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Jan Olbracht Gradual from the Archives of the Wawel Cathedral. Physical description

Abstract

Research on Gregorian chant in Poland is necessary to establish the origin, specificity and the uniqueness of the Polish musical culture which grew on the foundation of the European artistic creation. Tracing the development of the Gregorian chant in Poland is also of great interest on account of its impact on other forms of sacred music which develop in our country already since the 14th century. Furthermore, this research has another significance as well, namely complementing the general musicological literature with information contained in Polish medieval sources. The reason for this is that Western European publications sometimes present our medievalistic culture in a one-sided manner without taking into account the results of research of Polish musicologists in this field. Source analyses of Polish medieval liturgical manuscripts are of a particular importance these days as only a tiny percentage of their former corpus has survived in Poland. That is undeniably evidenced by the information provided in early library inventories and records from bishops' visitations. The subject matter of this paper is focused on the physical description of the three-volume *Jan Olbracht Gradual*. In dealing with this issue, I used heuristics, the method commonly used in the first stage of source analyses. The paper begins with presenting the subject literature. Afterward, it contains the physical description of the codex, comprising the circumstances and the date of production of the gradual, book format, bindings' description of all three volumes, writing material, internal structure of the books' blocks and their losses, foliation, additions and palimpsest, and also the state of preservation. The last section of the paper is dedicated to the paleographic analysis focused on the issues such as: the visual aspect of the leaf, textual and musical script, and decoration.

Keywords: medieval Polish music, liturgical music, liturgy in the Wawel Cathedral, medieval manuscripts, Jan Olbracht Gradual, the Wawel Chapter Archive.

The three-volume *Jan Olbracht Gradual* held in the Archives of the Cracow Wawel Cathedral Chapter is one of the most valuable Polish monuments of the

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late Middle Ages which survived till present day. The Archives of the Wawel Cathedral rank among the oldest in Poland. Their history dates back to the turn of the 11th and 12th century. They are home to collections which are unique at both Polish and European level and which are the source from which derives not only the Christian identity of Poland, but also the European one. The Wawel Archives hold, among others, more than 240 manuscripts¹. The collections include books produced in this scriptorium. The set of three codices founded by the king Jan Olbracht (1459–1501), for the Wawel royal cathedral, called *Jan Olbracht Gradual*, ranks among the most valuable in this collection. The first volume *De Sanctis*, call number ms. 43 – includes the chants: *Ordinarium missae*, *Proprium de sanctis*, *Commune sanctorum* and *Sequentiarium de sanctis*. The second volume *De Tempore*, ms. 44 – consists of three groups of chants: *Ordinarium missae*, *Proprium de tempore* and *Sequentiarium*. The third volume *de Beata* ms. 42, including the colophon, is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the chants which are included in this volume can be divided into four groups: *Ordinarium missae*, *Pars de sanctis*, *Missae votivae* and *Sequentiae*. This codex constitutes a testimony to a great development – during the late Middle Ages – of the Polish music rooted in the Western European tradition. In the light of this monument, Cracow – the former capital of Poland and the royal residence of the Jagiellon dynasty at that time appears as the main and powerful center of cultural and artistic development, including music, which was created for the purposes of liturgy celebrated in the Wawel Cathedral. The significance of this center is supported by the fact that this gradual was executed in Cracow, in the Wawel scriptorium and the manuscript illuminations constitute one of the most remarkable achievements of the Cracow miniature painting of the turn of the 15th/16th century.

State-of-the-art report

The subject literature which concerns *Jan Olbracht Gradual* in Polish is quite abundant. The manuscript is mentioned at the end of the 19th century by Ignacy Polkowski in his Catalogue of the Chapter Library in Cracow², which provides information on the physical description of the set of manuscripts. It should nevertheless be pointed out that, in the light of the most recent research, the data provided by Polkowski and concerning the copyist and the miniature artist of the gradual and the call number of the respective volumes is mistaken.

Owing to the fact that *Jan Olbracht Gradual* contains illuminations of exquisite artistry, it attracted the interest of the art historians at first. The first paper

¹ *The Archives of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter*, Source: <http://www.katedra-wawelska.pl/en/krakowska-kapitula-katedralna/archiwum/> [The state of 24.05.2019].

² I. Polkowski, *Katalog rękopisów kapitulnych katedry krakowskiej. Kodexa rękopiśmienne*, part 1, Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce, Kraków 1884, pp. 1–228.

on the subject is a monograph by Władysław Terlecki³. It contains a detailed description of iconographical figured representations within the miniature initials and shows their graphic patterns. The author deals also with the issues related to the execution of text and music notation, and of painted decoration. Another paper on this subject written by Zofia Rozanow⁴ corrects and completes some findings by W. Terlecki. The author focuses also on the meaning of figured motifs contained within the margin ornamentation. Moreover, she has also examined the issues aiming at establishing the name of the artists who had executed the gradual. She continued to deal with this issue along with Zofia Budkowa⁵. On the other hand, Bolesław Przybyszewski⁶ has formulated a hypothesis concerning the artists who had executed the painted decorations of *Jan Olbracht Gradual*. Other art historians Bolesław Sobczyk⁷ and Barbara Miodońska⁸ have dedicated their papers to graphic patterns and ideological content of the illuminations contained in all three books of the gradual. Important summarizing publications on the subject have been written by Andrzej M. Olszewski⁹ and B. Miodońska¹⁰.

The liturgical-musical content of the monument has been examined by Jerzy Pikulik. His publications discuss in great detail such forms as *Ordinarium missae* chants¹¹, sequences¹², including the Polish ones¹³ and the alleluia verses¹⁴. The

³ W. Terlecki, *Miniatury Graduału z fundacji króla Jana Olbrachta. Źródła artystyczne miniatur i stosunek do grafiki zachodniej, koloryt i ikonografia*, Towarzystwo Naukowe we Lwowie, Lwów 1939.

⁴ Z. Rozanow, *Treści literackie miniatur Graduału Olbrachta*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 1960, 51, 3, pp. 203–247.

⁵ Z. Budkowa, Z. Rozanow, *W sprawie podpisu pisarzy Graduału Jana Olbrachta*, "Pamiętnik Literacki" 1961, 52, 1, pp. 279–280.

⁶ B. Przybyszewski, *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu z archiwaliów kapitulnych i kurialnych krakowskich 1440–1500. Źródła do dziejów Wawelu*, vol. 3, Kraków 1960; idem, *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu*, vol. 4, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1965.

⁷ B. Sobczyk, *Rex imperator in regno suo: suwerenność króla polskiego w końcu XV wieku w miniaturach "Graduału Jana Olbrachta"*, "Folia Historiae Artium", vol. 10, Kraków 1974, pp. 81–106.

⁸ B. Miodońska, *Katalog wystawy. Sztuka w Krakowie w latach 1350–1550. Malarstwo miniaturowe*, Kraków 1964; eadem, *Rex Regnum i Rex Poloniae w dekoracji malarzkiej Graduału Olbrachta i pontyfikału Erazma Ciolka*, Kraków 1979.

⁹ A.M. Olszewski, *Pierwowzory graficzne późnogotyckiej sztuki małopolskiej*, "Studia z Historii Sztuki", vol. 23, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk 1975.

¹⁰ B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320–1540*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1993.

¹¹ J. Pikulik, *Indeks śpiewów Ordinarium missae w gradualach polskich do 1600 r.*, [in:] *Muzyka religijna w Polsce. Materiały i studia*, vol. 5, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1978, pp. 139–271.

¹² Idem, *Indeks sekwencji w polskich rękopisach muzycznych. Sekwencje zespołu rękopisów tarńskich*, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1974.

¹³ Idem, *Sekwencje polskie*, [in:] *Musica maedii aevii*, vol. 4, ed. J. Morawski, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Kraków 1973; idem, *Sekwencje polskie*, [in:] *Musica maedii aevii*, vol. 5, ed. J. Morawski, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Kraków 1976.

¹⁴ Idem, *Wiersze alleluja o Najświętszej Maryi Pannie w polskich gradualach przedtrydenckich*, [in:] *Muzyka religijna w Polsce. Materiały i studia*, vol. 6, Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1984.

first attempt of a comprehensive musicological study dedicated to all three *Jan Olbracht Gradual* volumes is made in a paper by Tadeusz Miazga¹⁵. It contains, though, several inaccuracies and errors which result mainly from an erroneous internal critique of the source. Furthermore, the author has not taken into account in his study all the research which had been conducted on the Polish medieval manuscripts. As a result, he does not remark on the Polish origin of many compositions. Furthermore, his paper does not answer the basic question as to which relation the repertoire of liturgical chants contained in *Jan Olbracht Gradual* bears to the repertoire from other Polish and European medieval manuscripts of this period. Consequently, it has been entirely valid to undertake further source analyses on this monument. In the 1990s, the two first volumes *De Sanctis* and *De Tempore* were examined in the master's theses, written at Katedra Źródła i Analiz Muzyki Dawnej Akademia (Faculty of Ancient Music Sources and Analyses) of the Akademia Teologii Katolickiej (Catholic Theological Academy) in Warsaw, currently called Stefan Wyszyński University. The first of these theses, discussing the second volume *De Tempore*, has been written by Andrzej Kusiak¹⁶. The source analysis of the first volume *De Sanctis* has been conducted by Bartosz Izbicki¹⁷. As for the third volume *De Beata*, it is the subject of the doctoral dissertation written by Marta Popowska, published in print¹⁸ and regarding which two reviews have been published¹⁹.

Physical description

Circumstances and date of production of the gradual

Key information on the date and circumstances of the production of the gradual is indicated in the colophon, included in the third volume *De Beata*, providing

¹⁵ T. Miazga, *Gradual Jana Olbrachta – studium muzykologiczne*, Graz 1980.

¹⁶ A. Kusiak, *Gradual Olbrachta ms. 44 De Tempore z Biblioteki Kapitulnej na Wawelu. Studium źródłoznawcze*, (printout of a master thesis written under the supervision of ks. prof. dr hab. J. Pikulik), Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1996, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, call number 115666.

¹⁷ B. Izbicki, *Gradual ms. 43 z Biblioteki Kapitulnej w Krakowie. Studium źródłoznawcze*, (printout of a master thesis written under the supervision of ks. prof. dr hab. J. Pikulik), Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, Warszawa 1999, call number 118424.

¹⁸ M. Popowska, *Gradual maryjny ms. 42 Jana Olbrachta w tradycji krakowskiej. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2003.

¹⁹ Cz. Grajewski, *Marta Popowska, Gradual maryjny ms. 42 Jana Olbrachta w tradycji krakowskiej. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2003, ss. 210, [recenzja], "Seminare. Poszukiwania Naukowe" 2006, nr 23, pp. 538–542; A. Galar, *Marta Popowska, Gradual Maryjny ms. 42 Jana Olbrachta w tradycji krakowskiej. Studium źródłoznawcze* [*The Jan Olbracht Marian Gradual MS. 42 in Cracov Tradition. A Source Study*], *Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, Częstochowa 2003, 189 pp., 10 photographs*, [recenzja], "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" 2006, vol. 2, Societas Vistulana, Warszawa 2006, p. 438.

also information on the artists who executed the gradual. On the folio 1v, it can be read among others:

Completio operis Anno Christi Millesimo Quingentesimo Sexo, in crastino Conversionis Sancti Pauli. Stanislaus scripsit notavitque, Thomas complevit²⁰.

The date January, 26, 1506 provided in the colophon is related to the completion of the last of the volumes. As for the date of the execution of the first volume *De Sanctis* and the second volume *De tempore*, it is between 1501 and 1506²¹.

According to B. Miodońska, the initiative of the foundation emerged on the brink of the 1500th anniversary of Christianity in the first half of 1499. She adds also, reporting W. Terlecki's findings, that in February of that year Jan Olbracht developed an incurable illness, which resulted in his premature death, on June 17, 1501. W. Terlecki implies that king's personal reasons, "awareness of an imminent passing", were the primary reason for the creation of the foundation²².

[...] with this great gift for the Cracow cathedral, Jan Olbracht wanted to obtain mercy and salvation for himself [...]²³

B. Miodońska continues that this anniversary, whose celebrations were related to numerous initiatives in the Christian Church, had also a political context – the point was to mobilise all possible resources to stand up against the growing Turkish power posing a threat to Poland and Europe. According to B. Miodońska, the gradual could have been a votive offering made by a man preoccupied with his soul's eternal happiness, but it was primarily an offering made by a king concerned about his own country. She also argues that this work was an element forming a part of royal foundations including also the Gniezno Cathedral missal and the Jasna Góra missal²⁴. King Jan Olbracht's premature death (1501), and then probably the next year – the death of the scribe Stanisław z Buku (1502?), delayed the work's completion and also conferred a memorial character to the gradual²⁵.

Book format

The three volumes of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* have a library format, designated with the symbol 2°, as the binding spine's height of each book exceeds 35 cm²⁶.

²⁰ ["Work completed in Anno Domini 1506, on the day following the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul (that is on January 26, 1506) Written down by Stanislaw, Completed by Thomas."] See M. Popowska, *Graduał maryjny ms. 42 Jana Olbrachta...*, p. 13.

²¹ B. Izbicki, op. cit., p. 21.

²² B. Miodońska, *Rex Regnum i Rex Poloniae...*, p. 9.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 114.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Entry: *Format biblioteczny*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o książce*, ed. A. Birkenmajer [et al.], Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1971, col. 723.

They approach the most the format of a book 70×50 cm, called *in maior forma – forma regalis*²⁷. The exact dimensions of the volume I *De Sanctis* are 79×54 cm. The binding spine's height of the volume II *De Tempore* is 75,5 cm and the width 53, 5 cm ($75,5 \times 53,5$ cm) and the dimensions of the volume III *De Beata* are very similar and they are $77,7 \times 54,5$ cm.

Individual books' covers

Respective volumes' covers have late-Gothic characteristics. There is no indication that any of them could not be the original one; however, a close inspection shows repairs which have been executed. The binding of the third part *De Beata* has been preserved in the best condition. Each of the volumes needs a separate description.

The cover of volume I *De Sanctis* ms. 43 is made of two boards 1.8 cm thick, coated with dark brown leather, on which there are visible stampings slightly erased, especially on the lower cover. Leather decorations form a rosette pattern and vegetal motifs, which fill a rectangle field. In the central part of the upper cover, there is also a gilded stamping showing a lyre. Leather on the covers shows the signs of fittings left by five bosses which verifies information given by I. Polkowski who says in the manuscript description that it was "iron-shod". Such raised elements called bosses used to be mounted to the covers of medieval books to protect the binding against rubbing and they also stabilized the open book on the lectern. On the binding spine, there are impressions of raised bands in the form of transversal prominent bulges, or bumps which are eight. They are the joint binding the gatherings in one block with leather thongs and silk threads. Furthermore, the repairs which have been executed are visible in the form of the addition of, among others, brass plates which have been fixed with nails by the restorer on the upper and lower edges of the boards. He must have added also a fastening consisting of two strips and two metal pins and the block of the book was additionally strengthened with seven leather strips²⁸.

The binding of volume II *De Tempore* ms. 44 is made of two oak wood boards 2 cm thick, the top one being cracked alongside. The boards are covered with dark brown leather with prominent decorations executed using "blind stamping" technique. Decorations take the shapes of vegetal decorations and geometrical figures. In the centre of the outer binding, there is a cross on which there are four painted coats of arms : on its upper arm there is the White Eagle on a red field, on the lower one the Lithuanian golden cross on a black field, on the right arm there is Elżbieta Rakuszanka coat of arms painted with black and gold paint on a red field, and on the left arm the Pahonia. Furthermore, the binding is equipped with iron and bronze fittings, with gilded decoration. They consist of four corner-

²⁷ Entry: *Format księżki*, ibidem.

²⁸ B. Izbiński, op. cit., p. 18.

pieces, joints and five big bosses – 4 in the corners and the fifth one on the cross. On the outer cover have been preserved two catches, which form a part of the original fastening of the book. Today pins and leather strips are missing. The manuscript spine displays 12 bumps which constitute a joint binding the gatherings in one block. The inner side of the cover is lined with white parchment. They are flyleaves which have replaced the original ones, which were blue as we can notice while looking closely at the remnants on the covers. The manuscript binding is original, nonetheless there are signs of repairs on the spine, which can be deduced from newer leather covering its surface²⁹.

Volume III *De Beata* ms. 42 is bound in two oak boards 2 cm thick, wrapped in a piece of black leather. This is called full binding in which sides and spine are wrapped in one piece of material. The binding of the covers with the text block has been made using raised band spine technique. The gatherings bound together are attached to the binding with leather strips and silk threads. On the spine leather, there are impressions of raised bands called bosses. The spine head and tail are additionally strengthened with endbands. Leather is decorated with stampings executed using “blind stamping” technique. The inside cover is decorated with a diamond pattern which forms a kind of grid filled with vegetal elements. The edges constitute a rectangular frame in the form of a bordure for decorative purposes. The inner side of the covers has two blank leaves, which must have been glued during the restoration of the manuscript. To the outer binding are attached openwork fittings made of cast bronze. In the center, in the most prominent part, there is a crowned eagle with a nine-leaf rosette with stylized lilies. Openwork ornament is backed with red cloth. In each of four corners of the inside cover is placed a cast bronze cornerpiece in the form of a Gothic wimperg³⁰. Its top is finished with a lily motif and is turning in the direction of the central rosette. Space between the arms of each wimperg is filled with a motif of birds pecking a branch. They face each other symmetrically. The background of openwork cornerpieces is made of blue cloth. In the middle of the central fitting and in the upper part of the cornerpieces are fixed protective metal pieces. The binding spine is protected with six protruding pieces, three on each edge. The binding of the volume III of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* has late-Gothic characteristics. As a whole, it impresses by exquisite artistry and is an evidence of a high level bookbinding craftsmanship in Cracow at that time³¹.

Writing material

The content of all three volumes has been written on parchment leaves. The leather is thick, well tanned and smoothed on both sides. It is capable of receiving

²⁹ A. Kusiak, op. cit., pp. 15–16.

³⁰ W. Terlecki, op. cit., pp. 67–68.

³¹ M. Popowska, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

writing on both sides. The parchment tanned this way, according to the classification by Władysław Semkowicz, is called northern or German parchment, also called *charta theutonica*³². It was widespread in medieval Europe.

Internal structure of the books' blocks and their losses

Each of the volumes has its own block structure. Volume I has 51 gatherings, which usually are *quaternions*, i.e. consist of eight leaves³³. The gathering 21 is an exception as it is a *quinternion*. There are protective leaves added to the first and last gatherings. The manuscript currently contains 410 leaves (409 paginated leaves). Originally they were probably 412. An analysis of the contents shows that the ending of the last sequence *Haec sancta* is missing and that the leaves XCVIII and XCIX are cut off. The remnant of the second missing leaf has been preserved in form of a small part of a margin with floral ornaments. On its basis and on the basis of content analysis of the adjacent leaves, it is possible to conclude that on the leaf which has been cut off there was previously an ornate initial measuring ca. 33 × 31 cm, which marked the beginning of the introit *In virtute tua* for the feast of the Translation of Saint Stanislaus body. I. Polkowski does not mention this miniature, which is why it can be assumed that this damage could have occurred before the inventory in 1884.

Volume II consists of 58 gatherings, called *ternions*, which make six leaves³⁴, with the exception of gathering 44, which is incomplete and has only five leaves. Therefore, one leaf is missing in the manuscript. It has been ripped out and only a narrow margin has been preserved. Content analysis of the adjacent leaves demonstrates that on the missing page was written a verse of the gradual *Benedictus es Domine* and the initial *Alleluia*, dedicated for the feast of the Holy Trinity.

The last volume III consists of 29 gatherings. The structure of quires is irregular. Gatherings are made of one to five sheets. *Quaternion*, which is the most common in medieval manuscripts, is the most frequently applied here. It is the case of gatherings 3–6, 8–12, 23–26 and 18, 20, 21. It makes 16 gatherings of 4 sheets each. The second most frequent type of gathering is the *ternion*. This structure is applied to gatherings 13, 15, 17, 22, 27 and 28, which makes 6 gatherings of 3 sheets each. The third most frequent type is the *quinternion*, which is the case of gatherings 2, 7, 14 and 16, which makes 4 gatherings of 5 sheets each. The *duernion*³⁵ is applied in the gathering 1 and 19, which makes 2 gatherings of 2 sheets each. The last gathering, 29, is a single sheet. Such an arbitrary, as it may seem, arrangement of different gatherings can be an evidence of major losses in the manuscript. The content analysis does not however reveal it, it only makes it

³² W. Semkowicz, *Paleografia łacińska*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1951, p. 50.

³³ Ibidem, p. 76.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem.

possible to discover an error of the copyist, who failed to transcribe the verse *Alleluia – Assumpta est Maria* in the formulary for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which is the reason why he placed it at the end, after the sequences. It can therefore be concluded that the present structure of different gatherings in volume III of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* comes as a result of the resewing of the manuscript during restoration works.

Foliation

At present, volume I of the gradual contains two numeration markings of the leaves. The first pagination is the original one. It uses Roman numerals, which have been written in the middle of the top margin. The second method of pagination is a modern addition, which documents the current state of content and uses Arabic numerals written in pencil in the right bottom corner of each leaf³⁶.

Volume II of the gradual, in the same way as the first, features two methods of foliation: the original one – Roman and the modern one – Arabic. The original foliation appears in the part *Proprium de tempore*. The numbers I to CCLXXXIII have been written in red ink, on *recto* pages, in the middle of the top margin³⁷.

The last part of the gradual, volume III has only the modern foliation. Arabic numerals have been written in pencil *in folio recto* and *in folio verso*, at the bottom of the page between the lines which indicate the outer margin reducing the writing field. Leaves foliation starts with the folio 2 *verso*, featuring a musical and liturgical text - the troped *Kyrie Virginitatis amator* (it does not include the added leaf, the title page and the colophon, and it ends with the folio 215. The other 3 folia of the manuscript in the last single gathering are unwritten.

Additions and palimpsest

Part II and III of the gradual contain additions. In the 17th century, on the last page of the manuscript, after the sequences in volume II was added *alv Propitius esto Domine*. It does not contain any annotation which could provide information about the place where it has been executed. Furthermore, in the part *De Tempore* there is a *palimpsest* in lieu of which another hand than for the rest of the codex has added a psalm for the feast of the Holy Trinity *Domine Dominus noster*. The text of the previous psalm has been thoroughly washed off and at present any trace of it is not visible.

Part III *De Beata* has an addition on the last four leaves (f. 215 v). The duct of the handwriting let us presume that it has been done by another scribe, probably in the 16th century. This addition consists of two chants *Ave Hierarchia caelestis* oraz *Sanctus*.

³⁶ B. Izbicki, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁷ A. Kusiak, op. cit., pp. 17–18.

State of preservation

The section *De Sanctis* is preserved in quite a good state. Nonetheless, it is clearly visible that the manuscript has been used a lot. It is revealed by dirty edges of the leaves. On that account, it can be assumed that the leaves which have been the most used are those on which were written the chants *Ordinarium missae* and the formulary for the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary, starting with the words of the introit *Rorate caeli*.

The section *De Tempore* has suffered a little more damage. The outer cover is cracked, which was mentioned hereinabove. The missing fastening has resulted in a slight warping of the leaves. Traces of handling are notably visible at the bottom right corners, which have been soiled and even chipped off. The first leaf has been rubbed in nine places from metal pieces fixed at the inner side of the binding. Furthermore, the state of preservation of the book is satisfactory.

The parchment leaves of volume III of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* do not show any traces of damage. The corners are not rubbed or trimmed. All the illuminations and the codex binding have been preserved in a very good state.

The above mentioned state of preservation of all three volumes let us presume that the whole gradual has been subject to conservation treatment.

Paleographic analysis

Visual aspect of the leaf

The visual aspect varies slightly in different volumes. The leaves of the first volume of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* measure ca. 76 × 54 cm. The writing field of the text is delimited by margins, usually 10 cm wide. They are marked with two vertical lines throughout the length of the leaf and separated by a 1 cm gap, the inner ones closing the stave within the writing field. On each page there are usually seven staves. If, at the beginning of the stave, there is an initial, then the stave starts after it. Between the double margin lines, the scribe has drawn clefs on the left side and on the right *a custos*. Top margins measure in this book usually 6, 5 cm and the bottom ones 13,5 cm. All the lines, rubrics and leaves numbers have been executed in red³⁸, whereas the liturgical text, neumes, clefs and *custos* have been written in red ink. The leaves containing illuminated initials are decorated with rich floral ornaments on the margins. Similar solutions have been also adopted in subsequent volumes.

³⁸ This corresponds to the Lorraine practices of using colors for the lines. See J. Szendrei, *Notacja liniowa w polskich źródłach chorałowych XII–XVI wieku*, [in:] *Notae musicae artis. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI–XVI wieku*, ed. E. Witkowska-Zaremba, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 1999, p. 213; English-language edition, *Notae musicae artis. Musical Notation in Polish Sources. 11th – 16th Century*, ed. E. Witkowska-Zaremba, Musica Iagellonica, Cracow 2001.

In the second volume of the gradual, parchment leaves measure $75,5 \times 53,5$ cm. Margins sizes usually are as follows: the spine-side and the outer margin 8.5 cm each, the top one 7 cm, and the bottom margin 13 cm. The spine-side and the outer margin have been delimited in the same way as in the first volume, i.e. with two red vertical lines throughout the length of the leaf and separated by a 1 cm gap, between which are placed clefs and custodes. Red and black ink use is identical as in the first volume. Letters with which sentences start are bigger and colored.

Parchment leaves of the third volume measure $74,5 \times 52,5$. The rectangular writing field in which text and melody are written is delimited in the same way as in the previous volumes with the margins: the spine-side and the side margin 10 cm wide. Red vertical lines drawn the length of the leaf are separated by a 1,2 cm gap. Similarly, musical content has been noted on staves which, in case an initial appears, are interrupted. On each page there are usually seven staves. An exceptional derogation can occur in case of a larger rubric annotation, and also the end of the formulary. In the last case, the copyist leaves an empty space and continues the next mass cycle on a new page. The Latin text, neumes, clefs and other musical symbols have been written in black ink while all the lines in red. In the rubrics the copyist made sometimes use of gold leaf. The use of so varied methods of execution has significantly affected the clarity of the manuscript and enhanced the ease of reference in its content.

Textual script

The textual content in all three volumes of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* has been written in Gothic script *littera formata*³⁹, which was usually used for executing liturgical books. The use of this script was coupled with remarkable development of illumination art under the influence of Flemish models at the turn of the 16th and 17th century⁴⁰. In all three volumes the script is executed thoroughly, with the utmost care. Noticeable is the uniformity of duct of the scribe's handwriting, apart from the aforementioned sparse additions. One of the characteristics of the handwriting is that the height prevails over the width. The letters are upright, archs and curves are diminished and replaced with pointed and diamond shapes. The script written in this way, emphasizing strongly the breaking effect, is called *textura* and in its later variant *fraktur littera glossa seu psalteriaris*⁴¹. In the upper and lower part of the letters: i, u, m, n there are two parallel series of small diamonds, sometimes finishing with thin strokes which make joining possible and contrast sharply with thick strokes. Variety is added with detached and hairline strokes and loops, which are an ornate extension of the stems of the letters. The

³⁹ W. Semkowicz, op. cit., p. 349.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 406.

⁴¹ Entry: *Pismo gotyckie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia wiedzy o księżce*, ed. A. Birkenmajer [et al.], Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1971, col. 1864–1867.

script of the codex is compact, word spacing is narrow. Only a long melisma results in separation of the syllables of the words according to their belonging to a group of notes.

Musical script

In all the volumes, musical content has been written on red staves with Central Europe musical notation, which uses Gothized neumes of a mixed Messine-German style. This notation has been developed for the production of big codices in the scriptorium of the Cracow Cathedral and its greatest examples date from the 16th century. According to Janka Szendrei the notation of late-medieval rich Cracow codices has spread more widely, to which the Cracow University has also contributed. At the turn of the 15th and 16th century, other cathedral scriptoria in Poland and some workshops in Hungary⁴² developed under the influence of the output produced in the Wawel scriptorium.

In all the volumes of *Olbracht Gradual*, Gothic notes have been executed in thick pen, the strokes are wide and massive, written very carefully. The fitting of the text to the melody does not raise any objections. The basic element of music notation is a diamond-shaped punctum, which appears as a separate note in the syllabic singing or as a part of a compound neume in neumatic or melismatic singing. It always has the shape of a regular rhombus. In the bottom corner there is often a thin ascending stroke. The main elements of compound neumes are the *punctum* and the *virga*. The *clivis* is representative of the Messine type – it consists of a punctum and a thick stem situated at the right of the *punctum*, with a straight ending in the lower part without being rounded at the bottom. The stem endings are therefore trimmed sections of a straight line. The visual aspect of the *clivis* representing the interval of a second resembles the combination of a *punctum inclinatum* with a *punctum quadratum*. A *pes* consists of two notes – a lower *punctum* and an upper *virga*. The second notehead is placed at the right of the stem. The *climacus* is formed of three descending *puncta* or a *virga* and two *puncta*. The *scandicus* is made of three ascending notes, which represent two *puncta* and a *virga* or a *punctum* and two *virgas*. The *torculus* appears in a special form, in which the first note is accented. The neume consists of two thick vertical side strokes which are united at the top with an arm as thick as the side strokes. This sign is preceded by a rhomboidal *punctum*. The *porrectus* is representative of the Messine type, which consists of a *clivis* and a *virga*. Sometimes the last *virga* note is united to a *clivis* with a barely visible stroke starting from the *virga* head and ending at the *clivis* stem. Another type of a *porrectus* neume is a combination of a *clivis* and a *punctum* or exceptionally the *porrectus* is formed of two *puncta* and a *virga*. The *torculus* and the *porrectus* often appear within longer melismatic sequences in compound groups. They have in that case the added

⁴² J. Szendrei, op. cit., pp. 219–221.

notes *flecsus* or *resupinus* in the form of a *punctum*. They are: *pes subtripunctis*, *scandicus et climacus resupinus* or *flexus*. The neumes which consist of four and more notes are: *podatus et the clivis*, *the clivis et the clivis*, *the climacus et the clivis*, *the climacus et the clivis*, *scandicus et the climacus*. For interpretation purposes, use is made of a *bipunctum* and occasionally a *tripunctum*, both in a rhomboidal form.

In volume II and III, there are two types of clefs, *C* and *F*, which appear separately or together. The first of these clefs usually has the shape of the letter “C”. Sometimes it takes the form of two squares situated one below another, the upper of which has a thin extending line at the right upper corner in an upward direction and the lower square has the same line starting from the right lower corner in a downward direction. A variant of this form of the C clef appears as two squares situated one below another and united on the left with a thin line. The C clef usually appears separately on the fourth or fifth line. Exceptionnaly it occurs alongside the F clef, which usually is placed on the second or third line. Its shape is made of two diamonds placed one below another, the lower of which is finished with a loop with a twist or with a thin line bent to the left. In volume II, apart from the above-mentioned clefs, there is also the G clef, which takes a shape resembling a letter of the alphabet. This clef never occurs separately and is always above the another.

In all the volumes appears the flat. In volume II and III, it occurs as an accidental and always applies to *b*. It is made in a thinner pen and therefore, it is possible that this is a posterior addition. In volume II, the flat appears at the clef as well as in the course of the piece and there is also a natural, which was not originally in the text, i.e. it was added later. The flat and the natural appear only in *Proprium* chants and in the sequences, but they do not appear in *Ordinarium missae* chants.

In *Olbracht Gradual* the use of the *custos* is frequent. It is applied at the end of each five-line stave, between two vertical lines delimiting the margins or exceptionally in the places where there is no enough space due to the notation of a long melisma, it has been written on the margin. Like the clefs and neumes, this sign has been written in black ink. It takes the shape of a rectangle, whose base is the shorter side. The extension of the right side of the rectangle is formed by an extending line – a thin stroke extending the right side in a downward direction. Furthermore, this sign occurs occasionally in the form of two vertical lines extending the longer sides of the rectangle: the left one in an upward direction and the right one in a downward direction. The *custos* which appears in the musical notation of the codex in question is very easy to read, which is certainly due to its square shape contrasting with the rhomboidal shape of the neumes.

In each volume of the gradual there are elements written with a mensural notation. In volume II, in the chants *Agnus Dei* no 15, *Sanctus* no 22 and *Credo* at the top of *punctum* markings have been added rods, which indicate here the use

of rhythmic values twice as short as the basic ones. In volume II, the elements of the mensural notation occur just once in *Credo* chant. The type of notation which appears here is black mensural notation and it makes use of two markings, *semi-brevis* and *minima*. In Polish manuscripts, this notation is very rare. Volume III also contains a rhythmized chant. This is a French sequence *Uterus Virgineus thronus est eburneus*, which dates from the 13th century and was added by another hand on folio 214v. This time the black notation uses such values as *minima*, *brevis* and *longa*.

Illumination

The painted decoration of *Jan Olbracht Gradual* shows an exceptionally high artistic quality, adequate for a royal foundation, they are remarkable for a vast range of forms and techniques and occupy a unique position in the history of Polish art of illumination. On account of their unique artistic value, they have been the subject of numerous publications by experts in art history⁴³. Therefore, in this article I will confine myself to a very general characteristics. The most simple decorative technique consists in the change of ink colour in initial letters. Those which appear in the course of the manuscript or with which new sentences start are executed in a type of majuscule or are an enlarged minuscule. Within this group, the letters with which start Mass formularies are the most ornate. The enclosed fields containing initials are usually filled with floral ornaments or additional strokes or points and various twisting and protruding elements which go beyond onto margins and join with their floral ornaments or transform into stylized acanthus leaves, which gives the letters sometimes a very sophisticated shape.

They have been executed in golden, red, blue and green colours. Apart from colour change and openwork background, another decorative element are multiple breakings and pointed archs applied in originally oval elements, which gives them very sophisticated shapes, resembling diamonds, trapezoids or other geometrical figures. This is typical especially of late-Gothic script⁴⁴.

The highest artistic value is featured by miniature initials, which are in a total number of 36 in *Olbracht Gradual*. They are related to the content of the formularies which they begin. Furthermore, on the title page in volume III are placed two armorial miniatures⁴⁵. Here is a detailed list of miniature initials contained in in different volumes (table no 1).

⁴³ See State-of-the-art report.

⁴⁴ A. Kusiak, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴⁵ See photo no 1, at the end of the paper.

Table no 1. List of miniature initials in *Olbracht Gradual*

Volume I <i>De sanctis</i> ms. 43				
No	Leaf	Initial	Size	Formulary
1	I	int <i>Dominus secus mare</i>	17 × 14 cm	<i>In Vigilia s. Andreae</i>
2	XVIv	int <i>Suscepimus Deus</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>In die Purificationis Mariae</i>
3	XXIX	int <i>Rorate caeli</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>In Annuntiatione Beate Virginis Mariae</i>
4	XLII	int <i>Exclama verunt ad te Domine</i>	17 × 14 cm	<i>Philippi et Iacobi</i>
5	XLIII	int <i>Nos autem gloriari</i>	17 × 14 cm	<i>Inventio Sanctae Crucis</i>
6	LVIII	int <i>Ne timeas Zacharia</i>	17 × 14 cm	<i>N Vigilia s. Iohannis Baptistae</i>
7	LXIII	int <i>Dicit Dominus Petro</i>	17 × 14 cm	<i>Vigilia Petri et Pauli apostolorum</i>
8	LXVIII	int <i>Gaudeamus omnes</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>In Visitationis . In die sancto</i>
9	LXXXVI	int <i>Confessio et pulchritudo</i>	17 × 14 cm	
10	CIIv	int <i>Benedicte Dominum</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>Michaeli Archangeli</i>
11	CXVa v	int <i>Ego autem sicut oliva</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>(Commune apostolorum)</i>
12	CXXV	int <i>Intret in conspectu tuo</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>De martyribus</i>
13	CLV	int <i>Laetabitur iustus</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>De uno martyre</i>
14	CLXXII	int <i>Statuit et Dominus</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>De confessoribus</i>
15	CLXXXVIIIv	int <i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino</i>	24 × 23 cm	<i>De virginibus</i>
Volume II <i>De Tempore</i> ms. 44				
No	Leaf	Initial	Size	Formulary
1	1	<i>Kyrie fons bonitatis</i>	15,4 × 15,4 cm	Begins the first part of <i>ordinarium</i> missae, section <i>Kyrie-Gloria</i>
2	4	<i>Kyrie</i>	15,9 × 15,4 cm	<i>Kyrie</i> chant
3	13	<i>Sanctus</i>	23,3 × 23,1 cm	Begins the second part of <i>Ordinarium</i> missae, section <i>Sanctus-Agnus Dei</i>
4	29 / I	int <i>Ad te levavi</i>	24,6 × 34,7 cm	<i>(Dominica prima Adventus)</i>
5	44 /XLIV	int <i>Puer natus est nobis</i>	23,4 × 23,6 cm	<i>(Nativity of Jesus)</i> <i>Summa missa</i>
6	47v XXXv	int <i>Et enim sederunt principes</i>	15,6 × 15,7 cm	<i>De s. Stephano</i>

Table no 1. List of miniature initials in *Olbracht Gradual* (cont.)

Volume I <i>De sanctis</i> ms. 43				
No	Leaf	Initial	Size	Formulary
7	50 / XXXIII	int <i>In medio ecclesiae</i>	15,8 × 8 cm	<i>De s. Iohane evangelista</i>
8	52 / XXXV	int <i>Ex ore infantium Deus</i>	15 × 14,5 cm	<i>De Innocentibus</i>
9	174v / CXLVIv	int <i>Domine ne longe facias</i>	23,6 × 23,6 cm	<i>Dominica in Ramis Palmarum</i>
10	222 / CXCIV	int <i>Resurrexi et adhuc</i>	23,2 × 23,2	<i>In die Paschae</i>
11	249v / CCXXv	int <i>Viri galilaei</i>	23,6 × 23,2	(<i>Ascensionis Domini</i>) <i>In die sancto</i>
12	254v CCXXVIv	int <i>Spiritus Domini</i>	23,7 × 24,2 cm	<i>Penthecostes</i>
13	CCXXXVI	int <i>Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas</i>	23,7 × 23,7 cm	<i>De s. Trinitate</i>
14	265v CCXXXVIIIv	int <i>Cibavit eos</i>	22,7 × 23,1 cm	<i>De Corpore Christi</i>
15	307 CCLXXXII	int <i>Terribilis est locus</i>	15,2 × 16,2 cm	<i>In Dedicatione Templi</i>
16	310	Sequence <i>Grates nunc imnes</i>	15,7 × 16,8 cm	Begins the sequentionary
Volume II <i>De Beata</i> ms. 42				
No	Leaf	Initial	Size	Formulary
1	2v	<i>Kyrie virginitatis amator inclite</i>	28 × 24,8 cm	Begins the first part of <i>Ordinarium missae</i> , section <i>Kyrie-Gloria</i>
2	17v	<i>Sanctus</i>	23,5 × 23,9 cm	Begins the second part of <i>Ordinarium missae</i> , section <i>Sanctus-Agnus Dei</i>
3	39v	Int <i>Rorate caeli desuper</i>	23,8 × 23,8 cm	(<i>In Annuntiatione BMV</i>)
4	63	Int <i>Salve Sancta Parens</i>	28,1 × 26,1 cm	<i>Salve Sancta Parens</i>
5	124v	Int <i>Si enim credimus</i>	24,5 × 23,5 cm	<i>Officium pro defunctis</i>

The aforementioned miniatures refer to scenes from the New Testament and the manner in which they are presented shows late-Gothic style characteristics which is also reflected in vegetal ornamentation. It includes stylized branches with leaves and flowers, lush tendrils, garlands made of stems with leaves and flowers and animal motifs. Vegetal ornamentation is mainly used for margins.

[...] miniature initials and margin decoration which is closely related to them differ one from the other by their ideological nature. The sacred and the profane meet on the margins – an eternal conflict between good and evil, spiritual order and chaos, spirit and matter. This context is typical of late Gothic atmosphere⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ A. Kusiak, op. cit., p. 33.

Summary

The gradual founded by the king Jan Olbracht, held in the Wawel Chapter Archive in Cracow, belongs to the most valuable monuments of the late medieval Polish culture. The circumstances of production of the gradual are related to the 1500 anniversary of Christianity. The three-volume gradual, which was produced between 1499 and 1506, in the circle of Cracow royal court is an evidence of the utmost importance of this center to the development of Polish culture during this period. As an outstanding and unique piece of art, it has been valued since its production. It is known that the post-Trent reform which has been originated in Poland by Piotrkowski synod resolutions (1577), has made virtually obsolete a vast number of liturgical books. Some manuscripts have been destroyed as *res sacrae* or have been intended to be waste paper.

Olbracht Gradual was held, though, in the Wawel Cathedral treasury because of valuable covers, beautiful calligraphy and painted decoration and on account of the founder, who was Jan Olbracht⁴⁷.

In the aforementioned documents of the inventory of the Wawel Cathedral, the manuscript in question is called *praeclara manu scriptum et illuminatum, sumptu Ioannis Alberti, regis*⁴⁸.

The establishment of the date of production of *Olbracht Gradual* was not difficult as it contains a colophon, which provides information on the date of completion of the last volume, on June 26, 1506. Furthermore, it reveals the name of the king Jan Olbracht and also of the royal commissioner Jan Jordan and of two scribes Stanisław z Buku and Tomek. The dimensions of different volumes of the gradual make it possible to classify all its volumes as a format designated with the symbol 2° and called *forma regalis*. The covers of all three volumes have late-Gothic characteristics and their decoration has a royal nature. The content of all the volumes has been written on Northern parchment *charta theutnica*. The textual content has been written in Gothic script *littera formata*, called fraktur – *littera glossa sen psalterialis*. Music notation is executed in Central Europe notation which is typical of Polish notations made in Cracow, Gniezno and Płock dioceses as well as of the *Gradual from Wiślica*. In some rare cases, use is made of mensural system elements for the notation of monophonic chant. Each of the volumes has its own block structure. Volume I has 51 gatherings, which usually are *quaternions*. An analysis of the contents has shown that the ending of the last sequence *Haec sancta* is missing and that the leaves XCVIII and XCIX are cut off. Volume II consists of 58 gatherings, called *ternions*. In the gathering 44, one leaf has been cut off, the one where was written the verse *Benedictus es Domine* of the gradual and the initial *Alleluia*, for the feast of the Holy Trinity. Volume

⁴⁷ B. Miodońska, *Malopolskie malarstwo...*, p. 25.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

III has an irregular structure of quires. In most cases they are *quaternions*. An analysis of the contents has not shown any losses, only an error of the copyist, who omitted the verse *Alleluia – Assumpta est Maria*, which is the reason why he placed it at the end, after the sequences. The first volume of the gradual has two numeration markings of the leaves in the form of the original pagination, in Roman numerals and the modern one in Arabic numerals. Volume two, in the same way as the first, has two methods of foliation – Roman and Arabic, the first of which is the original one. In the last volume has been introduced only the modern foliation, in Arabic numerals. Part II and III of the gradual contain additions and part II also contains a palimpsest. Instead of the chant which has been washed off has been added a psalm for the feast of the Holy Trinity *Domine Dominus noster*. Furthermore, this volume has the addition in the form of alv *Propitius esto Domine*. In part III *De Beata* additions occur on the last four leaves (starting with f. 215 v). They consist of two chants *Ave Hierarchia caelestis* and *Sanctus*.

A good state of preservation of all three volumes let us presume that the whole gradual must have been subject to conservation treatment. The value of this monument is also determined by the artistry of its execution - unprecedented, in Polish manuscript art, illuminations inspired by Flemish art of this period, artistically executed. They are a significant moment in the history of Polish art of illumination.

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Streszczenie

Badania chorału gregoriańskiego w Polsce są potrzebne dla ustalenia genezy, specyfiki i odrębności polskiej kultury muzycznej, która wyrosła na fundamencie twórczości europejskiej. Śledzenie rozwoju chorału w Polsce jest również interesujące ze względu na jego wpływ na inne formy muzyki religijnej, które rozwijają się u nas już od XIV wieku. Poza tym badania te mają jeszcze inny ważny aspekt, mianowicie chodzi o uzupełnienie ogólnego piśmiennictwa muzykologicznego informacjami zawartymi w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych. Zachodnioeuropejskie publikacje przedstawiają bowiem naszą kulturę mediewistyczną czasem jednostronnie, nie uwzględniając rezultatów dociekań polskich muzykologów w tym zakresie. Analizy źródłoznawcze polskich średniowiecznych rękopisów liturgicznych szczególnie znaczenie posiadają dziś, ponieważ zachował się w Polsce jedynie mały procent dawnego ich zasobu, o czym świadczą niezaprzeczalnie informacje zawarte w dawnych inwentarzach bibliotecznych i aktach wizytacji biskupich. Przedmiotem niniejszego artykułu jest opis zewnętrzny trzytomowego *Graduału Jana Olbrachta*. W rozwiązaniu niniejszej problematyki wykorzystałam heurystykę, typową metodę stosowaną w pierwszym etapie badań źródłoznawczych. W artykule obejmuje ona najpierw omówienie literatury przedmiotu. Dalej przedstawiam opis zewnętrzny kodeksu, na który składają się okoliczności i czas powstania graduału, format biblioteczny, opis opraw wszystkich trzech tomów, materiał pisarski, struktura wewnętrzna bloków poszczególnych ksiąg oraz ich ubytki, foliacja, dopisy i palimpsest, a także stan zachowania. Ostatnią część artykułu stanowi analiza paleograficzna, w której poruszam następujące kwestie: obraz graficzny karty, pismo literackie i muzyczne oraz zdobnictwo.

Słowa kluczowe: średniowieczna muzyka polska, muzyka liturgiczna, liturgia w katedrze wawelskiej, średniowieczne manuskrypty, Graduał Jana Olbrachta, Archiwum Kapitulne na Wawelu.



Photo no 1. Jan Olbracht Gradual, volume III *De Beata* ms. 42. Title page

Item Serenissimus dominus Johanne
nes Albertus. Rex polonie et felix
memorie salutis memor: inter cetera
sua salutariq; opera verbes noto-
rimum memoriale triplex videlicet
opus gradualis conscribi notariq;
impensis reatibus mandavit. pro
honore omnipotētis dei et altissime
virginis. Marie et beatissimi pontificis
Stanslar de regē ecclesie
eiusdem. Oretur igitur dominus deus
ut eundem iam defunctū: seipso merito
parabili mercede remuneratus faciat
Successoresq; eiusdē sequentes operum
suaūq; diuini zelatores faciat. An
Completio opis Anno xvi. Mille
simo Quingentesimo Sexto In
Crastino Conuisionis Scti Pauli
Scti. Scti. notis
Scti. Scti. notis



Photo no 3. Jan Olbracht Gradual, volume III *De Beata* ms. 42. The troped *Kyrie virginitatis amator*



Photo no 4. *Jan Olbracht Gradual*, volume III *De Beata* ms. 42. Miniature initial beginning the section *Sanctus-Agnus Dei*