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Alleluia of Easter Cycle in Medieval Poland

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ALLELUIA OF EASTER CYCLE IN MEDIEVAL POLAND

The subject of my study are *alleluia* versicles for Sundays and feasts since Lord's Resurrection to the church year end. Paying attention to that period was dictated by its specificity, depending upon significant differentiation both of repertory and of sequence of *alleluia* verses occurrence in single, or in groups of manuscripts. Such variability differentiates Easter period from Advent and Christmas, where *alleluia* chant list proves, in substance, in the whole Europe, the standard character. The discussed problem is of great importance for the researches concerning Polish musical culture in Middle Ages. Its resolution will permit to differentiate several dissimilar compositions in our manuscripts, to establish their genetical connections with European liturgical traditions and to catch the eventual characteristics of home tradition.*

The source material are conventual and diocesan graduals, localized at present in Poland. Some of them, for example *Missale Plenarium* ms 149 from BKapGn or ms. B 1714 from BUWr are indeed foreign manuscripts, but most of them — according to later footnotes — were used in our liturgical practice. The example is ms. w.c.n. from BSPł.¹ Moreover, they are interesting comparative material in resolving the problem and the establishment of different *alleluia* structures and will permit, to a large degree, to establish more precisely their provenience.

* **List of abbreviations:** AAP — Diocesan Archiv in Poznań, AL — Civic Archiv in Łódź, BBZ — Benedictin Library at Zarnowiec, BDKr — Dominican Library in Kraków, BKapGn — Capitulary Library at Gniezno, BKapKr — Capitulary Library in Kraków, BKapWr — Capitulary Library in Wrocław, BN — National Library in Warszawa, BNParis — National Library in Paris, BNorbł — Premonstratensian Library at Imbramowice, BOssol — Ossoliński Library in Wrocław, b.s. = w.c.n. — without coll number, b.s.Cioł — Graduale from Ciołek from Seminary Library in Płock, BSałCzerw — Salesian Library at Czerwińsk, BSKce — Seminary Library in Kielce, BSP — Seminary Library at Pelplin, BSPł — Seminary Library in Płock, BSWł — Seminary Library in Włocławek, BUWr — University Library in Wrocław, MDS — Diocesan Museum at Sandomierz, MDT — Diocesan Museum in Tarnów.

¹ J. Pikulik, *Gradual płocki*, Muzyka 18 (1973) nr 2, p. 95—99.

Short historical outline

In the first place some information concerning the etymological meaning and place of *alleluia* in western practice². The word is composed of two Hebraic terms, namely — *hallelu* (2 person of plural number in imperative mood of the verb “*hillel*”) and *Yah* (abbreviation of the saint name Yahweh) means “praise Lord”³. Together with *Amen* and *Hosanna*, this word was not translated into other liturgical languages. It initiated and closed several psalms, especially 113—118, in Old Testament, hence was called the Great Hallel. *Alleluia* occurs in Tobias’ book (13, 18) as joyous chant and as thanksgiving in Apocalypse (19, 1—6). We meet it in ps. 105, 110—112, 134—135, 145, 148—150, where — similarly to Great Hallel — it played the refrain function. Cantor continued the singing of successive psalm verses and people repeated *alleluia* after each of them.

At the present research stage, it is still difficult to establish when and in what a form and scope, the *alleluia* chant was introduced into Mass liturgy. Tertulian reminds, about the year 200, that Christianity took it over from synagogue, together with responsorial way of performance⁴. St. Jerome writes that *alleluia* was performed at the end of the 4th century in Jerusalem and in Rome⁵. Similarly as in Old Testament liturgy it had the character of joyous call. An event in northern Africa, at the beginning of the 5th century seems to prove the responsorial performance. On Easter cantor sang *alleluia* at ambo, before the liturgical congregation. An arrow had fallen through church window, pierced his neck and killed him at once⁶. St. Augustine⁷ handles the *alleluia* problem in a specific way and with great emotion. At first he finds that *alleluia* is applied in church practice all the world round, as it is the churches need. Because of the rich melismatics, he calls it *iubilatio*, and the performance — *iubilare sine verbis*. It symbolizes the joyous soul elevation, not to be uttered in words only. Doctor of Grace handed also down the valuable information, that *alleluia* was sung extra church too, namely by sailors, fishermen and peasants. He reminds, at the same time, that folk songs — named by him *celeuma* are of the same character as *alleluia*, in other words, *alleluia* melodies are folk songs. Moreover, St. Jerome⁸ and Venerable Bede⁹ stress the same connection.

² Literature see: B. Stäblein, *Alleluja*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Vol. 1, Kassel—Basel 1949—1951, column 331—350; K. H. Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, München 1965, p. 1—9.

³ A. Vincent, *Lexique biblique*, Maredsous 1964, p. 23.

⁴ PL 1, 1194.

⁵ PL 22, 491.

⁶ PL 58, 197.

⁷ PL 36, 177; 37, 1272; 37, 1419; 40, 680 and others.

⁸ PL 9, 425.

⁹ PL 95, 49 and following.

St. Jerome¹⁰ and Cassiodor¹¹ prove the links in performance of *alleluia* with psalms. In their reports we hear always about cantors and community of believers, about intonation and answer. In such sense we have to interpret Jerome's note about Fabiola's funeral, where sounded psalms and *alleluia*. That is the evidence, that Rome assumed the customs of eastern church, which used *alleluia* in liturgy for defuncts. However, St. Augustine's¹² and Cassiodor's¹³ writings prove, that in western church *alleluia* was omitted during Lent. Its "return" took place on Easter feast. Such custom, dissimilar to eastern one, gave to the chant the character of paschal joy, the more that it was prolonged for 50 days after resurrection. However, the problem of its application scope is not yet solved. In eastern and old-Spanish liturgies, *alleluia* was sung besides Easter period. The same was most probably true as concerned Ambrosian and Gallican liturgies. According to Cassiodor, Rome used it only on the first day of Easter¹⁴. This custom — faught violently by St. Jerome¹⁵ — was also known to Sozomenos¹⁶. In the 6th century essential changes had to take place. It is proved by the famous St. Gregory's the Great letter to John bishop of Syracuse from the year 598¹⁷. Pope defends himself against Sicilian charge, that by introducing *alleluia* after Pentecost, he had copied the Greek custom. He explains his addressee, that the chant was introduced to the Roman liturgy from Jerusalem just by St. Jerome, during Damasius' pontificate. Out of the further Gregory I pronouncement it results, that he himself limited its application. Most probably it was the problem of prolonging Lent by pre-Lent period, when *alleluia* chant was forbidden. As the result of Gregorian reform there occurred presumably also the shortening of psalm singing to one, or several verses. P. Wagner's¹⁸ and Blume's¹⁹ opinion, that St. Gregory's statement *illam consuetudinem amputavimus* concerned the shortage of too much extended melisms, is not proved by the present investigations.

Medieval *alleluia* versicles may be divided into two groups. To the first group belong chants developed most probably in the 6th century. They are the oldest repertory. Here we find *Dies sanctificatus* from the third Mass on Christmas, the melody of which was many times adapted to the other texts, among others to the solemnities of St. Stephen, John Evangelist, St. John the Baptist, or Peter and Paul, moreover *Te decet, Venite exultemus, Quoniam Deus* and *Paratum cor* for Sundays after Pentecost. The next group

¹⁰ PL 22, 697.

¹¹ PL 70, 742.

¹² PL 37, 938; 38, 1051 and others.

¹³ PL 70, 753.

¹⁴ PL 69, 1156 and following.

¹⁵ PL 23, 339.

¹⁶ PG 67, 1476.

¹⁷ PL 77, 955—8; J. Czuj, *Św. Grzegorz — Listy*, Vol. 3, Warszawa 1955, p. 76—78.

¹⁸ *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, Vol. 1, Hildesheim 1970, p. 94.

¹⁹ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, Vol. 53 — Introduction.

are the so called post-Gregorian chants initiated in the year 608 by the missal formulary for church consecration.

The mentioned fact initiated the exuberant period in *alleluia* chant creation, lasting — to various degree — to the present day. However, they never formed — especially during the whole Easter period — such an uniform group, as the other chants of missal formularies. In manuscripts they were usually the closed group, noted by copyists on the last pages. The choice for particular solemnities depended upon cantors' decision. The mentioned practice caused particular convents, or dioceses to make up their own, characteristic lists. The text source underwent also the change. At first it was borrowed from psalms only, afterwards from New Testament, at last, especially in *Proprium de sanctis*, the own texts were created.

Now I come to consider the problem I am interested in. I have divided the discussed period into 4 stages, namely: Resurrection with Easter octave, Sundays after Easter and Ascension, Pentecost with octave, and at last Sundays after Pentecost. First of all I shall present the development of the problem on the grounds of conventual graduals and than on the basis of diocesan graduals.

I. Resurrection octave

The first stage of my considerations comprises the period from Easter Sunday to Saturday. Here we may differentiate 5 various sets, most often of the same *alleluia* versicles.

1. Cistercians

The number of chants in all the Polish conventual manuscripts is the same. Stable set is the result of General Chapter orders, tending to liturgical unification, however in *proprium de tempore*, in all the houses²⁰. The basis was here most probably the reform of St. Bernard and abbot Guy de Cherlieu, carried out in the year 1148. The repertory and sequence of particular versicles developed in France. For particular octave days there appear:

Pascha	—	<i>Pascha nostrum</i>	feria V	—	<i>Christus resurgens ex mortuis</i>
feria II	—	<i>Nonne cor nostrum</i>	feria VI	—	<i>In die resurrectionis</i>
feria III	—	<i>Stetit Jesus in medio</i>			<i>Haec dies</i>
feria IV	—	<i>Surrexit Dominus et occurens</i>	sabbato	—	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum</i>

Two minute differences are observed in graduals. In some of them *Pascha nostrum* versicle was broadened by *Epulemur in azymis* text, which — for

²⁰ For example: ms. 445 Bibliothèque Municipale Colmar; ms. F. IX 68 Bibliothèque Municipale Bâle; ms. lat. 17328 BNParis. See also: P. Wagner, *work cited*, p. 346 and following.

example in diocesan manuscripts — is its second verse²¹. However, the second verse of Suterday's ps. 112 — *Sit nomen domini*, copyists once mark by capital letter²², in other verses they join it continue with the first verse²³. Besides, worth consideration is *alleluia* versicle — *Stetit Jesus in medio*, appearing in this list only.

2. Dominicans

Predicant Order manuscripts prove analogous set uniformity, what is the evidence of their care to preserve the proper liturgical profile. *Alleluia* chant repertory was established in France and in dependence upon Cistercian liturgy. It is to be mentioned, that *Pascha nostrum* has in manuscripts no *Epulemur* text, and *Laudate pueri* lacks — *Sit nomen domini*. The chant sequence runs as follows:

<i>Pascha nostrum</i>	<i>In die resurrectionis</i>
<i>Nonne cor</i>	<i>Angelus domini descendit</i>
<i>Surrexit Dominus et occurens</i>	<i>Haec dies</i>
<i>Christus resurgens</i>	<i>Laudate pueri</i>

3. Franciscans

Conventual liturgical traditions took also over manuscripts of Poor Clare Nuns and the only preserved gradual of regular canons from Kraków²⁴. Its basis are codices of pope's chapel, hence the characteristic note on covers, or on first pages: *secundum consuetudinem Curiae Romanae*²⁵. *Alleluia* chant set is also stable in all medieval manuscripts. It remained in liturgical practice, after Trent reform, to Vaticanum II²⁶. On successive octave days the following versicles are used:

<i>Pascha nostrum</i>	<i>Surrexit Christus qui creavit</i>
<i>Angelus domini</i>	<i>Dicite in gentibus</i>
<i>Surrexit dominus de sepulchro</i>	<i>Haec dies</i>
<i>Surrexit dominus vere</i>	<i>Laudate pueri</i>

Pascha nostrum and *Laudate pueri* have no second versicles, like in the previous structure. Here occur but two *alleluia* chants, characteristic for Franciscan manuscripts only, namely *Surrexit Christus qui creavit* and *Surrexit Christus vere*. Besides others, they are undoubtedly the indisputable criterion in establishing the manuscript provenience.

²¹ For example: ms. IF 417 BUWr and ms. 69 AAP.

²² For example: ms. 118 and L 13 BSP.

²³ For example: ms. IF 417 and 416 BUWr; ms. 1 BBZ.

²⁴ ms. 3035 BN.

²⁵ J. Pikulik, *Franciszkańskie „Ordinarium Missae” w średniowiecznej Polsce*, *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 10 (1971) No 2, p. 112 and following.

²⁶ *Graduale Fratrum Minorum*, Venetia 1500 and *Missale Tridentinum*.

4. Premonstratensians

The fourth set is characteristic because of great uniformity, but not to such a degree as the previous sets. Annual General Chapters at Prémontré were especially concerned with liturgical unification. Similar were the suggestions of Innocent IV and Alexander IV. The results of popes intervention was the master edition of the valid in convent liturgics in the year 1245 and 1256.²⁷ Besides, the adapting of some houses to the demands of diocesan liturgy was observed. Just St. Norbert, as archbishop of Magdeburg, allowed the abbeys on the empire terrain to take over the customs of diocesan churches.²⁸ The mentioned phenomenon was most conspicuous when conventual churches were engaged in pastoral work. Hence, we may differentiate 2 repertories in premonstratensian liturgical books, namely conventual and diocesan. The source of the first were Gallican-Roman books of sacraments.²⁹ In Poland 6 premonstratensian graduals were preserved. The oldest 5 represent Prémontré³⁰ tradition, but 1 — Kraków premonstratensian sisters manuscript ms. 508 — is more of diocesan tradition³¹. *Alleluia* chant repertory develops here as follows:

Conventual tradition	ms. 508
<i>Pascha nostrum</i>	<i>Pascha</i>
<i>V. Epulemur</i>	<i>V. Epulemur</i>
<i>Nonne cor</i>	<i>Angelus domini</i>
	<i>V. Respondens autem</i>
<i>Oportebat pati</i>	<i>Christus resurgens</i>
<i>Christus resurgens</i>	<i>In die resurrectionis</i>
<i>Surrexit dominus de sepulchro</i>	<i>Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro</i>
<i>Surrexit Christus et illuxit</i>	<i>Dicite in gentibus</i>
<i>Haec dies</i>	<i>Haec dies</i>
<i>Laudate pueri</i>	<i>Laudate pueri</i>
<i>V. Sit nomen domini</i>	<i>V. Sit nomen domini</i>

Double *alleluia* versicles, occurring in all the Premonstratensian manuscripts, are known since Carolingian period, but their more frequent usage started somewhat later. Other chants occur in gradual from Prémontré, but in a slightly different order. For example, *Surrexit dominus* was used on Wednesdays and Fridays of each week after Low Sunday³². The performance of *Angelus domini* with the next versicle *Respondens autem* from ms. 508 was not uniform. Besides Mass liturgy it was used since Resurrec-

²⁷ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *La liturgie de Prémontré*, Louvain 1957, p. 14.

²⁸ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *work cited*, p. 12.

²⁹ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *work cited*, p. 11.

³⁰ ms. IF 385, IF 422 and IF 423 BUWr; ms. RM 3 BNorbI; ms. 12 BSaI-Czerw.

³¹ J. Pikulik, *Próba rozwiązania różnic w strukturze muzycznej polskich premonstratensów*, in: *VI Polish Musicological Conference*, Gdańsk 1974, p. 127—130.

³² Pl. F. Lefèvre, *work cited*, p. 136.

tion to Friday in breviary, in such a way that the first was sung ad tertiam, and the second ad sextam.³³ The provenience of the verses *Surrexit Christus et illuxit* and *Oportebat pati* is yet not solved. They lack in the index compiled by Pl. F. Lefèvre. First of them appears, in the described period, in premonstratensian codices only. An important problem is also the determination of genetic connections of ms. 508 set. If the repertory of *Ordinarium Missae* and of codex sequences points to its dependence upon Wawel³⁴ graduals, then the *alleluia* set of verses finds actually its counterpart only in ms. w. c. n. from Town Library in Trier.³⁵ It is possible, that the Dominican scriptor of Kraków gradual used the manuscript connected in some way with that centre. It is to be admitted, that ms. 508 is one of the most difficult questions for medievalists.

5. Diocesan centres

Here the list of *alleluia* chants is, as also in ms. IF 387 (probably of regular canons at Żagań) in substance uniform. The difference concerns chiefly feria III. Several manuscripts, especially those from Wrocław³⁶, use for that day *Angelus domini* with second versicle *Respondens*, but the remaining apply *Surgens Jesus dominus*. Special attention is to be paid to gradual ms. 2015. Connected by the other chorale forms with Kraków tradition, here it represents Silesian current, noting at the same time 3 versicles on feria IV, namely: *Surgens Jesus et occurens*, *Christus non moritur* and *In die resurrectionis*. None of them appear this day in diocesan codices, moreover, the second is at us the unique record. The Włocławek manuscripts are also characteristic. The Kraków set registers the older ms. 3 and Wrocław set notes the newer ms. 2. Hence, diocesan manuscripts record 2 approximate lists:

Pascha

V. Epulemur

Nonne cor

Surgens Jesus dominus — Angelus domini

V. Respondens

Christus resurgens ex mortuis

In die resurrectionis

Dicite in gentibus

Haec dies

Laudate pueri

V. Sit nomen domini

³³ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *work cited*, p. 149.

³⁴ J. Pikulik, *Indeks sekwencji w polskich rękopisach muzycznych*, Warszawa 1974, p. 27 and following.

³⁵ P. Wagner, *work cited*, p. 346, item 7.

³⁶ ms. K 24, IF 387, R 504 BUWr; 31, 47a, 61n, 140, 158 BKapWr; 2015 MDT; w. c. n. Cioł BSPł; 2 BSWł.

The comparison of both lists with European sets leads to the conclusion, that their source is to be looked for in Benedictine tradition of Einsiedeln and St. Gallen³⁷ cloisters.

Besides, the main manuscript stock, there are to be differentiated the particular diocesan graduals, where the dominating set had been changed. Here belong ms. 1677 from MDS and ms. 56 from BKapWr, where from feria IV to VI appear: *Christus resurgens*, *Angelus domini* with *Respondens* and *In die resurrectionis*. The identical sequence is observed in not Polish ms. L 35 from BSP, but it is difficult to establish if it played the archetype role for the both proceeding manuscripts.

One has still to pay attention to manuscripts, the proveniences of which were not once discussed. J. W o r o n c z a k and K. B i e g a ń s k i³⁸ established the Benedictine provenience of Gniezno ms. 149 from Nieder-Altaich cloister. Sequence repertory of Płock ms.w.c.n. points to its connection with Augsburg³⁹. The set of *alleluia* verses seems to confirm the broached hypothesis. With the exception of *Surrexit altissimus de sepulchro* in feria VI, the set is identical with ms. 149 list, what would point to the common Bavarian tradition. In the second repertory the chant sequence develops as follows:

<i>Pascha</i>	<i>In die resurrectionis</i>
<i>V. Epulemur</i>	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>
<i>Angelus domini</i>	<i>Haec dies</i>
<i>Surgens Jesus dominus</i>	<i>Laudate pueri</i>
<i>Christus resurgens</i>	<i>V. Sit nomen domini</i>

Płock manuscript Polonization reveals itself but in footnote of *Jesu Christe, rex superne* sequence in honour of St. Stanislaus and in *Nonne cor alleluia* versicle, used by diocesan liturgics. Still other differences are observed in ms. IF 386 from BUWr regarded as Custodes S. Sepulchri property. Identical with diocesan are chants on Resurrection solemnity, feria II and on sabbato. The remaining appear as follows: *Angelus domini* with *V. Respondens*, *Surrexit dominus et occurens*, again *Angelus domini* with *Respondens* and *In die resurrectionis*. The second versicle seems to confirm the conventual provenience of the manuscript. The information is supplemented by the list of Czech gradual ms. B 1714 from BUWr, where besides identical with diocesan, four chants on Easter solemnity, feria IV, V and in sabbato, there appear in sequence: *Angelus domini* with *Respondens*, *Surrexit pastor bonus* and *Oportebat pati*.

To sum up, the *alleluia* chants of Easter octave form 5 main sets. Characteristic versicles are to be differentiated, namely: *Stetit Jesus in medio* for Cistercian manuscripts, *Surrexit Christus qui creavit* and *Surrexit Christus vere* for Franciscan ones, *Surrexit Christus et illuxit* for Premonstraten-

³⁷ P. W a g n e r, *work cited*, p. 346 and following.

³⁸ See: *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, Vol. 11.

³⁹ J. P i k u l i k, *Gradual płocki*, p. 98 and following.

sian, and *Christus non moritur* for Tarnów ms. 2015. From among the others, *Surrexit Christus et occurens* record Cistercian, Dominican and most probably non-Polish IF 386 codices. *Oportebat pati* note Premonstratensian and Czech B 1714 codices. The stock of all the structures are: *Angelus domini*, *Christus resurgens*, *Dicite in gentibus*, *Haec dies*, *In die resurrectionis*, *Nonne cor*, *Pascha nostrum*, *Surgens Jesus dominus* and *Surrexit dominus (altissimus) de sepulchro*. The first, second and fifth are known in the 10th century to Einsiedeln codices, the third represents Benevent and Roman tradition. The fourth, seventh and tenth belong to the oldest. *Antiphonarium Missarum from Monza*⁴⁰ records them in the 8th century. At last, *Nonne cor* is known in France in the 10th century. The dependence of Dominican from Cistercian set, and of diocesan from Einsiedeln and St. Gallen tradition is conspicuous. Approximate to those last are non Polish ms. 149 and Płock w.c.n. The most significant differences occur between Franciscan and the remaining sets. To the smaller degree, but similar features, prove the differentiated set of Premonstratensian manuscripts.

II. Sundays and feasts post Easter

In the second stage of Easter period we may differentiate 6 various sets. One has to pay attention to one change, initiated just on octave Saturday. It concerns the exchange of gradual chant to the second *alleluia* verse. The same occurs also in the descent of Holy Ghost octave.

1. Cistercians

In all the Cistercian manuscripts the stable chant set is observed in the following configuration:

Dom. I	— <i>Post dies octo</i> <i>Surrexit dominus de</i> <i>sepulchro</i>	Dom. V	— <i>Usque modo</i> <i>Surrexit dominus et</i> <i>occurens</i>
Dom. II	— <i>Ego sum pastor</i> <i>Angelus domini</i>	Ascen.	— <i>Ascendit Deus</i> <i>Ascendens Christus</i>
Dom. III	— <i>Modicum</i> <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	Dom. oct.	— <i>Dominus in Sina</i>
Dom. IV	— <i>Vado ad patrem</i> <i>Stetit Jesus in medio</i>		

From octave repertory only two versicles are repeated — *Stetit Jesus in medio* and *Surrexit dominus et occurens*. It is also distinctive that each Sunday has separate chants.

⁴⁰ R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, Vol. 1, Bruxelles 1955.

2. Dominicans

The just mentioned dependence of this set upon Cistercian set occurs in that period still clearer. Minute differences are only found on Sunday II and IV:

- | | |
|--|--|
| II — <i>Ego sum</i>
<i>Surrexit Christus et illuxit</i> | IV — <i>Vado ad patrem</i>
<i>Surrexit Christus et occurens</i> |
|--|--|

Chant list includes *Surrexit Christus et illuxit* versicle, which characterized in octave the Premonstratensian set. Besides, from the first period there were repeated — *Angelus domini* and twice *Surrexit dominus et occurens*. In connection with Sunday in Ascension octave, Dominican manuscripts prove some differentiation. Gradual ms.w.c.n. from Jarosław BDKr registers one versicle as Cistercian codices, but ms. 1132 BO and 6 BDKr — *Ascendit Deus* and *Dominus in Sina*. In practice, both versicles were most probably used, but only one was recorded, because of saving the valuable parchment, the more that the full set was noted on Ascension.

3. Franciscans

The repertory and its set is here identical as in past-Trent *Graduale Romanum*. It runs as follows:

- | | |
|---|---|
| I — <i>In die resurrectionis</i>
<i>Post dies octo</i> | V — <i>Surrexit Christus et illuxit</i>
<i>Exivi a patre</i> |
| II — <i>Cognoverunt</i>
<i>Ego sum pastor</i> | Ascen. — <i>Ascendit Deus</i>
<i>Dominus in Sina</i> |
| III — <i>Redemptionem misit</i>
<i>Oportebat pati</i> | Dom.oct. — <i>Non vos relinquam</i> |
| IV — <i>Dextera Dei</i>
<i>Christus resurgens</i> | |

Franciscan tradition presents the greatest repertory wealth. There lack in the set the titles performed in octave. But from Premonstratensian list, *Surrexit Christus et illuxit* and *Oportebat pati* were included, and from Cistercian-Dominican — *Christus resurgens* and *In die resurrectionis*.

4. Premonstratensians

Similarly as in octave, the conventual tradition and Kraków ms. 508 are to be differentiated:

Conventual tradition	m s. 508
I — <i>In die</i> <i>Surrexit dominus et occurens</i>	<i>Surrexit dominus vere</i> <i>Pascha nostrum</i>
II — <i>Surrexit dominus vere</i> <i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	<i>Surrexit pastor</i>
III — <i>In die</i> <i>Nonne cor</i>	<i>Oportebat pati</i>
IV — <i>Surrexit dominus vere</i> <i>Christus resurgens</i>	<i>Surrexit dominus et illuxit</i>
V — <i>In die</i> <i>Surrexit dominus de sepulchro</i>	<i>Resurrexit Christus ex mortuis</i>
Ascen. — <i>Non vos relinquam</i> <i>Ascendens Christus</i>	<i>Ascendit Deus</i> <i>Dominus in Sina</i>
Dom.oct. — <i>Ascendit Deus</i> <i>Dominus in Sina</i>	<i>as on feast</i>

From the previous sets, the Premonstratensian tradition is, as concerns the repertory, the poorest. *Christus resurgens*, *Nonne cor* and *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro* versicles were performed just during octave, *In die* returns three times and *Surrexit dominus vere* — twice. Single chants on Sundays II—V are the characteristic feature of ms. 508 list. It seems, that *Pascha nostrum* was the second versicle, just signaled by scriptor on Low Sunday. The same practice is observed in diocesan manuscripts. Incipit *Resurrexit Christus ex mortuis* is a variant of the just known *Christus resurgens*. It may well be, that its author is the scriptor himself.

5. Regular canons from Żagań (?)

Alleluia chants registered in ms. IF 387 BUWr during Easter octave, as also in the next stages, are in accordance with diocesan sets, mainly with those from Wrocław. However, in that period they form their own list, which develops as follows:

I — <i>Surgens Jesus dominus</i> <i>Surrexit dominus vere</i>	V — <i>Usque modo</i> <i>Christus resurgens</i>
II — <i>Surrexit pastor</i> <i>Surrexit Christus et illuxit</i>	Ascen. — <i>Ascendit Deus</i> <i>Dominus in Sina</i>
III — <i>Modicum</i> <i>Surrexit dominus et occurens</i>	Dom.oct. — <i>Ascendit Deus</i> <i>Ascendens Christus</i>
IV — <i>Vado ad eum</i> <i>Oportebat pati</i>	

From Easter octave repertory, *Surgens Jesus dominus* and *Christus resurgens* were applied, but 3 versicles — *Christus resurgens*, *Oportebat pati* and *Surrexit Christus et illuxit* connect the set with Premonstratensian set,

what would eventually confirm the suggestion concerning the codex provenience. The same chants appear also in Franciscan set, what might be explained by the mutual Gallican-Roman tradition. First versicles on Sundays III—V are common with Cistercian and diocesan sets. Moreover, attention is to be paid to the title variability on all the Sundays.

6. Diocesan centres

It is difficult to speak about uniform structure of diocesan chants in that period. Manuscripts, representing even the same centre, prove such great set variability, that it is impossible to make them up in the previous way, as we would have almost the same number of series as of codices. Because of that I shall present sets on successive Sundays and feasts. Still one introductory remark. The scriptor noted, in several manuscripts, one versicle only. The same was true in the case of ms. 508. The next versicle was most probably *Pascha nostrum*, occurring just on Resurrection day, or on Low Sunday. The supposition is justified by the fact that some codices repeat it on all Sundays. On the first Sunday the repertory has the following sets:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| a. <i>Angelus domini</i> ⁴¹ | b. <i>Pascha</i>
<i>Surgens Jesus</i> ⁴² | c. <i>Surgens Jesus</i>
<i>Surrexit dominus</i>
<i>vere</i> ⁴³ |
| d. <i>Pascha</i>
<i>Surgens Jesus</i>
<i>Angelus domini</i> ⁴⁴ | e. <i>Ine die</i>
<i>Pascha</i> ⁴⁵ | f. <i>Surgens Jesus</i> ⁴⁶ |
| g. <i>Angelus domini</i>
<i>In die</i> ⁴⁷ | h. <i>Pascha</i>
<i>Angelus</i> ⁴⁸ | |

Diocesan manuscripts record here 8 different *allelulia* sets. If the supposition concerning the single fixation of Pascha versicle is true, then the number may be reduced to 6 — f group would form one with b, and h one group with a. All the chants, except Franciscan *Surrexit dominus vere*, were just used in octave. Group d deserves the special attention. The record of three verses in O I b r a c h t's gradual is explained by the want to reconcile ms. 1 and ms. 45 representative for Kraków, which transferred the different versicles. Most probably, the oldest in Poland were two schemes, namely *Pascha* — *Angelus domini* and *Pascha* — *Surgens Jesus dominus*. Czech prac-

⁴¹ ms. 45 BKapKr.

⁴² ms. 1 BSKce; K 24 BUWr; 140 BKapWr; 1677 MDS.

⁴³ ms. R 504 BUWr; w. c. n. Cioł. BSPl.

⁴⁴ ms. 44 BKapKr.

⁴⁵ ms. 56 BKapWr.

⁴⁶ ms. 31, 47a, 61n, BKapWr; 2 BSWł.

⁴⁷ ms. 3 BSWł.

⁴⁸ ms. w. c. n. AŁ; 195 BKapGn.

tice was similar, as ms. B 1714 contains group f set. From the other foreign codices, ms. IF 386 handed down one versicle — *Post dies octo*, characteristic for conventual codices. The set of ms. L 35 is identical with Franciscan ones. The set in Płock ms.w.c.n.: *In resurrectione tua — Pascha nostrum* is known to the Einsiedeln⁴⁹ graduals. In ms. 149: *Pascha — Benedictus es filius Dei* has no equivalent in the gathered comparative material.

II Sunday

The chants of that and of the two next Sundays for 4 schemes:

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| a. <i>Surrexit pastor</i>
<i>Pascha</i> ⁵⁰ | b. <i>Surrexit pastor</i> ⁵¹ | c. <i>Surrexit pastor</i>
<i>In die</i> ⁵² |
| d. <i>Surrexit pastor</i>
<i>Angelus domini</i> ⁵³ | | |

Here also, on the same as the before mentioned basis, group a may be connected with b, and such set for that Sunday would be characteristic for Poland. Attention is to be paid to the chant set in ms. 44, as it is different from Kraków tradition in ms. 1 and 45. From the foreign, ms. IF 386 and B 1714 have identical chants as b group, ms. L 35 as d, and Płock gradual and ms. 149 record sets unknown in Poland: the first — *Surrexit pastor — Haec dies*, the next — *Angelus domini — In resurrectione tua*.

III Sunday

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|
| a. <i>Modicum</i>
<i>Pascha</i> ⁵⁴ | b. <i>Modicum</i> ⁵⁵ | c. <i>Modicum</i>
<i>Surgens Jesus</i> ⁵⁶ |
| d. <i>Surrexit altissimus</i>
<i>de sepulchro</i> ⁵⁷ | | |

Group a — might be connected with b and such set would be fundamental for diocesan tradition. Once more attention is to be paid to the — detached in Kraków tradition — place of ms. 44. The unknown in Poland versicle *Iterum autem videbo vos* in ms. IF 386, and also the sets: *Benedictus es filius Dei — Angelus domini* in Płock codex and *Surrexit pastor —*

⁴⁹ H. Husmann, *Das Einsiedelner Graduale-Sakramentar St. Paul/Kärnten 25.2.25*, in: *Studia Hieronymo Feicht septuagenario dedicata*, Kraków 1967, p. 94.

⁵⁰ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr; 1677 MDS; R 504 BUWr; 140 BKapWr.

⁵¹ ms. 31, 47a, 56, 61n, KBapWr; 2, 3, BSWł; w. c. n. AŁ; 195 BKapGn.

⁵² ms. 44 BKapKr; w. c. n. Cioł BSPł.

⁵³ ms. K 24 BUWr.

⁵⁴ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr; 1677 MDS; 140 BKapWr.

⁵⁵ ms. 31, 47a, 61n, BKapWr; K 24, R 504, BUWr; 2, 3 BSWł; w. c. n. AŁ; w. c. n. AŁ; w. c. n. Cioł BSPł; 195 BKapGn; 2015 MDT.

⁵⁶ ms. 44 BKapKr.

⁵⁷ ms. 56 BKapWr.

Modicum in L 35 confirm their foreign provenience. The last two manuscripts — ms. 149 and B 1714 record by one versicle: the first — *Surrexit Dominus et occurens*, the next — *Modicum*.

IV Sunday

- a. *Vado ad eum*
*Pascha*⁵⁸
d. *Surrexit dominus*
*vere*⁶¹
- b. *Vado ad eum*⁵⁹
- c. *Vado ad eum*
*In resurrectione*⁶⁰

The fundamental is here group a, which was most probably one with group b. The remaining are a separate phenomenon. It is possible, that *In resurrectione tua* versicle occurred in Ciołek's gradual under the influence of non-Polish ms.w.c.n. from Płock. The single *Modicum* verse is recorded also by ms. IF 386 and B 1714. Different sets are observed in: L 35 *Angelus domini* — *Vado*, in Płock ms.w.c.n. *Cantato domino* — *Christus resurgens*, and in ms. 149 *Oportebat pati*, as in manuscripts from Einsiedeln⁶².

V Sunday

This Sunday chants are reduced to three sets:

- a. *Usque modo*
*Pascha*⁶³
- b. *Usque modo*⁶⁴
- c. *Nonne cor*⁶⁵

Group a together with group b formed in practice, most probably, the fundamental set. The single versicle *Usque modo* record also ms. IF 386 and B 1714. Extra Polish tradition remain: ms. w.c.n. from Płock with chants *Eduxit dominus* — *In die*, ms. 149 with *Obtulerunt discipuli* — *Surrexit dominus vere* and ms. L 35 with *Surrexit pastor* — *Usque modo*.

Ascension

Here two various sets may be differentiated:

- a. *Ascendit Deus*
*Ascendens Christus*⁶⁶
- b. *Ascendit Deus*
*Dominus in Sina*⁶⁷

⁵⁸ ms. 1 BSKce; 45, 44 BKapKr; 1677 MDS; K 24, R 504 BUWr; 140 BKapWr.

⁵⁹ ms. 31, 47a, 61n, BKapWr; 2015 MDT; 2, 3 BSWi; 195 BKapGn.

⁶⁰ ms. w. c. n. Cioł. BSPi.

⁶¹ ms. 56 BKapWr.

⁶² H. H u s m a n n, *work cited* p. 94.

⁶³ ms. 1 BSKce; 44 BKapKr; 1677 MDS; K 24 BUWr.

⁶⁴ ms. 45 BKapKr; 31, 47a, 61n, 140 BKapWr; R. 504 BUWr; 2015 MDT, 2, 3 BSWi; w. c. n. AŁ; w. c. n. Cioł BSPi.

⁶⁵ ms. 195 BKapGn.

⁶⁶ ms. 45, 44 BKapKr.

⁶⁷ The remaining diocesan manuscripts.

Group a is just known from Cistercian and Dominican manuscripts but group b from Franciscan and from ms. 508. It occurs also in St. Gallen and in all the non-Polish manuscripts, except B 1714, where the copyist recorded the unknown set: *Ascendit Deus- Ascendo ad patrem*,

Sunday in Ascension octave

Diocesan manuscripts handed down to this Sunday four chant sets:

- a. *Dominus in Sina*⁶⁸ b. as b group on feast⁶⁹ c. *Ascendit Deus*⁷⁰
 d. *Ascendens Christus*
*Dominus in Sina*⁷¹

Kraków manuscripts (group a) connected in practice with group b, have the identical way of record with Cistercian and Dominican ms.w.c.n. Perhaps, the mentioned dependence explains the exchange of gradual chants on Sundays XIV and XV, characteristic for those codices. Non-Polish manuscripts prove analogical differentiation: ms. 149 represents group a, IF 386 and B 1714 — group b, Płock w.c.n. — group d, and L 35 group a from Ascension solemnity.

To sum up, *alleluia* chant repertory forms in that period 6 structures — 5 conventual and 1 diocesan. The first-except Premonstratensian, prove repertory wealth, revealed in the chant choice for successive Sundays. Franciscan set plays the dominating role. Diocesan structure proves the greatest differentiation. Nevertheless, the fundamental set is to be restored. In establishing its genetic connections, attention is to be paid to Cistercian structure, with which versicles *Modicum*, *Vado ad eum* and *Usque modo* are common.

III. Descent of the Holy Ghost octave

The third stage of my considerations comprises the period from Pentecost to Saturday. It is to be stressed, that because of Dry Days, the number of readings and of *alleluia* chants changes. They form 5 different sets.

1. Cistercians

This set is characteristic because of uniformity, both in Polish and in all-European manuscripts. It consists of the following compositions:

- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| Penth. | — <i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i> | fer. V | — as on feast |
| | <i>Paraclitus Spiritus</i> | fer. VI | — <i>Caritas Dei</i> |
| fer. II | — <i>Emitte</i> | | <i>Veni</i> |
| | <i>Spiritus Sanctus procedens</i> | | |

⁶⁸ ms. 1 BSKce; 45, 44 BKapKr.

⁶⁹ ms. 31, 61n, BKapWr; K 24 BUWr; 1677 MDS; 2015 MDT; 2, 3 BSWi; 195 BKapGn; w. c. n. AL.

⁷⁰ ms. R 504 BUWr; 56 BKapWr.

⁷¹ ms. 47a, 140 BKapWr.

fer. III	— <i>Loquebantur</i> <i>Non vos relinquam</i>	sabb.	— <i>Emitte</i> <i>Loquebantur</i> <i>Factus est</i> <i>Veni</i> <i>Benedictus es</i>
fer. IV	— <i>Spiritus domini</i> <i>Factus est</i>		

Chants on the solemnity and on feria V are identical. The same custom is observed in Franciscan and in diocesan structure. The tendency to enrich the repertory is conspicuous. In substance, only *Veni Sancte Spiritus* versicle was repeated. Saturday chants were borrowed from the other octave days. *Caritas Dei* is in Poland the unique specimen.

2. Dominicans

In dependence upon the previous set is in this period less significant. The chant sets are identical in feria II, IV and in the Saturday's, handed down by one gradual⁷². In the two remaining codices the Saturday's scheme is signaled by incipits⁷³ only. The chant configuration runs as follows:

Penth.	— <i>Emitte</i> <i>Veni</i>	IV	— as at Cistercians
II	— <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i> <i>Spiritus domini</i>	V	— <i>Emitte</i> <i>Paraclitus</i>
III	— as at Cistercians	VI	— <i>Dum complerentur</i> <i>Veni</i>
		sabb.	— as at Cistercians

Thursdays's chants — the same is true as concerns the Premonstratensian tradition — differ from those for feasts. The care to differentiate versicles on particular octave days is characteristic. *Emitte*, *Spiritus domini* and *Veni* were repeated. Saturday's liturgy took over verses used in the previous days.

3. Franciscans

The set is also characteristic because of full uniformity. It had been confirmed by Trent reform and remained valid to Vaticanum II. For successive days there occur:

Penth.	— <i>Emitte</i> <i>Veni</i>	V	— as on feast
II	— <i>Loquebantur</i> <i>Veni</i>	VI	— <i>O quam bonus</i> <i>Veni</i>
III	— <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i> <i>Veni</i>	sabb.	— <i>Spiritus est</i> <i>Spiritus eius</i> <i>Dum complerentur</i> <i>Veni</i> <i>Benedictus es</i>
IV	— <i>Verbo domini</i> <i>Veni</i>		

⁷² ms. 1132 BOssol.

⁷³ ms. w. c. n., 6 BDKr.

The dissimilarity of Franciscan set depends on *Veni* versicle repetition on each octave day, and also on — to some extent independent from the previous days — Saturday's repertory. *O quam bonus, Spiritus eius* and *Spiritus est* are characteristic.

4. Premonstratensians

One has to differentiate, as before, the traditional set and, approximate to some extent to diocesan, ms. 508:

Conventual tradition	m s. 508
Penth. — <i>Spiritus Sanctus</i> <i>Veni</i>	P. — <i>Emitte</i> <i>Veni</i>
II — <i>Emitte</i> <i>Veni</i>	II — <i>Loquebantur</i> <i>Veni</i>
III — <i>Paraclitus</i> <i>Veni</i>	III — <i>Paraclitus</i>
IV — <i>Spiritus domini</i> <i>Veni</i>	IV — <i>Verbo</i>
V — <i>as in feria II</i>	V as on feast
VI — <i>Verbo domini</i> <i>Veni</i>	VI — <i>Spiritus domine</i> <i>corda nostra</i>
sabb. — <i>Emitte</i> <i>Veni</i> <i>Paraclitus</i> <i>Spiritus domini</i> <i>Benedictus es</i>	sabb. — <i>Emitte</i> <i>Paraclitus</i> <i>Verbo</i> <i>Veni</i> <i>Benedictus es</i>

The repetition of *Veni* versicle during the whole octave is the mutual feature with Franciscan set. The same concerns most probably ms. 508 notwithstanding that scriptor did not always record that versicle. We find also the analogical phenomenon in diocesan codices. *Spiritus domine* from feria VI is but unique in Poland. It is not excluded that it is the home achievement. Saturday's repertory form chants from the other octave days.

5. Diocesan centres

Diocesan manuscripts present still more differentiated sets than during the previous period. Almost every from among the codices proves some characteristic distinctness. Hence, it seems to be proper to present sets according to successive days.

Penthecosten

All manuscripts record in accordance the set: *Emitte* — *Veni*

Feria II

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. <i>Spiritus domini</i> ⁷⁴ | b. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Spiritus domini</i> ⁷⁵ | c. <i>Spiritus domini</i>
<i>Veni</i> ⁷⁶ |
| d. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Veni</i> ⁷⁷ | e. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Paraclitus</i> ⁷⁸ | f. <i>Paraclitus</i> ⁷⁹ |

feria III

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| a. <i>Paraclitus</i> ⁸⁰ | b. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Paraclitus</i> ⁸¹ | c. <i>Paraclitus</i>
<i>Veni</i> ⁸² |
| d. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Verbo</i> ⁸³ | e. <i>Verbo</i> ⁸⁴ | |

feria IV

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| a. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Verbo</i>
<i>Dum</i>
<i>complerentur</i> ⁸⁵ | b. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Verbo</i>
<i>Veni</i> ⁸⁶ | c. <i>Verbo</i>
<i>Veni</i>
<i>Dum</i> ⁸⁷ |
| d. <i>Verbo</i>
<i>Dum</i> ⁸⁸ | e. <i>Verbo</i>
<i>Veni</i> ⁸⁹ | f. <i>Emitte</i>
<i>Spiritus domini</i> ⁹⁰ |

⁷⁴ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr; K 24 BUWr; 31 BaKpWr; w. c. n. Cioł BSPi; 2, 3 BSWł.

⁷⁵ ms. 44 BKapKr; R 504, IF 387 BUWr; 61n, BKapWr; w. c. n. AŁ; 195 BKapGn.

⁷⁶ ms. 1677 MDS; 2015 MDT.

⁷⁷ ms. 47a BKapWr.

⁷⁸ ms. 140 BKapWr.

⁷⁹ ms. 56 BKapWr.

⁸⁰ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr; 31 BKapWr; 2015 MDT.

⁸¹ ms. 44 BKapKr; K 24, R 504, IF 387 BUWr; 61n, BKapWr; 1677 MDS; w. c. n. AŁ; 2, 3 BSWł; 195 BKapGn.

⁸² ms. w. c. n. Cioł BSPi.

⁸³ ms. 140 BKapWr.

⁸⁴ ms. 56 BKapWr.

⁸⁵ ms. 45, 44 BKapKr; K 24 BUWr; 61n, BKapWr; w. c. n. AŁ; 2 BSWł.

⁸⁶ ms. 2015 MDT.

⁸⁷ ms. w. c. n. Cioł BSPi.

⁸⁸ ms. 1677 MDS.

⁸⁹ ms. 3 BSWł.

⁹⁰ ms. 140 BKapWr.

- g. *Spiritus domini*
*Dum*⁹¹
j. *Dum*⁹⁴
- h. *Emitte*
*Veni*⁹²
k. *Veni*⁹⁵
- i. *Emitte*
*Verbo*⁹³
- Feria V
- a. *Spiritus Sanctus*⁹⁶ b. as on feast⁹⁷
- Feria VI
- a. *Emitte*
*Spiritus domini*⁹⁸
d. *Veni*
*Verbo domini*¹⁰¹
- b. *Emitte*
*Spiritus Sanctus*⁹⁹
e. *Spiritus domini*¹⁰²
- c. *Spiritus domini*
*Veni*¹⁰⁰
f. *Emitte*
*Verbo*¹⁰³
- sabbato
- a. *Emitte*
Paraclitus
Loquebantur
Veni
Benedictus es ¹⁰⁴
- b. as in ms. 508¹⁰⁵
- c. *Emitte*
Veni
*Paraclitus*¹⁰⁶
- d. *Emitte*
Veni
*Paraclitus*¹⁰⁷
- e. *Emitte*
Paraclitus
Verbo
Spiritus domini
Benedictus es
*Veni*¹⁰⁸
- f. *Emitte*
Veni
Spiritus domini
Verbo
Benedictus es
*Veni*¹⁰⁹

Notwithstanding such significant differentiation, the fundamental set is to be caught, especially when we accept that copyists did not repeat the once recorded compositions. The versicle lack in feria IV proves that the choice

⁹¹ ms. 56 BKapWr.

⁹² ms. IF 387 BUWr.

⁹³ ms. R 504 BUWr.

⁹⁴ ms. 47a BKapWr.

⁹⁵ ms. 195 BKapGn.

⁹⁶ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr; 140 BKapWr; 195 BKapGn.

⁹⁷ The remaining diocesan manuscripts.

⁹⁸ ms. 1 BSKce; 45 BKapKr.

⁹⁹ ms. 44 BKapKr; K 24, R 504, IF 387 BUWr; 140 BKapWr; w. c. n. AL; 2015

MDT.

¹⁰⁰ ms. 1677 MDS; 195 BKapGn.

¹⁰¹ ms. w. c. n. Cioł BSPł; 56 BKapWr.

¹⁰² ms. 2, 3 BSWł.

¹⁰³ ms. 61n, BKapWr.

¹⁰⁴ ms. 1 BSKce.

¹⁰⁵ ms. 44 BKapKr; K 24 BUWr; 31, 47a, 140 BKapWr; 1677 MDS; 2 BSWł; 195 BKapGn.

¹⁰⁶ ms. 2015 MDT.

¹⁰⁷ ms. R 504; IF 387 BUWr; w. c. n. Cioł BSPł.

¹⁰⁸ ms. ms. 3 BSWł.

¹⁰⁹ ms. 56 BKapWr.

of other chants was left to cantors *ad libitum*. In the light of the mentioned lists there appears also the problem of establishing the provenience of ms. 56 and 140 which, because of their sets, are rather isolated in the tradition.

Both codices record several interesting sets. In Płock gradual w.c.n., on all week days, repeats *Veni* versicle, being here the first. The next are successively: *Paraclitus*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Dum*, *Spiritus domini*, and once more *Paraclitus*, *Factus est* with second *V. Repleti sunt*, and on Saturday — *Veni*, *Emitte*, *Spiritus domini*, *Non vos* and *Benedictus es*. *Emitte* versicle occurs on the first place during the whole octave in ms. L 35. The next are: *Veni*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Paraclitus*, on Wednesday still *Factus* and *Dum*, *Veni*, *Verbo*, and on Saturday as in ms. 508. It is difficult to establish the title of the repeated verse in ms. 149, because two — *Emitte* and *Veni* occur only on the solemnity, but on the other days single: *Dum*, *Paraclitus*, *Loquebantur*, *Apparuerunt*, *Spiritus domini*, on Saturday — *Emitte*, *Veni*, *Verbo*, *Loquebantur* and *Benedictus es*. Mutual features with diocesan sets proves ms. IF 386. On Pentecost and on Thursday versicles are identical as in ms. 45, on Tuesday and on Wednesday as in ms. 140, on Friday as ms. 44, and on Saturday as in ms. 508. *Emitte* — *Spiritus Sanctus* were sung on Monday.

To sum up, *alleluia* chants during descent of Holy Ghost octave form 5 sets, from which conventual sets only prove stable features. In comparison with diocesan, they are richer from the repertorial point of view. Diocesan codices record only 8 titles and conventual — 15. In the first do not appear — 3 Cistercian: *Caritas Dei*, *Factus est* and *Non vos*, 3 Franciscan: *O quam bonus*, *Spiritus eius* and *Spiritus est*, from ms. 508 — *Spiritus domine*, and from ms. 149 — *Apparuerunt*. There lack in Cistercian repertory — *Dum* and *Verbo*, in Franciscan — *Factus est*, *Non vos*, *Paraclitus* and *Spiritus domini* and in Premonstratensian — *Dum*, *Factus est*, *Loquebantur* and *Non vos*. The genetic connections of diocesan sets are difficult to establish, because of the lack of comparative material. It seems however, that their organization depended but upon the tradition of separate centres.

IV. Sundays past the descent of Holy Ghost

Alleluia chants of the last stage of church year form 4 uniform structures. It is characteristic, that during that period the Dominican structure vanishes, taking over the versicle set from Cistercian manuscripts. I pointed to such dependence just several times.

The *alleluia* chant configuration forms as follows:

1. Cistercians	2. Franciscans	3. Premonstratensians conventual tradition
I. <i>Verba mea</i>	<i>Verba mea</i>	<i>Domine Deus meus</i>
II. <i>Deus iudex</i>	<i>Domine Deus meus</i>	<i>Deus iudex</i>

III. <i>Diligam te</i>	<i>Deus iudex</i>	<i>Diligam te</i>
IV. <i>Deus in virtute</i>	<i>Deus qui sedes</i>	<i>Deus in virtute</i>
V. <i>In te domine speravi</i>	<i>Domine in virtute</i>	<i>Benedicam dominum</i>
VI. <i>Eripe me</i>	<i>In te domine speravi</i>	<i>Omnes gentes</i>
VII. <i>Te decet</i>	<i>Omnes gentes</i>	<i>Eripe me</i>
VIII. <i>Attendite popule</i>	<i>Magnus Deus</i>	<i>Te decet</i>
IX. <i>Propitius est</i>	<i>Eripe me</i>	<i>Omnis terra</i>
X. <i>Exultate Deo</i>	<i>Te decet</i>	<i>In te domine speravi</i>
XI. <i>Domine Deus meus</i>	<i>Exultate Deo</i>	<i>Attendite popule</i>
XII. <i>Domine refugium</i>	<i>Domine Deus salutis</i>	<i>Propitius esto</i>
XIII. <i>Venite exultemus</i>	<i>Domine refugium</i>	<i>Exultate Deo</i>
XIV. <i>Quoniam Deus</i>	<i>Venite exultemus</i>	<i>Domine Deus salutis</i>
XV. <i>Timebunt gentes</i>	<i>Quoniam Deus</i>	<i>Domine refugium</i>
XVI. <i>Confitemini</i>	<i>Cantate domino</i>	<i>Venite exultemus</i>
XVII. <i>Paratum cor</i>	<i>Domine exaudi</i>	<i>Quoniam Deus</i>
XVIII. <i>Qui timent</i>	<i>Timebunt gentes</i>	<i>Domine exaudi</i>
XIX. <i>Dextera Dei</i>	<i>Confitemini</i>	<i>Confitemini</i>
XX. <i>Qui confidunt</i>	<i>Paratum cor</i>	<i>Paratum cor</i>
XXI. <i>De profundis</i>	<i>In exitu</i>	<i>In exitu</i>
XXII. <i>Qui sanat</i>	<i>Qui timent</i>	<i>Qui timent</i>
XXIII. <i>Qui posuit</i>	<i>De profundis</i>	<i>De profundis</i>
		<i>Lauda anima</i>
		<i>Qui sanat</i>
		<i>Qui posuit</i>

Between Franciscan and Premonstratensian sets the greatest convergence is observed. Chants on Sundays XIX—XXIII are identical. The title identity between Premonstratensians and Cistercians concerns Sundays II—IV, but between Cistercians and Franciscans it is limited only to the first Sunday.

4. Diocesan centres

All diocesan manuscripts, except ms. 1677, K 24 and ms. 2 from Włocławek have the identical set. In order to explain the deviations of three codices, I put together their repertory next to the diocesan:

	diocesan	ms. K. 24	ms. 1677	ms. 2
I.	<i>Domine Deus meus</i>			
II.	<i>Deus iudex</i>			
III.	<i>Diligam te</i>			
IV.	<i>Domine in virtute</i>			
V.	<i>In the domine speravi</i>			
VI.	<i>Omnes gentes</i>			

VII.	<i>Eripe me</i>		
VIII.	<i>Te decet</i>		<i>Attendite</i>
	<i>V. Replebimur</i>		
IX.	<i>Attendite popule</i>		<i>Exultate Deo</i>
X.	<i>Exultate Deo</i>		<i>Domine Deus</i>
			<i>salutis</i>
XI.	<i>Domine Deus</i>		<i>Domine refugium</i>
	<i>salutis</i>		
XII.	<i>Domine refugium</i>		<i>Venite exultemus</i>
			<i>V. Praeocupemus</i>
XIII.	<i>Venite exultemus</i>		<i>Te decet</i>
	<i>V. Praeocupemus</i>		<i>V. Replebimur</i>
XIV.	<i>Quoniam Deus</i>		
XV.	<i>Domine exaudi</i>	<i>Paratum cor</i>	<i>Paratum cor</i>
XVI.	<i>Paratum cor</i>	<i>In exitu</i>	<i>In exitu</i>
		<i>V. Facta</i>	<i>V. Facta</i>
XVII.	<i>In exitu</i>	<i>Dilexi quoniam</i>	
	<i>V. Facta est</i>		
XXVIII.	<i>Dilexi quoniam</i>	<i>Laudate dominum</i>	
XIX.	<i>Laudate</i>	<i>Dextera Dei</i>	
	<i>dominum</i>		
XX.	<i>Dextera Dei</i>	<i>Qui confidunt</i>	
XXI.	<i>Qui confidunt</i>	<i>Lauda anima</i>	
XXII.	<i>De profundis</i>		
XXIII.	<i>Lauda anima</i>	<i>Domine exaudi</i>	<i>Qui posuit</i>

It seems, that set modifications in ms. K 24 and ms. 2 are the result of scriptor's mistake. In the first one he omitted *Domine exaudi* versicle from XV Sunday and transferred it on the XXIII. But in the second, he disregarded *Te decet* from the XIII Sunday and recorded it in the scope of formulary on XIII Sunday. The same is most probably true as concerns the exchange of *Paratum cor* verses from *Domine exaudi* in ms. 1677. It is rather difficult to explain the omitting of *Lauda anima* and introducing *Qui posuit* occurring in Cistercian set and ad libitum in Premonstratensian one. In the whole set one has to pay attention to the double versicles, which do not occur in conventual sets. Both the Kraków Premonstratensian sister gradual and other non-Polish codices deviate from the above mentioned lists. The following list illustrates the divergences in comparison with diocesan set:

	ms. 508	ms. L. 35	ms. w. c. n. Płock
VII.	<i>Te decet</i>	<i>Magnus</i>	<i>Magnus</i>
	<i>V. Replebimur</i>		
VIII.	<i>Attendite</i>	<i>Eripe</i>	<i>Eripe</i>
IX.	<i>Exultate</i>		<i>Te decet</i>
			<i>V. Replebimur</i>

X.	<i>Domine Deus salutis</i>		<i>Attendite</i>
XI.	<i>Domine refugium</i>		<i>Exultate Deo</i>
			<i>V. Sumite</i>
XII.	<i>Venite</i>		<i>Domine Deus salutis</i>
	<i>V. Praeoccupemus</i>		
XIII.	<i>Quoniam Deus</i>		<i>Domine refugium</i>
XIV.	<i>Confitemini</i>		<i>Venite</i>
			<i>V. Praeoccupemus</i>
XV.	<i>Paratum</i>	<i>Paratum</i>	<i>Quoniam</i>
XVI.	<i>In exitu</i>	<i>In exitu</i>	<i>Domine exaudi</i>
	<i>V. Facta</i>	<i>V. Facta</i>	
XVII.	<i>Dilexi</i>	<i>Dilexi</i>	<i>Paratum</i>
XVIII.	<i>Dextera Dei</i>	<i>Qui confidunt</i>	<i>In exitu</i>
			<i>V. Facta</i>
XIX.	<i>Qui confidunt</i>	<i>Confitebor tibi</i>	<i>Dilexi</i>
XX.	<i>De profundis</i>		<i>Laudate dominum</i>
XXI.	<i>Confitebor</i>	<i>Qui sanat</i>	<i>Dextera Dei</i>
XXII.	<i>Lauda anima</i>		
XXIII.	<i>Qui sanat</i>	<i>Qui posuit</i>	<i>Qui sanat</i>

ms. B. 1714

XVIII.	<i>Qui timent</i>
XIX.	<i>Dilexi</i>
XX.	<i>Laudate dominum</i>
XXI.	<i>Dextera Dei</i>
XXII.	<i>Lauda anima</i>
XXIII.	<i>Qui sanat</i>

ms. 149

I.	<i>Verba mea</i>
II.	<i>Diligam</i>
III.	<i>Domine in virtute</i>
IV.	<i>In te domine</i>
V.	<i>Omnes gentes</i>
VI.	<i>Magnus</i>
XIII.	<i>Domine exaudi</i>
XIV.	<i>Confitemini</i>

To recapitulate, the basis of all the sets is, in substance, one chant list. The introduction of — characteristic for particular structures — *alleluia* versicles caused consequently the change in their sequence. There belong to them in Franciscan structure, among others — *Deus qui sedes*, *Magnus Deus et laudabilis* and *Cantate domino*, in Premonstratensian — *Benedicam Dominum* and *Omnis terra*, and in diocesan — *Dilexi quoniam* and *Laudate Dominum*. Diocesan set has 16 common versicles with Cistercian, 16 with Franciscan and 19 with Premonstratensian. Cistercian set has 16 mutual versicles with Franciscan and 19 with Premonstratensian, but Franciscan 18 with Premonstratensian. The comparison with European codices proves however, that the diocesan list is the most approximate to Benedictine. The above cited titles from ms. 149 are the best evidence. We meet also

the very similar set in cantatorium from St. Emeran's monastery at Regensburg¹¹⁰ and in ms. 121 and 25.2.25 from Einsiedeln¹¹¹. Most probably its sources are to be looked for here and at St. Gallen.

Recapitulation

Because of the researches concerning the Polish sequences, I paid attention to 3 different structures, representative for Dominican, Premonstratensian and diocesan manuscripts. Each of them was characterized by different repertory, but as concerned the *alleluia* chants, the problem became more complex. The number of sets increases and, at the same time, decreases the quantity of applied compositions. The first to be differentiated is the Cistercian structure, which is uniform in all conventual codices. Genetically it is connected with France. The Dominican structure depends upon Cistercian. This connection is the closest on Sundays after Pentecost. In that period, *alleluia* versicles in manuscripts of both monasteries are identical, but the most differentiated are sets during Pentecost octave. Franciscan manuscripts hand down separate and uniform structure, to which refer Poor Clare and regular canons from Kraków graduals. Its source is the pope's chapel liturgy, taken over by Trent missal and valid to the Vaticanum II reform. The next to be mentioned is the Premonstratensian structure, from which differs however the Kraków ms. 508. In Ordinarium missae and sequence set it proves the dependence upon Wawel liturgy, but in *alleluia* verse sets it stands extra Polish tradition. Easter octave repertory suggests the connection with Trier centre. The further researches will, most probably, explain one of the most difficult for medievalists phenomenon. The Gallican-Roman tradition is the source of traditional sets. Diocesan structure is the last. It proves uniform character on Sundays past Pentecost and in Easter octave. However, *alleluia* sets since Low Sunday to Saturday in Pentecost octave are to such a degree differentiated, that almost each of the manuscripts proves individual features. Nevertheless, even here we may find the stable set. Comparative researches prove, that it is genetically connected with Benedictine liturgical tradition of Einsiedeln and St. Gallen monasteries. But Sundays after Easter are connected with Cistercian tradition. Separate structure in this period have regular canons from Żagań. In others they took over the diocesan sets.

More and more thorough knowledge of medieval musical culture problems shakes the previous opinions about the contents dependence of Polish diocesan manuscripts upon German ones. It is most probable, that codices of all the centres eastward from French-German border, have the mutual Benedictine source from the terrain of today's Switzerland. The specific for our liturgists sets seem to be the home sets.

¹¹⁰ Staatsbibliothek München ms. Clm. 14083. See: K. H. Schlager, *work cited*, p. 27.

¹¹¹ H. Husmann, *work cited*, p. 91 and following.