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Gradual of Bolesław II of Mazovia (19 Fragments)

1310-1313

Physical Description

SIGNATURES:

Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum (Muzeum XX Czartoryskich), Rr. 4922-4940 (olim: XV/rys/2271-XV/rys/2289). Each leaf received a separate signature, given in 1931 during the stocktaking of the Museum. The signatures runs from Rr. 4922 (olim: XV/rys/2271) until 4940 (XV/rys/2289).

FORM: 19 parchment fragments (from leaves and fragments of leaves), disjointed and not bounded together. The state in which these 19 fragments survive, with the evidence of medieval foliation (see FOLIATION) and binding strips (see QUIRING), renders it clear that they came from a substantial liturgical book. The fragments preserve musical notation in square notes on four lines of the Proper chants of the Mass (see below MUSICAL NOTATION). These are mostly fragments of chants for different feasts throughout the liturgical year (see below CONTENT). The codex was lavishly decorated. (see below DECORATION) Some leaves were also used as binding covers for other manuscripts (see BINDING). Therefore, **the 18 or 19 fragments (more on this see HAND) come from a parchment codex containing the Roman Gradual.**

BINDING: No medieval binding for the 19 fragments was preserved but only binding strips (see QUIRING). One leaf, R. 4925, was inserted into the binding of the Gradual or other manuscript. Its outer top margins was cut.

DIMENSIONS IN MM: Each fragment has different dimensions, therefore, the size of the each fragment will be provided in the description of the CONTENT. Nevertheless, based on R. 4923 which presumably preserved the whole leaf from a manuscript, the reconstructed

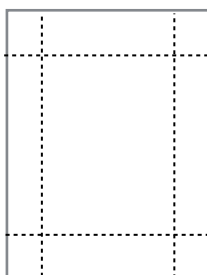
Gradual could have had following dimensions: more than 366 x 266 mm (the miniature is slightly cut), with the written space 250 x 170 mm.

FOLIATION: The Gradual could have been foliated as it is witnessed by the Roman numbers written with a red ink placed in the fragments which contain the top outer recto margin of the leaves. The signs of this late medieval foliation could be found on R. 4924 r, R. 4928 r, R. 4929 r, and R. 4939 r .

QUIRING: It is not possible to reconstruct the exact quiring of the Gradual. Based on the rest of the binding strips (R. 4933, R. 4925) it is only possible to state that the leaves were gathered in the substantial manuscript. However, there are neither quire signatures, nor catchwords.

LAYOUT: With the exception of the R. 4925 all 18 other fragments are ruled in the same style with full-length vertical lines written with a red ink. The ruling serves both for the musical notation as well as the text of the prayers. A group of the four lines serves for the placement of the musical notation and the one line beneath them serves as a ruling for the text. In total one can distinguish the group of five lines ruling the text and musical notation. There is a free place between each group of five lines. The space between groups differs on different fragments. The text is in one column, based on the preserved full leaf, there were 8 lines per leaf with musical notation placed above the text. Pricking is visible in the margins of R. 4926v and R. 4928r. Horizontally (starting with left), the divisions could have been as follows: 46 mm + 170 mm + 50 mm = 266 mm. Vertically (starting from the top), the divisions are as follows: 62 mm + 250 mm + 54 mm= 366 mm. For both cases, the measures are inverted between the recto and the verso side, as follows:

Recto Side



Verso Side



The layout of the R. 4925 is not possible to reconstruct. However, it is possible to claim that instead of a group of four lines for the musical notation and one line for the text, the ruling on R. 4925 is consequent and the lines occupy whole preserved fragment between spaces between the groups as it occurs in other fragments. The ruling was made with a red ink like in the other parchment leaves.

SCRIPT: Gothic textura, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, close to the textualis used in Germany. Rather small amount of abbreviations and ligatures, the use of flex. The use of red and black ink, as well as gold layers.

HANDS: All the fragments with the exception of one (R. 4925r-v) were written by the same hand (A). R. 4925r-v is also a Gothic textura but written by a distinctly different hand (B), presumably later because the script is less angular than the scribe A. The text is written on the lines ruled for the musical notation which look different than in the other fragments (see LAYOUT). Therefore, it is possible that:

- this parchment leaf was added to the group of other 18 fragments but did not belong to the same Gradual,
- the parchment leaf was added to the Gradual at some point before the partition of the manuscript,
- the parchment leaf was initially blank and was a part of the cover of the Gradual (see BINDING), and only later the leaf was ruled and written.

The corrections of the text were made by the hand A.

PUNCTUATION: Rather rare use of punctuation, mostly period which ends the liturgical parts and comma dividing the clauses. Different punctuation on R. 4922 where period was placed after each name of the official.

MUSICAL NOTATION: musical notation in square notes on four lines, characteristic for northern France. The monophony characteristic for the circles of Benedictines and Dominicans.

CORRECTIONS: There are many corrections of the musical notation: R. 4922 r, R. 4923v, 4924r, 4924v, 4927r, 4927v, 4928r, 4928v, R 4929r, R 4929v. Sometimes the notation was corrected in a way that does not enable to perform the chant, especially above the names

of the officials in R. 4922r. There are also corrections of the text: 4924r, R. 4937v. Some mistakes were not corrected, i.e., on R. 4922r the scribe wrote *nosro* instead of *nostro*.

DECORATION: Manuscript must have been lavishly decorated. The gold is used in script and initials on the following fragments: 4922 r, 4924r, 4927r, R. 4930r, R. 4931r. The pen-flourishing was also used to decorate the initials: 4922 r, R. 4923 v, 4926v, 4927v, R. 4930r, R. 4931r, R. 4931v, R. 4935r, R. 4935v, R. 4936r, R. 4937r, R. 4937v, R. 4939r, R. 4939v, R. 4940r, R. 4940v). There are also three miniatures preserved: full leaf miniature of the descent of Jesus to Hell (R. 4923r), and two others miniatures placed in the initials presenting: king David (R. 4928r) and one of the Old Testament prophets (R 4929 r).

CONDITION: Although the parchment leaves were preserved only in fragments, they are in very good conditions. There are neither ink stains, nor holes, nor tears. The destruction of the parchment leaves of the once complete Gradual seemed to be conducted by the modern collectors of art and antiquities because the fragments are cut diligently in a very similar fashion, sometimes they have even the same size.

Content

INTRODUCTORY REMARK: The content of the manuscript will be presented in the order as it could have been placed in the manuscript, not according to the signatures given by Princes Czartoryski Museum. The signatures did not take into account the order of the medieval book but were attributed randomly. Moreover, the content presents the reconstruction of the possible text which could have been written on the lost parts of the parchment leaves. The reconstruction (together with punctuation) is given according to the edition of Tadeusz Maciejewski¹. By each signature I provide the dimension of each fragment.

PROPRIUM DE TEMPORE

◆ R. 4928 verso (olim: XV/rys/2277 verso) 196 mm x 153 mm
In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini

¹ Tadeusz Maciejewski, "Graduał Bolesława II Mazowieckiego," *Musica Medii Aevi* 6 (1977): 10–16.

Grad. Hodie scietis, quia veniet Dominus...

V. Qui regis Israel intende, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph...

◆ R. 4928 recto

Comm. Revelabitur gloria Domini et videbit omnia caro salutare Dei nostri

In Nativitate Domini. Ad primam missam.

Intr. Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus et tu, ego hodie genui te.

Ps. Quare fremuerunt gentes...

◆ R. 4929 verso (olim: XV/rys/2278) 197 x 153 mm

Grad. Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae...

V. Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis: Donec ponam inimicos tuos

◆ R 4929 recto

Offert. Laetentur coeli, et exsultet terra ante faciem Domini, quoniam venit

Comm. In splendoribus sanctorum, ex utero ante luciferum genui te

In Nativitate Domini. Ad secundam missam.

Intr. Lux fulgebit hodie super nos...

◆ R. 4924 recto (olim: XV/rys/2273) 385 x 255 mm

S. Stephani Protomartyris

Offert. Elegerunt Apostoli Stephanum levitam... accipe spiritum meum, alleluia.

Comm. Video coelos apertos et Jesum stantem a dextris virtutis Dei...

S. Joannis Evangelistae

Intr. In medio ecclesiae aperuit os ejus et implevit eum

◆ R. 4924 verso

Dominus spiritu sapientiae et intellectus, stola gloriae induit eum...

Ps. Bonum est confiteri Domino, et psallere nomini tuo Altissimo...

Grad. Exiit sermo inter fratres, quod discipulus ille non moritur.

V. Sed sic eum volo manere, donec veniam, tu me sequere.

All. V. Hic est discipulus ille...

◆ R. 4926 recto (olim: XV/rys/2275) 172 x 153 mm

In Epiphania Domini

Intr. Ecce advenit dominator Dominus: et regum in manu ejus et postestas et imperium.

Ps. Deus, judicium tuum regi da: et justitiam tuam Filio Regis.

◆ R. 4926 verso

All. V. Vidimus stellam ejus in oriente et venimus...

- ◆ R 4930 recto (olim: XV/rys/2279) 199 x 153 mm
Sabbato Sancto
Exultet jam Angelica turba coelorum... Laetetur et mater Ecclesia, tanti luminis
- ◆ R. 4930 verso
adornata fulgoribus: et magnis populorum vocibus haec aula resultet. Quapropter
astantes vos... ad noctis hujus caliginem destruendam, indeficiens
- ◆ R. 4922 recto (olim: XV/rys/2271) 202 x 264 mm
perseveret. Ut in odorem suavitatis acceptus, supernis luminaribus misceatur.
Flammas ejus lucifer matutinus inveniet... una cum beatissimo Papa nostro N, et
Antistite nostro
- ◆ R. 4922 verso
Iohanne et gloriosissimo duce nostro (sic) BOLESLAO cum liberis suis Siemouito et
Wancone quiete temporum concessa, in his paschalibus gaudiis, assidua protectione
regere, gubernare, et conservare digneris...
- ◆ R. 4923 verso (olim: XV/rys/2272) 366 x 266 mm
Dominica Resurrectionis
Processio
Crucifixum in carne laudate et sepultum propter vos glorificate, resurgentem que a
morte adorate.
Nolite metuere dico vobis, quia ille quem queritis mortuum jam vivit et vita hominum
cum eo surrexit.
Sacerdos: Recordamini, quomodo predixit, quia oportet filium hominis crucifigi et tertia
die a morte suscitari, alleluia.
- ◆ R. 4923 recto
Illumination: Descent of Jesus to Hell
- ◆ R. 4931 verso (olim: XV/rys/2380) 153 x 200 mm
In Vigilia Ascensionis
Offert. Viri Galilaei, quid admiramini aspicientes in coelum hic Jesus...
Comm. Pater cum essem cum eis, ego servabam eos, quos dedisti mihi, alleluia: nunc
autem ad te venio: non rogo
- ◆ R. 4931 recto
ut tollas eos de mundo, sed ut serves eos a malo, alleluia, alleluia.
In Ascensione Domini
Intr. Viri Galilaei, quid admiramini aspicientes in coelum, alleluia, quemadmodum

vidistis eum ascendentem in coelum.

Dominica Pentecostes

- ◆ R. 4927 recto (olim: XV/rys/2276) 191 x 257 mm

Intr. Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, alleluia et hoc, quod continet omnia scientiam habet vocis alleluia, alleluia, alleluia

- ◆ R. 4927 verso

All. V. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renovabis faciem terrae.

All. V. Veni, Sancte Spiritus...

Sabbato Quatuor Temp. Pentecostes

- ◆ R. 4939 recto (olim: XV/rys/2288) 200 x 153 mm

All. V. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes et collaudate eum omnes populi.

Offert. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terrae: sit gloria Domini in saecula, alleluia.

In Festo Sanctissimae Trinitatis

- ◆ R. 4939 verso

Intr. Benedicta sit, sancta Trinitas, atque indivisas Unitas: confitebimur ei, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Ps. Benedicamus Patrem...

- ◆ R. 4937 verso (olim: XV/rys/2286) 200 x 154 mm

Grad. Benedictus es...

V. Benedictus es Dominus... laudabilis in saecula.

All. V. Benedictus es, Domine Deus patrum nostrum, et laudabilis in saecula.

Offert. Benedictus sit Deus Pater, unigenitusque Dei Filius, Sanctus quoque Spiritus: quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

- ◆ R. 4937 recto

Comm. Benedicimus Deum coeli et coram omnibus viventibus confitebimur ei, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Dominica I post Pentecosten

Intr. Domine, in tua misericordia speravi: exsultavit cor meum in salutari tuo...

Dominica XXIII post Pentecosten

- ◆ R. 4932 recto (olim: XV/rys/2281) 200 x 153 mm

Comm. Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis, credite, quia accipietis et fiet vobis.

In Anniversario Dedicationis Ecclesiae

Intr. Terribilis est locus iste: hic domus Dei est porta coeli: et vocabitur aula Dei.

Ps. Quam dilecta...

◆ R. 4932 verso

Grad. Locus iste a Deo factus est, inaestimabile sacramentum irreprehensibilis est.

V. Deus, cui adstat Angelorum chorus, exaudi preces servorum tuorum.

All. V. Vox exultacionis...

PROPRIUM SANCTORUM

23 Junii. In Vigilia S. Johannis Baptistae

◆ R. 4933 verso (olim: XV/rys/2282) 200 x 154 mm

Intr. Ne timeas Zacharia... et vocabis nomen ejus Joannem et erit magnus coram Domino...

Ps. Domine, in virtute tua laetabitur rex et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer.

Grad. Fuit homo misus a Deo, cui nomen Joannes erat

◆ R. 4933 recto

hic venit.

V. Ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine et parare Domino plebem perfectam

24. Junii. In Festo Nativitatis S. Joannis Baptistae

Intr. De ventre matris meae vocavit me dominus nomine meo et posuit os meum ut gladium acutum...

28 Junii. In Vigilia SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli

◆ R. 4935 recto (olim: XV/rys/2284) 200 x 153 mm

Offert. Mihi autem nimis... nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.

Comm. Simon Joannis, diligis me plus his? Domine, tu omnia nosti: tu scis, Domine, quia amo te.

29 Junii. In Festo Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli

Intr. Nunc scio vere, quia misit dominus Angelum suum...

◆ R. 4935 verso

Grad. Constitues eos principes super omnem terram, memores erunt nominis tui Domine.

V. Pro patribus tuis nati sunt, tibi filii propterea populi confitebuntur tibi.

ORDINARIUM MISSAE

- ◆ R. 4940 recto (olim: XV/rys/2289) 200 x 153 mm
Kyrie IV (Cunctipotens Genitor Deus)
Kyrie XII (Pater cuncta)
- ◆ R. 4940 verso
Kyrie leyson, Christe leyson, Kyrie leyson, Kyrie leyson
- ◆ R. 4938 recto (olim: XV/rys/2287) 200 x 153 mm
Credo in unum Deum...
- ◆ R. 4938 verso
substantialem Patri... Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto...

PROSARIUM

- ◆ R. 4934 verso (olim: XV/rys/2283) 200 x 154 mm
In Ascensione Domini Nostri
Rex omnipotens die hodierna...
- ◆ R. 4934 recto
... Judex, dum veneris, judicare saeculum, da nobis quesumus sempiternam requiem in
sanctorum patria.
De Sancto Spiritu
Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia....
Feria secunda
- ◆ R. 4936 recto (olim: XV/rys/2285) 200 x 155 mm
Veni, Spiritus aeternorum alme... sic duce te previo valeamus scandere.
De sanctissima Trinitate
Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas, deitas scilicet unica...
- ◆ R. 4936 verso
non tres tamen Dii sunt, Deus verus unus est, sic Pater Dominus, filius, spirtusque
sanctus
Proprietas in personi, unitas est et in essencia... quem tremunt impia tartara, colit
quoque quem et abyssus infima...
De Beata. In Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis
Alle celeste nec non et perenne alleluja...

- ◆ R. 4925 verso (olim: XV/rys/2274) 373 x 246 mm (about this parchment leaf: See HAND)
fit mox puelle verbis ... solve dans regna
- ◆ R. 4925 recto
mater casta, nostra crimina... gaudet per climata orbis ecclesia...

History

DATING AND PROVENANCE: The R. 4922 preserved the names of the duke Bolesław and his two sons: Siemowit and Wańko together with the bishop John (Jan). Based on these names it is clear that the manuscript was produced for the Mazovian duke Bolesław (d. 1313) who ruled the duchy of Mazovia from 1275 until 1311. During his reign there were two bishops with the name John: Jan Wysoki (1297-1310) and Jan Nałęcz (1310-1317). Therefore, the manuscript had to be produced between 1297 and 1313.

However, it seems that is possible to make more precise dating. In the prayer there is no mention of the wives of Bolesław, Sophie-Gaudemund (d. before 1291) with whom the duke had Siemowit (d. 1345) and another son who is not mentioned in the prayer – Trojden (d. 1341). Similarly there is no mention of the second wife of Bolesław – Kunegunda (d. 1321) with whom the duke had the youngest son Wańko (d. 1336) who was mentioned in the prayer. Kunegunda was expelled by duke Bolesław before 1300, which might be the reason why she was not mentioned in the prayer.²

Regarding the omission of Trojden, the only possible way of explaining why the second son of the first wife was not included in the prayer would be by referring to the political

² Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, ed. Marek Górny, (Poznań-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 1998), 19-23; Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Na rozstajnych drogach. Mazowsze a Małopolska w latach 1138-1313* (Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pomorskiej, 2012), 265-269; Janusz Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich: studia nad dziejami politycznymi Mazowsza, intytulacją i genealogią książąt* (Warszawa: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, 2012), 53-55; Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, *Bolesław II Mazowiecki: Na szlakach ku jedności (ok. 1253/58-24 IV 1313)*, (Kraków: Avalon, 2015), 76-102.

context and his position. In the time between 22.02.1310 and 28.02.1311 Trojden was granted the duchy of Czersk, part of the historic region of Mazovia, and adopted the ducal title,³ whereas during this time Siemowit and Wańko, until 1313, were not named dukes.⁴ Thus, it seems that, as an independent duke, Trojden was not included in the prayer in the duchy of Mazovia (*stricto sensu*), which was under the government of Bolesław and his two other children.

If this is the correct explanation of the missing commemoration for Trojden, then **the production of Mazovian Gradual would have to be placed between 1310, date of the elevation of Trojden, and 1313, when Bolesław II died.**

The script of the manuscript can not be easily attributed to any Polish characteristic scriptorium at the turn of the fourteenth century as there is not enough material for the comparison. However, based on the musical notation Tadeusz Maciejewski stated that the Mazovian Gradual was written abroad in the circles of Benedictine and Dominican, monophony, somewhere in the Meuse region, and adapted to the local use in Mazovia by placing in Płock the names of the officials.⁵

The explanation of Maciejewski is not convincing. First of all, the style of the script of the golden and black letters on R. 4922r is very similar, if not identical. Second, the correction of the musical notation could be encountered also on other fragments of the Gradual, not only on the parchment leaf with the prayer for the duke.⁶ Third, the pen flourishing of the name *BOLESLAO* is very similar to the ornamentation of the word *Vidimus* on other fragment.⁷ Therefore, in order to accept Maciejewski's hypothesis one needs to assume

³ The charter with the ducal title of Trojden: *Codex diplomaticus Masoviae novus*, vol. 2: *Annorum 1248-1355*, ed. Irena Sułkowska-Kuraś, Stanisław Kuraś, Kazimierz Pacuski, Hubert Wajs (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989), no. 126: *dux Chyrnensis et dominus Secechouiensis*.

⁴ On the titulatures of the Bolesław's sons see Grabowski, *Dynastia Piastów mazowieckich*, 56-63.

⁵ Maciejewski, "Graduał Bolesława II Mazowieckiego," 7–35.

⁶ Graduał Bolesława II Mazowieckiego, R. 4923; 4924; 4927; 4928; 4929; 4937.

⁷ Graduał Bolesława II Mazowieckiego, R. 4926.

that the scribes in Płock were able to correct the musical notation (although not entirely correctly) and place the golden letters in a very similar script to that used in the main text, as well as to decorate the duke's name with the same pen flourishing as used in the ornamentation of other initial of the Gradual. This seems dubious since all the activities attributed to the scribes of Płock would also require a refining technique.

Therefore, I hold that all insertion of the proper names of the officials with pen flourishing around the word BOLESŁAO occurred in the very same place where all other parts of the manuscript were produced – rather in Płock – the cultural and intellectual center of Mazovia, where production of the manuscripts can be noticed much earlier, and where the presented type of pen flourishing in *Exultet* was not very refine in comparison with the centers of manuscripts production⁸. **Therefore, the hypothetical place of the production of the manuscript is Płock.**

The supposition of the production of the manuscript in Płock would not cast into doubt the relation of the Gradual with the Meuse region, as recognized by Maciejewski based on his musicological evidence. However, I would like to recall that the strongest influence of northern France in the Płock bishopric took place in the twelfth century, when the pontiff Alexander of Mallone contributed to the cultural and artistic renewal of the dioceses. The bronze doors of Płock were confected then, the cathedral was rebuilt, and new liturgical books were imported as well.⁹ Therefore, I would like to suggest that the influences of the Meuse region, as visible in the Gradual, could come from liturgical books which were imported earlier and used for the production of the Gradual around 1300. Therefore the

⁸ Sonia Patterson, "Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: a Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-century Manuscripts," *Library* 27/1 (1972): 23-30; Sonia Patterson, "The flourished initials," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981): 59-66; Patricia Stirnemann, "Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisiennes: 1140-1314," *Revue de l'Art* 90 (1990): 58-73.

⁹ Krzysztof Skwierczyński, "The beginnings of the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Poland in the light of the Płock accounts of miracles from 1148," *Studi medievali Ser. 3*, 53 (2012): 117-121, 128-129, 133-135, 145-146, 159-161; Ryszard Knapiński, "Die romanische Tür von Płock in Welikij Nowgorod in Russland als Glaubensbekenntnis in der Kunst," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 22 (2013): 191-201.

melody resembles Benedictine monophony from northern France, and the paleographical evidences suggest that the manuscript was produced in one place.

The Gradual was produced for the duchy of Mazovia but there is neither evidence of the medieval usage of this manuscript in Płock, nor ownership marks. Nevertheless, according to Alfred von Sallet, professor from the University in Breslau (now Wrocław), who shortly before 1885 acquired the manuscript from Berlin, the Gradual was transported in the nineteenth century from Poland to Berlin, possibly after the partition of the Polish kingdom by Prussia after 1795. After the death of A. Sallet the Princes Czartoryski Museum purchased in 1898 the Gradual from a widow of the professor from Breslau, Pauline von Sallet. **Since 1898 the Gradual is preserved in the Princes Czartoryski Museum.**

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