

Gionata Brusa

Institute of Musicology of the University of Würzburg

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1649-1708>

brusa.gionata@gmail.com

## Some remarks about the “*Liber Ordinarius*” ms. 51 in the Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter

“In nomine Domini. Incipit libellus [...] per circulum [anni] [...] divinum officium [...]que vituperio cele[...] est”. This introductory sentence, unfortunately incomplete due to the imperfect condition of the parchment, marks the beginning of ms. 51 preserved in the Chapter Library of Krakow Cathedral (from here onward LO). As previous studies have already shown<sup>1</sup>, this manuscript, from the point of view of liturgical book terminology, is a *Liber Ordinarius*. Copied at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the following century, this codex is currently the oldest source in our possession for the study of the liturgical-musical repertoire of the office in Krakow Cathedral.

But before examining the manuscript, it is first necessary to clarify what a *Liber Ordinarius* is. Scholarly interest in this type of liturgical manuscript has grown considerably in recent decades, and an increasingly clear understanding of their importance is emerging.

The *Liber Ordinarius* is the effort of a cathedral church, a monastery, a collegiate church, or a well-defined religious community (monastic or canonical

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<sup>1</sup> S. Windakiewicz, *Dramat liturgiczny w Polsce średniowiecznej*, “Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie” 34 (1903), p. 349–495; *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 6: *Nachträge, Handschriftenverzeichnis, Bibliographie*, Nr. 603, Hrsg. W. Lipphardt, Berlin–New York 1981, p. 311; J. W. Boguniowski, *Ordinarium Olomucense-Cracoviense. Studium krytyczne*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 95 (2001), p. 5–27; H. J. Sobczko, *Liturgia katedry wrocławskiej według przedtrydenckiego Liber Ordinarius z 1563 roku*, Opole 1993; *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*, VII/A: *Kraków (Temporale)*, red. J. Kubienec, Z. Czagány, P. Fodor, Budapest 2018, p. 35, 38 et passim.

congregations) to set down their liturgical customs in written form<sup>2</sup>. This type of book, which usually consists of a series of liturgical incipits with explanatory rubrics, provides us with details that we might not otherwise find: the degree of solemnity of the various feasts, the colour of the liturgical vestments used, the rites connected with the veneration of relics, the way the bells were rung, the places and paths of processions, or information about musical practices. As a result, interest in the *Libri Ordinarii* goes beyond the liturgical sphere and extends to architecture, musicology, art history and more. The main beneficiary of this type of book was the cantor, whose chief task was to determine and regulate the day's office celebrations; a figure that today we might define as a true "director" of liturgical celebrations, and in this sense the *Liber Ordinarius* became his director's book<sup>3</sup>. This kind of liturgical book, often chained in the sacristy, was consulted daily by the cantor, who regulated the liturgical service in accordance with its instructions.

<sup>2</sup> For a first general approach to the *Libri Ordinarii*, see: E. B. Foley, *The "Libri Ordinarii". An Introduction*, "Ephemerides Liturgicae" 102 (1988), p. 129–137; A. G. Martimort, *Les "ordines", les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, Turnhout 1991, p. 51–83 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 56); É. Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques. Le Moyen Âge: des origines au XIII siècle*, Paris 1993, p. 233–240; P. Collomb, *Le "Liber Ordinarius": un livre liturgique, une source historique*, in: *Comprendre le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mélanges offerts à Marie-Thérèse Lorcin*, sous la direction de P. Guichard, D. Alexandre-Bidon, Lyon 1995, p. 97–109; J. Bärsch, *Liber Ordinarius – Zur Bedeutung eines liturgischen Buchtyps für die Erforschung des Mittelalters*, "Archa Verbi" 2 (2005), p. 9–58; T. Lohse, *Stand und Perspektiven der Liber Ordinarius-Forschung*, in: *Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften. Forschungen zum "Liber Ordinarius"*, Hrsg. von K. G. Beuckers, Essen 2012, p. 215–255 (Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift, 10); C. Caspers, *Libri Ordinarii as a Source for Cultural History. Introduction*, in: *Unitas in pluralitate: Libri Ordinarii als Quelle für die Kulturgeschichte*, Hrsg. von L. Van Tongeren, C. Caspers, Münster 2015, p. 15–28 (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 103); T. Lohse, *Éditer des Libri Ordinarii. Réflexions et suggestions autour d'un type particulier des livres liturgiques*, "Revue Mabillon" n.s. 26 (2015), p. 155–177.

An introductory catalogue of *Libri Ordinarii* is provided in: *Le Graduel Romain. Edition critique par les Moines de Solesmes*, 2: *Les Sources*, Solesmes 1957, p. 189–196; followed by Hänggi's introduction to the Rheinau *Liber Ordinarius* with an indication of the manuscripts published so far: A. Hänggi, *Der Rheinauer Liber Ordinarius (Zürich Rh 80, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, Freiburg 1957, p. xxv–xxxvi (Spicilegium Friburgense, 1); and lastly the recent first extensive inventory: A. W. Suski, M. Sodi, G. Brusa, *Liber qui dicitur Ordinarius. Inventario dei manoscritti*, Roma 2022 (*Veritatem Inquirere*, 8).

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the role of the cantor, see: M. Schuler, *Zur Geschichte des Kantors im Mittelalter*, in: *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress*, Leipzig 1966, Hrsg. von C. Dahlhaus, Kassel–Leipzig 1970, p. 169–173; M. E. Fassler, *The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation*, "Early Music History" 5 (1985), p. 29–51; F. K. Praßl, *Kantor, Kantorin*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Bd. 5, Freiburg im Breisgau 1996, col. 1205.

Despite the great variability of their contents, it is possible to identify some common features in the *Libri Ordinarii*:

- They describe in great detail the liturgical customs of a specific cathedral, collegiate church, monastery, parish or congregation.
- They follow in a precise way the course of the liturgical year, in which the Temporal and the Sanctoral may be integrated or clearly separated. Within the liturgical year they usually describe all the celebrations that are proper to the single days, both the office and the Mass; the latter is usually inserted within the hours of the office, in its usual liturgical place. However, there are *Libri Ordinarii* that deal with Mass and the Office in two separate sections, such as that of Salzburg Cathedral (c. 1198), and others that refer to only one of them.
- They usually contain only the incipits of the texts (chants, prayers or readings), arranged according to their succession within the celebrations. In addition there are rubrics, sometimes very detailed, whose purpose is to describe the course of the services. A third component, present above all in the Germanic area, is musical notation, which is sometimes provided for the incipits of musical pieces.
- Not being a volume used during the actual liturgical service, but only as a work of reference, the *Liber Ordinarius* usually looks modest, lacking any embellishment, and written in a not very neat handwriting.

Conceived as a book for immediate consultation, summarising the many manuscripts necessary for the celebration of Mass, the Office or other particular rites, the *Liber Ordinarius* has its ancestor in the *Ordines Romani*. While the latter were concerned with describing individual, more or less Roman rites intended to be adopted everywhere, the *Liber Ordinarius*, on the other hand, focuses on the local level, regulating celebrations that took place even within a small parish.

From the historical point of view they appeared relatively late on the scene, starting around the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century; like missals, breviaries and pontificals, they belong to the second generation of liturgical books, and developed mainly between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, surviving even the Council of Trent, albeit in a partially modified form compared to their medieval predecessors.

## 1. The Sanctoral of the LO

After this necessary introduction, a first step for the study of our manuscript is the analysis of the Sanctoral, with particular attention to highlighting the festivities of major solemnity (nine lessons at Matins = 9), and the possible presence of a proper office or *Historia* (= H).

- 5r – Stephani protom. (9, H)  
5v – Iohannis evang. (9, H)  
6r – Innocentum (9, H)  
7r – Silvestri  
40r – Andreeae (9, H)  
40v – Nicolai (9, H)  
41r – Lucia (9, H)  
41v – Thome apost. (9)  
42r – Silvestri  
42r – Felicis  
42r – Marcelli  
42r – Priscæ  
42r – Sebastiani (9, H)  
42v – Agnetis (9, H)  
43r – Vincentii (9, H)  
43v – Conversio Pauli (9, H)  
44r – Purificatio Mariæ (9, H)  
45r – Agathae (9, H)  
45v – Cathedra Petri (9, H)  
46r – Matthiæ (9)  
46r – Gregorii (9, H)  
46v – Annuntiatio Mariæ (9, H)  
47r – De sanctis Temp. Pasch.  
47v – Philippi et Iacobi (3 with double vespers)  
48r – Inventio Crucis (3 with double vespers, H)  
48v – Iohannis Bapt. (9, H)  
49r – Iohannis et Pauli (3, H)  
49v – Petri (9, H)  
50r – Pauli (9, H)  
50v – Octava apost.  
50v – Mariæ Magd. (9, H)  
51r – Iacobi (9)  
51r – Vincula Petri (9, H)  
51v – Laurentii (9, H)  
52r – Tyburtii  
52r – Hippoliti  
52r – Assumptio Mariæ (9, H)  
52v – Bartholomei (9)  
53r – Decollatio Iohannis (9, H)

- 53v – Nativitas Mariæ (9, H)
- 54r – Exaltatio Crucis + Cornelii, Cipriani (9, H)
- 54v – Lamberti (9, H)
- 55r – Matthæi (9)
- 55v – Wenceslai (9)
- 55v – Michaelis (9, H)
- 56v – Simonis, Iudæ (9)
- 56v – Omnia Sanctorum (9, H)
- 57r – Martini (9, H)
- 57v – Brichtii
- 58r – Cæciliae (9, H)
- 58r – Clementis (9, H)

Within the small and rather commonplace *Sanctorale*, two saints are particularly noteworthy: Lambert and Wenceslas. While Jakub Kubieniec had already drawn attention to the latter as one of the possible reasons for the manuscript’s provenance from Krakow<sup>4</sup>, nothing has yet been said about Lambert, bishop of Maastricht. What makes it particularly interesting is that the whole text of his *Historia* is transmitted for his office. Among the sources indexed in *Cantus* the proper office *Erat vere dignus*, in its complete version, is found in only two sources: the Antiphoner Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (shelfmark 3 J 7), copied in the 12th century for the church of St. Mary in Utrecht, and in the Antiphoner Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Domarchiv, G 20 from the second half of the thirteenth century, likely written for use at the collegiate church of St. Mary in Aachen. The office is also attested in a reduced form, without first Vespers, at Cambrai Cathedral in the Antiphoner Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 38 (olim 40), written around 1230–1250, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> century Benedictine Breviary Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky (shelfmark VI E 13) from St. George’s Convent in Prague.

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<sup>4</sup> *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, p. 35: “The biggest and the most elaborate initial letter in what is otherwise a very modestly ornamented manuscript can be found in the formulary for St. Wenceslas – the first patron of Krakow Cathedral”.

Table 1. The Historia *Erat vere dignus* for the office of St. Lambert

		<b>LO</b>	<b>Utrecht 406</b>	<b>Aachen 20</b>	<b>Cambrai 38</b>	<b>Prague 13</b>
<b>IV-A1</b>	Erat vere dignus	+	+	+		
<b>IV-A2</b>	Consilium et opus	+	+	+		
<b>IV-A3</b>	Lambertus Christi	+	+	+		
<b>IV-A4</b>	Magnum triumphum	+	+	+		
<b>IV-A5</b>	Laudemus Dominum	+	+	+		
<b>IV-R</b>	Consilium et opus			+		
<b>IV-AM</b>	Magna vox laude	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-INV</b>	Aeternum trinumque	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A1</b>	Orbita solaris	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A2</b>	Hic fuit ad tempus	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A3</b>	Sed post ut fidei	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R1</b>	Gloriosus martyr	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R2</b>	Sanctus Lambertus	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R3</b>	Sanctum Domini	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A4</b>	Is si vectus	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A5</b>	Dignus honore	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A6</b>	Fortis in adversis	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R4</b>	Almi filius	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R5</b>	Lambertus Christi	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R6</b>	Sacerdos Dei	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A7</b>	Sollicitus plebis	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A8</b>	Hic indeficiens	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-A9</b>	Ultima namque dies	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R7</b>	Egregius præsul	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R8</b>	Iste miles	+	+	+	+	
<b>M-R9</b>	Pretiosus Domini	+	+	+	+	
<b>L-A1</b>	Contigit ergo virum	+	+	+	+	+

		<b>LO</b>	<b>Utrecht 406</b>	<b>Aachen 20</b>	<b>Cambrai 38</b>	<b>Prague 13</b>
<b>L-A2</b>	Quod cum præscirent	+	+	+	+	+
<b>L-A3</b>	Ecce propinquantes	+	+	+	+	+
<b>L-A4</b>	Unus et ex illis	+	+	+	+	+
<b>L-A5</b>	Sic animam	+	+	+	+	+
<b>L-AB</b>	Ex impreclaris	+	+	+	+	+
<b>2V-AM</b>	Sacerdos Dei Lamberte	+				

## 2. The liturgical repertoire of the LO

A well-established method of comparing the chant repertoire of different institutions and identifying their relationships with each other is to list selected series of Mass and Divine Office chants. In this context, due to the “normative” nature of this type of book, the selection and order of the texts listed in the *Libri ordinarii* is clearly more representative of the tradition of a particular institution than other types of liturgical manuscripts. In other words, these books take on an authoritative role in determining the characteristics of the liturgical-musical repertoire of the institution for which they were compiled. However, the results that emerge from the comparison of the indications should not be regarded as absolute and definitive, but always critically assessed in the context of the genesis of the manuscripts studied. Some circumstantial evidence suggests that the liturgical-musical repertoire of a church or religious community within a diocese does not always fully correspond to that of the respective cathedral church<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> For example such discrepancies in the repertory between the diocese and a cathedral church seem to be indicated in particular by a remarks that can be read in the *Liber Ordinarius* of Freising. According to it the responsories and antiphons ad evangelium of Holy Week are arranged according to Freising’s own tradition, but “in multis libris invenitur quod aliter ordinentur seu assumentur”, i.e. many manuscripts transmit a different arrangement. And it continues by stating that the order of the pieces is not so important as long as they come from the same historia or at least fit the same time of the day or the same feast. So there is no reason to change them; they can be sung even if they diverge from the tradition of the cathedral church. See G. Brusa, *Der Liber Ordinarius der Diözese Freising. Eine textkritische Edition des mittelalterlichen Regelbuchs der Diözese Freising*, Purkersdorf 2020 , p. xxv–xxvi (Codices Manuscripti & Impressi. Supplementum, 17).

The repertory of the Divine Office is usually more varied and less constant in the various traditions than that of the Mass. In this area, the individual dioceses had greater autonomy in selecting the chants and determining their order. For this reason the differences between the individual traditions are much more evident. It would be necessary to study the repertory of the Divine Office in a comprehensive way and to the smallest detail, but the large amount of data has so far been an obstacle to fulfilling this goal in the field of liturgical-musical research. To overcome this difficulty, studies have focused their analyses on specific sections of the liturgical cycle. Gabriel Beyssac, a monk of Solesmes, was the first to elaborate a method for identifying antiphonaries based on the list of responsories for Advent, Annunciation and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints and the Dedication of a Church<sup>6</sup>. Since then, this comparative procedure has had a firm place in the study of liturgical manuscripts of the Office. René-Jean Hesbert presented a first systematic analysis of approximately 800 sources based on the responsorial series for the four Sundays of Advent in 1975<sup>7</sup>. Subsequently, in 1993, Knud Ottosen analysed and prepared the series of responsories of the Office of the Dead in c. 2000 handwritten textual witnesses<sup>8</sup>. These are only the two most significant and best-known works among the numerous studies that have taken up and further developed Gabriel Beyssac's approach<sup>9</sup>.

In the context of this process of analysis of the musical repertoire transmitted in the LO, we will compare some significant sections of the Temporale and the Sanctorale with other local sources and other particularly significant traditions. The following will be examined (see the Appendix):

- Responsories for the Sundays of Advent (Tables 2.1–2.4)
- Responsories for the Sunday after Christmas (Table 3)
- Responsories on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week (Table 4)
- Responsories for Maundy Thursday (Table 5)
- Responsories for Good Friday (Table 6)

<sup>6</sup> M. Huglo, *Les sources de plain-chant et de la musique médiévale*, Aldershot 2004, p. X.

<sup>7</sup> R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, Vol. 5: *Fontes earumque prima ordinatio*, Roma 1975 (*Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Maior. Fontes*, 11).

<sup>8</sup> K. Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead*, Aarhus 1993.

<sup>9</sup> To give a few more examples: R. Le Roux, *Les Répons “de Psalmis” pour les Matines de l’Épiphanie à la Septuagésime selon les Cursus Romain et Monastique. Etude de l’office dominical et férial*, “*Études Grégoriennes*” 6 (1963), p. 39–148; R. Le Roux, *Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques*, “*Études Grégoriennes*” 18 (1979), p. 157–176; S. Gasser, *Les antiennes O*, “*Études Grégoriennes*” 24 (1992), p. 53–84; R. Steiner, *Lenten Antiphons in evangelio*, in: *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley*, ed. by T. Bailey, L. Dobcsay, Budapest–Ottawa 2007, p. 385–412 (Musicological Studies, 87).

- Responsorie for Holy Saturday (Table 7)
- Antiphons and responsories for the Annunciation (Tables 8.1–8.2)
- Antiphons and responsories for Mary Magdalene (Tables 9.1–9.2)
- Antiphons and responsorie for the Assumption (Tables 10.1–10.2)
- Responsories for All Saints (Table 11)

### 3. Primary and contextual sources used

A first important choice to be made is to identify which sources should be used in the comparative tables. These should not be taken at random, but in context with the historical background. Only in this way will it be possible to highlight the characteristic features of the liturgical-musical repertoire transmitted in the LO. First of all, the primary sources, i.e. manuscripts or printed texts from Krakow and neighbouring dioceses (Kielce, Płock and Wrocław). To these should be added witnesses from the archdiocese to which they belong, that of Gniezno, in order to highlight a possible common fund. Before the Council of Gniezno (1000 A.D.), which decreed the foundation of this archdiocese, the region in which Krakow is located was part of the Olomouc bishopric, which in turn belonged to the Archdiocese of Mainz. It is therefore important to extend our research to sources from both Olomouc and Mainz, in order to highlight whether there are still liturgical relics transmitted from there into the Krakow liturgy. As noted by Kubienec, the order of the responsories for the Sundays of Advent in the Krakow liturgy seems to be directly related to the tradition of Saxony (Magdeburg and Meissen)<sup>10</sup>. For this reason, it was considered advisable to also include sources from that area, in order to possibly confirm whether the same observations can be applied to other periods of the liturgical cycle.

### Conclusion

The analysis of the portions of the office listed above seems mainly to confirm what has already been observed by Kubienec in the introduction to the volume dedicated to the Krakow Temporale: that is, the concordance between the oldest sources of the Krakow tradition and that of the nearby episcopal see of Wrocław. The reason for this phenomenon is explained to us by the fifteenth century historian and canon of the Krakow chapter Jan Długosz. According to his chronicle *Vita&nbsp;episcoporum Poloniae*, Siroslav, bishop of Wrocław from 1112 to 1120, in order to standardise and stabilise the liturgical tradition of his episcopal see, adopted

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<sup>10</sup> R.-J. Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, p. 39.

the Krakow liturgical customs. A second hypothesis of Kubieniec also seems to be confirmed: that a liturgical reform took place in Krakow in the 13th century at the latest, which led to some major changes in the office repertoire. Thus, if on the one hand we have an older custom (those followed by our LO, Krakow-28 and Wrocław), on the other hand more recent local sources, starting with the Krakow-53 antiphoner, clearly change some elements.

### Sources

pr. = printed; p.h. = pars hyemalis; p.a. = pars æstivalis; C = Cantus <<https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>>; CPP = Cantus Planus Poloniae <<http://cantus.ispan.pl/>>; SEMS = Slovakian Early Music Database <<http://cantus.sk/>>; CAO-ECE = Corpus Antiphonarium Offici Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. VII/A: Kraków (Temporale)

Sigla	Shelfmark			Usus	Edition
LO	Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 51				
Kielce-1	Kielce, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej, 1	Antiphonarium	1372	Kielcensis	CPP <sup>11</sup>
Kraków-28	Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 28	Breviarium	1300–1400	Cracoviensis	CAO-ECE <sup>12</sup>
Kraków-53	Kraków, Archiwum i Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, Ms. 53	Antiphonarium (p.h.)	1471 ca.	Cracoviensis	CAO-ECE
Kraków-1255	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Rkp. 1255 III	Breviarium	1500–1600	Cracoviensis	
Kraków-1538 pr.	Venetiis, Petrus Liechtenstein	Breviarium	1538	Cracoviensis	on-line <sup>13</sup>
Gniezno-1502 pr.		Breviarium	1502	Gnesnensis	
Płock-35	Płock, Archiwum i Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, 35	Antiphonarium (p.h.)	1498 before	Płocensis	CPP <sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> <http://cantus.ispan.pl/source/4557> (16.04.2022).

<sup>12</sup> Source not consulted personally. In the following tables only the chants of the Temporale, taken from Kubieniec's volume, have been included.

<sup>13</sup> <https://wwwdbc.wroc.pl/publication/7526> (16.04.2022).

<sup>14</sup> <http://cantus.ispan.pl/source/14457> (16.04.2022).

Sigla	Shelfmark			Usus	Edition
Płock-36	Płock, Archiwum i Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, 36	Antiphonarium (p.a.)	1498 before	Plocensis	CPP <sup>15</sup>
Wrocław-442	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I F 442	Breviarium	1400–1500	Vratislaviensis	on-line <sup>16</sup>
Wrocław-503	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 503	Antiphonarium	1350–1400	Vratislaviensis	C <sup>17</sup>
Esztergom-7	Praha, Strahovská knihovna, DE I 7	Breviarium (temp)	1200–1300	Strigoniensis	C <sup>18</sup>
Esztergom-42	Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 42	Antiphonarium	1360 ca.	Strigoniensis	C <sup>19</sup>
Magd-1514 pr.		Breviarium	1514	Magdeburgensis	
Mainz-1487 pr.		Breviarium	1487	Moguntinus	
Meißen-1502 pr.		Breviarium	1502	Misnensis	
Olomouc-1499 pr.		Breviarium	1499	Olomucensis	
Prague-1502 pr.		Breviarium	1502	Pragensis	
Spišská-2	Spišská Kapitula, Knižnica Spišskej Kapituly, Nr. 2	Antiphonarium (p.a.)	1400–1500	Scepusiensis	SEMD <sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> <http://cantus.ispan.pl/source/14458> (16.04.2022).

<sup>16</sup> <https://dk.bu.uni.wroc.pl/cymelia/displayDocumentFotos.htm?docId=5002000148> (April 2022).

<sup>17</sup> <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123756> (16.04.2022).

<sup>18</sup> <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/649450> (16.04.2022).

<sup>19</sup> <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123706> (16.04.2022).

<sup>20</sup> <http://cantus.sk/source/6777> (16.04.2022).

## Appendix<sup>21</sup>

Table 2.1 Responsories for the 1st Sunday of Advent

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9
<b>LO</b> <b>Kraków-23</b> <b>Kraków-53</b> <b>Kraków-1255</b> <b>Kraków-1538 pr.</b> <b>Gniezno-1502 pr.</b> <b>Wrocław-442</b> <b>Wrocław-503</b> <b>Magd-1514 pr.</b> <b>Mainz-1487 pr.</b> <b>Meißen-1502 pr.</b> <b>Olomouc-1499 pr.</b> <b>Prague-1502 pr.</b>	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<b>Esztergom-42</b>	11	12	13	17	18	16	15	14	60
<b>Kielce-1</b>	<i>lac.</i>								
<b>Płock-35</b>	<i>lac.</i>								
<b>Esztergom-7</b>	<i>lac.</i>								
<b>Płock-36</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Spišská-2</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>21</sup> For the responsories of the four Sundays of Advent, Hesbert's numerical method was followed. For references to each responsory see the online database made available by David Hiley and Robert Klugseder, <https://www.cantusplanus.de/databases/Hesbert/index.html> (16.04.2022).

Table 2.2. Responsories for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Advent

Table 2.3. Responsories for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Advent

Table 2.4. Responsories for the 4<sup>th</sup> Sunday of Advent

Table 3. Responsories for the Sunday after Christmas

Beata – Beata/Benedicta et venerabilis  
 Bened – Benedictus qui venit  
 Benedicta – Benedicta et venerabilis virgo  
 Ecce – Ecce agnus Dei  
 Confirm – Confirmatum est cor virginis  
 Congrat – Congratulemini mihi omnes  
 Continet – Continet in gremio  
 Hic qui – Hic qui advent nemo scit  
 In princ – In principio erat verbum  
 Nesciens – Nesciens mater  
 O regem – O regem celi cui talia  
 Verbum – Verbum caro

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>LO<sup>1</sup></b>	Ecce	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Esztergom-7 Esztergom-42	Ecce	Bened	Hic qui	Beata	Congrat	Continet	Confirm	O regem	In princ	
Kraków-23	Ecce	Continet	Nesciens	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	Beata	Hic qui	O regem	Verbum
Olomouc-1499 pr.	Ecce	Congrat	Continet	In princ	Confirm	Beata	Nesciens	Bened	Hic qui	O regem
Gniezno-1502 pr.	Ecce	Congrat	Hic qui	Continet	Beata	Confirm	Nesciens	O regem	Verbum	
Płock-35	Ecce	Hic qui	Confirm	Beata	Nesciens	Bened	Congrat	Continet	Verbum	
Kielce-1 Kraków-53	Ecce	Hic qui	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	Beata	O regem	
Kraków-1538 pr.	Ecce	Hic qui	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	O regem	Verbum	

Prague-1502 pr.	Ecce	In princ	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Bened	Beata	Congrat	O regem	Hic qui
Mainz-1487 pr.	Ecce	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Bened	Beata	Congrat	Beata	O regem	
Magd-1514 pr. Meissen-1502 pr.2	Ecce	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	Beata	Hic qui	O regem	
Wrocław-442 Wrocław-503	Ecce	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	Beata	Hic qui'	O regem	
Kraków-1255	Ecce	Nesciens	Continet	Confirm	Congrat	Bened	Hic qui'	O regem		
Płock-36	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Spisská 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

<sup>1</sup> Responsoria novem de historia *Ecce agnus*.

<sup>2</sup> Meißen-1502 pr. distributes the nine responsories between the three days 29–31 December.

Table 4. Responsories for Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday of the Holy Week

Ami – Amicus meus osculi  
 Anim – Animam meam dilectam  
 Att – Attende Domine ad me  
 Concl – Conclusit vias meas  
 Cont – Contumelias et terrores  
 Deus – Deus Israel propter te  
 Dix – Dixerunt impii apud se  
 Dom – Dominus mecum est  
 Ecce – Ecce turba et qui vocabatur  
 Eram – Eram quasi agnus innocens  
 Fratres – Fratres mei elongaverunt a me  
 Insurr – Insurrexerunt in me viri  
 Ingr – Ingressus Pilatus cum Iesu  
 Iudas – Iudas mercator pessimus  
 Noli – Noli esse mihi  
 Opp – Opprobrium factus sum  
 Salv – Salvum me fac Deus  
 Syn – Synagoga populorum  
 Una – Una hora non potuistis  
 Viri – Viri impii dixerunt

	feria 21	feria 22	feria 23	feria 31	feria 32	feria 33	feria 41	feria 42	feria 43
Płock-35	Att	Noli	Concl	Dom	Insurr	Dix	Deus	Viri	Cont
Esztergom-7 Esztergom-42	Concl	Dix	Dom	Cont	Viri	Insurr	Ami	Iudas	Ecce
Kraków-1255	Concl	Dix	Viri	Cont	Insurr	Dom	Syn	Eram	Iudas
Gniezno-1502 pr.	Concl	Insurr	Dix	Deus	Viri	Cont	Anim	Eram	Iudas
LO Kraków-23 Wrocław-442 Wrocław-503	Deus	Concl	Salv	Insurr	Viri	Noli	Dix	Cont	Dom
Prague-1502 pr.	Deus	Opp	Dom	Dix	Viri	Concl	Cont	Insurr	Anim
Kielce-1 Kraków-53 Kraków-1538 pr.	Dix	Viri	Concl	Cont	Insurr	Una	Syn	Eram	Iudas



Table 5. Responsories for Maundy Thursday

Amicus – Amicus meus  
Ecce vid – Ecce vidimus eum  
Ecce tur – Ecce turba et qui  
Eram – Eram/Ego quasi agnus  
In monte – In monte Oliveti  
Iudas – Iudas mercator  
O Iuda – O Iuda qui dereliquisti  
Revel – Revelabunt cæli  
Seniores – Seniores populi  
Tristis – Tristis est anima mea  
Una – Una hora non potuistis  
Unus – Unus ex discipulis meis

Table 6. Responsories for Good Friday

Barabbas – Barabbas latro  
Calig – Caligaverunt oculi mei  
Iesum – Iesum tradidit  
Omnes – Omnes amici mei  
Tamquam – Tamquam ad latronem  
Tenebre – Tenebræ factæ sunt  
Tradid – Tradiderunt me in manus  
Velum – Velum templi  
Vinea – Vinea mea

Table 7. Responsories for Holy Saturday

Aestim – Aestimatus sum cum  
 Agnus – Agnus Dei Christus  
 Ecce – Ecce quomodo moritur  
 Hierus – Hierusalem luge et  
 O vos – O vos omnes qui  
 Plange – Plange quasi virgo  
 Recessit – Recessit pastor noster  
 Sepulto – Sepulto Domino  
 Sicut – Sicut ovis ad occisionem

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LO all sources except Płock-36, Spišská-2</b>	Sepulto	Hierus	Plange	Recessit	O vos	Ecce	Aestim	Agnus	Sicut

Table 8.1. Antiphons for the Annunciation

Dabit – Dabit illi Deus  
 Dix... ecce – Dixit autem Maria... ecce ancilla  
 Dix... quo – Dixit autem Maria... quomodo  
 Ecce conc – Ecce concipies et paries  
 Ideo – Ideoque et quod nasceretur  
 Ingr – Ingressus angelus ad Mariam  
 Maria turb – Maria turbatur/turbata est in sermone  
 Miss – Missus est angelus Gabriel  
 Resp – Respondens autem angelus

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LO all sources except Płock-35, Płock-36, Esztergom-7, Spišská-2</b>	Miss	Ingr	Maria turb	Resp	Ecce conc	Dabit	Dix... quo	Ideo	Dix... ecce

Table 8.2. Responsories for the Annunciation

Bened – Benedicta tu in mulieribus

Christi – Christi virgo

## Dabit – Dabit illi Dominus

Dix... ecce – Dixit autem Maria ad angelum ecce

Dixit ang – Dixit angelus ad Maria ne timeas

Ecce conc – Ecce concipies et paries filium

## Ingr – Ingressus angelus ad Mariam

Maria ut – Maria ut audivit

## Posuit – Posuit Moyses bissenas virgas

Quomodo – Quomodo fit istud

Table 9.1. Antiphons for Mary Magdalene

Adiuv – Adiuvabit eam Deus qui refugium  
 Capillos – Capillos ad compositionem  
 Conversus – Conversus (est) Dominus ad Simonem  
 Cum disc – Cum discubuisset  
 Dei m – Dei magnificentia Mariæ pænitentia  
 Et conv – Et conversus Dominus  
 Et resp – Et respondens statim dixit  
 Hec a – Hæc a delicto maximo  
 Huius – Huius labiis gratiam  
 Iam – Iam nova cantat cantica  
 Irrigabat – Irrigabat igitur dominicos Jesus pedes  
 Ista – Ista propter iudicia exultat  
 Iudicans – Iudicans in æquitate dicit  
 Lampas – Lampas tua fideliter succensa  
 M ergo unx – Maria ergo unxit pedes  
 M pio – Maria pio coniuncta  
 Mittens – Mittens hæm mulier in corpus  
 Non est – Non est Martha inquit  
 Plus – Pius ergo pænitens mulier  
 Quoniam – Quoniam multum dilexeras  
 Quot – Quot(quot)/Quod ergo in se habuit  
 Rogabat – Rogabat Iesum quidam pharisæus  
 Satag – Satagebat circa frequens ministerium  
 Simon aut – Simon autem intra se  
 Secus – Secus pedes ipius adstans  
 Stans – Stans retro Maria  
 Sua – Sua benedictione propria devotione  
 Talia – Talia speret fidelis memor  
 Videns – Videns autem pharisæus

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>LO Gniezno-1502 pr. Wrocław-442 Wrocław-503 Mainz-1487 pr.</b>	Cum disc	Secus	Irrigabat	Simon aut	Et conv	Quoniam	Satag	Non est	Et resp
<b>Meißen-1502 pr.</b>	Dei m	Hec a	Sua	Huius	Adiuv	Talia	Iudicans	Ista	Iam
<b>Magd-1514 pr.</b>	Roga- bat	–	–	Stans	–	–	Videns	–	–
<b>Esztergom-42</b>	Roga- bat	Stans	Videns	Cum disc	Secus	Irrigabat	Con- versus	Lampas	Mittens



Table 9.2. Responsories for Mary Magdalene

Accessit – Accessit ad pedes  
 Accepit – Accepit Maria libram  
 Aeternis – Aeternis accumulata muneribus  
 Arm dom – Armilla Domini/Dominus maxillam  
 Arm perf – Armilla perforata est  
 Aspexit – Aspexit Maria quod fecit  
 Celestis – Cælestis medicus ægram  
 Conv – Conversa Maria ad pedes Iesu  
 Cuius – Cuius ergo vel saxeum pectus  
 Cum ven – Cum venisset Maria ubi  
 Discumb – Discumbente Iesu in domo Simonis  
 Dix Ies – Dixit Iesus discipulis suis  
 Ecce M – Ecce Maria quæ ad medicum  
 Emit – Emit Maria pretiosum unguentum  
 Felix M – Felix Maria unxit pedes Iesu  
 Flavit – Flavit auster et fugavit  
 Fragrans – Fragrans Iesus muneribus  
 Hanc – Hanc vero quam Lucas  
 Hic certe – Hic certe præcipius  
 Intravit – Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum  
 Laetetur – Lætetur omne sæculum  
 Martha – Martha stetit et  
 M magd que – Maria Magdalena quæ fuerat  
 M ut – Maria ut Iesum Iesum adesse  
 O felix h – O felix huius peccatricis  
 O felix s – O felix sacrorum lacrimis  
 O mirum – O mirum et magnum miraculum  
 O quali – O quali ardore ardet Maria  
 Optimam... el – Optimam partem elegit sibi  
 Pectore – Pectore sincero  
 Quod – Quod sibi Maria turpiter  
 Soror – Soror Marthæ Maria sedens  
 Super – Super convivantes ingressa  
 Surgens – Surgens Iesus mane prima  
 Tulerunt – Tulerunt Dominum meum  
 Ubi cum – Ubi cumque prædicatum fuerit  
 Venit – Venit mane Maria Magdalena  
 Vedit – Vedit Maria duos angelos



Table 10.1 Antiphons for the Assumption

Adiuv – Adiuvabit eam Deus  
 Ante – Ante torum huius virginis  
 Bened – Benedicta tu in mulieribus  
 Comedi – Comedi favum cum melle  
 Dignare – Dignare me laudare  
 Ecce – Ecce tu puchra es  
 Emiss – Emissione tuæ paradisus  
 Exaltata – Exaltata es sancta Dei  
 Favus – Favus distillans  
 Fons – Fons hortorum puteus  
 Gaude M – Gaude Maria  
 Hec est – Hæc est quæ nescivit  
 Paradisi – Paradisi portæ per te  
 Post – Post partun virgo  
 Sicut let – Sicut lætantium omnium  
 Sicut lil – Sicut lily inter spinas  
 Sicut myr – Sicut myrrha electa  
 Specie – Specie tua et pulchritudine  
 Speciosa – Speciosa facta es  
 Super – Super salutem et omnem  
 Talis – Talis est dilectus meus  
 Veni in h – Veni in hortum hortum  
 Veniat di – Veniat dilectus meus

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Mainz-1487 pr.</b>	Ecce	Sicut lil	Favus	Emiss	Fons	Veniat di	Veni in h	Comedi	Talis
<b>Esztergom-42</b>	Exal- tata	Bened	Para- disi	Specie	Adiuv	Sicut let	Gaude M	Dignare	Post
<b>Prague-1502 pr.</b>	Exal- tata	Para- disi	Bened	Sicut myr	Ante	Hec est	Gaude M	Dignare	Post
<b>Olomouc-1499 pr.</b>	Exal- tata	Para- disi	Bened	Specie	Adiuv	Sicut let	Gaude M	Dignare	Post
<b>Gniezno-1502 pr.</b>	Exal- tata	Para- disi	Bened	Specie	Adiuv	Sicut let	Gaude M	Dignare	Speciosa
<b>Płock-36 Meißen-1502 pr.</b>	Exal- tata	Para- disi	Bened	Specie	Adiuv	Sicut let	Gaude M	Dignare	Super
<b>Magd-1514 pr.</b>	Exal- tata	Para- disi	Sicut myr	Bened	Spe- ciosa	Ante	Gaude M	Dignare	Super



Table 10.2. Responsories for the office of the Assumption

Beata... dei – Beata es virgo Maria Dei  
Beata... dom – Beata es Maria quae Dominum/omnium  
Beatam – Beatam me dicent  
Diffusa – Diffusa est gratia in labiis  
Felix – Felix namque es  
Ista – Ista est speciosa  
Ornatam – Ornatam in monilibus  
Que – Quæ est ista quæ processit  
Sicut – Sicut cedrus exaltata sum  
Super – Super salutem et omnem  
Veni – Veni electa mea  
Vidi – Vidi speciosam sicut columbam

Table 11. Responsories for All Saints

Audivi – Audivi vocem de cælo  
B estis... qui – Beati estis sancti Dei omnes qui meruistis  
B paup – Beati pauperes spiritu  
Beati qui p – Beati qui persecutionem  
Bened – Benedicamus patrem  
Cives – Cives apostolorum  
Felix – Felix namque es  
Fuerunt – Fuerunt sine querela  
Gaude M – Gaude Maria virgo  
Inter – Inter natos mulierum  
Isti – Isti sunt sancti qui pro testamento  
Qui sunt – Qui sunt hi qui ut nubes  
Simile – Simile est regnum cælorum decem  
Sint – Sint lumbi vestri  
Summe – Summæ trinitati simpllici  
Te sanct – Te sanctum Dominum  
Vos – Vos estis sal terræ



Table 12. Antiphons for the office of the Dedication of a church

Addux – Adduxisti sanctos tuos  
 Ben... – edif – Benedic Domine... quam ædificavi  
 Ben... – omn – Benedic Domine... et omnes  
 Bened – Benedictus es Domine in templo  
 Domus – Domus mea domus orationis  
 In ded – In dedicatione templi  
 Fundata – Fundata est domus Domini  
 Hec est – Hæc est domus Domini et  
 Lapides – Lapides pretiosi omnes muri  
 Mane – Mane surgens Iacob  
 O quam – O quam metuendus est locis  
 Sanct – Sanctificavit Moyses tabernaculum  
 Terrib – Terribilis est locis iste  
 Tu dom – Tu Domine universorum  
 Vidi – Vidi civitatem sanctam  
 Visita – Visita quæsumus Domine

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LO</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
<b>Mainz-1487 pr.</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Addux	Bened	Mane	O quam	Vidi	Terrib
<b>Spišská-2</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Addux	Domus	Visita	Mane	Sanct	Terrib
<b>Olomouc-1499 pr.</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Addux	Sanct	Mane	Bened	O quam	Ben... omn
<b>Esztergom-42</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Addux	Tu dom	Bened	Mane	Terrib	O quam
<b>Gniezno-1502 pr.</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Domus	O quam	Mane	Lapides	Addux	Terrib / Bened
<b>Kielce-1</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Mane	O quam	Bened	Addux	Hec est	Terrib
<b>Płock-35</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Mane	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>	<i>lac.</i>
<b>Kraków-53 Kraków-1538 pr.</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Mane	O quam	Bened	Addux	Sanct	Ben... omn
<b>Prague-1502 pr.</b>	In ded	Fundata	Ben... edif	Mane	Sanct	Bened	Addux	O quam	Ben... omn



## Abstract

### Some remarks about the "Liber Ordinarius" ms. 51 in the Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter

Manuscript 51 of the Chapter Library of Krakow Cathedral is, according to the modern terminology for liturgical manuscripts, a *Liber Ordinarius*. Written at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> for Krakow Cathedral, the manuscript has already received attention from some scholars. In the present essay we offer some remarks about the presence of the proper office for St. Lambert and a concise analysis of some sections of its liturgical-musical repertoire.

**Keywords:** Liber Ordinarius, Krakow, liturgical manuscripts, Historia, St. Lambert

## Abstrakt

### Kilka uwag o „Liber Ordinarius” ms. 51 w Bibliotece Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej

Manuskrypt 51. z Biblioteki Kapitulnej Katedry Krakowskiej, według współczesnej terminologii dotyczącej rękopisów liturgicznych, to *Liber Ordinarius*. Napisany pod koniec XII lub na początku XIII wieku dla katedry krakowskiej, manuskrypt ten był już przedmiotem zainteresowania niektórych badaczy. W niniejszym eseju proponujemy kilka uwag na temat obecności właściwego oficjum ku czci św. Lamberta oraz zwięzłą analizę niektórych sekcji jego repertuaru liturgiczno-muzycznego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Liber Ordinarius, Kraków, rękopisy liturgiczne, Historia, św. Lambert

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**Gionata Brusa** – studied Latin and music paleography at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. Brusa is currently a researcher at the Corpus Monodicum at Julius-Maximilians University in Würzburg (Institut für Musikforschung). He has worked on liturgical connections between the dioceses of Brixen and Freising and the Collegiate Monastery of Innichen (San Candido). In 2013 Brusa received a research grant from the Università degli Studi di Padova (project Censimento e catalogazione dei manoscritti datati del Valle d'Aosta). In 2015 he was a research assistant at the University of Bozen-Brixen (project I frammenti musicali medievali di Novacella), from 2017 to 2018 he was a research assistant in the project CANTUS NETWORK. Semantically enhanced digital edition of Libri ordinarii Metropolis Salzburg (from 2018).

