

**CZESŁAW GRAJEWSKI<sup>1</sup>**  
Institute of History  
Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw  
ORCID 0000-0002-2692-8232

## THE OFFICE “PRUDENS VIRGO LAMPADAE APTATA” AS SIGNUM DISTINCTIVUM OF THE LITURGY OF WÜRZBURG CATHEDRAL FROM THE 14TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY

### Oficjum „Prudens virgo lampadae aptata” jako signum distinctivum liturgii katedry w Würzburgu od XIV do XVI w.

**Abstract:** The author analyzes the Offices of St. Catherine of Alexandria *Prudens virgo lampadae* present in six sources in Würzburg. It is the Office composed of elements borrowed from other traditions, and original elements. This Office is a characteristic feature of the liturgy of Würzburg Cathedral.

**Keywords:** St. Catherine of Alexandria, The Divine Office, liturgy, manuscript, Würzburg

**Abstrakt:** Autor analizuje oficja św. Katarzyny Aleksandryjskiej *Prudens virgo lampadae* obecne w sześciu źródłach w Würzburgu. Jest to oficjum składające się z elementów zapożyczonych z innych tradycji oraz z elementów oryginalnych. Oficjum to stanowi szczególną cechę liturgii katedry w Würzburgu.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Św. Katarzyna z Aleksandrii, oficjum brewiarzowe, liturgia, rękopis, Würzburg

The multitude of Offices of St Catherine of Alexandria has been evidence of the dynamic growth of her cult since the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries.<sup>2</sup> According to the chroniclers, around 1040, the Benedictine monastery of Holy Trinity in Rouen, which no longer exists, created the first Office of St Catherine, composed by the monk Ainard.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the mid-11th

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Dr. Czesław Grajewski (born 1960), professor of humanities, member of the Institute of History. Studied musicology 1981-1986 under prof. dr. Jerzy Pikulik at the Academy of Catholic Theology. Doctoral degree in 1995, habilitation in 2005, professorial title in 2015. Areas of scientific research: source issues concerning liturgical music books, psalms, breviary offices on St Catherine of Alexandria, selected issues of modern church music. E-mail: [graczes@yahoo.com](mailto:graczes@yahoo.com).

<sup>2</sup> *Analecta Hymnica* (AH) lists the following: *Inclita sanctae virginis* (12<sup>th</sup> century); *Benedicta sit immensa* (13<sup>th</sup> century); *Ave virgo speciosa* (13<sup>th</sup> century); *Gratulemur in honore* (13<sup>th</sup> century); *Virginis eximiae* (13<sup>th</sup> century); *Triumphandi concordando* (14<sup>th</sup> century); *lucundare superna patria* (16<sup>th</sup> century) and two Offices without the first antiphon. See AH 18, nos. 37-39; AH 26, nos. 69-74. The author's own research leads to the conclusion that this is not a complete list.

<sup>3</sup> See V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica. Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, Caen 2007, p. 299. Also, *Les abbés bénédictins de la Normandie ducale*, “Anglo-Norman Studies”, vol. 26, ed. J. Gillingham,

century can be considered the initial moment of the development of post-Gregorian works dedicated to the Virgin of Sinai. Their area gradually expanded in two directions. First: through the composition of new works which continued until the beginning of the 18th century, when (despite the official prohibition of the Council of Trent) the last chronological Office dedicated to her – *Inclita virgo Catharina* – probably was created.<sup>4</sup> Second: through the modification of the Offices existing in the liturgy. For example, the Office beginning with the antiphon *Virginis eximiae* became the most widespread variant of the Office based on the rhymed story *Nobilis et pulchra*.<sup>5</sup>

The author's research into the topic of Catherine Offices has shown that some of them, especially those found in a few sources (and, therefore, still not well recognised), have established their presence in specific locations, sometimes becoming endemic offices. This includes the Office *Gratulemur in honore*,<sup>6</sup> which apart from Liège took root in Plock and Erfurt. Another Office with its Matins beginning with the antiphon *In bello victus* seems to be characteristic of Normandy. Further on, *Congratulare Sion alma* is a specific to the Benedictine liturgy on the borderlands of France and Spain;<sup>7</sup> *Inclita sanctae Catharinae* was performed in the 15th century in Metz and Toul; and the aforementioned Office *Inclita virgo Catharina*, originating from the Iberian Peninsula, developed in Valencia, Spain, and the capital of Portugal. Undoubtedly, *Prudens virgo lampadae*, which is the subject of this study, also belongs to the group of endemic offices.

This article introduces to the scientific milieu an Office, hitherto absent from the literature,<sup>8</sup> not included in the catalogues of *Analecta Hymnica*, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* etc. However, it is necessary to add a few essential, explanatory sentences: This Office is not a completely original work. This means that some of its chants (antiphons, responsories, hymns) are borrowed from other Offices of Catherine. *Prudens virgo lampadae* is simply a variant of the Great Office<sup>9</sup> whose structure is based on the rhymed story *Nobilis et pulchra*. There-

Suffolk 2003, p. 80; C. Grajewski, *W poszukiwaniu oficjum ainardowego*, "Saeculum Christianum", 29/2022, no. 1, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> C. Grajewski, *Czy Sobór Trydencki rzeczywiście zatrzymał rozwój twórczości postgregoriańskiej? Na kanwie śpiewów o św. Cecylii i św. Katarzynie Aleksandryjskiej*, Scientific conference *Apotheosis of Saints in liturgical music*, 10th edition of "Convenium Musicae Sacrae dedicatum," Academy of Music in Poznań, March 16, 2022 (the paper submitted for publication).

<sup>5</sup> It is precisely because of the modification of the structure that the intitution of Catherine Offices based on the first Vespers antiphon fails. However, it works if we consider the title of the first nocturnal responsory – *Nobilis et pulchra*, which in most Offices begins the so-called story. See C. Grajewski, *Koncepcja oficjum modularnego w badaniach nad monodią liturgiczną*, "Musica Ecclesiastica", 15/2020, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> C. Grajewski, "Gratulemur in honore" – endemiczne oficjum o św. Katarzynie Aleksandryjskiej, "Seminare", 41/2020, no. 1, p. 103-117.

<sup>7</sup> C. Grajewski, M. Pęgier, *Gratulare Sion alma. Nieznane oficjum o Św. Katarzynie z Aleksandrii*, "Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne", 118/2022, p.110-111.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Sander of the University of Western Ontario has published the text and melody of the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae* in the CANTUS online database *in extenso*. It is important to note, however, that in this database this antiphon is not the initial antiphon (in the Würzburg Office), but appears as the 5th antiphon in the 2nd Nocturn of the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis* in the 13th-century Cistercian antiphonary (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, ms. 1799\*\*, f. 224r). See <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/547329>. This distinction is important insofar as it allows the title of the antiphon to be identified with the title of the Office in the Würzburg source.

<sup>9</sup> C. Grajewski, *Koncepcja oficjum modularnego*, p. 64; *ibidem*, *Offices of St. Catherine of Alexandria. A study of parchment fragments of Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet)*, "Liturgia Sacra", 29/2022, no. 1, p. 289-290.

fore, the purpose of this article is not so much about the discovery of this antiphon, as it was already known, but rather about indicating it as the title of the entire Office (which was not previously clear) and recognising it as the *signum distinctivum* of the liturgy of the diocese of Würzburg. This is the essence of the discovery, and it constitutes an original contribution to the knowledge of the Offices of St Catherine.

The analytical foundation identified by the author so far is based on six sources that contain the Office of St Catherine, starting with the Vesper antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae* (in chronological order):

1. *Liber Ordinarius Ecclesiae Cathedralis Herbipolensis* (1302-1306), Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. M.p.th.f.168, f. 174v-175r;
2. *Ordo de festivitibus sanctorum per circulum anni peragendis, secundum chorum sancti Kyliani, i[d] e[st] Breviarium divini officii per annum* (1454), Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Pal. lat. 513, f. 321r-322v;
3. *Breviarium Herbipolense*, Würzburg, printed by Georg Reyser (1490), f. 453r-454v;
4. *Antiphonarium Herbipolense*, Würzburg, printed by Georg Reyser (1498), f. 273v-281r;
5. *Breviarium ecclesiae Herbipolensis noviter revisum atque summa cum diligentis correctum*, Wenecja, printed by Petrus Liechtenstein (1507), f. 309v-311r;
6. *Breviarii Herbipolen[sis] pars aestivalis*, Bazylea, printed by Georg Muller (1509), f. 175v-177r.

These include two handwritten ordinaries (1, 2), three printed breviaries (3, 5, 6), and a printed antiphonary (4) – the only source with full musical notation.<sup>10</sup> The books cover a time span of two centuries, from the early 14th century to the early 16th century. In each book, the liturgical level is defined as *festum*. Five sources provide an identical intitulation of the Office: *In festivitate gloriosae virginis et martyris Catharinae*, which suggests a common origin; only the 1498 antiphonary records a different title: *In festo sanctae Catharinae*.<sup>11</sup> This source shows a few more differences, fortunately of little significance.

Let us consider the liturgical repertoire of individual Hours. The analysis will cover the basic forms: antiphons, responsories, invitatory, and hymns – a total of 32 chants, listed below in liturgical order with assigned sigils:

Antiphons:

- a01 Prudens virgo lampadae aptata
- a02 Victima caelestis Domini
- a03 O mira Salvatoris providentia
- a04 Lingens lingua canis
- a05 Virgo sancta Catharina
- a06 Apprehendit disciplinam a via vitae
- a07 Insurgentes hostes multos
- a08 Cum esset adhuc
- a09 Cum caetu virgineo
- a10 Inclita martyr ave
- a11 Germinae foecundo Catharina

<sup>10</sup> The 14th-century Ordo contains only differential formulas of the psalmody rendered with lineless Metz notation.

<sup>11</sup> Throughout the article classical Latin spelling is used, regardless of the original spelling.

- a12 Exornata quidem studiis
- a13 Regia regalis habitatrix
- a14 Dum venere viri
- a15 Virgo sed aeterni diffundens
- a16 Limen anhelantes simul
- a17 Nocte requirendo verbum
- a18 Tanto fulgore divino
- a19 Benedictus Dominus qui nos visitavit
- a20 Voce cordis et oris

#### Responsories

- r01 Virgineo flore tu. v Dum pro tortura resonet
- r02 Nobilis et pulchra. v Cui rex carne
- r03 Martyrium sitiens libamina. v Daemoniis plena sunt
- r04 Haec quinquagenos oratores. v Efficiens testes
- r05 O mater nostra. v Iam Christo iuncta
- r06 Surge virgo et nostras sponso. v Pulchrae Sion filia
- r07 In Alexandria civitate. v Cogitavit impie locutus
- r08 Multimodum genus organi. v Deum qui te genuit
- r09 Observans imperator. v Considerat peccator iustum

#### Hymns

- h01 Ave Catharina martyr et regina
- h02 Rex gloriosae martyrum

#### Invitatory

- i01 Festa Dei sponsae

Versicles, standard in the case of the Würzburg sources and used in the Common of Virgins, have been omitted. Now, to isolate the characteristics specific only to this Office, it is necessary to recognise its structure and compare its essential constitutants (i.e., antiphons and responsories). The analysis of the comparison proves that there are no significant differences between the sources, which indicates the surprisingly enduring continuity – at least two centuries old – of the liturgical tradition of St Kilian's Cathedral in Würzburg. In the tables, the original compositions are highlighted in grey.

## Vespers

Even a cursory examination shows that the first and second Vespers are different, and the only thing they have in common is the hymn *Ave Catharina, martyr et regina*. What is more important, however, is that the five Vespers psalms (weekly cycle) were performed together with one antiphon, which is consistently indicated in all sources by the note: *super psalmos feriales*, and some sources include the instruction: *sola* (antiphon). The oldest source (no. 1) specifies the manner of performance: *Chorus regitur et duo cantant* (photo 1) but performance issues are irrelevant to the essence of the article.

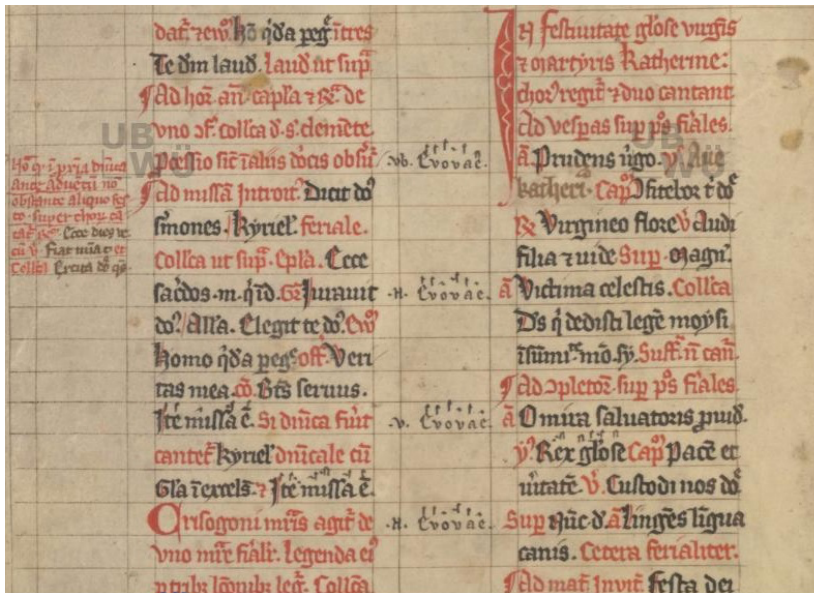


Photo 1. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. M.p.th.f.168, f. 174v (fragment). Virtuelle Bibliothek, Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg

The titular antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae aptata* is a paraphrase of the Gospel story about the vigilant virgins.<sup>12</sup> The text is set to a melody in mode V. The chant is rarely observed in the Catherine Offices, hence it may seem original in the described Office. However, its presence in the Office *Ave virgo speciosa* as early as early as the 12th century is confirmed by monastic structure sources in southern Germany, including Engelberg (photo 2),<sup>13</sup> Hirsau,<sup>14</sup> Hermetschwil,<sup>15</sup> Muri,<sup>16</sup> and Murbach.<sup>17</sup> The antiphon can also be seen in the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis*, in sources from, Polish,<sup>18</sup> Czech,<sup>19</sup> and other collections.<sup>20</sup> Among these few sources there is a regularity: while in the Office *Ave virgo speciosa* the antiphon appears as an *ad canticum* chant (sometimes additionally repeated at Sext), in the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis* it is included in the second Nocturn and placed there as the fifth chant. Apart from these examples, there are two more isolated cases, both functioning within the monastic structure of the Office. In the first case, the antiphon also appears as the fifth chant in the second

<sup>12</sup> *Prudens virgo lampadae aptata intravit cum sponso ad nuptias Catharina.* (The wise virgins, having trimmed their lamps, went with the bridegroom to the marriage feast with Catherine).

<sup>13</sup> Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 102 (12<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 147r-v.2.

<sup>14</sup> Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 292 (1276), f. 112r.

<sup>15</sup> Hermetschwil, Benediktinerinnenkloster, cod. chart. 152 (1466), f. 227r.

<sup>16</sup> Aarau, Aargauer Kantonsbibliothek, ms. Mur Q 7 (2nd half 14th century) f. 192r.

<sup>17</sup> Colmar, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 430 (14 century), f. 433v.

<sup>18</sup> Breviary, unknown prov., Wrocław, Ossoliński Library, ms. 6755/1 (15th century), f. 459r.

<sup>19</sup> Breviary, prov. Zlatá Koruna, Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky, ms. I.G.48 (15th century), f. 431v.

<sup>20</sup> A.o., Lilienfeld, Stiftsarchiv und Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 4 (15th century), f. 276r; ms. 1b (15th century), p. 615, as well as the aforementioned ms. 1799\*\*.

Nocturn: in the Office *Virginis eximiae*.<sup>21</sup> The second case concerns the Office *Benedicta sit immensa* in a Cistercian source.<sup>22</sup> There, the antiphon of the first Nocturn functions as the second antiphon. This Office is to some extent a compilation – It contains chants taken from several other Offices, including *Gratulemur in honore* of Liège.

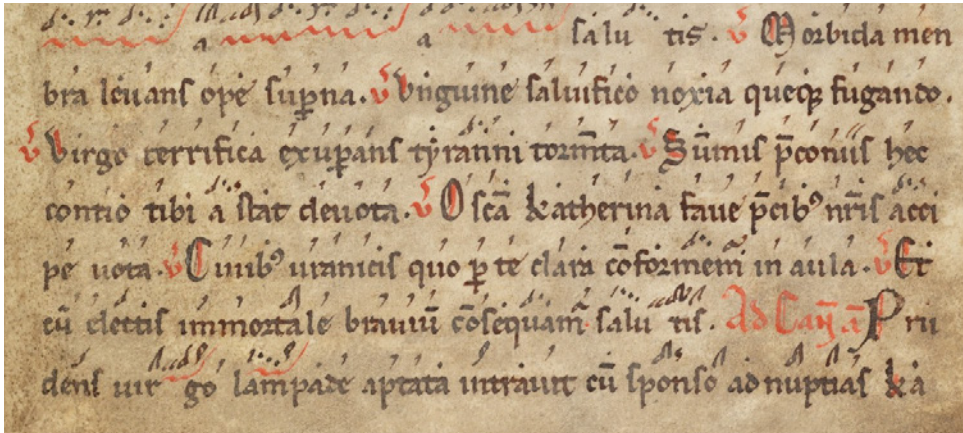


Photo 2. Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 102 (12th century), f. 147r (fragment). Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland

At the first Vespers in Würzburg there is the antiphon *Victima caelestis Domini* that is part of the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis* in the same sources as the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae aptata*. However, the responsory from the first Vespers (*Virgineo flore tu*) is a chant found in the same sources of *Ave virgo speciosa*, in which the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae*<sup>23</sup> is also present. It is difficult to determine why this responsory was omitted from Vespers in the printed antiphonary of 1498.<sup>24</sup>

The only Vespers chant that can be solely attributed to the cathedral liturgy in Würzburg, at the present stage of research, is the antiphon *Tanto fulgore divino* with its melody in the Hypolydian mode (its *siglum* in the table highlighted in dark). In all six sources it is the chant that initiates the second Vespers, and moreover, it is duplicated in the antiphonary of 1498: it also appears as the fifth antiphon for Lauds.

<sup>21</sup> Praha, Národní knihovna České Republiky, ms. XIII.A.5b (14th century), f. 171v-172r. The antiphon was composed in the hypophrygian mode. Comments on the modalities of chants in this article are formulated on the basis of two books with musical notation: an ordo, early 14th century and a printed antiphonary, 1498.

<sup>22</sup> AH 26, no 72 (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, ms. I b 89, 13th century). The Office is not entirely original – some chants are intercepted from the Great Office. Unfortunately, the author has not been able to consult the manuscript.

<sup>23</sup> The only case of the functioning the responsory *Virgineo flore* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers is the Passau breviary. Paris, BNdF, ms. NAL 404 (15th century), f. 371v. This interesting exception should be further explored in more detail in a separate study.

<sup>24</sup> The omission means that no responsory or even a brief instruction indicating which one should be performed is printed in this place in the antiphonary. However, the repertoire uniformity of sources allows the presumption that *Virgineo flore tu* was performed at that point in the liturgy.

Tab. 1

	I Vesperae						II Vesperae						
	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6
an	a01	a01	a01	a01	a01	a01	an	a18	a18	a18	a18	a18	a18
h	h01	h01	h01	h01	h01	h01	h	h01	h01	h01	h01	h01	h01
r	r01	r01	r01		r01	r01	r	r06	r06	r06	r06	r06	r06
ad Magnificat	a02	a02	a02	a02	a02	a02	ad Ma- gnificat	a20	a20	a20	a20	a20	a20

The collected material allows us to conclude that the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae* should be considered one of the oldest preserved liturgical compositions dedicated to St Catherine. However, in the initial phase of the development of the Saint’s cult, it did not yet represent a hallmark of the cathedral liturgy in Würzburg. There is strong evidence that it functioned in Benedictine and Cistercian circles as part of the Office *Ave virgo speciosa* as early as the 12th century, later as part of the structure of the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis*, and, incidentally, two other Offices. In each case, however, these works have a monastic structure. As St Catherine’s veneration developed, this antiphon lost its importance – in the 15th century, the apogee of the cult – it is practically invisible in the Offices anymore.

When codifiers of the diocesan liturgy in Würzburg created Vespers for the new Office with a Roman structure, they seem to have drawn from two traditions: the earlier one, represented by the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*, from which they directly took the titular antiphon and the responsory *Virgineo flore tu*, and a slightly later one, represented by younger sources including the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis*, from which they borrowed the antiphon *Victima caelestis Domini* functioning as an antiphon for *Benedictus* (in some works) or *Magnificat* (in others). In this way, they initiated a liturgical tradition that, as it turned out, survived intact for at least two centuries.

## Compline

All sources unanimously show as the main chants: the antiphon *O mira Salvatoris providentia* (in the Lydian mode) performed for the psalms of the day (*feriales*), the hymn *Rex gloriosae* (standard for martyr feasts), and the canticle antiphon *Lingens lingua canis* in the Hypolydian mode. The incipit of the verse *Custodi nos Domine* is also noted in the books (except for the 4th one). According to the instruction *caetera ferialiter*, apart from these elements, all other chants should be taken from the liturgy of the day.

Both antiphons seem to be original; they could not be identified in earlier sources. Only the antiphon *O mira Salvatoris* appears in the Benedictine breviary of later origin – from the beginning of the 16th century<sup>25</sup> – in which it functions as an *ad canticum* chant. Due to the time of the book’s origin, this case remains beyond the scope of the author’s interest.

<sup>25</sup> In the version *O mira Salvatoris provintia*. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 28228, f. 436v.

Tab. 2

	Completorium					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
an	a03	a03	a03	a03	a03	a03
h	h02	h02	h02	h02	h02	h02
ad Nunc dimittis	a04	a04	a04	a04	a04	a04

## Matins

The nocturnal hour in the liturgy of Würzburg Cathedral was initiated by the singing of the invitatorium *Festa Dei sponsae*, as sources unanimously report. However, it is not a locally composed piece as it appears in the same books that contain the antiphon *Victima caelestis Domini*. On the other hand, the hymn is not included in any Würzburg sources, so it was probably not performed at Matins, or possibly the hymn was sung from the Common of Virgins, hence it was not marked in the books.

The repertoire of Matins suggests that the Office was composed as a variant of the Great Office: the lists of antiphons and responsories, although both modified, reveal a strong affinity with the most widespread version of the Office, built on the foundation of the story *Nobilis et pulchra*. The overall picture of the Matins appears as follows: in the first Nocturn, the list of antiphons is stronger modified, while the repertoire of responsories is less altered. In the second Nocturn, there is no evidence of any local composition, while in the third Nocturn both the antiphons and responsories are the result of an extensive compilation. Let us move on to the details:

The first Nocturn opens with the antiphon *Virgo sancta Catharina* – a widespread, even standard, chant in the Great Office. The presence of the next two antiphons, however, is already a sign of interference in the established repertoire of the Office. *Apprehendit disciplinam* and *Insurgentes hostes* are in fact original pieces, not observed outside Würzburg. It should be noted that the composer (or compiler), combining them with traditional works, preserved the medieval principle of numerical succession of modes: the three antiphons show successive Gregorian keys: I-II-III. As for the responsories, the first two (*Nobilis et pulchra*, *Martyrium sitiens libamina*) are preserved, while the third is replaced by the repetition of *Virgineo flore tu* from the first Vespers. This last responsory in the breviary is marked with incipits at this point whereas in the antiphonary it is printed in full because it was omitted from the first Vespers.



Tab. 3

	Matutinum					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
inv	i01	i01	i01	i01	i01	i01
I Nokturn						
I an1	a05	a05	a05	a05	a05	a05
I an2	a06	a06	a06	a06	a06	a06
I an3	a07	a07	a07	a07	a07	a07
I r1	r02	r02	r02	r02	r02	r02
I r2	r03	r03	r03	r03	r03	r03
I r3	r01	r01	r01	r01	r01	r01

Of course, the numerical sequence of modes is not the only indicator of the neo-Gregorian style, though a very convincing one. However, the narrow framework of the article as well as the possibility of reaching non-specialist readers do not allow for a deeper analysis of this phenomenon.

As already mentioned, the second Nocturn does not introduce any new chants. However, the Office *Prudens virgo lampadae* differs from the other variants of the Great Office since it exhibits an almost unique scheme with r05 (*O mater nostra*) as the second responsory at the second Nocturn. In any case, all the chants of the second Nocturn, apart from one antiphon, are commonly found in the Great Office that is organised around the rhymed story *Nobilis et pulchra*. The enigmatic antiphon is *Inclita martyr ave* most often appearing as a chant *ad Benedictus* in Offices with different incipits but a common story entitled *In bello victus*, characteristic of the Norman tradition.<sup>26</sup> The variant of the Office preserved in the Würzburg sources, in the 2nd Nocturn, no longer retains the order of the modes; the antiphons are arranged according to the modal plan IV-I-IV.

<sup>26</sup> A.o.: Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 74 (13th c) f. 424v; Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 198 P/R (13th c) f. 369v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 750 (13th century), f. 242v; Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 188 (Benedictine, 13th century), f. 459r. At Le Mans Cathedral, this chant still survived in the first half of the 17th century, even though the Office used on that day consisted mostly of *Commune Sanctorum chants*. Cf. *Breviarium Cenomanense ad Romani formam expressum*, printed by Dionisius Bechet, Paris 1645, p. 787.

Tab. 4

	Matutinum					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
II Nokturn						
II an1	a08	a08	a08	a08	a08	a08
II an2	a09	a09	a09	a09	a09	a09
II an3	a10	a10	a10	a10	a10	a10
II r1	r04	r04	r04	r04	r04	r04
II r2	r05	r05	r05	r05	r05	r05
II r3	r06	r06	r06	r06	r06	r06

The third Nocturn underwent the deepest changes in structure. Three antiphons are chants that appear only vestigially in the Great Office (i.e., the rhymed story *Nobilis et pulchra*). All three: *Germinae foecundo*, *Exornata quidem studiis*, and *Regia regalis habitatrix* are observed in a few books conventionally attributed to the younger tradition represented by the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis* in the Cistercian codex 1799\*\* of the 13th century,<sup>27</sup> and so they are not the result of local creation.

The same applies to responsories. The chant *In Alexandria civitate*<sup>28</sup> is a clear trace of an old, 12th-century tradition represented by the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*<sup>29</sup> in the Engelberg manuscript.<sup>30</sup> In turn, *Multimodum genus organi*, again demonstrates its connection with a younger tradition (13th century), appearing in the same sources as, among others, all

<sup>27</sup> These antiphons appear in 13th-century Cistercian books also in other Offices: *Virginis eximiae* (Czech manuscript XIII.A.5b), *Benedicta sit immensa* (only antiphon *Germinae foecundo*, AH 26, no. 72). See also the above comment on the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae* in the same source (AH), which seems to support the Cistercians' search for their own idiom of the Catherine Office, which, however, unlike e.g., the Dominicans, they ultimately failed to create. See C. Grajewski, *Caritate vulnerata. Wizerunki i śpiewy brewiarzowe o św. Katarzynie na karcie T 4441 z Historisches Museum Thurgau w Frauenfeld*, "Teologia i Człowiek", 62/2023, no. 2, p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> Source no. 1: *In Alexandrina*, source no. 2: *In Allexandria*.

<sup>29</sup> Two responsories with confusingly similar incipits must be distinguished. The first, r. *In civitate Alexandrina v. Haec in laude Christi* is a feature of the Norman Office *In bello victus*. The second, r. *In Alexandrina civitate v. Cogitavit impie* belongs to one of the variants of the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*. In the Würzburg sources only the latter appears.

<sup>30</sup> The author was able to identify this chant (*In Alexandria / In Allexandrina*) in over a dozen sources from the 12th to 15th centuries. There it is placed as the first or second (much more frequently) responsory of the 1<sup>st</sup> Nocturn. The incipit is similar to a fragment of *Passio s. Catharinae*, beginning with the prologue *Cum sanctorum fortia gesta* – a widespread version attributed to Rabanus Maurus (c. 780-856). See *Passio Iesu Christi necnon alius tractatus de Christi passione, sive Collectura*, printed by Ioannes Koehlhoff sen., Köln c. 1476, p. 103. However, R. Maurus did not include St Catherine in his Martyrology; her name was added in the margin of the aforementioned manuscript around the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. Cf. T. Chronopoulos, *The date and place of composition of the passion of St. Katherine of Alexandria* (BHL 1663), "Analecta Bollandiana", 130/2012, no. 1, p. 41-42.

three antiphons of this Nocturn.<sup>31</sup> The third responsory, original, *Observans imperator*, is a result of local creation.<sup>32</sup>

Tab. 5

	Matutinum					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
III Nokturn						
III an1	a11	a11	a11	a11	a11	a11
III an2	a12	a12	a12	a12	a12	a12
III an3	a13	a13	a13	a13	a13	a13
III r1	r07	r07	r07	r07	r07	r07
III r2	r08	r08	r08	r08	r08	r08
III r3	r09	r09	r09	r09	r09	r09

## Lauds and Minor Hours

The repertoire of the daytime hours will be discussed together due to the identity of the chants. Of the five Lauds antiphons, the first four are repeated at Prime, Terce, Sext and None respectively. This practice is reflected by almost identical instructions written next to the first antiphon: *sola. Reliquae antiphonae dicuntur ad Horas*. The organisation of the repertoire is twofold, depending on the type of book. In the antiphonary, all antiphons are entered exclusively at Lauds, while in other books the opposite is true: only the first antiphon is marked with an incipit at Lauds while the rest are transferred to individual Minor Hours. The antiphon *ad Benedictus* in each book has been noted in the appropriate place. In this group of five antiphons, the original antiphones are: *Dum venere viri, Limen anhelantes simul*,<sup>33</sup> and *Tanto fulgore divino* repeated at the 2nd Vespers. The rest are borrowed: *Virgo sed aeterni diffundens* from the 12th-century tradition (*Ave virgo speciosa*), while *Nocte requirendo verbum* as well as the canticle antiphon, *Benedictus Dominus Deus qui nos visitavit*, from the Cistercian Office.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This responsory was further noted in two late sources with a monastic structure: Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, ms. 100 Aa 81 (15th century), f. 213r and *Historia de sancta Catharina*, in *Historiae novae*, printed by Ioannes Mayer, Dillingen 1584, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Found in a later book of the Augustinian nuns of the monastery of St. Marienberg in Helmstedt, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek ms. Guelf Helmst 506 (1343), f. 206v. It was recorded at the end of the Office with the information: *Iste responsorium de sancta Catharina*.

<sup>33</sup> Sources nos 2, 5 i 6: *Lumen anhelantes*.

<sup>34</sup> AH 26, no. 72 (13th century). Both chants, apart from the Würzburg sources, were identified only in this source.

Tab. 6

	Laudes					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
an1	a14	a14	a14	a14	a14	a14
an2				a15		
an3				a16		
an4				a17		
an5				a18		
ad Benedictus	a19	a19	a19	a19	a19	a19
	Horae minores					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
ad I	a14	a14	a14		a14	a14
ad III	a15	a15	a15		a15	a15
ad VI	a16	a16	a16		a16	a16
ad IX	a17	a17	a17		a17	a17

Based on the six sources (early 14th century – early 16th century) several conclusions and observations can be drawn.

1. The cult of St Catherine in Würzburg is attested in liturgical books as early as the beginning of the 14th century, but it likely existed there earlier. This can be presumed based on the ordo – the earliest of the six preserved liturgical books – which shows locally composed chants written in the original layer (i.e., not later additions). Considering that in the calendars of many books, despite the expansiveness of the cult of the Virgin of Alexandria, her feast was still noted in the form of additions in the 13th century, it can be assumed that such additions were even more common in the earlier manuscripts used in St Kilian's Cathedral.
2. The liturgy celebrated in Würzburg on 25 November stands out for its exceptional structural stability. From the oldest to the youngest preserved book, i.e., for two centuries, virtually no changes were made to it.<sup>35</sup> Without exception, all the chants existing in the Office at the beginning of the 14th century were preserved in the same order at the beginning of the 16th century.
3. At the beginning of the 14th century (or possibly earlier), cathedral liturgists of Würzburg compiled their own Office *Prudens virgo lampadae*, which consists of a mixture of original chants and those predominantly taken over from the Great Office. However, out of 32 chants, there are only 8 original compositions, that is 25%.
4. The Würzburg composers' own work consists almost exclusively of antiphons (not all of them: only a03, a04, a06, a07, a14, a16, a18) and only one responsory (r09). This somewhat surprising finding may suggest that the author of the Office did not feel

<sup>35</sup> The only major dissimilarity – unnoticed in this article – is the exchange of texts for nocturnal readings. Sources 1 and 4 do not include them; sources 3 and 5 contain identical lessons (cf. *Martyrologium. Viola sanctorum*, printed by Johann Prüss, Straßburg 1487, f. 121r-122v). Sources 2 and 6 differ in this respect from the previous ones and from each other. Readings in each of the six sources are only included in the first two Nocturns.

capable of creating more elaborate texts of a historical nature (responsories generally follow a narrative based on hagiographies) but considered himself competent enough to draft concise texts for several antiphons which typically have a laudatory nature. Own antiphons are included primarily in the first Nocturn, the set of Lauds (and repeated in the Minor Hours and partly in the second Vespers) and Compline. It is also worth noting that the only original responsory was introduced in Matins as the last, ninth one, i.e., concluding story, which confirms the hypothesis of a certain restraint of the text’s author before “rewriting” the hagiography of the Saint. Usually, the text of the final responsory extols the glory of the Saint, asking for her intercession. In this case, it rather does not happen, and furthermore, there is some confusion in the historical narration: from the literary point of view, the texts of the two antiphons a02 and a07 serve as an introduction to the story, one could say, its opening, prologue, hence, according to the author, there is not sufficient justification for the presence of antiphon a07, especially towards the end of the rhymed narrative of St Catherine. No original chant is introduced into the 1st Vespers and the 2nd Nocturn, unlike Compline which was almost entirely composed of original compositions.

5. Non-original elements in the Würzburg Office were borrowed from an older tradition dating back to the 12th century and two younger, 13<sup>th</sup>-century trends:
  - a. The 12<sup>th</sup>-century tradition represented by the monastic version of the Office *Ave virgo speciosa* in a manuscript probably of Engelberg (Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 102), also visible in later manuscripts, including the Benedictine antiphonary ms. Aug. perg. 60 from the late 12th and early 13th centuries (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek). Two antiphons are borrowed from this tradition: a01 and a15 as well as two responsories: r01 and r07;
  - b. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century tradition also represented by the monastic version of the Office *In bello victus* (incipit of the first nocturnal antiphon) in a manuscript of Jouarre (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 750) and others. One antiphon, a10, was borrowed from it;
  - c. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century Cistercian tradition is represented by two Offices: *Inclita sanctae virginis* (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. ms. 1999\*\*) from which i01, a02, a11, r08 were taken, and *Benedicta sit immensa* (AH 26 no. 72) from which two antiphons, a17 and a19, were borrowed;
  - d. The remaining pieces were borrowed from the Great Office, but it is not possible to determine the specific variant as they occur in virtually all of them. These are: a05, a08, a09, a20, r02, r03, r04, r05, r06, and both hymns;
  - e. The centonisation of the Office was carried out without maintaining the numerical sequence of modes. Indeed, the chants in the first Nocturn respect this principle, but not in the two subsequent ones or in the set of Lauds antiphons. This means a lower aesthetic value of the entire Office, although such action is not unusual – many sources no longer maintain a numerical tonal continuity, often as a result of later interventions in the original structure.

The analysis of the Office *Prudens virgo lampadae* allows us to conclude that it appeared in the liturgy of St Kilian’s Cathedral in Würzburg at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries and probably survived until the Council of Trent. Although it is not very original, its repertoire makes it endemic and thus serves as a provenance criterion for the source in which its notation

is recorded. The Office of St Catherine beginning with the antiphon *Prudens virgo lampadae* has not been identified anywhere else except for Würzburg. Therefore, it can be considered a provenance and furthermore, reliable criterion. This observation is the author's personal contribution to the state of knowledge about the Offices of St Catherine of Alexandria.

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