

Helsinki, National Library, A^o II 55 + A^o II 29, fols. [a–f]. ‘*Graduale Ilimolense*’

I: saec. XVI 2/3 (1540’s?); II: saec. XVI 2/3 (1550’s?); III: saec. XVI 2/4 (1530’s); I–III: Diocese of Turku

Contents

I: A^o II 29, fols. [a–f] + A^o II 55, fols. 1–134.

A^o II 29, fols. [a], [e], [d], [c], [b], [f], *proprium de tempore*, from the end of the office for Christmas to the First Sunday after Epiphany.

‘|i nostri iubilate deo ... [fol. [a]v] ... |i nostri. *Dominica infra octauas natalis domini officium* [fol. [e]r] Dum medium silencium ... [fol. [e]v] ... querebant animam pueri [fol. [d]r] *In circumcissione domini officium* ... [fol. [d]v] ... super te orta est [fol. [c]r] Alleluya. *Versus*. Vidimus stellam eius ... [fol. [c]v] ... *Dominica infra octauas epyphanie domini officium*. ... omnis terra seruite domino [fol. [b]r] in leticia. Gloria ... [fol. [b]v] ... *Commune*. Fili quid [fol. [f]r] fecisti n[obis; fol. [f]v] |um et sana[bitur]’.

Fols. 1r–59v, *proprium de tempore*, from the end of the office for the Saturday before Passion Sunday to the 23rd Sunday after Trinity.

‘omnes qui diligitis eam ... [fol. 2v] ... nomini tuo domine. *Dominica in passione officium*. Iudica me deus et ... [fol. 18v] ... penitenciam a gente. *Dominica xxiii*. Dicit dominus ego cogito ... [fol. 59v] ... et fiet uobis.’

Fols. 59v–61v, office for the feast of the dedication of a church.

‘*In die dedicacionis ecclesie*. Terribilis est locus ... aperietur, Alleluya, alleluia.’

Fols. 61v–100r, *proprium de sanctis*, from the vigil of St Andrew (29.11.) to the feast of St Linus (26.1.).

‘*In uigilia andree*. Dominus secus mare galilee uidit ... *Sancti lini martyris officium*. Sacerdotes eius. *Graduale*. Deus iusti, Alleluia. *Versus*. Amauit. *Offertorium*. Inueni. *Commune*. Domine quinque talenta.’

Fols. 100r–131v, *commune sanctorum*.

‘*Sequitur in uigilia unius apostolic officium* ... [fol. 125v] ... In communi unius uirginis ... [fol. 126v] ... *Item aliud* exite obuiam christo domino.’

Fols. 131r–v, votive masses: for the holy spirit, for the Holy Cross, for the Holy Virgin in Advent.

‘*De sancto spiritu officium*. *Spiritus domini* ... *De sancta cruce officium*. Nos autem Christus ... *In commemoratione beate marie uirginis*. *In aduentu officium*. *Rorate*. *Responsorium*. Insole ... [fol. 131v] ... in se reconsilians yma summis.’

The sanctoral follows the calendaric order of the diocese of Turku, with most feasts of at least the grade *trium lectionum* (the winter feast of St. Henry on fol. 67r–v and his summer feast on fol. 82r).

However, a number of feasts even of the highest grades are omitted (e.g. *dedicatio ecclesiae aboensis* 17.6.; *visitatio Mariae* 2.7.; *festum reliquiarum* 9.9.; *Birgittae* 7.10.; *Barbarae* 4.12.) There are also a number of saints that either only have the grad *memoria* in the Turku calendar or are completely foreign to it (*Bricitii* 13.11., *Elisabethi* 19.11., *Chrisogoni* 27.11; *Edmundi regis* 20.11. and *Lini* 26.11.) Instead of testifying to an upgrading of these feasts, their inclusion, because they all occur in the last two weeks of November, more probably indicates an error or inconsistency of some sort in the copying of the book (Malin 1925, 131).

Fols. 132r–134v, originally only with empty red staves. Now fols. 132r–134r contain the beginning of a small Lutheran gradual in Swedish, which continues in part II.

‘Christus är födder aff en iunffru reen ... synen dedg och puro [without notation]. Alle Christene frögda sig ... [fol. 133r] ... beuisas kan Alleluija. Christus är upstonden aff dödha ... i allan stadh, kyrieleison [without notation]. [J]esus Christus han är wårdhen ... [fol. 134r] ... offuer dödhen Alleluija.’

II: fols. 135–140, a fragment of a Lutheran graduale.

135r–140r, Lutheran kyriale in Swedish, with the *sanctus* in an interlinear Finnish translation (fol. 137r).

‘[H]erre fårbarma tigh offuer oss ... [fol. 140r] ... Gwdh wari tack och loff, Alleluija Alleluija Alleluija.’

Fol. 140r–v, in another saec. XVI hand, Michael Agricola’s hymn 18 (the Pentecost sequence *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia* in Finnish; see Kurvinen 1929, 230), defect at the end.

‘Pyhen hengen armo olcon ... O pyhe wirgottaya. Sine |’

According to Schalin (1946, 10) the *kyriale* is not dependent on the Swedish of *Een liten Songbook* (1540’s), but might be an older translation.

III: fols. 141–194.

Fols, 141r–150v, *ordinarium missae*.

‘Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson, Kyrieleyson. Gloria in excelsis ... Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi. Dona nobis pacem.’

Fols. 151r–177r, 179r–186v, 194v–r, 193v–r, 192v–r, 191v–r, 190v–r, 189v–r, 188v–r, fol. 187 r–v; *sequentiarium*.

‘Letabundus exultet fidelis ... [fol. 177r] ... sic erunt ordinum distincte. [fol. 179r] Superne martyris gaudia ... [fol. 186v] ... Tu agnum regem terre [fol. 194v] dominatorem moabitici de petra deserti ... perenni cremer igne [fol. 187r] inter oues locum presta ... [fol. 187v] ... mereamus collocari gloria. Amen.’

Fols. 177v and 178v have blank staves, while on fol. 178r only the lines for margins have been ruled. Notation is lacking on fols. 172v–174r (‘Congaudent angelorum chori ... supplici implorans

maria'), 174v–175r ('legis sacre peruersores ... gloriantur beatorum anime. Amen'), 176r–177r ('*De sancto Michaelae*. Laus erumpat ex affectu ... sic erunt ordinum distincte'), and 192v–r, 191v ('ipsi dicens in apocalipsi ... de fonte deitatis satiemur plenius').

Sequences for St Henry are on fols. 160v–161r.

On fols. 185r–v the original hand (although it changes from Semitextualis to a clearly saec. XVI Hybrida on fol. 185v) has added 'A luporum faucibus et mortis ruina ... ad pastum bonum'. Perhaps the same saec. XVI (rather Cursive Hybrida) hand has also added, under the notation for sequences for Corpus Christi 'Lauda sponsa genitricem ... ierarchia tecum commumentium' for *visitatio Mariae*; under those for St Eric 'Precursorem summi regis ... regnarum per secula, Amen' for St John the Baptist; and under those for St Margaret, 'Odas in hac die letas ... transfer ad palacia' for St Catherine.

There are Lutheran changes to the words of Ave preclara maris stella on fol. 186v ('Christus decus mundi rex regnorum' for 'Virgo decus mundi regina celi')

On fol. 188v, a saec. XVII hand has added, under '[D]ies irae dies illa' parts of the the translation 'Sanoi pietar domio päiwän wihan' (after Hemmingius Henrici of Masku's *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Virsikirja* of 1614; see Kurvinen 1929, 380) (see scattered interlinear markings also on fols. 188r, 187r).

Structure

$IV^8 + II^{12} + 2xVI^{36} + IV^{44} + V^{54} + (IV-1)^{61} + 2xV^{81} + VI^{93} + I^{95} + V^{105} + 1 + VI^{119} + VII^{107} + V^{118} + (IV-1)^{125} + II^{127} + (V-1)^{134} + III^{140} + V^{150} + (XI-1)^{171} + (VI-1)^{182} + II^{186} + 2 + III^{194}$; paper.

19x27,5. The written area varies: on fols. 1–8, 25–95, 106, 119–140: 14–15x21,5–22,5; fols. 9–25, 95–105, 107–118: 16x24,5; fols. 141–151: 14x18,5; and on fols. 151–177, 179–194 : 13–14x19,5–22; text and notation in one colum, on 7–9 lines, ruled in ink. Modern foliation in pencil in the upper right hand corners of recto-sides.

The openings (on fols. 1–125) of part I have been numbered (from d I (–XII) to o V, which is the last marking visible, although the numbering has probably extended to o XI – fol. 131). The numbering does not reflect the structure of the manuscript, but indicates that there are 36 folia missing from its beginning. The remains of six of these (five whole leaves and the upper-inner corner of a sixth) are bound in the beginning of Helsinki, National Library, Aö II 29, in the order b iiiii, b viii, b vii, b vi, b v. These all come from the lost beginning of the book.

In addition to the loss of folia from the beginning of the book, the final eight folia of the manuscript have been bound in reverse order and partly upside down: fols. 188–194 are upside down and read continuously from 194v to 188r. They are then followed by fol. 187, which is thus the final extant folio of pt. III.

The manuscript is in fairly good condition, aside from some staining (especially pronounced on fol. 1 and fol. 141) and some water damage. Some of the folia have been repaired with paper (the leaves in A^o II 29 especially heavily). The paper used by the other of the two scribes of part I (see below) is clearly of different quality from that used exclusively by the other scribe: the former is thicker,

but it the ink has leached through it more easily than on the latter. The proposed date is based on the watermarks in the manuscript (for preliminary observations see already Keskiaho 2008b, 328 n. 31). The oldest of the identified watermarks occur in part III (fols. 183 and 185; probably identical with 183, 185 (PO 108213: Tallinn 1524) and only there. All of the other identified watermarks in the manuscript (including part II) date from between 1534 and 1543 (the watermark on fols. [a], [d], [e], 63, 65, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 192, 190 and 189 is probably identical with PO 125963: Rügenwalde 1534; that on fols. 2, 4, 6, 8, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 131, 132, 141 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 154, 156, 159, 160, 163, 164, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 177, 179 and 181 with PO 1557379: Hapsal 1534; that on fols. 45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61 and 95 with PO 154549: Braunschweig 1543; that on fols. 135, 136 and 138 with PO 154802: Ronneburg, 1536). Unfortunately it has not been possible to date the paper used exclusively by scribe B in part I (fols. 9, 10, 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 96, 99, 100, 103, 104, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115 and 117, a versal Y with a downturned leaf-motif in its curved stem; cf. PO 30126; 30060; in addition the watermark on fols. 120, 123, 124, 126, 129 and 134, a crown with a bow with pearls and crosses, remains unidentified). Thus while it seems that part III may be slightly older than the folia copied by scribe A in part I, it is not possible to ascertain whether scribe B worked on part I before, together with, or after scribe A.

Script

In pt. I there are two main hands writing Gothic Semitextualis and Hybrida (A, Semitextualis: fols. [a–f], 1r–8v, 37r–61v, 94r–95v, and 106r–v; Hybrida: fols. 25r–36bv, 62r–93v, and 119r–127v; and B, Hybrida: fols. 9r–24v, 96r–105v, 107r–108v). A somewhat later hand has filled in or embellished passages written by scribe A (see fols. 38r–39v, 127r–131v). Music has been copied in square notation on five red lines. The Textualis of scribe A is close to the script of the so-called Naantali-group of manuscripts (Keskiaho 2008b, 327–330, 340).

In pt. II there is one main hand, writing saec. XVI Cursive. The same hand has copied hymns on the empty final pages of part I.⁷ Square notes on four black lines.

In pt. III there is one main hand, most probably the same as scribe A of part I, writing Gothic Textualis (in the *ordinarium missae*) and Semitextualis. Probably the same saec. XVI scribe has entered additions on several folia in Hybrida. Square notes on four (red on fols. 141r–150v, black on fols. 151–187v) lines.

Decoration

In pts. I and II red painted lombards for the beginnings of feasts (and at times shorter units within a feast), pen-drawn initials decorated with red and black diamond shapes and sawteeth and spikes. Pages copied by scribe one have decoration in the style of the so-called Naantali-group of manuscripts (on this Keskiaho 2008b, 333–335), while the decoration of passages copied by scribe II (and probably also decorated with him) are best characterized as an informal imitation of the style of the former. Also the most minor initials have been touched with red, and there is consistent rubrication throughout. Only in pt. III have the pen-drawn initials been left uncoloured and Lombards and rubrics unexecuted on fols. 168v, 181r, 183v–185r and 192v–187v. Part II is completely monochromatic: there are spaces for the highest grade initials, but these have not been

executed. There are crude Gothic pen-drawn initials for the beginnings of hymns, but these have not been coloured.

Provenance

Inside the front cover, in ink in a saec. XIX hand: 'Förärat(?) Till Finska Vetenskaps Societeten af Her Professor Moberg d. 4 Juli 1850'. In pencil, in a later hand, 'Grad. Ilmola'. The University Library's stamp dated 1948, and in ink '1948:19'; and in pencil 'talletus'. On the inside of the back cover, now detached, in pencil 'Aö.II.55'.

Binding

A 19th-century quarter leather binding in very bad shape. The back cover is detached, and the binding is loose at places. When last bound, the leaves have been aggressively trimmed.

History

Part III, probably copied in the 1530's, may be the oldest of the constituent parts of the present manuscript; in any case it was probably for some time bound separately from the other parts, judging by the dirt on its first folio. Part I was created probably by the same scribe as part III, and another scribe who either worked in concert with him or (more probably) worked before or after the first scribe (this would explain his use of paper from different stock, and why he does not more closely follow the style of scribe B). If scribe B worked before scribe A, then his portions of the present manuscript are likely older than part III.

Given the stylistic affinities of scribe A's work with the so-called Naantali-group of manuscripts, he may have been an elderly member of the group that produced those manuscripts in the late fifteenth century, or (more probably) copied an exemplar produced by that group (if the original group was in fact connected with the Birgittine house of Naantali, the omission in the present manuscript of the feast of St Birgitta would be very odd indeed). Given scribe A (and probably also scribe B) worked after the beginning of the reformation, his work was highly conservative, both in content and in style.

Not necessarily long after part I was finished, Lutheran hymns were copied on its empty final leaves, at least one quire (probably at least two) attached to it, and small gradual copied on these leaves, forming part II of the present manuscript. The copy of Michael Agricola's sequence translation in part II must postdate its publication in 1544, but the independence of the ordinarium missae from *Een liten sångbook* suggests that it was not copied much after the publication of the latter in 1553.

In the nineteenth century the two books (parts I+II and III) were found in Ilmajoki church and probably at this time rebound. They were both in bad shape: the last quire(s) of part two were missing, and much of the beginning of part I. The surviving leaves of the missing first beginning of part one were eventually bound in another book from Ilmajoki, perhaps because they at some point had been placed for preservation in it. At this stage part III, which was also probably in bad shape, judging by the fact that its last quire has been bound upside down, was united with parts I and II to form the present manuscript.

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Literature

Jesse Keskiaho (2005a), 'Bortom fragmenten: Handskriftsproduktion och boklig kultur i det medeltida Åbo stift', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 209–252, at 238.

Jesse Keskiaho (2005b), 'En grupp handskrifter från slutet av 1400-talet – från Nådendals skriptorium?', *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 318–350.

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Olav D. Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, I, Helsingfors 1946, 9–10.

Ilkka Taitto, *Documenta Gregoriana. Latinalaisen kirkkolaulun lähteitä Suomessa*, Helsinki 1992, 351–354.