Polyphonic Arrangements of *Proprium* and *Ordinarium Missae* from the Braniewo Manuscript (UppsU 76f) in the Context of European Tradition

Agnieszka Leszczyńska
Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw

In University Library of Uppsala, there are three handwritten partbooks: discant, alto and tenor (vok. mus. i hs. 76f), formerly property of the Braniewo Jesuit Collegium. In 1626, these books, together with other manuscripts and prints, were taken by the invading Swedes as a war trophy to Stockholm, and later arrived in their current place¹. The inscription "Collegii Braunsbergensis Societatis Jesu" visible at the bottom of the first page of each book demonstrates their origin. The set is incomplete — the bass part is missing².

Individual partbooks differ in size: discant has 66 leaves (9 folds), alto — 80 leaves (11 folds), tenor — 63 leaves (8 folds). They were written on different kinds of paper, provided with at least nine types of watermarks³. Three of them can be identified with specific regions. Paper marked with an eagle and crossed keys in a cartouch (first fold in all books), probably comes from Legnica; the one with watermark representing wild boar might originate in Świdnica and paper with Gdańsk coat of arms (second fold in alto book) was made presumably in this city⁴. This could suggest Silesian-Pomeranian derivation of a copyist. Almost the whole manuscript is written by one person (A), except for two last compositions written by scribes B and C and a set of Mass responses from the first page⁵. These responses were probably written on an blank page left by a first copyist after completion of the whole manuscript — in the book of alto on the first page one can recognize a trace of writing by a copyist B. In two other partbooks these

additions were done by D. Because all responses originally would not fit in the remaining space, the inside cover in each book contains a glued strip of paper with music notation on the two staves completing the content of the first page.

Each book is parchment-bound with Latin text, written with gothic minuscule. The voice is inscribed with bold letters, in alto book with the adjective ("ALT officiorum (?)"). This concise title describes content of the manuscript: proprium and ordinarium missae, total 82 anonymous compositions (see table on. pp. 72–75)⁶. Clearly, the manuscript was prepared for performers who were able to correlate specific texts with corresponding feasts of the liturgical year, because the liturgical purpose of the compositions was marked in only few instances.

Predominant in the manuscript are variable movements of the Mass: twenty-three verses of Alleluia, twenty Sequences, nineteen Introits, four Communions and two Graduals. Set of proprium corresponding to specific feast consists mostly of Introit, Alleluia and Sequence. Graduals and Communions appear only sporadically; there is not even one Offertory. In arrangements of ordinarium, there is a full Mass Quem dicunt and individual movements: five Kyrie, three Gloria, and one Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. In three arrangements of Kyrie, tropes were used: Fons bonitatis, Surrexit Christus and Magne Deus potencie liberator. The Braniewo manuscript contains also set of Mass responses and the hymn Gloria laus et honor. Presence of variety of Sequences and troped Kyrie might suggest that the manuscript was prepared before Council of Trent. It is, however, possible that it was written later and its content reflects local traditions, still ignoring recommendations of Council of Trent.

The author of the manuscript did not include full liturgical calendar. In general, he omitted ordinary Sundays. From proprium de tempore only important feasts are included, such as Revelation (annex no. 20), Palm Sunday (no. 59), Easter (two sets for Easter Sunday, no. 21-23, 50-55, and one for Easter Monday, no. 56-57), octave of Easter (no. 36-37), Pentecost (two sets no. 24-28, 38-41), Sunday of Holy Trinity (no. 47-49) and Ascension (no. 60-63). Surprisingly, there is no Christmas Officium here — perhaps it

exists in the separate manuscript. Among text arrangements from proprium sanctorum distinct are compositions ascribed to Marian feasts: Annunciation (no. 5-12), Birth of Mary (no. 42-43), Assumption (no. 44-46 and 80). Furthermore, there are Officia or its parts dedicated to the following saints: Philip and Jacob (no. 58), John the Baptist (no. 68-70), Margaret (no. 64-67), Mary Magdalene (no. 71-72), Anne (no. 76), Lawrence (no. 44-46, 77-79), Archangel Michael (no. 73-75), Martin and Andrew (no. 18, two texts), All Saints Day (no. 82) and also propria on martyrs' days (no. 29-31, 35) and the feast of the Dedication of a Church (no. 32-34). Two sets of proprium arrangements for St. Lawrence day presumably reflects special adoration of this saint. His birthday of August 10, according to folk tradition, was turning point for agricultural activities, starting fall season. Moreover, the so called "St. Lawrence blessing" supposedly protected against fire and sickness⁷.

Assuming, that individual compositions were incorporated into partbooks as needed, based on sequence of feasts in liturgical year, the manuscript was written possibly in at least seven years, because that many yearly cycles, however incomplete, are visible: I — no. 2-19, II — no. 20-35, III — no. 36-42, IV — no. 44-46, V — no. 47-49, VI — no. 50-75, VII — no. 76-82.

The Braniewo manuscript follows European tradition of preparing polyphonic arrangements proprium missae. Majority of these collections is characterized by clear and logical system corresponding to liturgical year. In comparison, the manuscript UppsU 76f seems chaotic, with blurred division between proprium de tempore and proprium sanctorum. Some important feasts were not included, for others musical arrangement was made twice. Also, the number of items within individual Officia ranges from one to eight, and movements of ordinarium missae appear irregularly. However, several features link Braniewo source with other collections containing variable portions of the Mass.

Manuscripts with *propria* were first written in the fifteenth century, but appeared more frequently after *Choralis Constantinus* by Heinrich Isaac⁸. This three-volume work, composed in 1508–1509, partly commissioned by the cathedral chapter in Constance, was printed in Nuremberg (1550–1555)⁹. Other early sixteenth century German sources containing arrangements of

proprium missae come from Annaberg (Ms. 1126, 1248), Jena (Ms. 30, 33, 35) and Weimar (Ms. A)¹⁰. A common feature of these manuscripts and Isaac's book and Braniewo source is lack of Offertories¹¹. This topic requires short commentary. Earliest polyphonic arrangements of this movement of the Mass are Offertories found in Contrapunctus seu figurata musica super plano cantu missarum sollemnium totius anni (Lyon 1528), at least some of these composed by Francesco de Layolle. In the mid-sixteenth century, Offertories become more common, as in the manuscript Antiphonarium 4 vocum from St. Gallen by Manfred Barbarini Lupus from Correggio¹², and then in the body of work by Orlando di Lasso (1582, 1585) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1593). According to Walter Lipphardt, the reason for reluctance which Renaissance composers exhibited towards polyphonic arrangements of Offertories, was that elaborate, melismatic choral singing did not fulfill the function of cantus firmus¹³. This hypothesis is not convincing, since for many composers it was not an obstacle. Rather, it seems that the presence or absence of such arrangements resulted from particular cultural tradition. This issue needs further studies, nevertheless preliminary analysis suggests that polyphonic Offertories were created mostly by French/Italian rather than German musicians. Undoubtedly, this was linked to domination of Lutheran liturgy, similar in many aspects to Catholic liturgy, but not containing Offertory¹⁴. Therefore, the Braniewo manuscript could have been created in protestant influenced region.

Most common for *Choralis Constantinus*, the set of Introit, Alleluia, Sequence and Communion appears only three times in the manuscript UppsU 76f — in Masses of Annunciation, Pentecost and St Margaret. The typical Braniewo Officium consists in general of only the first three elements, without Communion, but sometimes expanded by movements of *ordinarium*, not seen in Isaac's work.

In the Braniewo manuscript one can find analogies to many feasts from *Choralis Constantinus*. This refers especially to second volume by Isaac: fifteen out of twenty-five Officia correspond to items in Jesuit collection¹⁵. These similarities, however, derive mainly from universally celebrated holy days, although texts from both sources are not always identical for a particular

day. Notable exception is the Officium in honour of St. John the Baptist, for which both sources contain the same texts of Introit, Alleluia and Sequence. Saint Margaret's and Saint Anne's days are present in Braniewo partbooks, but are absent in *Choralis Constantinus*. *Proprium missae* in honour of St. Margaret is one of the three most complete sets in the Braniewo manuscript, since it includes Communion. This distinction might suggest special role of St. Margaret in environment where the manuscript was prepared. Perhaps she was the saint honoured by some important person? One Sequence refers to St. Anne. It is noteworthy, that already in the fourteenth century, the cult of the saint was popular in Poland, especially in the Silesian region¹⁶.

Some analogies to the Braniewo manuscript one can find also in the oldest polyphonic manuscript of Wawel chapel (Archives of Cracow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 1.3)¹⁷, dated by Mirosław Perz and Elżbieta Zwolińska as mid sixteenth century¹⁸. Both collections start with sets of Mass responses, both contain parts of proprium and ordinarium missae, both have many Sequences. Wawel source contains mostly Marian holy days, also Easter and Pentecost. Some texts present in Wawel source appear also in UppsU 76f, e.g., in Officium framework for Annunciation, both sources used the same texts of Introit, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence and Communion. In the Braniewo manuscript, this Mass belongs to the most complete ones, because it contains (besides movements mentioned above), also Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. However, in comparison with Wawel source (existing in three versions) it lacks Gloria, Offertory and Deo gratias. Presence of Offertories in Wawel manuscript is one of the clear differences between Wawel and the Braniewo manuscripts. Generally, however, one can point out common tradition pertinent to these sources: both collections are purely utilitarian, destined for the cultural environment in which they were created. Supposedly similar features displays the manuscript 92 from the former Municipal Library in Wrocław, containing Officia for the most important feasts of the year. In this source, as in the Braniewo manuscript, one can find Mass responses and troped movements of ordinarium, e.g. Kyrie Fons bonitatis¹⁹.

As stated earlier, none of the compositions in the Braniewo manuscript supply name of the composer. However, in some instances, searching for

concordance was successful. Authors of Census Catalogue demonstrated more than twenty years ago that the composer of the Mass Quem dicunt homines is Jean Mouton²⁰. This composition belongs to genre missa parodia and is based on the motet by Jean Richafort. The Mass has been published in the collection Liber decem missarum by Jacques Moderne in Lyon (1532, second edition 1540). It is also preserved in a few manuscript copies, basically matching the printed version²¹. Nobody knows, however, what was a basis for the Braniewo version. In comparison to earlier known sources there are small and also rather large changes, as quite different arrangement in three tempora of movement Kyrie I²². The Mass by Mouton consists of four items: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, and then Agnus Dei is performed in musical arrangement identical to Kyrie. In almost all known sources after Sanctus appears the annotation: "Agnus dei ut supra Kyrie eleison"²³. The manuscript UppsU 76f does not have such annotation, however in each partbook a copyist left several blank staves, probably in order to complete last part of the Mass in the future. Perhaps in the source, from which a copy was made, lack of Agnus Dei did not have appropriate commentary, which could indicate incompleteness of writing. A segment Pleni sunt coeli of the Mass Quem dicunt homines is designed to be performed by three voices — alto, tenor and bass. In the Braniewo discant book, after Sanctus appears the remark: "Pleni obmutescit quia cantare nescit" ("Pleni becomes silent because does not know how to sing"). Humorous sentences of this kind one encounters in various utilitarian music manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, e.g., Netherlandish: they were helpful hints, but probably also aimed at entertaining choristers, tired from singing for a long time.

Recently I identified four other compositions from the Braniewo manuscript in Officia paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini published by Georg Rhau (Wittenberg, 1539)²⁴. These are three pieces authored by Johannes Galliculus: Gratias agimus tibi, i.e. organ Gloria (UppsU 76f no. 22), Pascha nostrum immolatus est (no. 23) and Resurrexi et adhuc tecum (no. 50), all from the first Officium de resurrectione and also one movement Alleluia Pascha nostrum (no. 54) composed by Conrad Rein, from the third Officium de resurrectione. Compositions in Rhau's book, especially items of proprium

composed by Johannes Galliculus, were very popular in the sixteenth century, which was evident from their presence in manuscripts of those times²⁵. It is also noteworthy, that in the manuscript belonging to Jesuit Collegium, which served the mission of recatholicizing in Warmia region, compositions of protestant derivation also existed. For average user though, its provenance was not clear due to anonymity of transmission. On the other hand, Braniewo Jesuits were able to cope with music materials from "heretical" printing houses, simply by crossing out names of protestant printers and composers or any text incompatible with Catholic doctrine²⁶.

It is worthwhile to point out certain musical characteristics of the Braniewo manuscript. There is no independent plainsong or monophonic intonations, while in many polyphonic arrangements of proprium missae, presence of longer or shorter chant fragments constituted the norm (e.g. intonations in Choralis Constantinus and plainsong in Wawel manuscript 1.3). Depending on the composition, cantus firmus appears in tenor or discant; usually its beginning is characterized by notes of long, equal values, the following part is free-flowing, although sometimes notes of long values return in the middle or in the end of the particular composition. A curiosity in this manuscript is Communion Factus est repente de coelo sonus (no. 28), first part of which was written as three-voice score only in discant book — the word "coro" was noted on the margin. Although second part (Advenientis spiritus), was inscribed to all partbooks, the composition as a whole was written for upper voices. Perhaps this was to create the effect imitazione della natura — voices from heaven imitated by means of register discant-alto.

Manuscript UppsU 76f probably was prepared for several years in the midsixteenth century. Dates of publications containing compositions of Mouton, Galliculus and Rein, identified in the Braniewo collection, as Lyon print (1532 or 1540) and Wittenberg print (1539) demarcate terminus post quem. Due to the presence of numerous Sequences and troped Kyrie, this manuscript was written presumably not later than the seventies of the sixteenth century, when gradually postulates of Council of Trent were followed. It is not known, whether the manuscript was written in Jesuit Collegium of Braniewo. Hypothetical dating of the collection as middle of the sixteenth century excludes this possibility, because Warmian institution was established in 1565. Braniewo library collections originated mostly from local post-Franciscan sources, then a variety of books were presented as gifts and some were bought from Collegium funds²⁷. The Braniewo Franciscan convent started to deteriorate and depopulate already in the twenties of the sixteenth century²⁸. Therefore, it is not likely, that somebody in this troubled environment prepared a manuscript designed for a group of well-trained musicians. Perhaps collection of polyphonic arrangements of proprium and ordinarium missae was a gift to Braniewo Collegium and previous owners possibly decided to get rid of the collection, because it became partially outdated after Council of Trent. It seems unlikely that the manuscript was made by Jesuits. Still the relatively young convent did not have composers or maestri di capella. Music for the services was the responsibility of secular musicians or other clergymen²⁹. Founder of the convent, Ignatius Loyola, was sceptical about too much music in liturgy, which is evident from the corresponding paragraph in Constitutions of Jesuit Society³⁰. His close collaborator, Hieronim Nadal, in the instruction given to Viennese Collegium in 1566, permitted polyphony only in *ordinarium missae* and *Magnificat*; Vesper psalms were allowed only in falsobordone style, in other cases singing was limited to plainchant. Exceptions to this rule were possible only during especially solemn feasts and after permission being granted from Collegium's rector or a provincial³¹. Obviously, these strict rules rather quickly became impractical. Nevertheless, the hypothetical Jesuit scribe would not have had a chance yet, in the middle of the sixteenth century, to prepare such a vast collection of polyphonic music. Therefore, the manuscript UppsU 76f was made probably not only outside Braniewo, but also not by Jesuits. As claimed earlier, some features of this source suggest its Silesian origins. Two, or maybe even three kinds of paper (out of nine) used in partbooks supposedly came from Silesian manufactures (Świdnica, Legnica, possibly Nysa). Also, the presence of a Sequence devoted to St. Anne could be associated to Silesian cult of this saint. One cannot forget though about paper from Gdańsk used in this manuscript. Other characteristics of UppsU 76f, such as presence of compositions from protestant

prints and consistent avoidance of Offertory arrangements, presumably indicates founding of this collection under strong influence of Lutheran culture.

Although establishing the exact origin of this manuscript is not yet possible, its very presence in the Braniewo Collegium makes it part of Polish culture. It is important for at least several reasons. Firstly, it represents unique evidence of reception in our country of masterpiece by Jean Mouton, one of the outstanding composers of Josquin's epoch. Secondly, the manuscript is the only known source functioning in the sixteenth century Poland, which contains so vast, regarding liturgical purpose, polyphonic arrangements of movements of proprium missae, including texts belonging to sanctorale, typical of European tradition. Finally, this manuscript is interesting evidence of assimilation of protestant repertoire by Catholics. In the majority of cases, as in Gdańsk manuscripts, adaptation occurred in the opposite direction: Catholic repertoire was seized by Lutherans.

Content of manuscript (vok. mus. i hs. 76f) from University Library in Uppsala

No.†	Title (incipit of the text)	Liturgical genre	Feast‡
1.	Et cum Spiritu Sancto	Mass Responses	
2.	Kyrie Fons bonitatis		
3.	Gloria		
4.	[Jean Mouton] Officium Quem dicunt (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus)		
5.	Rorate coeli	Introit	Annuntiatio BMV
6.	Kyrie		
7.	Tollite Portas, 2 p. Quis ascendet	Gradual	Annuntiatio BMV
8.	Alleluia Prophetae sancti praedi- caverunt	Alleluia	Annuntiatio BMV
9	Mittit ad Virginem / Fortem expediat	Sequence	Annuntiatio BMV
10.	Sanctus		
11.	Agnus		

[†] Compositions in the manuscript are not numbered.

[‡] Texts occurring many times in the liturgical calendar were linked with the feast, with which texts of adjacent compositions were connected in the Braniewo manuscript. Cases for which corresponding feasts were not found in any source were provided with the most probable feast and are flagged with a question mark.

12.	Ecce Virgo concipiet	Communion	Annuntiatio BMV
13.	Patrem		
14.	Confessio et pulchritudo	Introit	S. Laurentii martyris
15.	Alleluia Levita Laurencius bonum opus	Alleluia	S. Laurentii martyris
16.	Stola iocunditatis alleluia	Sequence	S. Laurentii martyris
17.	Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis	Introit	Commune confessoris
18.	[1] Alleluia Martinus episcopus / [2] Alleluia Dilexit Dominus An- dream	Alleluia	[1] S. Martini Episcopi [2] S. Andreae Apostoli
19.	Sacerdotem Christi Martinum / Atque illius nomen omnis hereticus fugit	Sequence	S. Martini Episcopi
20.	Ecce advenit dominator dominus	Introit	Epiphania Domini
21.	Kyrie Surrexit Christus		Dominica Resurrectionis
22.	[Johannes Galliculus] Gratias agimus tibi [Gloria]		Dominica Resurrectionis
23.	[Johannes Galliculus] Pacha nostrum immolatus	Communion	Dominica Resurrectionis
24.	Spiritus Domini replevit orbem	Introit	Pentecostes
25.	Alleluia. Emitte Spiritum tuum	Alleluia	Pentecostes
26.	Alleluia. Veni Sancte Spiritus	Alleluia	Pentecostes
27.	Veni Sancte Spiritus	Sequence	Pentecostes
28.	Factus est repente de caelo, [2 pars] Advenientis spiritus nehementis	Communion	Pentecostes
29.	In virtute tua Domine laetabitur	Introit	Commune martyrum
30.	Alleluia. Laetabitur iustus in Domino	Alleluia	Commune martyrum
31.	Hic sanctus cuius hodie recensen- tus solemnia / Iam revelata facia regem	Sequence	Commune confessoris (Commune martyrum?)
32.	Terribilis est locus iste	Introit	Dedicatio ecclesiae
33.	Alleluia. Vox exultationis et salu- tatis	Alleluia	Dedicatio ecclesiae
34.	Psallat ecclesia mater illibata	Sequence	Dedicatio ecclesiae
35.	Protexisti me Deus	Introit	Commune martyrum
36.	Alleluia. Surrexit pastor bonus pro ovibus	Alleluia	Dominica II post Pascha
37.	Alleluia. In die resurrectionis	Alleluia	Dominica II post Pascha
38.	Spiritus Domini replevit orbem	Introit	Pentecostes
39.	Alleluia. Emitte spiritum tuum	Alleluia	Pentecostes
40.	Alleluia. Veni sancte Spiritus	Alleluia	Pentecostes
41.	Veni sancte Spiritus / Veni pater pauperum	Sequence	Pentecostes
42.	Alleluia. Nativitas gloriosae	Alleluia	Nativitas BMV
43.	Stirpe Maria regia procreata	Sequence	Nativitas BMV

44.	Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum	Introit	Assumptio BMV
45.	Alleluia. Assumpta es Maria	Alleluia	Assumptio BMV
46.	Congaudent angelorum chori glo- riosa	Sequence	Assumptio BMV
47.	Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas	Introit	Ss. Trinitatis
48.	Alleluia. Benedictus est Domine	Alleluia	Ss. Trinitatis
49.	Benedicta semper sancta sit Trini- tas	Sequence	Ss. Trinitatis
50.	[Johannes Galliculus] Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum. Alleluia po- suisti super me manum	Introit	Dominica Resurrectione
51.	Kyrie		
52.	Gloria		
53.	Haec dies	Gradual	Dominica Resurrectione
54.	[Conrad Rein] Alleluia Pascha nostrum	Alleluia	Dominica Resurrectione
55.	Victimae paschali laudes	Sequence	Dominica Resurrectione
56.	Feria secunda Paschae Introduxit nos Dominus in terram florentem	Introit	Feria II post Pascha
57.	Alleluia. Nonne cor nostrum ar- dens erat	Alleluia	Feria II post Pascha
58.	Phil. et Iacobi Apostolorum Excla- maverunt ad te Domine in tempore aflictionis	Introit	Ss. Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum
59.	Gloria laus et honor	Hymn	Dominica in Palmis
60.	Viri gallilei quid admiramini	Introit	Ascensio Domini
61.	Alleluia. Ascendit Deus in iubila- cione	Alleluia	Ascensio Domini
62.	Alleluia. Dominus in Sina sancto ascendens	Alleluia	Ascensio Domini
63.	Rex omnipotens die hodierne	Sequence	Ascensio Domini
64.	Gaudeamus omnes in Domino diem festum	Introit	Commune virginum (S. Margaritae?)
65.	Alleluia. O Margaretha virtutum gramine freta	Alleluia	(S. Margaritae?)
66.	Margaretam preciosem sponsam / A gentili patre nata	Sequence	S. Margaritae
67.	Communio Quinque prudentes virgines	Communion	Commune virginum (S. Margaritae?)
68.	De ventre matris meae	Introit	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
69.	Alleluia. Erat Ioannes predicans in deserto	Alleluia	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
70.	Sequentia Sancti Baptistae Christi preconis	Sequence	Nativitas Ioannis Baptistae
71.	Mariae Magdalenae Alleluia. Maria hac est illa cui dimissa sunt	Alleluia	S. Mariae Magdalenae
72.	Laus tibi Christe qui es creator	Sequence	S. Mariae Magdalenae

73.	In die Michaelis Benedicite Domino omnes angeli eius	Introit	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
74.	Alleluia. Concussum est mare	Alleluia	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
75.	Summi Regis archangele Michael / Intende	Sequence	Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli
76.	De Sancta Anna Nardus spirat in odorem / Salus redit ex	Sequence	S. Annae
77.	De S. Laurentio Confessio et pul- chritudo	Introit	S. Laurentii martyris
78.	Alleluia. Levita Laurencius bonum opus	Alleluia	S. Laurentii martyris
79.	Stola iucunditatis alleluia	Sequence	S. Laurentii martyris
80.	De assumptione BMV Congaudent angelorum chori	Sequence	Assumptio BMV
81.	Kyrie magne Deus potencie libera- tor		In festis duplicibus
82.	Omnes sancti Seraphin, cherubin	Sequence	Omnium sanctorum

Notes

- 1 Józef Trypućko, 'Próba rekonstrukcji biblioteki Kollegium Jezuickiego w Braniewie wywiezionej w r. 1626 przez Szwedów', w: Dawna książka i kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce, ed. Stanisław Grzeszczuk, Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1975, pp. 207, 210.
- 2 All identified compositions are four-voice, therefore the original manuscript presumably consisted of four partbooks.
- 3 Description of the manuscript UppsU 76f contained in Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400–1550, ed. Charles Hamm, Herbert Kellmann, vol. III, Stuttgart 1984, p. 263 includes only one mark similar to no. 1155 from: Charles M. Briquet, Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, vol. I, Leipzig 1923. It is a filigran of paper used in the first fold of each partbook.
- 4 See Kazimiera Maleczyńska, *Dzieje starego papiernictwa śląskiego*, Wrocław 1961, pp. 163–164, Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, 'Papier druków oficyn gdańskich i toruńskich XVI i XVII w.', *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 18:1-2, (1974), p. 287. The second author lists also as typical for Nysa paper manufacture a filigran representing lily: such a mark appears in the eighth fold of the alto book. However, paper with a lily was produced in various European centres, so Silesian origin of these few pages in a discussed manuscript is questionable.
- 5 Mass responses are singing answers of the choir in the dialogue with a priest, e.g., "Et cum spiritu tuo", "Habemus ad Dominum", "Gloria tibi Domine".
- 6 With the exceptions of Kyrie, Gloria, Credo and Sanctus from the Mass Quem dicunt constituting an integral whole, every other movement of ordinarium or proprium was treated as a separate unit.

- 7 Vera Schauber, Hanns Michael Schinder, Święci na każdy dzień. Patroni naszych imion, transl. by Bogusław Widła, Warszawa 2000, p. 415.
- 8 Philip Cavanaugh, 'Early Sixteenth-Century Cycles of Polyphonic Mass Propers An Evolutionary Process or the Result of Liturgical Reforms?', *Acta Musicologica* 48:2 (1976), p. 151.
- 9 Reinhard Strohm, 'Isaac, Heinrich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie, John Tyrell, vol. 12, London 2001, p. 579.
- 10 P. Cavanaugh, loco cit.
- 11 See P. Cavanaugh, pp. 162–165.
- 12 J. Georg Eisenring, Zur Geschichte der mehrstimmigen proprium missae bis um 1560, Düsseldorf 1913, pp. 75–78, 176; Arnold Geering, 'Barbarini Lupus, Manfred', in The New Grove Dictionary..., vol. 2, p. 685.
- 13 Cf. Joseph Dyer, 'Offertory', in The New Grove Dictionary..., vol. 18, p. 357.
- 14 Friedrich Blume, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik, Kassel-Basel 1965, p. 33.
- 15 Cf. R. Strohm, op. cit., p. 585.
- 16 Wojciech Danielski, Stanisław Wojtowicz, 'Anna św.', in *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. I, ed. Feliks Gryglewicz, Roman Łukaszyk, Zygmunt Sułowski, Lublin 1973, p. 623.
- 17 Analysis of content on the basis: Musicalia vetera. Thematic Catalogue of Early Manuscripts in Poland, vol. 1: Collections of Music Copied for Use at Wawel, fasc. 3, ed. Zofia Surowiak—Chandra, Kraków 1976.
- 18 Mirosław Perz, Elżbieta Zwolińska, 'Do dziejów kapeli rorantystów w XVI stuleciu oraz biografii Krzysztofa Borka', *Muzyka* 16:2 (1971), p. 40.
- 19 Emil Bohn, Die musikalische Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau, Breslau 1890, pp. 105–107.
- 20 Census Catalogue..., p. 263.
- 21 Ioannes Mouton, *Opera omnia*, ed. Andreas C. Minor, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 43, vol. III, American Institute of Musicology 1969, pp. XI–XII.
- 22 Three measures in contemporary transcription: I. Mouton, op. cit., p. XI.
- 23 I. Mouton, op. cit., p. XI.
- 24 Contemporary transcription in Georg Rhau, Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538–1545 in Praktische Neuausgabe, vol. 8: Officia paschalia de Resurrectione et Ascensione Domini, Wittenberg, 1539, ed. Robert L. Parker, Kassel 1988, pp. 11–15, 22–27, 54–57, 100–103.
- 25 Victor H. Mattfeld, 'Galliculus, Johannes', in The New Grove Dictionary..., vol. 9, p. 473.
- 26 See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Recepcja XVI-wiecznych protestanckich druków muzycznych w Braniewskim Kolegium Jezuickim', in *Muzyka wobec tradycji. Idee dzieło recepcja*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 191–197.
- 27 Jakub Lichański, 'Katalog der Bibliothek des Collegium Societatis Jesu in Braniewo (Braunsberg)', Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok-och Biblioteksväsen 76:1 (1989), p. 4.
- 28 Stanisław Achremczyk, Alojzy Szorc, Braniewo, Olsztyn 1995, p. 153.
- 29 T. Frank Kennedy, 'Jesuits', in *The New Grove Dictionary...*, vol. 13, p. 19.
- 30 John W. O'Malley, Pierwsi jezuici, translated by Piotr Samerek, Kraków 1993, p. 244.
- 31 T. F. Kennedy, op. cit.