

The Carmelite Choir Books of Krakow: Carmelite Liturgy before and after the Council of Trent*

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Abstract: In 1397 a group of Carmelites left Prague in Bohemia and traveled to Krakow, Poland to establish a new foundation. The new convent later established its own scriptorium, which produced numerous codices, including liturgical choir books, manuscripts from the Polish Carmelite convent of Lwow were later added to the collection. The surviving codices now number twenty-five choir books from both the medieval and Tridentine eras. *Table 1* gives an entire list of the Carmelite Codices of Krakow. *Table 2* enumerates the feast celebrated in the medieval Krakow Carmelite liturgy. These codices offer valuable insights into Carmelite liturgical practices before and after the Council of Trent.

Keywords: Carmelite choir books, Krakow, antiphonaries, graduals

In 1397 a group of Carmelites left Prague in Bohemia and traveled to Krakow, Poland to establish a new foundation at the invitation of the king and queen, Władisław II Jagiello and Jadwiga, and of the local bishop, Piotr Wysz, with the approval of Pope Boniface IX.¹ The Carmelites brought with them two antiphonals, newly made in their scriptorium, in order to maintain their distinctive liturgical tradition in their new locale. The new convent later established its own scriptorium which produced numerous books, including liturgical codices for the celebration of Mass and the Divine Office. A set of manuscripts from the Polish Carmelite convent of Lwow was later added to the collection, so that the surviving codices now number twenty-five choirbooks from both the medieval and Tridentine eras. These codices offer valuable insights into Carmelite liturgical practices before and after the Council of Trent.

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¹ For a discussion of the foundation of the Krakow convent, cf. Tadeusz M. Trajdos, “Fundacja klasztoru karmelitów trzewickowych na Piasku w Krakowie” [The foundation of the monastery of the Carmelites Antiquae Observantiae in Cracow], *Nasza Przyszłość* 60 (1983), 91–127.

The beginnings of the Carmelite Order date to the end of the twelfth century when a group of hermits came to live together on Mount Carmel in the Holy Land, receiving their rule or way of life from the local patriarch, Albert of Jerusalem, some time during his term of office, 1206–1214.² This primitive rule directed them to celebrate Mass in common each day according to the local rite of the Holy Sepulchre, but to recite the psalms privately in the cell, in keeping with the general practice of hermits.³ The thirteenth century saw the Carmelites expand enormously from this single group of hermits on Mount Carmel to an international Order numbering ten provinces by the General Chapter of London of 1281.⁴ It also saw them relinquish their eremitical ways and embrace the mendicant tradition in order to obtain official recognition by the church, so that the revised rule, promulgated by Pope Innocent IV in his Apostolic Letter “Quae honorem conditoris” of 1 October 1247,⁵ now enjoined the Carmelites to recite the office in choir according to the mendicant model rather than privately in the cell. This enabled them to adapt the rite of the Holy Sepulchre into a distinctively Carmelite office liturgy, which became formalized in 1312 when the General Chapter of London promulgated an ordinal written by the German Carmelite Sibert de Beka for universal observance throughout the Order.⁶ Sibert’s ordinal prescribed the text incipits for every chant, prayer and psalm for Mass and office, but declined to establish a uni-

² While virtually nothing is known about the original hermit community on Mount Carmel, a topographical study of the area and an archeological investigation of the remains of the primitive hermit cells by Elias Friedman, O.C.D., *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel, A Study in Carmelite Origins* (Roma: Institutum Historicum Teresianum, 1979) gives a good idea of what the original community must have been like. Albert of Jerusalem has been discussed by V. A. Bullough, “Albert of Jerusalem, St.”, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 1:258; the most useful studies of the Carmelite rule are Hugh Clarke, O. Carm. and Bede Edwards, O.D.C., eds., *The Rule of Saint Albert* (Aylesford and Kensington, 1973) and Carlo Cicconetti, O. Carm., *La Regola del Carmelo* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1973).

³ Chapter 11 of the Albertine rule prescribes the construction of an oratory for the celebration of daily Mass, while chapters 8 and 9 set down the prescriptions for the private recitation of the psalms by each of the hermits in his cell; cf. Clarke and Edwards, *The Rule of Saint Albert*, 78–92 for the text of the rule and commentary on it.

⁴ The provinces, in order of date of foundation, were the Holy Land, Sicily, England, Provence, Tuscany, Lombardy, France, Germany, Aquitaine and Spain; cf. P. Ludovicus Saggi, O. Carm., “Constitutiones Capituli Londoniensis Anni 1281”, *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 15 (1950), 203–245.

⁵ This Apostolic Letter is contained in the Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat., no. 21, folios 465–466 and published in Clarke and Edwards, *The Rule of Saint Albert*, 23–35, based on the article of M.-H. Laurent, O.P. (ed.), “La lettre ‘Quae honorem Conditoris’ (1er octobre, 1247): Note de diplomatie pontificale”, *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 2 (1948), 5–16. For the more general question of the effect of the Carmelite rule upon the Order’s liturgy, cf. my article, “From Rule to Rubric: The Impact of Carmelite Liturgical Legislation upon the Order’s Office Tradition”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 108 (1994), 262–298, reprinted as chapter 6 of *Praising God in Carmel* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), 180–230.

⁶ Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., *Ordinaire de l’Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312) publié d’après le manuscrit original et collationné sur divers manuscrits et imprimés* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, Libraires, 1910). For an overview of the extant manuscript copies of this ordinal, cf. Paschalis Kallenberg, O. Carm., *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae, Investigatio in Decreta, Codices et Proprium Sanctorum* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962), especially 104–118.

form musical tradition comparable to the Dominican service books compiled by the second Master General, Humbert of Romans.⁷ Surviving codices from Pisa, Florence and Mainz amply demonstrate that what Sibert prescribed in 1312 was in fact practised throughout the Middle Ages,⁸ and manuscripts from Carmelite convents in Rome, Italy and Onda and Caudete in Spain show that his prescriptions lasted even into the Tridentine era.⁹ These manuscripts, however, unlike the manuscripts from Krakow, describe the liturgy in either the medieval or Tridentine period, but not both.

The Krakow Carmelite Codices

1. Antiphonaries

Of the three antiphonaries originally written in Prague and brought to Krakow in 1397, two remain in the Krakow Carmelite convent while the third is now in the Biblioteka Narodowa “Ossolineum” of Wrocław, ms. [Rkp] 12025/IV.¹⁰ A study of Dominican and Carmelite illuminations done in 1926 by Feliks Kopera and Leonard Lepszy examined several of these Krakow manuscripts but did not assign them codex numbers;¹¹ an unpublished typescript list of these codices done by Jan Gołos in 1966 numbered them according to size rather than date. I therefore include as *Table 1* a listing and brief description of the codices currently in the Carmelite convent which numbers them by date, with the first two of the three antiphonaries listed as numbers 1 and 2; the Rkp. numbers refer to the manuscript numbering in the handlist of Jan Gołos.

⁷ The original codex of service books is now in the Dominican convent of Santa Sabina in Rome under the *siglum* Rome, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, ms. XIV, lit. 1; the portable copy made for the Master General to use in correcting the service books of individual convents he visited is now in London, British Library, Additional ms. 23935; cf. William R. Bonniwell, O.P., *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215–1945* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1945).

⁸ My articles on the these three sets of manuscripts were originally published as “Two Antiphonals of Pisa: Their Place in the Carmelite Liturgy”, *Manuscripta* 31 (1987), 147–165; “The Carmelite Choirbooks of Florence and the Liturgical Tradition of the Carmelite Order”, *Carmelus* 35 (1988), 67–93; and “Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher und die Liturgische Tradition des Karmeliterordens”, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 39 (1987), 267–303 and reprinted in *Praising God in Carmel* (Washington, D.C., The Carmelite Institute, 1999), the last one being published in English as “The Carmelite Choirbooks of Mainz and the Liturgical Tradition of the Carmelite Order”.

⁹ Cf. my article, “The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era,” *The Past in the Present; Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the CANTUS PLANUS Budapest & Visegrád* (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc University of Music, 2003), Vol. 2, 353–387.

¹⁰ The manuscript is described in *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu*, Tom III, Rękopisy 11981–13000, opracowały i przygotowały do druku Amelia Dician i Janina Loret-Heintsch pod redakcją Adama Fastnachta (Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966), 24–25.

¹¹ Dr. Feliks Kopera i Leonard Lepszy, *Iluminowane Rękopisy Księgozbiorów OO. Dominikanów i OO. Karmelitów w Krakowie, Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II (Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1926).

Table 1: The Carmelite codices of Krakow

Manuscripts which were later revised normally have page numbers (pp.) rather than folio numbers (ff.)

Codex No.	Description	Catalogue
Codex 1	Antiphonary 1397, 402 pp. Sanctoral	Rkp. perg. 12
Codex 2	Antiphonary 1397, 271 ff. Temporal + winter feasts	Rkp. perg. 14
Codex 3	Antiphonary 1468, 204 ff. Temporal: Holy Saturday through Sundays after Trinity Sanctoral: Invention of Holy Cross through Catherine + later feasts	Rkp. perg. 15
Codex 4	Antiphonary 15th c., 202 pp. Has later additions, Commons + later chants	Rkp. perg. 20
Codex 5	Antiphonary 15th c., 140 ff. Advent weekdays through Vigil of Easter St. Nicholas through Annunciation	Rkp. perg. 13
Codex 6	Gradual 1644, 279 ff. Temporal + votive Masses	Rkp. perg. 1
Codex 7	Kyriale + Gradual 17–18 c., 168 ff. Sanctoral for entire year: Immaculate Conception through St. Peter Alexandrinus	Rkp. perg. 5
Codex 8	Processional 1720, 43 pp. Proper antiphons for processions	Rkp. perg. 23
Codex 9	Kyriale 1727, 70 ff., date on f. 1 Also has 2-part works	Rkp. perg.-pap. 21
Codex 10	Kyriale & Grad. 1738, 209 ff. Temporal Gradual from Advent Sunday 1 through 25th Sunday after Trinity	Rkp. pap. 18
Codex 11	Antiphonary 1742, 169 pp., date on title page Temporal, Sundays of the year + feasts within the octave of Christmas	Rkp. perg. 6
Codex 12	Antiphonary 1743, 116 ff., date on f. n.n. Sanctorale for the year	Rkp. perg. 10
Codex 13	Antiphonary 1744, 84 pp. Mass Ordinary chants at beginning, office chants for Sundays of the year	Rkp. perg. 3
Codex 14	Antiphonary 1744, 84 pp., date on f. n.n. 2 Commons + Votive feasts + occasional ordinary chants	Rkp. perg. 9
Codex 15	Kyriale & Graduale 1745, 5 ff.	Rkp. perg. 4
Codex 16	Antiphonary 1745, 117 pp., date on f. n.n. 2 Sanctoral from St. Andrew through St. Clement + miscellaneous feasts and Masses	Rkp. perg. 2
Codex 17	Psalter 1747, 23 ff., date on f. 23v	Rkp. perg. 25
Codex 18	Gradual 1747, 128 pp., date on f. 3 Two-part Marian antiphons Temporal Masses for Sundays and major feasts Christmas through Sundays after Trinity + Kyriale + Masses for Sanctoral	Rkp. perg. 7
Codex 19	Antiphonary 19th c., 145 pp. Commons, Commemorations, Votive Offices Proper saints by later hand	Rkp. perg. 8
Codex 20	Ave Stella Matutina, 3 ff.	Rkp. perg.-pap. 16

Codex No.	Description	Catalogue
Codex 21	Antiphonary 18–19 c., 50 pp., paper Temporal + Sanctoral Magnificat and Little Hours antiphons	Rkp. pap. 22
Codex 22	Hymnary & Kyriale, 25 ff. 18th–19th century Hymns for the year and special feasts + some Ordinary chants	Rkp. perg. 11
Codex 23	Kyriale, 62 ff., paper Mensural ordinary chants	Rkp. pap. 19
Codex 24	Kyriale, 77 ff. Title page: Missa in Ecclesia Dei Mass ordinary chants, some for two voices	Rkp. pap. 17
Codex 25	Antiphonary 19th c., 171 ff. Temporal + Sanctoral for the year	Rkp. pap. 24

As Table 1 readily shows, the first five antiphonaries are medieval: mss. 1 and 2 are the codices brought to Krakow from Prague in 1397; a colophon in the third antiphonary, now in Wrocław and therefore no longer part of this collection, states that the manuscript was completed on the feast of the translation of St. Wenceslas, duke of Bohemia in the year 1397, by a friar of the convent, a certain brother Leo, by order of Fr. Henry of Greuenberg, prior provincial, while Fr. Hartmann de Tachovia was prior of the convent of Prague.¹² Krakow manuscript 3 is dated to 1468¹³ and mss. 4 and 5 by their contents clearly predate the Council of Trent (1545–63). Codices 1 and 2 were revised in 1743 under the direction of the prior of the Krakow convent, Fr. Bonaventure Kielkiewicz, in order to conform to the legislation of the Council of Trent. This suggests that they were used in their unrevised manner up until that date, that is, for almost two hundred years after the Council itself. Thus Krakow ms. 3, although later than the other two manuscripts, actually reflects the earlier form of chant, since most of it was never substantially revised at a later date. A smaller and less decorated manuscript, it was presumably not important enough to warrant revision for continued use in the convent after the Council of Trent.

The Medieval Codices and the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka

Table 2 lists the feasts cited in mss. 1, 2 and 3, that is, in the medieval Carmelite liturgy as observed in Krakow, along with page references to the published Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312 where the chants for each feast are given.

¹² “Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti Millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo septimo. In die translacionis Sancti Wencezlai ducis Bohem[i]e Completus est iste liber per manus fratris Leonis Ex ordinacione reverendi patris Prioris provincialis Fratris Henrici de Greuenberg Anno provincialatus sui IIIIo Et sub regimine fratris Hartmanni de Tachovia protunc prioris pragensis Anno officii sui XVIIIo hic edificavit novum chorum et complevit tectum una cum magnis organis eodem anno Ideo orate deum pro eo . . .” *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu*, Tom III, 24.

¹³ On folio 190v of the manuscript.

Table 2: Feasts celebrated in the medieval Krakow Carmelite liturgy

Date	Feast	Sibert	Ms.: Folio/Page No.
Nov. 30	St. Andrew	265	2:191v
Dec. 6	St. Nicholas	266	2:198v; 5:93
Dec. 8	Conception of Virgin Mary	267	2:206; 5:96v
Dec. 13	St. Lucy	268	2:214; 5:102
Dec. 17	St. Lazarus	269	2:216; 2:8; 5:103v
Dec. 21	St. Thomas	269	2:216v; 5:104
Dec. 25	Christmas (vigil)	117	2:33v
Dec. 26	St. Stephen	120	2:47
Dec. 27	St. John the Evangelist	121	2:55
Dec. 28	Holy Innocents	122	2:58v
Dec. 29	St. Thomas of Canterbury	123	2:60
Jan. 6	Epiphany	128	2:70v
Jan. 20	Sts. Fabian & Sebastian	206	2:217; 5:104
Jan. 21	St. Agnes	207	2:224; 5:109
Jan. 22	St. Vincent	208	2:230v; 5:113v
Jan. 25	Conversion of St. Paul Second Agnes St. Ignatius, b & m	209 210 211	2:239; 5:119 5:124 5:124
Feb. 2	Purification of Virgin Mary	211	2:248; 5:124
Feb. 5	St. Agatha St. Dorothy St. Simeon, b & m	213 214	2:256; 5:129v 5:133v 5:133v
Feb. 22	Chair of St. Peter	214	2:263; 5:133v
March 25	Annunciation to Virgin Mary	217	2:5v; 5:136v
April 25	St. Mark	221	1:10
May 1	Sts. Philip & James	222	1:13
May 3	Invention of Holy Cross	223	1:17; 3:86
May 6	St. John before the Latin Gate	225	1:28; 3:90
May 25	Three Marys		3:90
June 24	St. John the Baptist	227	1:29; 3:94
June 26	Sts. John & Paul	228	1:42; 3:99
June 29	Sts. Peter & Paul	230	1:47; 3:100v
June 30	Commemoration of St. Paul	231	1:64
July 2	Visitation of Mary		1:77
July 22	St. Mary Magdalene	234	1:81; 3:114v
July 26	St. Anne	236	1:94; 3:117
Aug. 1	St. Peter in Chains	237	1:108; 3:122
Aug. 5	Our Lady of the Snows		1:108
Aug. 6	Transfiguration of Our Lord	238	1:123; 3:122
Aug. 10	St. Lawrence	239	1:126; 3:123v
Aug. 11	St. Tiburtius	240	1:139
Aug. 13	St. Hippolytus & companions	240	1:140; 3:128v
Aug. 15	Assumption of Virgin Mary	241	1:145; 3:130

Date	Feast	Sibert	Ms.: Folio/Page No.
Aug. 23	St. Augustine	246	1:164; 3:136v
Aug. 29	Beheading of St. John the Baptist	247	1:184; 3:143
Sept. 8	Nativity of Virgin Mary	248	1:192; 3:145v
Sept. 14	Exaltation of Holy Cross	249	1:208; 3:150v
Sept. 16	St. Ludmila		1:213
Sept. 21	St. Matthew	251	1:229
Sept. 25	St. Cleophas	253	1:247
Sept. 28	St. Wenceslaus		1:245
Sept. 29	St. Michael the Archangel	253	1:260; 3:152
Oct. 6	Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac & Jacob	255	1:273; 3:156v
Oct. 9	St. Denis & companions	256	1:284; 3:160
Nov. 1	All Saints	258	1:301; 3:166
Nov. 11	St. Martin	261	1:318; 3:171
Nov. 13	St. Brice	262	1:335; 3:176v
Nov. 19	St. Elizabeth of Hungary		1:338
Nov. 20	St. Edmund	262	1:352; 3:177v
Nov. 22	St. Cecilia	262	1:352; 3:178
Nov. 23	St. Clement	263	1:364; 3:182
Nov. 25	St. Catherine of Alexandria	264	1:370; 3:183v
Later Additions			
April 23	St. Adalbert		1:370; 3:195v
May 4	St. Florian		1:372
May 7	St. Stanislaus (Krakow)		1:372; 3:196v
June 14	St. Eliseus		1:374; 3:192v
July 20	St. Elias		1:382; 3:190
Aug. 7	St. Albert of Sicily		1:387
Jan. 19	St. Henry (of Uppsala?)		1:393
May 18	St. Eric		1:394
Feb. 3	St. Ansgar		1:395
June 12	St. Eschilus		1:397
July 29	St. Olaf		1:399
July 31	St. Helen (of Skövde?)		1:400
July 13	St. Brigit		1:401

While in general these Krakow manuscripts conform to the standardized Carmelite rite, a number of exceptions occur. Thus the Bohemian saints Ludmila (Sept. 16)¹⁴ and Wenceslaus (Sept. 28) were venerated in Krakow even though they were not part of the Carmelite sanctoral, indicating at least one instance in which local saints, in this case Bohemian ones from the founding convent of Prague, preempted the overall Carmelite tradition. The feast of

¹⁴ The Krakow Carmelites used the rhymed office "Ecce iubar matutinum" for the feast of St. Ludmila, the same office as that edited by Dominique Patier, "L'office rythmique de Sainte Ludmila". *Etudes Grégoriennes* 21 (1986), 49–96.

the Three Marys (May 25), accepted into the Carmelite liturgy in 1342,¹⁵ thus after the time of Sibert's ordinal, occurs in ms. 3, so that an otherwise localized Provençal feast was celebrated in a geographically distant locale because of the standardization of the Carmelite rite. This feast is particularly interesting because its only surviving exemplars occur in Carmelite manuscripts from Mainz and Florence¹⁶ as well as Krakow. The feasts of the Presentation of Mary (Nov. 21), the Visitation (July 2) and Our Lady of the Snows (Aug. 5) entered the Carmelite liturgy at the General Chapter of Frankfurt in 1393,¹⁷ long after the time of Sibert's ordinal, but enjoyed universal observance, although with less standardization of chants than earlier feasts. The feast of the Visitation is especially important for the liturgy in Krakow, since it is the patronal feast of the priory,¹⁸ but still uses the standard *Exurgens Maria* office promulgated by Pope Boniface IX in his bull, "Superni benignitas conditoris" of 1389.¹⁹ The office for Our Lady of the Snows is radically different in Krakow, ms. 1 from another Carmelite manuscript, Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex C,²⁰ which dates to the 1430's: while the Krakow Carmelite version featured a rhymed office using, for instance, the text "Imperatricis omnium festa" for the Matins Invitatory antiphon, the Mainz Carmelites simply used chants from the standard repertory to celebrate the feast. The Prague Carmelites who originally made this manuscript probably chose this rhymed office for the feast since their convent in Prague was under the patronage of Our Lady of the Snows.²¹ The feast of St. Anne (July 26) used the same proper rhymed office in both codex 1 and codex 3 even though the earlier prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal simply legislated the use of chants from the common of a holy woman (*matrona*) to celebrate the feast.²²

¹⁵ By the General Chapter of Lyons, to be celebrated on May 25th with the rank of duplex. Cf. Benedictus Zimmerman, O.C.D., *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, Vol. I (Lirinae: Ex Typis Abbatiae, 1907), 141.

¹⁶ These two versions of the office have been edited in Boyce, "The Office of the Three Marys in the Carmelite Liturgy," *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 12:1–38.

¹⁷ Fr. Gabriel Wessels, O. Carm., ed., *Acta capitulorum generalium ordinis fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, Vol. I, *Ab anno 1318 usque ad annum 1593* (Romae: Apud Curiam Generalitiam, 1912), 109–110.

¹⁸ Trajdos, "Fundacja klasztoru karmelitów trzewickowych na Piasku w Krakowie" 60 (1983), op. cit. 126–127.

¹⁹ R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 40.

²⁰ Chants for this feast begin on folio 259v of Codex C; cf. Boyce, "Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher und die liturgische Tradition des Karmeliterordens", *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Kirchengeschichte* 39 (1987), 275.

²¹ Jan Muk and Olga Novosadová, *Bývalý klášter karmelitánů u Panny Marie Sne ně ve středověku* [Das ehemalige Karmeliterkloster an der Jungfrau Maria Schnee], *Stáletá Praha* 14 (1984), 103–110.

²² Zimmerman, *Ordinaire*, 236.

A Comparison of Chant Incipits

A perusal of chant incipits between the Krakow manuscripts 1, 2 and 3 (K1, K2 and K3) and the Mainz codices, published electronically through the CANTUS program at the University of Western Ontario²³ shows that they are identical. Many of these chants in Carmelite usage are slightly different in their liturgical organization from counterparts in their respective dioceses but are nonetheless part of the standard chant repertoire. In the case of the sanctoral cycle, such digressions are more significant. For instance, the feast of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Oct. 6) uses standard chants but the feast itself is unique to the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre rites. The feast of the Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8) contains five standard antiphons for first Vespers whose organization is distinctively Carmelite and characteristic of all Marian feasts in the Carmelite rite. *Table 3a* shows the listing of chants for this feast as found in the Krakow manuscripts 1 and 3 (K1 and K3) and as prescribed in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka and shows that the Krakow Carmelites scrupulously followed the Order's tradition: only the Invitatory antiphon and the antiphon for Terce are different between the two versions. *Table 3b* compares these same Carmelite chants from Sibert's ordinal with those from a noted breviary from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 15182²⁴ to illustrate the substantial differences between Carmelite practice and the rite of a diocese such as Paris where they maintained a significant presence. Only the first of the first Vespers antiphons, "Hec est regina", is the same in both traditions. Similarly the Matins chants are highly dissimilar; only the Lauds antiphons are the same in both usages.

Table 3a: The feast of the Nativity of Mary. A comparison of chants between Krakow Carmelite codices and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka

V=Vespers, a= antiphon, P=Psalm, R=Responsory, M=Magnificat antiphon, Inv=Invitatory antiphon, v.=verse, L=Lauds, B=Benedictus antiphon

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	Ms. 1	Ms. 3
V	a1	Hec est regina P. Laudate pueri	248	192	145v
	a2	Te decus virgineum P. Laudate dominum omnes	248	[192]	[145v]
	a3	Sub tuum presidium P. Lauda anima	248	[192]	[145v]
	a4	Sancta Maria succurre P. Laudate dominum quoniam	248	[192]	[145v]

²³ <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>

²⁴ Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits dans les bibliothèques publiques de France* 3 (Paris: Macon: Protat Frères, 1934), 260–262.

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	Ms. 1	Ms. 3
	a5	Beata Dei genitrix P. Lauda Iherusalem	248	[192]	[145v]
	R	Solem iustitie v. Cernere divinum lumen v. Gloria patri	248 248	192 192 192	145v 145v 145v
M		Gloriose virginis Marie P. Magnificat	248	193	145v
Inv		Corde et animo	248		
Inv		Nativitatem virginis Marie P. Venite		193	146
N1	a1	Hodie nata est P. Domine Dominus	248	193	146
	a2	Beatissime virginis Marie P. Celi enarrant	248	194	146
	a3	Quando nata est virgo P. Domini est	248	194	146
	R1	Hodie nata est beata v. Beatissime virginis	248 248	Lacuna Lacuna	146v 146v
	R2	Beatissime virginis v. Cum iocunditate	248 248	Lacuna Lacuna	146v 146v
	R3	Solem iustitie [rubric]	248	Lacuna	146v
N2	a1	Hodie nata est P. Eructavit	248	Lacuna	146v
	a2	Dignum namque est P. Deus noster refugium	248	Lacuna	147
	a3	Benedicta et venerabilis P. Fundamenta	248	197	147
	R1	Gloriose virginis Marie v. Hodie nata est	248 248	197 198	147 147v
	R2	Nativitas tua Dei genitrix v. Dignum namque est	248 248	198 199	147v 147v
	R3	Ad nutum Domini v. Ut vitium virtus v. Gloria patri	248 248	199 200 200	148 148 148
N3	a1	Nativitas est hodie P. Cantate j.	248	200	148
	a2	Ista est speciosa P. Dominus regnavit	248	200	148
	a3	Felix namque es P. Cantate	248	201	148
	R1	Nativitas gloriose virginis v. Nativitas est hodie	248 248	201 202	148v 148v
	R2	Corde et animo v. Omnes in unum	248 248	202 202	148v 148v
	R3	Stirps Yesse v. Virgo Dei genitrix v. Gloria patri	248 248	202 203 203	149 149 149
L	a1	Nativitas gloriose P. Dominus regnavit	248	203	149

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	Ms. 1	Ms. 3
	a2	Nativitas est hodie P. Jubilate	248	204	149
	a3	Regali ex progenie P. Deus Deus	248	204	149v
	a4	Corde et animo P. Benedicite	248	204	149v
	a5	Cum jucunditate P. Laudate	248	205	149v
B		Nativitatem hodiernam P. Benedictus	248	205	149v
M		Nativitas tua Dei genitrix P. Magnificat	249	205	150
Oct B		Speciosa facta es P. Benedictus	249	206	150
A Terce		Quam pulchra es		207	150v

Table 3b: Chants for the feast of the Nativity of Mary
A comparison of Carmelite and Parisian usages

Chant		Incipit in Sibert's ordinal (Chants occur on p. 248 of Zimmerman, <i>Ordinaire</i>)	ParisBNF 15182 (Chants begin on f. 345 of the manuscript)
V	a1	Hec est regina	Hec est regina
	a2	Te decus virgineum	Hortus conclusus es
	a3	Sub tuum presidium	Hec est que nescivit
	a4	Sancta Maria succurre	Felix namque es
	a5	Beata Dei genitrix	O gloriosa Dei genitrix
V	H	Ave maris stella	O quam glorifica
V	M	Gloriose virginis Marie	Sancta Maria succurre
M	I	Corde et ore simul Christum	Venerantes sacram
N1	a1	Hodie nata est beata virgo	Excelsi patris geniti
	a2	Beatissime virginis Marie	Tu prece perfusa
	a3	Quando nata est virgo	Cui sol luna solum
N1	R1	Hodie nata est v. Beatissime virginis Marie	Hodie nata est beata Beatissime virginis Marie
	R2	Beatissime virginis Marie v. Cum jucunditate nativitatem	Beatissime virginis Marie Hodie nata est virgo
	R3	Solem iustitie regem v. Cernere divinum lumen gaudete	Ad nutum Domini Ut vitium virtus
N2	a1	Hodie nata est virgo Maria	Coetibus angelicis
	a2	Dignum namque est ut ei	Hortus nectareus Christi
	a3	Benedicta et venerabilis	Fer pietatis opem
	R1	Gloriose virginis Marie v. Hodie nata est beata virgo	Gloriose virginis Marie Beatissime virginis Marie
	R2	Nativitas tua Dei genitrix v. Dignum namque est ut ei	Corde et animo

Chant		Incipit in Sibert's ordinal (Chants occur on p. 248 of Zimmerman, <i>Ordinaire</i>)	ParisBNF 15182 (Chants begin on f. 345 of the manuscript)
	R3	Ad nutum Domini nostrum v. Ut vitium virtus operiret	Stirps Jesse
N3	a1	Nativitas est hodie sancte	Virgo Dei genitrix
	a2	Ista est speciosa electa	Quae caeli regem
	a3	Felix namque es sacra virgo	O Maria que stella
	R1	Nativitas gloriose virginis v. Nativitas est hodie sancte	Nativitas gloriose virginis Regali ex progenie
	R2	Corde et animo Christo v. Omnes in unum congregati	Solem iustitie regem Cernere divinum
	R3	Stirps Jesse virgam produxit v. Virgo Dei genitrix virga est	Felix namque Ora pro
L	a1	Nativitas gloriose virginis	Nativitas gloriose virginis
	a2	Nativitas est hodie sancte	Nativitas est hodie sancte
	a3	Regali ex progenie Marie	Regali ex progenie
	a4	Corde et animo Christo	Corde et animo Christo
	a5	Cum iucunditate nativitatem	Cum iucunditate
B		Nativitatem hodiernam	Nativitatem hodiernam

2. Graduals

Although an inventory of manuscripts in the Carmelite convent of Krakow from 1560²⁵ lists among the codices a Missal for solemn feasts, as well as a printed Missal for duplex feasts along with a large notated Gradual, no such medieval manuscripts have survived to the present day. The most interesting manuscript for Mass, and perhaps the most interesting manuscript in the entire collection, is a beautifully illuminated Gradual for Sundays and major feasts completed in 1644 by a Carmelite of Krakow, Fr. Stanisław de Stolec, who was responsible for the production of the manuscript over the course of three years.²⁶ A particularly interesting dimension of this manuscript is its use of historiated initials to illustrate points of Tridentine theology, the Gospel text for the day, and specific Carmelite values and traditions within the context of the liturgical chant.

The Medieval Codices and the Council of Trent

The legislation of the Council of Trent allowed every diocese and religious Order with a liturgical rite dating back two hundred years to revise and pre-

²⁵ This inventory and a later one dating from 1595 are discussed in Waław Kolak, "Najstarsze zachowane inwentarze kościoła Karmelitów w Krakowie 'na Piasku'", *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny* 3 (1997), 85–98.

²⁶ Tadeusz Chrzanowski and Tadeusz Maciejewski, *Graduale Karmelitańskie z 1644 roku O. Stanisława de Stolca* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1976).

serve its own distinctive tradition.²⁷ The surviving manuscripts from Krakow indicate that this was taken seriously both in the convents of Krakow and Lwow, although the actual revision did not happen until the eighteenth century. Thus Fr. Bonaventure Kielkowicz was responsible for the revision of codices 1 and 2 in Krakow in 1743 and for the production of new manuscripts, ms. 10 in 1738, ms. 11 in 1742 and ms. 12 in 1743, to name a few. Fr. Marcin Rubczyński of Lwow²⁸ was responsible for producing mss. 13 and 14 in 1744, mss. 15 and 16 in 1745 and ms. 18 in 1747.

The feast of St. Mary Magdalene figured prominently in the liturgies of virtually every diocese and religious order.²⁹ Nonetheless the arrangement of pieces for this feast in the Carmelite tradition was distinctive and closely patterned on that of the original rite of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁰ Table 4 shows the listing of chants for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Codex C (CarMC), the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka and Krakow Carmelite mss. 1 (K1), 12 (K12) and 16 (K16). While codex 1 from 1397 gives the original Krakow version of the feast which was essentially untouched by any revisions, mss. 12 and 16 illustrate how the newly created eighteenth-century codices celebrated the feast. First of all, the Krakow Carmelites followed the prescriptions of Sibert's Ordinal throughout the middle ages; secondly, the revisions left the ordering of chants for this feast virtually untouched; third, the later manuscripts only include chants for Vespers and Lauds, so that the revised codex 1 (K1) probably was still used for Matins chants throughout the Tridentine era. Thus the Krakow Carmelites probably continued to celebrate this feast in the medieval format even through the eighteenth and probably into the nineteenth century.

²⁷ Raphael Molitor, O.S.B., *Die Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom, Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967, 1901); Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1979).

²⁸ Waclaw Kolak, "Rubczyński Marcin (1707–1794)", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Tom 32 (Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1989–1991), 561–562.

²⁹ For a discussion of the history and cult of St. Mary Magdalene, cf. Victor Saxer, "Le dossier vézelien de Marie Madeleine. Invention et translation des reliques en 1265–67. Contribution à l'histoire du culte de la sainte à Vézelay à l'apogée du moyen âge". *Subsidia Hagiographica* 57 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1975); Victor Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident: des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Auxerre: Publications de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne; Paris: Clavreuil, 1959); and Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: myth and metaphor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1994).

³⁰ For a comparison of the chants used for this feast between Carmelite usage and the practice of Mainz and Florence, cf. Boyce, "The Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition". *Acta Musicologica* 62 (1990), 119–151, reprinted in *Praising God in Carmel*, pp. 231–278. A table illustrating these distinctions is found in *Praising God in Carmel*, 243–244.

Table 4: Chants for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene

Chant		Incipit	CarMC	Sibert	K1	K12	K16
V	M	Recumbente Ihesu	216v	234	81	44	73
	A	Sollempnitatem Magdalene	217		81	44	72
Inv		Eternum trinumque	217v	235	81		
N1	a1	Cum discubisset	217v	235	81		
	a2	Secus pedes	218	235	82		
	a3	Irrigabat igitur	218v	235	82		
	R1	Letetur omne seculum	219	235	83		
	V1	v. Hec Maria fuit	219v	235	83		
	R2	Optimam partem elegit	219v	235	83		
	V2	v. Diligens dominum	220	235	83		
	R3	Maria Magdalena et altera	220v	235	84		
	V3	v. Cito euntes	220v	235	84		
N2	a1	Symon autem intra	220v	235	84		
	a2	Et conversus Dominus	220v	235	85		
	a3	Quoniam multum dilexeras	221	235	85		
	R1	Pectore sincero	221v	235	85		
	V1	v. Abstergat domina	221v	235	86		
	R2	Congratulamini michi	222	235	86		
	V2	v. Tulerunt Dominum	222	235	86		
	R3	Felix Maria unxit	222	235	87		
	V3	v. Mixto rore balsami	222v	235	87		
N3	a1	Satagebat igitur	223	235	87		
	a2	Non est Martha	223	235	88		
	a3	Et respondens dixit	223v	235	88		
	R1	Tulerunt Dominum	224	235	89		
	V1	v. Dum ergo fleret	224	235	89		
	R2	Et valde mane	224	235	89		
	V2	v. Mulieres emerunt	224	235	90		
	R3	Dum transisset sabbatum	224	235	90		
	V3	v. Et valde mane	224	235	90		
L	a1	Laudibus excelsis	224	235	91	45	72
	a2	Pectore sincero	224	235	91	45	72
	a3	Sustolle Maria supplicum	224v	235	91	45	72
	a4	Quo tecum captent	224v	235	91	46	73
	a5	Maria ergo unxit	225	235	92	46	73
B		Maria stabat ad monumentum	225v	235	92		
M		Celsi meriti	225v	235	93	46	73
R		Accessit ad pedes Ihesu			93		
v.		Dimissa sunt ei peccata			93		

The Tridentine Carmelite liturgy in Krakow and throughout the order added feasts particularly important for the Carmelites, such as the prophet Elijah, entitled “ducis et patris nostri” on p. 382 of codex 1. Since the publication of a work by Philippe Ribot around 1370 entitled the *Institute of the First Monks* the Carmelites had literally considered Elijah their founder. His disciple Elisha also figured prominently in the late medieval and Tridentine Carmelite rite. In both instances the liturgy used proper texts, taken primarily from the two books of Kings from the Hebrew scriptures, to celebrate the feasts of Elijah and Elisha, arranging the texts and setting them to music in a distinctive way.³¹ In the case of St. Albert of Sicily, the first specifically Carmelite saint, they preserved the medieval rhymed office *O Alberte norma munditie*, based on his *vita*, into the Tridentine era but set these texts to music which conformed to the tastes of the Council of Trent.³² In celebrating the office of St. Angelus, the first Carmelite martyr, they used texts which were not rhymed but were based on his *vita*, and set these to melodies which conformed to Tridentine taste.

The office of St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, figured prominently in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, both because of St. Anne's importance as mother of the Virgin Mary and also because of her association with the Holy Land itself.³³ Sibert's ordinal prescribed that chants be used from the common of a holy woman to celebrate the feast;³⁴ in addition, prayers to St. Anne became part of the daily ritual of the Carmelites, since the General Chapter of 1387 prescribed that the antiphons *Anna matrona* and *Anna parens* be prayed every day at Matins and Vespers respectively.³⁵ The Carmelites eventually celebrated St. Anne with a proper but not necessarily distinctive rhymed office, so that the version used in Mainz Codex C is entirely different from the one used in Krakow, mss. 1 and 3. Although the Council of Trent rendered such a rhymed office obsolete, the Carmelites of Krakow adapted the opening chant of the rhymed office, *Gaude Syon filie*, to fit the text of *Anna matrona* in what could most charitably be described as an exceedingly awkward arrangement. Our *Example 1* shows this *Gaude Syon filie* chant in its original version

³¹ The details of these feasts are discussed in Boyce, “The Feasts of Saints Elijah and Elisha in the Carmelite Rite: A Liturgico-Musical Study”, in *Master of the Sacred Page, Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Keith J. Egan, T. O. Carm., Craig E. Morrison, O. Carm. and Michael J. Wastag, O. Carm. (Washington, D. C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), 155–188.

³² The texts for the office of St. Albert have been published in Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 5, 101–103.

³³ *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, edited by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1990).

³⁴ Zimmerman, *Ordinaire*, 236.

³⁵ Wessels, *Acta capitulorum generalium*, 102.

in Krakow ms. 3, f. 117r–v (*Example 1a*) and then shows how the new text of *Anna matrona* was simply inserted over the erased text of the original *Gaude Syon* chant in Ms. 1, p. 94 (*Example 1b*) as a palimpsest. As *Example 1* illus-



Example 1a: The antiphon *Gaude Syon filie* in its original version (Ms. 3, f. 117r–v)



Example 1b: The antiphon *Gaude Syon filie* adapted to the new text *Anna matrona nobilis* (Ms. 1, p. 94)

trates, very little attempt was made to make the new text conform to the music of the older piece. The Carmelites esteemed the initial “G” of the original “Gaude” sufficiently to leave it undisturbed and fortunately did not eliminate the original version of the rest of the rhymed office in the process. Later versions of this *Anna matrona* chant in eighteenth-century Krakow manuscripts used newer and more suitable music for it.

Example 2 shows the opening Lauds antiphon for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, *Laudibus excelsis*, as used in Krakow, Ms. 1, p. 91 and Ms. 12, p. 45 and illustrates that they are virtually identical. While this case of an



Example 2a: The Lauds antiphon *Laudibus excelsis* from Ms. 1, p. 91



Example 2b: The Lauds antiphon *Laudibus excelsis* from Ms. 12, p. 45

antiphon melody being the same in medieval and Tridentine versions is less significant than that of a responsory being kept intact, it is nonetheless significant that the eighteenth-century Carmelite revisors simply preserved the older melody in an updated script. This strongly suggests that the established medieval tradition was held in great respect and that every attempt was made to preserve the older liturgical chant melody in a more modern setting.

Conclusions

The large number of Carmelite choirbooks preserved in Krakow and the scope of their contents make any conclusions about them somewhat tentative. Clearly, the five medieval codices conformed very carefully to the uniform prescriptions of the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka, illustrating that the centralized Carmelite liturgical tradition extended as far east as Poland. Included in this uniformity is the office of the Three Marys in Codex 3, extending a localized Provençal devotion a great distance from its original site. The presence of rhymed offices for Sts. Wencelaus and Ludmila indicates that some latitude did prevail here for local Bohemian saints. These rhymed offices and others such as St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Three Marys, Our Lady of the Snows and St. Anne remind us of the sophistication of the local friars who presumably were responsible for copying all these offices into the manuscripts and then singing them as part of their liturgy. In the process of revising these choirbooks care was taken to show proper respect for the texts, melodies and artistic decoration of older offices, even when the directives of the Council of Trent had rendered them obsolete.

The eighteenth-century program of revising old manuscripts and creating new ones ensured the continuation of an established Carmelite liturgical tradition in the Tridentine era and also promulgated new offices for specific Carmelite saints. The names of two Carmelites, Fr. Marcin Rubczyński of Lwow and Fr. Bonaventure Kielkowicz of Krakow, stand out as particularly literate men, well educated in theology and presumably in humanities as well, who ensured the revision of old manuscripts and the production of these new ones with great care and accuracy. Despite the general Carmelite interest in uniformity of texts rather than music, the two examples we have examined point to an interest in preserving the music intact as well. While this topic requires a detailed and thorough discussion beyond the scope of this paper, our investigations so far give at least some idea of the liturgical significance of this collection, of the fidelity of the Krakow and Lwow Carmelites to the order's distinctive liturgy and of their creativity in producing new materials to ensure its continuation throughout the Tridentine era.