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# THE EXSULTET CHANT IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MISSALE PAULINORUM

Abstract. In light of the information gleaned from musical analysis concerning the version of the Exsultet chant in the Missale Paulinorum, it should be stated that this is not a faithful copy of either the Norman melody widespread in Europe or of the Gniezno melody. Its melody is full of modifications of various types in relation to the selected comparative sources, for the most part reflecting favourably on the originality of the Pauline source. One can observe in it, for example, certain features shared with the Roman version or different to it, differing from the Gniezno version but close to the Roman, or else displaying a surprising similarity with the Gniezno version but differing from the Roman, a salient example being the initial leap of a fourth. It cannot be excluded that the Pauline and Gniezno versions made use of a common melodic model (from Cracow, for example), whilst the authors of each imparted to their notation an individual colouring. This kind of variability to the melody attests on one hand the considerable migration of this chant and on the other the growing differences between melodic versions towards the end of the Middle Ages. This may be regarded also as a kind of aspiration to breaking up the universality of this chant, or even a desire to throw off the dictates of the old conventions or to lend it a local colouring. The Pauline variant of the Easter Proclamation analysed here, displaying considerable artistry, is a case in point.

**Key words:** *Exsultet*, Missal from Jasna Góra, preface, reciting notes, initial formulas, cadential formulas.

Published in Poland in 2013, thanks to the efforts of an editorial team led by Professor Remigiusz Pośpiech (UWr, UO), was a phototype copy of an historical missal from Jasna Góra [Bright Mountain], in Częstochowa (*Missale Paulinorum*, from c.1506, widely known as the Jagiellon Missal or Olbracht Missal), a unique liturgical-musical manuscript from the library of the Pauline monks on Jasna Góra (AJG, shelf-mark III-3, olim. R. 589). This

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codex is among the most valuable liturgical-musical books from the Jasna Góra archive, a fundamental source of knowledge of the way in which the mass liturgy was conducted in Pauline monasteries during the late Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the present study is to characterise the Easter chant *Exsultet* contained in this manuscript and to compare it with the Roman version, as well as to point to certain links with the mutation of this work in Jan Haller's printed *Missale Gnesnense* from 1506,<sup>2</sup> mainly on account of the similar dates of two books.

# 1. EARLY EVIDENCE OF THE PERFORMANCE OF EXSULTET

The custom of singing the Easter Proclamation<sup>3</sup> dates back to the fourth century. It is first documented in a letter written by St Jerome in 384 (*Epist*. 18) to Deacon Praesidius of Piacenza, in which St Jerome refuses to produce a new 'Praise of the Candle' (*Laudes cerei* or *Carmen cerei*) and brands the prolixity and rhetoric of analogous hymns of praise. He particularly disapproves of exaggerated descriptions of bees based on Virgil's *Georgics* (4, 51 nn.).<sup>4</sup> At the same time, he points out that it was up to the deacon to prepare

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Remigiusz Pośpiech, "Wprowadzenie" [Introduction], in *Mszał Jagiellonów z Jasnej Góry*. Wydanie fototypiczne [The Jagiellon Missal from Jasna Góra. A phototype edition], ed. Remigiusz Pośpiech. Musica Claromontana—Studia 2 (Opole and Częstochowa, 2013), V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A copy of this missal is held in the library of the Catholic University of Lublin, under the shelf-mark XVI 1879. This chant has been researched by Robert Bernagiewicz, "Śpiewy w *Missale Gnesnense* Jana Hallera z 1506 roku" [Chants in Jan Haller's *Missal Gnesnense* from 1506], *Additamenta Musicologica Lublinensia* 5 (2009) 1: 32–36. We draw on the results of that research for our present study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This chant has various names: praeconium paschale (French neo-Gallican missals), laus cerei (France), benedictio cerei (Supplementum Aniana), consecratio cerei (Missale gothicum, Angoulême Sacramentary), hymnus and prosa. From 1570 to 1955, the Roman Missal used the name benedictio cerei (consecratio), then from 1955 Exsultet praeconium paschale; the Missal of 1970, meanwhile, used the term Praeconium paschale; see Bogusław NADOLSKI. Leksykon liturgii [Liturgy lexicon] (Poznań, 2006), 1123. The reason for the restoration of the term praeconium paschale was the celebrant's blessing of the deacon before the solemn chanting of the proclamation, 'Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis: ut digne et competenter annunties suum paschale praeconium'; Heinrich ZWECK, Osterlobpreis und Taufe. Studien zu Struktur und Theologie des Exsultet und anderer Osterpraeconien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Taufmotive (Frankfurt, 1986), 6; Jozue WÓJCIAK, "Exsultet – wielkanocny hymn Kościoła. Geneza i morfologia" [Exsultet—an Easter hymn of the Church. Origins and morphology], Liturgia Sacra 5 (1999) 1: 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> WÓJCIAK, "Exsultet – wielkanocny hymn Kościoła," 93.

the content of the hymn of praise in accordance with the traditional scheme and its manner of performance during the liturgy.<sup>5</sup>

The next testimony to the singing of *Exsultet*, dating the fifth century, comes from St Augustine. In De civitate Dei (XV, 22), he relates that as deacon he has written his own poem laus cerei.<sup>6</sup> From the sixth century, we know of two formulas in praise of the candle by Deacon Ennodius, eulogising the shining light of the candle, symbolising victory over darkness, and the wax from which the candle is made, which is a sign of the mystery of the Eucharist.<sup>7</sup> The next document of the performance of Exsultet is a letter sent by Gregory the Great to the Bishop of Ravenna instructing him to find a replacement to celebrate the Paschal Liturgy, including the performance of *Praeconium paschale*.<sup>8</sup> Watertight evidence of the functioning of this Easter hymn in the liturgy is Canon IX of the Fourth Synod in Toledo (633), where information can be found that a hymn of praise to Christ Resurrected was habitually sung on Easter Eve. All told, taking account of all the variants of this chant that have been written and have functioned over the centuries, eight versions have come down to us: the Gallican Praeconium paschale (the oldest, still used in the Roman liturgy), the Ambrosian (in the Milanese liturgy), Praeconia paschale by Ennodius of Pavia (d. 521), the Gelasian, from the Gelasian Sacramentary (probably sung in Roman dioceses, with the exception of Rome itself), the Old Spanish, transmitted by Mozarabic liturgical books (two formulas: Benedictio lucerne and Benedictio cerei), the Beneventan (sung in southern Italy) and Praeconium paschale Escorial. 10 Heinrich Zweck, who conducted a comparative analysis of the different versions, stated that they are all designed in a similar way; that is, they contain the motif of light, a description of events from the Old Testament, the anticipation of the Parousia and the motif of revivifying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> WÓJCIAK, "Exsultet – wielkanocny hymn Kościoła," 93. This was a spring eulogy of the Creation, together with an adoration of the Creator and the juxtaposing with him of the evil of man's sin, symbolised by the night, to which Christ brought liberation. Wojciech DANIELSKI, "Exsultet," in Encyklopedia Katolicka [Catholic Encyclopaedia], eds. Romuald ŁUKASZYK, Ludomir BIEŃKOWSKI, and Feliks GRYGLEWICZ, vol. 4 (Lublin, 1983), 1470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Three verses have been preserved as a quotation in *De civitate Dei*; DANIELSKI, "Exsultet," 1470

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> WÓJCIAK, Exsultet – wielkanocny hymn Kościoła, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid., 94, 95; cf. DANIELSKI, "Exsultet," 1470–1471.

water.<sup>11</sup> Adopted for the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church was the Roman-Gallican formula.<sup>12</sup> The spread of this version was aided to some extent by the authority of St Augustine, who was long considered the author of the Easter Proclamation.<sup>13</sup>

With regard to the melody of the *Exsultet* chant, Georges Benoit-Castelli, on the basis of comparative source analysis of 160 manuscripts (tenth-fourteenth centuries) and sixty prints, distinguished nine melodies: the Beneventan, Aquitanian, Lyonnese, Chartrian, Cistercian, Parisian, German, Ambrosian and Norman (taken from a *Missale Romanum* from 1570).<sup>14</sup>

#### 2. THE VERSION IN THE MISSALE PAULINORUM

The Pauline missal transmits a textual-melodic version of the *Exsultet* chant (fos. 116r–119r) that in its melodic layer clearly differs from the Norman version adopted in the thirteenth century (c. 1230–50), thanks to the Franciscans, by Rome and after the Council of Trent, in 1570, incorporated into the official edition of the missal.<sup>15</sup>

#### 2.1. THE TEXT

Comparing the textual layer of the proclamation under discussion with the version printed in the post-Trent missal, one can point to certain differences, generally of a minor character, in relation to the missal of Pius V. However, in order to gain a proper and full conception of the discrepancies between the two sources of this chant, details are shown in the table below (differences marked in italics):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Quoted in WóJCIAK, Exsultet – wielkanocny hymn Kościoła, 94–95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Quoted ibid., 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Today, the authorship of *Exsultet* is ascribed to St Ambrose; Quoted in WÓJCIAK, ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Danielski, "Exsultet," 1471.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Bernagiewicz, "Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 32.

#### Missale Paulinorum Missale Romanum 1570 - victoria tuba intonet salutaris - victoria tuba *insonet* salutaris - Gaudeat se tellus - Gaudeat et tellus astantes nos fratres - astantes *vos* fratres - huius luminis claritatem - huius *sancti* luminis claritatem – luminis sui graciam infundendo cerei - luminis claritatem infundens Gerei huius huius lampadem - qui cum eo et spiritui sancto vivit et reg-– qui cum eo vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus nat Deus Sancti Deus - Per omnia secula seculorum - Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen. - Vere *quia* dignum et iustum est – Vere dignum et iustum est - Jesum Christum toto cordis - ihesum christum sanctum quoque spiritum toto cordis - occiditur eius que sanguine postes conse-- occiditur cujus sanguine postes fidelium conse-- de egypto *rubrum mare* – de Aegypto *Mare Rubrum* – peccatorum *nostrorum* tenebras peccatorum tenebras - gracie sociat *quam* sanctitati - gratiae sociat sanctitati - brak - O certe necessarium Adae... - brak - O felix culpa... O beata nox O vere beata nox - Et nox sicut dies – Et nox *ut* dies - lapsis mestis leticiam – lapsis *et* maestis laetitiam concordiam para et curvam concordiam parat et curvam - suscipe *Domine* sancte pater - suscipe sancte Pater - quod tibi in hac Cerei oblatione - quod tibi in cerei oblatione – Qui licet divisus in partes mutuati luminis - Qui licet sit divisus in partes mutuati tamen lu-– Alitur enim *liquentibus* ceris *quam* in - Alitur enim *liquantibus* ceris *quas* in substanciam substantiam celestia iuguntur - coelestia humanis divina iuguntur - in honorem *nomin*is *tui* consecratus - in honorem tui nominis consecratus In odorem suavitatis - Et in odorem suavitatis – et gloriosissimo rege nostro N. necnon et - quiete temporum concessa, in his paschalibus regina nostra N. cunctoque exercitu chrisgaudiis, assidua protectione regere, gubernare et tianorum quiete temporum concessa in his conservare digneris. Respice etiam ad devotispaschalibus gaudiis conservare digneris. simum imperatorem nostrum N. cujus tu, Deus, Per dominum nostrum ihesum christum fildesiderii vota praenoscens, ineffabili pietaium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitis et misericordiae tuae munere, tranquillum tate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula perpetuae pacis accommoda, et coelestem victoseculorum. Amen. riam cum omni populo suo. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti

Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

A comparison of these two texts of the Easter Proclamation leads to the conclusion that in terms of content they do not display any clearly significant differences from one another. The noted discrepancies concern mainly the order of the words, the use of a different expression and the addition or omission of single words. The sole exceptions are the omission from the Missale Paulinorum, in the anamnestic section, of the two invocations O certe necessarium . . . and O felix culpa . . . and the inclusion of a shorter doxology text. It is difficult to pinpoint definitively the reason(s) for the omission of these invocations from the Pauline missal. It has to be remembered that the mediaeval tradition permitted a certain latitude and local solutions in the arrangement of chants, <sup>16</sup> and that may account for the version of the Exsultet text included in the Pauline missal. On the other hand, the changes in the text may indicate a certain specificity, originality and independence of the Pauline liturgical tradition. It would be good to compare this text with another missal of the Hungarian-Pauline tradition. Then it would be possible to ascertain whether the version of the proclamation from the *Missale Paulinorum* is identical to that of other sources or represents a unique text. Yet that problem requires separate studies.

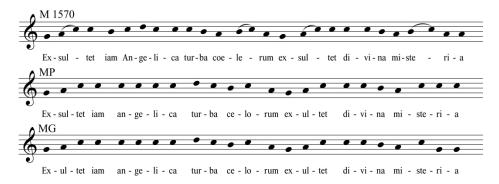
## 2.2. THE MELODY

## 2.2.1. The prologue

The melody of the introductory section in the *Missale Paulinorum* is characterised, besides the cadential formulas of particular sentences, by a strict syllabism and the use of frequent recitative segments on the note of the tuba (*do*). In relation to the Roman version (M 1570), the Pauline melody of the prologue (MP), with the exception of the cadencing of all the *punctum* clausulae with a *pessubpunctis* neum, does not employ the two-note neums *pes* and *clivis* in its ornamentation (Example 1). In many sections, the pattern of the Pauline melody is completely different to that of the Roman melody. The initial formula in MP also ends with a conclusion: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*. The incipit of the prologue in MP is identical to the melody in the Gniezno missal (MG). However, we note a clear dissimilarity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jakub Kubieniec, "Miejsce Mszału Jasnogórskiego w liturgiczno-muzycznej tradycji paulinów" [The place of the Jagiellon Missal in the liturgical-musical tradition of the Pauline Fathers], in *Mszał Jagiellonów*, ed. Remigiusz Pośpiech, XXX, Opole, Częstochowa: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego UO, Paulinianum. Wydawnictwo Zakonu Paulinów Jasna Góra, 2013.

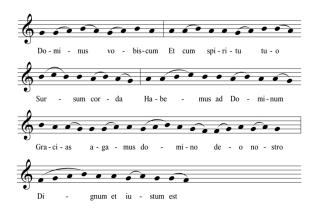
between all three sources on the word *misteria*. At this point, the Pauline version is clearly different from the other two. The melody returns to the reciting note (*do*). A procedure of this type may confirm a rigorous observation of the syllabic style that dominated in extra-missal prefaces throughout the Middle Ages and exerted a clear influence on the character of recitative.<sup>17</sup> Essentially, however, the Pauline and Gniezno prologue melodies display a very close affinity.



Example 1

# 2.2.2. The dialogue before the preface

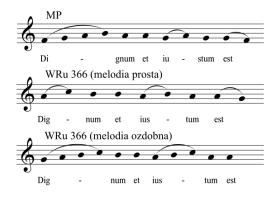
The predominance of two- and three-note neums in MP allows us to ascribe this melody to the category of neumatic chants (Example 2).



Example 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Jerzy Morawski, *Recytatyw liturgiczny w średniowiecznej Polsce: wersety – lekcje – oracje* [Liturgical recitative in mediaeval Poland: verses, lessons and orations] (Warsaw, 1996), 304.

Adhering to the same style is the version of the dialogue in the Gniezno missal, something that cannot be said about the Roman variant, which is dominated by syllabic writing. The Pauline variant of the dialogue numbers 69 notes in all, the Gniezno variant 67. Robert Bernagiewicz points to a melodic similarity shown by the Gniezno mutation with another dialogue before the preface in MG in 'mediocris' tone. With regard to the dialogue from the Jagiellon Missal, one can find identical melodic phrases in Cistercian books: the melody of *Dominus vobiscum* from MP, notated just a third higher, is given by two Cistercian missals from the fifteenth and fifteenth/sixteenth century (In Quadragesima); 18 the melody of Habemus ad Dominum is familiar from a fourteenth-century Cistercian missal (WRu 366, the 'simple' preface for Christmas). 19 The response Dignum et iustum est, meanwhile, bears the hallmarks of a combination of simple melody and embellished dialogue from a fourteenth-century Cistercian missal (WRu 366) for Christmas<sup>20</sup> (Example 3). The melody of the dialogue before the preface in MP is partly similar also to the dialogue that opens the preface *Pro fidelibus defunctis* in the Pauline missal (fol. 131r).



Example 3

Thus the Pauline version, like the Gniezno and Cistercian versions, notes a more solemn type of melody to the dialogue. In the opinion of Jerzy Morawski, it played an important role in liturgical practice, since the relatively rich repertoire of musical means exerted a considerable influence over the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> MORAWSKI, Recytatyw religiiny, 255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 258.

character of the chant. The two-, three- and even four-note neums enlivened the melody of the simple recitative.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.2.3. The preface

Linked to the *Exsultet* chant is a special preface, an example of one of the more elaborate recitative chants of that type. In Polish lands, it appears in the oldest liturgical-musical sources.<sup>22</sup> This preface is characterised by its initial formulas, its more or less strict syllabicity, the use of a reciting note of varying length, which is subject to ornamentation, and a specific way of cadencing. Compared to the Roman (Norman) melody, the melodic design of the Pauline version, although displaying an affinity in its fundamental elements, is different to it.

## a. The initial formulas

The initial figures discharge a dual function, 'colouring' the start of the sentence for a few notes or leading into the reciting note.<sup>23</sup> One characteristic element of MPT is an initial leap of a fourth (la-re), noted in the preface seven times (above the texts 'Hec nox est que hodie', 'Hec nox est in qua destructis', 'O mira circa', 'O beata nox', 'Hec nox est de qua scriptum', 'Et nox ut dies' and 'O vere beata nox que expoliavit'); this clearly departs from the Roman variant, which notates the melody in a third every time in these places. An initial leap of a fourth is also a distinct ornamental motif in MG,<sup>24</sup> thus bringing these two sources close to one another. However, in the Gniezno missal, it is employed more abundantly and in a varied way. Altogether, it is used twelve times, seven times in a rising motion (*la-re*) and five times in a downwards direction (*re-la*). The Pauline variant, meanwhile, does not employ a descending fourth even once, which is one feature clearly distinguishing the two sources from each other. Analysing the initial figure of 'Hec nox est de qua scriptum est', Morawski indicates that melodic versions with an initial fourth are among the most commonly used. They are noted, for example, in Silesian and Cracovian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> MORAWSKI, *Recytatyw religijny*, 259–264.

 $<sup>^{22}</sup>$  In Poland, it appears already in the eleventh century, for example in the Tyniec Sacramentary from c.1060, representing the traditions of Benedictine chant. The number of sources carrying *Exsultet* increases during the second half of the thirteenth century; diastematic sources of this chant also appear. See ibid., 310, 316.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid., 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bernagiewicz, "Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 34.

codices.<sup>25</sup> It should be assumed, therefore, that the Pauline and Gniezno missals adopted such a version from earlier models, possibly from Cracow. At the same time, this means that they both perpetuated a certain tradition in that regard.

Yet there are also initials, in both the Pauline and the Gniezno mutation, which begin with motion in seconds and thirds. Particularly striking is the form of the so-called high unison initial in the Pauline book (once, 'Domine sancte pater'), the opening note of which (re) is situated above the level of the recitative (si, do) (Example 4). This is a very rare variant in Polish sources, as Morawski points out. At the same time, he mentions that the form of the 'high initial' (he gives a different example) is notated by manuscripts representing the oldest traditions of Hungarian chant, including the Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341.<sup>26</sup> That would indicate, therefore, clear links between the Jasna Góra missal and the Hungarian-Pauline tradition, although this is a question requiring further, more penetrating, comparative studies, as already mentioned.



Example 4

The diversity of the initial formulas in the preface of *Exsultet* shows that in this respect we are dealing with a certain 'liberty': the increasingly widespread use of free initial figures. One may assume that they represented convenient places at which to introduce changes to the melody.

# b. The reciting notes

In its fundamental elements, the chant of the preface in the *Missale Pauli-norum* is close to the melody in the Roman version, but it is not identical to it. In principle, two reciting notes are used in the melody of the preface, namely do and si, <sup>27</sup> although one also notes occasional deviations from that rule (Example 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> MORAWSKI, Recytatyw liturgiczny, 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., 338

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The appearance in the preface of these two reciting notes is characteristic and the most widespread form of preface in Poland, 250.



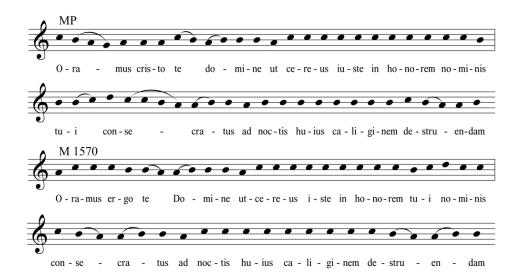
Example 5

The above example shows the momentary introduction of a new reciting note (la), as well as a distinction in relation to the Roman scheme. Regardless of a tendency towards tonal unification through the restricting of the composition's tenor to one (or two) recitative, there may occur an aspiration towards tonal expansion through the introduction of an additional recitative. In such instances, it plays an important role over the course of the work as a bearer of new tonal values. That is because, by having an effect over a longer temporal space, it helps consolidate the new tonal plan. In subsequent segments of the melody, the tonal plan returns to the main reciting note.<sup>28</sup> This type of practice is noted also in other manuscripts, especially from Cracow, Płock and Wrocław dioceses. An identical notation of the chant under discussion can be found, for example, in a fourteenthcentury *Graduale* from the collegiate church in Brzeg and a fifteenth-century Wrocław Graduale.<sup>29</sup> In the Missale Paulinorum, a phenomenon of this kind occurs on two occasions, on the words 'Vere qu-ia dig-num est' and 'Oramus er-go'.

Also present in the Pauline preface to *Exsultet*, albeit to a much lesser degree, are sentences with two recitatives: *do* and *si*. To confirm this, relevant musical phrase can be quoted and its parallel in the Roman version (Example 6). The Gniezno variant of this phrase, in turn, is different to MP and M 1570: it possesses just a single recitative, on *si*, which undoubtedly attests an otherness between the Pauline and Gniezno sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> MORAWSKI, Recytatyw religijny, 326.

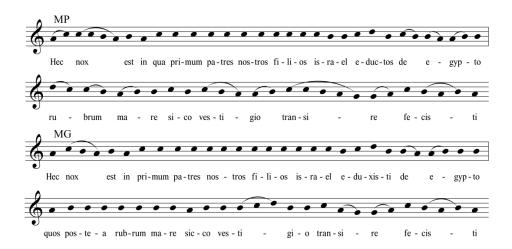
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> MORAWSKI, Recytatyw religijny.



Example 6

A synoptic presentation of the melodies reveals crucial differences. In the Pauline source, modal structure of a traditional melody can be found: in the first phrase, the recitative is on the note *do* and the cadence on the note *si*; in the second phrase, the recitative is on *si* and the cadence on *la*. The melodic phrases in the cadence of each of the recitatives, meanwhile, are slightly more ornamental compared to the Roman melody. An analogous conclusion is arrived at by Robert Bernagiewicz in relation to the melody of the preface in the *Missale Gnesnense*. <sup>30</sup> Here, this demonstrates a considerable similarity between the Pauline and Gniezno mutations (Example 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BERNAGIEWICZ, "Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 34.



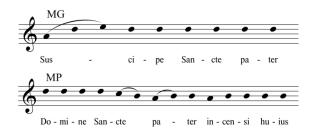
Example 7

Comparing the two sources of the melody, we see that in the tonal layer they show no differences. Minor discrepancies are manifest solely between the second phrases in the way in which the reciting note *si* is written. In the Gniezno version, it is clearly exposed, whilst in the Pauline version it undergoes considerable ornamentation. Nevertheless, the entire melody of the phrase is set on the reciting note *si*, which is entwined with secondary notes. Musical deviations and variants of this kind in a recitative may betoken an aspiration to rendering the voice more melodic. That involves the melodic enrichment of the reciting note, by employing upper or lower secondary notes of various kind, most often neighbour notes, in the melody. This might be called the musical description of the recitative. That is precisely the practice that we are dealing with in the second phrase of the Pauline version. The *Missale Paulinorum*, taking into account the crucial changes introduced in relation to the Gniezno missal, seems to be more susceptible to the development of the cultivated chant.

A crucial difference in the preface from the *Missale Paulinorum* compared with the *Missale Gnesnense* is the lack of a distinct recitative on the note *re*. In the whole of the proclamation chant in the Gniezno book, as

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$  Numerous examples confirming this procedure are provided by Polish sources of the preface to *Exsultet* (including the Gradual of Bolesław of Mazovia from the thirteenth/fourteenth century, the Wiślica Gradual from c.1300 and early Norbertine manuscripts). See MORAWSKI, *Recytatyw liturgiczny*, 332.

Bernagiewicz points out, it appears twice, on the words 'O inestimabile dilectio caritatis' and 'Suscipe Sancte Pater'. It is reached from the initial leap of a fourth  $la-re^{32}$  (Example 8).



Example 8

In the Pauline version, the word 'suscipe' still belongs to the previous phrase, and it has an identical melodic contour, including the same intervals, as in the Gniezno version. The new phrase in the Jasna Góra edition, meanwhile, begins on the expression 'Domine sancte pater . . .' with an initial with a short recitative on the note re. Very quickly, however, it is transformed, through the introduction on the words 'sancte pater' of an extra caesura, into the reciting note si. The second phrase, meanwhile, is based on the tuba do. This is a completely different modal construct in relation to the Gniezno variant. Passing over the textual nuances between the two sources, if the opening four notes on re is regarded as a recitative in the Pauline chant, altogether there would be three recitatives in one musical sentence: re, do and si. So this would be a fundamental different in the Pauline missal compared to the Gniezno and Roman missals.

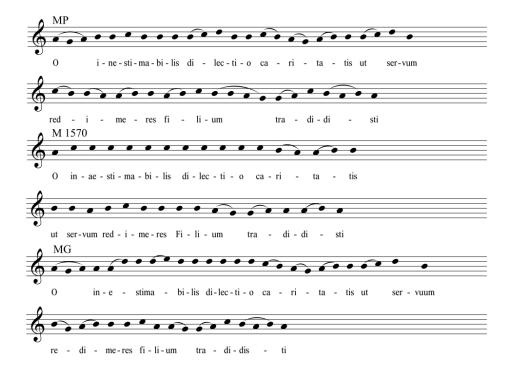
It is worth noting here that the Gniezno variant of this part of the chant is by no means original, since an identical form of the phrase in a fourteenth-century antiphoner of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre in Silesia (WRu 386)<sup>34</sup> have been found.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Quoted in Bernagiewicz, "Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Jerzy Morawski points out that this passage ('suscipe sancte pater . . .') is treated similarly in numerous Cracow, Gniezno and Wrocław diocesan codices, although in most of them (and also in some monastery manuscripts, e.g. of the Cistercians and Augustinians) it is divided into two parts. See Morawski, *Recytatyw liturgiczny*, 330.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

A completely different tonal solution is employed by MP in the chant 'O inestimabilis . . .'. This sentence is based in its entirety on a recitative *si* (Example 9). The Gniezno and Roman versions, meanwhile, employ two recitatives for this sentence: in the first phrase, MG has the reciting note *re* and M 1570 *do*, and in the second phrase both MG and M 1570 have *si*.

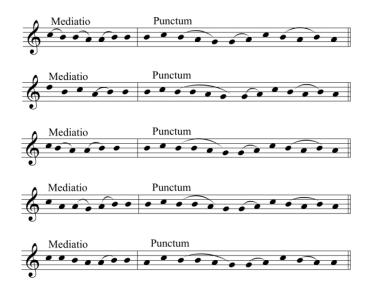


Example 9

In light of these selected examples, it can confidently be confirm that Jerzy Morawski's conclusion that the use of a larger number of reciting notes determining the tonality of a work represents one of the most important technical achievements applied on the melodic plan of the preface to *Exsultet*. The Pauline variant is a classic corroboration of this.

## c. The cadential formulas

In the melody of the preface in the Pauline book, one notes two typical solemn cadences appearing many times in quite strictly defined places in the composition: an inner cadence (*mediatio*) and a closing cadence (*punctum*), taking the following forms (Example 10).



Example 10

In Poland, both these forms of clausula were highly popular melodic devices, employed in virtually all church environments.<sup>35</sup> They are also cited by the Gniezno book.<sup>36</sup> A comparable method of cadencing is employed by the Roman version of the preface. The most salient difference is manifest in the way in which the closing cadence is reached: the Pauline and Gniezno missals employ the *porrectus* figure, whilst the Roman missal has a *pes* (Example 11). An identical closing cadence to the Pauline variant can be found in the preface of a mediaeval manuscript from Trier.<sup>37</sup> In the opinion of Jerzy Morawski, however, it would be difficult to speak of any preferences for certain types of cadence during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, because their different variants appear in both monastic and diocesan sources.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> MORAWSKI, *Recytatyw liturgiczny*, 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Bernagiewicz, "Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 34 (Examples 3 and 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Peter WAGNER, Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, vol. 3 Gregorianische Formenlehre (Leipzig, 1921), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Morawski, *Recytatyw liturgiczny*, 322.



Example 11

So cadential formulas were not varied to such a degree and intensity as can be observed in the initial formulas. That is because clausulae, both internal and closing, adhered to a strictly fixed scheme, which was only slightly modified according to need; for example, the addition of a note due to the elaborate structure of the text. This demonstrates a more rigorous observance of the classic rules governing the shaping of melody.

## 2.2.4. The doxology

The Pauline missal, contrary to the Gniezno missal and the missal of Pius V, contains just a single doxology text (*Per dominum nostrum* . . . ). It is difficult to identify the reason why the editor did not include its melody. It can only be assumed that this melodic formula was widely known and used also in other liturgical texts and so was not considered necessary here. It is worth stressing that the Jasna Góra codex is characterised in general by a dearth of melodies.

In light of the information gleaned from musical analysis concerning the version of the *Exsultet* chant in the *Missale Paulinorum*, it should be stated that this is not a faithful copy of either the Norman melody widespread in Europe or of the Gniezno melody. Its melody is full of modifications of various types in relation to the selected comparative sources, for the most part reflecting favourably on the originality of the Pauline source. One can observe in it, for example, certain features shared with the Roman version or different to it, differing from the Gniezno version but close to the Roman, or else displaying a surprising similarity with the Gniezno version but differing from the Roman, a salient example being the initial leap of a fourth. It cannot be excluded that the Pauline and Gniezno versions made use of a common melodic model (from Cracow, for example), whilst the authors of each imparted to their notation an individual colouring.<sup>39</sup> This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> According to the findings of Janusz Zbudniewek, the copyist of the Jasna Góra missal was probably Wacław Żydek, who worked within the environment of Cracow cathedral chapter. See Pośpiech, "Wprowadzenie," V. The Gniezno missal was prepared for print by Klemens of Piotrków, whom Robert Bernagiewicz indicates as the potential editor of *Exsultet*; see Bernagiewicz,

kind of variability to the melody attests on one hand the considerable migration of this chant and on the other the growing differences between melodic versions towards the end of the Middle Ages. This may be regarded also as a kind of aspiration to breaking up the universality of this chant, or even a desire to throw off the dictates of the old conventions or to lend it a local colouring. The Pauline variant of the Easter Proclamation analysed here, displaying considerable artistry, is a case in point.

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<sup>&</sup>quot;Śpiewy w Missale Gnesnense," 41. We know that Klemens of Piotrków studied in Cracow, as well, gaining his bachelor's degree in the seven liberal arts. Although neither a liturgist nor a musician, he evinced considerable competence in both those domains, particularly in Gregorian chant. His training also gave him a general idea about the art of music. He began his work connected with liturgical books in Gniezno in 1496; see Ireneusz PAWLAK, "Clemens de Piotrków (c. 1450–1507) – canonicus gnesnensis vir in arte musica peritus." Liturgia Sacra 18 (2012) 1: 156. It may be assumed that the fact that Wacław Żydek and Klemens of Piotrków were in the same centre at the same time inevitably involved the need for them to use the same books and their adoption of the same models.

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## ŚPIEW *EXSULTET* W XVI-WIECZNYM *MISSALE PAULINORUM*

#### Streszczenie

Śpiew Exsultet zamieszczony w Missale Paulinorum nie jest wierną kopią ani melodii normandzkiej rozpowszechnionej w Europie, ani gnieźnieńskiej. Jego melodia pełna jest różnego typu przeobrażeń w stosunku do wybranych źródeł porównawczych, co w dużym stopniu wpływa korzystnie na oryginalność przekazu paulińskiego. Zaobserwowano w nim pewne cechy wspólne z wersją rzymską bądź w stosunku do niej odmienne albo różniące je od gnieźnieńskiej, a bliskie rzymskiej lub też wykazujące duże podobieństwo z wersją gnieźnieńską, a z kolei odmienne od rzymskiej. Niewykluczone, że wersja paulińska i gnieźnieńska korzystały ze wspólnego wzorca melodycznego (na przykład krakowskiego), natomiast autorzy każdej z nich nadali im indywidualny koloryt. Tego rodzaju wariabilność melodii świadczy z jednej strony o dużej migracji tego śpiewu, a z drugiej o nasilających się różnicach pomiędzy wersjami melodycznymi u schyłku średniowiecza. Można by to skomentować także jako swego rodzaju dążność do przełamywania uniwersalizmu tego śpiewu albo też chęć nadawania mu lokalnego kolorytu. Przebadany wariant pauliński orędzia wielkanocnego, ujawniający wysoki kunszt artystyczny, jest tego potwierdzeniem.

Słowa kluczowe: Exsultet, mszał pauliński, prefacja, recytatyw, formuły inicjalne, kadencje.