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Marek Bebak

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN KRAKÓW

An Attempt to Reconstruct the Original Lyrics of the *Concerto Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* by Franciszek Lilius¹

Abstract

Franciszek Lilius was one of the most prominent composers of the 17th-century Poland, a pedagogue and a choirmaster of Kraków's Cathedral between 1630 and 1657. The majority of the sources containing his compositions were created after the composer's death. Many of them are incomplete. Owing to these two facts, we do not know the original version of the compositions mentioned by Lilius. One of the examples is the concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* preserved in Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as a German contrafactum with the text "Kompt lasst uns betrachten". The composition may have

¹ The article was written as a result of the research project *Franciszek Lilius*. *The Life* and Work in the Context of the Era (in Polish: Franciszek Lilius. Życie i twórczość na tle epoki). The project was financed from the resources of National Science Centre under the agreement No. DEC-2013/09/N/HS2/02344. The following text is the extended version of the lecture given during the Open Doctoral Candidates' Seminar that took place at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, on the 27th of May, 2016. The author would like to express his gratitude to Professor Zofia Fabiańska for her valuable remarks that were used when editing this article.

been performed during services at the Protestant church of St. Mary Magdalene in Wrocław. The text was probably modified and adapted to Evangelical requirements in this place. However, originally the work must have been intended to be performed in the Catholic church during the feast of St. Nicholas (the 6th of December), as it is suggested not only by its original name—*Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia*, but also by the pre-compositional material used in it. This material comprises, on the one hand, the one-voice hymn *Nicolai solemnia* preserved in e.g. the cantional of Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński from 1639 and the cantional of Literary Archconfraternity in Warsaw from 1668, and on the other hand—its four-voice setting preserved in the Sandomierz and Wawel sources.

If the copyist had not written original Latin title in his manuscript, we would not know what kind of Latin text was previously used by composer. Only this information made it possible to recreate the lost Catholic version of the concerto. The main aim of the article is an attempt to reconstruct the original lyrics of the concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* and to analyze different problems connected with it.

Keywords

Sacred music, contrafactum, reconstruction, Franciszek Lilius, Wrocław

In the collection of musical sources, formerly belonging to the Lutheran Church in Wrocław, and now kept in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin in the so-called "Bohn's collection", two concertos by Franciszek Lilius for a small ensemble are preserved: *Exultabit cor meum* (for two sopranos, bass and organ), cat. No. D-B Bohn Ms. Mus. 167, and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* (for two basses and organ) cat. No. D-B Bohn Ms. Mus. 167b, as well as one concerto for big ensemble: *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* (for two sopranos, alto, two tenors, bass, three violins, three trombones, violone and figured bass) cat. No. D-B Bohn Ms. Mus. 167a, which is preserved in the German contrafactum starting with an incipit *Kompt laßt uns betrachten*.

The "Bohn's collection" is quite an imprecise name for the collection of musical sources that was compiled from musical scores originally belonging to different churches of Wrocław, dissolved in 1810, mainly St. Elizabeth's Church, St. Mary Magdalene's Church, St. Bernhard's Church and St. Christopher's Church. They were catalogued by Emil Bohn—a librarian of Stadtbibliothek in Wrocław.² In 1945, the collection was confiscated by the Soviet Army and sent to the Soviet Union; then, about 1957, it was forwarded to the German Democratic Republic and placed in Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, where it has been kept until today.³

Since the 1990s, when the collection became available for the researchers, various studies on its documentation as well as origin have been conducted. Musicologists, studying inscriptions that can be found on the manuscripts and analyzing characteristics of hand-writing, try to link given quires of the manuscripts and prints with particular churches, as Emil Bohn did not catalogue them according to their original place of storage. It is also not possible to see any detailed description of the sources in the catalogue, which means one has to study the sources very closely in order to group them. The hitherto led research has already succeeded in a way. In the case of the musical sources from St. Mary Magdalene's Church, it was possible to prove that Michael Büttner, who was a cantor there from 1634 to 1662, was responsible for compiling the collection. Greta Kondradt, who is responsible for this identification, worked before on the art of Heinrich Schütz.⁴ The Polish researcher, who examined the Wrocław's musical

² E. Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des* XVI. *und* XVII. *Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert*, Breslau 1890 (new edition: Hildesheim–New York 1970).

³ The part of the collection is preserved in Moscow. The history of the whole collection as well as its content was described in detail by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska. See: B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 133–134. See there also for further references.

⁴ G. Konradt, *Die Instrumentalbegleitung in Historienkompositionen der Schutzzeit*, "Schutz-Jahrbuch" 19 (1997), pp. 21–36.

sources most scrupulously was Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, who created a hypothesis about the main scribe of the musical sources from the former library of St. Mary Magdalene's Church. It could have been Bernard Beyer-an organist of this church, who in 1655 changed his place of work and started to perform in St. Elizabeth's Church. It was Beyer who, according to the Polish researcher, copied the two concertos for a small ensemble by Franciszek Lilius: Exultabit cor meum and Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius.⁵ The third concerto preserved in the Bohn's collection, Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia, was transcribed by above-mentioned Michael Büttner. Both copyists were active in Wrocław from the 1630s to at least the 1650s, therefore copies of the Lilius' compositions must have been written before the death of the composer. In the Bohn's collection, beside the three concertos by Lilius, there are also compositions by other composers connected with Poland, such as Wacław z Szamotuł, Marcin Leopolita, Marco Scacchi, Adam Jarzębski or M[arcin] M[ielczewski].⁶ The manuscripts of compositions by those artists probably date back to 1650s, so it can be assumed that the concertos by Lilius could be heard in Wrocław at this time as well.

Unfortunately, at present it is impossible to use the Wrocław's compositions as a base to recreate the original shape of Lilius' compositions written for Latin Church, due to three reasons. Firstly, scribes from Wrocław often modified compositions that they copied by writing or re-composing the fragments of them. They also added new sinfonias and ritornellos to the existing pieces.⁷ Secondly, the concerto titled

⁵ "Perhaps it was Bernhard Beyer who initiated copying compositions created by the musicians working in Poland: Marco Scacchi, the Kapellmeister of Władysław IV Vasa, John II Casimir and Franciszek Lilius, the Kapellmeister of vocal-instrumental ensemble in the Wawel Royal Cathedral." Translation of the citation from: B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyka pod patronatem..., op. cit.*, pp. 145–146.

⁶ The anonymous composition with the monogram M.M. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska acknowledged as created by Marcin Mielczewski, based on detailed source-related research. See: *ibid.*, pp. 134–138.

⁷ M. Jarosiewicz, *Magnificat a 8 voci e 2 violini Giovanniego Rovetty we wrocławskim kościele św. Marii Magdaleny*, "De Musica" 2008, XIV (*Nuove Pagine 3*), [online] http://www.demusica. pl/cmsimple/images/file/jarosiewicz_nuove_pagine_3%281%29.pdf [accessed: 07.03.2017].

Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia has been preserved until today as a German contrafactum. It can be only assumed that originally the composition was performed at the day of St. Nicholas that is celebrated on the 6th of December, with the original Latin text, a fragment of a hymn *Nicolai solemnia*. Thirdly, the manuscript in which the discussed composition was written is incomplete.

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska had to deal with the problem of another German contrafactum from the Bohn's collection as she tried to reconstruct the original shape of the concerto for a big ensemble *Ave florum flos Hyacinthe* by M[arcin] M[ielczewski].⁸ In this composition, similarly to *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* by Franciszek Lilius, a new German text was added, that meant the piece could be performed during the Lutheran services. The reconstruction of the original version of the Mielczewski's composition appeared to be extremely difficult, because it was impossible to confirm if the original Latin text—the antiphon about St. Jacek—was adapted to music by the composer as a whole or only partly (or the text was elaborated on). It was not clear as well in what way the text was primarily placed under the musical notation and if it required rhythmical modifications to be introduced by a scribe that would allow to place the text accentuation correctly.

The composition by Lilius entails the same problems and according to Przybyszewska-Jarmińska its reconstruction seems to be even more complicated, because the concerto *super Nicolai Solemnia* by Lilius is one of the pieces that have "original text indicated in the source not in the strict way".⁹ It is worthy to make an attempt to reconstruct the original shape of the composition, especially because the opinion of the researcher is only partly true. From the title put on the title card of the composition it is known that the textual base of the concerto

⁸ B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Ave florum flos Hyacinthe Marcina Mielczewskiego. Problemy z rekonstrukcją oryginalnego kształtu kompozycji zachowanej z tekstem niemieckojęzycznej kontrafaktury*, "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio L – Artes" 1 (2003), pp. 109–127.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

was the song *Nicolai solemnia*. What is more, the comparative analysis of the Lilius' concerto as well as the four—and preserved five-voice sources of the motet *Nicolai solemnia* from the collections from Wawel (PL-Kk I.7, PL-Kk I.13), Staniątki (PL-STAb St E, PL-STAb St F) and Sandomierz (PL-SA L 1642 [b]) showed that these compositions have common musical material (three voices are equal). Because of this, we may suspect that one of the following scenarios could be true:

- 1. It is more probable that in the Lilius' concerto, the pre-compositional material was used as four-voice structure (using the parody technique).
- 2. It is less probable but possible (if we take into account dating of the preserved sources), that the four-voice motet from the repertoire of the Rorantist chapel from Wawel Cathedral is a result of modification made by the scribe Maciej Arnulf Miskiewicz, who wanted to add the Lilius' composition dedicated to St. Nicholas to the repertoire of the chapel, but he knew it only from the arrangement in concertato style. In this case, it would be another composition modified for the use of the Rorantist chapel of Wawel Cathedral, the same as the eight-voice *Mass Ave Maris Stella* by Asprilio Pacelli, prepared for four voices.¹⁰

However, the title of the concerto that appears in the source, *Mutetta* <u>super</u> *Nicolai Solemnia* [underlined by the author—M.B.], suggests that it was based on the pre-compositional material derived nevertheless not from the one-voice song *Nicolai solemnia* that was, at the time of Lilius' life, noted in numerous cantionals, e.g. in the song book *Cornu*

¹⁰ Compare: A. Patalas, *Nieznana msza Asprilia Pacellego Ave maris stella. Traktowanie cantus firmus*, "Muzyka" 1994, nr 2, pp. 11–26. The article has been published also in English; see: *eadem, The Unknown Missa "Ave maris stella" by Asprilio Pacelli*, "Musica Iagellonica" 1 (1995), pp. 23–50.

Copiae, as Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska suggested,¹¹ but from the four-voices motet known from the Wawel's sources, in which the above-mentioned melody of the song was noted in the alto voice (the second one from the top). In this concerto, motifs from other voices have been used as well. The author of the four-voice motet can be Franciszek Lilius himself. The argument for this hypothesis is also the fact that one of the sources of the four-voice setting of the motet from the Wawel's collection was noted in the manuscript next to the other pieces by Lilius (see: manuscript PL-Kk I.13). However, until another signed source is found it will remain only a hypothesis.

On another note, it is worth mentioning that the composition dedicated to St. Nicholas Nicolai solemnia (performed on the 6th of December), as well as settings of three other song about saints: Omnium Sanctorum (1st of November), Martine Sancte Pontifex (11th of November) and Catherinae Virginis laudes (25th of November) were written at the end of the 17th century or at the beginning of the 18th century in the cantionals of the Benedictine nuns from Staniatki and Sandomierz. The copy was made either from the manuscript of the Rorantist chapel, written in the 1660s and 1680s (an assumption that could be based on the fact that the stanzas were put in the same way) or from the other, unknown source common for all the sources maybe a manuscript or a printed cantional. The person who made the copy adapted the pieces to the capabilities of the nuns: the order of the voices and ambitus were changed, and, in the case of the cantional from Staniatki, the fifth voice and figured bass were added. In the cantional of Benedictine nuns from Sandomierz, now kept in Library in Sandomierz with the cat. No. L1642[b], the composition Sacris solemnis was also found. It is attributed to Franciszek Lilius based on the monogram F.L. written on the incomplete manuscript Kk I.13. Therefore, we cannot completely exclude the possibility that the author of the anonymous compositions from the manuscript Kk I.13, including Nicola solemnia, can be Franciszek Lilius.

¹¹ "[...] the material base for the composition was the song *Nicolai solemnia sua prece familia*, known from, among others, cantional *Cornu Copiae*, created during the Lilius' lifetime, and formerly belonging to the Literary Archfraternity at the St. John the Baptist's Cathedral." Translation of the citation from: B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyka pod patronatem..., op. cit.*, p. 146.

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PL-Kk I.7 Wawel	PL-Kk I.13 (ca. 1685) Wawel	PL-STAb St E (ca. 1705) Staniątki	PL-STAb St F (1707) Staniątki	PL-SA L 1642 [b] (1721) Sandomierz
Omnium sanctorum 5-v. [7/88], copyist: Pękalski (1739–69)	Omnium sanctorum, [13/8], T	Omnium sanctorum, CCATB, org.	Omnium sanctorum, CCCAB, b.c.	
	Martine Sancte Pontifex, [13/9], C	Martine Sancte Pontifex, CCAAB, org.	<i>Martine Sancte Pontifex</i> , CCCAB, b.c.	Martine Sancte Pontifex, CCCB
	Catherinae Virginis Iaudes, [13/1], AT	Catherinae Virginis laudes, CCAAB, org.	Catherinae Virginis laudes, CCCAB, b.c.	Catherinae Virginis laudes, CCCB
<i>Nicolai solemnia,</i> [7/94], scribe: Miskiewicz (1664)	Nicolai solemnia, [13/2], A	Nicolai solemnia, CCCAB, org.	Nicolai solemnia, CCCAB, b.c.	Nicolai solemnia, CCCB
	Surrexit Christus hodie, M. Scacchi [13/3], AT			
	Christus iam surrexit, Lilius [13/4], AT			
	Sacris solemniis, F.L. [13/5], CA			Sacris solemniis, CCCB
	Jesu dulcis memoria, F.L. [13/6], CA			

Tab. 1: The comparison of the content of the manuscripts.

Another problem that makes the hypothesis about the original form of the concerto Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia even more difficult to prove is the fact that, as I mentioned before, the manuscript, in which the Lilius' concerto was noted, is probably incomplete. The preserved voice "Cantus pro Capella" (beside six vocal voices described as "Primo Choro") suggests that, at the beginning, the composition was designed for three choirs: two vocal ones and one instrumental that consists of six instruments. However, no mention of the second vocal choir appears on the title card. Perhaps it was added only in the setting in which the piece was composed, i.e. in Wrocław. This second choir, in the source called "Capella", had probably the function of ripieno, but its voices were not the exact repetition of the first choir, which would be indicated by the preserved voice "Cantus pro Capella"-its melodic line was compiled from different voices of the first choir. The hypothesis that the ripieno choir was only an addition written by a scribe may be proved by the fact that it is impossible to find the information about "Choro secundo" or "Capella". In spite of the lack of voices of one choir, the composition can be performed nowadays without any problems.

In the light of the aforementioned facts, it should be assumed that the Lilius' composition, not known from other sources and uniquely preserved in the Bohn's collection, is an extraordinarily interesting and precious material for musicologists and performers. Nevertheless, it is only a strongly modified version of the piece that was originally performed in totally different environment (Catholic, presumably in Kraków), and it differs to a considerable extent from the original.¹²

¹² In the latest critical edition of the complete works by Franciszek Lilius, I presented two versions of the concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia*. The first of them is the source version, namely the German contrafactum, and in the second I presented the reconstruction of the original text. The details concerning modifications that I made can be found in the source commentary of the mentioned edition. See: F. Lilius, *Opera omnia II. Motetti, Concerti, Aria e Toccata*, ed. M. Bebak, series "Sub Sole Sarmatiae", ed. Z.M. Szweykowski, A. Patalas, Kraków 2016.

The Preserved Copy of the Lilius' Composition: Structure and Text

The concerto *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia* was written for a six-voice vocal choir from which the soloists, soprano and tenor, are subdivided (in the source they are called "voces concertantes"); an instrumental ensemble, consisting of three violins, three trombones; a continuo group: violone and organ. The composition has 168 bars and consists of six episodes, ending with cadences and contrasting with each other in terms of texture and setting. The first episode contains an instrumental, two-part sinfonia (the division is a result of the change of time signature to triple metre). The second episode is a vocal duet, the third one—a four-voice vocal choir with the accompaniment of an instrumental choir; the fourth episode is sung tutti in concertato style, whilst the sixth one is an arrangement of the cheerful "Alleluja" in triple metre, also tutti. By reconstructing the original text, we can use the first four stanzas of it.

As I have mentioned, the original Latin text, an anthem dedicated to St. Nicholas, was, for the purpose of the Protestants, replaced by a German expressive text, talking about Eucharist, consisting of the different Biblical fragments. When prosody is concerned, the new text was longer than the original one: *Nicolai solemnia* is an original octosyllable, and *Kompt lasst uns betrachten*... has an irregular shape: the verses in the stanza have from eight to twelve syllables.

Kompt, laßt uns betrachten Gottes Freundlichkeit nicht verachten die große Barmhertzigkeit, die Er bewiesen hat an uns zur jeder Zeit daß freuet sich die Christenheit

Der uns von Mutterleibe an erhelt und führt auff rechter Bahn durchs Wort als seine liebe Gäst, er allzeit uns beruffen läst. Come, let's look at God's friendliness do not despise his huge mercy, that he proved to us at any time for the felicity of Christianity.

The One who from mother's womb brightens and leads us on the right track through the word as his dear guests, he always summits us. Kwartalnik Młodych Muzykologów UJ, No. 33 (2/2017)

Seinen Tisch den Er zubereitet hat, schwebt und heisset voll großer Wunderthat, Gott selber ist dir Speiß und Tranck, in Ihm lebt was die Sünde machet kranck.

O Gott Herr Himmels und der Erden, solche Liebe und große Gutthat, erkennen wir, wir dancken Dir. His table that He has prepared, floats and promises full of the miracles, God Himself is your food and drink, in him lives what makes the sin sick.

Oh, God of Heaven and Earth, So huge love and favour We know, thank you.

An Attempt to Reconstruct the Text

To sum up, at the moment we have a unique source of the concerto for big ensemble by Franciszek Lilius, *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia*, the only one manuscript from the epoch that is signed by the name of the composer (*Jubilate Deo*, *Dextera Domini* and *Surrexit Christus hodie* have been preserved either incomplete or only in the copies made by Adolf Chybiński in the first half of the 20th century). Thanks to the manuscript of *Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia*, we know how the composition functioned in the Protestant society. However, it is worthy to make an attempt to reconstruct the original shape of the piece, i.e. to place the original Latin text, being aware that the proposed solutions will be only hypothetical.

The following elements will be considered:

- 1. What was the original text of the composition?
- 2. Was it used as a whole or only fragmentary?
- 3. If it was used fragmentary, what fragments should be chosen for reconstruction?
- 4. In what way was the text placed under the music notation?
- 5. Did it require any rhythmical changes from the scribe in order to place the textual accentuation in the correct way?

The text of the song *Nicolai solemnia* has been known in Poland at least since the end of the 15th century. It appeared for example in *Glogau Song Book* (Polish: *Śpiewnik Głogowski*), and later also in numerous printed sources, e.g. in the collection which is thought to be the oldest Polish Catholic cantional: *Devotional Songs for the Festivities*... (Polish: *Pieśni nabożne na święta uroczyste*...) published in Kraków by Antoni Wosiński in 1627¹³ or in the cantional of Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński titled as *Catholic Songs Newly Reformed* (Polish: *Pieśni katolickie nowo reformowane*) published in Kraków in 1638. In these publications, seven stanzas of the text were added. In the musical sources from Wawel from the second half of the 17th century there were six stanzas, in the song book *Cornu Copiae* from 1668 eight stanzas, and in the Benedictine nuns' cantionals usually seven stanzas (the eighth one was the repetition of the first one).

To reconstruct the original text in Lilius' concerto, we can use only four stanzas that correspond with four textual-musical episodes of the concerto: sinfonia + 1 (solo) + 2 (choir) + 3 (solo) + 4 (tutti) + Alleluja. Nevertheless, we do not know which ones were used by the composer, especially because not only the number but also the order of stanzas in the particular sources is different (Tab. 2).

Surely, the first three stanzas should be used, because they are common for all known sources of the song's text. Placing them under the notes of the first stanza of the Latin text in the first episode of the composition is not problematic. However, the rhythm of the initial phrase should be modified to restore the original rhythm. In the process of reconstruction, I took the part of a figured bass into account, the part of bass continuo, that was not necessary to adapt rhythmically to the new text, and polyphonic pre-compositional material from the Wawel sources (especially alto voice, see: Ex. 1c) and cantional from Sandomierz. I also considered the beginning of the instrumental sinfonia that uses the same melodic material (Ex. 1d). The changes referred to the replacement of two shorter values written by the scribe by the one, longer value, without the change of the pitch (compare: Ex. 1a–b).



Ex. 1a: Placing the German text in the first episode of the concerto.

¹³ W. Wydra, *Pieśni nabożne… z krakowskiej oficyny Antoniego Wosińskiego (1627)*, "Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka" 2012, No. 19 (39), pp. 329–345.

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Cantus so - lem a, Altus 0 2 e ni 0 a. so lem su pre Teno 0 0 sc lem Bassus la lem ni co nre

Ex. 1b: Placing the Latin text in the first episode of the concerto

Ex. 1c: Four-voice setting from the Wawel source, bb. 1–8. In the frame, melody known from the song book *Cornu Copiae* was marked.



Ex. 1d: A fragment of the sinfonia from the concerto Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia, bb. 1–5.

What is problematic is the order of the second and third stanzas, which in the different sources appear in different places (compare: Tab. 2). In the process of reconstruction, I used the text known from the Wawel sources (however swaping the order: the third and then the second stanza) and from Sandomierz cantional, that is the version of the earlier song books' sources (from 1627 and 1638), published in the years of Franciszek Lilius' activity. Had the order remained unchanged, "Wawel" version of the text would cause several crucial mistakes in the accentuation of the particular words (e.g. in words such as "puer" and "inter", second syllable would be accented; see: Ex. 2a. bb. 52–53 and 63–64), as well as the necessity to use more rhythmical

modifications, e.g. in the second and third episode. Let us examine the beginning of the second textual-musical episode: firstly, we see the text ordered as in the "Wawel" version, with prosody mistakes (especially the word "puer" is visible here), and next the same fragment with the text in the "Sandomierz" version, in which it sounds more natural and proper (see: Ex. 2b).



Ex. 2a: Mistakes in the prosody of the second episode of the concerto with the text in the "Wawel" version, bb. 52–66.



Ex. 2b: The proper prosody of the text in the second episode of the concerto with the text in "Sandomierz" version, bb. 52–66.

Also at the beginning of the third episode, placing the text in the "Wawel" version—the stanza "Quarta et sexta feria..."—caused mistakes in the accentuation of the words (in the word "sugebat" the last syllable would be accented, see: Ex. 3a, bb. 79–80, 80–81). In order to avoid mistakes, I used the "Sandomierz" version that does not cause conflicts in the accentuation (see: Ex. 3b).



Ex. 3a: Mistakes in the prosody in the third episode with the text in the "Wawel" version, bb. 77–82.



Ex. 3b: The proper prosody of the text in the third episode with the text in the "Sandomierz" version, bb. 52–66.

PL-Kk.I.& [1664]. PL-Kk.I.13 [ca. 1686]	S.S. Jagodyński [1638],	Staniątki's cantionals [ca. 1700-1758]	Sandomierz's cantional, cat. No. L 1642 [ca. 1721]	Mutetta super Nicolai Solemnia [copy ca. 1650]
Nicolai solemnia Sua prece familia Decantet in Ecclesia cum cantico laetitia	Nicolai solemnia Sua prece familia Decantet in Ecclesia cum cantico laetitia	Nicolai solemnia Sua prece familia Decantet in Ecclesia cum cantico laetitia	Nicolai solemnia Sua prece familia Decantet in Ecclesia cum cantico laetitia	Kompt, lasst uns betrachten Gottes Freundlichkeit, nicht verachten die grose Barmhertzigkeit, die Er bewiesen hat an uns zur jeder Zeit das freuet sich die Christenheit
Iste puer mirabilis ab omnibus amabilis Dans virtutum primor dia Inter artur tripudia	Quarta et sexta feria Semel sugebat ubera Nam in aetate tenera Hac usus abstinentia	lste puer mirabilis, Ab omnibus laudabilis Dans virtutum primor dia Inter artus tripudia	Quarta et sexta feria Semel sugebat ubera Nam in aetate tenera Hac usus abstinentia	Der uns von Mutterleibe an erhelt und fuhrt auff rechter Bahn durchs Wort als seine liebe Gast, er allzeit uns beruffen last.
Quarta et sexta feria Semel sugebat ubera Nam in aetate tenera Hac usus abstinentia	lste puer mirabilis ab omnibus amabilis: dans virtutum primor dia inter artus crepundia	Quarta et sexta feria Semel sugebat ubera Nam in aetate tenera Hac usus abstinentia	lste puer mirabilis Ab omnibus amabilis Dans virtutum primor dia Inter artus tripudia	Seinen Tisch den Er zubereitet hat, schwebt und heisset voll groser Wunderthat, Gott selber ist dir Speis und Tranck, in Ihm lebt was die Sunde machet kranck.
Adhuc in cunis iacuit Altissimo complacuit Tres puellas libera uit Auo eas condonavit	Mirrha Praesul mire factus Diuino amore tactus Opem cunctis fert misellis, Dotem cassis dat puellis	Adhuc in cunis ia cuit Altissimo complacuit Tres puellas liberavit Auro eas con donauit	O Pater atque Patrone Te rogamus in hac die Da hac mundi miseria Duc nos ad caeli gaudia	O Gott Herr Himmels und der Erden, solche Liebe und grose Gutthat, erkennen wir, wir dancken Dir.
Nautae quietam nauigantes Ad Nicolaum clamantes Pater Sancte Nicolae Nos ad portum Maris trahae	Nautae simul nauigantes ad Nicolaum clamantes Pater Sancte Nicolae Nos ad portum Maris trahae	Nautae simul nauigantes ad Nicolaum clamantes Pater Sancte Nicolae Nos ad portum Maris trahae		Halleluja
O Pater atque Patrone Te rogamus in hac die De hac mundi miseria Hac nos ad caedi gaudia	Pater Sanctae ad Patrone Te rogamus in hac die De hac mundi miseria Duc nos ad caeli gaudia	O Pater atque Patrone Te rogamus in hac die De hac mundi miseria Duc nos ad caeli gloria		
	Vni Trino sempiterno Benedicamus Domino Laudetur Sancta Trinitas Deo dicamus gratias ¹⁴	Unitrino sempiterno Benedicamus Domino Laudatur sancta trinitas Deo dicamus gratias		
	Cum gratiis abundaret et miraclis simul claret: Viuens adhuc opem viuis Fert oppressis et captiuis	Nicolai solemnia Sua prece familia Decantet in Ecclesia Cum cantico laetitiae		

Tab. 2: Juxtaposition of the stanzas order in the song *Nicolai solemnia* in the sources. Text in bold was used in reconstruction.

¹⁴ This stanza appears only in source known from *Cornu Copiae*.

The fourth episode seems to be the most problematic moment, in which concertato style, so typical of Lilius, appears: using short episodes that are exchanged between soloists and choir (also on the basis of echo). It was necessary to choose the proper stanza of the text, that, from the one hand would be adequate in terms of prosody, and, on the other, would be a good summary, or a semantic ending, of the whole text. Taking into consideration the apostrophe that opens the fourth stanza of the text in the German contrafactum ("O Gott!"), I decided to put in the fourth episode a text that would start with an apostrophe as well (perhaps the same solution was used by a scribe). Subsequently, I chose the text "O Pater atque Patrone...". Unfortunately, in this case it was impossible to avoid mistakes in prosody. Fragments such as bars 111-117 are also difficult to reconstruct, because in the word "mundi" the last syllable is accented (bb. 111–112; 115–116). It is also problematic to place the text in the first soprano-it is possible to repeat words "gaudia" or "nos ad caeli".



Ex. 4: Mistakes in the prosody in the fourth episode of the concerto with the text in "Wawel" version, bb. 111–117.

The original version of the piece was composed for the Latin Church and was to be performed with the Latin text. What is more, it is the only preserved composition by Lilius written in the parody technique that uses the polyphonic pre-compositional material from a Catholic song. Therefore, it seems natural that the original shape of the composition should be reconstructed. Although the reconstruction that I propose is only a scientific hypothesis, as there are other, alternative and acceptable versions of reconstruction, in my opinion this version can be also used for performing purposes because of the proper textual-musical accentuation provided. It is also the version that I have proposed in the edition of complete works by Franciszek Lilius.

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