

CZESŁAW GRAJEWSKI

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw

ORCID: 0000-0002-2692-8232

## **Offices of St. Catherine of Alexandria**

### **A Study of Parchment Fragments from Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*)**

#### **Oficja o św. Katarzynie Aleksandryjskiej**

#### **Studium fragmentów pergaminowych w Szwedzkim Archiwum Narodowym (*Riksarkivet*)**

##### Abstract

The Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*) houses the largest collection of parchment books' fragments in Northern Europe (ca. 23 000), a great number of which is liturgical. Out of them a little over 5 000 were available online as of 2020. The author of this article isolated 67 fragments containing texts and chants of the Liturgy of the Hours in honour of St. Catherine of Alexandria. By the time of the Council of Trent numerous Offices of St. Catherine were created, out of which four became the most widely represented. These four Offices are characterized with a high degree of diversification, which can serve as a clue during provenance studies of the respective fragments.

**Keywords:** St. Catherine of Alexandria, Manuscript, Office Hours, Liturgy.

## Abstrakt

Spośród ponad 5000 fragmentów ksiąg pergaminowych dostępnych *online* w Szwedzkim Archiwum Narodowym w Sztokholmie wyizolowano 67, które zawierały teksty poświęcone św. Katarzynie Aleksandryjskiej. Fragmenty te udało się przyporządkować do następujących oficjów: *Virginis eximiae*, *Inclita sanctae virginis*, *Ave virginum gemma*, *Ave virgo speciosa*. Zauważono także jeden fragment oficjum wspólnego o dziewicach, które stosowane było w liturgii na wczesnym etapie rozwoju kultu św. Katarzyny. Kolejne pięć fragmentów zawiera teksty katarzyńskie, jednak ze względu na znikomość materiału analitycznego nie udało się ustalić, do którego oficjum należą.

**Słowa kluczowe:** św. Katarzyna Aleksandryjska, rękopis, oficjum godzin, liturgia.

Research on liturgical work dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria shows vast richness of repertoire, especially in the area of the liturgy of the Canonical Hours. The first Office of St. Catherine (*passio*, not preserved) was composed in the first half of 11<sup>th</sup> century by a Benedictine monk named Ainard (Aenardus, Ainardus, Aynardus, d. 1078<sup>1</sup>), a monastic liturgist and musician<sup>2</sup>. This information can be found in *Historia Ecclesiastica* chronicle, by an English historiographer Ordericus Vitalis (c. 1075 – c. 1142). The following Offices start appearing towards the end of 12<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, with creative processes still thriving in mid-15<sup>th</sup> century (locally even longer), bearing good fruit and, first and foremost, being a testimony of a dynamic development and sustainability of the Sinai Virgin's cult.

By the time of the Council of Trent (practically, by the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century), numerous versions of one main Office, as well as several other ones, were created. The most widely represented ones, and at the same time the earliest ones, are the following four Offices:

*Virginis eximiae*<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages*, vol. I, ed. B. Wispelwey, München 2008, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 2 *Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (Xe–XIIIe siècle)*, Caen 2007, p. 299–300.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Offices are characterised by an unusual feature. Namely, whole sets of chants (antiphons and responsories) are interchangeable between particular Offices. It leads to serious difficulties in classifying particular pieces. Offices beginning with the antiphons *Virginis eximiae* or *Inclita sanctae virginis* but also *Ave gemma claritatis*, *Ave virginum gemma*, *Passionem gloriosae*, *Prudens virgo lampadae* are basically variants. This is one of the reasons why *Analecta Hymnica* is not an exhaustive

*Ave virgo speciosa*<sup>4</sup>;  
*In bello victus*<sup>5</sup>;  
*Gratulemur in honore*<sup>6</sup>.

Each of these Offices has its own distinctive chants, which can be an identifying criterion during provenance studies of the manuscripts.

Out of 5000 fragments of parchment sheets preserved in the resources of the Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*)<sup>7</sup>, 67 fragments containing breviary chants of St. Catherine were isolated and analysed. Obviously, there are more fragments in *Riksarkivet* containing chants in honour of St. Catherine, but these are parts of missals, graduals, lectionaries, collectaries, sequentiaries, i.e. books whose repertoire is outside the scope of this paper. Fragments of books of the Liturgy of the Hours containing only hymns or breviary readings, but no indicative chants (antiphons, responsories, invitatories, etc.), have not been analysed either.

Overall, the analytical material was divided into four main groups, depending on the variant of the Office and the condition of sheets (classical Latin spelling of the titles):

1. Grand Office
  - 1.1. *Virginis eximiae*
  - 1.2. *Inclita sanctae virginis*
  - 1.3. *Ave virginum gemma*
  - 1.4. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office
2. *Ave virgo speciosa*
3. Office common of virgins
4. Fragments of unidentified Offices of St. Catherine

The Grand Office (*Officium magnum*) can be described as such because it is represented in the largest number of sources in several variants. The principle according to which the first antiphon of Vespers is also the title of the whole office

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source of knowledge about Offices of St. Catherine. The Office *Virginis eximiae/Inclita sanctae virginis* seems to be proper to France, but obviously it is present all over Europe.

<sup>4</sup> The biggest concentration of this Office is in the Germanic areas.

<sup>5</sup> This is an Office without first antiphons of Vespers. The first Matins antiphon begins with the words *In bello victus*. This is an Office present almost exclusively in sources of Norman provenance.

<sup>6</sup> This office is typical of the liturgy of Liège.

<sup>7</sup> The author examined exclusively fragments available online. However, *Riksarkivet* houses the largest collection of medieval books' fragments in Northern Europe, ca. 23 000 fragments, most of which are liturgical. J. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, Stockholm 2013, p. 11.

does not apply to Catherine Offices. A considerable number of chants can be found in various Offices. Moreover, whole groups of antiphons/responsories are present in particular sub-types. For example, a group of antiphons *Passionem gloriosae*, appearing in one breviary in Lauds, can be present in another one in Vespers. This is why we can, and we should, speak of one Office with a high degree of diversification. Thus, it seems appropriate to call it ‘Grand’, considering its absolute domination among all other Offices of St. Catherine, as well as its presence all over Europe (in various repertoire variants). After these methodological remarks, we should take an attempt at classifying these 67 parchment fragments and assigning them to respective types listed above.

### 1. *Officium magnum, variant Virginis eximiae*

It is the most frequent variant of the Office, where the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers begin with the title antiphon *Virginis eximiae*. This Office is common in liturgical books, both in cathedral (saecularis) and monastic forms, practically in the whole of Europe. Out of the fragments present in Riksarkivet, ten were isolated that definitely contain chants from this Office. These are: Fr. 8936 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.), 23320 (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.), 22567 + 22569, 426 and 22251 (all from 14<sup>th</sup> c.), 11338 (15<sup>th</sup> c.), 29802 (15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> c.) as well as two fragments with undetermined dating 22250 and 29781. In all of them, the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers was preserved, thus there is no difficulty in recognising and classifying them.

Two fragments 22567 and 22569 are two subsequent pages of one breviary (474). It is proven by the text of the invitatory, which begins on one page and finishes on the next one: *Adoretur virginum rex in saeculorum saecula virgini qui Catharinae con(22569)tulit caelestia*. To make the Office complete, two more pages are missing that contain responsories of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne, the whole Lauds as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers. They could not be found in Riksarkivet resources.

Seven fragments represent cathedral form<sup>8</sup> (8936, 23320, 22567 + 22569, 426, 22250, 22251), one – monastic form (29802). Nothing certain can be said, however, about the two remaining fragments (11338, 29781) due to scarcity of analytical material.

Nearly all fragments of the Office *Virginis eximiae* with cathedral form represent the most common version, i.e. the one where the fifth Vespers antiphon is

<sup>8</sup> The cathedral form (cursus cathedralis) means five Vespers antiphons as well as three Nocturnes, each with three antiphons and three responsories in Matins.

*O quam mirificis Deus ordinat.* In this light, two fragments, 1479<sup>9</sup> and slightly later 23320, seem unique. Their distinctive feature is the fifth antiphon *Aures inclina nostris precibus*. This piece has not been confirmed in other sources so far, so it is highly probable that it was created locally. One should not, however, fall into temptation of associating both fragments with each other, as in spite of the antiphon text being identical, the melodic layer exhibits substantial difference: In the earlier fragment, the melody of the antiphon is composed in the FA modus with the added psalm cadence *Lauda Ierusalem* in the 5<sup>th</sup> tone:



The later fragment includes this antiphon in the 1<sup>st</sup> modus (transposed) with the psalm cadence also in the 1<sup>st</sup> modus:



The antiphon concluding Vespers is included in seven fragments, while in two other fragments it has not been preserved due to defective sheets. In five cases it is the commonly present chant *Inclita sanctae virginis*, but in 22251 from 14<sup>th</sup> century and 7896 from 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup> it is *Prudens et vigilans virgo*. Again, one may conclude that these sources are unique liturgically, since this antiphon as an ad Magnificat chant was not registered in medieval European sources.

In the case of Fr. 29802, an antiphon ad Magnificat is *Ave gemma claritatis*. This is not uncommon – it often happens, especially in the Offices *Ave virgo speciosa* and *Inclita sanctae virginis*, and sporadically in others, too. This distinctive difference is justified by the monastic provenance of the antiphonary, which is shown by four antiphons in Vespers, despite their melodies written in Gothic script (rhomboid noteheads) in 5-line staves. The Catherine repertoire included in the described above sheets is illustrated in Table 1 (classical Latin spelling in all tables; only antiphons and responsories in all tables. List of chants at the end of the article).

<sup>9</sup> Fragment 1479 does not have preserved first antiphon. Probably, it might have been *Virginis eximiae*, but there is no certainty.

<sup>10</sup> In Fr. 7896 in Vespers there are only one collect and three canticle antiphons recorded. Thus, there is no certainty whether we are really dealing with the variant of *Virginis eximiae*.

Tab. 1. Grand Office chants (*variant Virginis eximiae*)

	Fr 8936 12-13th c.	Fr 23320 (Br 1020) 13-14th c.	Fr 22567 (Br 474) 14th c.	Fr 22569 (Br 474) 14th c.	Fr 426 14th c.	Fr 22251 (Ant 232) 14th c.	Fr 11338 15th c.	Fr 29802 (Ant 365) 15-16th c.	Fr 22250 (Br 279) ? c.	Fr 29781 (Ant 346) ? c.
I Vesp.										
an1	a48	a48	a48		a48	a48	a48	a48		a48
an2	a23	a23	a23		a23	a23	a23	a23		a23
an3	a15	a15	a15		a15	a15	a15	a15		a15
an4	a24	a24	a24		a24	a24		a25		a24
an5	a36	a06	a36		a36	a36				
r	r21	r21	r21		r21			r20		
Magnificat	a28	a28	a28		a28	a43		a07	a28	
Compl.										
an	a10									
Matutinum										
inv	i02	i02	i02	i02				i01	i02	
I Nocturn										
I an1	a50	a50		a50				a28	a50	
I an2	a45	a45		a45				a22	a45	
I an3	a46	a46		a46				a32	a46	
I r1	r13	r13		r13					r13	
I r2	r10			r10					r10	
I r3				r05					r05	
II Nocturn										
II an1				a17						
II an2				a31						
II an3				a12						

Tab. 2. Grand Office chants (variant *Inclita sanctae virginis*)

	Fr 8304 (Ant 49) 15th c.	Fr 20106 (Ant 49) 14th c.	Fr 8201 (Ant 49) 15th c.
I Vesp.			
an1	a28	a28	
r		r20	
Magnificat		a07	
Matutinum			
inv		i01	
h			
I Nocturn			
I an1		a50	
I an2		a45	a45
I an3			a46
I r1			r13
I r2			r10
I r3			r05
II Nocturn			
II an1			a17
II an2			a31
II an3			a12

## 2. *Officium magnum, variant Inclita sanctae virginis*

This variant is the second most frequently represented one in sources. In Riksarkivet, its traces were found in three fragments belonging to the Antiphony 49<sup>11</sup>, according to the bibliographic description available in 2020. These are: Fr. 20106 (14<sup>th</sup> c.), Fr. 8201 (15<sup>th</sup> c.) and Fr. 8304 (15<sup>th</sup> c.).

Contradiction in the dating of these fragments aside, we can see that only two fragments can be associated with each other: 20106 and 8201. The first argument is the continuity of the text of the second antiphon of the 1<sup>st</sup> Nocturne: (20106) *Specie corporis decora nimis enituit sed fide* (8201) *pulchrior sponso superno placuit*. The second argument is the structure of liturgy. It is impossible, in one antiphony, for the same Office to begin twice: *De sancta Katharina super psalmos feriales*. Beyond doubt, Fr. 20106 and 8201 are compatible, but Fr. 8304 is a part of another manuscript, although certainly written by the same hand.

The fragments of the Office *Inclita sanctae virginis* which have been preserved in Riksarkivet do not exhibit any distinctive features that could differentiate them from other European sources. However, it is worth mentioning that these are sheets most likely originating in Germany or in the Baltic states

<sup>11</sup> There are more fragments of the Antiphony 49 preserved in Riksarkivet, but since they do not contain chants of St. Catherine, they remain outside the scope of this paper.

### 3. *Officium magnum, variant Ave virginum gemma*

This Office, infrequent in liturgical books, is not an independent type, either. It is a variant of the Grand Office, which can be proven by the lists of: Matins antiphons (*Virgo sancta Catharina*), Matins responsories (*Nobilis et pulchra*) and Lauds antiphons (*Passionem gloriosae*). A distinguishing factor of this Office is the first title antiphon of Vespers, *Ave virginum gemma*.

This Office has been identified in four fragments: 178, 23949, 29963 and 21956. The first three date back to 13<sup>th</sup> century and the last one to 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century. For the most part, they are small in terms of size: Fr. 178 contains only the beginning of the first antiphon, Fr. 21956 and 29963 record only the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers. Only Fr. 23949, apart from Vespers, contains a fairly substantial fragment of Matins and Lauds.

This Office is typical of the English Salisbury rite. Only Anglo – Saxon sources contain jointly the chant *Ave virginum gemma* as the first antiphon of Vespers, the responsory *O mater nostra* and the antiphon ad Magnificat *Inclita sanctae virginis*. Such constructed Vespers were represented only in breviaries from the British Isles<sup>12</sup>.

There are certain doubts as to the origin of Fr. 23949 and 29963, as the Vespers responsory present there is different: *Virgo flagellatur*, which is only confirmed in the breviary from Besançon (13<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, it is too faint of a trace to associate these sources with each other. If more Matins chants had been preserved in both fragments, the conclusion could be more certain, as the French breviary contains original chants, not found in any other source (e.g. responsory *Ave festiva ferculi Salomonis*, antiphon *Beata virgo Dei Catharina constante animo*). Since these chants have not been found anywhere else except in the Besançon breviary, it must be concluded that Fr. 23949 and 29963 are more likely associated with England than with France.

Comparing the repertoire of Vespers in Fr. 23949 and 29963 with Fr. 21956, one can conclude that either they do not represent the same liturgical tradition, i.e. they come from different places (which seems more probable), or Fr. 21956 contains liturgy that had already been slightly modified. The difference, apart from the

<sup>12</sup> Among others, an English breviary London BL ms. Add 52359 (1300–1319), f. 462v; Breviary from Norwich, London BL, ms. Stowe 12 (1322–1325), f. 334v; Welsh breviary, Aberystwyth, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, ms. 20541 E (1320 – 1390), f. 297r; Breviary from Salisbury, Paris BNdF, ms. Lat 17294 (14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 663r; Breviary from Aberdeen, printed by Walter Chepman, Edinburgh 1510, reprint Toovey, London 1854, f. 170v; Montréal, McGill University – Humanities and Social Sciences Library, ms. CDN-Mlr 18 (uncertain dating), f. 23r.

<sup>13</sup> Frauenfeld, Kantonsbibliothek Thurgau, ms. Y 24, p. 404.



Tab. 3. Grand Office chants (variant *Ave virginum gemma*)

	<b>Fr 23949 (Br 1515)</b> 13. th c.	<b>Fr 178</b> 13. th c.	<b>Fr 29963 (Ant 492)</b> 13. th c.	<b>Fr 21956 (Br 129)</b> 14-15th c.
I Vesp.				
an1	a08	a08	a08	a08
r	r21		r21	r15
Magnificat	a28		a28	a28
<b>Matutinum</b>				
inv	i02			
I Nocturn				
I an1	a50			
I an2	a45			
I an3	a46			
I r1	r13			
I r2				
I r3				
III Nocturn				
III r3	r15			
Laudes				
an1	a39			
an2	a42			
an3	a19			
an4	a52			
an5	a44			
Benedictus	a11			
II Vesp.				
Magnificat	a43			

responsory, can be seen in the prose, hymn and versicule. The prose *Aeterne virgo memoriae* in Fr. 23949 appears at the end of Matins (nothing can be said about the situation in 29963), but in Fr. 21956 it appears in Vespers. It is not easy to draw any definite conclusions, though, as both options appear in English sources, even simultaneously.

#### 4. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

Apart from the fragments mentioned above, Riksarkivet is in possession of 36 other ones which contain chants undoubtedly belonging to *Officium magnum*. However, due to the lack of the first antiphon of Vespers, it is difficult to precisely determine the variants. These are (chronologically): Fr. 23262 (12<sup>th</sup> c.), 23969 (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.), 5795, 3498, 24549 (all from 1<sup>st</sup> half of 13<sup>th</sup> c.), 1479, 6169, 6958, 7896, 20900 + 20902<sup>14</sup>, 24972, 25010, 29874 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), 22740, 5885 + 5913 (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.).<sup>15</sup>, 6173 + 6174<sup>16</sup>, 6284, 10980, 22067, 22090, 22779, 30888 (all from 14<sup>th</sup> c.), 1836, 4051 (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.), 1707, 7668, 9988, 10602 (all from 15<sup>th</sup> c.). Furthermore, five fragments were preserved in Riksarkivet without determined dating: 22476 + 22475<sup>17</sup>, 22507, 23385 and 23550.

The fact that the fragments 20902 and 20900 (in this order) are pages of one Antiphonary (205) can be proven by the continuity of the responsory in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne: (20902) *Horrendo subdenda rotarum machinamento virgo Deum clamat* (20900) *caelum tonat angelus astat...* The fact that Fr. 5885 and 5913 belong to one book can be proven by the continuity of the text of the second breviary reading (5885) *Hinc ve(5913)hementi dolore*. The complementarity of the fragments 6174 and 6173 (in this order) can be attested by the prose text *Aeterno virgo memoriae* at the end of Matins.

All these fragments of the Grand Office exhibit *cursus saecularis* form. Most of them contain typical chants which are not indicative of their provenance. Nevertheless, there are a number of fragments that are worth noting:

1. Fr. 23262 contains the antiphon ad Nunc dimittis *Ave virgo speciosa*. Generally, it is rare for Completorium chants to be placed in the books of the Liturgy of the Hours. If Completorium is present, most often the

<sup>14</sup> Two subsequent fragments of the Antiphonary 205.

<sup>15</sup> Two subsequent fragments of one breviary.

<sup>16</sup> Two subsequent fragments of one breviary.

<sup>17</sup> Two fragments of the Breviary 410.

antiphons *Ordo puellarum* or *Voce cordis et oris* appear as an antiphon ad *Nunc dimittis*. The antiphon *Ave virgo speciosa*, on the other hand, is found in German sources (Regensburg, Köln) but from a later period: 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

2. Fr. 3498 contains the antiphon *Cum caetu angelico* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne. It is an isolated case that could indicate local characteristics, as in all available offices this chant is present in *Cum caetu virgineo* version.
3. Fr. 7896 represents a considerably reduced Office, but still, it exhibits the continuity of the script. It practically contains only three canticle antiphons: *Prudens et vigilans virgo* (ad Magnificat, 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers), *Inclita sanctae virginis* (ad Benedictus) and *Quia devotis laudibus* (ad Magnificat, 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers). All these chants were widely spread. However, the liturgical moments in which they were performed provoke reflection. For instance, placing *Prudens et vigilans* at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers in Fr. 7896 and 22251. Similarly, the antiphon *Inclita sanctae virginis* placed at the end of Lauds in Fr. 7896 and 6169. Such solutions are not to be found in medieval books, thus it is worth examining the connections between Fr. 6169, 7896 and 22251 further. The last of these three, *Quia devotis laudibus* is nowhere to be found at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers. Moreover, the collect *Deus qui in summitate* in Fr. 7896 has an unusual form, most closely resembling the version from the Benedictine manuscript from Evreux<sup>18</sup>. Thus, it seems almost certain that Fr. 7896 could represent local liturgical tradition which does not have its counterpart in other centres in Sweden.
4. Fr. 1479, apart from the mentioned antiphon *Aures inclina nostris precibus*, contains more puzzling details. For instance, the hymn *Catharinae collaudemus* has a melody different from other sources. Moreover, the antiphon ad Magnificat *Ave virgo Catharina ave* is not present in medieval sources, or at least its presence has not been indicated so far. Due to defective page, the whole piece cannot be reconstructed, but it can be said that it is a unique chant. Most of text of the antiphon could be deciphered: *A(ve virgo? Katharina caeli regem huc incli(ta) .... Adiuva mundi rerum a..v(...) sublevetur animus caeli cho(rus ...) Katerina te laudantes cum (glo)ria prece viva petimus.*

Five fragments point to the association with the liturgy of Normandy. This association is visible in three features:

<sup>18</sup> Evreux, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. lat. 120, f. 379v (after 1228).

Tab. 4. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

Tab 4a	Fr 23262 (Br 974) 12th c.	Fr 23969 (Br 1532) 12-13th c.	Fr 3498 1. half 13th c.	Fr 5795 1. half 13th c.	Fr 24549 (Br 1976) 1. h. 13th c.	Fr 1479 13th c.	Fr 6169 13th c.	Fr 6958 13th c.	Fr 7896 13th c.	Fr 20902 (Ant 205) 13th c.	Fr 20900 (Ant 205) 13th c.	Fr 24972 (Br 2308) 13th c.
I Vesp.												
an1												
an2						a23						
an3						a15						
an4						a24						
an5						a06						
r						r15						
Magn.						a09			a43			
Matut.												
inv	i02					i02		i02				i02
I Noct.												
I an1	a50					a50		a50				a50
I an2	a45					a45		a45				a45
I an3	a46					a46		a46				a46
I r1	?											
I r2								r10		r10		
I r3	r05	r05						r05		r05		r05
II Noct.												
II an1	a17	a17						a17		a17		
II an2	a31	a31						a31		a31		
II an3		a12		?				a12		a12		
II r1	r16			r16				r16		r16		
II r2	r08			r08						r08		
II r3	r21		r21		r21					r21		

Tab. 4a cont. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

Tab 4a	Fr 23262 (Br 974) 12th c.	Fr 23969 (Br 1532) 12-13th c.	Fr 3498 1. half 13th c.	Fr 5795 1. half 13th c.	Fr 24549 (Br 1976) 1. h. 13th c.	Fr 1479 13th c.	Fr 6169 13th c.	Fr 6958 13th c.	Fr 7896 13th c.	Fr 20902 (Ant 205) 13th c.	Fr 20900 (Ant 205) 13th c.	Fr 24972 (Br 2308) 13th c.
III Noct.												
III an1	a21				a21		a21			a21		
III an2	a27		a27		a27		a27			a27		
III an3	a18		a18		a18		a18			a18		
III r1	r06		r06		r06		r06			r06	r06	
III r2					r17		r17				r17	
III r3					r15		r15				r15	
Laudes												
an1					a39		a39				a39	
an2					a42		a42				a42	
an3					a19		a19				a19	
an4					a52		a52				a52	
an5					a44		a44				a44	
Bened.					a11		a28		a28		a11	
II Vesp.												
an												
Magn.					a43		a43		a44		a43	



Tab. 4b cont. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

Tab 4b	Fr 25010 (Br 2327) 13th c.	Fr 29874 (Ant 427) 13th c.	Fr 22740 (Br 586) 13-14th c.	Fr 5885 13-14th c.	Fr 5913 13-14th c.	Fr 6174 14th c.	Fr 6173 14th c.	Fr 6284 14th c.	Fr 10980 14th c.	Fr 22067 (Br 210) 14th c.	Fr 22090 (Br 220) 14th c.	Fr 22779 (Br 621) 14th c.
III Noct.												
III an1												
III an2												
III an3												
III r1						r06		r06				
III r2			r17			r17		r17				
III r3	r14					r15		r15				
Laudes												
an1	a39				a39	a39						
an2	a42				a42	a42						
an3	a19				a19	a19						
an4	a52				a52	a52						
an5	a37?				a44	a44						
Bened.	a43				a11	a11						
II Vesp.												
an												
Magn.	a08				a43	a43						

Tab. 4c Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

Tab 4c	Fr 30888 (Br 308) 14th c.	Fr 1836 14th c.	Fr 4051 14-15th c.	Fr 1707 15th c.	Fr 7668 15th c.	Fr 9988 (Br 1224) 15th c.	Fr 10602 15th c.	Fr 22475 (Br 410) ? c.	Fr 22476 (Br 410) ? c.	Fr 22507 (Br 421) ? c.	Fr 23385 (Br 1067) ? c.	Fr 23550 (Br 1182) ? c.
I Vesp.												
an1												
an2												
an3									a15			
an4									a24			
an5									a36			
r									r21		r07	
Magn.									a28			
Matut.												
inv									i02			
I Noct.												
I an1									a50			
I an2									a45			
I an3									a46			
I r1									r13		r09	
I r2									r10			
I r3												r05
II Noct.												
II an1					a17							a17
II an2					a31					a31		a31
II an3					a12					a12		a12
II r1					r16							r16
II r2					r08							
II r3		r21			r21			r21				



Tab. 4c cont. Remaining fragments of the Grand Office

	Fr 30888 (Br 308) 14th c.	Fr 1836 14th c.	Fr 4051 14-15th c.	Fr 1707 15th c.	Fr 7668 15th c.	Fr 9988 (Br 1224) 15th c.	Fr 10602 15th c.	Fr 22475 (Br 410) ? c.	Fr 22476 (Br 410) ? c.	Fr 22507 (Br 421) ? c.	Fr 23385 (Br 1067) ? c.	Fr 23550 (Br 1182) ? c.
III Noct.												
III an1		a21	a21					a21				
III an2		a27	a27					a27				
III an3	a18	a18	a18					a18				
III r1	r06	r06	r06									
III r2	r17	r17	r17									
III r3	r15	r15	r15			r15						
Laudes												
an1	a39	a39	a39			a39	a39					
an2	a42	a42				a42	a42					
an3	a19	a19		a19		a19	a19					
an4				a52		a52	a52					
an5				a44		a44	a44					
Bened.				a43		a11	a11					
II Vesp.												
an						a39						
Magn.				a08		a07	a07					

- a. The 1<sup>st</sup> Matins responsory *In civitate Alexandrina* present in numerous Norman sources<sup>19</sup>, but also in some Germanic monastic ones<sup>20</sup>.
- b. The very distinctive invitatory *Laudetur Dominus Sabaoth* included in three fragments: 5885, 6284 and 8385<sup>21</sup>. This invitatory is clearly visible in books from Normandy, including the oldest ones. In Fr. 6284 the text appears as follows: (*Laudetur Dominus Sabaoth cui*) *nomen (est) agnus. Per (q)uem (s)acrillegum vicit Katheri(n)a tyrannum.*
- c. Two antiphons of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne: *Ac Katherina Deum servat* and *Post haec carnifici* present in Fr. 24574. These chants in the Norman books appear in Lauds. It is difficult, however, to definitely claim that this fragment contains chants of the Grand Office.

## 5. Office *Ave virgo speciosa*

First off, one methodological remark: This Office is not a variant of the Grand Office; it is a separate piece with proper chants. There are eight fragments in Riksarkivet that contain the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*: Fr. 8385 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 12<sup>th</sup> c.), 23097, 29683 (12<sup>th</sup> –13<sup>th</sup> c.), 2089, 9986, 24598 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), 312 (14<sup>th</sup> –15<sup>th</sup> c.) and 8284 (15<sup>th</sup> c.).

This Office is characterised by three pieces: the title antiphon at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers, the 1<sup>st</sup> Matins antiphon *Virgo regalis* and the antiphon opening Lauds *Aeterno regi caelo*. These chants make it possible to identify the Office even if the opening antiphons of the Office are not present. This is the case of six fragments: 312, 2089, 8284, 9986, 23097 and 29683. The antiphon opening Vespers in the oldest Fr. 8385 (*Ave gemma claritatis*) is misleading as the subsequent chants preserved in this fragment undoubtedly belong to the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*. This fragment has already been discussed in the context of the Norman tradition.

At least two fragments out of those mentioned above exhibit *cursus monasticus*. The first one is Fr. 312, of Benedictine provenance. Two chants present there: the antiphon *ad canticum Concentus suaves et cantica laudis* and the responsory *Multi lumen de paganis* may point to associations with the liturgy of Normandy, as both chants are

<sup>19</sup> E.g.: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XIII.G.24 (12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 6v; Bayeux, Bibliothèque du Chapitre, ms. 74 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 418r; Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 750 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 240r; Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 188 (13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 456r.

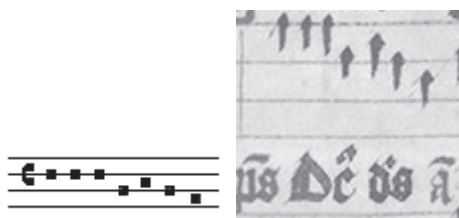
<sup>20</sup> E.g. Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 102 (12<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 146r; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, ms. Aug perg 60 (12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> c.), f. 190r.

<sup>21</sup> Fr. 8385 contains chants from the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*.

basically found in sources only from that area. The second fragment, with most probably monastic form and also showing associations with Normandy, is Fr. 29683. Norman connections could be attested by the antiphon *Mons legis Sina* at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers, which is frequently observed in sources from Normandy.

Fr. 8284 from 15<sup>th</sup> century is, in turn, very typical of the Teutonic liturgy (*Ordo Teutonicorum*). This fragment belonged to an antiphonary originating in the State of the Teutonic Order (currently Poland). There are two strong arguments for this thesis:

1. Distinctive psalm ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> tone:



It had not been rendered precisely in the manuscript, but it has to be remembered that euouae formulas in antiphonaries often were not written down precisely. In other Teutonic sources this ending takes the correct form<sup>22</sup>:



This ending is rarely found in diocesan or monastic books; however, interestingly enough, it is frequently observed in Teutonic antiphonaries.

2. Double indication of the memorial of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia is an even stronger argument for the Teutonic provenance of Fr. 8284. This indication was placed for the first time at the end of Lauds: *Oratio ut supra. Memoria Petri Alexandrini et beate Elyzabeth*. For the second time, at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers: *Oratio ut supra. Memoria beatae Elyzabeth per antiphonam Gaude caelum, oratio Tuorum cor.*

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Darmstadt, Universitäts und Landesbibliothek, ms. 872 (c. 1300), f. 193r; Praha, Knihovna Národního Muzea, ms. XIII.A.7 (1412), f. 249v; Pelplin, Seminary Library, ms. L6 (1419), f. 93r (see photo).





Tab. 5c. cont. Office *Ave virgo speciosa*

	Fr 8385 2 half 12th c.	Fr 23097 (Br 858) 12-13th c.	Fr 9986 13th c.	Fr 24598 (Br 2014) 13th c.	Fr 24574 (Br 1998) 13th c.	Fr 2089 13th c.	Fr 312 14-15th c.	Fr 8284 15th c.
Laudes								
an1								
an2								a05
an3								a02
an4								a26
an5								a38
Bened.								a43
<b>II Vesp.</b>								
an								a03
Magnif.								a51
memoria								a20

The memorial of St. Peter, the bishop of Alexandria is not surprising; in liturgical calendars, still from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of 15<sup>th</sup> century, his memorial was joined with St. Catherine's. Whereas the celebration of St. Elisabeth on 25<sup>th</sup> November is indicative of the celebration of the whole octave (from 19<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> November). This Saint was honoured to the highest degree in the Teutonic liturgy as one of the main patronesses of the Order. Unfortunately, the fragment 8284 does not include the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers, so it is not known which antiphon the 1<sup>st</sup> Vespers began with. It is known, though, that in Teutonic books created before the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century the Office of St. Catherine began with the antiphon honouring St. Elisabeth (sic!) *Dominus Elyzabeth induit*. The occurrence of the celebration of St. Catherine and St. Elisabeth is a reliable provenance indication of the Teutonic liturgy.

## 6. Office common of virgins

Apart from proper Offices of St. Catherine, especially at the initial stage of the development of her cult, the Office common of virgins and martyrs was performed in some places. One fragment (22850) has been preserved in Riksarkivet that documents this phenomenon. It is a fragment of Breviary 677 from 12<sup>th</sup> century, so it is definitely an early one. Unfortunately, the script of this Office was reduced to the most widely spread version of the collect *Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi in summitate montis Sinai*. A similar situation can be observed in Fr. 22381 (see below), as well as in a large number of early sources from various centres in Europe.

## 7. Fragments of unidentified Offices of St. Catherine

Finally, five other fragments should be noted which undoubtedly contain chants of St. Catherine, but could not be assigned to any particular Office. These are: Fr. 20293, 22381, 24574, 24621 (all from 13<sup>th</sup> c.) and 20059 (from 14<sup>th</sup> c.). The first of these fragments contains almost complete Lauds and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vespers, whose repertoire might lead to the conclusion that they belong to the Grand Office, but it is not certain. As to Fr. 24574, it could be supposed that it is a part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturne of the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*, due to the presence of the antiphon *Machina paenalis*, but it is only a supposition. Two sheets of the Breviary 302 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>23</sup> should be also categorised as unidentified fragments. These, however, are outside the scope of this paper, as they do not contain any chants, but only parts of breviary readings, though certainly dedicated to 25<sup>th</sup> November.

The dating of Fr. 22381, without a risk of major error, can be moved to the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century and thus it can be acknowledged that this fragment was created in the early period of the development of St. Catherine's cult in Sweden. For it does not include Office chants yet, but only a collect. It is a similar situation to Fr. 22850. Interestingly, the version of the text of this collect – not very frequent (*Deus qui in summitate monte Sinai legem dedisti Moysi*)<sup>24</sup> – is identical to Fr. 7896. It is

<sup>23</sup> In Riksarkivet, this fragment was tagged with two signatures: 8423 and 30887, but these are the same page.

<sup>24</sup> The most frequent form of the collect: *Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi in summitate montis Sinai et in eodem loco corpus beatae Catharinae virginis ac martyris tuae per sanctos angelos tuos mirabiliter collocasti, concede propitius, ut eius meritis et intercessione ad montem qui Christus est pervenire valeamus. Per eundem Dominum...* A comparative study of the texts of this collect (unfortunately in Polish) see: Cz. Grajewski, *Kolekta o św. Katarzynie Deus qui dedisti legem Moysi. Źródła, struktura, przemiany*, „Liturgia sacra” 26, 2020, 1, p. 189–214.

Tab. 6. Fragments of unidentified Offices of St. Catherine

Tab. 6	Fr 20293 (Ant 113) 13th c.	Fr 22381 (Br 357) 13th c.	Fr 24574 (Br 1998) 13th c.	Fr 24621 (Br 2037) 13th c.	Fr 20059 (Ant 32) 14th c.
Matut.					
I Noct.					
I r1					r13
I r2					
I r3					
II Noct.					
II r1			r19		
II r2			r06		
II r3			r17		
III Noct.					
III an1			a29		
III an2			a01		
III an3			a41		
III r1			r04		
III r2			r15		
III r3			r14?	r15	
Laudes					
an1				?	
an2	a42				
an3	a19				
an4	a52				
an5	a44				
Bened.	a43				
II Vesp.					
an	a39				
r	r15 vel r06				
Magnif.	a11				



possible that in the centres where both books were created, the cult of St. Catherine stemmed from a common source (Fig. 1 and 2).

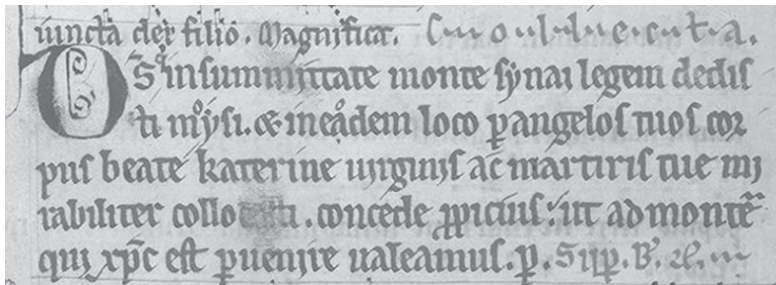


Fig. 1. Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr. 7896. Collect of St. Catherine

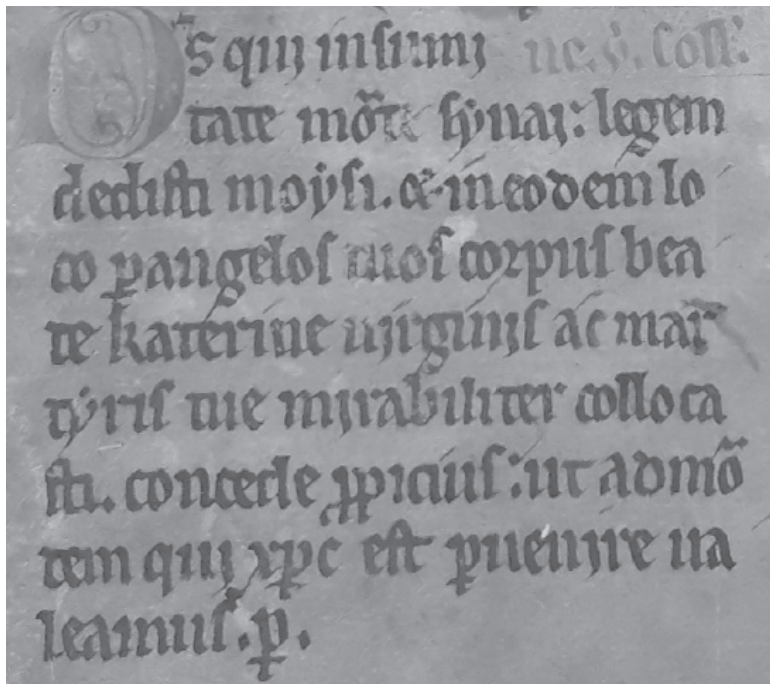


Fig. 2. Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr. 22381. Collect of St. Catherine

## Recapitulation

The analysis of the fragments of Offices of St. Catherine that are preserved in the resources of Riksarkivet in Stockholm (over 5000 available online 2020) has shown that they predominantly contain universal repertoire, i.e. such as in numerous medieval European sources, belonging to the general legacy of the Catholic Church. However, in some cases, the researchers' attention is drawn to the placement of a popular chant (most often an antiphon) in a different liturgical moment than it can be observed in most books from outside Sweden. Such phenomenon could indicate non-uniformity of the liturgy of the day of St. Catherine in individual centres in Sweden. Undoubtedly, also a small number of chants must be noticed that are characteristic because they have not been identified anywhere outside Sweden. All this supports a thesis that the cult of St. Catherine, at least in some Swedish centres, developed independently of traditions established in other countries.

Generally, in the fragments from Riksarkivet, the Grand Office of St. Catherine predominates in two variants: *Virginis eximiae* and *Inclita sanctae virginis*. This is not surprising, as these are Offices widely spread all over Europe. Moreover, the preserved fragments prove the reception of English influences in the form of the Office *Ave virginum gemma* (four fragments), which is typical of the English rite of Salisbury<sup>25</sup>. Eight fragments contain chants from the Office *Ave virgo speciosa*, most frequently observed in German areas. Some association with Normandy can also be noticed (in the form of chants typical of that area), but it is not dominating. Thus, it can be assumed that the parchment fragments from Stockholm represent at least four liturgical traditions manifested in the repertoire of the chants of the Liturgy of the Hours for the day of St. Catherine. This attests greater liturgical variety in Sweden than, for example, in Finland, where two traditions of Offices of St. Catherine could be identified<sup>26</sup>.

No chant, however, has been identified in Riksarkivet that could indicate the presence of the Office *Ave gemma claritatis*. This infrequent variant can be observed in French sources, as well as those from Central Europe. No traces of the Office *Gratulemur in honore* could be found either, typical of the church in Liège,

<sup>25</sup> Associations between English and Swedish centres can be attested by fragments of liturgical books, even 11<sup>th</sup>-century missals, rituals, which have been preserved in Swedish collections. J. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, p. 50–51, 57.

<sup>26</sup> I. S. Taitto, *Catalogue of medieval manuscript fragments in the Helsinki University Library. Fragmenta membranea IV:1, Antiphonaria. Text*, Helsinki 2001, p. 166.

where it was present until the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly enough, a fragment of this Office was found in neighbouring Norway<sup>27</sup>.

Abundant research material has been collected in Riksarkivet, Stockholm, in the form of parchment fragments of liturgical books. It is important that a surprisingly large number of them comes from books written in the earliest period of the development of St. Catherine's cult, i.e. in 12<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century. This cultural heritage has been meticulously secured and studied, which deserves appreciation. Finally, it would be proper to express hope that this paper will contribute to shedding more light onto the image of the medieval Liturgy of the Hours in Sweden.

transl. by Tomasz Książczak

approv. by Małgorzata and Christopher Benson

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CZESŁAW GRAJEWSKI Professor of Humanities, Director of Institute of History of Art, Head of Artistic Culture Unit at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw. e-mail: graczes@yahoo.com

CZESŁAW GRAJEWSKI profesor tytularny nauk humanistycznych, dyrektor Instytutu Historii Sztuki UKSW, kierownik Katedry Kultury Artystycznej. e-mail: graczes@yahoo.com

<sup>27</sup> Oslo, Arkivverket, fragm. 569,1–2; 681,15–16.

## Index of main chants:

Antiphons	a39 Passionem gloriosae
a01 Ac Catharina Deum servat	a40 Percussa gladio dat
a02 Ad laudes vigilem	a41 Post haec carnifici
a03 Aeterno regi caelo	a42 Post plurima supplicia
a04 Amica Dei Catharina	a43 Prudens et vigilans
a05 Atria Ierusalem	a44 Quia devotis laudibus
a06 Aures inclina nostris precibus	a45 Specie corporis decora
a07 Ave gemma claritatis	a46 Traditur ergo a patre
a08 Ave virginum gemma	a47 Virginis ex oleo
a09 Ave virgo Catharina ave	a48 Virginis eximiae
a10 Ave virgo speciosa	a49 Virgo regalis fidei
a11 Benedictus Dominus Rex	a50 Virgo sancta Catharina
a12 Caesar electos convocat	a51 Voce cordis et oris
a13 Caesar ut invictam	a52 Vox de caelis/caelo intonuit/insonuit
a14 Caesaris intrepide	
a15 Coepit amare Deum	Invitatory
a16 Conventus suaves et cantica laudis	i01 Adoremus virginum regem
a17 Cum adhuc esset/Cum esset adhuc	i02 Adoretur virginum Rex
a18 Cum caetu virgineo/Cum caetu angelico	i03 Laudetur Dominus Sabaoth
a19 Exspecto pro te gladium	
a20 Gaude caelum (ad s. Elizabeth)	Responsories
a21 Gloriosam virginem	r01 Caesar electos convocat
a22 Haec Dominum caeli	r02 Christus sanctam tenebroso
a23 Haec mundum spernens	r03 Cogit Caesar Christi
a24 Hanc pius in propriam	r04 Corpus virgineum
a25 Iam Christi thalamum	r05 Haec quinquagenos oratores
a26 Ignibus extinctis	r06 Horrendo subdenda
a27 Illa Deo dum agit	r07 Iam Christi thalamum
a28 Inclita sanctae virginis/Inclita sanctae Catharinae virginis	r08 Impius hanc Caesar
a29 Machina paenalis	r09 In civitate Alexandrina
a30 Martyr ut oravit	r10 Martyrium sitiens
a31 Maxentius instat	r11 Maxentius instat
a32 Membra Redemptoris	r12 Multi lumen de paganis
a33 Non cedens monitis	r13 Nobilis et pulchra
a34 O Christi pietas	r14 O Christi pietas
a35 O mater nostra ter sancta	r15 O mater nostra/O martyr nostra
a36 O quam mirificis Deus	r16 O quam felices per te
a37 O virgo (?)	r17 Percussa gladio dat
a38 Ordo puellarum	r18 Sancta virgo Catharina
	r19 Sponsa Christi gloriosa

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	r20 Surge virgo et nostras sponso
	r21 Virgo flagellatur
	r22 Virgo prudens et electa