

Kyrie fons bonitatis, cantus fractus, and Petrus Wilhelmi

For Bernhold Schmid on his 65th birthday, with friendship and gratitude

We know little about the musical culture of the Teutonic Order State in Prussia. That is due on one hand to the dearth of sources, scattered around several libraries and archives, and on the other to the relative lack of interest in that culture among scholars. Up to 1939 just a handful of studies by German-language musicologists referring to music in medieval Prussia have been published.¹ Polish musicology, meanwhile, took no interest in this subject either before or after the war, no doubt for ideological reasons (focussing first and foremost on sources of ‘Polish music’). It is only in recent decades that a few works addressing musical culture in Prussia during the reign of the Teutonic Order (1226–1525) have appeared. They are based on emerging sources of medieval chant held in Gdańsk, Pelplin, Toruń, and Berlin, on a small number of fragments of polyphony, and on a variety of archive records relating to Prussian dioceses and the grand master’s court in Malbork (Marienburg).² The aim of this work is to discuss a small but

¹ See Herbert Gerigk, ‘Das Musikwesen in Preussen und Elbing im Mittelalter’, *Elbingen Jahrbuch*, 8 (1929), 7–26; Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Geschichte der Musik in Ost- und Westpreussen* (Königsberg, 1931, repr. Zurich, 1968); Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig. Von den Anfängen bis zur Auslösung der Kirchenkapellen* (Danzig, 1931).

² See, for example, Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘The Musical Culture of the Teutonic Order in Prussia Reflected in the Marienburger Tresslerbuch (1399–1409)’, in: *The Musical Heritage of the Jagiellonian Era*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, and Agnieszka Leszczyńska (Warszawa, 2012), 191–200; Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘Kultura muzyczna zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach’ [The musical culture of the Teutonic Order in Prussia], in: *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach*, vol. 2, ed. Barbara Pospieszna (Malbork, 2010), 269–82; Udo Arnold, ‘Deutscher Orden und Musik’, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik und Musikkultur in Danzig und Westpreußen*, ed. Erik Fischer, Berichte des interkulturellen Forschungsprojekts ‘Deutsche Musikkultur im östlichen Europa’, 5 (Stuttgart, 2018), 31–52; Piotr Ziółkowski, ‘Rękopisy liturgiczne krzyżackiej proveniencji jako źródła muzyczne: problemy i perspektywy badawcze’ [Liturgical manuscripts of Teutonic Order provenance as musical sources: problems and perspectives for research], in: *Textus, pictura, musica. Średniowieczny kodeks rękopiśmienny jako przedmiot badań interdyscyplinarnych*, ed.

unique example of *cantus fractus* that appears in one of the manuscripts from the Teutonic Order State, thanks to which we can discern a thread connecting various environments in Central Europe and reinterpret one of the works by Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz (1392–after 1452).

Kyrie fons bonitatis and a trope in *cantus fractus*

In one of the manuscripts from the Teutonic Order State in Prussia (PL-GD Mar. F 406), the chant *Kyrie fons bonitatis* was written with a peculiar trope in *cantus fractus* (Fig. 1).³ The manuscript was produced in the mid-fifteenth century and comes from the collection of St Mary's church in Gdańsk, one of the main churches in medieval Prussia. It has previously aroused interest among scholars for its unusual repertoire, copied out by more than a dozen scribes. Besides mass chants for selected occasions, it contains sequences, antiphons, responsories, hymns and *cantiones*, thereby combining the features of a gradual with those of an antiphoner and a *cantionale*.⁴ Particularly striking are the numerous melodies in *cantus fractus*, generally written by means of a modified chant notation and selected notes of mensural notation. Yet none of these melodies is copied in such an unusual way as this short trope in *Kyrie fons bonitatis*.

The scribe used void mensural notation, placing red dots inside diamonds. This is unique for two reasons. First, full mensural notation was consistently employed for *cantus fractus* during the fifteenth century, regardless of the widespread use of void notation from the second quarter of that century onwards. Secondly, we know of no other example of notes with dots placed inside them. Although this does trigger associations with the sophisticated forms encountered in *ars subtilior* notation,⁵ that seems to be too distant an analogy. During the mid-fifteenth century – when Mar. F 406 was produced – void mensural notation may still

Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, and Marta Czyżak (Toruń, 2021), in print; and works quoted below (n. 22).

³ Cf. Margareta Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, 1955), no. 48, *Kyrie II Fons bonitatis*.

⁴ See Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Kancjonał gdański ze zbiorów Biblioteki PAN' [A Gdańsk *cantionale* from the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences], in: *Zeszyty naukowe Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Muzycznej w Gdańsku*, 20 (Gdańsk, 1981), 5–60; Jan Jerzy Jasiewicz, 'Krzyżacka tradycja liturgiczno-muzyczna w świetle źródeł zachowanych w Bibliotece Gdańskiej PAN. II. Rękopis Ms. Mar. F. 406' [The liturgical-musical tradition in the Teutonic Order in light of sources held in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. II. Manuscript Ms. Mar. F. 406], *Libri Gedanenses*, 23–4 (2005–6), 39–68.

⁵ See Jason Stoessel, 'The Captive Scribe: The Context and Culture of Scribal and Notational Process in the Music of the *ars subtilior*', PhD diss., University of New England, Armidale, 2002, vol. 1: 204–37.



Fig. 1: Kyrie fons bonitatis in the manuscript Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk, Biblioteka Gdańska, Mar. F 406, fol. 52^r (with kind permission).

have been considered a novelty in Prussia and it thus could be that the scribe was experimenting with forms that he was not yet very familiar with. In mensuration signs, dots inside a circle or semi-circle indicated *prolatio maior*, so perhaps he wanted to mark a triple metre in this way? Yet the rhythm of the trope is very simple, consisting of a sequence of several trochees, and such information would be superfluous. It is difficult to rule out the possibility that we are dealing here solely with the fantasy of a scribe who wished to render the notation more visually attractive, and at the same time to draw attention to the mensural interpolation in a well-known chant.

It seems clear that the notation of this trope departs from notational practices familiar from fifteenth-century sources. But what about the trope itself – is it also of a unique character? It is impossible to access all the graduals from the late Middle Ages and early modern era, the number of which (particularly those with numerous fragments) runs into the hundreds. Yet research directed particularly at Central Europe has allowed us to note that the geographical range of this trope was certainly very limited.⁶ Besides the Gdańsk manuscript, I could only find it in two Silesian graduals from the first half of the fifteenth century. Both come from

⁶ I am grateful for assistance in seeking this trope to Antonio Chemotti, Zsuzsa Czagány, David Merlin, Bernhard Schmid, Eva Veselovská, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner.

Wrocław: the earlier source, dated 1416, is from the Church of St Elizabeth (PL-WRu MS 7566), while the later gradual, dated 1429, comes from the Church of St Mary Magdalene (PL-WRu M 1194).⁷ In both of those manuscripts, the trope was written in full mensural notation, in the same trochaic rhythm as in Gdańsk (see Example 1); besides, it is not texted, which is all the more striking in that the Silesian scribes wrote the entire text of *Kyrie fons bonitatis* under other fragments of the melody. The Wrocław sources differ from the Gdańsk manuscript in the melodic variant in the *Christe*: the opening motif *e-d-g* was expanded by one note to *e-f-d-g*. This longer motif appears in many graduals from Silesia and Bohemia from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (including Utraquist sources). There is much to suggest that it did not occur in other parts of Europe, including the Teutonic Order State.

8 Chris - te u - ni - ce de - i pa - tris ge - ni - te

8 quem de vir - gi - ne na - sci - tu - rum mun - do mi - ri - fi - ce san - ti

8 pre - di - xe - re pro - phe - te e - ley - son.

Example 1: *Christe* from *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, chant melody with trope in mensural notation from the manuscript PL-WRu M 1194, fol. 1r.

The lack of a text beneath a trope in *cantus fractus* could lead to speculation regarding its purely instrumental performance, were it not for another manuscript held in Wrocław University Library (PL-WRu B 1714). This source dates from the mid-fifteenth century and is probably from Bohemia.⁸ It does not include a musical trope, but in its place a later scribe – probably in Silesia – inserted the words ‘*Thesu Christe miserere*’. It is likely, therefore, that the mensural passage was sung with the very same invocation, which, although somewhat disturbing the logical and grammatical cohesion of the text as a whole, reinforced the supplicatory character of the prayer. A similar procedure was also employed in relation to *Kyrie virginitatis amator*, sung to the same melody as *Kyrie fons bonitatis*. In the

⁷ Cf. Jerzy Pikulik, *Polskie graduale średniowieczne* [Medieval Polish graduals] (Warszawa, 2001), 10.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 10.

same manuscript, our scribe added the text of this Marian chant in the margin, inserting two alternative tropes in the middle part of the *Christe*: ‘*Ihesu Christe miserere nobis*’ and ‘*miserere populo tuo*’. The two texts, with the added tropes, read as follows:

<i>Kyrie fons bonitatis</i>	<i>Kyrie virginitatis amator</i>
<p>Christe unice dei patris genite <u>Ihesu Christe miserere</u> quem de virgine nascitum mundo mirifice sancti predixerunt prophete eleyson</p>	<p>Christe aye gigas fortis germine <u>Ihesu Christe miserere nobis / miserere populo tuo</u> qui pro homine homo sine virili semine prodisti de ventre Marie eleyson</p>

The trope was thus of limited geographical range: we find it in Silesia (Wrocław) and in Prussia (Gdańsk). This is not the first example of cultural ties between the two regions, lying several hundred kilometres apart. The Teutonic Order found allies in Silesia for its political military actions directed against the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Wrocław – like Gdańsk and other Prussian cities – belonged to the Hanseatic League. The families of many Prussian merchants hailed from Silesia, including the father of the Toruń-born astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus.⁹ Dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century are mensural fragments held in Gdańsk (PL-GD 2153a) that display a close similarity in terms of repertoire and notation to the Silesian sources.¹⁰ We may also mention performances by the *alta cappella* of one of the Silesian dukes at the court of the Grand Master in Malbork in 1409.¹¹ Unfortunately, the number of extant musical sources from the Teutonic Order State is far more modest than in the case of Silesia, which hinders more detailed comparisons. Besides the Gdańsk manuscript, *Kyrie fons bonitatis* is preserved in just two Prussian graduals: both come from Chełmno diocese, bordering the Duchy of Mazovia. Yet they do not include the trope of interest here.¹²

⁹ Krzysztof Mikulski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne, pochodzenie i młodość* [Copernicus: social milieu, origins and youth] (Toruń, 2015), 285–90.

¹⁰ Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘A New Fragment of 15th-century Polyphony in Silesia and the Tradition of the Central-European Repertory’, in: *The Musical Culture of Silesia before 1742. New Contexts – New Perspectives*, ed. Paweł Gancarczyk, Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, and Remigiusz Pośpiech (Frankfurt a. M., 2013), 45–54.

¹¹ This was Konrad VII the White, Duke of Oleśnica (German: Oels), whose musicians (*pfeifer*) were paid four marks from the Grand Master’s coffers; see *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg, 1896, repr. Bremerhaven, 1973), 571 (‘4 m. herzog Cunrads pfyfern von der Olse’).

¹² Pelplin, Biblioteka Diecezjalna, MS L 35, fol. 120^r; Toruń, Muzeum Diecezjalne, nr inw.

A troped *Kyrie fons bonitatis* and Petrus Wilhelmi

The chant *Kyrie fons bonitatis* became the basis for many polyphonic settings. It enjoyed considerable popularity, particularly during the middle decades of the fifteenth century, from which we have a sizeable number of works, mostly anonymous. Many of them have been preserved in manuscripts from Central Europe, as broadly understood: the Codex St Emmeram (D-Mbs Clm 14274), some of the Trent codices (I-TRbc 89, I-TRbc 90, I-TRcap 93), as well as the Strahov Codex (CZ-Pst D.G.IV.47). They generally borrow a widely known version of the chant melody and with regard to the text they use the tropes *Fons bonitatis* in Kyrie I, *Unice dei patris* in Christe, and *Ignis divine* in Kyrie II. Among these many settings only two distinctly depart from the standard form of the chant. The first is an anonymous Kyrie from the Codex St Emmeram (fols. 30^v–31^r) scored for two parts, beneath which two alternative texts are written: ‘Kyrie fons bonitatis’ (as the main text) and ‘Kyrie sacerdos summe’. In the middle of the Christe, we find a textless fragment that is clearly singled out by means of vertical lines (see Fig. 2). In terms of placement, length and triple metre, it is reminiscent of ‘our’ trope, but the melody and its rhythm (here iambic) are different; we do not know with which text it was sung. Besides the Codex St Emmeram, such an interpolation does not occur anywhere, yet the close similarity to the Silesian-Prussian trope leads to the conviction that we are dealing here with another variant of the same practice. Another feature that makes the setting from D-Mbs Clm 14274 stand out, is that the chant is placed in the lower part and is written in chant notation (except for the trope in the Christe). Apart from transposition, it does not feature essential alterations compared to the original.¹³ This reinforces our conviction that the trope in *cantus fractus* was not an invention of the author of this polyphonic setting, but was drawn from liturgical practice.

MDT-K-003, without call number. On chant manuscripts from the Teutonic Order State in Prussia, see Ziółkowski, ‘Rękopisy liturgiczne’, in print.

¹³ Another peculiarity is the occurrence of mensuration signs in the context of chant notation (see Fig. 2). More on this work can be found in Bernhold Schmid, ‘Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram. Zur Musikgeschichte im spätmittelalterlichen Zentraleuropa’, in: *Musik in der Geschichte – Zwischen Funktion und Autonomie*, ed. Inga Mai Groote, Münchner Kontaktstudium Geschichte 13 (München, 2011), 33–46 at 39–41. On mensuration signs, see Tom R. Ward, ‘A Central European Repertory in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274’, *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 325–43 at 326–7; Ian Rumbold, ‘The Compilation and Ownership of the »St Emmeram« Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274)’, *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 161–235 at 180–1. On the codex in general see *Der Mensuralcodex St. Emmeram: Faksimile der Handschrift Clm 14274 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, eds. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Lorenz Welker, commentary and inventory by Ian Rumbold with Peter Wright, introduction by Martin Staehelin (Wiesbaden, 2006); Ian Rumbold and Peter Wright, *Hermann Pötzlinger’s Music Book. The St Emmeram Codex and its Contexts* (Woodbridge, 2009), 62–114.



Fig. 2: Anonymous *Kyrie fons bonitatis* in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274, fol. 31^r, tenor in chant notation (urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb0001643-7).

The other example of the modification of the standard chant is Petrus Wilhelmi's *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, also copied in the Codex St Emmeram (fols. 11^v–12^r). This work was composed for three parts, with a paraphrased cantus firmus in the top part. In the middle of the Christus – between the words 'genite' and 'quem' – we find a distinctly highlighted passage marked with the text 'Ihesu Christe miserere' (Example 2). The melody of the discantus leaves us in no doubt that the composer employed here the Silesia-Prussian trope, also retaining its most essential rhythmic features (although the trochaic rhythm is 'broken' with an iambus on the word 'Christe'). Interestingly, in later copies of this work from the Trent codices, the text 'Ihesu Christe miserere' was replaced by another supplicatory formula: 'miserere populo tuo',¹⁴ also known from the Silesian gradual PL-WRu B 1714.¹⁵

¹⁴ I-TRcap 93, fols. 94^v–95^r; I-TRbc 90, fols. 65^v–66^r. See *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz Magister Cracoviensis. Opera musica*, ed. Jaromír Černý (Kraków, 1993), 101–4 (transcription based on I-TRbc 90); *I Kyrie di Tr93*, ed. Antonio Chemotti (Trento, 2014), 75–8 (transcription based on I-TRcap 93).

¹⁵ The sources also contain added alternative texts with which Petrus's *Kyrie* could be sung: *Kyrie virginitatis amator*, written at the bottom of the page in D-Mbs Clm 14274 (fol. 11^v), and *Kyrie sacerdos summe*, written beneath the music in I-TRbc 90 (fols. 65^v–66^r). So this work could have been quite widely used in the liturgy.

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Ihe - su Chri - ste mi - se - re - re

Example 2: Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, bb. 30–5, version from the manuscript D-Mbs Clm 14274, trope *Ihesu Christe miserere*.

The presence of the trope is of important significance for determining the provenance of this work. In the Codex St Emmeram, *Kyrie fons bonitatis* was given the unambiguous attribution ‘Mgr Petrus Wilhelmi’, yet it has thus far appeared to hold an isolated place in the composer’s œuvre.¹⁶ Petrus is well known as the author of the texts and music of many songs, motets and canons, which generally belong to the output of a distinctive regional profile, typical of the Central European music cultivated in university, school and monastic circles. *Kyrie fons bonitatis* is the only liturgical work in his output, distinguished from his devotional songs and witty canons, in which his authorship is hidden in the acrostic ‘Petrus’. The trope *Ihesu Christe miserere* enables us to place this work within a strictly defined geographical context that perfectly matches the composer’s biography. Petrus Wilhelmi hailed from the Teutonic Order State in Prussia, with which he was linked to not just by his birth and youth: in 1448 he applied for a canonry of Frombork Cathedral (where Copernicus was a canon several decades later), and in 1452 he was noted as parish priest of a church in Białogarda, east of Gdańsk. In connection with his efforts to secure a benefice in Frombork (German Frauenburg), he spent some time in Silesia, where he sought the backing of the bishop of Wrocław. It is possible that he had some biographical links to this region, as is suggested by the early and often unique copies of his works that come from there.¹⁷ Around 1440 he became chaplain to the king and later emperor Frederick III, which explains the presence of *Kyrie fons bonitatis* in the Codex St Emmeram and Trent codices. One further detail is worth noting: in the *Christe*, Petrus made use of the most popular variant of the chant with the opening motif *e-d-g*. The combination of this motif with the presence of a trope in *cantus fractus* occurs in just a

¹⁶ Cf. Paweł Gancarczyk, ‘Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz – A Central European Composer’, *De musica disserenda*, 2/1 (2006), 103–12.

¹⁷ See Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS I F 269 (c.1430); Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, MS RC 4 (c.1431–35).

The image shows a musical score for a piece by Petrus Wilhelmi. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes a [Discantus] staff with a treble clef and a 6/8 time signature, followed by three vocal staves: Contratenor, Tenor, and a three-part vocal setting (D, Ct, T). The lyrics are: "Pro - rum - pa - nus eu - du - li tri - pu - di - o re -". The second system continues the vocal parts with lyrics: "-ser - ti vi - cto - ri - am stre - nu - i sa -". The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, accidentals, and rests.

Example 3: Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz, *Prorumpanus euduli*, bb. 1–4.

single source: Mar. F 406 from Gdańsk. So perhaps Petrus used a melody that he remembered from his native region, and not from his later visits to Silesia, where it often began with the notes *e-f-d-g*? This, however, cannot be determined. One way or another, the references to the composer's biography are clear.

Kyrie fons bonitatis is another example of how Petrus Wilhelmi's output is deeply rooted in regional contexts. The use here of a texture typical of chansons from the times of Gilles Binchois (c.1400–1460) and Guillaume Du Fay (1397–1474), as well as the reference to fauxbourdon in the last passages of all three sections of the work (on the word 'eleyson'), does not contradict either these contexts or Petrus's authorship. We find a very similar three-part texture with a vocal discantus in his song *Prorumpanus euduli*, recently discovered among fragments originating probably in Silesia, which await a modern edition (see Example 3).¹⁸ As for fauxbourdon, Petrus employed it in another of his songs, *Prodigiis eximiis*, also among his little-known works.¹⁹

¹⁸ See Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Handschriften und Seltene Drucke, Nachlass Ludwig XXX,1, fols. A/IV^v-V^r (*Prorumpanus euduli*); see Martin Staehelin, *Neues zu Werk und Leben von Petrus Wilhelmi. Fragmente des mittleren 15. Jahrhunderts mit Mensuralmusik im Nachlaß von Friedrich Ludwig*, Kleinüberlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik vor 1550 im deutschen Sprachgebiet, 3 (Göttingen, 2001), 20, 58–9.

¹⁹ Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1084, fol. 227^r (*Prodigiis eximiis*); see Paweł Gancar-

The trope *Ihesu Christe miserere* belongs to a wider group of musical phenomena involving the introduction of rhythm into Gregorian chant, covered by the collective term ‘cantus fractus’. To date, they have remained of peripheral interest to musicologists researching either polyphony or chant in free rhythm. As things stand, we know of no other tropes of this type interpolated in *Kyrie fons bonitatis*. We also have little knowledge about the use of *cantus fractus* in polyphonic structures. Bernhold Schmid pointed to such a practice in relation to one of the Gloria settings from the Codex St Emmeram, which – like Petrus’s *Kyrie fons bonitatis* – adheres to a texture typical of the fifteenth-century chanson.²⁰ It would be interesting to learn whether more such examples appear in anonymous repertoire from the late Middle Ages.

Tracing the reception of the trope *Ihesu Christe miserere* allows us to draw attention to a channel – hitherto poorly researched in music historiography – along which fifteenth-century repertoire flowed between south and north (or north and south), delineated, in this instance, by such centres as Vienna, Wrocław and Gdańsk. Late medieval Prussia, where the Teutonic Order State was founded and expanded, is the region least known to musicologists in this context.²¹ That gap thus certainly needs filling.²²

Sigla of sources:

CZ-Pst D.G.IV.47 – Prague, Strahovská knihovna, Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, MS D.G.IV.47

czyk, *Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz i muzyka Europy Środkowej XV wieku* [Petrus Wilhelmi de Grudencz and the music of fifteenth-century Central Europe] (Warszawa, 2021), 209–18 (edition of the song on pp. 211–2).

²⁰ Bernhold Schmid, ‘Chansonsatz und rhythmische Einstimmigkeit. Zu einer Gloria-Komposition aus dem St.-Emmeram-Codex der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek’, *Musik in Bayern*, 30 (1985), 27–37.

²¹ On polyphony in late medieval Gdańsk, see Elżbieta Zwolińska, ‘Fragmente mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 15. Jahrhunderts aus dem Zisterzienserkloster in Oliwa’, in: *Musica Baltica. Danzig und die Musikkultur Europas* (Gdańsk, 2000), 53–60; Michael Scott Cuthbert, ‘The Nuremberg and Melk Fragments and the International ars nova’, *Studi musicali* [nuova serie], 1/1 (2010), 7–51 at 10–5; Paweł Gancarczyk and Kamil Watkowski, ‘Gdański przekaz wielogłosowej pieśni “Ihesus Christus nostra salus” z XV wieku i jego środkowoeuropejskie koneksje’ [The Gdańsk version of the 15th-century polyphonic song *Ihesus Christus nostra salus*, and the Central European connection of that copy], *Muzyka*, 65/2 (2020), 179–88.

²² This text, translated by John Comber, was prepared as part of research project No. 2018/31/B/HS2/00479 ‘Music in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia: Sources, Repertoires, Contexts’, funded by the National Science Centre, Poland.

- D-Mbs Clm 14274 – Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274
I-TRbc 89 – Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1376 (olim 89)
I-TRbc 90 – Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1377 (olim 90)
I-TRcap 93 – Trent, Biblioteca dell'Archivio Capitolare, MS [93] (olim B.L.)
PL-GD Mar. F 406 – Gdańsk, Polska Akademia Nauk – Biblioteka Gdańska, MS Mar. F 406
PL-WRu B 1714 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS B 1714
PL-WRu M 1194 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS M 1194
PL-WRu MS 7566 – Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS 7566

Abstract:

In a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript from Gdańsk (PL-GD Mar. F 406), *Kyrie fons bonitatis* was written with a short trope in *cantus fractus*. It is distinguished by its unique notation. Besides Mar. F 406, this trope appears solely in two graduals from Silesia and was also quoted in Petrus Wilhelmi's three-part *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, the oldest source of which is the Codex St Emmeram (D-Mbs Clm 14274). Since the appearance of the trope coincides with Petrus's biography, we obtain further confirmation of his authorship of that work. We also learn about connections between Vienna, Wrocław and Gdańsk and unfamiliar details of musical culture in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia.