded professed Clarist nuns. See *Świętosławiona Jolanta. Życie i dzieje kultu* (Gniezno & Niepokalanów: Ojcowie Franciszkanie, 1980), 28 n.31.

181. Hieronim Wyczawski, "Jolenta, Helena," in *Nasi święci*, edited by Aleksandra Witkowska (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1999), 323.

182. Marek Barański, *Dominium sądeckie. Od książęcego okręgu grodowego do majątku klasztoru klarysek sądeckich* (Warsaw: Wydział historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992), 5ff.

183. Sącz became Stary [old] after Václav II had a new Sącz established a mile up the road in the early 14th century.

1280.¹⁸⁴ Kinga's profession as a Clarist widow-nun occurred quite some years later on 24 April 1289; the ceremony was presided over by the Bishop of Kraków, Paweł z Przemankowa.¹⁸⁵ Up until then it is presumed that she lived as a Franciscan Tertiary, as had her father.

Whatever may have been Kinga's understanding of the Franciscan vow of poverty, it did not impede her defending most forcefully her royal privileges and inheritance entitlements as *domina et princeps de Sandech* when challenged over them by her husband's successor, Duke Leszek Czarny. Furthermore, her founding of the Stary Sącz Clarist monastery, while no doubt motivated by genuine piety, proved nonetheless to be a politically astute move at the time in her dispute with Duke Leszek over estates bequeathed to her by Bolesław V Wstydlivy and over the castellany of the Sądecki region.¹⁸⁶ The resolution of that protracted dispute in her favour was confirmed by Pope Martin IV's bull, *Cum a nobis petitur* (5 July 1283), and ratified by both the Czech and Polish kings, Václav II and Władysław Łokietek.¹⁸⁷

184. Foundation document is included as a footnote in Kętrzyński's edition of the '*Vita Sanctae Kyngae*,' *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* IV: 700. For a more recent edition, see Bolesław Przybyszewski, ed. and trans., *Żywot świętej Kingi księżnej krakowskiej / Vita Sanctae Kyngae Ducissae Cracoviensis*, *Tekst łaciński wraz z tłumaczeniem polskim i objaśnieniami* (Tarnów: Wydawnictwo BIBLOS, 1997), 60-63 / 143-45.

185. Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 101 / 170-71.

186. Barański, *Dominium sądeckie*, 102.

187. *Bullarium franciscanum*, III: 508; see also Kumor's discussion, "Fundacja starosądeckiego klasztoru i parafie na Starosądeckczyźnie fundowane przez PP. Klaryski," *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne* 10 (1986): 162.

In contrast to the copious documentation pertaining to Kinga's house in Stary Sącz, very little survives about her sister's in Gniezno. In both cases friaries had been in existence there for some time before the royal foundations were established.¹⁸⁸ And in both cases the friars and the sisters shared the same church, at least for the first few decades: in Gniezno, the friars' Church of the Assumption of the BVM; and in Stary Sącz, the sisters' monastery church, St Clare's. As can be seen from the following architectural description of the Church of the Assumption, it remains open to speculation where the sisters' choir might have been located during the decades from 1284 up to the completion of their oratory/chapel in the early 14th century.¹⁸⁹

A five-bay, single nave church with a rectangular four-bay chancel the width of the nave [...] To the north, friary buildings adjoin the chancel, and the Poor Clares' oratory adjoins the nave of the friars' church. This five-bay hall construction is connected to the friars' church by means of smallish windows [...] The complex was built in four stages: last quarter of 13th century - chancel of the church, possibly with vaulting; end of 13th to beginning of 14th century - nave and Poor Clares' oratory; first half of 14th century - vaulting; 15th century - cloisters and western steeple.¹⁹⁰

188. Mention of St Stanisław's Franciscan friary in Sącz is found in documents dating from 1280/1281. Their church, however, was not completed until 1310, thanks to funding from the Stary Sącz Poor Clares. See *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, edited by Franciszek Piekosiński, Monumenta mediaevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności Krakowskiej, 1876-1905), 487 & 491; and Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Sądeczyzna w XIII i XIV wieku. Przemiany gospodarcze i społeczne* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1961), 124 & 134 n.159.

189. The nuns' cloister was dismantled in 1837.

190. "Kościół jednonawowy, pięcioprzęsłowy, z prostokątnym, czteroprzęsłowym prezbiterium szerokości nawy [...] Od pn. przy

St Clare's church also was in use for years before it was completed. It was built in two phases: between 1280 and 1287 the central nave was erected; and then, forty-seven years later in 1334, the chancel was completed, in which year the church was reconsecrated to the Blessed Trinity.¹⁹¹ The order of completion is the reverse of the norm and the reason for that is clear. St Clare's monastery church achieved the obligatory separation of men and women by means of an upper gallery in the nave for the nuns, not by means of an oratory to the side of the chancel as, for example, in Zawichost. Once the nave was completed both communities could be accommodated appropriately and the church, though unfinished, was fit for use.

Although St Clare's/Blessed Trinity has suffered many vicissitudes over the past seven centuries and has been remodelled and renovated on several occasions, the fundamental features of the original internal architecture can still be made out:

prezbiterium zabudowania klasztoru franciszkanów. Oratorium klarysek od pn. przy nawie kościoła franciszkanów. Salowe, pięcioprzęłowe, połączone z kościołem braci niewielkimi oknami [...] Zespół zbudowany w czterech etapach. 4. ćw. XIII w. - prezbiterium kościoła, może ze sklepieniami; kon. XIII w. - 1. poł. XIV w., nawa i oratorium klarysek; w trzecim etapie, 1. poł. XIV w., założenie sklepień; w XV w. oba klasztory i wieża zach. [...] Klasztor klarysek rozebrany w XIX w." See Marek Machowski's entry, 'Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii, Franciszkanów i Oratorium Klarysek,' in Mroczko and Arsyński, *Architektura gotycka*, Katalog, 85. For photos from the current archeological investigations being conducted at this site by Tomasz Sawicki and Tomasz Janiak of the Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, see <http://www.gniezno.home.pl/informator/m_ppp_arch.html>

191. In 1334 the Feast of the Blessed Trinity was adopted by the Roman church for universal celebration on the octave of Pentecost.

Western section of the central nave is split level. On the eastern side of the ground floor a single-bay vestibule opens to the inside through arcades; on the western side, the chapter house looks out onto the quadrangle. The single-bay music choir in the eastern side gallery is separated from the nave by a partition with tracery; on the western side is a double-bay oratory for the nuns.¹⁹²

Disputes with the Friars Minor also arose for Kinga, as they had for Anna and Agnes. The most striking account we have of this traditional tension between the First and Second Orders was over the matter of music, specifically, over the active participation of the sisters of Kinga's monastery in singing the liturgy:

On one occasion, however, wanting her sisters to become proficient in the music of the Divine Office and to apply themselves confidently to singing it, Kinga beseeched the friars most devoutly to allow the sisters on the Feast of St Clare¹⁹³ to complete the Divine Office, including Vespers, with chant.¹⁹⁴ Contemptuous of her request, the friars began vespers alone; in disgust and with intemperate disapproval, they chanted and concluded it [Vespers]. Present at that time was her [Kinga's] sister, Lady Constantia, Duchess of

192. Korpus w zach. części dwukondygnacyjny; w przyziemiu, od wsch. jedno przeszłowy przesłonek otwarty do wnętrza arkadami, od zach. kapitułarz na rzucie kwadratu; na piętrze od wsch. jednoprześłowy chór muzyczny, oddzielony od nawy przegrodą z maswerkami, od zach. dwuprześłowe oratorium zakonne. See Paweł Pencakowski and Andrzej Włodarek's entry, 'Stary Sącz' in Mroczko and Arsyński, *Architektura gotycka*, Katalog, 215; see ill. #202 (vol. 3) for a view of the church's nave seen from the north-east.

193. Clare was canonised by Pope Alexander IV in 1255. Her name was added to the Holy Saturday liturgy in 1272. No Mass of St Clare is included in the sanctorale of the Haymonian, revised missal. It may have been added subsequently (before 1260) by Bonaventure. van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 338-39 & 385-87.

194. A rhymed office based on Celano's *Vita* of St Clare and the Office of St Francis which had been in local use at Assisi was approved for the Order in 1292. See van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 386-87; and Agostino Ziino, "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII-XIV," in *Francesco d'Assisi, Storia e Arte*, edited by Carlo Pirovano and Francesco Porzio (Milan: Electa, 1982), 152-53.

Ruthenia.¹⁹⁵ After upbraiding and reprimanding the friars, she pleaded with her sister to respect his sons, out of reverence for the Seraphic Father Francis, and on no account censure them. On another occasion when the sisters had come together for Mass and were full-throatedly participating in it, all the friars left the church in disgust over this and returned only when ordered to do so by the [friars'] Custodian who was present. These things were all being done out of disdain for the blessed lady.¹⁹⁶

The incidents recounted in Kinga's Vita must have taken place in the sisters' monastery church and involved, so it would appear, both officiating clergy and a group of friars, perhaps even the whole community of brothers who, as mentioned above, shared the use of St Clare's with the Second Order. According to figures cited in Kinga's Vita, the Sary Sącz Franciscan community numbered around thirty friars and

195. Constantia was one of the eight daughters of Kinga Béla IV of Hungary. She married Duke Lew, son of Daniel Romanowicz. Two plausible reasons present themselves for Constantia's presence in Kinga's monastery: she may have been taking asylum with Kinga as a consequence of her husband's injudicious decision to ally himself with the invading Mongols against Małopolska in 1287-88; and/or she may have been attending Kinga's solemn profession which took place in April 1289. On the Ruthenian collaboration with the Mongols, see S. Kowalski, <www.personal.psu.edu/users/w/wxk116/sjk/jazch4.html>, (1/12/02): 7.

196. DE CANTU. Quandam autem vice volens sorores suas in melodia cantus divini officii proficere et audaciam cantandi eis inferre, sincera cum devocione supplicavit fratribus, quod in die sancte Clare sorores divinum officium cum cantu et cum vesperis exsolverent. Qui contempta eius petitione soli vespervas incipiunt et intonant ac exsolvunt et in tedium et 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 ipsium in reverencia habebat 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 felicitis domine agebantur. Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 162.

seventy sisters.¹⁹⁷

As one might expect of monasteries that are filials, and particularly of those founded by blood-sisters, there were abiding close ties between Salomea's house in Grodzisko and its daughter-houses in Stary Sącz and Gniezno. We know from various sources, for example, that the longstanding personal confessor to Bolesław and Kinga, Boguchwał, whom they endowed with generous prebends, spent several years in Jolenta's monastery in Gniezno before returning to Stary Sącz.¹⁹⁸ The most important connection between houses was naturally that established with the translation of sisters and their retinues from mother-house to filials. In the case of Stary Sącz that occasion is well documented. Among "the very many other religious, both monastic and secular, and the knights, and people of good will" witnessing the event in July 1280 was "lector, Brother Borysław, of the Friars Minor."¹⁹⁹

197. "Habebat denique in Antiqua Sandecz circa claustrum sororum suarum conventum fratrum de triginta personis, quos omnes in vestitu et victu quotidiano studiosissime procurabat" [...] "Ipsa vero invocato nomine nutritoris tocius creature sorores suas fere numero septuaginta in victu et amictu usque ad nova provide gubernabat." Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 158 & 155-56. In his study of Polish medieval historiography Jan Dąbrowski observes that Kinga's *Vita* was probably written by a Franciscan confessor to the sisters between 1317 and 1329. It shows evidence of the author's having researched her Hungarian background and is full of lively images of everyday life. *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964), 97.

198. Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Sądeczyzna*, 122-23. The second redaction of Kinga's *Vita* recounts the salacious gossip surrounding his sudden departure from Stary Sącz. See Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 86-87 / 159-60. As Boguchwał's replacement Kinga requested a Bohemian friar, Petr Odraněc.

199. "...ad instar legati de latere destinato, fratre

With the Franciscan men and women from Grodzisko would have come their breviaries, and probably also the liturgical books, *libri chorales*, that are essential to the spiritual life of a monastery. Twelve years earlier, on 30 August 1268, a Brother Borysław, *lector*, had been one of a group of secular and religious dignitaries who witnessed the signing of Salomea's Last Will and Testament, a document in which he, Friar Borysław, is charged with the responsibility of looking after the *libri chorales* which Salomea had purchased for her Grodzisko community.²⁰⁰ In Polish documents the term *lector* first appears in the mid-13th century and is specifically associated with the Franciscans and Dominicans. One of the higher ranks of clergy, it designates the position of teacher and/or the member of choir responsible for singing the psalms during the Office.²⁰¹ Borysław/Borislav is not an uncommon

Ioanne, custode, fratre Boryslao, lectore fratrum minorum et aliis quam multis tam viris religiosis, quam clericis saecularibus, quam militibus et aliis bonis viris." Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 145-46.

200. "Libros autem tam chorales ... quos pro fratre Borizlao lectore comparavit, post decessum ipsius conferre fratribus..." *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, III: 76. Salomea's *Vita* is attributed to Stanisław, a Franciscan friar. Kętrzyński dated it to the turn of the 13/14th centuries. More recently Kürbisówna has suggested 1320 as a *terminus ad quem*; and in view of the fact that Kinga is spoken of as a living person it may predate 1292. Kinga's *Vita* was commissioned by her monastery and written by one of its confessors c.1320. By 1329 another author had completed a redaction of it which included new material, mostly on miracles, provided by the Sary Sącz sisters. The oldest extant copy dates from 1401. See Kürbisówna, "Żywot bł. Salomei."; Teresa Michałowska, *Średniowiecze*, 5th ed., *Wielka Historia Literatury Polskiej* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2002), 180-85; and Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 11-13.

201. Marian Plezia, ed., *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce. Lexicon mediae et infimae latinitatis Polonorum* (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1969-88), 1308 lines 35-40, 1309 lines 6-15.

name in documents of the time, and it is possible that there was more than one Franciscan by that name who held the position and rank of lector. However, it would be entirely in keeping with Salomea's custodial charge to Friar Borysław that he should be present in Stary Sącz if *libri chorales* from the Grodzisko mother-house were being provided or lent to this new filial.

Kinga's *Vita* contains a number of other direct and indirect references to liturgy and singing,²⁰² for example, the nuns singing Matins while Kinga recited paternosters:

During Matins Kinga used to remain standing; the better and more devoutly the sisters sang, the more their angelic voices would resonate with devotion in her ears... She used to take part in all the Hours, both the night and the day; while standing, she would say thirty paternosters in praise of the holy angels.²⁰³

202. In his recent paper, "*Audacia cantandi: Music and Cultural Identity in Medieval East and Central Europe*," in *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, edited by Nancy van Deusen, Claremont Cultural Studies / Musicological Studies, 62/5 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000), 157, Charles Brewer believes he has detected the performance of *organum* at the wedding of Kinga and Bolesław: "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 nupciarum sollempnitate [...] Leticie variis ludis dant initium. Cantantibus organis et nimis multiplicatis solaciis, ipsa felix ancilla Christi soli Domino decantabat cantica leticie interioris hominis]." The scene described in Kinga's *Vita* is not the nuptial ceremony but the wedding breakfast. Amusements have set the festive mood, and rounds of toasts are soon under way ["multiplicabantur tripudia convivarum"]. It is more likely that "cantantibus organis" refers to singing with instrumental accompaniment.

203. "in matutinis vero erecta stabat et quanto melius et devocius sorores cantabant, tanto plus ex devocione ipsius voces angelice resonabant in auribus eius... In omnibus eciam horis nocturnis et diurnis devota consitebat, item ad honorem angelorum trignita 'Pater noster' stans exsolvebat..." Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 165. There is no suggestion that Kinga's choosing to say paternosters (half a dozen more than the Rule prescribed for Matins) indicates she might not have been literate.

SERVICE BOOKS²⁰⁴

Very few thirteenth-century liturgical books which definitely can be associated with Poor Clare houses of the Polish-Czech province have come down to us.²⁰⁵ Kinga reputedly possessed a translation of the Psalter:²⁰⁶

she also had the custom of reciting to God ten psalms in the vernacular before leaving the church, concluding with the prayer, 'Almighty God, Who watches over both the living and the dead, etc.,' and in that manner she would complete the whole Psalter for the good of the Holy Church.²⁰⁷

From Anna's Wrocław monastery library we have an illuminated noted *Psalterium cum Calendario*, the so-called Wrocław Psalter [PL-WRu IQ 233], which dates from 1270-1280.²⁰⁸ The

204. See also the appendix to Chapter II, 'Checklist of the Oldest Service Books in St Andrew's, Kraków, and St Kinga's, Stary Sącz,' pages 120-26.

205. Until the recently it was believed that the splendid Osek Lectionary in the National Library, Prague, came from Agnes's foundation 'Na Františku.' Zuzana Všetěčková has shown that the codex is Cistercian in origin. See "Some Remarks on the Osek Lectionary (NK Praha Osek 76)," *Umění* 43, no. 3 (1995): 219-23; and "The Cistercian Origin of the Osek Lectionary and the Mural Paintings in the Royal Chapel of the Cistercian Monastery of Plasy," *Cîteaux* 47 (1996): 285-300.

206. Teresa Michałowska has drawn attention to the fact that if the account is accurate and Kinga possessed a Psalter in Polish it would predate by more than a century the earliest known & extant vernacular-language book of psalms in Poland, the Polish-German-Latin *Psalterz floriański*, which dates from the turn of 14/15th centuries. Michałowska, *Średniowiecze*, 194 & 205.

207. "consuetudo sibi inerat, quod decem psalmos in vulgari, antequam ecclesiam exiret, Deo persolvebat addens oracionem: Omnipotens Deus, quie vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum etc. et sic totum psalterium per ordinem complebat pro bono statu ecclesiae." Przybyszewski, *Żywot / Vita s. Kyngae*, 151.

208. Walicki, *Sztuka Polska. Katalog*, 785 and plates 948-962 in Part 1.

ten-fold organisational division,²⁰⁹ and iconographic style of this breviary-size book (198 x 150 mm) suggest French provenance, and more specifically Metz.²¹⁰

From Kraków and Stary Sącz come the two oldest extant Franciscan liturgical books in Poland: Gradual 205 [PL-Kklar205] in St Andrew's monastery (translocated from Grodzisko/Skała), and Gradual ms.1 in the library of St Kinga's. Received opinion has it that PL-Kklar205 may have been among the books referred to in Salomea's Last Will and Testament.²¹¹ Recent studies of these books have shown that they both date from c.1260,²¹² that is, they could have been completed before Salomea's death in November 1268. Both Graduals are paleographically related: references in their rubrics to *fratres* (rather than to *sacerdos*, *pueri* or *ministri*, as in diocesan books) makes it clear they were intended for use by the Friars Minor;²¹³ the absence of any

209. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 224, #874 (4).

210. Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Malarstwo śląskie 1250-1450* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, 1979), 109.

211. See Barbara Miodońska's entry on PL-Kklar205, in Włodarek, *Pax et bonum*, 30-31; also Marian Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał ms. 205 z biblioteki Klarysek krakowskich w świetle polskiej i europejskiej tradycji liturgiczno-muzycznej. Studium źródłoznawcze," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 71 (1999): 255-56.

212. Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał," 153-368 & 353-433; and Edyta Truszczyńska, "Graduał ms. 1 z Biblioteki SS. Klarysek w Starym Sączu," Unpublished Masters thesis. Wydział Kościelnych Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1991).

213. For example, from Gradual 205: *duo fratres de secundo choro dicunt versum* (f.102); and *fratres alii stant erecti et cantatur letania a duobus fratribus in medio chori* (f.126v)

specifically Polish saints (no references, for example, to St Stanisław, canonised in Assisi in 1253²¹⁴) suggests non-Polish origin; and the presence of the injunction to scribes, *Ista rubrica ponatur in prima pagina gradualium singulorum*, indicates the books embody Haymo of Faversham's reforms.²¹⁵ A distinctive notational feature provides a paleographical link between these Graduals and another Sary Sącz musical source, namely 'Ave mater gracie,' the sequence which is found on PL-STk(Perz St S₂).

Central as they are to a monastery's liturgical life, service books often bear witness by dint of their longevity of use to changes over time in musical practices, which are themselves a reflection of the Rule as practised. In the rapidly expanding Franciscan Order, particularly during the second half of the thirteenth century, demand for the Order's reformed books far exceeded supply. For the friars, the pressing need was for portable breviaries; they were permitted to avail themselves of whatever mass books were ready to hand. Women's houses, on the other hand, were the traditional custodians of the Order's choir books, the psalter, antiphonal and gradual. Aristocratic double monasteries, one might safely presume, would have had the means to secure copies of the post-Haymonian books with due dispatch.

214. Later interpolations in Gradual 205 entered in 1340 include Polish saints, Stanisław, Jadwiga, and Wojciech. See Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał," 357.

215. Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał," 354-55.

The service books discussed above shed valuable light on the fragments of *ars antiqua* polyphony under study. The nature of that connection is taken up in the following chapters which are devoted to these fragmentary sources.

CHAPTER II

THE FOLIO CONTAINING 'OMNIA BENEFICIA'

The service books of St Kinga's and St Andrew's Clarist monasteries hold a privileged position not only for their intrinsic interest as some of the earliest Franciscan graduals and antiphoners found in Central Europe but, more broadly, for the vital snippets of information they can yield about a range of activities to do with the monasteries' musical traditions, and specifically, with the polyphony at Stary Sącz. Present in the monasteries probably from their earliest days, these books remained in daily use for many centuries. They were updated periodically with additions to the calendar, and for certain special feast days polyphonic items were inserted. On the several occasions when the books of St Kinga's were repaired and rebound, parts of obsolete manuscripts found their way into the bindings in the form of spinal lacings and endpapers. As one might expect, many of the books in the monastery's library were subject to rebinding and repairing in this fashion. Henryk Cempura, one-time chaplain to the Stary Sącz Poor Clares and the only person with musicological training to have inspected St Kinga's library archives at first hand, pointed out that there remain a number of books cover-wrapped or otherwise repaired with manuscripts of old music.¹

Given the filial relationship between St Kinga's and St Andrew's, it is not surprising that similar musical material should be found in both houses: for example, the inserts in their service books of *cantus planus binatim*-type polyphony.² In terms of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Franciscan (if not Clarist) musical practices these items are unproblematic. Not so the items at St Kinga's that have no counterparts with material found in St Andrew's or, indeed, anywhere else in Central Europe, viz. the fragments of Notre Dame organa and related thirteenth-century Latin motets which are the subject of Chapter Three, and the *cantio-conductus*, '*Omnia beneficia*,' to which this chapter is devoted.

The service books and the archaic-style polyphony in these houses are related. This is obvious in the case of the

1. Cempura's study deals with the period 1700-1782 because, as he points out, sources for earlier periods are scarce or non-existent. He remarks on two items: Mus. syg. 21 and 23, that are wrapped in parchment 'with old music on it.' See Henryk Cempura, "Kultura muzyczna klasztoru PP. klarysek w Starym Sączu w latach 1700-1782," Undefined Ph.D dissertation, Wydział Muzykologii Kościelnej. (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1988), 16-17. I am most grateful to Fr Alojzy Drożdż, Director of the Seminary Library in Tarnów, for providing me with a copy of Fr Cempura's dissertation, and to the archivist of St Kinga's, Sr Salomea, for adding her corrections to my copy. (Personal communication, 12 February 1997)

2. Gilbert Reaney, ed., "Supplement of Manuscripts to RISM B.IV.1," in *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1325-1400)*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B.IV.2 (Munich & Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1969), 424-25; and Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, eds., *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts [...], Great Britain bis Jugoslawija*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B.IV.4 (Munich & Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1972), 1146-48 & 1151-53. The Stary Sącz house was established with nuns from the Poor Clare monastery in Grodzisko (also known as Skala) which was relocated to Kraków in 1316 (foundation document dated 3 October 1320)

aforementioned *cantus planus binatim* pieces which are inserted at the liturgically appropriate places. Indirectly, '*Omnia beneficia*,' too, can be associated with these books. A stylistic trait in the notation of one of the monophonic pieces on the reverse side of the folio provides a link between the folio and two of the service books. The implications of this connection are taken up in the second part of this chapter. The first part is devoted to the best known example of *ars antiqua* music associated with Stary Sącz, '*Omnia beneficia*.'

DISCOVERY OF *St S₂*

In terms of compositional complexity, the most impressive examples of *ars antiqua* polyphony are the compositions scored for four voices. Six such pieces have come down to us; three of them are attributed to Perotinus: settings of the graduals '*Viderunt omnes*' and '*Sederunt principes*,' and the clausula '*Mors*.'³ The remaining three compositions are conducti: '*Vetus abit littera*,' '*Deus misertus*,' and '*Mundus vergens*.' These half-a-dozen works are given pride of place at the beginning of the main manuscripts transmitting the 'Notre Dame' repertoire. Two generations after their composition Perotinus's works drew

3. '*Viderunt omnes*' for the third Mass on Christmas Day and the Circumcision; '*Sederunt principes*' for Mass on the feast of St Stephen; '*Mors*' [*'Alleluia. Cristus resurgens'*] for Mass and Vespers (as a Responsory) during Easter Week and on Sunday before the Ascension.

comment from Anonymous IV,⁴ that invaluable English informant about Notre Dame's *Magnus liber organi* and repertoires associated with its cantor-'composers.'

Not surprisingly the discovery of another four-voice conductus, '*Omnia beneficia*,' was an occasion of some moment. Written in score on one side of a loose folio, this short four-voice piece was brought to light in May 1970 by Professor Mirosław Perz while he was researching *PL-Stk2*. Perhaps because the discovery coincided with Perz's work on *Magnus liber* and related material, and the fact that the only other examples of four-voice conductus are transmitted with that Parisian liturgical repertoire, a putative Notre-Dame association attached itself to '*Omnia beneficia*' from the outset: "Notre Dame after all?" ran the headline of Perz's article in the popular fortnightly, *Ruch Muzyczny*.⁵

Thirty years on, a more circumspect approach now prevails in attributing Parisian provenance to *ars antiqua* pieces, especially conducti. As Mark Everist has pointed out

Some healthy scepticism about the Parisian origins of the polyphonic *conductus* is justifiable... It is much less clearly tied to Paris than is, for example, the *organum* of the *Magnus liber organi*. The assumption that Paris was the primary centre for the composition and cultivation of the polyphonic *conductus* depends to a much greater extent on concordances than is the case with other polyphonic genres.⁶

4. Fritz Reckow, ed., *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967), I: 45-46.

5. Mirosław Perz, "A jednak Notre Dame?" *Ruch Muzyczny* 17 (1 October 1971): 6-7.

6. Mark Everist, "A new source for the polyphonic conductus: MS 117* in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge," *Plainsong and*

'*Omnia beneficia*,' despite its intrinsic interest (and popularity as the signature tune of an early-music festival), has drawn almost no comment in the scholarly literature since its publication in the monumental series *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*,⁷ nor, for that matter, has the folio been subjected to the close scrutiny that it deserves. To be sure, the fact that it was framed and hung on a wall in the convent shortly after Perz completed his research has not

Medieval Music 3, no. 2 (1994): 151. Everist's views are amplified by Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs, 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), 10: "It remains uncertain, however, whether there is any such thing as 'Notre-Dame conductus', or indeed whether it is wise to speak so freely of 'the conductus'."

'Common repertory,' the term proposed by Nicky Losseff in place of 'Notre-Dame conductus' has much to recommend it and is adopted in this paper. See *The Best Concords. Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century Britain*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1994), xvii and SVI, 169.

7. Mirosław Perz, ed., *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Facsimiles)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 13 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973), xx & 12; Mirosław Perz, ed., Henryk Kowalewicz, trans., *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Transcriptions)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 14 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1976), 15-16 & 197; Mirosław Perz, "Organum, conductus i średniowieczny motet w Polsce: źródła i problemy," *Muzyka* 18, no. 4 (1973): 9-11; Jaromír Černý, "Česki aspekt polských zdrojů polifonie středověké," *Muzyka* 21, no. 1 (1976): 99; Charles E. Brewer, "The Introduction of the 'ars nova' into East Central Europe: A Study of the late Medieval Polish Sources," Ph.D. diss. (New York: City University of New York, 1984), 124-25. Brewer did not inspect the Stary Sącz material at first hand (personal communication 20 July 1993). His descriptions are taken from Perz's studies cited above. E. Fred Flindell has made passing reference to *Omnia beneficia*, but he too was relying on Perz's research: "The four-part conductus in F, ff.8v-10v," unpublished conference paper, 20th Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1992).

facilitated paleographic examinations of it.⁸ Even at first glance, however, it is apparent that the differences between '*Omnia beneficia*' and the other three examples of four-voice conductus are more striking, its four-part score format notwithstanding, than points of similarity.

At the time it came to Mirosław Perz's attention the folio was sewn together with another one of similar size which contained unrelated music. Together they served as a wrapper for a book details of which have not been recorded.⁹ Shortly after their discovery the two folia were separated. Eschewing RISM conventions Perz gave '*Omnia beneficia*' the siglum *St S₂* and the other folio, *St S₄*. Since there is no dedicated entry on '*Omnia beneficia*' in RISM the Perz siglum-number therefore must be used. Unfortunately, however, Perz did not number the pieces on the verso of the four-voice conductus. Hereafter, the siglum *PL-STk* (Perz *St S₂*), being the monastery's correct RISM siglum plus Perz siglum-number, will be used to designate the folio as a whole, i.e. four

8. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Very Rev. Mother Małgorzata Michalik, Abbess of St Kinga's Convent of the Poor Clares, for the hospitality extended to me on my several visits to the convent. In particular I am most grateful for the colour photos of both sides of this folio and for permission to reproduce them in published research (personal communication, 7 January 1994).

9. *AMiP* 13, p.xx: "On the page v the figure 1772, written in ink, was probably its call number". Since no item in the convent library carries a call or shelf number over 900, it is more likely that the figure refers to the year of one of the convent's 18th-century account Registers, several of which have parchment covers. See Wiktor Bazielić, "Dawna biblioteka starosądeckich klarysek," typescript and annotated catalogue (*Stary Sącz: Klasztor PP. Klarysek, 1946-49*), 233.

compositions: '*Omnia beneficia*'¹⁰ '*Ave mater gracie. Amen,*' a second *Amen*, and a *Benedicamus domino*.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

See Figure 2.1. The folio leaf of *PL-STk* (Perz St *S*₂) measures 270 x 184 mm. It is badly creased across the middle and perforated in two places. Both the top and the binding margin have been trimmed. The lighter 'flesh' side containing short liturgical pieces notated by two different music scribes was completed later than '*Omnia beneficia*,' and is therefore more likely to be the verso. Perz inclines to the opposite view, but gives no reasons.¹¹

Measuring 146 x 198 mm., the written block recto is ruled into two systems of four five-line staves with a 16 mm. space between them for the double text-lines. Rastrum line gauge for the music staves is 4 mm. The written block of the folio verso measures 146 x 225 mm. Although 27 mm longer and ruled for monophonic genres, other block measurements are identical or proportional to those on the recto: width and rastrum gauge are the same for the nine five-line staves, and text space of 8-9 mm is half that for double-text lines of

10. Perz, *AMiP* 13 (*Facs.*), xxxii & 179; Perz and Kowalewicz, *AMiP* 14 (*Transc.*), 166 & 477-78. There is yet another new identifying number for *PL-STk* (Perz St *S*₂), namely "Mus.7", written within the monastery stamp which has been affixed recently (after 1993) to the folio recto top left-hand corner. See Sr Salomea, comp., "[Annotated inventory of music manuscripts and incunabula held in the library and archives of St Kinga's Poor Clare monastery, Stary Sącz]," Unpublished typescript in Polish (Stary Sącz: Klasztor PP. Klarysek, 1996)

11. Perz, *AMiP* 13 (*Facs.*), xx.

'*Omnia beneficia*.' Similar oxidized dry-point vertical rulings for margins can be seen on both sides of the folio.

Decorative components in the flourished initials, and their identical red and green pigmentation further strengthen the case for regarding both sides of *PL-STk* (Perz St S₂) as having been prepared at, or around, the same time. On the recto the initial *O*[*mnia*] in red extends from the base of the text line through to the bottom line of the duplum stave. The four voices are indented to align with the second letter. The initial's decorative components include dual extenders which run the full length of the block, and green, bubble curlicue flourishing atop the initial. The same motif is incorporated into infilling in the upper part of the initial. Traces of the green flourishing ink can also be seen midway along upper and lower extender.

On the verso (Figure 2.3) there are two coloured minor initials, flush left: red *A*[*ve*], pen-flourished in green on the top stave; and green *B*[*enedicamus*], unflourished on the bottom stave. Three calligraphic initials mark the start of versicles and second strophe of the sequence; the concluding *A*[*men*] is monochrome. Bubble curlicues employed in the flourishing of the recto *O*[*mnia*] can be seen as infilling of *A*[*ve*], and as a component in the decoration of calligraphic initials, *M*[*aria*], *H*[*inc*].

Text hands on recto and verso are clearly different; it is likely, moreover, that a third hand was responsible for the later additions, *Benedicamus domino* and (second) *Amen* which fill up the one and half staves left over after 'Ave

mater gracie. Amen.' Script is *littera textualis formata*, a widely dispersed style which remained current in Bohemia, Silesia and Poland for almost two centuries (13-15th). Although some fourteenth-century manuscripts from this area of Central Europe region exhibit distinctive traits,¹² the script itself, particularly in liturgical codices, provides no more than a rough guide in determining provenance and date. For this reason, the Polish paleographer Władysław Semkowicz believes that one needs to allow a margin of error of at least half a century when estimating the date of Polish manuscripts written in *littera textualis formata*.¹³ On the evidence of the script alone *PL-STk* (Perz St S_2) probably dates from around the middle of the fourteenth century.

NOTATION

Both sides of *PL-STk* (Perz St S_2) are written in black square notation, the work of three different scribes. The *cum littera*, presumably modal notation of '*Omnia beneficia*' employs *simplices* and *binariae* exclusively and shows no evidence of mensural alteration. The notation of the plainchant on the verso displays a number of characteristics atypical of *nota quadrata*. In '*Ave mater gracie. Amen.*' for

12. Bernhard Bischoff refers to 'flame-like squares' in the upper quadrangles as a stylistic trait of this region. *Latin Palaeography, Antiquity & the Middle Ages*, translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 134.

13. Władysław Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, 2nd ed., Unrevised 1951 ed. with corrections, with an afterword by Bożena Wyrozumska, (Kraków: Universitas, 2002), 344.

example, composite neumes almost without exception have *plica*-like, hair-line stems attached to their final element. This scribal trait does not extend to the *virga*; distinguishing it from the *punctum* is rarely problematic. The trait can also be seen in the F-clef characterised as it is by a double hair-line trailer.¹⁴ The staves for 'Ave mater gracie. Amen,' have both clefs (missing from the eighth stave) for 'Benedicamus domino.' Here, the third scribe employs a rounded-letter form of the C-clef quite different from the vertical two-stroke form used by the folio's other two scribes.

Of broader implications is the variant form of the *porrectus* found in 'Ave mater gracie. Amen.' In a recent study of notation in Polish chant manuscripts the Hungarian paleographer and musicologist, Janka Szendrei, noted that "in Poland, the cultivation of square notation is best documented by Franciscan liturgical codices." Accordingly, she analysed the oldest copies of the Order's service books, the majority of which happen to be found in Clarist houses, i.e. St Andrew's, Kraków, and St Kinga's, Stary Sacz. Referring specifically to the St Andrew's exemplar Gradual, PL-Kklar205, she made the following observations:

14. A similar style clef (fifth and sixth of the seven forms illustrated) can be seen in Willi Apel's presentation of the chronological order of the main forms of F-clefs in *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600.*, 5th ed., Revised with Commentary, The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 38 (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 9. See also David Hiley's discussion in "Schlüssel und Liniensystem," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, Sachteil, edited by Ludwig Finscher (Kassel & Stuttgart: Bärenreiter & Metzler, 1994), 1116.

the *porrectus* is a thick stroke (a diagonal) descending obliquely to the right after a thin vertical initial line; the last notehead - differently from the French model - inclines to the right instead of turning back above the diagonal.¹⁵

Her description accords precisely with the form of *porrectus* found in '*Ave mater gracie. Amen.*' The ramifications of this notational connection between *PL-STk* (Perz St *S₂*) and thirteenth-century Clarist service books will be taken up below when the provenance of the folio's musical items is considered.

Punctum-type custodes are observable on both sides though they differ somewhat in form. Their presence at the end of the second system of '*Omnia beneficia*' led Gordon Anderson to conclude that

less than half the conductus has been preserved, on what must be the verso side of the sheet: *custodes* are present for the continuation and the text is clearly only part of the whole¹⁶

Anderson did not have the advantage of studying the original;

15. Janka Szendrei, "Staff Notation in Polish Chant Sources from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century," in *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources 11th - 16th Century*, edited by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2001), 200 and Plate III/11. "A palaeographical survey of square notation has not yet been carried out. Strangely enough, the most widely spread type of notation proves to be the least researched area of musical palaeography... Whenever 'classical square notation' is mentioned, the set of signs based on the central French neume structures in the environment of Paris is meant, cf. e.g. PalMus III (1892), pl.207. Though it served as a model for all further square notations, individual regions transformed its set of neumes under the influence of their earlier notations, so that there existed several kinds of square notation. The influence of mensural notations also brought about different notational variants." (*idem* 198 n.35)

16. Gordon A. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, Part 9: Three-Part Conductus in Related Sources, Collected Works 10/9* (Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), 123.

his observations were based on the published facsimile alone.

Perz inclines to the opposite view:

there is no certainty it is the whole piece - it might have a continuation, though that would seem not very likely.¹⁷

The pitches indicated by the *custodes* at the end of the second system are the same notes on which the piece begins. The *custodes* can therefore be read in two ways: as indicating the beginning of the third strophe (or next paired strophe) set to different music which just happens to start on the very same vertical sonority as the opening of the composition; or as indicating a musical repeat of a piece in strophic form, the text of its third and subsequent strophes being transmitted elsewhere.¹⁸ The latter interpretation seems the more likely but the question must remain open.

Unlike other paired-strophe conducti which consign the text of the pair-double to the margin or have it following immediately after the music, '*Omnia beneficia*' employs double-text lines. Uncommon though this format is in the conductus repertoire, pieces notated in score with double text lines are not uncommon in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English *cantilena* genre, particularly in

17. "nie ma pewności, czy jest to utwór cały - mógł mieć ciąg dalszy, co wydaje się jednak mało prawdopodobne." Perz, "A jednak Notre Dame?" 7.

18. The number of poetically and/or musically paired-strophe conducti is very small: none in the four-part, four in the three-part, and six in two-part repertoire. The form is primarily associated with monophonic conductus; ten examples can be found I-F1 Plut.29,1. The topic is discussed at length in Ronald Edwin Voogt, "Repetition and Structure in the Three- and Four-Part Conductus of the Notre Dame School," Ph.D. diss. (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1982), 134-52.

the three-voice free settings without *cantus firmus*. These pieces William Summers has designated

sequences for want of a better term, though most of them have no direct connection with known sequence texts or repertoires.¹⁹

The term *cantilena*, as John Caldwell has pointed out, can be applied to a wide range of material from *conductus* and *versus* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to the carole and similar pieces in the fifteenth.²⁰ Its applicability to '*Omnia beneficia*' is circumscribed by the fact that our piece is not treble dominated, the *quadruplum* being no more distinctive melodically than the three other voices, and the harmony is notably lacking in parallel imperfect consonances which are a hallmark of the *cantilena*.²¹

For strophic religious songs that are not processional and do not fall into any well-defined category, John Stevens

19. William John Summers, "The Effect of Monasticism on Fourteenth-Century English Music," in *La musique et le rite sacré et profane. Actes du XIII^e Congrès de la Société Internationale de Musicologie, Strasbourg, 29 août - 3 septembre 1982*, edited by Marc Honegger and Paul Prévost (Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 1986), 113. For facsimiles of such pieces from some ten different insular manuscripts, see William John Summers, *English Fourteenth-Century Polyphony: Facsimile Edition of Sources Notated in Score*, Münchner Editionen zur Musikgeschichte, 4 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983).

20. John Caldwell, *The Oxford History of English Music*, Vol. 1: From the beginnings to c.1715 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 96.

21. "I do not think the English *cantilena* has anything to do with the *conductus per se*... This may be an overstatement, but so little attention has been paid to the rather substantial polyphonic corpus from 14th-century England, that no-one seems to be looking for linkages, me included." I am most grateful to Professor Summers for this personal communication (7 March 2002).

prefers the generic term *cantio*,²² a genre that was widely cultivated in the lands neighbouring Stary Sącz, Bohemia and Silesia.²³ While the strophic AAB form of '*Omnia beneficia*' is typical of *cantio*, as are its short rhyming lines and half-lines,²⁴ the applicability of the term to our piece is circumscribed by the fact that '*Omnia beneficia*' has no refrain which, although not an essential feature of the *cantio*, was nonetheless one of the genre's most common attributes.²⁵

TABLE 2.1²⁶

1	Omnia beneficia	8	Sapui <u>sicut</u> fatui
2	gaudia generancia	9	nam cui [potens adfui]*
3	varia <u>que</u> dat <u>gracia</u>	10	posui [autem] nutui**

22. John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages. Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 50-51.

23. Jaromír Černý, "Vícehlasé písně konduktového typu pramenech 15. století," *Miscellanea Musicologica. Sborník Univerzity Karlovy* 31 (1984): 39-142. The thirteen conductus-type pieces studied Černý are mostly two-part; he draws no parallels between any of the texts and that of '*Omnia beneficia*.'

24. The first four lines of both strophes, sections AA, are octosyllabic each beginning with a trisyllabic word which rhymes with the line ending: 'a' (1-4), 'ui' (8-11). This A-section rhyme returns at the end of the strophe, concluding the three-line quintsyllabic B section.

25. John Caldwell, "Cantio," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols., edited by John Tyrrell and Stanley Sadie (London & New York: Grove, 2001), 5: 58.

26. Expansions of abbreviations are underlined.
Conjectural variants: * nam ait potui ita (AMiP)

** posui [...] mitui (AMiP)

*** sonui (Gordon Anderson)

I am indebted to Dr Constant Mews for his assistance with the Latin text and translation.

4	dulcia movens studia	11	renui prout potui
5	Laudare deum	21	Si nunc regiro
6	qui salvat reum	22	non est pro miro
7	data venia	23	quia senui***

All the benefits that generate the many joys which grace gives promoting sweet efforts to praise God to save the sinner by pardon given

I have tasted [all these benefits] just as I have said, for, to Him to whom I have been fully present, I have recalled [them]; but I vacillated, I refused [them] as was my want. If now I am turning again, that is not surprising because I have grown old.

Perhaps the most curious feature of '*Omnia beneficia*' is what one might term the incongruity between text and setting. In 'common repertory' conductus the subject matter has little relationship with the number of voice-parts or the musical style of the composition. Be that as it may, one searches the repertoire in vain for any comparable examples of texts overtly confessional in tone, displaying considerable poetic artifice, and couched in the first-person singular, let alone texts of this type set to music in the most imposing scoring then known. It is, moreover, hard to conceive of such a text being appropriate for any of the traditional, mostly processional, occasions when conducti were sung:

introducing the reading of the Epistle or Gosple at Mass or the *lectio* at Matins, as substitutes for or 'tropes' of the *Benedicamus domino*, as replacements for other chants, such as the Offertory and Sequence, as music for such special ceremonies as the coronation and funeral rites, as moral and didactic pieces that might be used

along with the Homily²⁷

The genre which best accommodates the poetic qualities and personal tone of '*Omnia beneficia*' is *pia dictamina*. Primarily used by clergy and religious in their private devotions and spiritual exercises, these prayer-hymns existed before the twelfth century. They reached the apogee of their popularity during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the increasing demand, the "apparently universal desire" for more personal and direct forms of religious expression that came about in the late Middle Ages.²⁸ Jozsef Szövérfy attributes the genre's unprecedented heights of popularity to twin developments, namely, the production of private books of Hours and the rise of the beguines and mendicant orders.²⁹ And, contrary to received opinion, he is convinced that *pia dictamina* were sung:

A common false assumption needs to be cleared up [viz. that] an essential difference between paraliturgical songs and *pia dictamina* is seen above all in the paraliturgical group always being intended for singing while the latter group never was. This is a mistake, however; a number of *pia dictamina* are provided with melodies. '*O crux frutex salvificus*,' the Pseudo-Bonaventure song to Catherine, appears with melody in the manuscript D-DS 2777. '*Te matrem Dei laudamus*,' the non-liturgical *Te Deum* parody referring to Mary, is

27. Edward H. Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris, I: Les Quadrupla et Tripla de Paris*, Musica Gallica (Les Remparts, Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), General Preface, lviii.

28. Patrick Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An ars poetica* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 49.

29. Jozsef Szövérfy, "Hymns, Latin," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 6: 380.

found both with and without music. A number of further examples could be marshalled to show that some *pia dictamina* were definitely intended for singing. We have to assume that the *pia dictamina* in these instances were intended not so much for private devotion as for group devotions that had no official liturgical character. In such cases one could sing these songs collectively alternating them with readings and prayers. This mode of deployment gives the *pia dictamina* a whole new dimension and perhaps explains why many of them display sequence structure or structural elements of paraliturgical hymns.³⁰

Furthermore, for *pia dictamina* transmitted without music there is a strong likelihood that they too were sung, most probably to tunes whose very familiarity obviated the necessity of being written down.³¹

30. "Eine allgemeine falsche Annahme muß aus dem Wege geräumt werden. Man sieht einen Wesensunterschied zwischen paraliturgischen Gesängen und *Pia dictamina* vor allem darin, daß die paraliturgische Gruppe immer zum Singen bestimmt seien, die *Pia dictamina* nie. Dies ist jedoch ein Irrtum. Es gibt eine Anzahl von *Pia dictamina*, die mit Melodie versehen sind. So eine Katharina-Lied (AH 33. 111 [133]): 'O crux frutex salvificus' (Pseudo-Bonaventura) erscheint in der HS Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibl. 2777 mit Melodie. Die nicht-liturgische *Te-Deum*-Parodie (auf Marie bezogen) 'Te matrem Dei laudamus' kommt sowohl mit, wie auch ohne Musik vor. Man könnte noch eine Anzahl von weiteren Beispielen sammeln, die uns zeigen, daß manche *Pia dictamina* eigentlich für singen bestimmt waren. In diesen Fällen müssen wir voraussetzen, daß solche *Pia dictamina* nicht so sehr für die Privatandacht bestimmt waren, sondern eher für Gruppenandacht ohne offiziellen, liturgischen Charakter. In solchen Fällen mochte man diese Lieder abwechselnd mit Lesungen und Gebeten gruppenweise singen. Diese Anwendungsweise gibt den *Pia dictamina* eine ganz neue Dimension und erklärt es vielleicht, daß manche von ihnen Sequenzenbau oder Strukturelemente von paraliturgischen Hymnen aufweisen." Joseph Szövérfy, "Zur Frage von Funktionstypen mittellateinischer Lyrik. Paraliturgische Hymnenformen und *Pia Dictamina* im späten Mittelalter," in *Lyrik des ausgehenden 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Franz Viktor Spechtler, Chloë: Beihefte zum Daphnis, 1 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1983), 307.

31. My thanks to Dr Constant Mews for this observation (private communication 5 April 2002).

internally articulated by the octosyllabic lines, whereas the two phrases in section B are cut across by its three quintosyllabic lines. This obscures the parallelism between the sections' antecedent phrases and accentuates the commonality of their consequent phrases. Although one cannot be sure, it appears more likely that the foundation melody of 'Omnia beneficia' is a *cantus prius factus* rather than a tune which would fulfil Franco of Cologne's well known dictum regarding the composition of conductus:

he who wishes to write a conductus must first invent as beautiful a melody as he can, then, as previously explained, use it as a tenor is used in writing discant [...]. He who wishes to construct a quadruplum or quintuplum ought to have in mind the melodies already written, so that if it be discondant with one, it will be in concord with the others."³³

Whether the melody was newly conceived with the poetic and accentual properties of 'Omnia beneficia' in mind, or was a pre-existent tune reworked for the purpose, there can be no mistaking its pentatonicism nor its irregular cadential progression, *B-d*, employed in the final cadences of both

33. "qui vult facere conductum, primum cantum invenire debet pulcriorem quam potest; deinde uti debet illo, ut de tenore faciendo discantum, ut dictum est prius [...]. Qui autem quadruplum vel quintuplum facere voluerit, inspicere debet cantus prius factos, ut si cum uno discordet, com aliis in concordantiis habeantur;" Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, edited by Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), 73-74; translation by Oliver Strunk, revised by James McKinnon, in *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed., Leo Treitler, gen. ed. (New York & London: W.W. Norton, 1998), 241-42. If Franco's treatise does date from c.1280 (see McKinnon's introduction, 227) it would be closer in time to 'Omnia beneficia' than to the three 4-voice conductus in *I-F1 Plut.29,1*.

For a tabular listing and of conductus based on pre-existent material and a discussion of their modal characteristics, see Vincent J. Corrigan, "The Style of the Notre-Dame Conductus," Ph.D. diss. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980), 54-56.

sections.³⁴ The penultimate *B*, moreover, cannot be read as *B^b*, common though that *musica-ficta* alteration is in late medieval *protus plagalis* melodies, as it would result in tritones between the tenor and two upper voices, the *duplum* and *quadruplum*.

The pentatonicism of '*Omnia beneficia*' and the prominence given the minor 3rd combine to produce a modal quality decidedly uncharacteristic of 'common repertory' conductus. It is more suggestive of the sound-world of East and Central Europe, of the distinctive quality imparted by the melodic inflection which, in monophonic repertoires, is commonly referred to as the 'Germanic' dialect.³⁵

34. A check of the conductus repertory, both monophonic and polyphonic, reveals only one other piece with a *subfinalis* minor-3rd cadential approach: '*A sinu patris mittitur*' found among the Latin rondeaux in the eleventh fascicle of *I-Fl Plut.29,1* f.456v.

35. For a phenomenon so widespread and so striking the literature is surprisingly sparse. It was first described by Peter Wagner almost a century ago in the second edition of his *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, II: Neumenkunde. Paläographie des liturgischen Gesanges*, 2nd ed., reprint, 1970 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1912), 323-43 & 443-48. This was followed by two, more detailed accounts, "Germanisches und Romanisches im frühmittelalterlichen Kirchengesang," in *Bericht über den I. musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß der deutschen Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig vom 4. bis 8. Juni 1925* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1926), 21-34; and in the Introduction to *Das Graduale der St. Thomaskirche zu Leipzig (XIV. Jahrhundert) als Zeuge deutscher Choralüberlieferung, 2, Mit einer Untersuchung über den germanischen Dialekt des gregorianischen Gesanges*, reprint, 1967, *Publikationen älterer Musik*, 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1932), 5-64.

The most recent studies are by Maria-Elisabeth Heisler, "Die Problematik des 'germanischen' oder 'deutschen' Choral-dialekts," *Studia musicologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1985): 67-82; and Alexander Blachly, "Some Observations on the 'Germanic' Plainchant Tradition," in *Studies in medieval music. Festschrift for Ernest Sanders*, edited by Peter M. Lefferts and Brian Seirup, *Current Musicology*, Vol. 45-47 (New York: Trustees of Columbia University, 1990), 85-118.

'Germanic' is an infelicitous designation of this dialect for the phenomenon is by no means limited to Germanic sources, however broadly that term be understood. It is found in manuscripts of West-European provenance, but it is most prevalent in present-day Polish, Hungarian, Slovak-Bohemian, and German sources. Not surprising, therefore, it is more frequently encountered in books written in Hufnagel, Messine/Lorraine, or St Gall neumes, that is, in the notational style which predominated in those areas. Orders which adopted a reformed liturgy, the Franciscans and Dominicans, stipulated the use of square notation in their service books. They too, despite the high level of internal consistency in their books, were not immune to the dialect. Maria-Elizabeth Heisler's research has shown that in books of German provenance belonging to these orders 'Germanic' dialectal variants can still be found, albeit markedly fewer than in books written in German neumes.³⁶

In monophony, a propensity towards pentatonicism is an inevitable consequence of the predilection for minor 3rds over major/minor 2nds, the defining characteristic of

For studies of 'German' dialect in Polish and Bohemian sources see Hieronim Feicht, "Muzyka liturgiczna w polskim średniowieczu," in *Studia nad muzyką polskiego średniowiecza*, Zofia Lissa, gen. ed., Opera Musicologica Hieronymi Feicht, 1 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975), 320-25; and David Eben, "Tradice gregoránského chorálu v Čechách - minulost a současnost," in *Kirchenmusikalisches Symposium. Verpflichtungen und Möglichkeiten in Ausbildung und Praxis der Musica Sacra im Licht der Weisungen des II. Vatikanischen Konzils*, edited by Marie Nováková, Musicae Sacrae Ministerium, 31/1-2 (Rome: Consociatio Internationalis Musicae Sacrae, 1994), 49ff.

36. Heisler, "Problematik des Choralldialekts," 70.

'Germanic' dialect.³⁷ If the pervasiveness of this colouring were such that even Franciscan liturgical books were not impervious to it, might we not expect the dialectal variant to show up in the para- and non-liturgical genres of conductus and *pia dictamina* which were particularly susceptible to regional, extra-mural musical influences, and the more so when pieces in those genres originated in Eastern and Central Europe?³⁸

THE MUSIC: VERSO

The sequence '*Ave mater gracie. Amen*' which takes up eight and a half staves of the verso is transmitted in three manuscripts.³⁹ The shorter version with music is found in two Bohemian manuscripts: a Franciscan service book, CZ-Pu IE 12 ff.76v-77,⁴⁰ and a miscellany written by a Franciscan, PL-

37. Blachly points out that, as long ago as 1907, Hugo Riemann had posited the existence of a 'connection between pentatonicism within the Gregorian repertory and the Germanic tradition.' "Some Observations," 98.

38. Jerzy Dówiat notes the existence of a huge repertoire of little-known semi-religious Latin song-poetry having no particular liturgical connections i.e. *pia dictamina*, and remarks on its connection with mendicant chant and local popular song in 13th-century Poland. See "Krag uczony i jego instytucje," in *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X-XII w.*, edited by Jerzy Dówiat (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985), 420-23.

39. Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Sequentiae ineditae. Liturgische Prosen, Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 10 & 34 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1891/1900), 34: 95-96 #114 & 10: 103-04 #134

40. Prague, Národní a universitní knihovna hudebná oddělení. 14-15th century Franciscan Gradual, Troper, Sequencer and Kyriale. See Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur* (Prague: Academia nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1973), I: n.14, 70-73.

WRu 466 ff.12v-13.⁴¹ (See Figure 2.4) A longer, text-only transmission occurs in GB-Lbl Add.11414 f.300, a Sarum missal from Lincolnshire.⁴²

TABLE 2.2⁴³

Ia	Ib
1 Ave mater <u>gracie</u>	5 Pietatis rivulus
2 <u>virginale</u> speculum	6 quo manat remedium
3 oculus clemencie	7 hiis qui pro criminibus
4 reorum refugium	8 merentur <u>suplicium</u>
IIa	IIb
9 Maria considera	13 Huic* ergo impera
10 cui refrigerio	14 matris privilegio
11 suum pectus ubera	15 ne post carnis funera
12 dedisti <u>cum gremio</u>	16 nos tradat suplicio
	17 Amen

For a recent entry, see <www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/introl_en.htm>, 14 April 2003.

41. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka. The codex was written in 1417 by Nicholas of Cosel [Mikuláš z Kozlí, b.1390] in the Franciscan monastery in Čáslav, Bohemia. It is a miscellany containing popular songs in Czech, Polish and German, a music treatise, vernacular poetry, diary entries, and various Latin liturgical items such as sequences and troped alleluias. Instead of the square notation one expects in a Franciscan book, Nicholas's codex employs proto-gothic neumes of the type Solage Corbin called 'Central-European, Lorraine-style' (see *New Grove* [1980] 13:135, illus. #11).

42. London, British Library. For catalogue entry, see <http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/DESC0010.ASP?CiRestriction=5167.htm&strHead=Add.11414>: "Lectiones et Officia per circulum anni. Codex

TRANSLATION

Hail mother of grace, virginal mirror, eye of mercy, refuge of sinners. Stream of piety through which a cure flows to those who deserve punishment for their wrong-doing.

Mary, be mindful of the One who whose refreshment you gave your breasts and lap to his bosom. Enjoin Him therefore through the privilege of your motherhood to deliver us not into punishment after the burial of our flesh. Amen.

It would appear that the territorial spread of 'Ave mater gracie' was limited to the area of Silesia and Bohemia, and that the *PL-STk* (Perz St *S₂*) transmission is most likely the earliest.⁴⁴ Both Mirosław Perz and Jaromír Černý ascribe this sequence to the Franciscans of the Polish-Czech province.⁴⁵

The *Amen* which concludes the sequence is treated as an entity in its own right. Manuscript *Cz-Pu IE 12* omits it; *PL-WRu IQ 466* has a short, seven-note version which is

membranaceus, sec. xiv. Quarto." Unnoted; proser section at the end of the manuscript.

43. Orthography follows *PL-STk* (Perz St *S₂*). Variants: line 1. gratiae (*CZ-Pu, BG-Lbl*); 3. hortulus clementiae (*CZ-Pu, BG-Lbl*); 7. his (*CZ-Pu, BG-Lbl*); 8. supplicium (*CZ-Pu, BG-Lbl*); 10. cuius (*GB-Lbl*); 11. tuum (*CZ-Pu*), lumen (*GB-Lbl*); 16. reddat supplicio (*CZ-Pu, BG-Lbl*).

44. No research has been done on *GB-Lbl Add.11414* for over a century. What might account for its containing a Franciscan sequence text is open to speculation. (Private communication from Dr Alixe Bovey, British Library, 10 April 2002)

45. Perz, "Organum, conductus i motet," 9; Černý, "Czeski aspekt," 98. 'Ave mater gracie' is not among the 475 sequences catalogued by Jerzy Pikulik in his *Indeks sekwencji w polskich rękopisach muzycznych. Sekwencje zespołu rękopisów tarnowskich* (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1974) although *PL-WRu 466* is one of the 101 diocesan and monastic manuscripts in the list of sources.

melodically unrelated to the more extended *PL-STk* (Perz St S₂) setting. Following this nineteen-note *Amen* on the same stave is a another *Amen*. The text scribe has cued its initial in monochrome in a manner very similar to the first *Amen*; the music notation is by the scribe of the *Benedicamus domino*, the item which fills the ninth and final stave on the verso. This second *Amen*, some six notes shorter than the previous one, cannot be meant to follow the *Benedicamus domino* for not only is it the incorrect response to the versicle, it is also in a different mode. Its *finalis* is F (mode V) whereas the *Benedicamus domino* is securely in deuterus plagalis (mode IV) with *finalis* on E.⁴⁶

In his commentary on the published facsimile of '*Omnia beneficia*' Perz also made some observations regarding the other side of the folio. He noted *en passant* that

In the upper right-hand corner of this page the faded trace of an annotation *org.* is discernible. Attempts to connect polyphonically individual musical bits yield no results whatsoever.⁴⁷

Given the present state of the parchment it is not possible to confirm the existence of any such an annotation. It is

46. A *Benedicamus domino* with *finalis* on E is itself a rare occurrence since the vast majority are in either protus or tetradus modes. See Michel Huglo, "Les débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: les premiers *organa* parisiens," in *Aktuelle Fragen der Musikbezogenen Mittelalterforschung: Texte zu einem Basler Kolloquium des Jahres 1975*, edited by Hans Oesch and Wulf Arlt, *Forum musicologicum: Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte*, 3 (Basel: Amadeus, 1982), 119. This *Benedicamus domino* is No.52 in Barbara Barclay's catalogue; the reference manuscript she cites is a 16th-century Sequentiary, CH-SG 546. See "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," Ph.D. diss. (Los Angeles: University of California, 1977), 50 & 71.

47. Perz, *AMiP* 13 (Facs.), xx.

possible, however, to disprove Perz's negative claim about polyphonic realisations. Figure 2.5 shows the two *Amens* vertically aligned to produce two-part organum. Whatever reservations one might have regarding the resultant counterpoint, organal performance of the *Amens* does provide a plausible solution to the puzzle of why a later scribe should have added a second *Amen*, in the same mode, immediately following the first on the same stave.⁴⁸

PL-STk (Perz St *S*₂) presents three different items, two pieces of liturgical plainchant appropriate for Mass (*Benedicamus domino* was a frequent substitute for the *Ita missa est*) on one side, and a non-liturgical piece in four-part polyphony on the other. Franciscan connections are clear in the case of the sequence since its music is transmitted only in Franciscan manuscripts. In the case of '*Omnia beneficia*' a Franciscan association, albeit tenuous, could be made on the basis of its text, the personal and confessional tone of which is typical of the devotional lyrics, *pia dictamina*, cultivated by the Franciscans. The historiographer, Jan Dąbrowski referred to the Order as the 'locus of literacy' [ośrodek pisarski] in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Poland, and especially in Małopolska. Their long-standing contacts with other communities of friars and Poor Clares (in Naples and Hungary pre-eminently) and their privileged entrée over several generations to Piast ducal courts can be seen in the Order's written legacy of

48. Monophonic sequences concluding with a polyphonic *Amen* can be found in *F-Pn* 5247, *GB-Lbl* Egerton 945 and *I-Rvat* 9340.

annals, chronicles and *vitae sanctorum*.⁴⁹ There are other aspects of *PL-STk* (Perz St *S₂*), musical and paleographic, which argue for its being seen as the product of regional or local compositional activity, most probably within a Franciscan milieu, viz. the pentatonicism of '*Omnia beneficia*,' and the variant form of the *porrectus* neume in '*Ave mater gracie*' and the *Benedicamus domino*.

The question arises, What evidence is there for the existence of scriptoria in the Małopolska and Silesia region, and more specifically, for the existence of Franciscan scriptoria in the Polish-Czech province during the period relevant to this study, the mid-thirteenth to the second half of the fourteenth century? The likelihood that a Franciscan scriptorium did exist in Małopolska around the turn of the thirteenth century is frequently advanced in the Polish-language literature and this is repeated in *RISM*. But, to date, no document has been found which proves the Order had its own scriptorium in Małopolska or Silesia during this period.⁵⁰ The most convincing case for concluding that local Franciscans were involved in the production of liturgical manuscripts is mounted by the art historian, Barbara Miodońska. In her study of the oldest Franciscan service books she noted that there are decorative similarities

49. Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964), 63-64.

50. Henryk Cempura, "Starosądecki Graduał franciszkański z drugiej połowy XIII wieku," *Masters thesis*, Wydział Muzykologii Kościelnej (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1966), 70.

between the Stary Sacz Antiphonal, PL-STk1 olim 389/1 (see Figure 2.6) and supplements to the exemplar Gradual, PL-Kklar205. A colophon in the Gradual informs us that it was rebound by Matthew of Mazovia in 1340 at the request of the abbess of St Andrew's,⁵¹ at which time it was brought up to date with new chants and a polyphonic trope, 'Surrexit Cristus.' Miodońska concludes that

[PL-STk1] is undoubtedly the product of a Franciscan scriptorium in Małopolska made with the Poor Clares in mind [...] That is apparent from the liturgical text and the many iconographic motifs. Although one cannot completely exclude the possibility of its being the work of the Poor Clares, it seems more likely that it was produced in a Franciscan monastery in the Sadecki or some other Małopolska region. In any case it is tangible proof that the injunction to train Franciscan scribes was carried out. Its connection with a Małopolska Franciscan milieu is borne out by a fortuitously preserved fragment of manuscript from the same scriptorium which today is bound into the Kraków Poor Clares' Gradual no.205 [PL-Kklar205].⁵²

51. Colophon on f.239v of PL-Kklar205 reads: "Anno domini MCCCXL in mense marcio ego Mathias vicarius maioris ecclesie cracoviensis nacione de M[as]ovia hunc librum ligavi ad petitionem religiose domicelle abbatisse Rossale ad sanctum andream in Crac[ovia]." The date is probably awry; St Andrew's archives record 1332-34 and 1357-61 as the years when Domicela Rosłać was abbess. See Antonina Janusz OSC, "Geneza sióstr klarysek w Polsce," unpublished typescript (Kraków: Archiwum kościoła i klasztoru św. Andrzeja, 1979), 75. On scriptoria in Kraków during the 13-14th centuries, see Krystyna Muszyńska, "Skryptorium," in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, Aleksander Birkenmajer, Bronisław Kocowski, and Jan Trzynadłowski, exec. ed., (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), 2174-75.

52. "Jest to niewątpliwie dzieło małopolskiego skryptorium franciszkańskiego wykonane z myślą o klaryskach. Świadczy o tym nie tylko tekst liturgiczny, lecz i wiele motywów ikonograficznych... Nie można zupełnie wykluczyć, że Antyfonarz jest dziełem sióstr zakonnych, choć bardziej prawdopodobne wydaje się, iż wykonano go w sadeckim lub innym małopolskim klasztorze franciszkanów. W każdym razie jest on namacalnym świadectwem wypełnienia nakazu instrukcji o kształceniu własnych skryptorów zakonnych. Jego zakorzenienie w środowisku klarysek małopolskich potwierdza zachowany szczęśliwie fragment rękopisu z tego samego skryptorium oprawiony dziś razem z Graduałem nr 205 klarysek krakowskich." Barbara Miodońska, "Iluminacje Antyfonarza klarysek

Furthermore, motives in the drollery of *PL-STk1* correspond to the ornamental figures which can be seen decorating the chancel walls of the Stary Sącz Clares' church.⁵³

Evidence of a different sort, namely the variant form of the *porrectus* neume which was noted earlier in this chapter, can be advanced for regarding both *PL-STk1* and another Stary Sącz book contemporaneous with it (*Gradual PL-STk2*) as likely products of local Franciscan scribes who were trained on the exemplar manuscript *PL-Kklar205*. If Miodońska's art-historical evidence for local origin of *PL-STk1* is accepted then the presence in both codices of the *porrectus* variant can be explained in several ways: 1) one of the books was decorated locally and both were notated in the region abroad whence derives *PL-Kklar205*; 2) they were notated locally by scribes who were trained abroad; 3) the books were produced locally the music scribes having learnt the variant form of the *porrectus* through acquaintance with the Order's imported exemplar. If the last explanation appears the more likely, then it follows that the pieces on the verso of *PL-STk* (*Perz St S₂*) which employ the same variant form of the *porrectus* as the above-mentioned service books, were probably

starosądeckich," unpublished typescript (Kraków: Muzeum Czartoryskich, 1978), 6-7. I am most grateful to Dr Miodońska for providing me with a copy of her paper. Colour plates of the 'fortuitously preserved fragment' are reproduced in Tadeusz Maciejewski, "Elementy systemu menzuralnego w monodii chorałowej XIII-XVI wieku," in *Notae musicae artis. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI-XVI wieku*, edited by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999), 332-33 & 394.

53. Michał Walicki, gen. ed., *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, I/1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971), ill. 714.

also produced locally. It is worth noting that in the Order's oldest service book,⁵⁴ the so-called 'średni' Gradual in Stary Sacz (Figure 2.7), the *porrectus* variant is noticeably absent.⁵⁵ Like *PL-Kklar205*, this Gradual too is an import; unlike *PL-Kklar205* it did not serve as an exemplar manuscript.

Both *PL-STk1* and *PL-STk2*, Antiphonal and Gradual, have later polyphonic inserts similar in style to the *Benedicamus-domino* trope 'Surrexit Cristus,' that is believed to have been inserted in *PL-Kklar205* at the time of its rebinding in the mid-fourteenth century. Mirosław Perz takes this observation further; he posits a connection between these *cantus planus binatim*-style pieces, exemplified by 'Surrexit Cristus,' and our four-voice conductus, 'Omnia beneficia:'

certain aspects of the form of this short piece, suggest that what we have is a late, mannered redaction of an earlier type of conductus that had a far more highly developed modal-rhythmic scheme. We are dealing with a latish, possibly 'provincial' echo of a Notre-Dame genre the modal-rhythmic subtlety of which progressively waned over time, a genre that by the 14th century had become transformed into the unsophisticated constructions exemplified in Poland by 'Surrexit Cristus.'⁵⁶

54. Edyta Truszczyńska, "Graduał ms. 1 z Biblioteki SS. Klarysek w Starym Sączu," Unpublished Masters thesis. Wydział Kościelnych Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1991), 69.

55. Full details of the earliest Franciscan service books in St Andrew's, Kraków, and St Kinga's, Stary Sacz, are given in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

56. "pewne cechy formy niewielkiego utworu pozwalają sądzić, że chodzi tu o spóźnioną, manieryczną już redakcję dawnego, znacznie szerzej rozwijanego schematu modalnego conductus. Mamy więc do czynienia ze spóźnionym, jak gdyby 'prowincjonalnym' echem gatunku Notre Dame, który - pozbawiony z czasem subtelności obumierającej, skomplikowanej rytmiki modalnej - przerodził się w XIV stuleciu w prymitywizujące konstrukcje egzemplikowane w Polsce

True, no documentary evidence has been found to prove the existence of a Franciscan scriptorium in Małopolska in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but the combined art-historical and musicological evidence strongly suggests that scriptorial work, the business of producing copy to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding Order, was allied with the activities of rebinding, repairing and updating essential books.

The various rebindings of *PL-STk2*, if only the facts were known, might provide the clue to how a Parisian manuscript transmitting the *Magnus liber* and related motets found its way to Stary Sącz. It appears that this Gradual was rebound around the same time as *PL-Kklar205*, and then again about a century and a half later at the turn of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Evidence attesting to the fourteenth-century rebinding, additional to that already advanced, can be found in the codex's endpapers.⁵⁸ Jaromír Černý rightly regarded as significant the fact that the spinal lacings cut from the '*Magnus liber*' manuscript lay on top of *PL-STk2*'s endpapers, one of which contains the Bohemian cantio, '*Mundo deus nunc illustra*.'⁵⁹ The cantio is a contrafact of the

wpomnianym już *Surrexit Cristus*." Perz, "A jednak Notre Dame?" 7. On '*Surrexit Cristus*,' see *RISM B/IV/4* (1972): 1133.

57. Mirosław Perz, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland - Fragments from Stary Sącz," *Polish Musicological Studies* 1 (1977): 15.

58. Perz, *AMiP* 13 (Facs.), 2.

59. Černý, "Vícehlasé písně," 50. Černý was of the belief that '*Mundo deus nunc illustra*' is a unicum in *CZ-Pst K VŠ.376*

Marian sequence, 'Ave preclara maris stella,'⁶⁰ and this sequence, although widely transmitted in Poland, occurs in only two Franciscan sources: *PL-STk2* and *PL-Kklar205*,⁶¹ where it is found among the fourteenth-century additions (f.134v) following *Corpus Christi*.⁶² In view of the connection between the endpaper (the contrafact) and the 1340/57 addition (the sequence), it seems unlikely that 'Mundo deus nunc illustra' found its way onto the inside front binding board of *PL-STk2* serendipitously; rather, that it was affixed there intentionally for easy reference. Thus we have yet more evidence for Franciscan compositional activity in the cantio genre during the early to mid-fourteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The diverse musical fare transmitted on *PL-STk* (Perz St S₂) provide a snapshot of the compositional activity that can be associated with, and may have been cultivated at, St Kinga's, Stary Sącz. The items are discrete but not without connections to other Stary Sącz material. The scribe of the *Benedicamus domino*, the last

(olim Vyšehr.V/Cc4) where it appears as a three-part song. See "Czeski aspekt," 98.

60. Pikulik, *Indeks sekwencji*, 106 #301, & 425.

61. Jerzy Pikulik, "Sekwencje polskie," *Musica Medii Aevi* 4 (1973): 72; and Fulgencjusz Bak, "Średniowieczne graduały franciszkańskie," *Musica Medii Aevi* 3 (1969): 109 Aneks II.

62. Marian Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał ms. 205 z biblioteki Klarysek krakowskich w świetle polskiej i europejskiej tradycji liturgiczno-muzycznej. Studium źródłoznawcze," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 71 (1999): 276.

contributor to the folio, added an organal elaboration for the *Amen* of the earlier-written sequence, '*Ave mater.*' The Czech sequence has notational traits suggesting caligraphic continuity, in-house perhaps, with the scribal school that produced the monastery's oldest service books. Those books contain inserts of *cantus planus binatim* which are probably contemporaneous with the organal *Amen* provided for '*Ave mater.*' And '*Omnia beneficia,*' exceptional as it is in many respects, is not the only example at St Kinga's of a *cantio- pia cantamia* text being set to music, as evidenced by the abovementioned contrafact, '*Mundo deus nunc illustra.*'

The remnants of Parisian organa and related motets, the pastedowns and spinal lacings which were affixed over the top of '*Mundo deus,*' are witness to a yet later rebinding. They are the subject of the following chapter.

**CHECKLIST OF THE OLDEST SERVICE BOOKS IN ST ANDREW'S, KRAKÓW,
AND ST KINGA'S, STARY SĄCZ.**

It has often been remarked that the monasteries founded by Salomea and Kinga possess some of the oldest Franciscan Graduals and Antiphonals in Central Europe, and that they may well have constituted the foundation service books of those houses. From their various updates and supplements, and the rebindings of the books, it is clear they remained in use for many centuries. Three of the books have inserts containing polyphony and as a consequence they were inventoried in the RISM B/IV series, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c.1320-1400)* and *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts*. Unfortunately, the RISM sigla assigned to them has not been widely taken up. They continue to be referred to by sobriquets, personal sigla, and in-house abbreviations. The following checklist is to serve as a guide through the confusion. The earliest service books in Polish Clarist and Franciscan houses warrant a systematic comparative study. In the absence of such a study many of the observations about filiation, dating and provenance in the secondary literature listed in the bibliography below need to be regarded with some circumspection.⁶³

63. To cite but one example, Henryk Cempura claims that the Stary Sącz library preserves a set of manuscripts all coming from the same thirteenth- or fourteenth-century scriptorium: a gradual and two antiphoners (sigla 1, 2, and 3), a thirteenth-century gradual (siglum 4), and the so-called 'mały' gradual (siglum 5) dating from the fourteenth century. See "Kultura muzyczna," 148 n.3.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS:

- Bak Fulgencjusz Bak, "Średniowieczne graduały franciszkańskie," *Musica Medii Aevi* 3 (1969): 91-112.
- CempuraSTA Henryk Cempura, "Starosądecki Graduał franciszkański z drugiej połowy XIII wieku," Masters thesis, Wydział Muzykologii Kościelnej (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1966)
- CempuraTRZ _____, "Trzynastowieczne liturgiczne rękopisy franciszkańskie w Polsce w świetle wyników badań van Dijka i Walkera," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 12 (1966): 75-82.
- Dowiat Jerzy Dowiat, ed., *Kultura Polski średniowiecznej X-XIII w.* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1985)
- Feicht Hieronim Feicht, "Muzyka liturgiczna w polskim średniowieczu," in *Studia nad muzyką polskiego średniowiecza*, Zofia Lissa, gen. ed., *Opera Musicologica Hieronymi Feicht*, 1 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1975), 270-326
- MiodońskaPAX Barbara Miodońska, "SII. Rękopisy i Starodruki," in *Pax et bonum. Skarby klarysek krakowskich: Katalog wystawy* ed. Andrzej Włodarek (Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1999)
- MiodońskaILU _____, "Iluminacje Antifonarza klarysek starosądeckich," unpublished typescript (Kraków: Muzeum Czartoryskich, 1978)
- Notae *Notae musicae artis. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI - XVI wieku*, edited by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999)
- Perz Mirosław Perz, ed., *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Facsimiles)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 13 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973)
- RISM *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series B/IV/2 & 3-4 (Munich-Duisburg, 1969 and 1972)

- Semkowicz Władysław Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, Corrected, unrevised 2nd ed. Afterword by Bożena Wyrozumska. (Kraków: Universitas, 2002).
- Szczotka Marian Szczotka, "Trzynastowieczny Graduał ms. 205 z biblioteki Klarysek krakowskich w świetle polskiej i europejskiej tradycji liturgiczno-muzycznej. Studium źródłoznawcze," *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 71 & 72 (1999): 153-368 & 253-433.
- Truszczyńska Edyta Truszczyńska, "Graduał ms. 1 z Biblioteki SS. Klarysek w Starym Sączu," Unpublished Masters thesis, Wydział Kościelnych Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1991).
- Walicki Michał Walicki, gen. ed., *Sztuka polska przedromańska i romańska do schyłku XIII wieku*, *Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, I/1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1971).

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KRAKÓW

- TITLE** Graduale romano-franciscanum.
- SIGLUM** RISM B/IV/4 (1972): 1146-47. PL-Kklar205*
[* manuscript number erroneously given as 206]
- OTHER SIGLA** Bąk: G205; Notae: KrKl 205; St Andrew's: ms. M205 (olim 292); *Musica Medii Aevi*, I (1965): M205/594; Miazga, KAK1.
- DATE** RISM 13/15th cent. MiodońskaPAX: pre-1254, additions from first half of 14th (ff.132-144), and more during 15th (ff.145-46) through to 18th cent. (f.180).
- DESCRIPTION** 241 folia, original section ff.15-237; 415 x 285 mm. (trimmed), illuminated. Exemplar. Oldest part f.10-238 written between 1230-1260. Remaining part contains sections of Mass ordinaries and polyphonic trope added in 14th cent. probably when rebound in 1340. Square

notation. Full details in Szczotka.

PROVENANCE Germany or Silesia? Later supplements of local origin.

OBSERVATIONS MiodońskaPAX, 31. Romanesque-gothic decorative elements in the caligraphic initials, clearly derived from the caligraphic flourishing in Parisian manuscripts from around 1230 [ref: Patricia Stirnemann, "Fils de la Vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140-1314," *Revue de l'art* 9 (1990): 58-73]. Coloured initials, done in two different techniques using the same colours and repertoire of ornamental motives, have central European features of Romanesque derivation.

LITERATURE MiodońskaILU, 4-6; MiodońskaPAX, 30-31; Feicht, 281-85; Szczotka.

ILLUSTRATIONS Bak, 164 ##24-26; Dowiat, 261 #272; Szczotka, 71:366-68; MiodońskaPAX, 30-31 #II/1, colour plates p.212 ##II-V; Semkowicz, 456 #151; Notae, 249 colour plate III/a; Walicki, 556-57 ##874-877; later additions *Musica Medii Aevi*, I (1965): ##19-22.

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KRAKÓW

TITLE Antiphonarium romano-franciscanum de Tempore et de Sanctis.

SIGLUM ms. 207

OTHER SIGLA --

DATE MiodońskaPAX: c.1300, with supplements from 14th & 15th centuries.

PROVENANCE Małopolska

DESCRIPTION 435 x 305 mm.; foliation Roman numerals I-CCXXI (incomplete), later continuation to f.247. Square not. No binding. Contains music

treatise, 'Musica cum sit una de septem liberalibus artibus.'

OBSERVATIONS Has St Francis + octave. Lacks St Clare (can. 1255); Kyriale reflects reforms of 1292. Paste-in on f.1 attests to ownership by Kraków Poor Clares.

LITERATURE CempuraTRZ, 76 n.4, 82; MiodońskaPAX: 31-32.

ILLUSTRATIONS MiodońskaPAX: 31-32 #II/2, colour plates p.213 ##V-VI.

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STARY SACZ

TITLE Graduale

SIGLUM ms. 1 'średni'

OTHER SIGLA --

DATE 13th cent.

PROVENANCE Outside Poland; no indications of its being intended for Polish house.

DESCRIPTION 334 x 245 mm.; 107 parchment folia (8 missing) + 8 paper. Ruled in red, square notation on four lines.

OBSERVATIONS Predates *PL-Kklar205*, therefore oldest extant Franciscan service book found in Poland. Some rhomb-shaped notes in Holy Thursday Mandatum. Frequent rubrics with performance directions. Proprium sanctorum has St Francis & St Anthony, but not St Clare.

LITERATURE CempuraTRZ, 75 n.2; Notae, 200-02; Truszczyńska.

ILLUSTRATIONS Bąk, 164 #27;

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STARY SACZ

TITLE Graduale romanum franciscanum
SIGLUM RISM B/IV/4 (1972): 1151-53. *PL-STk2*
OTHER SIGLA D.2 'duży'; Perz: St *S₅*; Miazga, SSAK.
DATE Second half 13th cent. with mid-14th cent. additions.
PROVENANCE ?Franciscan scriptorium
DESCRIPTION 192 parchment folia + 8 paper. 495 x 355 mm. Contains Proprium, Commune and Ordinarium missae. Square notation.
BSERVATIONS CempuraTRZ, 76 n.2: Manuscript copied from an older Franciscan one. Script, notation and esp. kalendar suggest end of 13th cent. f.183v/184v troped Reading in score format "Jube domne benedicere. Una cunctis leticie;" binding fragments contain Notre-Dame polyphony.
LITERATURE CempuraSTA; Perz, xxxiii; RISM B/IV/4 (1972): 1151-53; Notae, 201.
ILLUSTRATIONS Dowiat, 258 #268 & 419 #514.

STARY SACZ

TITLE Antiphonarium
SIGLUM RISM B/IV/4 (1972): 1151. *PL-STk1*
OTHER SIGLA RISM B/IV/2 'Supplement to B/IV/1' (1969): 424-25. *PL-STk 389,1*; Perz: St *S₃*. Commune sanctorum (separate volume) has siglum: 388
DATE RISM 13/14th cent.;
PROVENANCE MiodońskaILU, 6: locally produced. RISM: Franciscan scriptorium?
DESCRIPTION 203 parchment folia, 13 paper. 470 x 330 mm. Modern binding. Mostly 4-line staves in square

notation. f.130 has a 2-v. *Benedicamus Domino*; written pos. around 1300. Full contents of both volumes listed in Walicki [catalogue (Pt.2) ed. Pietrusińska], 757.

OBSERVATIONS Local production indicated by amateurishness of codex's decoration. Association with the Małopolska Clarist milieu is borne out by the existence of a fragment from the same scriptorium which was inserted into the Gradual, *PL-Kklar205* when that book was rebound in 1340. Motives in the drollery correspond to the ornamental figures decorating chancel wall of the Stary Sącz monastery Church.

LITERATURE MiodońskaIL; RISM B/IV/4 (1972): 1151

ILLUSTRATIONS Dowiat, 418 #512; Curry collection; Walicki, 586-87 ##977-86.

PLATES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Figure 2.1

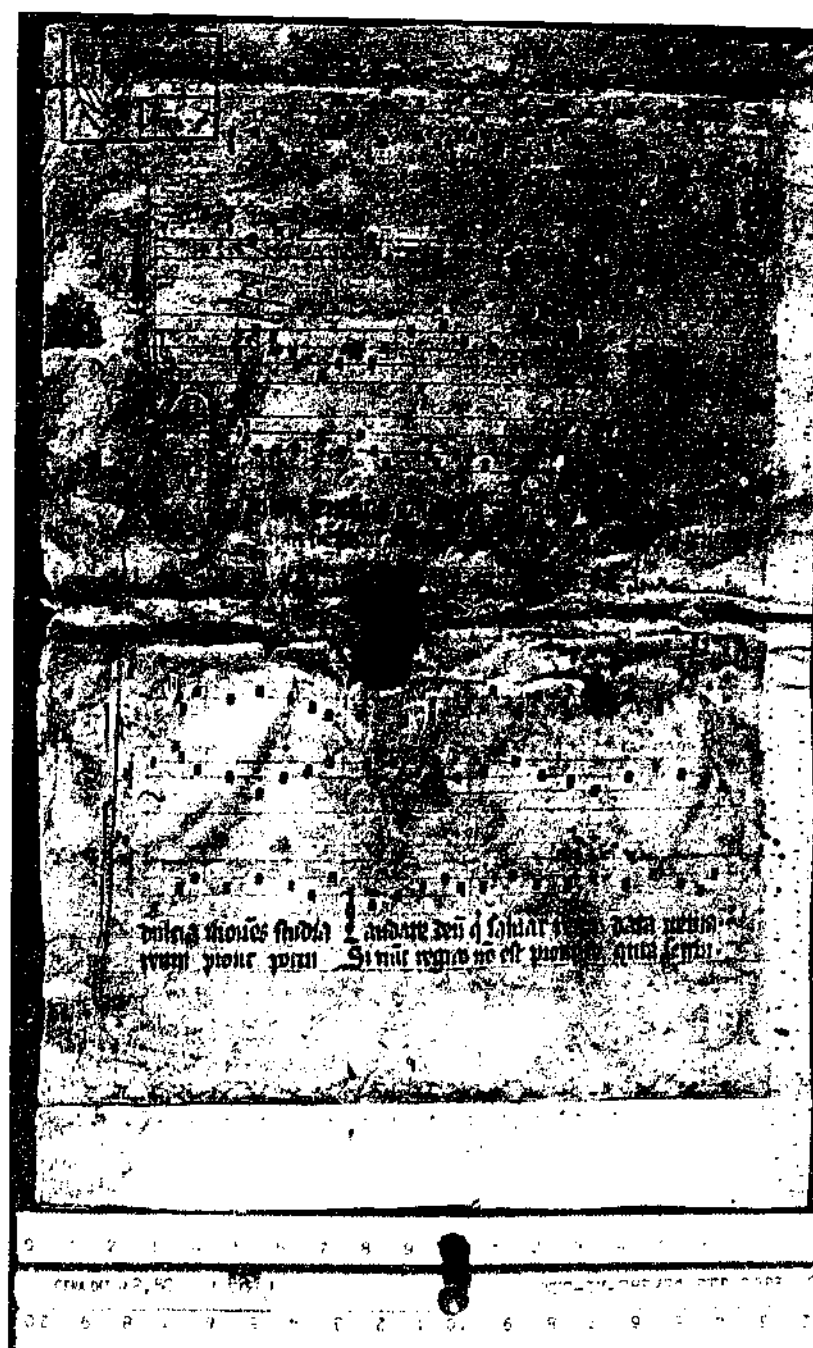
PL-STk (Perz St S₂) recto

Figure 2.2 'Omnia beneficia'

The musical score is written in mensural notation on four staves. The first system (measures 1-12) includes lyrics: 'Om - ni - a be - ne - fi - ci - a' and 'Sa - pu - i si - cut fa - tu - i'. The second system (measures 13-16) includes lyrics: 'gau - di - a ge - ne - ran - ci - a' and 'nam cu - i [po - tens ad - fu - i]'. The third system (measures 17-20) includes lyrics: 'va - ri - a que - dal gra - ci - a' and 'po - su - i [au - tem] nu - tu - i'. Measure numbers 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, and 29 are marked above the staves.

'The notation of 'Omnia beneficia,' as with other *cum littera conducti sine cauda*, especially those without mensural concordances, poses transcriptional problems with respect to rhythm. Two approaches are possible: modal-rhythmic and isosyllabic. The former attempts to accommodate the accentual quality of the poetry; the latter apportions more or less equal durational value to each syllable of the poetry. Both approaches have their advocates and opponents; the literature on

dul - ci - a me - veni stu - di - a
 re - su - i pro - ut po - tu - i

lau - da - re de - uo qui sal - vat ru -
 Si nunc re - gi - ro non est pro mi -

um da - - - ta ve - - - ni - - - a
 ro qui - - - a se - - - cu - - - i

the topic is as extensive as it is inconclusive. The approach adopted here is closer to Christopher Page's 'rhythmically neutral' one. See Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, Royal Musical Association Monographs, 8 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1997), 67. Pace David Wulstan: 'the Neutral Speak will not do.' See his review of Page in *Notes. Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 55, no. 4 (1999): 105.

Figure 2.4 'Ave mater gracie'

PL-WRu 466
CZ-Pu IE 12
PL-STk (Perz StS2)

A - - - - - ve ma - ter gra - - - ci - e
Pi - - - - - e la - tis ri - - - vu - lus

vir - gi - na - le spe - cu - lum o - cu - lus cle - men - ti - e
quo ma - ri - a re - me - di - um his qui pio cri - mi - ni - bus

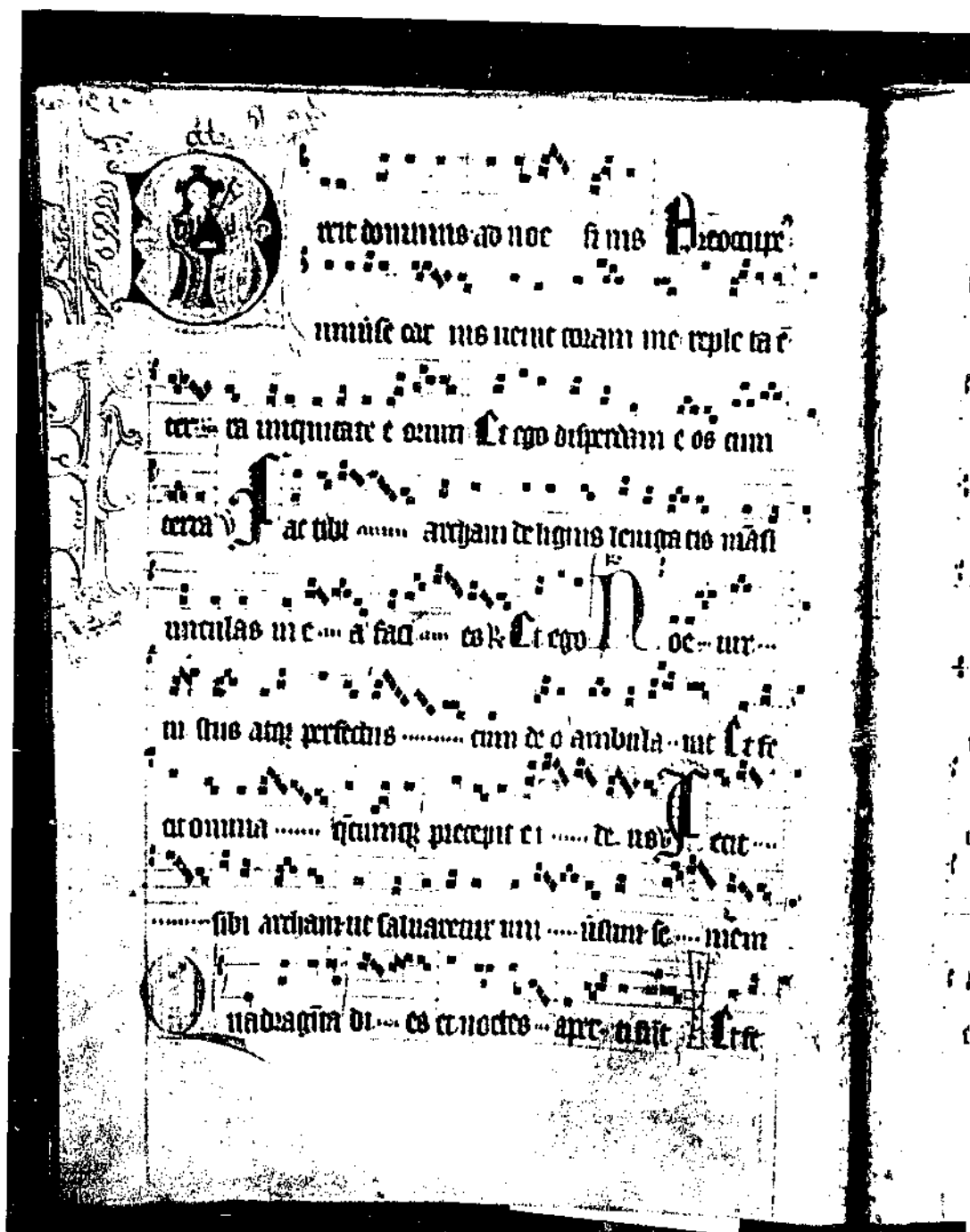
re - - - - - re - fu - gi - um Ma - ri - a con - si - de - ra
as - - - - - sup - li - ci - um Hu - ic er - go in - pe - ra

cu - i re - fri - - - ge - ri - o su - um
ma - tris pri - vi - - - le - gi - o ne post

pec - tus u - be - ra de - di - sti cum gre - mi - - - o
car - nis fu - ne - ra nos re - dat su - pli - ci - - - o

A - - - - - men

Figure 2.6



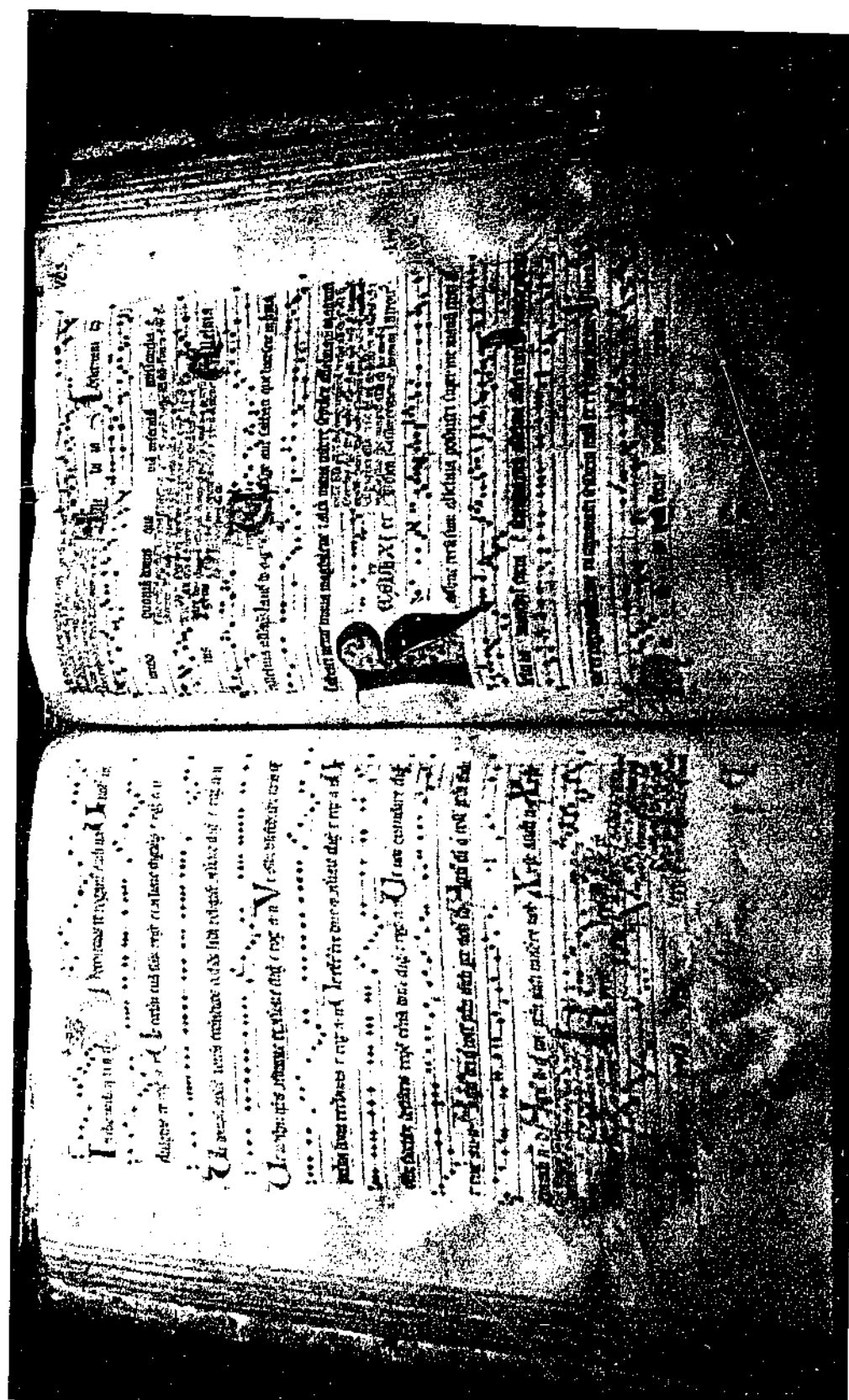


Figure 2.7 Gradual D.1 'šredni' ff.102v-103. Easter

CHAPTER III

PL-STK2 - FRAGMENTS FROM THE BINDING OF *GRADUALE* D.2.

Few genres in the history of western music can rival the longevity of the motet. Originating in the early to mid-thirteenth century, the motet, as the etymology of the name implies, had to do with words, the interplay of newly composed texts put to pre-existing music. It was another manifestation of the creative impulse known as troping, applied in this case to the organal voice or voices of discant sections of the *Magnus liber organi*. The subtle creative process whereby a poet/composer such as Philip the Chancellor adapted a given melodic line and a poetic text, each to the other, reveals itself only through careful study of small details. And those details are to be found in manuscript sources that transmit pieces belonging to the earliest stages in the motet's gestation. Fragmentary though *PL-STk2* is, this source of *ars antiqua* motets is an invaluable witness to the origins of the motet. No meaningful discussion of this source could be entertained, however, until it was collated and organised in an accessible manner. For that reason, a goodly part of this chapter comprises an annotated catalogue of extant fragments. The stocktake of *PL-STk2* hereunder, in conjunction with transcriptions and colour plates, sheds new light on this neglected source of *ars antiqua* polyphony.

BACKGROUND

The existence of a Polish source of *ars antiqua* music had been known by word of mouth since before the Second World War. The war years and the Stalinist period after them were not propitious times in Poland for researching Catholic liturgical music,¹ and a good two decades went by before a general announcement of Adolf Chybiński's find appeared in the scholarly literature, authored not by Professor Chybiński (1880-1952) but by Adam Sutkowski.² Responsibility for thoroughly researching the material, however, fell to Chybiński's student, Mirosław Perz, who had been informed of the source in the late 1950s. The fruits of Professor Perz's research, conducted during the 1960s under difficult circumstances, appeared in a series of articles and

1. The library and archives of St Kinga's were studied during the Second World War by Wiktor Bazieliński. "This study came about by chance from my desire to gather together, or rather to add to the material belonging to the no longer extant library of the Stary Sącz Franciscan monastery. Dispersed and almost completely destroyed, it had been carted off in 1815. Remnants of this library, mixed up with what remained of the old parish library, came to light in 1944 in the rooster loft atop the so-called 'little treasury hold' above the sacristy of the Stary Sącz parish church. A number of the books from this loft were believed to have been handed over to the Poor Clares' library at the request of the conservator. And this has turned out to be the case. A second aim was to take stock of provenancial evidence in the hope that it might yield data relating to the history of the Stary Sącz friars and Poor Clares. These hopes were disappointed; however, the search resulted in a rich cache of unexpected material in the form of receipts of expenditures and goods received which served to broaden the scope of my research both in terms of period and manuscript material." "Dawna biblioteka starosądeckich klarysek," typescript and annotated catalogue (Stary Sącz: Klasztor PP. Klarysek, 1946-49), 1.

2. Adam Sutkowski, "Początki polifonii średniowiecznej w Polsce w świetle nowych źródeł," *Muzyka* 6, no. 1 (1961): 3-22.

monumental editions that were published during the first half of the following decade.³

Although a number of fragments from the *PL-STk2* complex have been available in facsimile for just on three decades, little account has been taken of this important minor source of Notre Dame polyphony. Even the manuscript's eye-catching feature, red marginal circles encapsulating motet tenors, has drawn almost no comment. Gordon Anderson's transcription volume of *The Latin Compositions* (1976) was already in press when Perz's facsimile edition became available to him; he managed nonetheless to include observations on a number of the *PL-STk2* pieces in the Addenda to the volume. Hans Tischler's 1982 publication, *The Earliest Motets* lists *PL-STk2* among the manuscript concordances but every relevant entry repeats the apology that "This fragmentary manuscript became available too late to be incorporated." Hendrik van der Werf's *Integrated Directory* (1989) includes *PL-STk2* in the list of manuscripts but all Perz's attributions and folio details are unwisely taken at face value. Only Charles Brewer, in Chapter III of his doctoral thesis ('Sources of *ars antiqua* polyphony in East Central Europe'), purports to

3. Mirosław Perz, "A jednak Notre Dame?" *Ruch Muzyczny* 17 (1 October 1971): 6-7; "Starosądecki urywek motetów średniowiecznych w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Poznaniu (II poł. XII w.)," *Muzyka* 16, no. 1 (1971): 77-82; "Organum, conductus i średniowieczny motet w Polsce: źródła i problemy," *Muzyka* 18, no. 4 (1973): 3-11; *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Facsimiles)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 13 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973); *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Transcriptions)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 14 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1976); and "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland - Fragments from Stary Sącz," *Polish Musicological Studies* 1 (1977): 9-57. Work on the original Polish-language version of this article was completed by 1973.

deal with the material, *per se*.⁴ Brewer, however, never went to St Kinga's monastery,⁵ and his coverage of this source is largely a repetition of Perz's findings from the late 1960s.

The relatively small number of fragments which Perz was able to have reproduced in facsimile reflects the fact that the bulk of the material remained interlaced in the binding of the Mass book and beyond his purview. As a consequence, his estimations of its extent and codicological structure must have been based as much on informed deduction as actual inspection. Writing in 1969 Perz asserted that

At present we have at our disposal ten folios of the manuscript of which five have been preserved almost complete and five in fragments... Ten of them originate not only from the same manuscript, but even from the same part of it (containing the two-voiced motets), on the other hand, the link between them and the two other leaves as presented by fragments No.44 and 52 is not very clear. The first contained two-voiced organum, the second one, one-voiced conductus. These fragments do, however, originate from the same manuscript, although from another parts of it - probably an earlier part, which was at the beginning of the reconstructed source material (No.44), and at the end of it (No.52).⁶

Three decades later there is less net material to deal with despite the addition of newly recovered fragments unknown to Perz. The fact that all the fragments have long since been removed from the binding of *Graduale* D.2 makes it now impossible to verify Perz's data on mirror images, folia orderings and reconstructions.

The Inventories drawn up by Mirosław Perz represent the

4. Charles E. Brewer, "The Introduction of the 'ars nova' into East Central Europe: A Study of the late Medieval Polish Sources," Ph.D. diss. (New York: City University of New York, 1984).

5. Private communication from Charles Brewer, 20 July 1993.

6. Perz, "The Oldest Source," 26.

state of the material over thirty years ago.⁷ During the intervening years at least four different sisters, none with expertise in musicology or manuscript conservation, have been in charge of the monastery library and archives. Material has been misplaced, some is known to have been stolen, and the parchment strips themselves continue to crumble into ever smaller fragments.

Perz included in his Inventory and accompanying descriptive Bibliographic List of Fragments unrecovered material, fragments sighted in the binding, and material known only through residual mirror images. The annotated catalogue below updates, supplements, and corrects Perz's Inventory while maintaining, as far as possible, his order of items as published in *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, and his revised numbering of the fragments as published in *Polish Musicological Studies*. This catalogue limits itself to including only material which has been verified and studied at first hand.

In its present state of preservation PL-STk2 yields not one piece that can be reconstituted in its entirety.⁸ The significance of PL-STk2 is therefore to be found not in its net contribution to the corpus of *ars antiqua* polyphony, but rather in what light this Parisian source can shed on the process of transmission of 'Notre Dame' repertoire: organa,

7. Although the revised version (1977) of Perz's Inventory [*Polish Musicological Studies*, 1] was published four years after its first appearance in *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, Vol.13 (1973), the two are almost contemporaneous. The main difference, as Perz explains (p.48 n.24), is in the numeration of the motets, the number in the revised version being one less than that in the *Antiquitates* first version.

8. Were all the fragments to be unglued, cleaned and professionally conserved it would no doubt be possible to match many more fragments with one another.

conducti and two-part Latin motets. To that end the catalogue facilitates comparison of *PL-STk2* pieces with their concordant sources by presenting all the recoverable text of each piece, together with a running count of perfections, so that gaps and connections from one fragment to another can be readily noted.

The significance of the *Stary Sącz ars antiqua* fragments for Polish cultural history has long been recognised;⁹ so too has their fragile state.¹⁰ Little consideration, however, has been given to the question of whether the material's being found in a Clarist monastery can be attributed to anything more than mere happenstance. That begs the more basic question, What sort of manuscript was *PL-STk2*? This issue is taken up in the section dealing with concordance patterns and their implications which follows the catalogue.

ANNOTATED CATALOGUE OF *PL-STk2*, FRAGMENTS FROM *GRADUALE D.2* MANUSCRIPTS

<i>CZ-Ph N.8</i>	Praha, Archiv pražského hradu N VIII
<i>D-W 628</i>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. guelf. 628 Helmstad. (Heinemann no. 677) [W1].
<i>D-W 1099</i>	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, cod. guelf. 1099 Helmstad. (Heinemann no. 1206) [W2].

9. See, for example, the reviews of *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, vols. 13 & 14 by Martin Staehelin in *Die Musikforschung* 30, no. 2 (1977): 259-61, and 36, no. 3 (1983): 169-72; and by Piotr Poźniak in *Muzyka* 24, no. 2 (1979): 115-29.

10. Sadly, representations to governmental bodies as recently as 2001 regarding the pressing need for professional conservation of this material have all been in vain.

- E-Bu Burgos, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, MS without shelfmark [Hu]
- E-Mn 20486 Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 20486 [Ma].
- F-CSM 3.J.250 Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives de la Marne et de la région de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250.
- F-MOF H196 Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire Section de Médecine, MS H.196 [Mo].
- F-Pn lat.15139 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 15139 [StV].
- F-Pn n.a.fr.13521 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises 13521 [La Clayette].
- GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) London, British Library, Egerton 2615 [LoA].
- I-Fl Plut.29,1 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut. 29.1 [F].

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

- AMiP Mirosław Perz, *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Facsimiles)*, *Antiquitates Musicae* in Polonia, Vol. 13 (Warsaw and Graz: PWN-Polish Scientific Publishers & Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1973), pp. 2-11.
- And Gordon Athol Anderson, "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," Anderson's annotated working copy, 1965-81. *Miscellanea Musicologica*. *Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 6 (1972): 153-229 and 7 (1975): 1-81. Gordon Athol Anderson Music Collection, Dixon Library, University of New England, NSW.
- AndLC Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt. 1099 (1206)*, *Musicological Studies*, 24/1 [Critical Commentary,

- Translation of the Texts, and Historical Observations] and 24/2 [Transcriptions] (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968 & 1976).
- And00 Gordon Athol Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus. Opera Omnia*, 9 vols., Collected Works, X/1-6, 8-10 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979-88).
- Baltzer Rebecca Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula. Vol.2: Transcriptions of the Repertory of the Two-Voice Notre Dame Clausula." Ph.D. Diss. (Boston: Boston University, 1974).
- Everist Mark Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Falck Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies, 33 (Henryville-Ottawa-Binging: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981).
- Cl.0000 Catalogue of clausulae and discant
Dp.0000 sections. Rudolf Flotzinger, *Der Discantussatz im Magnus Liber Organi und seine Nachfolge*, Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge, 8 (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus, 1969), pp.19-55.
- Kidwell Susan Allison Kidwell, "The Integration of Music and Text in the Early Latin Motet," Ph.D dissertation (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1993).
- PerzOS Mirosław Perz, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland - Fragments from Stary Sącz," *Polish Musicological Studies*, 1 (1977): 7-57.
- PerzIN Inventory, "Oldest Source," pp. 49-55.

- PerzPH Photos 1-3 & 7-13 between pp.16-17; 4-6
 & 14 between pp.24-25 in "OldestSource".
- TischEM Hans Tischler, *The Earliest Motets (to
 circa 1270): A Complete Comparative
 Edition*. 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale
 University Press, 1982).
- TischPO Hans Tischler, *The Parisian Two-Part
 Organa. The Complete Comparative Edition*.
 2 vols. (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press,
 1988).
- Waite William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth-
 Century Polyphony*. Yale Studies in the
 History of Music. (New Haven: Yale
 University Press, 1954 /R. Greenwood
 Press, 1973).
- Wright Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre
 Dame of Paris 500-1550*, Cambridge Studies
 in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University
 Press, 1989).

CONVENTIONS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Text in italics = words but no music

Text within parentheses = music but no text visible

Square brackets = word or part thereof supplied editorially

Monochrome initials are indicated by **bolding**.

// = a gap in text and music

/ = break in the fragment

= identifies numbers allocated to the fragments in the *PL-STk2* as published in Vol.13 (Facsimiles) of *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*. The hash also precedes the 'new' numbers recently affixed to fragments by the librarian of St Kinga's.

Graphic representation of the Office organa is based on the system devised by Norman Smith in "The Clausulae of the Notre Dame School. A Repertorial Study," Ph.D. Diss. (New Haven: Yale University, 1964).

Variants are recorded according to the system employed in *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, Vol. I: *Les*

Quadrupula et Tripla de Paris, ed. by Edward H. Roesner, *Musica Gallica* (Les Remparts, Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1993), 312-313.

- a-g pitches irrespective of octave;
- C *currentes, coniunctura* (3C 3-note *coniunctura*)
- li Ligature (3li = three-note ligature)
- (123) Preceding the incipit of the motetus in parentheses is the number allocated to the piece in Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, *Summa musicae medii aevi*, 2 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1957).
- M or O After the tenor incipit is the Mass or Office number allocated to the organum in Friedrich Ludwig's, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, I/1 (Halle: Max Niemaeyer, 1910; R ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music & Georg Olms Verlag, 1964).
- P Plicated note.
- si Single note, simplex.
- + added to, fused with (3li+2C = three-note ligature with two *currentes* added at the end)

EXPLANATION OF SIGLA

PL-STk2 is the siglum established in RISM B/IV/4 (1972) to designate a 13th-century Gradual D.2, later polyphonic inserts in it, and a complex of music fragments and pastedowns from its binding, which are found in the library of St Kinga's Poor Clare monastery, Stary Sącz, Poland.¹¹

11. Kurt von Fischer and Max Lütolf, eds., *Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: mehrstimmige Musik in italienischen, polnischen und tschechischen Quellen des 14. Jahrhunderts [...]*, Great Britain bis Jugoslawien, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, B.IV.4 (Munich & Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1972), 1151-53. The system of sigla adopted by Mirosław Perz in his publications, *St S₁*, *St S₂*, etc.,

The RISM entry itemises seven pieces: item 1 is the 14th-century polyphonic insert; items 2-7 are pieces identified by Mirosław Perz amongst the more than fifty fragments containing *ars antiqua* polyphony.

Perz's revised Inventory of the *PL-STk2* fragments lists a total of twenty-four items, the six itemised in RISM plus an additional eighteen, some of which are partial and tentative attributions. During the 1990s more fragments were removed or dropped out as the binding of *Graduale D.2* further deteriorated. Around 1996 all the fragments remaining in the binding were removed whereupon it was decided to store them in a presentation stamp album and assign them new numbers. This new numbering does not correspond to Perz's and appears to be quite random; designations of recto/verso are frequently inaccurate. Moreover, the typescript catalogue compiled in conjunction with the allocation of new numbers merely repeats information from Perz's 1973 *Antiquitates* facsimile volume, and takes no account of more recent, post-1976 research. Despite their potential to exacerbate existing confusion these new numbers are the only way at present of identifying fragments not catalogued by Perz.

In the checklist below each piece is identified by the monastery's siglum plus its item number (2-7) in the RISM entry, and, for added precision, the piece's number in Perz's revised Inventory is given in square brackets. Pieces not listed in the 1972 RISM entry are identified by their Perz inventory number immediately after the monastery's siglum. For example, *PL-STk2* Perz inv.24 is the recently recovered

does not correspond to RISM conventions, but is often cited nonetheless by dint of the general availability and authoritativeness of those publications. In Perz's system *St S₁* denotes the binding fragments and pastedowns, *St S₂* the Mass book, *Graduale D.2* and its later polyphonic insertions.

sequence 'Ave gloriosa virginum regina.' There remain a few unnumbered items; I have catalogued them as Additional.

The order of items in the checklist is that of Perz's revised Inventory as this sequence of items reflects the foliation of the source manuscript, as best as he could divine it.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.1

(O11) Dum complerentur. Vs. Repleti sunt
Pentecost. Responsory of first Vespers.

FACSIMILE (p.4) #44' + Curry photo/Figure 3.1

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.19v(15v).
D-W 1099 f.50v-51.
I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.72v.

EDITIONS TischPO, 361-62. Waite, 26-27. Example 3.1
transcription of 'et ceperunt loqui.' Figure 3.3

LITERATURE Edward Roesner, "Who 'made' the Magnus
liber?," *Early Music History* 20 (2001): 246ff. PerzOS,
25ff, fig.9

TEXT (Vs.) ... et ceperunt loqui.

et ce. pe. runt. lo. qui
c b d c c a b c b a g g a c c b a b c b a g
f e g f f d e f e d c c d f f e d e f e d c

SS =====

W1 =====

F ~~~~~

W2 ~~~~~

OBSERVATIONS Tenor of O11 = O10 (Feast of Ascension). D-W
628 and PL-STk2 tenor pitched on c, 5th higher than in
D-W 1099 and I-F1 Plut.29,1. Tenor variant in D-W 628:
ce[perunt], three notes before the syllable change, b-c-
a; all other sources have b-c-b [e-f-e], as does D-W 628
itself in the analogous passage in O10. Extant section

set entirely in discant in all sources; no clausulae for it. Tenor rhythm mostly |3 si| as in *D-W* 1099 and *I-Fl* *Plut.* 29,1. Three points of concordance with *D-W* 628: on et ce[pe]runt (some differences in duplum rhythm), and on the cadential formula concluding [lo]qui over a-g. Here, too, duplum rhythm different: *D-W* 628, |5li 2li 3li|; and *PL-STk* 2 more extended, in two ordines, |3li 2li 5li|4li 3li si|.

No Doxology. Highly likely that O11 was preceded by O10 as in *I-Fl* *Plut.* 29,1 and that Doxology for O10 was intended to be used for O11 as both responsories share the same chant. *D-W* 1099 writes the Doxology out for both O10 and O11.

EXAMPLE 3.1

Example 3.1 displays three systems of Gregorian chant notation, each consisting of a square-note melody on a four-line staff and a corresponding duplum (second voice) on a five-line staff. The lyrics are Latin, and the notation includes various rhythmic markings such as neumes and rests.

The first system shows the lyrics "et ce - - - runt". The second system shows the lyrics "pe - - - runt" and "lo - - - -". The third system shows the lyrics "qui".

PL-STk2 Perz inv.1

(013) Inter natos. Vs. Fuit homo. Gloria patri.
Feast of St John the Baptist (24 June). Responsory of first
Vespers.

FACSIMILE (p.4) #44` + #44' + Curry photo/Figure 3.1-2

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.19v(15v).
D-W 1099 f.58v.
I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.73.

EDITIONS TischPO, 368-84. Waite, 27-31. Example 3.2 &
3.2 transcriptions of discant sections 'iohannes erat'
and 'et spiritu[i].' Figure 3.3

LITERATURE PerzOS, 25ff, fig.9

TEXT Inter natos. Fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen
erat iohannes.

In ter. na tos Fu it. ho. mo

d d c d d f d(d) e d c c c a a g a g(g) f g a g

SS -----

W1 -----

F -----

W2 -----

mis. sus a . de . . o cu. i . no . men io. . . han
e. . . . rat

a f g a g a a b^b a a g f g a a b^b a a g a g g f

~~~~~

.....

~~~~~

nes . e rat
io . . han. . . . nes

Glo ri a pa. tri

f g a a g f e g a g f

a a a g a g g f a f g a

~~~~~

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et. fi li . . o et spi ri . . . tu. i . . san. cto

g a a a b^b a a a a a g a g g f f g a a g f e g a g f

=====

=====

=====

OBSERVATIONS With the exception of the discant section 'iohannes erat' PL-STk2 shows a high degree of concordance throughout with D-W 628 and D-W 1099, but especially the latter source with which it shares tenor variant in respond: extra d on [na]tos. This tenor variant also found in cl.2301. Closer kinship with D-W 1099 also seen in doxology: notation of the sequential passage on [patri] et, both have [3C 2li 2li] against [3li 2li 2li] in I-F1 Plut.29,1. This sequence is one of the melodic formulas found in the Vatican Organum Treatise [I-Rbav Ott.3025 f.48] exemplifying rule xxxi, cadential movement through the octave (Wright, 338 Ex. 36).

Office cycle in D-W 1099 consigns 013 to Common of Saints, between 029 (Common of a Virgin) and 031 (Dedication of a Church). In this respect D-W 1099 "reflects a more recent liturgical practice whereby the chants of the *proprium sanctorum* are increasingly included in an orderly arrangement in the *commune sanctorum* at the end of the manuscript." (Wright, 269)

Cadential melisma concluding the discant section 'iohannes erat' is a point of concordance between all four sources.

FACSIMILE Curry photo/Figure 3.2 + (p.4) #44'.
 CONCORDANCES *I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.73v.*
 EDITIONS TischPO, 384-86. Figure 3.3
 LITERATURE PerzOS, 25ff, fig.9. E. Rosener, "The Performance of Parisian Organum," *Early Music* 7/1 (1979):186-88, Ex.7.

TEXT Cornelius. Cum orasset Cornelius
 Cor ne. . li us Cum o ras set . cor ne li
 d d c a c d d a a g a g f e g b^b b^b a g
 SS -----
 F ----->

OBSERVATIONS One of only five 'Magnus liber' organa for Matins: 02 *Descendit de celis. Tamquam* (Christmas, 3rd resp.); 03 *Verbum caro. In principio* (Christmas, 9th resp.); 017 *Veni. Specie tua* (Assumption, 3rd resp.); 033 *Repleti sunt. Loquebantur* (Pentecost, 2nd resp.). Neither D-W 628 nor D-W 1099 preserves polyphony for Matins. Hitherto this organum had been unique to the Office cycle as preserved in *I-F1 Plut.29,1*. Copula passage on [o]ras[set] also occurs in Office organa with related tenors: 01, 014 & 028. Jeremy Judkin ['The copula according to Johannes de Garlandia,' *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1980): 67-84; and 'The Anonymous of St Emmeram and Anonymous IV on the copula,' *Musical Quarterly* 70/1 (1984): 1-22] has argued convincingly that this copula is most likely the passage that the Anonymous St Emmeram had in mind when he cited (01) *Judea et Jerusalem. Constantes* in his discussion of copula after Johannes de Garlandia. Beginning and end of this copula extant in *PL-STk2*; the diplomatic transcription supplies the missing three ordines.

PL-STk2 (+ PL-Pu₁) Perz inv.2

(524) Ecclesie vox hodie sollempnia / Et florebit (M53)

FACSIMILIMES (p.4) #1'. PerzPH no.3. *Muzyka* 16/1 (1971):
78 plate 1.

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.61v(53v), cl.1102 (= dp. 2348)
D-W 1099 f.160 à2.
Duplum of à3: E-Mn 20486 f.104; I-F1
Plut.29,1 f.396.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 87-89 and 250-51. Kidwell, 137, 527-
28. TischEM 33, 237-42.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 184-85. Kidwell, 273. TischEM v3:
71-72.

TEXT #1' (perfections 18-29 //44-52 //65-71)

[subsidi]dia virtutibus et laudibus opti[neat]
//germinet se proprio scrutini[o] //quam fidei firmitas
muniat.

TENOR In marginal circle, folio recto. Double
cursus, [si 3li] = same rhythm as concordances.

OBSERVATIONS Fragment #1 found its way into the Library of
the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań [Biblioteka
Uniwersytecka w Poznaniu]. Perz gave it the
distinguishing siglum Pu₁.

Word order 'fidei firmitas' (66-69) accords with I-
F1 Plut.29,1 but not the melody which is the same as the
source clausula, cl.1102 (= dp.2348). Other sources have
'firmitas fidei'. Clear *longae* on the following vowels:
et [laudibus], op[tineat], quam [fidei], from the source
clausula; they are not found in motet concordances.

The fragment contains four lines of text; the fifth
would have contained the end of this motet which would
leave four or five lines remaining on the verso.
Therefore another motet must have come between 524 and
635 (see below) which starts atop the folio verso.

PL-STk2(+ PL-Pu₁) Perz inv.3

(635) Ad veniam perveniam, si veniam / Tamquam (02)

FACSIMILES (p.4) #1' (this plate is back to front and
unreadable); (p.5) #14'. PerzPH no.10. *Muzyka* 16/1
(1971): 78 plate 2 & 82 plate 3.

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.55(47), cl.1035 (= cl.2009)
 D-W 1099 f.129 à2
 Duplum of à3: E-Mn 20486 f.102; I-F1 Plut.29,1
 f.381; D-W 1099 f.145.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 19-20. Kidwell, 532-33. TischEM 11,
 66-70.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 41-43. Everist, 30-35. Kidwell, 221.
 TischEM v3: 55-56.

TEXT #1' (perfections 5-18//33-37//54-59)
 perveniam sirveniam cum oleo quo de[beo]
 //sompnique desideam //itur ad gloriam quam

#14' (73-75)

ornatu non

TENOR In marginal circle, folio verso . B^b
 signature. Double cursus complete, |si 3li|.

OBSERVATIONS Little more than a dozen notes of the motetus
 are legible.

PL-STk2 item 5 [Perz inv.4]

(498) Moriuntur, oriuntur novi successores / In odorem (M45)

FACSIMILES (p.5) #5'p + #34' + #20' + #17' + (p.6) #15'
 + #14'. Last two fragments more closely
 aligned in PerzPH nos.4 & 5.

CONCORDANCES No source clausula.
 I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.407v à2.

EDITIONS TischEM 59, 439-42.

LITERATURE TischEM v3, 90.

TEXT #5' (perfections 5-8//22-28//41-43)
 [orien]tur novi succes[sores] //litteratos
 litteratos //(gratum ratum)
 #34' (44-50 //63-67 //84-91)
 quicquid doces repu[to] //[do]llosi dolosi

refulge[at] //(in consensum sensum)

#20' + #17' (98-99 //113-14 //127-29)

quare [tanto] //(bibunt) //elecias de [veris]

#15' + #14' + #15' (143-52 //156-58 /159-66)

miserie O quanta miseria seria ludi[cris]
//onere pre/(mi delictorum lictorum penis crucia)

TENOR In the marginal circle, folio verso. {31i}
Second cursus is legible from perfection 160 to 174,
four notes short of the end. There is little doubt that
the illegible beginning of this section of the tenor
amounts to 17 perfections, i.e. the start of the tenor
in the circle on this folio verso would have coincided
with the beginning of the duplum.

OBSERVATIONS The following variants occur in the motetus:
25-27: literatos, 2li P si2C = ed-cd-cba
84-91: in consensum, g-e-f-ed
143-45: miseria, b-c-d-cb .

PL-STk2 item 4 [Perz inv.5]

(70) Manere vivere debet / Manere (M5)

FACSIMILES (p.6) #5'1 + #34' + #35' + #19' + #20' + Curry
photo (follows on from #19') Figure 3.4

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.50(44), cl.1016 + 1017 (= cl.2042 +
2244)
D-W 1099 f.165v à2

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 106-16. Kidwell, 373 & 444. TischEM
9, 30-59.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 211-19; v2: v. Kidwell, 248. Payne,
414ff. TischEM v3: 53-55.

TEXT #5' (perfections 1-5)

Manere vi/

#34' + #35' (6-18 /19-22 /23-36 /37-38)

[vi]vere debes et florere in me qui sum vere
vite vitis qui /sititis hauri/te vitam de me vite odor

mirritrite balsamo condite /fragrat huc /

#19` + #20` (39-53 //57-67 //71-82 //)

venite mirrham in venite sentite Oblite tui
//[Jo]hane nemirere eum volo sic manere quid ad te me
se[quere] //[stra]te premonstrate patent & cruore
proprio sunt signate//

#curry (86-96)

[pi]gnore anime pro te date (ingrate).

TENOR In marginal circle, folio verso. Double
cursus, |3li|. Beneath the tenor's second cursus
another stave has been squeezed in partially merging
with the end of 'Manere' and extending beyond the
marginal circle into the bottom stave of the motetus. On
this additional stave is the tenor of an unidentified
motet, |3li|, quite likely the piece which begins with
the monochrome initial, P.

OBSERVATIONS Motet is a contrafact by Philip the Chancellor
of (69) *Sirena virginum*. The cadential flourish before
'ingrate' (Example 3.4) derives from cl.1019; it is also
found on the syllable '[benedica]mus [domino]' at the
end of *Sirena virginum*. B^b signature appears at
beginning of each stave; an additional B^b inserted
before (78) 'proprio'.

EXAMPE 3.4



PL-STk2 item 2 [Perz inv.6]

(97) Exaltavit sidere / Liberasti (M7)

FACSIMILES (p.8) #25` + #23`

CONCORDANCES No source clausula.

*D-W 1099 f.181-181v = I-Fl Plut.29,1 f.414 -
(96) Liberator, libera.*

EDITIONS TischEM 74, 548-549; AndLC v2: 185-86.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 288-291; v2: viii. TischEM v3: 100.

TEXT #25' (perfections 13-29 //37-48 //)

hodie quam creator omnium ad celi pala[tium]
//(ad Dei dexteram in gloria suscepit cum gratia) //

#23' (69-73)

ventre vir[go]

TENOR In the marginal circle, folio verso. It coordinates precisely with the start of the motetus in the 13th perfection at the top of the folio verso. |3li| = *D-W 1099*. Tischler claims the tenor is transposed, its original pitch being that of (96) *Liberator, libera*. Anderson asserts the contrary.

OBSERVATIONS Because of troped words Anderson considers *I-Fl Plut.29,1* the earlier version, despite its being transposed. He therefore considers the version in *PL-Stk2* and *D-W 1099* the contrafact.

PL-Stk2 Perz inv.7

(K45) Anima iuge lacrimas [texted cauda]

FACSIMILE (p.9) #32' + #8' + 29'

CONCORDANCES *I-Fl Plut.29,1 f.433v; F-Pn n.a.f.13521 f.370*

EDITIONS AndOO 6: 62-63; Payne, 803-04. TischEM 77, 553-56.

LITERATURE AndOO 6, lxi, 136. Payne, 304-13; Falck no.15. E. Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28/3 (1985): 455 n.83

TEXT #32' [libi]tum devia curans non //

#8' leves requies cure tedium //[ra]tio tuo
iudicio finem subeat //

#29' metus expietur anima //salutis vigeat //

OBSERVATIONS The three strophes can be combined to form a three-part piece. Strophe 1 = Tenor of the cauda which ends the 3-part conductus (C6) *Relegentur ab area*. Order of strophes in *PL-STk2* (II-III) follows that in *I-Fl Plut.29,1*. The text is by Philip the Chancellor. "A unique case of the conversion of the three successive stanzas of a monophonic conductus into a double motet on a separately texted tenor. It is hard to believe that this composition was not conceived a *double emploi* from the start." (E. Sanders)

Perz Inventory no. 8 cannot be located.

PL-STk2 item 7 [Perz inv.9]

(142) *Si vere vis adherere / In seculum* (M13)

FACSIMILES (p.10) #32' + #9' + #8' + #28' + #29'

CONCORDANCES No source clausula
D-W 1099 f.153v.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 66-67. TischEM 113, 798-801.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 144-47; v2: iv. TischEM v3: 120-21.

TEXT #32' + #9' + #8' (perfections 20-56)

[ace]ris tutus vites igne/um supplicium
humilium sequaris contubernium sit conval/lium lilium
sic tuum vitus studium. sterquilinium munda

#28' + #29' (57-85)

sordidum gratie per auxilium fortium fortis
gere prelium per sta/dio fruaris ut celestium bravium
fe/ras in seculum.

TENOR Last 15 notes, perfections 72-end, are visible in the marginal circle, at the top of the folio verso. Double cursus. [3li].

OBSERVATIONS Anderson's observation [v2:iv] that this transmission "has the triplum voice of the double motet used as a motetus" is incorrect, as is his belief that the piece is of "Eastern provenance."
 Variant: (perfections 80-82) 'fruaris', other sources 'nitaris'.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.10

(-) C or G... / Latus (M14)

FACSIMILE (P.10) #28 + Curry photo. Figure 3.5

CONCORDANCES I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.158v, cl.2103 - perfection 33 to end. No known motet concordances.

EDITIONS Transcription of opening (no text) and ending, Example 3.5

LITERATURE PerzIN p.50 speculates that the motet might begin 'O... dominus'.

TEXT No textual incipit extant due to the cut of the fragment, however the first line of music is very legible as is the explicit, music and text: 'latium tuorum fidelium'.

TENOR Last five notes, edc-d-c |3C|2si|, visible in the marginal circle folio verso, immediately to the left of the last line of text.

OBSERVATIONS This piece follows directly on from (142) *Si vere vis adherere / In seculum* (M13). The text starts most likely with either C or G. The top of a blue minor initial pen-flourished in red is clearly visible outside the writing block. This flourishing does not show up in the black and white AMiP facsimile. Immediately after the last word of text is a red minor initial A within the writing block.

This motet is yet to be identified. Its source clausula has no other motet concordances. The motet-clausula relationship is unusual. Cl.2103 has one half and one whole statement of its tenor. The start of the motet at perfection 33 coincides with the start of the clausula tenor's complete *cursus*.

Example 3 - 5

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system has two staves: the top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and the bottom staff is an alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The second system also has two staves with the same clefs and key signature. The lyrics 'la - ti - um tu - o - rum fi - de - li - um' are written below the second staff of the second system.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.11

(-) --- / Flos filius (O16)

FACSIMILE (p.10) #10`

CONCORDANCE -

EDITIONS -

LITERATURE -

TEXT -

TENOR In the marginal circle, folio recto. Single
 cursus. |3li| = D-W 1099 f.51

OBSERVATIONS No concordance between motetus and duplum of
 discant section, dp. 2052 (= dp.3023). Fragmentary and
 illegible state of the text makes the possibility of
 identification unlikely.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.12

(532) Agmina milicie / Agmina (M65)

FACSIMILES (p.8) #27` + #23`

CONCORDANCES No source clausula.

Triplum of à3: GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) f.91; E-Bu
f.90v; I-Fl Plut.29,1 f.396v = duplum D-W 1099 f.123.
Duplum of à2: F-Pn lat.15139 f.258; GB-Lbl Eg.274 f.45.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 1-5. Payne, 800. TischEM 34, 243-62.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 1-14. EveristFM, 40. TischEM v3: 72-
74. Text in CZ-Ph N.8 f.38v.

TEXT #27` (perfections 45-51//57-70//

Regis filia christum regem hodie //revelata
facie //(gloria christi hostie patent o[stia]) //

#23` (77-79//87-89//)

grece facundi[e] //([studi]a post hec
sta[dia])

TENOR Not extant

OBSERVATIONS Variant (66-67) 'hostie,' f-ed-e |si 2li si|. This is closer to the version in F-Pn lat.15139 f.258, fe d e |P si si|, than to other sources.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.13

(313) Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit (M24)

FACSIMILE [Curry photo] #new 3' + (p.8) #46` + (p.7)
#23'1. In PerzPH no.8, #46` is mislabelled as 'Inter
natos' (O13). Figure 3.6

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.53(45), cl.1023 (= cl.2224); duplum
of à3 cl. F-12(3), I-Fl Plut.29,1 f.45v (second cursus)
D-W 1099 f.148v; and E-Mn 20486 f.126.
Duplum of à3: I-Fl Plut.29,1 f.386v; D-W 1099
f.127.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 13-17. Payne, 861. TischEM 23, 114-160.

LITERATURE Payne, 438 n.65.

TEXT #new 3' (perfections 1-19 //)

Homo quo vigeas vide dei fidei adhereas //

#46` (23-59 //63-79 //)

gaudeas et in fide intus ardeas foris luceas
turturis retor[queas] /Os ad ascellas docens ita verbo
vita oris vomere de cordibus fi[delium] /(evellas lolium
lilium insere rose ut alium per hoc corri[pere]) //

#23' (113-15 //133-36 //)

dampnaberis //et sic tuum cor //

TENOR Not extant

OBSERVATIONS Red minor initial 'H'. Text attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

Perz inventory numbers 14-16 cannot be located.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.17

(505a*) Domine homine prosperato / Et sperabit (M49)

FACSIMILE (p.6) #21` + #17`

CONCORDANCES D-W 628 f.60v(52v), cl.1091 - tenor rhythm different.

EDITIONS Opening, Example 3.6.

LITERATURE -

TEXT #21` + #17` (perfections 1-6)

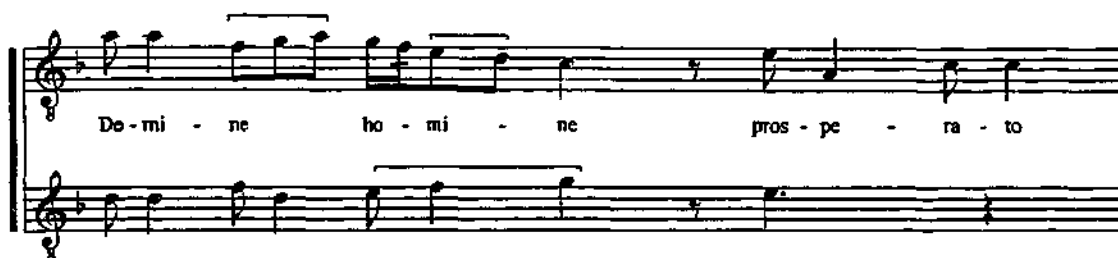
Domine homine pros/perato prosper[ato?]

TENOR Folio recto. Incomplete tenor in the second stave of the marginal circle immediately to the right of

the beginning of the motet. B^b signature. |2li 2li
3li|si||.

OBSERVATIONS *The modified motet number was assigned the
piece by van der Werf.

EXAMPLE 3.6



PL-STk2 Perz inv.18

(2) Vide prophecie / Viderunt (M1)

Organum prosula.

FACSIMILES (p.5) #35'1 + #20'1 + #17'1.

CONCORDANCES D-W 1099 f.167.
Duplum of à4: D-W 628 f.1(3); I-F1 Plut.29,1
f.1; E-Mn 20486 f.13v; GB-Lbl Eg.2615 f.79. Text only:
CZ-Ph N.8 f.37v; D-DS 3471 f.220v.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 116-22. Payne, 726. TischEM 94, 597-
610.

LITERATURE Kidwell, 211. Payne, 278ff. TischEM v3: 107.
Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their
Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology* 5/3
(1987): 388.

TEXT #35'1 (perfections 5-10//20-23//)

[prophe]cie finem adimplete //est Marie ad
exitum//

#35'1 music + 20'1 text (32-37//47-51//)

[sili]ce fons mel cortice mis[tice] //rubus
rubet igne vi[rens] //

#20'1 music + #17'1 text (61-64//77-81//)

more parit cum //sydus singulare tu //

TENOR Not extant.

OBSERVATIONS Text by Philip the Chancellor.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.19

(58) Adesse festina / Adiuva me (M3)

Organum prosula.

FACSIMILE Recto: #new 7' + #new 6' + (p.11) #45'; Verso:
(p.11) #45' + #new 6 + #new 7. Figures 3.7 & 3.8

CONCORDANCES D-W 1099 f.170.
Duplum of à4: D-W 628 f.1v(3v); D-W 1099 f.1;
E-Mn 20486 f.17v; I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.4.

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 135-59. Payne, 752. TischEM 97, 658-732.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 228-35; v2: vi. Kidwell, 280. Payne, 281ff. TischEM v3: 109-13. Text in CZ-Ph N.8 f.37v.

TEXT #new 7' + #new 6' + #45' (perfections 66-164//166-78//185-93//197-200//209-18//225-39//

[illu]mina valle pe/regrina qua sum po/situs
extermina curas mundi /spina fraus clam /destina urget
serpen/tina carnis cum sentina /ut de sago sim /cortina
penitus elimina /sordes mentis officina ut /de pelle
cilicina fiam rubens ovi[na] /tandem iacinthina adiu
//tum tu redde me /tutum tu dominus es virtutum / tu
cuncta regis // = end of #45'

nutum tu mutas /auro lutum mundas //um es
brachium /gladius et scutum tri[butum] //remove
servitu[tum] //iuva lapidea me iacu[la] //[er]gastula me
vincu/la me troclea craticula //

#45' + #new 6 + #new 7 (246-351//394-407//416-31//436-45//

[fra]mea sudes et spicula me /fella debriant
pocula /me laniant den/tes et ungula pati bula me
/cruciant singula mea /messis matura /crucis pressura

flagellatur /area emundatur palea /reddit pura /grana
 tritura ea fer ad hor/re a fracta domo lute-/a me recrea
 et lau/rea aurea laurea me ihesu /per te video quod
 ianue /sunt aperte iam in /loco pascue post finite /=
 end of#45` /

cursum vite me consti/tue totiens laces[site]
 //dolorem iam comple/te mete post labo[rem]//[quie]te
 frui te dona stipendi/a iam emerito sto[le] //[qui]bus
 milito ilis ut veni/a fiat flagito //

TENOR Not extant.

OBSERVATIONS The fragments numbered by the sisters 6 and 7 do not correspond, singly or joined, to Perz's #51, which in any case is misaligned with #45. Irrespective of that mistake, the layout of fragment #45 in AMiP is also incorrect: its recto should be positioned on the right-hand side of page 11 not the left. #45 joins the other 'new' fragments at the top and runs out four line before the bottom of the folio.

PL-STk2 item 6 [Perz inv.20]

(322) Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit (M24)

FACSIMILES (p.11) #49` (see also my photo)

CONCORDANCES I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.174v, cl.2246.
 D-W 1099 f.174v; E-Bu f.92; I-F1 Plut.29,1
 f.405.

EDITIONS AndLC, 162-66. Kidwell, 481. Payne, 989.
 TischEM 52, 395-406.

LITERATURE AndLC v3: 241-49. Kidwell, 234. Payne, 602.
 TischEM v3: 84-85.

TEXT #49` (perfections 4-11 //16-26 //31-43)

[or]phanum te deseram sed efferam. Sicut
 lybanum //ponam te virtutis sicut tympanum et organum
 letiti[e] //[salu]tis. Auferam Egyptie iugum servitutis
 conferam me //

TENOR Not extant.

OBSERVATIONS Variants: perfections 22, 34, 38 binaria where

both cl.2246 and D-W 1099 have plicas. Attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

PL-STk2 item 3 [Perz inv.21]

(101) Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare (M9)

FACSIMILES #new 2 + (p.11) #50' + #49'. Figure 3.9

CONCORDANCES Duplum of cl. à3 F-11(2), *I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.45.*
D-W 1099 f.180v; F-CSM 3.J.250 f.5v.

EDITIONS AndLC, 183-85. Kidwell, 452. Payne, 1042.
TischEM 123, 828-32.

LITERATURE AndLC v3: 286-88. Kidwell, 285. TischEM v3:
124.

TEXT #new 2 (perfections 1-22)

Et illumina eximia mater plena gratie potens
et pia subveni pi[e]

#50' (perfections 33-43//49-65//)

O virgo regina egregia regina //victorie
confert subsidia da gaudia remove tedia fons //

#49' (perfections 70-73 end)

patrie gloria.

TENOR In the bottom stave of the marginal circle are
the opening ten notes of the tenor, perfections 1-15,
|5si|3li|. B^b signature. Presumably the remainder would
have been entered in another circle lower down the page.
The rhythm accords with that of the second 3-pt clausula
(no.11) 'Illumina' in *I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.45.*

OBSERVATIONS Attribution of the text to Philip the
Chancellor is inconclusive.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.22

?(215a) Salve or Ave virgo virginum Maria/ Nostrum (M14)

- FACSIMILES #49' + #new 1 (=Figure 3.10)
- CONCORDANCES --
- EDITIONS AndLC v2: 25-26 (motet 215).
- LITERATURE --
- TEXT Almost totally illegible save for the explicit,
 'stella luminum lux et dies' at the start of the verso,
 i.e. atop fragment #new 1
- TENOR Not extant.
- OBSERVATIONS A monochrome initial is dimly visible and the spacing too confirms the new piece started with a minor initial. The explicit and its nine-note melody are very clear but the text has not yet been identified. The melody, except for the final 'e', corresponds to the final nine notes of the triplum voice of (215) *Gaudeat devotio fidelium / Nostrum* (M14). Motetus finishing on 'e' would not sit well harmonically with the tenor *finalis* 'g'; however, in motet 215 the tenor is stated twice and its first cursus does indeed cadence on 'e'.
 Immediately following the explicit is a motet on the same tenor, (216) *Nostrum est impletum gaudium / Nostrum* (M14). It seems likely therefore that *PL-STk2 Perz inv.22* is a two-voice contrafact of motet 215.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.23

- (216) *Nostrum est impletum gaudium / Nostrum* (M14)
- FACSIMILES #new 1 + (p.11) #50' [incomplete reproduction*]. Figure 3.10
- CONCORDANCES Duplum of organum à3: *I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.24*
 Duplum of *F-CSM 3.J.250 f.5* (fragmentary)
 Duplum of à3: *I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.384*
- EDITIONS Payne, 897. TischEM 19, 117-21
- LITERATURE *For the complete fragment #50' see PerzPH no.9. Remarks in PerzIN no.23 need to be revised.
 Payne, 602. EveristFM, 28-29 (text underlay differs from that in Ex. 2.8), 40, 127 n.3.

TEXT #new 1 (perfections 1-37)

Nostrum est impletum /gaudium perazimum sit
animum pascha letum. Leto letum est /deletum exulat
exilium. Post triduum cessat vacuum tuum mors //

#50` (53-69 end)

O quam dulce ferculum in ara crucis torridum /
a quo fluit sapidum cruor poculum nostrum.

TENOR In the marginal circle, folio verso. First
seven notes missing; from perfection 11 the remainder is
complete. Double cursus. |3li|2si|

OBSERVATIONS Blue initial 'N' pen flourished in red. Text
attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

Variants: (perf. 13) d-e-d; (21) b-c-d.

PL-STk2 Perz inv.24

(K75a) Ave gloriosa virginum regina

Monophonic lai-sequence; also pars secunda in polyphonic
realisation with standard version.

FACSIMILE Curry photo. Figure 4.1

CONCORDANCES unicum

EDITIONS See Chapter IV. Figures 4.2 and 4.3

LITERATURE AndOO 6, ic-ci. Text in CZ-Ph N.8. Robert
Curry, "Lost and Found in Stary Sącz," *Księga pamiątkowa*
profesora Mirosława Perza, ed. Z. Helman (Warsaw,
2003), 31-42.

TEXT vitis generosa vite medicina clementie //
[clarita]te ra[diosa] //[matu]tina brevitae egis
glo[sa]//cedrus pudi[citie] cypressus puritatis mirra
penitentiae //roris odor cloris verne novi[tatis] //
[deco]ris templum trinitatis compagnes unitatis. O Maria
//[debi]llium presidium columpna firmitatis alumpna
sanctitatis //[car]acteris signaculum itineris vehiculum
tu limes // thronus Salomonis prelata celi thronis tu
vellus Ge[deonis] // medium discordium connubium amoris
humili[um] // langoris consilium errantium auxilium
laboris compen[dium] //victoris Munditie tu spe[culum]

// pergratie miraculum es mater genitoris origo
conditoris.

OBSERVATIONS Versicle double of strophes I-VI and XI is omitted, as is all of final, twelfth strophe. Text by Philip the Chancellor. Full discussion in Chapter 4.

PL-STk2 Add.1

(98) In Bethleem Herodes / In Bethleem (M8)

FASCIMILES #new 2. Figure 3.9

CONCORDANCES I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.105, dp.2154 (= dp.3072)
D-W 1099 f.163; E-Mn 20486 f.125
Duplum of à3: I-F1 Plut.29,1 f.382

EDITIONS AndLC v2: 98-100. Kidwell, 450. TischEM 14,
88-99. Example 3.7.

LITERATURE AndLC v1: 196-204. Kidwell, 134-35, 250.
TischEM v3: 57-58.

TEXT #new 2 (perfections 35-80)

facinoris O O O O livoris immanitas O puritas
innocentium pede ge/mino sequentium agni vestigium O
rosa rubens O candoris lilium /flos odoris vox infantium
laudes Deo dicentium cantantium O O O O

TENOR Not extant due to damage to the marginal
circle folio recto. The only notes decipherable in the
circle are in the bottom stave and belong to the
following motet, *Et illumina eximia mater / Et
illuminare* (M9). Presumably the double cursus tenor, 'In
Bethleem' preceded it.

OBSERVATIONS The source clausula for motet 98 is cl.1020 in
D-W 628, which is virtually the same as the discant
section dp.2154/3072 in I-F1 Plut.29,1 and D-W 1099.
The discant section differs from the clausula in not
having hocketing in perfections 37-39. Motet 98,
following the clausula version, sets this passage in
hocket to the text 'O O O O'. PL-STk2 has no hocketing;
instead, it presents a melodically modified version of
the discant dp.2154/3072; see Example 3.7. In this
respect it concords with the duplum of the conductus-
motet à3 in I-F1 Plut.29,1. See Kidwell, 135, Ex 3.30.

EXAMPLE 3.7

PL-STk2 Add.2

(778b) Ave Maria / Ave maris stella (051)

FASCIMILE Curry photo with #28`. Figure 3.5

CONCORDANCES *F-Pn n.a.f.13521 f.384*

EDITIONS TischEM 228, 1290-92

LITERATURE TischEM v3: 184.

TEXT **A..**

TENOR Not extant.

OBSERVATIONS This identificationn is based on three features: the red minor initial 'A', the clear C-clef, and the descending plicated punctum on the first note 'a'. There is only one known motet in the repertoire the text of which starts with 'A..' and the initial pitch of which is 'a' written as a plicated neume or *binaria*. Preceding this motet is the explicit, 'latium tuorum fidelium;' the piece has not yet been identified.

PL-STk2 Add.3

?(1037) Parens nostri

FASCIMILE Curry photo containing motet 70 above. Figure 3.4

CONCORDANCES

EDITION TischEM 254, 1407

LITERATURE

TEXT ?Parens nostri

TENOR ?Unidentified incipit in marginal circle
 following 'Manere' [cf. Perz inv.5]

OBSERVATIONS The opening melody is virtually identical with the beginning of (70) *Manere vivere* and its strophe, 'Oblite', which precedes this piece. The monochrome initial 'P' is strikingly large, with its extender, it is the size of two music staves.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

New material which has come to light since Perz completed his research in the early 1970s complements a number of fragments and makes it possible to reconstitute a goodly part of two folia. As a result we can now estimate fairly accurately the original dimensions of the source manuscript of *PL-STk2*.¹² This service book containing Notre Dame organa, Latin two-part motets, monophonic, and possibly also three-part compositions,¹³ measured approximately 198 by 130 mm. Midway in size between *D-W 628* and *W2*, its external dimensions correspond most closely to the *liber motetorum*, *F-MO H 196*. Table No.1 presents a comparison of *PL-STk2* with other 'Notre Dame' manuscripts in terms of the folio size and

12. Many of Perz's measurements (AMiP 13, xiii-xvii and 'Earliest Source,' 41) are awry: folio c.170/175 x 150/155, containing 14 staves for organa in written block 140 x 120. Written block for motetus 140 x 180 containing 10 five-line staves.

13. The possibility of *PL-STk2* containing three-part compositions is suggested by the four-system 15-line ruling used for the sequence 'Ave gloriosa'. See Chapter 4.

dimensions of the written block.

TABLE NO. 3.1

DIMENSIONS OF 'NOTRE-DAME' MANUSCRIPTS¹⁴

(Measurements in millimetres)

<u>MANUSCRIPT</u>	<u>FOLIO LEAF</u>	<u>WRITTEN BLOCK</u>
D-W 1099	180 x 130	104 x 73 (org.à4) 122 x 73 (org.à2 & motets)
D-W 628	210 x 150	c.155/160 x 80/90
E-Mn 20486	c.166 x 115	c.122 x 90
F-MO H 196	192 x 130	127/130 x 76/81 ¹⁵
GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2)	220 x 139	149 x 92
I-Fl Plut.29,1	232 x 157	149 x 92
PL-STk2	c.198 x 130	114 x 95 (org.à2) c.126 x 75/80 (motets) circle diameter 40/42 outside margin 52

The written block for organa, 12 staves alternating five- and four-lines ruled in red ink, is the customary one for 13th-century books preserving this repertoire. The block itself is squarer than other 'Notre-Dame' manuscripts, there being less than 20 mm. difference between height and width.

14. Edward H. Roesner, "Introduction to the 'Notre-Dame Manuscript' F," in *Antiphonarium seu Magnus liber organi de gradali et antiphonario. Color Microfiche Edition of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29,1., Codices illuminati medii aevi*, 45 (Munich: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1996), 14. And Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 64-67, et passim. Written block for organa in D-Bs Mus.55 MS 14 + D-Mbs Mus.MS 4775 (olim Cod.gall.42) measures 69 mm. on the horizontal; no vertical possible.

15. Mary Wolinski, "The Montpellier Codex: Its Compilation, Notation and Implications for the Chronology of the Thirteenth-Century Motet," Ph.D. diss. (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University, 1988), 17 Table 1.1.

For the motet repertoire, however, *PL-STk2* adopts a *mise-en-page* unique among thirteenth-century music books. Instead of motet tenors following directly after the motetus, as in *I-Fl Plut.29,1* and *D-W 1099*, or running across the bottom of the folio, as in *F-MO H 196*, *PL-STk2* has them encapsulated within red circles located in the external margin, which, at 52 mm., is two-thirds the width of the writing area for the motetus. The circles were positioned back to back and ruled with three four-line red staves; it would appear that there were no more than two circles per side. A high degree of planning must have been necessary in order to align the tenor notes with the part of the piece to which they pertain. Occasionally a tenor straddles two circles and there is an instance of a tenor overflowing the bottom of the circle,¹⁶ but overall, the precision of notational co-ordination between tenor-in-the-circle and neighbouring motetus is quite striking. This unique *mise-en-page* constitutes the most distinctive feature of the manuscript and therefore should provide a sure clue to its place of production. To date no suggestions have been forthcoming. What might have occasioned the choice of this *mise-en-page* also remains a mystery. Beyond surmising that its rationale probably had to do with number symbolism - on three staves (the Godhead, the Trinity), ecclesiastical chants begetting motets, i.e. tenors, are 'held' within the perfection of a circle (image of the Divinity) - there is little more one can say until some analogous page layout is found.

On both the organum folio and motet fragments the text script is *littera textualis*; on the fragment containing 'Ave

16. For an example of the former, see PerzIN 21; and of the latter, PerzIN 5.

gloriosa', most likely a later addition, there are traces of *currens*. Stave rulings throughout are of a regularity consistent with the use of a rastrum or similar implement. Unlike the organum folio which appears to have been ruled prior to copying, ruling and copying of the motet folia probably proceeded in tandem: when new motets start mid-stave the lines break to accommodate the flourished initial.

On the organum folio there are five minor initials, three in blue pen-flourished in red: *Inter natos*, the Respond of O13 on the recto; on the verso, its doxology *Gloria patri*, and *Cum orasset*, the Verse of O14. The two rubricated versals are unflourished: the Verse of O13, *Fuit homo*, and Respond of O14, *Cornelius*. Among the motet fragments pen flourished minor initials can be seen for (216) *Nostrum est impletum* and (-) *G* or *C--*; and rubricated versals for (101) *Et illumina*, (313) *Homo quo vigeas*, and (778b) *Ave Maria*. The flourishing of initials has been studied by Dr Adelaide Bennett of the Christian Art Index, Princeton University. She noted that there is a stylistic consistency between the flourishing of the organum and motet fragments and has dated the fragments to the second quarter of the 13th century. Dr Bennett believes that while the penwork is definitely French, especially the components of the 'composite' initial *I* and the infilling of *N* and *G*, its use and adaptation of some older motifs are features suggestive of a somewhat transitional style.¹⁷

In *PL-STk2*, as in *I-F1 Plut.29,1*, the notation of organa is uniformly modal, that is, there are no instances of modifications to the shape and form of the notes which might

17. Personal communication, 4 November 1992. I am most grateful to Dr Bennett for her insights.

suggest mensural influence; the notation of motets is *cum littera* with long-breve differentiation. For the purposes of dating *PL-STk2*, however, the musical notation is not particularly helpful. As Edward Roesner has pointed out in his essay on *I-F1 Plut.29,1*

the paleographical criteria generally used to date the musical notations of this period - the ways in which the rhythmically neutral neumes of plainchant were modified to communicate rhythm - have more to do with content than they do with form or writing style as such, and therefore are as much a part of the language and substance of the text as they are of its external orthography.¹⁸

With respect to the organa there is a perceptible 'house style' seen in the employment of alternative forms of notation for melodic figures concordant with other transmissions. For example, *PL-STk2* often omits the initial virga-shaped first element at the start of a group of *currentes*, whether or not the starting pitch of the *conjunctura* is a repetition of the last pitch of the preceding *ligaure* or *simplex*. However, there appears to be no discernible consistency in the use of this form of *conjunctura*.¹⁹

REPERTOIRE

Given the fragmentary state of *PL-STk2* conjectures about the *ordinatio* of its source manuscript have to be based on

18. Roesner, "Introduction to F," 21, 34 n.25.

19. Edward Roesner has drawn attention to the need "to analyse the 'house style' in each source in much greater detail. Which elements in the notation reflect local or personal tastes in rhythm and melody, which are primarily orthographic in nature, and, of the latter, which derive from the habits of individual scribes?" "The problem of chronology in the transmission of organum duplum," in *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 398.

evidence of the succession of pieces on one or more obviously connected fragments. Contiguity at this 'local level', knowing what pieces adjoin one another, can do no more than hint at what might have been the manuscript's overarching organising principle.

TABLE 3.2

CONTIGUOUS PIECES IN *PL-STk2*

1	(011)	<i>Dum completentur. Repleti sunt</i>
	(013)	<i>Inter natos. Fuit homo</i>
	(014)	<i>Cornelius. Cum orasset</i>
4	(498)	<i>Moriuntur, oriuntur / In odorem (M45)</i>
5	(70)	<i>Manere vivere debet / Manere (M5)</i>
9	(142)	<i>Si vere vis adherere / In seculum (M13)</i>
10	(-)	<i>C or G... / Latus (M14)</i>
Add.1	(98)	<i>In Bethleem Herodes / In Bethleem (M8)</i>
21	(101)	<i>Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare (M9)</i>
22	(215a)	<i>Salve or Ave virgo virginum Maria/ Nostrum M14)</i>
23	(216)	<i>Nostrum est impletum gaudium / Nostrum (M14)</i>
20	(322)	<i>Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit (M24)</i>

With respect to the three Office organa the closest concordance is with *I-Fl Plut.29,1*, which transmits polyphony for the liturgical cycle of Notre Dame of Paris. Although the processional organum O12 is omitted,²⁰ the cycle in *PL-STk2* does include organum for the third responsory of Matins, a piece which hitherto had been unique to *I-Fl Plut.29,1*. The organa themselves, as can be seen in the graphic representations in the catalogue above, evince the complex

20. On the ordering of processional organa in Notre-Dame manuscripts, see Franz Körndle, *Das zweistimmige Notre-Dame-Organum "Crucifixum in carne" und sein Weiterleben in Erfurt*, *Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte*, 49 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 95-101.

filiation with other Notre-Dame manuscripts that is characteristic of transmissions of this repertoire.

With respect to the motets, three of the four fragments show liturgical ordering according to the use of the plainchant melodies on which they are based. This is the organising principle employed in the service book *I-Fl Plut.29,1* for the fascicle (VIII) containing three-part conductus-motets, pieces with which the two-part motets of *PL-STk2* have a high proportion of concordances. The other source with which *PL-STk2* motets have a high number of concordances, the Parisian *liber motetorum*, *D-W 1099*, organises its two-part Latin motets alphabetically by first letter of the motetus text. If one assumes the motets of *PL-STk2* were liturgically ordered, the anomaly of M45 preceding M5 could be explained as a case where pieces have been cut either from a different fascicle or from a part of the gathering in which no specific ordering principle obtained. This would then be yet another point of similarity with *I-Fl Plut.29,1*, specifically with its fascicle IX, in which pieces are randomly ordered, and where in fact the sole concordance for *PL-STk2* item 5, (498) *Moriuntur, oriuntur / In odorem* (M45) is found, between M14 and M1.

All the motets recovered to date from the *PL-STk2* complex are exclusively two-part with Latin texts. There is, of course, no way of knowing whether this source's repertorial links with *I-Fl Plut.29,1* extended to clausulae and conductus-motets, or whether, like *D-W 1099*, it transmitted French as well as Latin motets. What is clear, though, is that in this fragmentary source a high proportion of the extant pieces are to texts by, or attributed to, Philip the Chancellor.

TABLE 3.3

PIECES TO TEXTS BY, OR ATTRIBUTED TO, PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR²¹

5	(70) <i>Manere vivere debet / Manere</i> (M5)
7	(K45) <i>Anima iuge lacrimas</i>
12	(532) <i>Agmina milicie / Agmina</i> (M65)
13	(313) <i>Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit</i> (M24)
18	(2) <i>Vide prophecie / Viderunt</i> (M1)
19	(58) <i>Adesse festina / Adiuva me</i> (M3)
20	(322) <i>Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit</i> (M24)
23	(216) <i>Nostrum est impletum gaudium / Nostrum</i> (M14)
24	(K75) <i>Ave gloriosa virginum regina</i>

Out of twenty-one motets and conducti in the PL-STk2 complex, nine pieces can be attributed to Philip. It may be that the gatherings from which this material was cut were part of a fascicle dedicated to the works of the Chancellor, analogous perhaps to the discrete collection of his monophonic conductus found in fascicle X(27), ff.431-446, of I-Fl Plut.29,1.²²

In his exhaustive study of Philip's oeuvre Thomas Payne demonstrated that a high percentage of his motets belong to the earliest layers of the repertoire, that is, they evince a stylistic affinity with three-part conductus-motets, and with two-part motets derived from melismatic clausulae.²³ Susan Kidwell's and Norman Smith's research also show that the

21. Attributions are based on the most recent research of Thomas Payne: "Philip the Chancellor," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols., edited by John Tyrrell and Stanley Sadie (London & New York: Grove, 2001), 19: 594-97.

22. Robert Falck, *The Notre-Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies, 33 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981), 111 & 163-64.

23. Thomas B. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame school," Ph.D. diss. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), 327-564.

overwhelming majority of the earliest motets derive from Notre Dame clausulae.²⁴ They constitute, according to Kidwell, a subgenre, "a relatively unified segment of the repertory in terms of chronology and compositional process."²⁵

The identification of the Philip the Chancellor motets sheds light on other pieces in the PL-STk2 motet complex which also have concordances with clausulae and/or three-part conductus-motets. These works are listed in Tables 3.4 and 3.5; Philip's works are designated with bolded numbers.

TABLE 3.4

PL-STk2 CONCORDANCES WITH 'MAGNUS LIBER' DISCANT SECTIONS AND CLAUSULAE

2	(524) <i>Ecclesie vox / Et florebit</i> (M53)
3	(635) <i>Ad veniam, per veniam / Tamquam</i> (O2)
5	(70) <i>Manere vivere debet / Manere</i> (M5)
13	(313) <i>Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit</i> (M24)
17	(505a) <i>Domine homine / Et sperabit</i> (M49)
20	(322) <i>Non orphanum te / Et gaudebit</i> (M24)
21	(101) <i>Et illumina eximia / Et illuminare</i> (M9)
23	(216) <i>Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum</i> (M14)
Add.1	(98) <i>In Bethlehem Herodes / In Bethlehem</i> (M8)

TABLE 3.5

PL-STk2 CONCORDANCES WITH CONDUCTUS-MOTETS à3

2	(524) <i>Ecclesie vox hodie / Et florebit</i> (M53)
3	(635) <i>Ad veniam, per veniam / Tamquam</i> (O2)
12	(532) <i>Agmina milicie / Agmina</i> (M65)
13	(313) <i>Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit</i> (M24)
23	(216) <i>Nostrum est impletum gaudium / Nostrum</i> (M14)
Add.1	(98) <i>In Bethlehem Herodes / In Bethlehem</i> (M8)

24. While there is some dispute about the relative chronology of motet versions the broad evolutionary trend can be sketched as conductus-motet contemporaneous with or slightly preceding motet for two voices, then double or triple motet with two or more separately texted line.

On the evidence of these tables, over half the net nineteen motets in *PL-STk2* can be considered as belonging to the earliest layers of motets; of these, five are to texts by Philip. Payne concluded that the external relationship of

Philip's pieces with the rest of the Notre Dame motet repertory demonstrates that a significant number of his pieces in all likelihood originated during the initial period of the genre's development²⁶

One can extrapolate from his conclusions about Philip's motets to the motets in *PL-STk2*: there are good grounds for regarding this source as a repository of some of the earliest examples of Notre Dame motets and a witness to the gestation of this genre.

CONCLUSION

At the time *PL-STk2* was most likely produced, the mid-1240s, the Sary Sącz Poor Clare monastery did not exist. We know nothing about the circumstances of the manuscript's production save that a unique *mise-en-page* was adopted for the section devoted to two-part Latin motets. Whilst the encapsulation of motet tenors in generous marginal circles does not rule out entirely the possibility of performance, it surely suggests that the manuscript was more likely envisaged as a presentation copy. We have no information about how or when this luxury manuscript found its way into the Sadecki region of Małopolska where, some time during the sixteenth or

25. Susan A. Kidwell, "The Integration of Music and Text in the Early Latin Motet," Ph.D. diss. (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1993), 12-13. Norman E. Smith, "From Clausula to Motet: Material for Further Studies in the Origins and Early History of the Motet," *Musica Disciplina* 34 (1980): 29-65.

26. Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 440.

seventeenth centuries, it was cut up and used as scrap in the rebinding of the Stary Sacz Poor Clare's thirteenth-century gradual.

PL-STk2 has close concordances with another Parisian music manuscript also produced in the 1240s and prepared as a presentation copy. It is now believed that *I-F1 Plut.29,1* was prepared for a member of the French royal family, most probably King Louis IX on the occasion of the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle, 26 April 1248.²⁷ Both manuscripts found their way into foreign hands; in the case of *I-F1 Plut.29,1* it occurred by way of a diplomatic gift to the Medicis. The conduct of diplomacy between the French crown and the Árpáds, Přemyslids or Piasts might just as easily have involved the exchange of such a gift. Bearing in mind the close familial connections that existed between these royal houses and the Clarisses of the Polish-Czech province, it is worth recalling what a grand state occasion was the solemn profession of the first Polish Poor Clare nun, dowager Queen Salomea of Halicz [née Piastówna]. It took place on the tenth anniversary (17 November 1245) of the canonisation of her Hungarian sister-in-law, Elizabeth of Thuringia. And it is Salomea who, in her Last Will and Testament, made special provision for

27. See the abstract of Michel Huglo's paper "Magnus Liber: Maius Munus (Part II)," given at the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, 31 July - 3 August 2003, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena.
www.personal.uni-jena.de/~xlkofr/MedReninfo/schedule.htm.
 Over a decade ago Mark Everist noted the significance of *fleur-de-lys* in *I-F1 Plut.29,1* and suggested the association with Sainte-Chapelle. See *Polyphonic Music*, 83ff.

safeguarding her collection of books.²⁸

If a copy of *PL-STk2* had come into the possession of the Stary Sącz Poor Clares as a professional dowry or bequest it would have joined the company of other valuable *objets d'art* of French provenance in St Kinga's monastery, like, for example, the gold reliquaries of Hugo d'Oignies which date from the first half of the 13th century.²⁹ As to the possibility that the repertoire transmitted in *PL-STk2* might have been known and performed in Franciscan-Clarist circles little more than conjecture can be offered. What gives one pause, however, is the presence amongst the fragments of a 'working copy' of a new version of one of Philip the Chancellor's *lai-sequences*.

'*Ave gloriosa virginum regina*' is one of Philip's most widely disseminated pieces; the transmission (incomplete) in *I-F1 Plut.29,1* is but one of many. The existence of a different version and *pars secunda* to the standard melody, found on a fragment which has the appearance of being a later addition, clearly suggests compositional engagement with some of the repertoire in *PL-STk2*. Chapter Four is devoted to this fragment, the earliest example at Stary Sącz of a polyphonic reworking interpolated in a service book.

28. See Chapter I, pages 70-71.

29. Jerzy Pietruszyński, "Hugo d'Oignies et les ostensoirs des Clarisses de Cracovie et de Sącz," in *Les relations artistiques entre la Pologne, la France, la Flandre et la Basse Rhénanie du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, edited by Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa, *Seria Historia Sztuki*, 13 (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1981), 51-59.

APPENDIX

PL-STk2 DISTRIBUTION and CONCORDANCES IN I-F1 Plut.29,1

Fascicle III(1) - Office Organa à2

- f.72 (011) *Dum completentur. Repleti sunt*
 f.73 (013) *Inter natos. Fuit homo*
 f.73v (014) *Cornelius. Cum orasset*

VIII(1) - Conductus-Motets à3

- f.381 (635) *Ad veniam perveniam, si veniam / Tamquam* (02)
 f.382 (98) *In Bethleem Herodes / In Bethleem* (M8)
 f.384 (216) *Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum* (M14)
 f.386v (313) *Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit* (M24)
 f.396 (524) *Ecclesie vox hodie / Et florebit* (M53)
 f.396v (532) *Agmina milicie / Agmina* (M65)

IX(3) - Motets à2

- f.405 (322) *Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit* (M24)
 f.407v (498) *Moriuntur, oriuntur / In odorem* (M45)

X - Monophonic Conductus

- f.433v (K45) *Anima iuge lacrimas*
 f.447 (K75) *Ave gloriosa virginum regina (as pars
 prima to PL-STk2 Perz inv.24)*

PL-STk2 DISTRIBUTION & CONCORDANCES IN D-W 1099

Fascicle IV - Office Organa à2

- f.50v (011) *Dum completentur. Repleti sunt*
 f.58v (013) *Inter natos. Fuit homo*

VII(1) - Motets à3

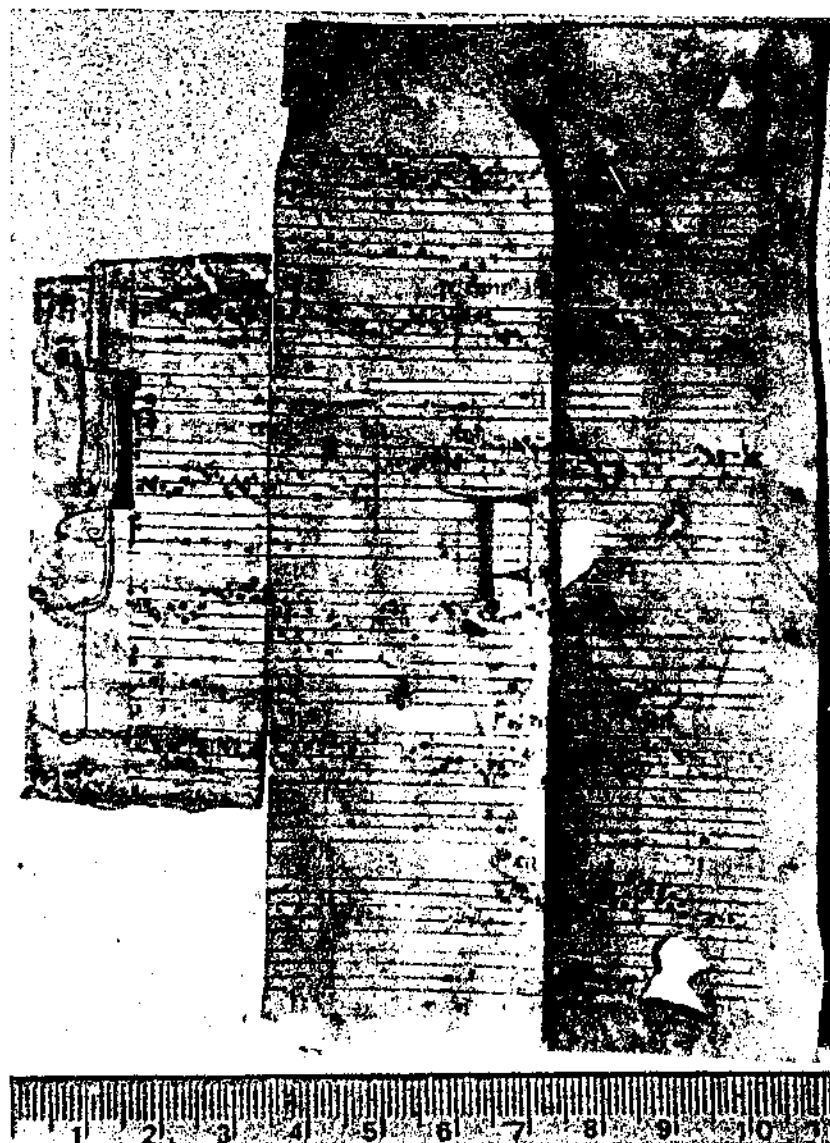
- f.123 (532) *Agmina milicie / Agmina* (M65) - à2
 f.127 (313) *Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit* (M24) - duplum
 f.129 (635) *Ad veniam, per veniam / Tamquam* (02) - duplum

VIII - Motets à2

- f.145 (635) *Ad veniam, per veniam / Tamquam* (02)
 f.148v (313) *Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit* (M24)
 f.153v (142) *Si vere vis adhere / In seculum* (M13)
 f.160 (524) *Ecclesie vox hodie / Et florebit* (M53)
 f.163 (98) *In Bethleem Herodes / In Bethleem* (M8)
 f.165v (70) *Manere vivere / Manere* (M5)
 f.167 (2) *Vide prophecie / Viderunt* (M1)
 f.170 (58) *Adesse festina / Adiuva me* (M3)
 f.174 (322) *Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit* (M24)
 f.180v (101) *Et illumina eximia mater / Et illuminare* (M9)
 f.181 (97) *Exaltavit sydere veneremur / Liberasti* (M7)

PLATES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Figure 3.1



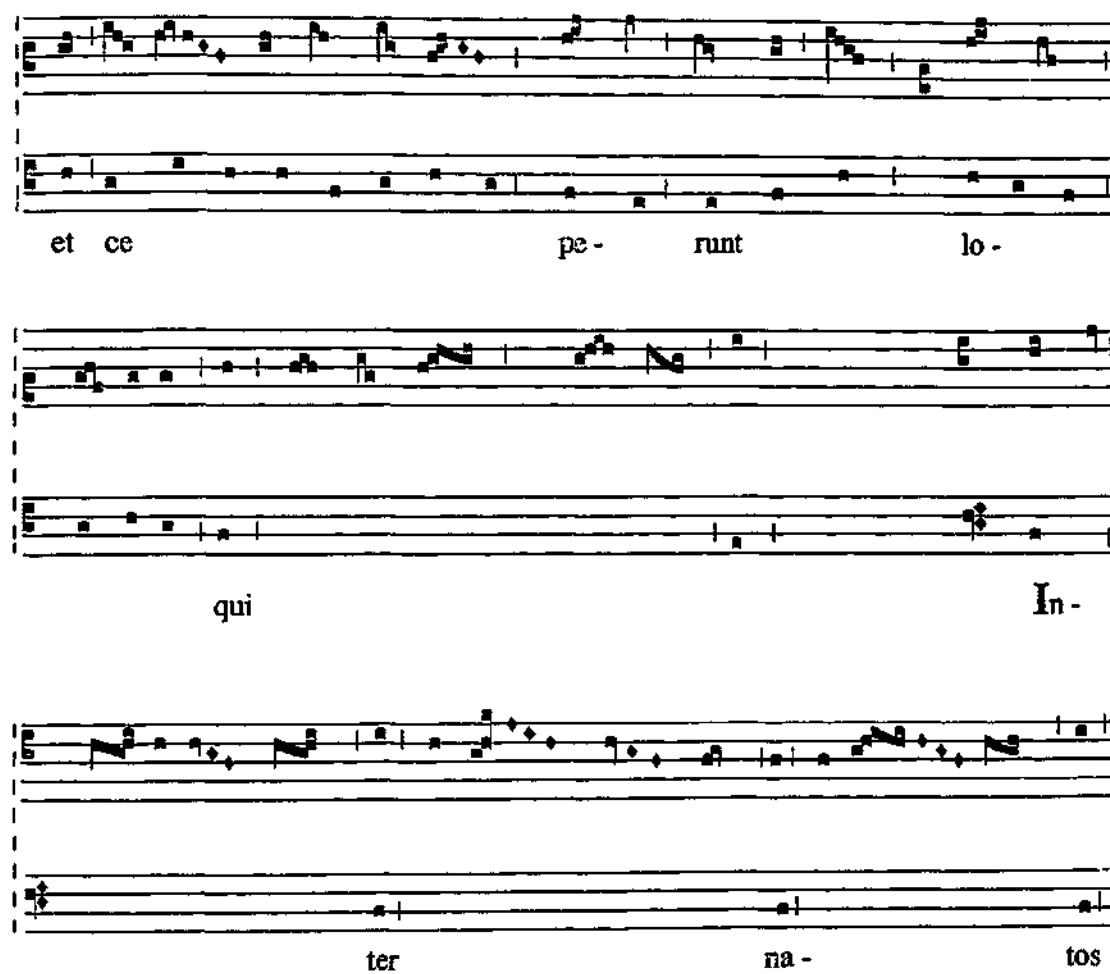
PL-STk2 Perz inv.1, recto
Office organa 011 (end) and 013

Figure 3.2



PL-STk2 Perz inv.1, vero
Office organa O13 (cont) and O14

Figure 3.3

Diplomatic transcription of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.1*

et ce pe - runt lo -

qui In -

ter na - tos

The image shows a diplomatic transcription of a musical score on three systems. Each system consists of two staves. The first staff of each system contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The second staff contains a lower melodic line, often with longer note values. Below each system, the lyrics are written in a Gothic script. The first system has the lyrics 'et ce', 'pe -', 'runt', and 'lo -'. The second system has 'qui' and 'In -'. The third system has 'ter', 'na -', and 'tos'. The transcription is a diplomatic one, meaning it aims to reproduce the original notation as accurately as possible, including any irregularities or specific notational features.



Fu -

it



ho -

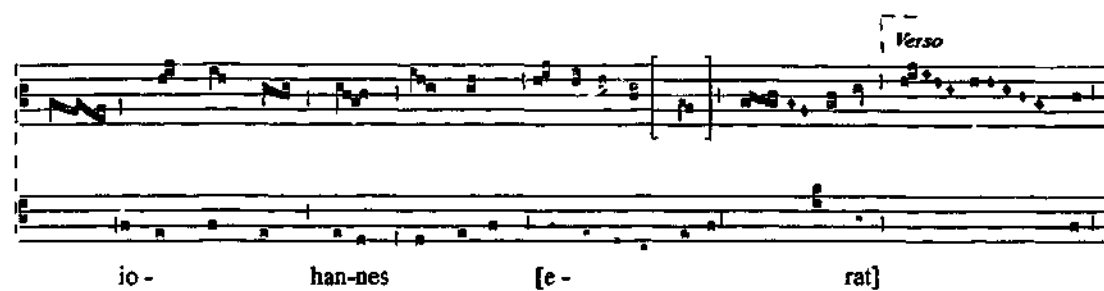
mo mis -



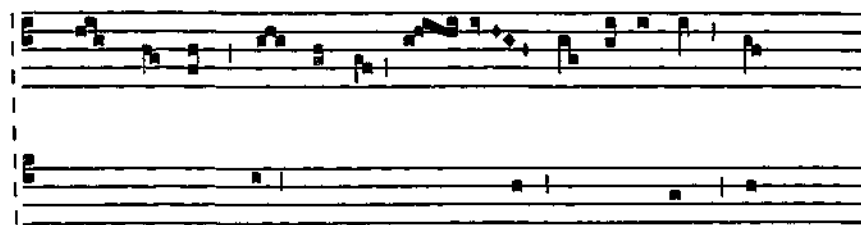
sus

a

[de-]







ne -

li - [us]

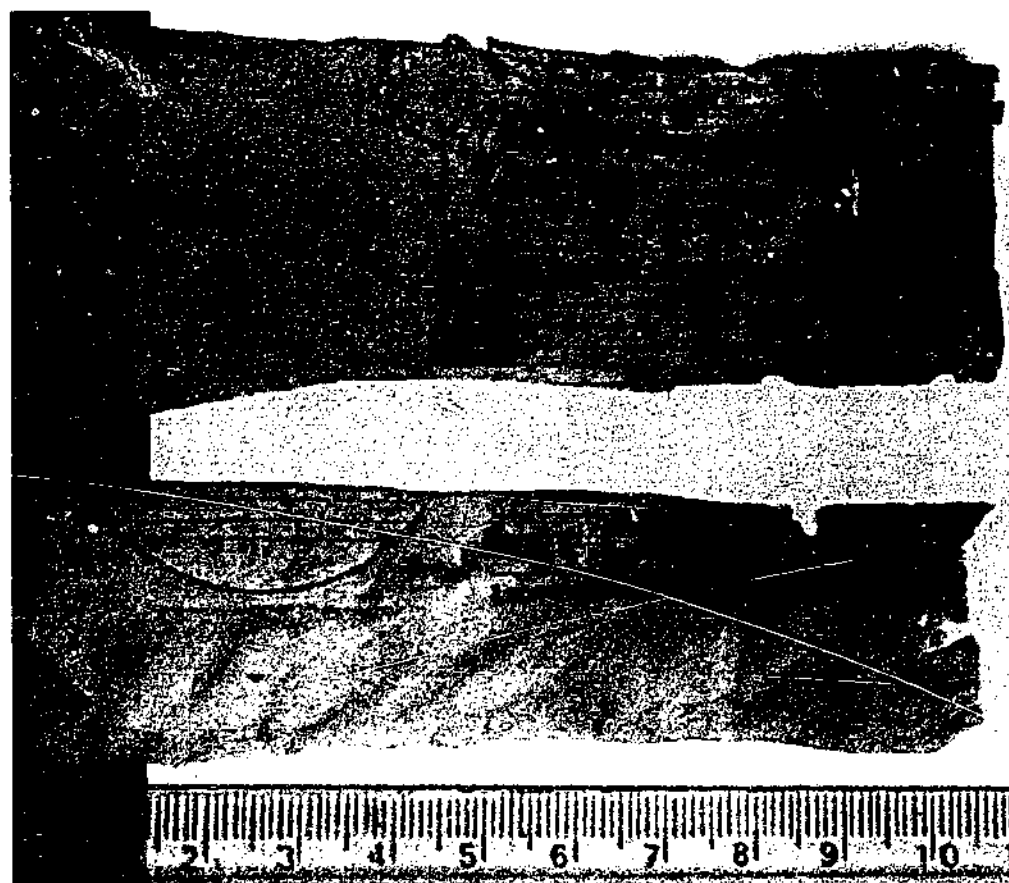
Figure 3.4



PL-STk2 item 4 [Perz inv.5]
 (70) Manere vivere debet / Manere (M5)

PL-STk2 Add.3 (1037?) Parens nostri

Figure 3.5



PL-STk2 Perz inv.10 (-) ... / Latus (M14)

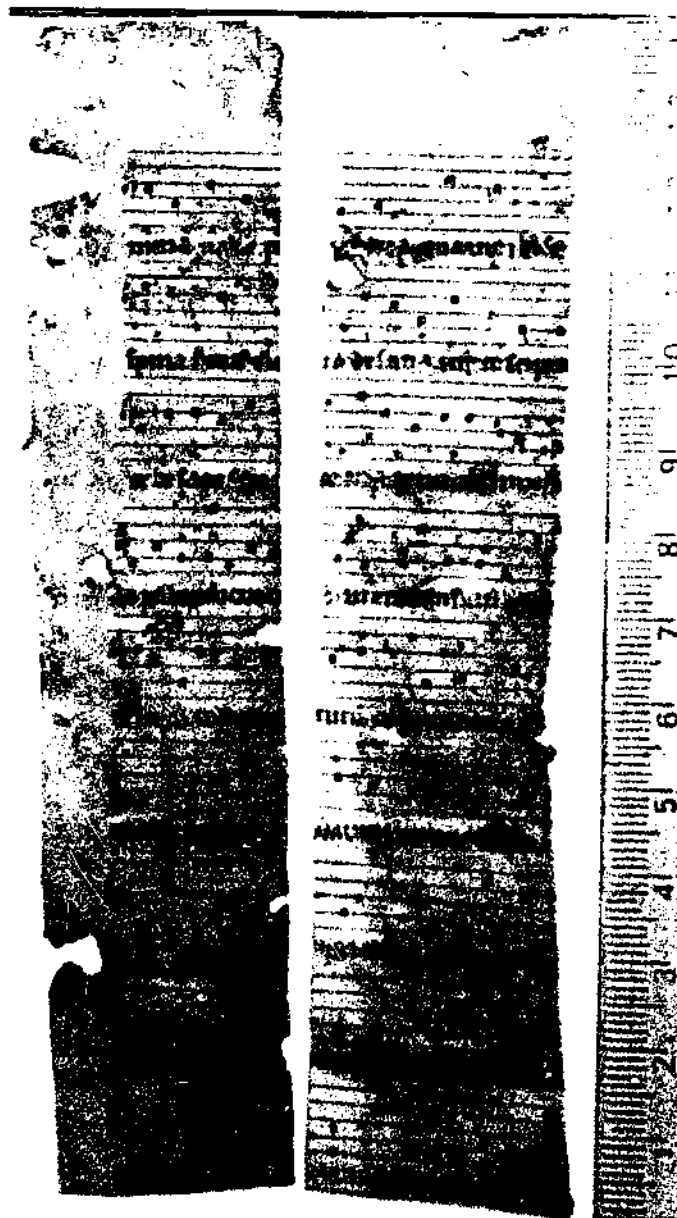
PL-STk2 Add.2 (778b) Ave Maria / Ave maris stella (051)

Figure 3.6



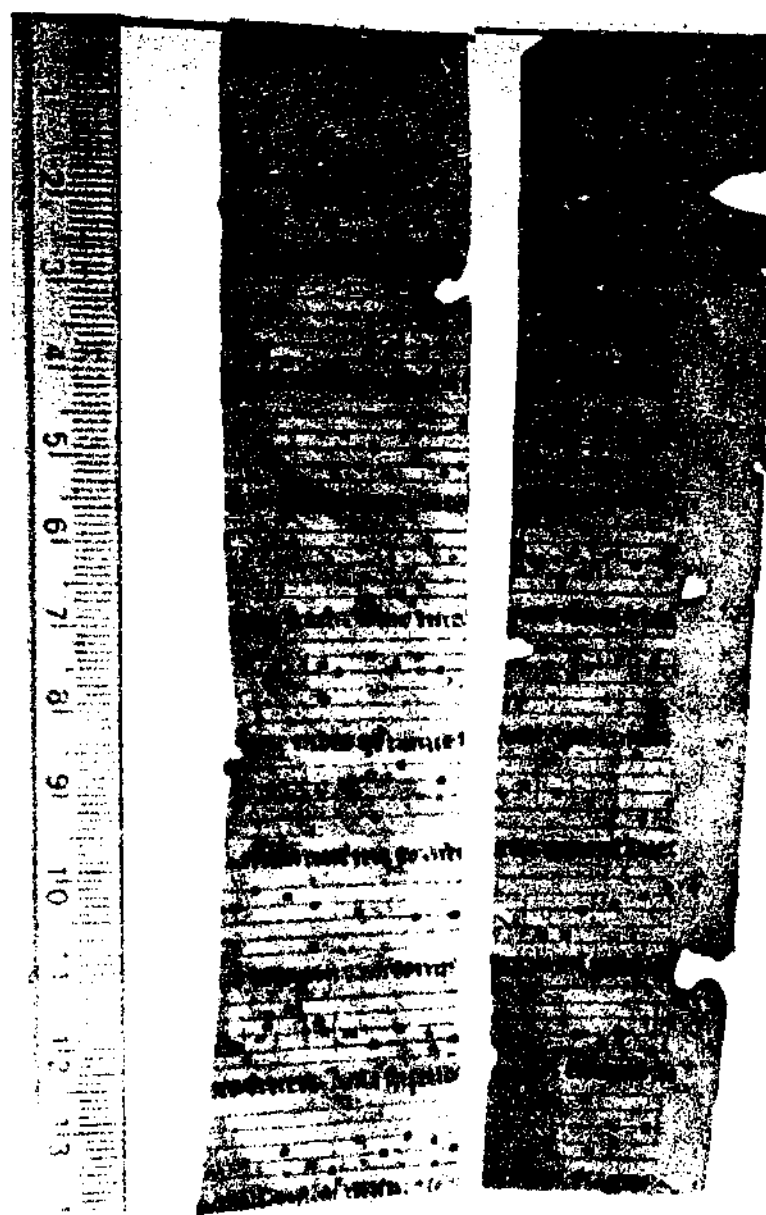
PL-STk2 Perz inv.13 #new 3' (313) Homo quo / Et gaudebit (M24)

Figure 3.7



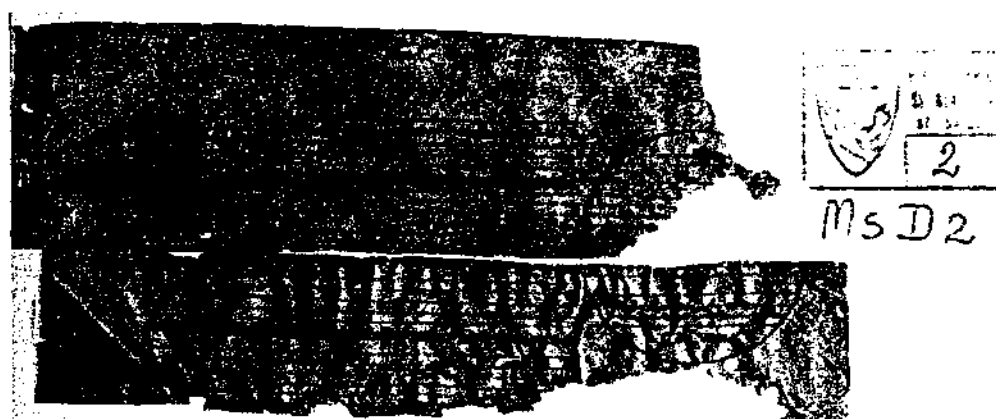
PL-STk2 Perz inv.19 recto, #new 7' and #new 6'
 (58) Adesse festina / Adiuva me (M3)

Figure 3.8



PL-STk2 Perz inv.19 verso #new 6 and #new 7
 (58) Adesse festina / Aduva me (M3)

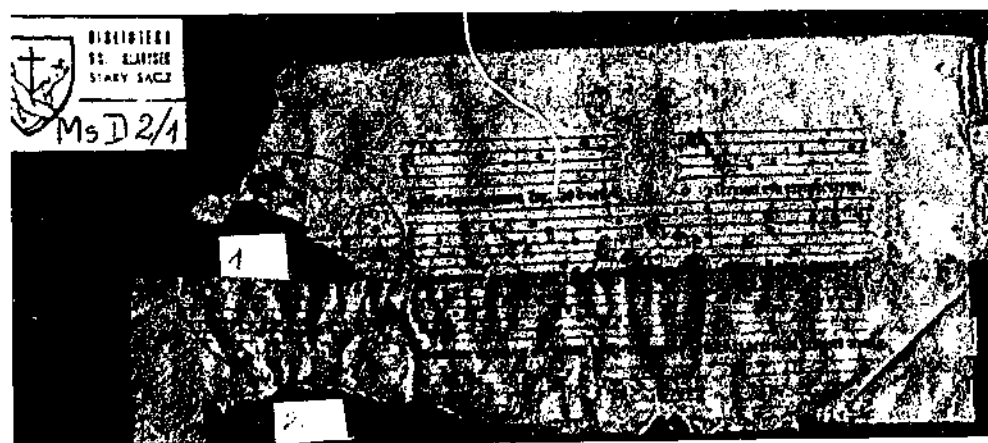
Figure 3.9



PL-STk2 Add.1 #new 2 (98) In Bethleem / In Bethleem (M8)

PL-STK2 item 3 [Perz inv.21]
(101) Et illumina / Et illuminare (M9)

Figure 3.10



PL-STk2 Perz inv.22 #new 1
(215?) Salve OR Ave virgo / Nostrum (M14)

PL-STk2 Perz inv.23
(216) Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum (M14)

CHAPTER IV

A NEW VERSION OF PHILIP THE CHANCELLOR'S 'AVE GLORIOSA' -
PL-STK2 PERZ INV.24

The subject of this chapter is like and unlike other *ars antiqua* fragments found in St Kinga's monastery library. It was located among the binding fragments containing Notre-Dame polyphony, PL-STk2, but it is unlike them paleographically. It preserves a new melody and counterpoint to a widely disseminated Parisian piece and gives the appearance of being a later addition or insert; but, unlike the fourteenth century polyphonic inserts in service books found in Stary Sącz, this reworking is non-liturgical and is considerably earlier, most probably dating from the thirteenth century. The fragment provokes speculation about compositional activity in Clarissan-Franciscan circles and whether these circles might have been acquainted with the works of Philip the Chancellor and Notre-Dame repertoire generally, i.e. with PL-STk2.

BACKGROUND

During the course of Mirosław Perz's research in the late 1960s on the Stary Sącz fragments of Notre-Dame polyphony, the results of which were published in volumes 13 and 14 of *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, he allotted catalogue number 52 to a missing fragment and noted that it

was not one of the pastedowns.¹ Some time later while his companion article, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland," was in press, Perz succeeded in deciphering sufficient of the text from mirror images left on another fragment (No. 51) to be able to correctly attribute the piece to Philip the Chancellor. Mention of his find was included in a postscriptal footnote before the article appeared in the inaugural issue of *Polish Musicological Studies*.² Apart from Perz's extended footnote the Stary Sącz transmission of Philip's sequence has gone unremarked in the literature - not surprisingly since no music had been recovered and the fragment itself was presumed lost. Brought to my attention in December 1996, the fragment takes its place as item 24, the number Perz allotted it in his revised Inventory of *PL-STk2*. Accordingly, it will be referred to hereafter as *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*.

1. Mirosław Perz, ed., *Sources of Polyphony up to c.1500 (Facsimiles)*, *Antiquitates musicae in Polonia*, 13 (Graz and Warsaw: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, and PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1973), IX-XX & 2-11. Hereafter cited as *AMiP*. For fragment no. 52, see 'Remarks' columns on pages XII-XIII.

2. "While this article was in print [sic] it was discovered that the mirror impressions from the lost fragment No. 52 contain the text of the conductus 'Ave gloriosa virginum regina' (one-voiced?) known from the manuscripts *F* and *LoB* (see *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. VIII [Kassel-Basel, 1960], column 1177-1178). This discovery changes the opinions expressed in the article to a certain extent. The page represented by the lost fragment No. 52 was at the end of the manuscript being studied, which - as has now been found - contained all the elements known from the large amount of source material of the Notre Dame [manuscripts] such as *F* and *W2*: organa, motets and, at the end, one-voiced pieces, particularly the conductus." Mirosław Perz, "The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland - Fragments from Stary Sącz," *Polish Musicological Studies* 1 (1977): 55 n.25 & plate 13.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION (see Figure 4.1)

Although severely trimmed down one side, *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* remains substantially bigger than any of the other *PL-STk2* fragments. It measures 198 x 43-55 mm, the width tapering slightly at the top and bottom. Only one side of the fragment has been used; the paler, flesh side is completely unmarked and bears no traces of having been glued. Connecting with it at the bottom right is a tiny fragment (No. 16) measuring 27 x 60 mm containing the text [*orig*]o *conditoris*, i.e. the last word of the eleventh strophe.³ The written block (reconstructed) measures approximately 85 x 128 mm and is ruled somewhat irregularly in red ink. Line gauge is mostly 2 mm. The music staves are disposed into four, through-ruled systems of fifteen lines each; text space between systems is 4 mm. Top and bottom margins are a generous 20 and 50 mm respectively. Text hand is *littera textualis currens*.⁴

The music ruling suggests that the page was originally intended for a polyphonic genre. A very similar page ruling is found in the 10th and 11th gatherings of fascicle VIII,

3. The number given to this fragment does not correspond to item no. 16 in Perz's inventory of fragments (*AMiP* 13: xii; and "Oldest Source," 36), rather it designates the fragment's current position in a small stamp album used by St Kinga's library to file randomly ordered, unidentified music fragments.

4. Lieftinck. G. I., "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique: essai s'appliquant spécialement aux manuscrits originaux des Pays-Bas médiévaux," in *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IX^e au XVI^e siècle: premier colloque international de paléographie latine, Paris 28-30 avril 1953, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: Sciences humaines, 4* (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), 18.

the three-voice conductus section, of *D-W 628*.⁵ Edward Roesner's observations on the ruling in those gatherings can be read as being equally applicable to *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*:

The staves are not always clearly separated from one another so that a system often gives the impression of being a single, "great" staff. Instances of neighboring voices sharing lines and spaces are occasionally encountered...⁶

The need to accommodate twelve text-lines of a monophonic piece within a ruling designed for four text-lines of a polyphonic piece has occasioned incommodious interpolations of text-lines 1-2, 4-5, 7-8, and 10-11 of 'Ave gloriosa' into the music staves. Depending on the tessitura of the melody, so the placement of these "unplanned-for" text-lines can vary. Various miscalculations and mistakes in text underlay (details below) indicate that the text was written after the music, probably by a scribe unfamiliar with the song, or this version of it.

Overall, one gets the impression that the music scribe was at some pains to fit the whole piece onto one side of the folio and as a consequence the text scribe was obliged to abbreviate wherever possible: versicle doubles for strophes I-VI and XI have been omitted;⁷ strophe XII has been omitted

5. Martin Staehelin, ed., *Die mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift W1. Vollständige Reproduktion des "Notre Dame"-Manuskripts der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 628 Helmst.*, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 9 [*D-W 628*] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 70(63)-86(77).

6. Edward H. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadtensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle," Ph.D. diss. (New York: New York University, 1974), 29 n.89.

in its entirety;⁸ and the piece finishes with 5 mm to spare on the final stave leaving the ample bottom margin unencroached upon.

NOTATION

PL-STk2 Perz inv.24 is written in a carefully formed, small point *nota quadrata*. Since the piece is almost entirely syllabic the vocabulary of neumes employed is restricted mostly to *virga* and *punctum* with occasional *clivis* and *pes*. Two notational features warrant comment, viz. the preponderance of the *cephalicus* or *plica*, and the plethora of vertical strokes through the stave that articulate almost every word of the text.⁹

The *plica* was traditionally used in both plainchant manuscripts and polyphonic sources to indicate liquescence, i.e. places in the text where a semi-vocalisation on a passing note was employed in order to facilitate smooth pronunciation. The additional rhythmic function it took on

7. Gordon Anderson (*Notre-Dame and Related Conductus Opera Omnia, Pars sexta: 1-pt Conductus - Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence manuscript, Collected Works 10/6* [Henryville, PA: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981], 152) considered strophe XIB 'spurious and a later addition.' Thousands of manuscripts transmitting sequences take no account of the musical repetition entailed in the double versicle: the entire melodic continuity is copied out twice. See Nancy van Deusen, "Sequence repertoires: a reappraisal," *Musica disciplina* 48 (1994): 101 n.6.

8. The formal structure has the last strophe musically identical with the first.

9. There are a few places where no stroke though the stave is evident at the change of a word, for example, between *compages unitatis* (text line 5) and *characteris signaculum* (7). It is doubtful that these are cases of deliberate omission, rather that the state of the parchment renders them illegible.

in 13th-century modal notation, distinct from that of indicating liquescence, need not concern us here. The *plica* occurs most frequently in the following four situations: on consonants *l*, *m*, *n* and *r* when they precede another consonant; on soft *c* and *g*; on the second vowel of diphthongs; and on the consonant pair *gn*.¹⁰

Considering just the salvageable sections of text from *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* one finds some thirty-five situations where a liquescent neume might be used. In fact it evinces nine instances of plicated notes, all the downwards type: medicina, columpna, alumpna, firmitatis, celi, genitoris, consilium, connubium and auxilium. Conversely, there are ten analogous situations where a liquescent neume might have been expected and instead we find either a *clivis* in place of a downwards *plica* (sanctitatis, conditoris, errantium, signaculum), or a *pes* in place of an upwards *plica* (cypressus, mirra, verne, debilium, humilium, and gratie). A comparison of the deployment of plicated notes in *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* with that which obtains in other transmissions is inevitably circumscribed by the fragmentary state of the former and the fact that it is melodically quite different from the standard version [referred to hereafter as *SV 'Ave'*],¹¹ i.e. from that transmitted in all other sources

10. David Hiley, "The Plica and Liquescence," in Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981). In *Memoriam seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, Musicological Studies, 49 (Henryville, PA.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1984), II: 379-91; and Leo Treitler, "Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 163-68.

of this piece.¹² Notwithstanding that caveat, a higher frequency of use of the *plica* can be seen in *STk2 Perz inv.24* than in other non-mensural transmissions of the same portions of text: *GB-Cu Add.710* is the closest to our piece with six instances of plicated notes, one of which is an upwards *plica* (1.49 *signaculum*); *GB-Lbl Egerton 274*, mixed mensural & non-

11. The piece is available in three modern transcriptions: Heinrich Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," *Die Musikforschung* 6 (1953): 19; Anderson, *Conductus Opera Omnia*, VI, [K75] 107-08; and Hans Tischler, *Conductus and Contrafacta*, Musicological Studies, 75 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001), 289-92.

12. The list of sources, supplemented and updated, is taken from Gordon A. Anderson, "Notre Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," Anderson's annotated working copy, 1965-1981. *Miscellanea Musicologica. Adelaide Studies in Musicology* 6 (1972): 153-229, & 7 (1975): 1-81 (Gordon Athol Anderson Music Collection, Dixon Library. University of New England, Armidale, NSW, 1981), 6: 201; and Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, Vol I: Catalogue raisonné der Quellen, Part 1: Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation. 2nd rev. ed., edited by Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies, 7 (Brooklyn, NY & Hilderheim: Institute of Mediaeval Music & Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), 258-62.

Manuscripts with music:

E-TO 135	Tortosa, Cathedral 135
F-B 551	Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551, f.5
F-LG 17	Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 17, f.282
F-Pn n.a.f.24541	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises (olim Soissons), f.7v
F-Pn lat.903	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 903
F-Pn lat.18531	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 18531
GB-Cu Add.710	Cambridge, University Library Add. 710 f.125
GB-Lbl Egerton 274	London, British Library, Egerton 274, f.3
GB-Lbl Harley 978	London, British Library, Harley 978 f.7
GB-Lbl Royal 7.A.VI	London, British Library, Royal 7.A.VI, f.111
I-Fl Plut.29,1	Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut.29,1, f.447(10,75)
I-Fn II,1,112	Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II,1,112, f.90

mensural notation, makes no use at all of the *plica*.¹³

The seeming lack of internal consistency in the deployment of the *plica* in *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* accords with what David Hiley's studies of 12th-century and later sources in square notation have revealed, and may be regarded as further evidence of the pronunciation practices to which liquescent neumes are a guide.¹⁴ Since the vernacular contrafacts of the SV 'Ave' would suit *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* equally well, one must allow for the possibility that the music scribe's use of liquescents (and maybe also some of the text scribe's errors) might bear witness to his hearing the melody with French lyrics rather than Latin, or to his hearing the Latin text with Slavic pronunciation.¹⁵

A second distinctive feature of the notation of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* is the use of vertical strokes through the stave.

13. This is not the case with all mensural transmissions. *F-Pn n.a.f.24541*, for example, has three *plicas* in the sections of text discussed above, and *GB-Lbl Harley 978* shows no less than eleven *plicas*, six downwards, five upwards. But of the three in the Paris manuscript, only (line 43) *debilium* could be considered liquescent; and of the eleven in *Harley*, only three could be considered liquescents: (43) *presidium*, (70) *connubium*, and (74) *auxilium*. On the conjunction of modal and non-modal transmissions of sequences, see Nancy van Deusen, "Graphic habits and musical intention: the continuity of notational signs," in *The harp and the soul: essays in medieval music*, edited by Nancy van Deusen, *Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music*, 3 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 48-53.

14. "Plica and Liquescent," 383-384 and "Plica," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols., edited by John Tyrrell and Stanley Sadie (London & New York: Grove, 2001), 19: 924.

15. On orthography and pronunciation in Latin manuscripts of Slav provenance, see Anežka Vidmanová, "K výslovnosti a grafice středověké latiny v Čechách," in *Laborintus I: Latinská literatura středověkých Čech* (Prague: KLP, 1994), 28-35.

Division strokes in music manuscripts of the middle ages, whether the repertoire be monophonic or polyphonic, liturgical or secular, are so ubiquitous and are deployed in so many different and idiosyncratic ways as to defy generalisation. Terms describing them are as diverse as the phenomenon itself so the neutral term, *lineola*, recently coined by David Wulstan will be used.¹⁶

In Franciscan reformed books *lineolae* [pausae] were used liberally, and were considered important enough to warrant specific mention in Haymo of Faversham's injunction to notators, '*Ista rubrica*':¹⁷

Secundo, quod custodiant eandem notam cum suis ligaturis easdem pausas, quae in exemplaribus correctis cum magna diligentia continentur, nihil scienter addito vel remoto¹⁸

To interpret the *lineolae* in *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* as rests,

16. "The difficulty is that the little upright stroke which was to become a rest in later notation serves a variety of functions ... of which a rest is merely one. It acts also as a *punctum divisionis*, *perfectionis* or *additionis*; but it can also have a non-rhythmic meaning, signifying the end of a line in the lyric, not necessarily with any kind of interruption of the rhythm (the term *Silbenstrich*, besides being cumbersome, is also too specific, begging the question of usage). All of these functions are intended to be embraced by the term *lineola*." David Wulstan, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: the Rhythm of Mediaeval Song*, *Musicological Studies*, 76 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001), 46.

17. Stephen J. P. van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960), 332. They translate 'pausae' [*lineolae*] as 'vertical hair-lines.' On this phenomenon in Polish Franciscan books, see Janka Szendrei, "Staff Notation in Polish Chant Sources from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century," in *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources 11th - 16th Century*, edited by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2001), 199.

18. For the Latin text of the rubric's four points, see Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien: ein Handbuch der Choralwissenschaft*, 3 vols, reprint, 1962 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895-1921), III: 532-33.

pauses or breaths after every word would make no musical sense.¹⁹ And since this version of 'Ave gloriosa' is clearly non-mensural, neither the varying length of the strokes nor their equally variable placement on the staff can be interpreted as "having to do with mode, indeed exercising a significant influence over the duration of adjacent notes" which is the conclusion that Jean-Baptiste Beck arrived at in his study of *Vertikalstriche* in the standard transmissions of 'Ave gloriosa' and its contrafacta.²⁰

19. Gordon Anderson observed the phenomenon of *lineolae* in D-Mbs lat.16444 (olim E III 230-231) [=MüB], and made the following comments with reference to the motet *Tanquam suscipit vellus* / *Tanquam*:

It could be mentioned in passing that one of the most unusual facets of the MüB version is the extraordinary number of rests used, often following each other at a perfection's distance, almost as if the scribe wished the sign to have some mensural significance in a Ms that does not use mensural notation. This is not the only motet in this fragment that has a large number of rests, and I know of no other Ms that uses them to such a large extent.

Addendum: The extraordinary number of 'rests' in MüB is the result of the scribe's peculiar habit of marking off each word of text by vertical lines in the music score. They are only co-incidental with the rests proper of other sources.

The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206), Part I: Critical Commentary, Translations of the Texts and Historical Observations, Musicological Studies, 24/1 (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1968), 153; and Addendum to The Latin Compositions..., Part II: Transcriptions, Musicological Studies, 24/2 (1976), IV. Unfortunately, the provenance of MüB is unknown; see Gilbert Reaney, ed., Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music, 11th - early 14th Century, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B.IV.1 (Munich & Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966), 94-97.

20. "Daß auch an den Vers-, Doppelvers- und Periodenenden sowie an den Cäsurstellen von Zehnsilbern diese durch das Notensystem gehenden Vertikalstriche die eigentliche Bedeutung von gemessenen Pausen nicht haben und weder auf den *Modus*, noch auf die Dauer der angrenzenden Noten einen wesentlichen Einfluß ausüben..." Jean-Baptiste Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours, nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material zum erstenmal bearbeitet und herausgegeben nebst einer Untersuchung über die älteren*

A multiplicity of *lineolae* is very characteristic of the service-books of the eremitic orders, especially the Carthusians who had been using a system of *lineolae* for at least a century before Haymo of Faversham's reforms to the Franciscan service books.²¹ Moreover, as van Dijk and Walker point out, in the Carthusians' and Franciscans' system the *lineolae* are of more than purely rhythmical importance.²² They served the very practical purpose of facilitating the reading of text and music together. For eremitic communities like the Carthusians, who met only once a week for choir practice, marking up their service books in this way no doubt would have assisted the monks maintain ensemble.²³

Practical considerations of performance would seem the most straightforward explanation for the music scribe's

Notenschrift (bis 1250) und das rhythmisch-metrische Prinzip der mittelalterlich-lyrischen Dichtungen., reprint, 1976 (Straßburg: K. J. Trübner, 1908), 77

21. Grégoire M. Suñol, *Introduction à la Paléographie musicale grégorienne*, Translated from Catalan by André Mocquereau (Tournai: Desclée & Co, 1935), 387-89. Theodore Göllner notes this feature in GB-Lbl Add.27630 [=LoD] where, for example, every word of the Responsory *Constantes estote* is articulated with a stroke through the stave in both its monophonic (f.71v) and polyphonic versions (f.33). LoD is believed to come from a community of German Augustinian hermits, an order whose service books adhered to, and included verbatim, Haymo's injunction to notators. See *Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 6 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1961), 16 n.11.

22. van Dijk and Walker, *Origins*, 333.

23. "Les dimanches et certains jours de fête où l'on tient chapitre et où l'on prend les repas au réfectoire commun, l'Office entier se chante à l'église, sauf le Petit Office de Beata et les Complies, qui se disent toujours en cellule. Ainsi, même dans l'accomplissement de l'*Opus Dei*, les chartreux restent des ermites..." Benoît-M. Lambres, "Le chant des chartreux," *Revue belge de musicologie* 24 (1970): 17.

decision to compartmentalise each word by means of *lineolae*. Familiar with their usefulness as an *aide d'ensemble* in liturgical repertoire s/he might well have carried the practice over into the copying of Philip's non-liturgical 'Ave gloriosa.'

RECONSTRUCTION: TEXT

Table 4.1 below presents the text of Philip the Chancellor's sequence, 'Ave gloriosa' together with Gordon Anderson's translation.²⁴ Underlining designates the decipherable sections of text and music and includes punctuation, occasional full stops. Text of the doubles (labelled 'b') of strophes I-VI, XI, and all of strophe XII have been omitted as they are not set in *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*. To facilitate the analysis which follows, the piece's constituent melodic cells are labelled 'a-n' in the right-hand column.

24. Anderson, *Conductus Opera Omnia*, VI, ic-ci. The Latin text is also printed in Josef Szövérfy, *Medieval Latin Conductus Texts*, Musicological Studies, 74 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2000), 66-68.

Text-only Manuscripts:

CH-Bu B.XI.8	Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B.XI.8 f.151
CH-E 273	Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln Musikabteilung 273
CZ-Pak N.VIII	Praha, Archiv pražského hradu, N VIII (13) f.38
D-Mbs 19824	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung clm 19824
D-Mbs 20001	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung clm 20001
D-Mbs 20124	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung clm 20124
E-Mn V.20,4	Madrid, Biblioteca nacional V.20,4(132), 33, f.9v
F-TOm 948	Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, 948 f.129
F-Pn lat.3639	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 3639
I-Rvat 1058	Roma (Città del Vaticano), Biblioteca apostolica vaticana 1058
US-BAw 88	Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W88 f.189

Table 4.1

Ia

1	Ave gloriosa	a
2	virginum regina	b
3	<u>vitis generosa</u>	a
4	<u>vite medicina</u>	c
5	<u>clementie</u> * resina	c

* *Clementie* has been written too soon and consequently *vite medicina* has had to be inserted directly above it.

Hail, glorious / queen of virgins / noble vine / medicine of
life / resin of mercy.

IIa

11	Claritate <u>radiosa</u>	d
12	stella <u>matutina</u> .	b
13	<u>brevitate legis glosa</u>	d
14	per te lex divina	c
15	irradiat doctrina	c

O radiant star / with morning light / by a brief gloss of the
Law / through thee a divine law / has cast light on doctrine.

IIIa

21	<u>Cedrus pudicitie</u>	e
22	<u>cypressus puritatis</u> .	b
23	<u>mirra penitentie</u>	e
24	oliva pietatis	c
25	tu myrtus <u>lenitatis</u> .*	c

* Italics indicate text where no music is recoverable.

Cedar of chastity / cypress of purity / myrrh-tree of
penitence / olive-tree of piety / thou, the myrtle of
leniency.

IVa

31	<u>Stilla roris odor floris</u>	f
32	<u>verne novitatis</u>	b
33	fons dulcoris vas decoris	f
34	<u>templum trinitatis</u>	c
35	<u>compages unitatis</u>	c

Drop of dew odor of flower / of vernal newness / fount of
sweetness vase of elegance / temple of the Trinity / junction
of the Unity.

Va

41	<u>O Maria mater pia</u>	g
42	sinus penitentium	h
43	<u>delilium presidium</u>	e
44	<u>columpna firmitatis</u>	c
45	<u>alumpna sanctitatis</u>	c

O Mary, holy mother / bosom of the penitent / guardian of the
falling / column of firmness / nourishment of holiness.

VIa

51	Tu federis oraculum	i
52	<u>characteris signaculum</u>	h
53	<u>itineris vehiculum .</u>	e
54	<u>tu limes equitatis</u>	c
55	ad limen claritatis	c

Thou prophesy of the treaty / the sign of a 'character' /
thou carriage of the journey / thou, pathway of human conduct
/ leading to the threshold of light.

VIIa

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 61 | Tu <u>thronus Salomonis</u> | j |
| 62 | <u>prelata celi thronis</u> . | k |

Thou art the throne of Solomon / pointing out thrones of
heaven.

VIIB

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|
| 63 | Tu <u>vellus Gedeonis</u> | j |
| 64 | tu rebus visionis | k |

Thou the fleece of Gideon / thou the burning bush of vision.

VIIIa*

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|---|
| 65 | Tu thalamus pudoris | l |
| 66 | tu balsamus ordoris | k |

* PL-STK2 frag.52 omits both versicles of the eighth strophe.

Thou the chamber of chastity / thou the balsam of sweet
odour.

VIIIb

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|---|
| 67 | Tu libanus candoris | l |
| 68 | tu clibanus ardoris | k |

Thou the frankincense of purity / thou the oven of burning
love.

IXa*

69	Tu <u>medium discordium</u> **	m
70	<u>connubium amoris</u>	n

* In the SV 'Ave' strophes IX and X are musically identical and the texts are therefore interchangeable. *GB-Cu Add. 710*, for example, reverses the texts of versicles IXb and Xa, as it does strophe VIIa lines 61 and 62.

** There is one note too many for *medium* and one short for *discordium*.

Thou in the middle of discords / art the marriage of love.

IXb

71	<u>Humilium</u> * refugium	m
72	remedium <u>langoris</u> .**	n

* A stroke through the stave after the first syllable of *humilium* is another indication of textual misalignment.

** This spelling of *langoris* is also found in the Prague 'Philip the Chancellor' text-only manuscript, *CZ-Pak N.VIII*.

Thou the refuge of the humble / and the remedy of the languid

Xa

73	<u>Consilium errantium</u> *	m
74	<u>auxilium laboris</u> .	n

* Musical setting is one note short for this four-syllable word.

Thou a plan for the erring / help of labour

Xb

75	<u>Compendium currentium</u>	m
76	stipendium <u>victoris</u> *	n

* Another mistake in text underlay occurs after *victoris*: between it and the first word of the next strophe, *Munditie*, there are seven untexted notes.

A shorter road for those running / reward for the victor

XIa

77	<u>Munditie tu speculum</u>	i
78	tu glorie spectaculum	h
79	<u>per gratie miraculum</u>	e
80	<u>es mater genitoris</u> *	c
81	<u>origo conditoris</u>	c

* Line 80 has been written too early. The text has been ruled through and line 79 inserted above it. *Es mater genitoris* has then been rewritten in its correct place.

Thou the mirror of cleanliness / thou the spectacle of glory
/ through a miracle of grace / thou art mother of the Father
/ the origin of the Creator.

Despite the fragmentary state of the transmission, just under half the text is missing, a high proportion of *PL-STk2* *Perz inv.24* can be reconstituted nonetheless with a good degree of accuracy. Only the music for 13 syllables, 5% of the piece, cannot be established with any degree of certitude. This high net return on a modest amount of actual material salvaged can be attributed to the cellular method of construction of this lai-sequence, to a compositional

technique which, in the words of Heinrich Husmann, "splendidly reflects all the subtleties of sequence construction of the middle ages."²⁵ Some of these subtle structural interconnections can be seen in the table below.

TABLE 4.2

Melodic Cells and Line Syllable-Count

A

I	a b a c c	6 6 6 6 7
II	d b d c c	6 8 6 8 7
III	e b e c c	7 7 7 7 7
IV	f b f c c	8 6 8 6 7
V	g h e c c	8 7 8 7 7
VI	i h e c c	8 8 8 7 7

B

VII	j k	7 7
VIII	l k	7 7
IX	m n	8 7
X	m n	8 7
XI	i h e c c	8 8 8 7 7
XII	a b a c c	6 6 6 6 7

'Ave gloriosa' falls into two roughly equal sections, A and B, each of six strophes. The music of the first and sixth strophes, the opening and closing strophes of section A, is repeated in the penultimate and final strophes, XI & XII, of section B. This repetition makes a musical

25. "Dieses weitverbreitete Stück zeigt ganz ausgesprochen alle Feinheiten des mittelalterlichen Sequenzenaufbaus." Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung," 20.

connection between the two sections and rounds the piece off by recalling the end and beginning of the A section.

Within the sections there are various structural interrelations. Melodic cells are at once stable and malleable entities, often differing only very slightly one from another.²⁶ Cell 'b', for example, has a fixed position in strophes I-IV appearing as the second line, but its syllable count varies with each appearance. Cell 'c' also has stable positions throughout section A: when it occurs as the refrain-like fifth line its syllable count is always 7; when as the penultimate line, however, its count varies like cell 'b'. The cells are presented in transcription in Figure 4.2. They are drawn from an inter-genre repertoire of melodic formulae: 'f', for example, serves as the main melodic unit of the rondel, '*Veni, sancte Spiritus*,' which is attributed to Philip the Chancellor.²⁷

RECONSTRUCTION: MUSIC

Problems with text underlay in *PL-Stk2 Perz inv.24* start in the ninth music stave (see colour plate 4.1) and are caused by the omission of strophe VIII. The number of notes in segments demarcated by *lineolae* do not match with the

26. John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages. Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 108-09.

27. Wulstan, *Emperor's Old Clothes*, 105. For a transcription of the piece, see Gordon A. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus Opera Omnia. Pars octava: 1-pt Conductus - the Latin Rondeau Répertoire*, Collected Works, 10/8 (Henryville-Ottawa-Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1980), [N19] 36.

number of syllables in the words underlaid them from strophes IX and X. The misalignment becomes obvious in the passage preceding strophe XI where seven notes have been left untexted - the music scribe simply left off and started afresh with strophe XI. Most of these anomalies can be rectified by working backwards from strophe XI, making due allowance for lost text and music, and including the omitted eighth strophe. There is, however, one music-scribal slip: the melodic unit at the start of line 9 (three segments, 1:3:3 syllables) is out of order and has been written a third too low. Transposing and reversing it with the following melodic unit resolves the problem: the antecedent/consequent relationship of the units becomes clear and their respective cadential pitches 'D' & 'C' are then correct.

Table 4.3 presents the text of strophes VIIb - X showing the correct text underlay in the left-hand column and, for comparison, the text as written in the manuscript in the right-hand column.

TABLE 4.3

	Realigned underlay	Manuscript version
VIIb		
63	<u>Tu vellus Gedeonis</u>	<u>Tu vellus Gedeonis</u>
64	tu rebus visionis	tu rebus visionis
VIIIa		
65	<u>Tu thalamus pudoris</u>	
66	<u>tu balsamus ordoris</u>	

VIIIb

67 Tu libanus candoris

68 tu clibanus ardoris

IXa

69 Tu medium discordium Tu medium discordium70 connubium amoris connubium amoris

IXb

71 Humilium refugium Humilium refugium72 remedium langoris . remedium langoris .

Xa

73 Consilium errantium Consilium errantium74 auxilium laboris . auxilium laboris .

Xb

75 Compendium currentium Compendium currentium76 stipendium victoris stipendium victoris

With the extant music now correctly reconciled with the text the constituent melodic cells of this new version of Philip's sequence can be identified. See Music Example No. 2. Different though it may be melodically, the constructional pattern of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* mirrors that of the standard version. Differences have more to do with the degree of malleability of specific units than with the arrangement of units within the formal whole. In section A, for example, the quasi-refrain cell 'c' admits of more variants than does its SV 'Ave' counterpart. In section B, strophes IX and X are composed of different melodic cells whereas in SV 'Ave' these two strophes are musically identical. Although the severe pruning has removed all left-

margin clefs and there are no discernible internal clef changes, formulaic cadential patterns make it possible nonetheless to deduce the cadential pitch, and hence the clef position for each stave. There are, moreover, a number of points of concordance with melodic units in SV 'Ave' - the final cell of strophe XI, for example - which enable one to corroborate decisions regarding clefs.

A comparison of the reconstituted *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* with the SV 'Ave' shows that not only do they both come together in unison in the eleventh strophe thus confirming they are in the same mode, but also that their approaches to cadences frequently converge in contrary motion. Even in its reconstituted form *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* presents itself as a highly condensed transmission of this sequence. It is clear that the melody, a new version of a well known piece, preceded the text. The deployment of *lineolae*, the striking feature of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*, leads to the conclusion that this version was designed to combine with the SV 'Ave.' The reasoning is as follows. *Lineolae* make unequivocal the correlation between words and music, between the number of notes per syllable. Had they been present already when the text scribe came to underlay the words he could hardly have ignored their import. More likely is that *lineolae* came to be added through necessity: to clarify alignment of two melodies, the new with the pre-existing, and to obviate the misalignment which would have resulted as a consequence of the text scribe's mistakes. Had the text underlay of *PL-STk Perz inv.24* been error-free, *lineolae* would have been

superfluous for text alone would suffice to ensure alignment of voices in a two-part polyphonic realisation of 'Ave gloriosa.' Figure 4.3 sets out in score both versions of the sequence. The parts can be read independently, and together as *pars prima* and *secunda*.

The question arises as to what might have been the physical relationship between *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* and the SV 'Ave,' if, as seems likely, the latter version were transmitted in *PL-STk2* (probably in a fascicle with the other monophonic/polyphonic piece, 'Anima iuge lacrimas,' as occurs in *I-F1 Plut.29,1²⁸*). Bearing in mind that one side of our fragment is unused while the written side is ruled for a three-voice genre, we can exclude the possibility of the two versions facing each other at an opening. Most probably, *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* was written on the recto of the last folio of a gathering or was a discrete insert. Whatever the case, the notation of this polyphonic version of 'Ave gloriosa' constitutes another rare, late example of 'successive notation' of polyphony. Although this form of polyphonic notation is almost exclusively associated with the twelfth-century Aquitanian repertoire, Sarah Fuller has pointed out that vestigial examples nonetheless crop up in widely scattered and diverse contexts through the fourteenth century.²⁹

28. See the Appendix to Chapter III.

29. Sarah Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," Ph.D. diss. (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), I: 131. The largest group of pieces in successive notation outside the Aquitanian sources occurs in the Stuttgart

OBSERVATIONS ON STYLE

In terms of text setting and melodic contour there is little to distinguish the two melodies of 'Ave gloriosa.' Both are overwhelmingly syllabic and both move within an almost identical ambitus: subfinalis (SV 'Ave') f' to a"; (PL-STk Perz inv.24) f' to g".³⁰ The tessitura of the piece rises appreciably in the second section, particularly in the short strophes VII-X. Frequent parallel movement and crossing of parts is common in section A where PL-STk2 frag.52 is more frequently vox superior. In the B section - excluding musical repeat XI = VI - the opposite obtains: counterpoint is almost entirely by contrary-motion, there is no crossing of parts, and PL-STk2 frag.24 is always vox inferior.

In its polyphonic realisation 'Ave gloriosa' bears a stylistic affinity neither to Philip's two-part conductus-sequences, both of which are impressive neumatic settings with extensive caudae,³¹ nor to the eleven polyphonic

manuscript, D-Sl HB I Asc.95, an extensive collection of Latin songs completed in the late 13th century. Reinhard Strohm in his discussion of *cantus planus binatim* cites the manuscript D-Mbs 28746 in which the two voices of the 15th-century Marian cantio, 'Ave pulcherrima regina' are notated on opposite facing pages, ff. 53v-54. *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 338 n.232.

30. The standard system is used to indicate pitches by letters. Starting from the bass: C-B, c-b, c' (middle c) -b', c"-b".

31. 'Regis decus et regine' and 'Clavus pungens acumine' are catalogued by Dronke as sequences but, unlike Payne, he regards their ascription to Philip as inconclusive. See Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," in *Latin and Vernacular Poets of the Middle Ages*, Collected Studies Series, 352 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), X: 591 #o, and 592 #72. Full details

liturgical sequences in *E-Hu*. Rather, it is akin to certain Marian sequences that are set syllabically in a simple, note-against-note style. A long and widely dispersed tradition of such settings existed from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries; examples are found in secular and monastic manuscripts.³² A group of fourteen such sequences that appear to be the product of local polyphonic reworking comprise part of the insular eleventh fascicle of *D-W* 628.³³ These are liturgical sequences to which have been added an upper part which decorates the chant. However, in the simplest of these settings, for example, '*Ave mundi spes Maria*,' '*Reginarum dominam laudemus gloriosam*,' and '*Ave Maria gratia plena viris invia*,' the added voice has minimal decoration and virtually mirrors the chant.³⁴ With '*Ave gloriosa*,' too, neither voice (i.e. version) could be considered subservient to nor an embellishment of the other. Both in terms of the character of its counterpoint and its

in Anderson, "Conductus Catalogue Raisonné," 6: 186 [J47] and 185 [J39]; and transcriptions in Gordon A. Anderson, ed. and trans., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus Opera Omnia. Pars quinta: 2-pt Conductus, Unica in the Four Central Sources*, Collected Works, 10/5 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 83-86 and 67-71.

32. Cristina Hospenthal, "Die mehrstimmigen Sequenzen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert in Frankreich," Lizentiatsarbeit der Philosophischen Fakultät I [Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar] (Zürich: Universität Zürich, 1987). Two of Hospenthal's sources are manuscripts of Franciscan provenance, *I-Ac* 695, and *F-CA* 32.

33. Staehelin, *Musikhandschrift W1*, ff. 200v(183v)-209v(192v). For an edition and thorough discussion of these works see Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 354 et passim. Edition (vol. II) items 19-33.

34. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," Edition items 23, 28 and 33.

harmonic vocabulary, the polyphonic realisation of Philip's sequence, like the aforementioned simple settings of Marian sequences in D-W 628, is best described by the generic term *cantus planus binatim* ('plainchant twice').³⁵

Otherwise referred to as 'archaic', 'organal' or 'retrospective' polyphony, *cantus planus binatim* enjoyed remarkable longevity particularly in East and Central Europe. It encompasses a variety of polyphonic practices: strict, parallel movement in fifths, octaves and unisons, a style that harks back to tenth-century liturgical polyphony; quasi-*organum purum*, held-note-style; and *cantus supra librum*, the technique of extemporising counterpoint to a plainsong.³⁶

In his survey of extant examples of *cantus planus binatim* in Poland, Mirosław Perz noted the following:

The provenance of the Polish sources is very much one-sided. Apart from one, all the remaining sixteen come from southern Poland, i.e. Małopolska, eight directly from Kraków and the same number from Franciscan monasteries. The three oldest items come from the Stry Sącz Poor Clare monastery and the other three from St Andrew's, Kraków - also a Clarist monastery [...]. On the basis of the above data one would have to presume that the practice of liturgical and paraliturgical organal-style singing was brought to Poland by the Franciscans, and that particularly fond of it were the two Clarist monasteries in Stry Sącz and Kraków.³⁷

35. Strohm, *Rise of European Music*, 333ff.

36. Many examples of *cantus planus binatim* give the impression of having derived from a partially improvised or oral tradition. Hospenthal terms this *ad hoc*-Praxis; see Cristina Hospenthal, "Zur mehrstimmigen Sequenz des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich," in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto - 1 settembre e Ferrara-Parma, 30 agosto 1987: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, edited by Angelo Pompilio, et al. (Turin: EDT, 1990), 638 & 644.

37. "Proweniencje polskich źródeł jest wielce jednostronna.

To be sure, Perz's examples are mostly drawn from the 14th century though the practice to which they attest was clearly much older. If PL-STk2 Perz inv.24 were contemporaneous with the other fragments in the complex - and there is no compelling evidence to suggest otherwise - then this hitherto unknown version of Philip's sequence could have been in existence by the 1240s at the latest, and possibly as early as the earliest-known transmission of the SV 'Ave,' namely E-TO 135, which dates from the beginning of the 13th century.³⁸ Both versions of 'Ave gloriosa' thus predate the earliest extant 'Polish' examples of *cantus planus binatim* by at least fifty to sixty years.³⁹

Despite the earlier date of 'Ave gloriosa,' Perz's observation on the Franciscans' association with this type of

Oprócz jednego, wszystkie pozostałe 16 pochodzi z Polski południowej, tzw. Małopolski, aż 8 bezpośrednio z Krakowa i tyle samo, czyli 8 z klasztorów franciszkańskich. Trzy najstarsze pozycje pochodzą z konwentu Klarysek w Starym Sączu a inne trzy z klasztoru św. Andrzeja w Krakowie - również Klarysek [...]. Na podstawie powyższych danych należy sądzić, że praktykę organalnego śpiewania liturgicznego i paraliturgicznego przynieśli do Polski Franciszkanie, a upodobały ją sobie szczególnie Klaryski w dwóch klasztorach: Starym Sączu i Krakowie." Mirosław Perz, "Kilka uwag o źródłach i repertuarze polifonii retrospektywnej we Włoszech i Polsce," *Pagine. Polsko-włoskie materiały muzyczne* 2 (1974): 282. All the examples are found in Perz, *AMiP* 13 (*Facs.*), xxxii-xxxiii & 178-85 and *AMiP* 14 (*Trans.*), 166-69 & 476-82.

38. René-Jean Hesbert, *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin. Manuscrit add. 710 de l'Université Cambridge (vers 1360)*, *Monumenta Musicae Sacrae*, 4 (Rouen: Imprimerie Rouennaise, 1966), 33 n.35.

39. For a recent reassessment of the Polish sources and selected illustrative plates, see Paweł Gancarczyk, "Cantus planus multiplex: polifonia chorałowa w Polsce XIII-XVI wieku," in *Notae musicae artis. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI-XVI wieku*, edited by Elżbieta Witkowska-Zaremba (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999), 349-401.

polyphony is nonetheless well taken. The sort of compositional activity that brought about *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*, the fashioning of a new melody and *pars secunda* to a well known Latin lyric, as much as the fact of its turning up in a Franciscan house, cannot but bring to mind Salimbene de Adam's accounts of musical composition and arranging: of Brother Henry of Pisa who wrote "many songs and sequences," and "a song similar to one written by [Philip] the Chancellor," and who "wrote for the sequence, '*Iesse virgans humidavit*' a delightful melody, so that afterwards everybody sang it gladly, whereas, before, the tune had been rough and dissonant for singing;"⁴⁰ and of Brother Vita, the fine singer with expertise in counterpoint who, "when he discovered some simple melody of Brother Henry's, would gladly write a secondary melody for it."⁴¹

40. Multas cantilenas fecit frater Henricus et multas sequentias... Item in illa alia littera, que est cancellarii similiter, cantum fecit... Et in illa sequentia: '*Iesse virgans humidavit*' delectabilem cantum fecit, et qui libenter cantatur, cum prius haberet cantum rudem et dissonum ad cantandum." Scalia, *Cronica*, 263 lines 8-9, 25-26, and 264 lines 5-8. Translation by Baird, Baglivi, and Kane, *Chronicle of Salimbene*, 172-74. Altogether Salimbene ascribes seven pieces to Philip; see Dronke, "Lyrical compositions," X: 590. Mark Everist has drawn attention to the fact that this is the only example where Salimbene mentions a pre-existent melody which is replaced. See *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1989), 33.

41. "quando inveniebat aliquem fratris Henrici simplicem cantum, libenter ibidem faciebat secundarium cantum." *Cronica*, 265 lines 24-25; *Chronicle of Salimbene*, 174. On Friars Henry and Vita, see Oliver Guyotjeannin, *Salimbene de Adam: un chroniqueur franciscain*, Témoins de Notre Histoire, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 164-72.

Salimbene's familiarity with Philip the Chancellor's songs is not necessarily a consequence of his brief sojourn in France in 1248, for Philip's works were very widely disseminated and enjoyed considerable longevity into the fourteenth century.⁴² As chancellor of Notre Dame cathedral (1217-1236) with responsibility for licensing teachers and overseeing the correction and upkeep of books, Philip was an influential ecclesiastical dignitary. Like his colleague, Perotin, Philip too was one of the major artistic figures of the *ars antiqua*, a poet-composer in his own right who wrote in all the major genres of his time: hymns, motets, tropes, *conducti* and sequences.⁴³

As to who the composer(s) might have been of the two melodies to 'Ave gloriosa,' it is worth recalling Peter Dronke's point, that although we know Philip was a composer and performer as well as a poet, we have no evidence for which of his songs Philip wrote his own melodies.⁴⁴ It appears unlikely that he was the composer of our piece, for,

42. Of the twenty-nine Notre-Dame songs in the satirical miscellany, *Le Roman de Fauvel* (1310/14), nineteen are Philip's, and some of them are set to new music.

43. The most exhaustive study of Philip's oeuvre and its relationship to *ars antiqua* music is Thomas B. Payne's dissertation, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame school," (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991) An updated Works List can be found in his entry, "Philip the Chancellor," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, 29 vols., edited by John Tyrrell and Stanley Sadie (London & New York: Grove, 2001), 19: 595-97.

44. Peter Dronke, "Philip the Chancellor (ca.1165-1236)," in *Philippe le Chancelier. Notre-Dame-Schule*, CD liner notes, Sequentia Ensemble for Medieval Music (Freiburg: Deutsche Harmonia Mundi RD77035, 1990), 4.

as Hans Spanke pointed out in his study of the vernacular contrafacta to this sequence,⁴⁵ we have no reason to doubt the veracity of the composer of *Lonc tens m'ai teü* when he tells us that it was he who first set a French text to the *Lai des Hermins*:⁴⁶

El lai des Hermins
ai mis reson roumance
por toz amanz fins

[I have set a vernacular text to the *lai des Hermins* for the benefit of all courtly lovers⁴⁷]

The implication is clear: be it vocal or instrumental, there must have been a pre-existent melody. David Wulstan confidently asserts that '*Ave gloriosa*' is a contrafaction of a vernacular original and he draws attention to the fact that of one of the sequence's contrafacta, '*Viege [or Nete] glorieuse,*' is itself a French vernacular version of Philip's contrafaction.⁴⁸

CONCLUSION

The melody associated with Philip's Latin lyric and

45. The five vernacular contrafacta are *Virge glorieuse*, *L'autrier chevauchois* (*Li lais de la Pastourelle*), *Lonc tens m'ai teü* (*Lai des Hermins*), and two fragmentary pieces, *Amors m'a au las prie*, and ... *en tremblant*. See Anderson, "Conductus Catalogue Raisonné," 6: 201 Transcriptions in Hans Tischler, ed., *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols., *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 107 (American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1997).

46. Hans Spanke, "Sequenz und Lai," in *Studien zur Sequenz und Lai und Leich*, edited and compiled by Ursula Aaburg (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), 177.

47. Stevens, *Words and Music*, 108. Stevens dismisses Spanke's claim that the original melody was instrumental as being unsupported and without justification.

various vernacular settings which has been referred to throughout this chapter as the SV 'Ave' was a widely disseminated popular tune with a long history. The 'Stary Sącz' version, on the other hand, is known nowhere else, nor indeed has there ever been any suggestion that an alternative melody to the SV 'Ave' might have existed. This unicum is found in the company of remnants from a Parisian manuscript which itself transmitted works by Philip the Chancellor. The coincidence is surely significant.

'Ave gloriosa' joins the company of seven other pieces by, or attributed to, Philip the Chancellor that are found in PL-STk2: the organum prosulas (2) *Vide prophecie / Viderunt* (M1) and (58) *Adessa festina / Adiuva me domine* (M3); the motets (216) *Nostrum est impletum / Nostrum* (M14), (313) *Homo quo vigeas / Et gaudebit* (M24), (322) *Non orphanum te deseram / Et gaudebit* (M24) and (532) *Agmina milicie / Agmina* (M65); and the texted conductus cauda (K45) *Anima iuge lacrimas*.⁴⁹ All these pieces are either polyphonic or admit of polyphonic realisation. The source manuscript from which the Stary Sącz fragments were cut starts to resemble the central source for Notre-Dame repertoire, I-F1 Plut.29,1. Given the repertorial similarity of these Parisian manuscripts, it would be in keeping if PL-STk2, like I-F1 Plut.29,1, had not transmitted polyphonic

48. *Emperor's Old Clothes*, 321.

49. The pieces are items 18, 19, 23, 13, 20, 12, and 7 in Perz's revised Inventory.

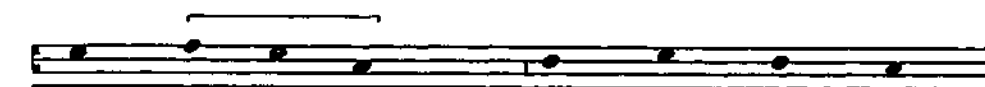
sequences within the main corpus of the manuscript. As David Hiley explains

After the sequences in the Aquitanian sources which are set in melismatic organum, no further attempt seems to have been made to set sequences in anything but simple contrary-motion discant. Pieces in this style were generally too humble for inclusion in the sources of Notre Dame organum.⁵⁰

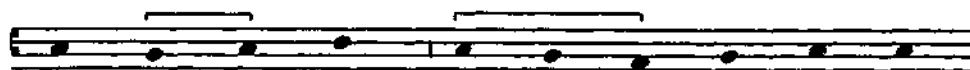
If, as seems most likely, a new version and *pars secunda* of 'Ave gloriosa' had been inserted or appended to *PL-STk2*, a physical proximity to its *pars prima*, the SV of Philip's sequence, can be assumed. The single voice of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* was itself written on a ruling intended for a polyphonic genre. Although we do not know where or when it was written, all indications suggest that its composition should not be regarded as an isolated effort at creating simple polyphony. The business of updating a well-known Marian text with a new melody to enable organal realisation is of a piece with the sort of compositional activity attested to in other examples of *ars antiqua* music at Stary Sącz. Given the physical association of the 'Stary Sącz' version with *PL-STk2* plus the high degree of probability that the SV 'Ave gloriosa' was transmitted in that manuscript along with other works of Philip's, the implication is unavoidable that for the composer of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24* some of the repertoire in *PL-STk2* -- irrespective of the codex's status and origins -- retained its currency.

50. David Hiley, "Further Observations on *W1*: The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981): 78.

Figure 4.2 Melodic units in PL-STk2 Perz inv.24



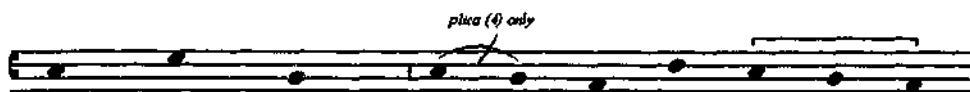
(3) vi - tis ge - ne - ro - sa



(12) [ma -] tu - ti - ma

(22) cy - pres sus pu - - - ri - ta - tis

(32) ver - ne no - - - vi [ta - tis]



(4) vi - te me - di - ci - [na]

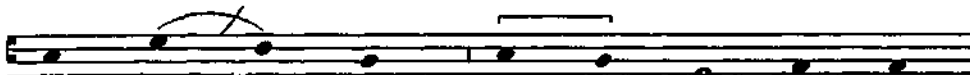
(34) tem - plum tri ni - ta - tis

(54) tu li - mes

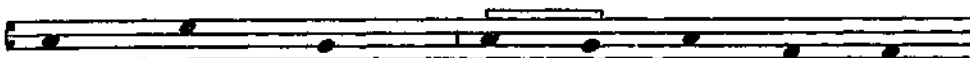


(44) co - lump - - na fir - - mi - ta - tis

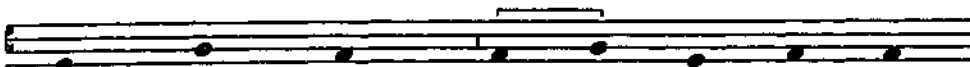
(80) es ma - - - ter ge - - ni - to - ris



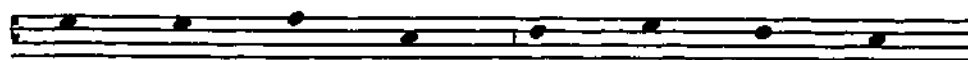
(45) a - lump - - na sanc - ti - ta - tis



(81) o - ri - go con - - di - to - ris



(35) com - pa - ges u - - - ni - tis -



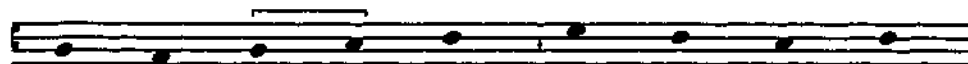
(11) [cla - ri - ta -]te ra - [di - o - sa]

(13) bre - vi - ta - te le - gis glo - [sa]



(23) mir - ra pe - ni - tan - ti - e

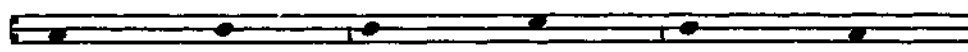
(21) ce - drus pu - di - [ci - ti - e]



(43) [de - be] li - - um prae - si - di - um

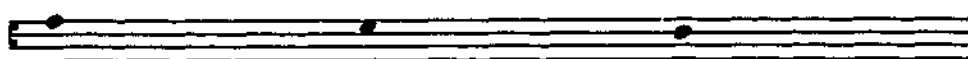
(53) i - ti - ne - ris ve - hi - cu - lum

(79) pre gra - ti - - e mi - ra - cu - lum

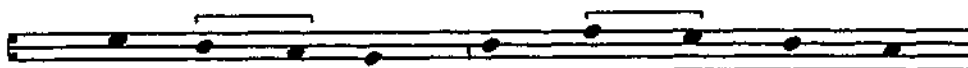


(31) ro - ris o - dor flo - tis

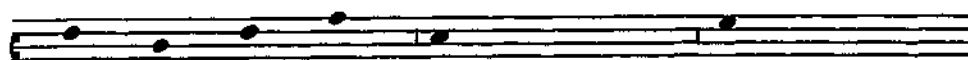
(33) [de - co -]ris



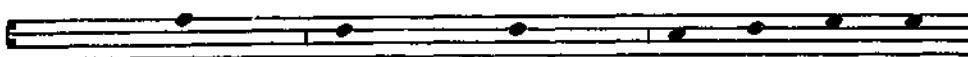
(41) O Ma ri - [a]



(52) [ca-] rac - te - ris si - gna - - cu - lum

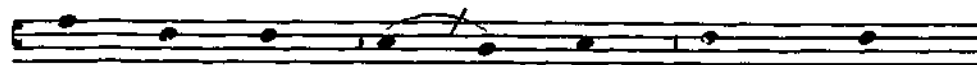


(77) Mun - di - ci - e tu spe - [culum]

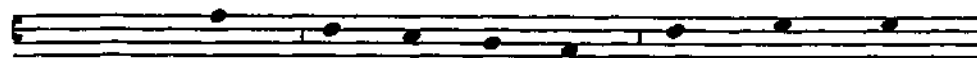


(61) [Tu thro] nus sa - lo - mo - nis

(63) tu vel - lus Ge - de - o - nis

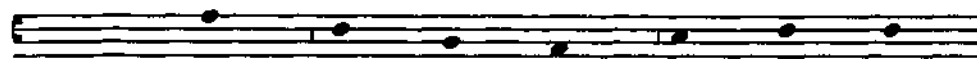


(62) pre - la - ta ce li thro - nis

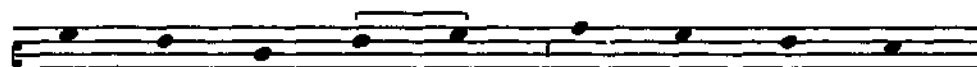


(65) Tu tha - la - mus pu - do - ris

(67) tu li - ba - [nus cam - do - ris]

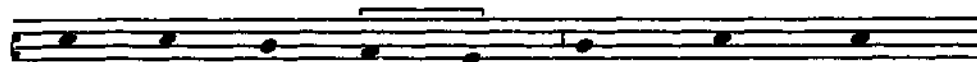


(66) Tu bal - sa - mus o - do - ris



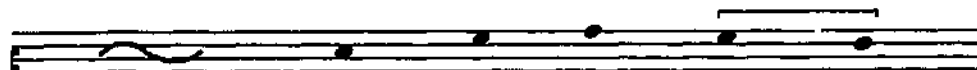
(69) [Tu me - di - um dis] car - di - um

(71) Hu - mi - li - um re - fu - gi - um

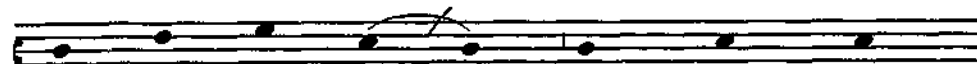


(70) con - nu - bi - um a - mo - ris

(72) re - [me - di - um]



(73) er - ran - ti - um



(74) au - xi - li - um la - bo - ris

Figure 4.3 'Ave gloriosa virginum regina':
reconstruction* of PL-STk2 Perz inv.24
and polyphonic realisation.

Standard Version

PL-STk2 Perz inv.24

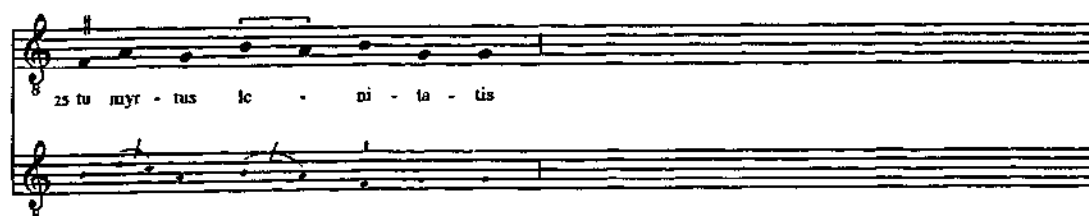
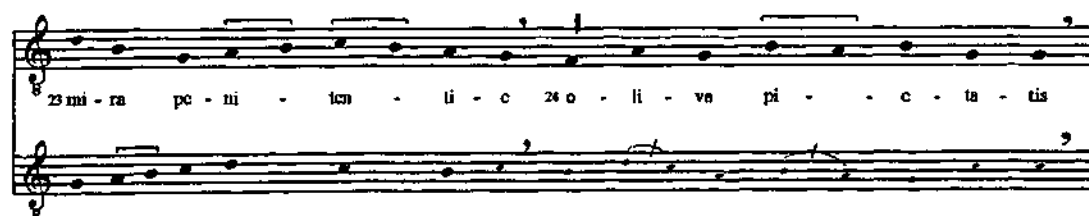
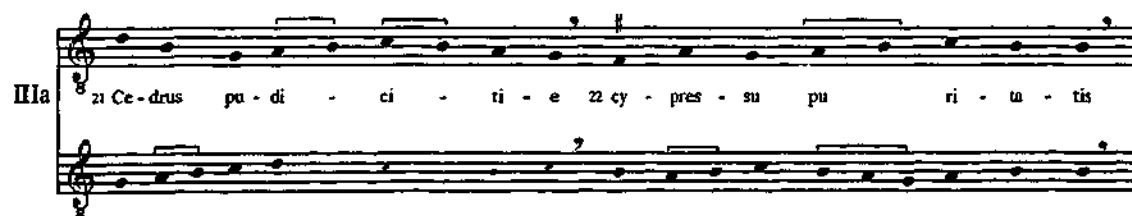
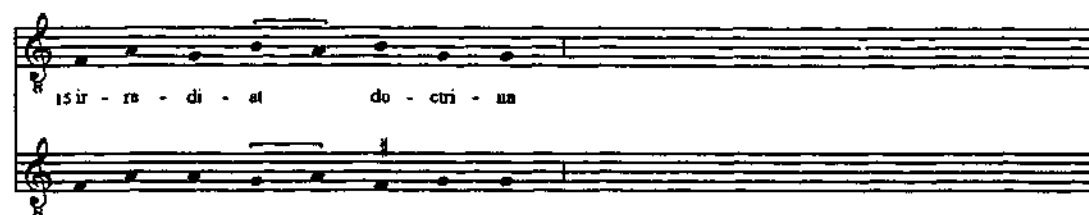
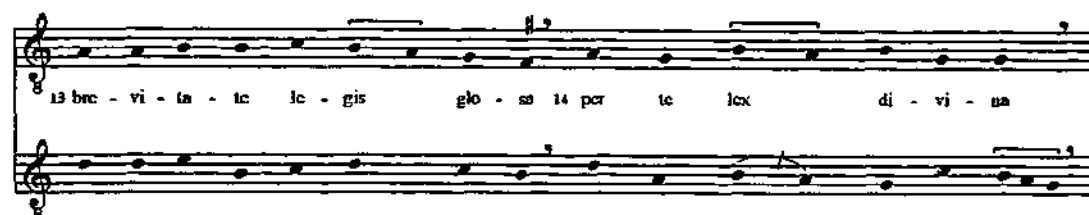
1 A - ve glo - ri - o - sa 2 vir - gi - num re - gi - na

3 vi - tis ge - ne - - - ros - sa 4 vi - te me di - ci - na

5 ele - men - ti - c re - si - na

11 Cla - ri - ta - te re - di - o - sa 12 stel - la ma - - tu - ti - na

* Italicized noteheads designate passages supplied by analogy to the pattern of melodic units in the standard version as tabulated in Figure 4.2. All accidentals are editorial.



IVa 31 Stū - la - ro - ris o - der flo - ris 32 ver - ne uo - - - vi - ta - tis

33 fons dul - co - ris vas de - co - ris 34 tem - plum tri - ni - ta - tis

35 com - pa - gcs u - - ni - ta - tis

Va 41 O Ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a 42 si - nus pe - ni - ten - ti - um

43 de - bi - li - um pre - si - di um 44 co - lum - pra fir mi - ta - tis

45 a - lum - pia sen - cti - ta - tis

Vla

51 Tu fe - de - ris o - ra - cu - lum 52 ca - ra - cte - ris si - gna - cu - lum

53 i - ti - ne - ris ve - hi - cu - lum 54 tu li - mes e - qui - ta - tis

55 ad li - men cla - ri - ta - tis

VIIa
b

61 Tu thro - nus Sa - lo - mo - nis 62 pre - la - ta ce - li thro - nis
63 tu vel - lus Ge - de - o - nis 64 tu ru - bus vi - si - o - nis

VIIIa
b

65 tu - ba - mus pu - do - ris 66 tu - ba - mus o - do - ris
67 tu - ba - nus can - do - ris 67 tu - ba - nus ar - do - ris

IXa
b

69 tu - me - di - um dis - cor - di - um 70 con - tu - bi - um a - mor - ris
71 tu - mi - li - um re - fu - gi - um 72 re - me - di - um lan - guo - ris

Xa
b

72 con - si - li - um er - ran - ti - um 74 au - xi - li - um la - bo - ris
73 con - pen - di - um cur - ren - ti - um 76 st - pen - di - um vic - to - ris

XIa
b

77 Men - di - ti - e tu spe - cu - lum 78 tu glo - ri - e spe - cla - cu - lum

79 per gra - ti - e mi - ra cu - lum 80 es ma - ter ge - ni - to - ris

81 o - ri - go con - di - to - ris

CONCLUSION

In the year of Kinga's death, 1292, the Sadecki region of Małopolska came under the control of the Czech king, Václav II. With the new regime came the establishment of a new regional administrative centre, Nowy Sącz; the commercial importance of Stary Sącz waned as a consequence. Kinga's successors managed to resist political pressure to have the monastery relocated to the new castellan town, and in this matter, as in the past, the Poor Clares' longstanding alignment with the House of Piast stood them in good stead. Their monastery retained its aristocratic patrimony of extensive landholdings and was left largely undisturbed. Thereafter, Stary Sącz became, in effect, a monastery town.¹ Some years later, Stary Sącz's motherhouse in Grodziska/Skała (the monastery originally established by Salomea in Zawichost) found itself obliged to move yet again, this time to St Andrew's in Kraków where it remains to this day.

By the first decade of the fourteenth century two more Clarist monasteries had been established, both by dukes of the Silesian branch of the House of Piast. In 1295 Duke Bolko I of Świdnica founded St Clare's in Strzelin, its first sisters coming from Wrocław; and Duke Henryk I of Głogów founded the Monastery of the Holy Cross in his duchy's

1. Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, *Sądeckizna w XIII i XIV wieku. Przemiany gospodarcze i społeczne* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1961), 137-40.

capital around 1304-07. It is impossible to determine whether these last major Clarist establishments were double monasteries. However, like the earlier Małopolska and Wielkopolska houses, these Silesian royal houses too were mausoleum monasteries for the Piast dynasty.²

As the Second Order of St Francis expanded so, too, did the Third Order of Secular Franciscans. Its numbers were augmented by women who were attracted away from the Beguines as this movement increasingly came under suspicion of heresy during the fourteenth century. The traditionally close affiliation between the Clarisses and the Order of Penitents needs to be borne in mind when considering the Polish houses under study. Over time, Urban IV's Rule for the Poor Clares made the Second Order of St Francis ostensibly little different from other strictly enclosed monastic women's orders. The royal foundations of the Polish-Czech province, however, maintained a character very much their own.

Liturgical practices in these houses must be conceived in terms of a mixed community of men, women and children, physically segregated but brought together musically through the concelebration of *opus dei*. With their resident chaplain-friars and laybrothers, non-professed widows and other Tertiaries, oblates and *servientes*, plus the extended familial connections of the sisters (living and departed), royal establishments like those in the Polish-Czech province

2. For a list of royal personages buried in these houses, see Patrycja Gasiorowska, "Klaryski z dynastii Piastów," *Nasza Przyszłość* 94 (2000): 128-33.

cannot have been immured from the cultural currents of the times. Equally, it is highly unlikely that the professed nuns within the monastery complex would have remained quarantined from the varied musical fare cultivated by the Friars Minor. All evidence suggests that claustration, for aristocratic Clarisses at least, was in many respects rather porous.

The musical artifacts studied in the foregoing chapters, regarded hitherto as somewhat incongruous in a Clarist monastery, present mute testimony to the largely forgotten Clarist subculture of the royal double monastery. The fact that this material evinces no divivable traits associating it necessarily with female religious is neither surprising nor reason to doubt its appropriateness in an aristocratic Clarist house. Meagre though they be, these fragments of different pieces and genres bespeak the exposure of Stary Sącz, both directly and through its motherhouse, to wide-ranging musico-liturgical influences spanning more than a century. '*Omnia beneficia*' is a case in point: in terms of its musical setting, four-voice conductus style, we look to Paris for nearest precedents; to account for the pentatonicism of its melodic foundation we look to the East; and for an analogous poetic style we look to *pia dictamina*, the devotional verse much cultivated by the Franciscans.

More than any other *ars antiqua* music at Stary Sącz it is the fragments of *Magnus liber organa* and related motets, *PL-STk2*, that provoke most speculation, particularly over the source manuscript, its origins and organisation, intended

destination and ownership, and whether the repertoire it transmitted might have been performed in the Clarist houses of the Polish-Czech province. Since this latter question is often posed by analogy to *E-BU*, the codex containing Notre Dame polyphony which is found in the Las Huelgas Cistercian women's monastery in Burgos, Spain, some observations from recent research on that manuscript are in order. Like the majority of our Poor Clare houses, Las Huelgas was a necropolis monastery of aristocratic women to which was attached a resident community of chaplain-priests who were under the authority of the abbess. The contents and *ordinatio* of the Las Huelgas manuscript suggest that the codex served as a compendium of polyphonic repertoire required by the convent at the start of the fourteenth century, the date of the codex's compilation.³ The polyphony itself, some of it recently composed, some of it dating back to the first half of the previous century, was almost certainly not performed by the nuns; rather, it appears to have been used by the chaplains and chantry clergy who were associated with the commemorative services and para-liturgies celebrated at Las Huelgas.⁴

3. Nicolas J. Bell, "The Ordering and *mise-en-page* of the Las Huelgas Codex," in *Fuentes Musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca.1250-1550)*. *Actas del Coloquio Internacional*, Lleida, 1-3 abril 1996, edited by Maricarmen Gómez and Màrius Bernadó (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2001), 97. On the non-Parisian repertoire in *E-HU* compared with fascicle XI of *D-W628*, see Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 414, especially n.49.

4. Wesley Jordan's research at Las Huelgas has revealed details of benefices for chantry clergy. He cites the example of Dona Branca, daughter of Alfonso III and *priora* in the monastery.

The 'Stary Sącz' *Magnus liber*, PL-STk2, was produced over half a century earlier than E-BU. It is contemporaneous with the central source of Notre Dame repertoire, I-F1 Plut.29,1, which was commissioned for presentation to the secular Franciscan, Louis IX, on the occasion of the dedication of Sainte-Chapelle in April 1248.⁵ If PL-STk2, a comparably luxurious manuscript, produced in Paris around the same time and containing much the same repertoire, had been intended for another aristocratic disciple of St Francis, plausible contenders, male and female, could be found in all three royal houses mentioned in this study, the Árpáds, Piasts and Přemyslids.⁶

Given the present state of knowledge all we can be sure of is that by the seventeenth century PL-STk2 had been cut up and used as binding reinforcement.⁷ Whether its first and only association with Stary Sącz was as unseen spinal lacings

By 1313 she had established no less than twelve endowed chapels. See "The Las Huelgas Codex: Some Theories Concerning its Compilation and Use," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 6 (1996): 33 & 70ff.

5. Michel Huglo, "Magnus Liber: Maius Munus (Part II)," paper presented at the Medieval & Renaissance Music Conference, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 31 July - 3 August (Jena, 2003).

6. On medieval owners of Notre Dame music manuscripts, see Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre-Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 4 (1987): 380-99, and also Nicky Losseff's cautionary response in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50, no. 1 (1997): 189 n.21.

7. The liturgical reforms introduced by the Council of Trent resulted in religious houses throughout Europe abandoning rich and diverse collections of manuscripts. At Stary Sącz the full impact of the Tridentine reforms was felt after the visitation of the Bishop of Kraków, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł in August 1599. See Cempura, "Kultura muzyczna," III and 11.

in one of the monastery's Graduals, or whether it had arrived as part of the foundation endowment of service books from Grodzisko/Skała, its motets, conductus and organa comprising part of their friars' musical fare, we have no way of knowing.

The question of performance of the *PL-STk2* repertoire could happily be put to one side as too speculative were it not for the evidence of *PL-STk2 Perz inv.24*, the fragment containing a new melody and potential *pars secunda* to Philip the Chancellor's lai-sequence '*Ave gloriosa*.' As we saw in Chapter IV, the polyphonic realisation of this indubitably Parisian piece evokes a sound-world markedly different from that of the two-part syllabic writing found in Parisian *ars antiqua* sources. The same holds true of a comparison between '*Omnia beneficia*' and other four-voice *conducti*. Although it lacks their compositional and harmonic complexity, the constructional technique and scoring of *PL-STk* (*Perz St S₂*) are analogous nonetheless to these famous three Notre Dame pieces. To regard our 'Stary Sącz' pieces as stylistic anachronisms would be to miss their significance. They attest to the longevity of certain stylistic traits deriving from older repertoires, to the *Rezeption* -- at some remove in time and place -- of Philip the Chancellor's work and that of his Notre Dame colleagues. In the pieces, '*Omnia beneficia*' and '*Ave gloriosa*,' preserved in St Kinga's Clarist monastery, Stary Sącz, might we not have a link between the thirteenth-century Parisian *ars antiqua* and the phenomenon of *cantus planus binatim*?

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