

## The Triduum Sacrum Responsive Prayers in Polish Benedictine Officium Divinum Sources in the Pre-Tridentine Era

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In the late Middle Ages, before the harbingers of the Reformation had appeared in the Polish lands, new forms of devotion designated by the *devotio moderna* and the forerunners of the Council of Trent, which would begin shortly thereafter, arose. Black Monks and nuns performed the *laus perennis* in their monasteries scattered throughout Poland. In 1530, there were eight abbeys in Poland as well as in Silesia and Western Pomerania (Tyniec, Lubiń, Mogiłno, Płock, Orłowa, Stare Troki, Łysiec, Sieciechów), each of which had several provostries,<sup>1</sup> as well as nine convents of Benedictine nuns<sup>2</sup> (in Poland proper: Staniątki, Chełmno, Toruń, and Szynwałd; in Silesia: Gubin, Lubomierz, Strzegom, and Legnica; in Western Pomerania: Kołobrzeg). The men and women who lived in them devoted their time, as tradition demanded, to studying Sacred Scripture and the “teaching of the holy Fathers” (*The Rule of Benedict*, 73:6) and followed the terse commandment of the founder of the order: “Let nothing, therefore, be put before the Work of God” (*The Rule of Benedict*, 43:6).<sup>3</sup> Fulfilling this duty laid out to them by St. Benedict was its distinguishing characteristic from the very beginning of the existence of monasticism. “Everywhere, monastic life was marked by great respect for public worship; it all passed under the sing of the liturgy, moving to the rhythm of its hours, times, and feasts.”<sup>4</sup> At the heart of the liturgy celebrated in the Benedictine monasteries were the solemn celebrations of the most important mysteries of salvation: Christ’s passion, death, and resurrection. Throughout

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1 Cf. P. Szczaniecki, *Zakony benedyktyńskie w Polsce*, Tyniec 1980, p. 39–77; idem, *Benedyktyni Polscy. Zbiór szkiców i opowiadań*, Kraków 1989; M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński w średniowiecznej Europie i Polsce. Wybrane problemy*, Wrocław 1998.

2 Cf. M. Borkowska, *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich w Polsce*, Tyniec 1989.

3 Ibidem, p. 163.

4 J. Leclercq, *Miłość nauki a pragnienie Boga*, Kraków 1997, p. 277.

their lives, especially during Lent, the spiritual sons and daughters of the founder of the “school of serving the Lord” were to “with the joy of spiritual desire [...] look forward to holy Easter” (*The Rule of Benedict*, 49:21–22). At the height of this “looking forward” and awaiting were the Easter Triduum and the *officium divinum* celebrated in those days.<sup>5</sup>

However, each abbey, which was assumed to be autonomous with respect to other monasteries, celebrated the choral prayer according to its own customs that had developed through tradition. This diversity in the ways of celebrating worship was not something unique to the Benedictines or to religious orders more broadly. Rather, it was a general trait of the medieval liturgy. From the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, there were many local liturgical traditions in the Western Church, which was discernible in both the Mass repertoire and in the *officium divinum*. Across the Holy Roman Empire, there were distinct liturgical customs in nearly every diocese.<sup>6</sup> Although the Mass repertoire was partly stabilized relatively early, and its official source was the papal sacramentary, the antiphony and later breviary with the texts of the divine office never received the status of an official, model liturgical book because of the impossibility of standardizing such a diverse repertoire.<sup>7</sup> In the books used to celebrate the *officium divinum*, each formula represented a distinct configuration of texts and melodies shaped by local tradition.<sup>8</sup> This diversity in the arrangement and selection of antiphonies and responsories remained in an unchanged form up until the post-Tridentine reform.<sup>9</sup>

Such an original body of codes transmitting the texts of the office presents a unique occasion to study the interdependence of and relationship between various traditions. At least to a certain degree, this allows us to respond to

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5 In a broader sense, the Latin term *officium divinum* (Eng. Office) describes “the common prayer of the Church as an expression of its public worship” (B. Nadolski, *Liturgika*, vol. 2: *Liturgia i czas*, Poznań, 1991, p. 179). This article, however, will use it as a synonym of the expressions “liturgy of the hours,” “canonical hours,” etc.

6 Cf. D. Hiley, *Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies*, [in:] *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy. Plainsong and Medieval Music Society centennial Essays*, ed. by S. Rankin, D. Hiley, Oxford 1993, p. 145–174.

7 Cf. C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Turnhout 2004, p. 29.

8 M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Turnhout 1988, p. 86n.

9 D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, p. 307.

the question of the provenience of local traditions and to describe the affiliations between them.<sup>10</sup>

## 1. Methodology

At the beginning of the twentieth century, French liturgists, especially Benedictines, worked to identify local liturgical variants in different dioceses and religious orders. Particularly important is the research of Father Gabriel Beyssac,<sup>11</sup> who has demonstrated that most local traditions can be distinguished on the basis of the arrangement of the matutinum responsories dedicated to specific liturgical celebrations: the four Sundays of Advent, Christmas, the Easter Triduum, Easter, All Saints' Day, All Souls' Day, and the formula *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae*. In order to present the relationship between various traditions, Beyssac created the so-called "numerical method," which assigned a different method to each responsory. This allowed for the creation of sequences of nine (*cursus romanus*) or twelve (*cursus monasticus*) responsories, each of which appears in a specific relationship to the others. The responsories that were created in this way were arranged according to a numeric order, which created the possibility of comparing them.<sup>12</sup>

Victor Leroquais, the author of the catalogue of liturgical manuscripts collected in French libraries that was published in 1924–1943,<sup>13</sup> used Beyssac's method to create a list of responsories for the Sundays in Advent, Easter Triduum, and the office for the dead.<sup>14</sup>

In the second half of the twentieth century, Rene-Jean Hesbert studied the identification of local liturgical traditions. The fifth and sixth volumes of his monumental work *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii* contain a collection of responsories and verses of the matutinum for the Sundays and dry days of Advent.<sup>15</sup>

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10 Cf. J. Kubieniec, *Secundum consuetudinem. Śpiew godzin kanonicznych w średniowiecznej metropolii gnieźnieńskiej*, Kraków 2013, p. 8.

11 Cf. F. Combaluzier, *In memoriam Gabrielis Beyssac*, „Ephemerides Liturgicae” 82 (1968), p. 47–53.

12 Beyssac's methods have been described in: C. Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Turnhout 2004, p. 30.

13 V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1–5, Paris 1934.

14 Leroquais' lists of responsories are available in the form of the author's notes in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3160–3164.

15 R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii*, vol. 1–6, Roma 1963–1979.

In 1979, Father Raymond Le Roux published the results of his research on the responses in the *Triduum Sacrum* office in the eighteenth volume of *Etudes Gregoriennes*. Le Roux presented the arrangement and selection of responsories in more than 400 medieval sources from across Europe with the texts of the *officium divinum*.<sup>16</sup>

However, this methodology has not been employed on a large scale in Polish research on Benedictine liturgical traditions.<sup>17</sup> Beyssac's comparative method seems especially effective and nearly foolproof with regards to studying the relationship between different variants of formulas of the office.

In this article, Le Roux's findings have been used to identify the tradition of the Polish Benedictines in the pre-Tridentine age and the indications binding together these traditions of interdependence, and they are compared with foreign sources. The liturgical origins of the customs of Polish abbeys had not hitherto been the subject of in-depth research; therefore, the conclusions that are the result of these comparisons could contribute to broader historical research on the provenance and interdependency of the liturgical traditions of the first Benedictine communities in Poland.

## 2. Sources

Only eight manuscripts of codes containing the texts of the *officium divinum* celebrated in Polish Benedictine monasteries during the pre-Tridentine era have survived up through the present day. They are:

1. Mściśław's Antiphonary (National Library of Poland, AKC 10 808 [Rps 12720 V], provenance: Benedictine monastery in Tyniec).
2. *Antiphonale iuxta constitutionem Ordinis Patris sancti Benedicti. De tempore* (Archive of the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki, ms. 1, 2, 4, provenance: convent of Benedictine nuns in Staniątki).
3. *Breviarium monasticum* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Theol. Lat. Qu. 149, provenance: Benedictine monastery in Lubiń).
4. Benedictine Breviary (University of Warsaw Library, rps BUW 184, provenance: Benedictine monastery in Sieciechów or in św. Krzyż).

16 R. Le Roux, *Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques*, „Etudes Gregoriennes” 18 (1979), p. 157–176.

17 Jakub Kubieniec makes use of Beyssac's methodology in his treatise *Secundum consuetudinem. Śpiew godzin kanonicznych w średniowiecznej metropolii gnieźnieńskiej*, Kraków 2013.

5. *Breviarium* (National Library of Poland, rps. BOZ 65, provenance: Benedictine monastery in Tyniec, contains only the *de sanctis formula*)
6. *Breviarium de tempore et de sanctis, pars aestivalis* (Wrocław University Library, IF 466, provenance: convent of Benedictine nuns in Legnica).
7. *Breviarium de tempore et de sanctis* (Wrocław University Library, I O 95, provenance: convent of Benedictine nuns in Legnica, contains the texts of the daytime hours except for the formula about St. Mary Magdalene).
8. *Hymnarius* (Wrocław University Library, I O 96, provenance: convent of Benedictine nuns in Legnica).

Only the first four codes mentioned above pass on the texts of the matutinum, including responsories intended for the various days of the Easter Triduum.

### 3. A Description of the Sources

The oldest Polish manuscript of a Benedictine provenience with a repertoire of the canonical hours is Mściśław's Antiphonary from Tyniec dated to 1409<sup>18</sup> or earlier years.<sup>19</sup> Based on what is written in the colophon,<sup>20</sup> we see that the antiphonist is the cathedralist Przybysław<sup>21</sup> and that it was compiled by Mściśław, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec in 1386–1410.<sup>22</sup> We can find a general description of the manuscript in the works of Barbara Miodońska,<sup>23</sup>

18 *Notae musicae artis. Notacja muzyczna w źródłach polskich XI–XVI wieku*, red. E. Witkowska-Zaręba, Kraków 1999, p. 229.

19 *Antyfonarz opata Mściśława*, [in:] *Tyniec. Sztuka i kultura benedyktynów od wieku XI do XVIII. Katalog wystawy na Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu, październik–grudzień 1994*, red. nauk. K. Żurowska, oprac. M. Podlowska-Reklewska i E. Pycińska, Kraków 1994, p. 34.

20 The colophon found on page 352v reads: "Explicit liber de Tempore per manus Przibislai Kathedralis, compilatus per reverendum in christo patrem divina providentia Mstislaum, abbatem tiniciensem. Orate pro eis."

21 Cf. T. Miazga, *Skryptorzy ksiąg choralnych w Polsce*, „*Studia Sandomierskie*” 3 (1982), p. 306, 321.

22 P. Szaniecki, *Katalog opatów Tynieckich*, Tyniec 1978, p. 76–83; M. Derwich, *Monastycyzm benedyktyński...*, op. cit., p. 77.

23 B. Miodońska, *Kodeksy iluminowane Benedyktynów tynieckich. Wiek XIV–XV. Uwagi historyka sztuki*, [in:] *Benedyktyni Tyniecy w średniowieczu. Materiały z sesji naukowej Wawel-Tyniec 13–15 października 1994*, red. nauk. K. Żurowska, Kraków 1995, p. 243–260.

Władysław Podlacha,<sup>24</sup> Feliks Kopera,<sup>25</sup> Klementyna Żurowska,<sup>26</sup> and Gabriela Klimecka,<sup>27</sup> and references to the notation used in the Tyniec code can be found in the works of Janka Szendrea<sup>28</sup> and Tadeusz Miazga.<sup>29</sup> A vast study on the sources of the antiphonary was done by Rev. Tadeusz Bratkowski,<sup>30</sup> who also compared the repertoire of Przybysław's manuscript to other Benedictine antiphonaries that developed between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>31</sup> According to the colophon, the manuscript is *liber de Tempore*, which contains the songs of the Sunday office and the holidays of the entire liturgical year.<sup>32</sup>

Mścislaw's Antiphonary, which represents the Tyniec tradition, is tied to the oldest preserved handwritten antiphonary in the Benedictine Archive in Staniątki, *Antiphonale iuxta constitudinem Ordinis Patris sancti Benedicti. De tempore*. According to a squib<sup>33</sup> written on the last page of the third volume, it was compiled in Tyniec in 1535 by Tomasz, the organ player there,<sup>34</sup> upon the request of Dorota Szreniawska, the twelfth abbess of the convent in Staniątki; it consisted of two volumes. Because of its weight, in 1800 the first of the two

24 W. Podlacha, *Miniatury tynieckich ksiąg liturgicznych w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej we Lwowie*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzechowicza*, vol. 2, Lwów 1916, p. 195–204.

25 F. Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce. Średniowieczne malarstwo w Polsce*, vol. 1, Kraków 1918, p. 46.

26 *Antyfonarz opata Mścislawa*, [in:] *Tyniec. Sztuka i kultura benedyktynów od wieku XI do XVIII...*, op. cit., p. 34.

27 G. Klimecka, *Tynieckie rękopisy iluminowane w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej przykładem benedyktyńskiej kultury piśmienniczej w XIV–XV wieku*, [in:] *Klasztor w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, red. M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz, Opole 1995, p. 289–297.

28 J. Szendrei, *Notacja liniowa w polskich źródłach chorałowych XII–XIV wieku*, [in:] *Notae musicae artis...*, op. cit., p. 270–277.

29 T. Miazga, *Notacja gregoriańska w świetle polskich rękopisów liturgicznych*, Graz 1984.

30 T. Bratkowski, *Antyfonarz Mścislawa z Tyńca. Studium źródłoznawcze*, Przemyśl 2009.

31 T. Bratkowski, *Officium divinum de tempore w rękopiśmiennych antyfonarzach zakonów benedyktyńskich w Polsce od XV do XIX wieku*, Rzeszów 2013.

32 Cf. footnote 4.

33 “Explicit pars antiphonarii de Tempore. Quod Jesu Christo: Salvatori nostro in laudem suae quam Genitrici Beatae Mariae Virgini et honorem. Venerabilis religiosa quam Virgo Dorothea Szreniawska, Abbatissa Sancti monialium ordinis patris Sancti Benedicti: in Staniasthy propriis impensis exstruxit. Anno Domini Millesimo quinguentissimo tricesimo quinto – 1535. Quare vos praesens future quam religionis eiusdem sorores domino psallentes hoc in codice lecte canite. Praefate quam abbatis memores Deus illi miserere, semper dicite. Operarius quoque nomen cuius est Thomas verba praedicta sibi dici humiliter precatur.”

34 Cf. the squib on an inset ms. 4, card 16v; according to Barbara Miodońska, it was by the cathedralist Tomek.

volumes was divided into two parts,<sup>35</sup> and the individual books were given the reference numbers ms. 1, 2, 4.<sup>36</sup> The first volume is titled *Księga Adwentowa* (“The Advent Book”), the second is titled *Księga Postna* (“The Lenten Book”), and the third is *Księga Wielkonocna* (“The Easter Book”). In the middle of the seventeenth century, the antiphonary was adapted to the post-Tridentine liturgy, containing new written texts, entire pages or collections of formulas that were written down probably by Zofia Borowińska, the scribe who copied the 1651 Staniątki gradual.<sup>37</sup> The connection between the Staniątki code and Mściślaw of Tynec’s antiphonary is evident both in the arrangement of the repertoire as well as in its musical and textual contents.<sup>38</sup>

The third source is a handwritten breviary dating to 1476<sup>39</sup> originating in the Benedictine abbey in Lubin currently stored in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.<sup>40</sup> According to the colophon written on page 258v, its author is Albert, the son of Bartłomiej (Bartholomew) of Środa.<sup>41</sup> The code contains the texts of the formulas *de tempore*, *commune sanctorum*, and *de sanctis* for the entire liturgical year. The first twenty-eight pages inscribed in 1516 by another hand

35 Barbara Miodońska incorrectly writes that the antiphonary consists of four volumes – cf. B. Miodońska, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320–1540*, Warszawa 1993, p. 80, 241.

36 A squib added to code ms. 1 on the title card: “This is an Advent book. One can correctly think that this book is the first of those that the Abbess of Staniątki says were the effort and cost of Miss Dorota Szreniawska, the Abbess, as a result of whom they were used in the choir. Look for this in the Book called the Easter Book on the last page. That is how the Abbess, full of sanctity, fell asleep in the Lord AD 1536, on the day of May 21. She served in her function as abbess for eighteen years. This book was quite heavy, which is why the now governing Most Venerable in the Lord God Miss Apolonia Wizanna Szmidowiczówna who, taking into consideration the weakness of strength of today’s youth, demanded that it be divided into two. This was in 1800. Under the priorship of Miss Franciszka Lochmanówna. The Cantorship of Miss Zofia Madeyska. And the one that writes Anna. These books were bought for eighteen zlotys each. This part began with the first Sunday of Advent. It ends between the octave SS. Three Kings see 300. What you cannot find here, look for elsewhere. Peculiarly in the Book, that Ecce Sacerdos speak with.”

37 J. Kubieniec, *Muzyka liturgiczna*, [in:] *Monografia zespołu muzycznego oraz katalog muzykaliów klasztoru ss. Benedyktynek w Staniątkach*, pod red. M. Konika, Kraków 2016, p. 20.

38 Cf. *ibidem*, p. 22.

39 M. Skibniewski, *Opactwo benedyktynów w Lubiniu. Perła wśród niziny*, Poznań 1988, p. 28.

40 G. Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Teil 1: Ms. theol. lat. qu. 141–266, Wiesbaden 1979, p. 50–52.

41 The contents of the colophon: “Expliciunt dominice per circulum anni per me Albertum Bartolomei filium nacione de Sroda et sunt finite post nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi anno domini milesimo quadricentesimo septimo sexto et hoc scripsit albertus vere quia pro eo cantaverunt unum miserere etc.”

are the *Hymnarium de tempore et de sanctis* whose texts indicate Krakow provenience, according to Achten.<sup>42</sup>

The fourth pre-Tridentine manuscript containing the texts of the matutinum dedicated to specific days of the Easter Triduum is the Benedictine breviary from the latter half of the sixteenth century stored in the University Library in Warsaw. The provenience of the code is unknown. It is believed to originate in the Benedictine abbey in Sieciechów, on Łysa Góra (Holy Cross Hill), or in Tyniec.<sup>43</sup> According to the conservation documentation from 1987, “the breviary was written on handmade paper with black ink, containing handwritten numerous initials and titles. [...] This interesting text was read very frequently. The turning of pages caused their damage. [...] On several pages, one can see candle residue.”<sup>44</sup> Like the Lubin manuscript, the Warsaw code contains a set of formulas for the entire liturgical year. The formulas about the saints that are typical for the Krakow liturgical calendar are evidence that the code originated in Lesser Poland.<sup>45</sup>

#### The Juxtaposition of the Responsories for the Specific Days of the Triduum Sacrum<sup>46</sup>

##### Feria V in Cena Domini

	Mściśław's Antiphonary	Staniątki Antiphonary ms. 2	Lubin Breviary	Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184
<b>N1/r1</b>	Seniores populi consilium	-	Seniores populi consilium	Seniores populi consilium
<b>N1/v1</b>	Collegerunt ergo pontifices	-	Collegerunt ergo pontifices	Collegerunt ergo pontifices
<b>N1/r2</b>	In monte Oliveti	-	In monte Oliveti	In monte Oliveti
<b>N1/v2</b>	Verumtamen non sicut	-	Verumtamen non sicut	Verumtamen non sicut
<b>N1/r3</b>	Tristis est anima mea	-	Tristis est anima mea	Tristis est anima mea
<b>N1/v3</b>	Ecce appropinquabit hora	-	Vigilate et orate ne intretis	Ecce appropinquabit hora

42 Cf. G. Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen...*, op. cit., p. 50.

43 G. Achten, *Die theologischen lateinischen...*, op. cit., p. 50. H. Kozerska i W. Stummer, Warszawa 1963, p. 229. According to the recognition of Rev. Wojciech Danielski and Krzysztof Bracha, this breviary comes from the abbey of the Holy Cross in Łysiec – cf. W. Danielski, *Kult św. Wojciecha na ziemiach polskich*, Lublin 1997, p. 347; K. Bracha, *Dziedzictwo duchowe benedyktynów świętokrzyskich w średniowieczu*, „Debaty świętokrzyskie” 1 (2014), p. 67.

44 The conservation documentation compiled by Witomiła Wołk-Jezińska, the executor of the conservation of the site, is available in the Manuscript Office of the University of Warsaw.

45 Cf. *Katalog rękopisów...*, op. cit., p. 229.

46 The following abbreviations have been used in the table: **N** – nocturne, **r** – responsory, **v** – verse. In the case of Mściśław's Antiphonary and the Staniątki Antiphonary, in which there are only three responsories that have not been assigned to a specific nocturne, they have been placed in the appropriate places, directed by the analogy of their appearance in the remaining codes.



	Mścisław's Antiphony	Staniątki Antiphony ms. 2	Lubin Breviary	Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184
N2/r1	-	-	Ecce vidimus eum	Ecce vidimus eum
N2/v1	-	-	Vere languores nostros	Vere languores nostros
N2/r2	-	-	Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me	Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me
N2/v2	-	-	Qui intingit mecum manum	Qui intingit mecum manum
N2/r3	-	-	Ecce turba et qui vocabatur Judas	Ecce turba et qui vocabatur Judas
N2/v3	-	-	Filius quidem hominis vadit	Filius quidem hominis vadit
N3/r1	-	Amicus meus osculi me tradidit signo	Amicus meus osculi me	Revelabunt caeli iniquitatem Judae
N3/v1	-	Bonum illi erat ei si natus	Melius illi erat	In die perditionis servabitur
N3/r2	-	Revelabunt caeli iniquitatem Judae et terra	Revelabunt caeli iniquitatem Judae	Amicus meus osculi me
N3/v2	-	In die perditionis servabitur	In die perditionis servabitur	Melius illi erat
N3/r3	-	O Juda qui dereliquisti consilium pacis	O Juda qui dereliquisti consilium pacis	O Juda qui dereliquisti consilium pacis
N3/v3	-	Juda osculo filium hominis	Juda osculo filium hominis	Juda osculo filium hominis

## Feria VI in Parasceve

	Mścisław's Antiphony	Staniątki Antiphony ms. 2	Lubin Breviary	Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184
N1/r1	Omnes amici mei dereliquerunt me	-	Omnes amici mei dereliquerunt me	Omnes amici mei dereliquerunt me
N1/v1	Et dederunt in escam meam	-	Et dederunt in escam meam	Et dederunt in escam meam
N1/r2	Caligaverunt oculi mei a fletu meo	-	Caligaverunt oculi mei a fletu meo	Caligaverunt oculi mei a fletu meo
N1/v2	O vos omnes qui transitis	-	O vos omnes qui transitis	O vos omnes qui transitis
N1/r3	Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum	-	Tamquam ad latronem	Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum
N1/v3	Astiterunt reges terrae	-	Filius quidem hominis	Astiterunt reges terrae
N2/r1	-	-	Jesum tradidit impius	Tamquam ad latronem
N2/v1	-	-	Et ingressus Petrus in atrium	Cumque injecissent manus
N2/r2	-	-	Tradiderunt me in manus	Jesum tradidit impius
N2/v2	-	-	Alieni insurrexerunt in me	Adduxerunt autem ad Caipham principem
N2/r3	-	-	Barabbas latro dimittitur	Barabbas latro dimittitur
N2/v3	-	-	Ecce turba et qui vocabatur Judas	Ecce turba et qui vocabatur Judas
N3/r1	-	Vinea mea electa ego te plantavi	Velum templi scissum est	Vinea mea electa ego te plantavi
N3/v1	-	Saepivi te et lapides elegi ex te	Amen dico tibi hodie mecum	Saepivi te et lapides elegi ex te

	<b>Mścisław's Antiphony</b>	<b>Staniątki Antiphony ms. 2</b>	<b>Lubin Breviary</b>	<b>Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184</b>
<b>N3/r2</b>	–	Velum templi scissum est et omnis	Vinea mea electa ego te plantavi	Velum templi scissum est
<b>N3/v2</b>	–	Petrae scissae sunt et monumenta aperta	Saepivi te et lapides elegi ex te	Amen dico tibi hodie mecum
<b>N3/r3</b>	–	Tenebrae factae sunt dum crucifixisset Jesum	Tenebrae factae sunt	Tenebrae factae sunt
<b>N3/v3</b>	–	Exclamans Jesus voce magna ait pater	Cum ergo accepisset acetum	Cum ergo accepisset acetum

## Sabbato Sancto

	<b>Mścisław's Antiphony</b>	<b>Staniątki Antiphony ms. 2</b>	<b>Lubin Breviary</b>	<b>Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184</b>
<b>N1/r1</b>	Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum	–	Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum	Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum
<b>N1/v1</b>	Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus	–	Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus	Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus
<b>N1/r2</b>	Jerusalem luge et exue	–	Jerusalem luge et exue	Jerusalem luge et exue
<b>N1/v2</b>	Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas	–	Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas	Deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas
<b>N1/r3</b>	Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est	–	Plange quasi virgo plebs mea	Plange quasi virgo plebs mea
<b>N1/v3</b>	Tradidit in mortem animam	–	Ululate pastores et clamate	Ululate pastores et clamate
<b>N2/r1</b>	–	–	Recessit pastor bonus fons aquae vivae	Recessit pastor bonus fons aquae vivae
<b>N2/v1</b>	–	–	Ante cujus conspectum mors fugit	Ante cujus conspectum mors fugit
<b>N2/r2</b>	–	–	O vos omnes qui transitis	O vos omnes qui transitis
<b>N2/v2</b>	–	–	Attendite universi populi	Attendite universi populi
<b>N2/r3</b>	–	–	Ecce quomodo moritur Justus	Ecce quomodo moritur justus
<b>N2/v3</b>	–	–	In pace factus est locus ejus	In pace factus est locus ejus
<b>N3/r1</b>	–	Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum	Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum	Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum
<b>N3/v1</b>	–	Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori in	Et sicut vulnerati dormientes	Et sicut vulnerati dormientes
<b>N3/r2</b>	–	Agnus dei Christus immolatus est pro	Agnus dei Christus immolatus est pro	Agnus dei Christus immolatus est pro
<b>N3/v2</b>	–	Christus factus est pro nobis oboediens	Christus factus est pro nobis oboediens	Christus factus est pro nobis oboediens
<b>N3/r3</b>	–	Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est	Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est	Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est
<b>N3/v3</b>	–	Tradidit in mortem animam suam et	Tradidit in mortem animam suam et	Tradidit in mortem animam suam et

## Dominica Resurrectionis

	<b>Mściślav's Antiphony</b>	<b>Staniątki Antiphony ms. 2</b>	<b>Lubin Breviary</b>	<b>Benedictine Breviary rps. BUW 184</b>
<b>N1/r1</b>	Angelus domini descendit de caelo	Angelus domini descendit de caelo	Angelus domini descendit de caelo	Angelus domini descendit de caelo
<b>N1/v1</b>	Et introeuntes in monumentum	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus dicens
<b>N1/r2</b>	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus	Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus
<b>N1/v2</b>	Jesum quaeritis Nazarenum	Sicut dilexit me pater et ego	Ecce praecedet vos in Galilaeam	Jesum quaeritis Nazarenum
<b>N1/r3</b>	Maria Magdalena et altera Maria	lacuna	Maria Magdalena et altera Maria	Maria Magdalena et altera Maria
<b>N1/v3</b>	Et valde mane una sabbatorum	lacuna	Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus	Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus
<b>N1/r4</b>	Si consurrexistis cum Christo	Si consurrexistis cum Christo	Surgens Jesus dominus noster	Si consurrexistis cum Christo
<b>N1/v4</b>	Mortui enim estis et vita vestra	Mortui enim estis et vita vestra	Surrexit dominus de sepulcro	Mortui enim estis et vita vestra
<b>N2/r1</b>	Expurgate vetus fermentum	Expurgate vetus fermentum	Expurgate vetus fermentum	Expurgate vetus fermentum
<b>N2/v1</b>	Mortuus est propter delicta nostra	Non in fermento malitiae et nequitiae	Christus resurgens ex mortuis	Non in fermento malitiae et nequitiae
<b>N2/r2</b>	Christus resurgens ex mortuis	Christus resurgens ex mortuis	Virtute magna reddebant apostoli	Christus resurgens ex mortuis
<b>N2/v2</b>	Mortuus est enim propter delicta nostra	Mortuus est enim propter delicta nostra	Repleti quidem spiritu sancto	Mortuus est enim propter delicta nostra
<b>N2/r3</b>	Virtute magna reddebant apostoli	Virtute magna reddebant apostoli	Tulerunt dominum meum et nescio	Virtute magna reddebant apostoli
<b>N2/v3</b>	Repleti quidem spiritu sancto	Repleti quidem spiritu sancto	Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus	Repleti quidem spiritu sancto
<b>N2/r4</b>	Surgens Jesus dominus noster	Surgens Jesus dominus noster	Si consurrexistis cum Christo	Surgens Jesus dominus noster
<b>N2/v4</b>	Una ergo sabbatorum cum fores	Una ergo sabbatorum cum fores	Mortui enim estis et vita vestra	Una ergo sabbatorum cum fores
<b>N3/r1</b>	Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit	Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit	Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda	Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit
<b>N3/v1</b>	Etenim pascha nostrum	Etenim pascha nostrum	Et unus de senioribus dixit mihi	Surrexit dominus de sepulcro
<b>N3/r2</b>	Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda	Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda	Isti sunt agni novella	Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda
<b>N3/v2</b>	Dignus est agnus qui occisus est	Dignus est agnus qui occisus est	In conspectu agni amicti stolis albis	Et unus de senioribus dixit
<b>N3/r3</b>	Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo	Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo	De ore prudentis procedit mel alleluia	Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo
<b>N3/v3</b>	Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus	Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus	Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquentia tua	Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus
<b>N3/r4</b>	Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalena	lacuna	Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalena	Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalena
<b>N3/v4</b>	Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt	Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt	Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt	Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt

As the above juxtapositions show, the Polish monastic *Triduum Sacrum* office has an identical arrangement as the cathedral office with nine readings and responsories, three each for each nocturne. The exception is if Mścisław's Antiphony and the Staniątki antiphony, which give only three responsories. The responsories from Tyniec correspond to the former, while the Staniątki responsories correspond to the third nocturne of the three-nocturne formula.

	Feria V in Cena Domini			Feria VI in Parasceve			Sabbato Sancto			Dominica Resurrectionis		
	N 1	N 2	N 3	N 1	N 2	N 3	N 1	N 2	N 3	N 1	N 2	N 3
Mścisław's Antiphony	IAB			AJH			ABI			ABDS	IOGE	MJUC
Staniątki Antiphony ms. 4			DJL			CBE			GHI	AB_S	IOGE	MJU_
Lubin Breviary	IAB	CFK	DJL	AJD	IHG	BCE	ABC	DEF	GHI	ABDE	IGHS	JKLC
Brewiarz Benedyktynski BUW 184	IAB	CFK	JDL	AJH	DIG	CBE	ABC	DEF	GHI	ABDS	IOGE	MJUC

The arrangement of the responsories of the matutinum of the Triduum Sacrum is according to Le Roux's lettered symbols

Unlike the first three formulas of the Easter Triduum, the fourth office of Easter Sunday maintains a formal arrangement in accordance with the guidelines presented in *The Rule of St. Benedict*, which presents four readings and responsories in each of the three nocturnes, which adds up to twelve (*The Rule of Benedict*, 11).<sup>47</sup>

The arrangement of the responsories in the *feria V in cena Domini* formula is similar in all the described sources. The Lubin and Warsaw codes repeat three responsories contained in the Tyniec antiphony as well as those inscribed in the Staniątki manuscript.

In the case of the *Feria VI in Parasceve* manuscript, only the Warsaw code contains the Tyniec and Staniątki responsories in an identical arrangement. The Lubin Breviary, however, represents a different selection of them.

On Holy Saturday, the arrangement of the matutinum responsories is identical to that in the Lubin and Warsaw sources with the same responsories of the third nocturne as those in Staniątki, while the Tyniec code presents

47 Św. Benedykt z Nursji, *Reguła*, op. cit., p. 97–98.

a different third *Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est* responsory, which in the remaining manuscripts is the last (ninth) one.

The arrangement of the responsories in the formula for Easter Sunday is exactly the same in the Tyniec and Warsaw codes and perhaps in the Staniątki manuscript, in which the third and last responsories have not been preserved, as well. The Lubin Breviary presents a distinct selection and arrangement of responsories.

In conclusion, three among the four described sources containing the matutinum *Triduum Sacrum* formulas are very similar with regards to the selection and arrangement to the responsories. These are the Tyniec, Staniątki, and Warsaw codes. The first two present only one nocturne with three responsories for the three remaining days of the Easter Triduum. Perhaps this is due to the influence of the Cistercian tradition, which has only three responsories for those days in the matutinum.<sup>48</sup> It is difficult to say how the Cistercian liturgical traditions have impacted the Tyniec Benedictines. It is known that the abbey Męcislaw was in contact with the abbey of Jędrzejów; however, the literature contains no references to any changes in the liturgy celebrated in Tyniec under the influence of the Cistercians. With regards to the Staniątki code, it is unknown if it was a copy of the Tyniec books or earlier antiphonaries used in the Benedictine convent. Perhaps the copyist, the previously mentioned Tomasz, used the tradition in Męcislaw's Antiphony as a model and wrote only three responsories that nonetheless were not identical to those of Tyniec. The responsories from both mentioned codes appear to have their origins in the archetypal arrangement of the matutinum responsories, which resembled the model contained in the Warsaw breviary and had functioned earlier. The Lubin manuscript appears to represent a tradition distinct from the others.

#### 4. Polish Sources from a Comparative Perspective

In his work *Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques*, Raymond Le Roux compared a series of responsories for the *Triduum Sacrum* of among more than

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48 Cf. the arrangement of the responsories of the matutinum in Cistercian sources in the comparisons by Father Le Roux: R. Le Roux, *Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques*, op. cit., p. 168–173. Cf. also the index of codes of a Cistercian provenance in the Cantus database. A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org>.

400 manuscripts and prints representing both the monastic and diocesan traditions. The compiled list presents the great diversity with regards to the selection of texts for different days of the Eastern Triduum. The author mentions 117 different responsories for Maundy Thursday, 127 for Good Friday, fifty-three for Holy Saturday, and 128 for Easter Sunday. What is even more striking is that the arrangement of the responsories in the codes of the Tyniec tradition is convergent with both manuscripts mentioned by Le Roux; in other words, with the breviaries from the Benedictine convent of St. Maurus in Verdun. The first of them is a fourteenth-century code stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris with the reference number ms. lat. 1029 A,<sup>49</sup> while the other is a breviary in the Bibliothèque Municipale w Epinal dating to the second half of the thirteenth century (reference number ms. 97).<sup>50</sup>

The Lubin Breviary shows agreement with regards to the responsories of the matutinum of the *Triduum Sacrum* contained within it and the following manuscripts included in Father Le Roux's list:

1. A thirteenth-century code from Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) containing the texts of the office of the cathedral tradition.<sup>51</sup>
2. A twelfth-century breviary of unknown origin, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale (ms. 510).<sup>52</sup>
3. A fifteenth-century breviary from the Benedictine abbey in Altdorf is stored in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Colmar (reference number ms. 461).<sup>53</sup>
4. A breviary from 1332 originating in the Benedictine abbey of St. Arnulf in Metz, presently in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Metz (reference number ms. 333).<sup>54</sup>
5. A printed breviary from Cologne from 1495.
6. A fourteenth-century breviary from the collegiate church in Saint-Dié, presently in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Saint-Dié (reference number ms. 59).<sup>55</sup>

49 V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 3, Paris 1934, p. 10.

50 Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 88.

51 The index of a code (D-AAm G 20) contained in the Cantus database. A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <http://cantusdatabase.org>.

52 J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vol. 1, Bruxelles 1901, p. 323. Le Roux provides the old reference number of the manuscript, ms. 353.

53 V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires...*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 9.

54 Ibidem, p. 226.

55 Ibidem, vol. 4, p. 133.

7. A breviary from 1580 originating in the abbey of St. Paul in Senones, stored in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Epinal (reference number ms. 76).<sup>56</sup>
8. A thirteenth century breviary from Metz (*pars hiemalis*) stored in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Metz (reference number ms. 461).<sup>57</sup>
9. A fifteenth century breviary from Metz currently in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Metz (reference number ms. 588).<sup>58</sup>
10. A fourteenth century breviary from the Benedictine abbey of St. Symphorian in Metz, currently in a private collection.

The above-described interdependencies relate to the three offices of the *Triduum Sacrum*: Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. The selection of texts for the ceremony of the Resurrection of the Lord is unique to the Polish sources and does not have an exact equivalent in the codes studied by Le Roux. Both mentioned sources from St. Maurus do not contain responsories for Easter Sunday, which makes it impossible to compare the texts of the Tyniec tradition with the latter. Meanwhile, the comparison of Easter texts from the Lubin breviary and the above-mentioned related Western sources present themselves as follows:

Lubin Breviary	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
		A		A	A			A	A	
A	A	B		B	B			B	B	
B	B	C		C	C			C	C	
D	C	D		D	D			D	D	
E	D	E		E	E			E	E	
I	E	I		I	I			I	I	
G	F	G		G	G			G	G	
H	G	H	-	H	H	-	-	H	H	
S	H	S		S	S			S	S	-
J	I	J		J	J			J	J	
K	J	K		K	K			K	K	
L	K	L		L	L			L	L	
C	L	O		F	F			F	F	
	M	M		O	O			O	O	
		U		M	M			M	M	
				U	U			U	U	
	I	II		III	III			III	III	

The arrangement of the responsories of the matutinum of the *Triduum Sacrum* is according to Le Roux's lettered symbols

<sup>56</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 82.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 231.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 252.

As the above list shows, we can distinguish between three different models of selecting the responsories among the sources close to the Lubin tradition. Models II and III encompass all the Lubin responsories, although in a different order, which indirectly confirms the previously presented interdependence of the Lubin tradition and particular codes.

All of the abovementioned sources come from diocesan or monastic centers located in the area of the historical region of Lorraine or in its vicinity, such as Cologne. This location confirms historians' hypothesis regarding the first groups of monks coming to the Polish lands originating from beyond the Rhine.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, the topic of the interdependence and relatedness of traditions consolidated in the Polish sources as well as their connection to the liturgical customs of European centers requires more in-depth research. The results of the research presented in this article could become the inspiration for similar comparisons taking into account other formulas, such as Sundays and the dry days of Advent, All Saints' Day, the dedication of a church, and the



59 Cf. L. Génicot, *Polska i kraj nadmozański w średniowieczu. Krótkie podsumowanie i sugestie dalszych badań*, [in:] *Belgia–Polska. Bilans i perspektywy badawcze*, red. J. Rebeta, Lublin 1988, p. 12n. Cf. also: U. Berlière, *Bénédictins liégeois en Pologne au XIIe siècle*, „Revue Bénédictine” 13 (1896) nr 1–4, p. 112–117, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.RB.4.04531>; G. Labuda, *Kto i kiedy ufundował klasztor w Tyńcu?*, [in:] *Benedyktyjni tyniecy w średniowieczu...*, op. cit., p. 23–39.



office for the dead, in which there are the most numerous and characteristic variants concerning the selection and order of the responsories.<sup>60</sup> A comparison of a greater number of formulas would present a broader image of the phenomenon under discussion. It is also to undertake more detailed and extensive research concerning the interdependency of the Polish traditions of celebrating the *officium divinum*, taking into consideration the remaining preserved medieval Benedictine sources, especially the Legnica codes, in order to demonstrate the influences within the office between different convents and distinguish, at least as much as is possible, their first liturgical models.

## Abstract

### The Triduum Sacrum Responsive Prayers in Polish Benedictine officium divinum Sources in the Pre-Tridentine Age

This article presents the Polish pre-Tridentine books for the celebration of the Divine Office originating in Benedictine monasteries and the texts of the responsories' matutinum contained within them intended for consecutive days of the Sacred Triduum. The mentioned responsive prayers are presented in relation to other European sources of the office, at the same time demonstrating the relationship between the Benedictine liturgical traditions and the customs cultivated in different diocesan and monastic centers in Western Europe.

**Keywords:** Responsive Prayers; Holy Office; Benedictines; Sacred Triduum; middle ages; Breviary; antiphonary

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