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CARMELITE MUSIC ENSEMBLES IN THE GREATER POLAND
PROVINCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
MUSICIANS AND THEIR REPERTOIRE*

In the first half of the eighteenth century, there were about 60 Carmelite monasteries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹ Although no large music collection belonging to the order has survived, the Carmelites' musical life can be partially reconstructed on the basis of archive documentation, such as chronicles, inventories, books of provincial chapters, books of admissions to the novitiate, religious professions and necrologies.² They show that all the Carmelite centres had at least an organist, and many had a cantor as well, who was in charge of the music accompanying the liturgy. Moreover, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several Carmelite establishments employed singers and instrumentalists (both friars and lay people) performing in church ensembles. Such was the case, for example, in Kraków, Lviv, Vilnius, Trembowła, Szańdowice, Rozdół and Horodyszczce.³ This shows that

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- 1 Waclaw Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum oo. Karmelitów w Krakowie „na Piasku”. 1398–1945 (1988)* [Catalogue of the Archive of the Carmelite Fathers 'on the Sands' in Kraków], Kraków 1997, pp. 18–29.
- 2 For more on surviving sources, see Marek Bebak, 'The Musical Culture of Carmelites in the Former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century. Music Sources and Other Documentation', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 69 (2022) no. 4, pp. 313–326.
- 3 Cf. Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Przyczynek do biografii Andrzeja Wołoszki (ca 1700–1757) i historii kapel karmelickich' [A contribution to the biography of Andrzej Wołoszko (ca 1700–57) and the history of Carmelite music ensembles], *Muzyka* 20 (1975) no. 2, pp. 73–81; idem, 'Inwentarz muzykaliów

music was present in every Carmelite church during the Baroque era, both in larger cities and in towns or villages.

The main aim of this article is to present musicians and vocal-instrumental ensembles functioning in the eighteenth century in the Greater Poland province. The province consisted of several monasteries, and its main seat was in Poznań, home to the Corpus Christi monastery and church, founded in 1399 by King Władysław II Jagiełło. Other monasteries were situated in cities such as Bydgoszcz (est. 1398), Gdańsk (fourteenth century) and Warsaw (1683), and in smaller towns and villages like Płońsk (1462), Obory (1605), Lipie (1605), Kcynia (1612), Kłodawa (1623), Markowice (1643), Drohobycz (1698) and Trutowo (first half of the eighteenth century). In the seventeenth century, these monasteries belonged to the Polish, and later the Polish-Lithuanian, province, but after adopting the Reform of Touraine (introduced gradually from the 1670s), from 1728 they created a separate Greater Poland province *strictioris observantiae*.⁴ Officially, the Greater Poland province existed from 1728

kapeli karmelickiej w Krakowie na Piasku z lat 1665–1684' [Inventory of music-related items from the Carmelite ensemble on the Sands in Kraków, 1665–84], *Muzyka* 21 (1976) no. 2, pp. 77–99; *Graduał karmelitański z 1644 o. Stanisława ze Stolca* [A Carmelite gradual from 1644 by Fr Stanisław of Stolec], eds. Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Tadeusz Maciejewski, Warsaw 1976; Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Muzycy karmelicy z lwowskiego Conventus Major' [Carmelite musicians from the Conventus Major in Lviv], in: *Musica Galiciana. Kultura muzyczna Galicji w kontekście stosunków polsko-ukraińskich (od doby piastowsko-książęcej do roku 1945)* [*Musica Galiciana: musical culture in Galicia in the context of Polish-Ukrainian relations (from the Piast-ducial era to the year 1945)*], vol. 5, ed. Leszek Mazepa, Rzeszów 2000, pp. 23–38; Marek Bebak, 'Karmelitański inwentarz muzyczny z 1739 roku' [A Carmelite music inventory from 1739], *Muzyka* 66 (2021) no. 1, pp. 149–167; idem, 'Karmelitańskie kapele w Rozdole i Horodyszczu w XVIII wieku' [The Carmelite ensembles in Rozdół and Horodyszcz in the eighteenth century], *Muzyka* 67 (2022) no. 3, pp. 137–149; idem, 'Introduction', in: *Operae Carmelitanae I: Thelephorus Wikliński, Andreas Woloszko*, ed. Marek Bebak, Warsaw 2022 (= *Fontes Musicae in Polonia C/XXXII*), pp. 5–20; idem, 'Informacje o muzyce i muzykach w klasztorze karmelitów w Trembowli w świetle dokumentacji archiwalnej' [Information about music and musicians at the Carmelite monastery in Trembowla], in: *Musica Galiciana. Muzyczne tradycje Galicji – dziedzictwo, inspiracje, konteksty* [*Musica Galiciana: the musical traditions of Galicia – heritage, inspirations, contexts*], vol. 18, eds. Grzegorz Oliwa, Kinga Fink, Teresa Mazepa, Rzeszów 2023, in print.

- 4 Since 2016 Revd Marcin Puziak has been dealing with the history of the Greater Poland province, its individual monasteries, personnel, pastoral work and some aspects of its artistic activity (including music). See e.g. Marcin Puziak, 'Przeorzy karmelitańskiego konwentu w Bydgoszczy w latach 1728–1816 w świetle akt prowincjalnych' [Priors of the Carmelite convent in Bydgoszcz between 1728 and 1816 in light of provincial documents], *Studia Bydgoskie* 10 (2016), pp. 267–294; idem, 'Uwagi o prowincjałach karmelitańskiej Wielkopolskiej Prowincji Najświętszego Sakramentu w XVIII w.' [Remarks on provincials of the Carmelite Province of the Holy Sacrament in Greater Poland during the eighteenth century], *Studia Bydgoskie* 11 (2017), pp. 165–194; idem, 'Przyczynek do historii karmelitów *strictior observantia* w Markowicach w XVIII wieku' [A contribution to the history of Carmelites *strictior observantia* in Markowice during the eighteenth century], *Studia Gnesnensia* 33 (2019), pp. 163–190; idem, 'Uwagi o składzie osobowym konwentu karmelitów bydgoskich w XVIII i XIX wieku w świetle akt prowincjalnych' [Remarks on the personnel of the Carmelite convent in Bydgoszcz during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in light of provincial documents], *Kronika Bydgoska* 40 (2019), pp. 17–53; idem, 'Karmelicy *strictioris observantiae* – promotorzy sanktuarium kcyńskiego w XVIII wieku' [Carmelites *strictioris observantiae*: promoters of the sanctuary in Kcynia during the eighteenth century], in: *Sanktuarium Krzyża Świętego w Kcyni* [The Sanctuary of the Holy Cross in Kcynia], ed.

to the nineteenth century, when the monasteries were dissolved, between 1831 and 1864.⁵

An important moment in the history of music in the province was the year 1743, when the provincial definitory ordered the removal of secular musicians from the Carmelite centres. In the book entitled *Decretale provinciae strictioris observantiae*, it was written that none of the priors had the right to incur unnecessary expenses without the written consent of the provincial.⁶ Maintaining secular musicians was not considered to be necessary. This decision was motivated by a need to reduce the cost of maintaining monasteries. The ordinance concerned Drohobycz, Markowice and other places. From the text, it follows that for a musician to stay in Poznań, Gdańsk and Kcynia, he had to be a friar. In addition, in some places, like Markowice, Płońsk and Obory, where there were special foundations for musicians playing wind instruments (*tubicines*), musicians could stay even if they were lay people. However, they could not live in the monastery (as occurred before, see below). This means that before 1743 there were vocal-instrumental ensembles at least in Poznań, Markowice, Gdańsk, Kcynia, Obory, Drohobycz and Płońsk. Source-based information relating to this will be presented further into the article.

POZNAŃ

In Poznań, one of the oldest and most important Carmelite centres in Greater Poland, the ensemble probably existed already in the seventeenth century (musicians are mentioned in the lists of friars), and it was certainly active in the eighteenth century, when the activity of *magistri cappellae* was recorded, as presented in Table 1.

Marcin Puziak, Pelplin 2022, pp. 75–128; idem, 'Lista przeorów karmelitów gdańskich w XVIII i XIX wieku' [List of Carmelite priors in Gdańsk during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries], *Studia Gdańskie* 50 (2022), pp. 66–79; idem, 'Eliasz Karmelita (1690–1752) i jego muzyczne środowisko zakonne' [Eliasz the Carmelite (1690–1752) and his monastic musical environment], *Muzyka*, 68 (2023) no. 3, pp. 99–109.

5 W. Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, p. 28.

6 The original Latin text reads: 'Consulendo bono Communi Conventuum, ordinatur ut deinceps nullus Priorum expensas similes minus necessarias audeat facere absque speciali inscripto habenda licentia a Provinciali sub paena inobedientium propter inopiam et insufficientiam ad alendum sustentandumque Religiosos, nec non propter absurda multa quae sequuntur ex Conservatione Musicorum saecularium intra Claustra Religiosorum tollentur Capella Drohobicijs, Marcovitijs, et alibi: Posnaniae tamen, Gedani et Kcynae per solos Religiosos Musicos Capellae Conservabuntur. Quia vero Marcovitijs, Płonscij, et Oborijs pro Tibicinibus aliquae licet exigua fundationes extant, hinc permittitur in dictis conventibus duos Conservari Tibicines, qui tamen non intra sed extra Conventum habitabunt'; cited after *Decretale provinciae strictioris observantiae*, 1700–1846 (hereafter *Decretale*), Archiwum oo. Karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku (PL-Kkar), AKKr 168, p. 219. See also M. Puziak, 'Karmelici *strictioris observantiae*', p. 113.

Table 1. *Magistri cappellae* in the Carmelite Corpus Christi church in Poznań⁷

	Tenure	Monastic name	Secular name	Years of life
1.	1703–06	Elias a S. Francisco	Franciscus Jedlinski	1672–1748
	[1706–24]	<i>unknown</i>		
2.	1724–27	Elias a Monte Carmeli	Joannes Matalski	1690–1752
	[1727–36]	<i>unknown</i>		
3.	1736–39(42?)	Elias a Monte Carmeli	Joannes Matalski	1690–1752
4.	1742–45	Fabianus a S. Valentino	Valentinus Winkler	1701–75
	[1745–48]	<i>unknown</i>		
5.	1748–51	Fabianus a S. Valentino	Valentinus Winkler	1701–75
6.	1751–52	Elias a Monte Carmeli	Joannes Matalski	1690–1752
7.	1754–57	Paphnutius a S. Placido	Ignatius Neyman	1725–97
8.	1757–58	Quintinus a S. Antonio	Antonius Hibner	1720–97
	[1758–66]	<i>unknown</i>		
9.	1766–69	Norbertus a S. Joanne	Joannes Głowinski	1718–75
10.	1769–72	Paphnutius a S. Placido	Ignatius Neyman	1725–97

One of the most significant musical figures in the Greater Poland province during the first half of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly Elias a Monte Carmeli. No detailed information about his life and work was known until recently,⁸ when a great deal of valuable information was found in the archives belonging to the Carmelite monasteries.⁹ It is known that he entered the Carmelite order in June 1712.¹⁰

7 Full biographies of the musicians and diagrams presenting all the Carmelite centres will be published in the *Słownik muzyków Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku* [Dictionary of musicians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century], ed. Irena Bienkowska, <https://slownikmuzykow.pl>.

8 The figure of Elias a Monte Carmeli [Eliasz Karmelita/Elias the Carmelite] was first presented by Zygmunt M. Szweykowski in 1964; cf. idem, 'Eliasz karmelita, nieznaný staropolski kompozytor. Przyczynek do systematyki formy kantatowej' [Elias the Carmelite, an unknown Polish composer: a contribution to systematising cantata form], in: *Z dziejów muzyki polskiej* [From the history of Polish music], vol. 7, ed. Konrad Pałubicki, Bydgoszcz 1964, pp. 110–119. In 1977 the friar's biography was supplemented by Tadeusz Maciejewski, on the basis of the monastic necrology from Obory; cf. Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'O Eliaszu Karmelicie, Wawrzyńcu Zadorskim – warszawskim organmistrzu i Gabrielu Seneńskim – trębaczu' [On Elias the Carmelite, Wawrzyniec Zadorski, a Warsaw organ maker, and Gabriel Seneński, a trumpeter], *Muzyka* 22 (1977) no. 3, pp. 111–115. Elias's surname and secular name were first identified by Grzegorz Kloskowski (as 'Mataski'), who used another Carmelite necrology, now kept in the Diocesan Archives in Włocławek; cf. Grzegorz Kloskowski, 'Karmelici trzewickowci prowincji wielkopolskiej w XVII–XIX wieku' [Calced Carmelites of the Greater Poland province in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries], *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 98 (2012), p. 193. The same form of the surname was given by Marcin Puziak in a later article, cf. M. Puziak, 'Eliasz Karmelita (1690–1752)', p. 100. However, from the archive document preserved among files entitled 'Akta klasztoru OO. Karmelitów w Warszawie na Lesznie 1637–1864' (Documents of the Carmelite monastery on Leszno Street in Warsaw 1637–1864), at the Ossolineum in Wrocław [PL-WRzno], 5395/III, vol. 1, pp. 203–204, document dated 12 July 1713 (hereafter 'Akta klasztoru'), we know that the right form of Elias's family name was 'Matalski' (originally spelled 'Mattalski').

9 Elias a Monte Carmeli's full biography will be published in the *Słownik muzyków Rzeczypospolitej*. see n. 7.

10 This is confirmed both by the list of monks from 1712 and the abovementioned document from 1713; see *Decretale*, p. 43; 'Akta klasztoru', p. 203.

His secular name had been Joannes Carolus Matalski (see Fig. 1).¹¹ From archive sources, we also know that he was born on 4 November 1690 to Joannes Matalski and his wife Anna, and that he died on 23 October 1752 in Poznań.¹²

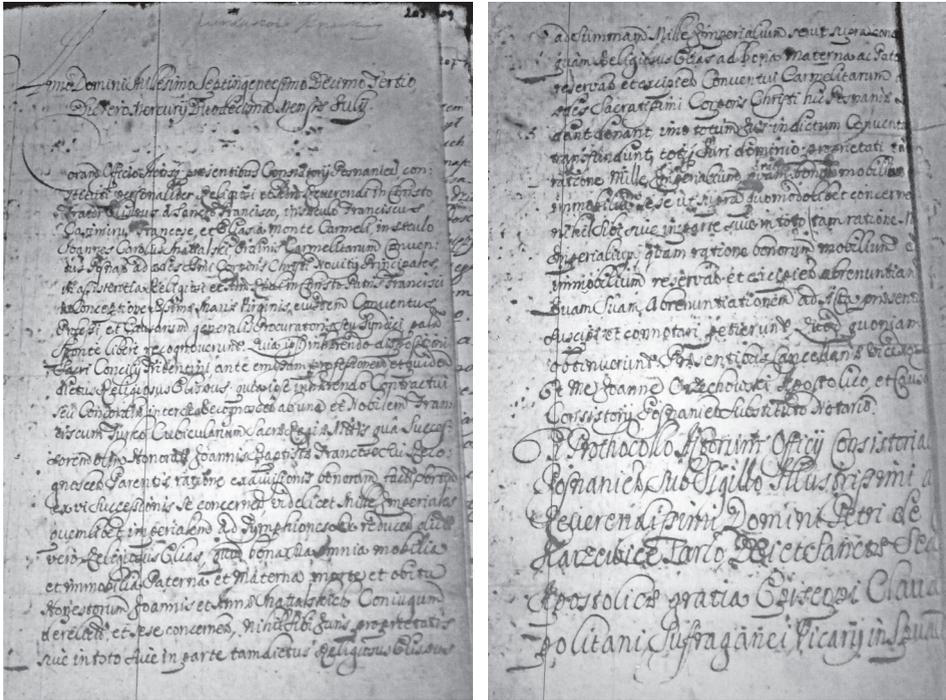


Fig. 1. Document from 1713 containing the secular name and surname of Elias a Monte Carmeli (PL-WRzno 5395/III, vol. 1, pp. 203–204)¹³

¹¹ See n. 8.

¹² Whereas three different dates of his death are given in Carmelite necrologies: 16 October 1752, in *Spis ojców i braci prowincji wielkopolskiej zmarłych w latach 1741–84* [List of fathers and brothers of the Greater Poland province who died between 1741 and 1784], PL-Kkar AKKr 174; 22 October 1752, in *Catalogus defunctorum Fratrum, Tertiariorum lit[er]as Confraternitatis habentium totius Almae Provinciae Majoris Poloniae SSmi Sacramenti Fratrum B.V.Marie de Monte Carmelo S.O. Nec non Fundatorum, Fundatricum, Benefactorum, Benefactricum, Confratrum, Consororum, singulorum respective Conventuum supra expresae Provinciae anno 1740 compilatus*, Diocesan Archives in Włocławek [PL-WŁd], Zakony 61, p. 287; 23 October 1752, in *Album fratrum nostrorum a stabilita reformali defunctorum in provincia Maioris Poloniae titulo Sanctissimi Sacramenti [...] strictioris observantiae auctoritatis venerabilis capituli provincialis in conventu Oboriensi...*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 597, and *Album fratrum nostrorum Carmelitarum Strictioris Observantiae a stabilita reformatione in provincia sanctissimi Sacramenti defunctorum...*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 565. For an explanation of the choice of the correct date, see M. Puziak, 'Eliasz Karmelita (1690–1752)', p. 103.

¹³ This is a copy of a document originally entered into the episcopal records in Poznań. The copy was prepared for the Carmelite monastery, included in the file collection and stapled. The document states that two Carmelite novices from the Corpus Christi monastery in Poznań (Eliseus a S. Francisco and Elias a Monte Carmeli) appeared before the Poznań consistory accompanied by Franciscus a Conceptione BVM. In accordance with canon law, before making their religious vows, they renounced their property

Elias spent his entire monastic life in Poznań at the Corpus Christi monastery. In 1713 he took religious vows.¹⁴ From 1715 to 1721 he was listed as a student in the books of the order,¹⁵ then between 1721 and 1724 he was a lecturer in philosophy and spiritual father to students (*L[ector] Ph[iloso]phiae et Sp[i]r[it]u[alis] Studiosoru[m]*).¹⁶ Certainly in the years 1724–27, 1736–39 (maybe 1742?) and 1751–52 he was a *magister di cappella* at the Carmelite church of Corpus Christi in Poznań,¹⁷ and he also held other functions in the order: he was a novice master¹⁸ and lector of theology.¹⁹ In the necrology of the order, it was written that although he was short in stature, he was a conspicuous organist and composer of religious works (to texts from the Bible).²⁰

Elias probably composed for the Carmelite ensemble he led, but unfortunately this is proven by only one manuscript, containing his composition *Dei amores*, preserved to this day in Poznań University Library.²¹ The copyist wrote a provenance note on the title page: ‘Pro Choro Posnaniensi Sacratissimi Corporis Xti Ordinis Carmelitarum 1727’. Thanks to this manuscript, we know how large the Poznań ensemble could have been – it consisted of at least nine musicians (four singers, two violinists, two trumpeters and an organist). This is very important, because there is almost nothing left of the Carmelites in Poznań: the monastery burned down in 1797, and everything, including the music manuscripts, was destroyed along with it. What has survived comes from the collections of other ensembles.

During Elias a Monte Carmeli’s lifetime, his compositions found their way into the repertoire of other ensembles. In the collection belonging to the parish ensemble in Grodzisk Wielkopolski, we found *Motetto de Beatissima Virgine Maria* for soprano, alto, tenor and basso, two violins, two oboes, two trumpets and organ.²²

and goods. The photo shows a copy made from a microfilm currently belonging to PL-Wzno (see ‘Akta klasztoru’). I would like to thank Dr Szymon Sulecki from the Carmelite Archives in Kraków for his help with my research and the interpretation of some archive documents.

14 G. Kloskowski, ‘Karmelici trzewickowi’, p. 193; cf. also files of provincial chapters from the territory of former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1690–1862, at the General Archive of the Carmelite Order in Rome [I-Ragoc], II Polonia Acta 1, p. 1.

15 *Decretale*, pp. 73, 81.

16 *Decretale*, p. 92.

17 *Decretale*, pp. 102, 170, 183, 275.

18 *Decretale*, p. 115.

19 *Decretale*, pp. 130, 153.

20 ‘Statura quidem pusillus, ac organarius conspicuus et compositor (ad mentem Ecclesiastici); in peritia sua requires modos musicos, ac narrans carmina Scripturarum’, cited after *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 597; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 565.

21 Poznań University Library [PL-Pu], 7028, RISM ID no. 1001212680. I would like to thank Mr Andrzej Jazdon for his help with my query at Poznań University Library. There is information in the RISM and the subject literature that the same manuscript (PL-Pu 7028) also includes another composition by Elias entitled *O caeleste Sacramentum* (RISM ID no. 1001212690); in fact, that is a continuation of *Dei Amores*. For a brief description of the composition, see Alina Mądry, *The Baroque. Part 2: 1697–1795. Religious Music and its Baroque Modus Operandi*, transl. John Comber, Warsaw 2015, pp. 604–607.

22 PL-Pu 7029, RISM ID no. 1001204841. For a brief description of this composition, see A. Mądry, *The Baroque*, pp. 604–607.

This manuscript was prepared by Paweł Sebastiański, organist at the parish church in Grodzisk. The copy was produced no later than in 1730, when Elias was a *magister cappellae* in Poznań.²³

In the collection of the Cistercian ensemble in Pelplin, we find only the title page of Elias's *Salve Regina* for soprano, alto, tenor, basso, two violins, two oboes, two French horns and organ.²⁴ The manuscript is dated 1726. This may be the same composition as one partly preserved in the music collection of the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań (the following parts have survived to this day: second violin, two oboes, two horns and organ, but unfortunately no vocal parts).²⁵ The title page of the manuscript held in the Museum states that it comes from Toruń. At the current stage of research, we cannot rule out that this *Salve Regina* was in the repertoire of the Benedictine nuns of Toruń, especially since another composition by Elias – *Dixit Dominus* – was performed by the Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz.²⁶ This question requires further research, as does the question as to whether the Carmelite ensemble in Poznań had oboes and French horns at their disposal (they may have been added locally in Pelplin and Toruń).

The second composer in Poznań was probably Fabianus a S. Valentino (secular name Valentinus Winkler, 1701–75).²⁷ In the monastic necrology, we read that he was

- 23 Andrzej Jazdon, 'Eliasz Karmelita ponownie "odnaleziony"' [Elias the Carmelite again 'rediscovered'], *Muzyka* 40 (1995) no. 4, pp. 119–122.
- 24 Diocesan Archives in Pelplin [PL-PE], Mus. rps 10. See Ewa Hauptman-Fischer, 'Osiemnastowieczne muzykalia opactwa cysterskiego w Pelplinie: katalog i omówienie zbioru' [Eighteenth-century musical items from the Cistercian abbey in Pelplin: catalogue and description], *Studia Pelplińskie* 37 (2006), p. 38. The title page is also reproduced in A. Mądry, *The Baroque*, p. 252.
- 25 Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań [PL-Pmim], Im 384. I would like to thank Ms Olga Olejniczak for her help with the query at the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań. The title page is reproduced in A. Mądry, *The Baroque*, p. 253.
- 26 Diocesan Archives in Sandomierz [PL-SA], 404/A VIII 44. The issue of transmission via the Benedictine monastery requires further research. For more on the musical culture of the Benedictine nuns, see Magdalena Walter-Mazur, *Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku* [With *figuratus* and *fractus*: musical culture among Polish Benedictine nuns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries], Poznań 2014.
- 27 Fabianus a S. Valentino entered the novitiate in Gdańsk in 1718, took religious vows in 1719, was a student of philosophy in Gdańsk in 1721–24, then studied theology in Warsaw in 1724–26. From 1727 he lived in turn in Poznań, Płońsk, Drohobycz, Poznań, Warsaw and Bydgoszcz. From 1736 to 1739 he was a kapellmeister in Płońsk, between 1739 and 1742 a sacristan in Drohobycz, and in the years 1742–45 and 1748–51 a kapellmeister (*praefectus cappellae*) in Poznań. In addition, in the years 1745–48 and 1751–54 he was an organist in Poznań, from 1754 to 1757 an organist in Warsaw, and from 1766 to 1772 an organist in Bydgoszcz. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 92, 106, 115, 130, 154, 171, 184, 212, 236, 256, 275, 313, 334, 352, 373, 395, 420, 441, 468; and *Liber actorum Provinciae Majoris Poloniae Sanctissimi Sacramenti, Ordinis Fratrum B(eatissimi) mae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli S(trictioris) O(bservantiae) sub [...] Regimine Adm(odum) R(evere)ndi P(ater) Timothy a Laurentio Provincialis. Comparatus A.D. 1747 26 Aprilis, 1747–1843*, PL-WRzno 5360/II (hereafter *Liber actorum*), pp. 13, 29, 50, 157, 188. Two different dates of his death are given in the books of the dead: 23 November 1775 (*Spis ojców i braci*, PL-Kkar AKKr 174, pp. 2–3, 39), and 21 December 1775 (*Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 715).

an excellent organist, both ‘choralis’ and ‘figuralis’ (for an explanation of these terms, see below), and he also wrote many musical works for the glory of God,²⁸ but unfortunately none of his works have survived (at least none have yet come to light). From the music inventory of the Carmelites in Kraków, compiled in 1739, we only know about two masses which could have been composed by him: *Missa recens Wincker ex C. Clar(ini)* and *M(issa) Oportuna Vinckler C.A.B. obligato. V(iolini) Clar(ini) C: ad libitum Org(ano) oblig(ato)*.²⁹ In addition, he was the scribe of a gradual and antiphonary presented during a provincial chapter in 1772. In gratitude for this work, every priest in the province was to celebrate a mass for him.³⁰

It is possible that other kapellmeisters in Poznań were also composers, namely, Paphnutius a S. Placido (Ignatius Neyman),³¹ Quintinus a S. Antonio (Antonius Hibner),³² and Norbertus a S. Joanne (Joannes Głowinski).³³ As for other musicians from Poznań, archive records contain the names of several organists,³⁴ as well as one musician of unspecified speciality.³⁵

28 ‘Bis primitians, organarius tam choralis quam figuralis eximius, multa pro gloria Dei scripsit’, cited after G. Kloskowski, ‘Karmelici trzewickowi’, p. 198.

29 M. Bebak, ‘Karmelitański inwentarz muzyczny’, pp. 151, 155.

30 ‘4to. Exposuit R. P. Fortunatus a S. Joachimo S.T.L. I Secretarius Capituli V(ene)r(ab)ili Gremio laborens P. Fabiani a S. Valentino in scriptis p(er) ipsum p(er) tota P(ro)vincia Libris Gradualium, Antiphonalium, quatenus post sua fata p(os)t suffragia statuarua una Missa a quolibet sacerdote absolva’, cited after *Decretale*, p. 439. These two books, i.e. gradual and antiphonary, are now considered lost.

31 Paphnutius a S. Placido (Ignatius Neyman) (1725–97) entered the novitiate probably in October 1743. He took religious vows on 10 October 1744 in Poznań, where on 28 October 1748 he was ordained a priest. From 1748 to 1751 he lived in Gdańsk, where he was a student. In 1753 he was secretary of the monastery in Warsaw. In the years 1754–57 and 1769–72 he was a *magister cappellae* in Poznań. He lived in Markowice (1757 to 1760), Warsaw (1760 to 1763), then Markowice again (1763 to 1766), where he may also have been involved in music. In 1778, during the provincial chapter, he was appointed a singing teacher for novices in Poznań (*Director Novitiorum in Cantu*). This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 256, 298–300, 312, 334, 352, 374, 394, 420, 441, 468, 487; and *Liber actorum*, pp. 49, 187, 289. In the necrology, he was described as ‘musicus perfectus ac vocalista’, cited after *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 387.

32 Quintinus a S. Antonio (Antonio Hibner) (1720–97) probably entered the novitiate in November 1741. He took religious vows on 27 November 1742 in Gdańsk, and was ordained a priest on 20 July 1745 in Poznań. He was a *magister cappellae* in Gdańsk (1754 to 1757) and in Poznań (1757 to 1758). In 1758 he was appointed a singing teacher for the neo-professed friars in Obory. Earlier, from 1748 to 1751, he lived in Markowice, where he also might have been involved in music. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 313, 333, 339; and *Liber actorum*, pp. 50, 66.

33 Norbertus a S. Joanne (Joannes Głowinski) (1718–75) entered the novitiate probably in June 1758. He took monastic vows on 7 June 1759 in Gdańsk. From 1766 to 1769 he was a *magister cappellae* in Poznań. See *Decretale*, p. 394; and *Liber actorum*, p. 156.

34 Josephus a S. Antonio (Antonius Lasota) in 1718–21; Sebastianus a S. Joanne Evangelista in 1724–27; Valentinus Winkler (Fabianus a S. Valentino) in 1745–48, and 1751–54. Full biographies of these musicians will be published in the *Słownik muzyków Rzeczypospolitej*, see n. 7.

35 Processus a S. Visitazione BMV (Michael Tokarski) (1754–57) entered the novitiate in May 1738. He took religious vows on 20 May 1739. From 1754 to 1757 he was a member of the Carmelite ensemble in Poznań. See *Decretale*, p. 312; *Liber actorum*, p. 49. In the necrology of the order, he was referred to as ‘Musicus’ (cf. *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 49).

‘ORGANARIUS TAM CHORALIS QUAM FIGURALIS’

Based on the biographies contained in the necrologies, it can be concluded that in the Carmelite centres the organists accompanied both the plainchant and the polyphony performed by a vocal-instrumental ensemble. In some biographies it is written that the musician was ‘organarius choralis’,³⁶ in others ‘organarius tam choralis quam figuralis’.³⁷ Most likely they both used the same instrument, because on the basis of the preserved Carmelites inventories it can be concluded that in their churches there was only one positive organ or a bigger instrument, which was placed in the music gallery.³⁸ Perhaps the distinction resulted solely from the circumstances of the instrumental accompaniment: the ‘organarius choralis’ played between plainchants, realising works of an improvised character (probably using *alternatim* practice), while the ‘organista figuralis’ played also the notated basso continuo part in a specific composition. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that both organists (Fabianus a S. Valentino and Archangelus a Monte Carmelo) were ‘organarius tam choralis quam figuralis’ in centres where music ensembles operated.

Carmelite organists had many duties, at least according to a print published in Gdańsk in 1766 entitled *Caeremoniale divini officii*.³⁹ In the first part of the book, in the chapter on organs and musicians (*De Organis et Musicis*), it is written that the organ was needed during masses on all Sundays except in Advent and Lent, as well as on feasts, during the octave of feasts, and during Marian and votive masses.⁴⁰ It was to be played during Matins, Terce and Compline every Saturday. It was also written

36 Nicolaus a S. Ambrosio (Valentinus Bukiewicz) (1695–1745), Vladislaus a S. Josepho (Josephus Tomaszewski) (1746–95), Tiburtius a S. Francisco (Franciscus Wisniewski) (1717–56), Caprasius a Monte Carmeli (1671–1737), Clemens a S. Francisco (1726–63), Ambrosius a S. Francisco (Franciscus Cylkowski) (1718–72), Candidus a S. Adalberto (Adalbertus Drzewiecki) (1747–1818), Patritius a S. Gregorio (Joannes Homan/Hoomann) (1705–48), Casimirus a S. Joanne Baptista (Jacobus Jordan) (1682–1757), Valentinus a S. Joanne Baptista (Joannes Klinicki) (1693–1774), Raymundus a S. Athanasio (Daniel Kocer) (1695–1746), Josephus a S. Antonio (Antonius Lasota) (1693–1752), Albertus a S. Francisco (Franciscus Taube) (1691–1771). Full biographies of these musicians will be published in *Słownik muzyków Rzeczypospolitej*, see n. 7.

37 Fabianus a S. Valentino (Valentinus Winkler) (1701–75) was an organist in Poznań (1745–48, 1751–54), Warsaw (1754–57) and Bydgoszcz (1766–72); see n. 28. Archangelus a Monte Carmelo (Josephus Jankie) (1722–77) was an organist in Gdańsk (1751–52 or 1754) and Markowice (1756–63, 1769–72); see n. 60.

38 See inventories from 1681: *Inventarium supellectilis ecclesiae ac conventu Kcynensis*, PL-Kkar AKKr 297, p. 12; *Inventarium supellectilis ecclesiae ac conventus Kcynensis*, PL-Kkar AKKr 298, p. 12; *Inventarium supellectilis ecclesiae conventus Klodaviensis conscriptum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 301, p. 20; *Inventarium conventus Płonscensis Ordinis Carmelitarum Regularis Observantiae pro venerabili capitulo in conventu Cracoviensi... celebrando... conscriptum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 523, p. 11.

39 *Caeremoniale Divini Officii Secundum Ordinem Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo juxta Rubricas Novissimi Missalis et Breviarii ad usum Provinciae Majoris Poloniae S(ancti)s(i)mi Sacramenti, methodo compendiosa reimpressum*, Gedani: Typis Joan Friedrich Bartels, 1766.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 23–25.

in the *Caeremoniale* that an organist could not play secular works. He should also ensure that the organ music did not mix with the singing of plainchant.⁴¹

MARKOWICE

Markowice was another Carmelite centre where a music ensemble functioned.⁴² Based on archive inventories, it is known that in 1681 the church musicians had at their disposal a positive organ, an old regal and violins.⁴³ But due to the lack of proper documentation, we do not know anything more about the musical culture in this place, e.g. if secular musicians were employed, what the repertoire was, etc. The first mention of a *magister cappellae* dates from 1742, so only a year before the music ensembles in the Greater Poland province were reduced. At that time, at least from 1742 to 1745, and possibly longer, the *magister cappellae* was Eugenius a S. Romano (Josephus Kraus).⁴⁴ For quite a long time, in the years 1754–57, 1760–63 and 1772–73, kapellmeister was Theophilus a S. Dorothea (1721–73).⁴⁵ He entered the novitiate probably in 1744 and took his religious vows in 1745. Later he studied in Gdańsk and Poznań, and in 1750 he became a priest. Between 1766 and 1769 he was also a kapellmeister and preacher in Warsaw.⁴⁶ In the monastic necrology, he was described as a ‘Concionator Germanorum, Musicus’.⁴⁷

Theophilus a S. Dorothea was also a copyist.⁴⁸ Three manuscripts written by him are preserved to this day in the Museum of Musical Instruments in Poznań. In these sources, we find two arias: the first is *Ad te o Maria* (alternative incipit: *Ad te o mi Jesu*), by Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783); the other is preserved anonymously, but thanks to

41 ‘Organarius in pulsando abstineat omni tempore a lascivis cantilenis, ac profanis, ac attendat, ne sono Organorum admisceatur Cantus minime spectans ad Officium, de quo agitur’, cited after *ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

42 To date, this centre has been mentioned by Paweł Podejko, Alina Mądry and Tomasz Nowak. Cf. Paweł Podejko, ‘Życie muzyczne Bydgoszczy do końca XVIII wieku’ [Musical life in Bydgoszcz up to the end of the eighteenth century], in: *Z dziejów muzyki polskiej*, vol. 7, ed. Konrad Pałubicki, Bydgoszcz 1964, pp. 97–98; Alina Mądry, Tomasz Nowak, *Muzyka w klasztorze norbertanek w Strzelnie* [Music at the Norbertine convent in Strzelno], Strzelno 2021, pp. 47–48.

43 Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv, fond 141: Aleksander Czołowski Collection, ms 1776, *Inventarium rerum Ecclesiae in Conventus Marcoviensis pro Capitulo Cracoviensi Celebrando Conscriptum Anno 1681*, p. 14.

44 Eugenius a S. Romano (Josephus Kraus) (1712–54) entered the novitiate probably in August 1730. He took religious vows on 10 August 1731. In the years 1742–45 he was certainly a kapellmeister and sacristan in the Carmelite church in Markowice. He may also have held this function between 1745 and 1754, as he was still in Markowice; however, the function he held was not specified in the monastic books. Cf. *Decretale*, pp. 214, 238, 258, 276. In the necrology, he was described as ‘musicus vocalista’, cited after *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 203; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 175.

45 *Decretale*, pp. 314, 352, 441; *Liber actorum*, pp. 51, 215.

46 *Decretale*, p. 395.

47 *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 539; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 507.

48 For a valuable hint regarding the repositories of copies of works by Theophilus a S. Dorothea, I would like to thank Prof. Alina Mądry.

comparative research in the RISM we know that it was composed by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–36). Both arias are scored for Canto solo, two violins and basso continuo.⁴⁹ Both are also *contrafacta*, which was one of the most typical techniques of that time. The aria *Luce te Stella amica bella* is actually an aria by Aquilio entitled ‘Voui punir l’ingrato amante’, from the first Act of Pergolesi’s drama per musica *Adriano in Siria*.⁵⁰ It is also interesting that the Polish text was added to this aria later (‘Błogosław domy chrześcijańskie’ [Bless Christian homes]). Pergolesi’s aria thus functioned in this monastic milieu as a religious composition.

The following manuscripts written by Theophilus are incomplete and include a ten-part vocal-instrumental composition with incipit *Currite mortales*⁵¹ (only the Organ part is extant) and the title page of the manuscript of a *Symphonia ex D* (a 6 – for two violins, two clarinis, alto viola and fundamento).⁵² Unfortunately, we do not know if all these compositions were used by Carmelite ensembles in Markowice or Warsaw, where Theophilus was also a cantor. It is only known that copies of *Currite mortales* and *Symphonia* belonged to the ensemble of the Norbertine (Premonstratensia) Sisters in Strzelno during the eighteenth century. The origin of the manuscript with arias is not known. At the present stage of research, it is impossible to ascertain whether Theophilus collaborated with the Norbertine ensemble, or whether it acquired copies of his works in a different way. It is worth adding that Markowice is only about 9 km away from Strzelno, so transferring repertoire was not difficult.

Although we do not have much information about the Carmelite music ensemble in Markowice, we can assume that it functioned at least until the 1770s. The musicians had at their disposal probably two violins, two clarinis (natural trumpets), alto viola and organ (judging by the title pages of music manuscripts). The inventory from 1819 shows that in the nineteenth century there were still two trumpets and two French horns in the church (described as ‘old’), and two timpanis.⁵³ We can also add that research conducted by Paweł Podejko has shown that in the 1750s the ensemble from Markowice performed at the Carmelite church in Bydgoszcz,⁵⁴ which probably had no ensemble of its own, only organists.⁵⁵ Other ensembles also played

49 PL-Pmim Im 835. On the title page: ‘Aria II de Deo | a 5 | Canto solo | Violino Primo | Violino Secundo | alto Viola | Con | Fundamento’.

50 The premiere of this opera took place in 1734 in Naples. Theophilus’ copy is undated, but it was probably made when he was kapellmeister, i.e. between 1754 and 1773.

51 PL-Pmim Im 24. See also A. Mądry, T. Nowak, *Muzyka w klasztorze norbertanek*, p. 99.

52 PL-Pmim Im 836.

53 Cf. A. Mądry, T. Nowak, *Muzyka w klasztorze norbertanek*, p. 48, n. 94.

54 P. Podejko, ‘Życie muzyczne’, pp. 97, 108.

55 Based on the accounts of the Scapular Brotherhood in Bydgoszcz preserved to this day in the Voivodeship and Municipal Public Library in Bydgoszcz (shelf-mark Rkp 559/II), Paweł Podejko hypothesised in 1964 that there was a music ensemble at the Carmelite church; see P. Podejko, ‘Życie muzyczne’, p. 101. Moreover, in 1975, Walentyna Węgrzyn-Klisowska found in the State Archives in Poznań a record documenting the work of a Carmelite music boarding school in Bydgoszcz in 1699; see

in Bydgoszcz: the local Jesuit ensemble, the Carmelite ensemble from Markowice and the Cistercian ensemble from Koronowo.⁵⁶

OTHER CARMELITE ENSEMBLES: GDAŃSK, KCYNIA, OBORY, DROHOBYCZ,
PŁOŃSK AND WARSAW

The Carmelites in Gdańsk also had an ensemble, but unfortunately we are not able to specify exactly when. In 1736 Modestus a S. Basilio⁵⁷ became its *magister cappellae*, Nepomucenus a Conversione S. Pauli (Joannes Miller) was kapellmeister and organist for a long time,⁵⁸ and Quintius a S. Antonio (Antonius Hibner) held the same posts from 1754 to 1757.⁵⁹ Organists are also listed in the monastic documentation, including Archangelus a Monte Carmelo (Josephus Jankie)⁶⁰ and Christophorus a SS. Trinitate

Walentyna Węgrzyn-Klisowska, 'Bydgoskie bractwo muzyczne z XVII wieku przy klasztorze karmelitów' [A seventeenth-century music confraternity attached to the Carmelite monastery in Bydgoszcz], in: *Prace Komisji Historii Bydgoskiego Towarzystwo Naukowego*, vol. 11, Bydgoszcz 1975, pp. 139–142. This information was repeated by other researchers, including Barbara Mielcarek-Krzyżanowska, 'Aktywność muzyczna stowarzyszeń działających przy klasztorze Karmelitów w XVIII-wiecznej Bydgoszczy' [The musical work of associations attached to the Carmelite monastery in Bydgoszcz during the eighteenth century], in: *Muzyka w instytucjach i stowarzyszeniach na Pomorzu i Kujawach* [Music in institutions and associations in Pomerania and Kujawy], ed. Barbara Mielcarek-Krzyżanowska, Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 83–91; Zbigniew Zyglewski, 'Z dziejów klasztoru karmelitów w Bydgoszczy 1398–1816' [From the history of the Carmelite monastery in Bydgoszcz 1398–1816], in: *Karmelitańskie dziedzictwo Bydgoszczy* [The Carmelite heritage of Bydgoszcz], ed. Marcin Puziak, Bydgoszcz 2017, pp. 66–67. Due to the lack of other archive documentation, it is difficult to disprove this hypothesis, while the records of the provincial chapter do not mention a *magister cappellae* or music ensemble anywhere in the eighteenth century. Further archive research is ongoing, and it is hoped that it will soon be possible to verify and expand this information.

56 So far, no research has been conducted into the Cistercian ensemble from Koronowo.

57 Modestus a S. Basilio (1703–39) probably entered the novitiate in June 1723. He took his religious vows on 15 June 1724. From 1736 to 1739 he was a *magister cappellae* at the Carmelite Church in Gdańsk. He was also a lecturer in philosophy, and he preached in German. Cf. *Decretale*, pp. 170, 183.

58 Nepomucenus a Conversione S. Pauli (Joannes Miller) (1710–70) probably entered the novitiate in June 1732. He took his religious vows on 30 June 1733. From 1742 to 1748 he lived in Gdańsk, where he was director of novices and a preacher (in German). He was an organist in Gdańsk (1748–51), Warsaw (1751–52) and Kcynia (1752–54). From 1754 until his death he lived in Gdańsk, where he was certainly an organist in 1754–57 and 1760–63, and in 1766–70 both an organist and *magister cappellae*, while in the years 1757–60 and 1763–66 he was listed in the monastic registers with his function not specified. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 213, 236, 256, 276, 279, 313, 333, 351, 373, 395, 420; and *Liber actorum*, pp. 30, 50, 156, 188. In the necrology, he was described as 'insignis organarius et vocalista', cited after *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 43; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 31.

59 See n. 32.

60 Archangelus a Monte Carmelo (Josephus Jankie) (1722–77) entered the novitiate probably in July 1744. He took his religious vows on 26 July 1745 in Gdańsk, and was ordained a priest on 19 March 1752 in Warsaw. Between 1748 and 1751 he lived in Bydgoszcz (his function in the order is not given in the lists of the religious family). From 1751 at least until 1752, and possibly until 1754, he was an organist in Gdańsk. From 1754 he lived in Markowice. In 1756 at the latest, he was appointed organist in Markowice, where he taught organ to the neo-professed friars. As organist in Markowice, he is listed in the monastic books in the years 1769–72, but he probably held this function already from 1754. He lived in Kcynia between

(Joannes Schneider),⁶¹ as well as Michael a S. Adalberto (Adalbertus Stupniewski),⁶² a musician of unspecified speciality; no name of any secular musician has been found to date.

An ensemble also functioned in Kcynia, as is confirmed by an entry in the book of chapters from 1743.⁶³ The first kapellmeister known from sources was Conradus a S. Chrysogono (Josephus Werner).⁶⁴ In 1758 there is a mention that the members of the ensemble were basically student friars.⁶⁵ In later years, the function of *magister cappellae* was held by Uldaricus a S. Procopio (Christophorus Gorner)⁶⁶ and Faustinus a S. Saturnino.⁶⁷

1772 and 1775, then in Kłodawa from 1775 till his death. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 257, 275, 279, 314, 322, 334, 396, 421, 441, 469; *Liber actorum*, pp. 29, 189.

- 61 Christophorus a SS. Trinitate (Joannes Schneider) (1706–61) entered the novitiate probably in May 1731. He took his religious vows on 20 May 1732. He was ordained a priest in 1733. In the years 1745–48, 1751 and 1754–57 he was an organist in Kcynia; in 1752 he was listed as a director of the novitiate and organist in Gdańsk (probably to 1754). This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 238, 276, 313. In one of the necrologies, next to his name, there is a note: ‘Organa’ (*Spis ojców i braci*, PL-Kkar AKKr 174, p. 35), in two others he is described as ‘Organarius et Exorcista’ (*Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 613; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 571).
- 62 Michael a S. Adalberto (Adalbertus Stupniewski) entered the novitiate probably in June 1770. He took religious vows on 10 June 1771 in Gdańsk. From 1772 to 1775 he was a musician in Gdańsk, and between 1781 and 1787 he lived in Markowice, where he may also have been a musician. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 441, 511, 534; *Liber actorum*, p. 213. One of the monastic necrologies mentions the monk Michael Slupniewski, who was described as ‘a lay brother, perfect and most precise in the art of music and devoted to it’ (‘lajcus, perfectus et accuratissimus in arte musices fidialis’), cited after *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 261.
- 63 *Decretale*, p. 219. See also M. Puziak, ‘Karmelici strictioris observantiae’, p. 113.
- 64 Conradus a S. Chrysogono (Josephus Werner) (1710–70) entered the novitiate probably in 1730. He took his religious vows on 23 November 1731. From 1742 to 1745 he was a sacristan and kapellmeister in the Carmelite church in Kcynia, then between 1745 and 1754 he was still at this monastery, possibly continuing as kapellmeister (in the lists of the religious family, his function is not indicated). He was vice-prior and kapellmeister in Kcynia (1754–57), then in Markowice (1757–60), before becoming sacristan and kapellmeister in Warsaw (1760–63). He discharged various functions in the order: vice-prior, promoter of the brotherhood, etc. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 214, 238, 258, 276, 313, 334, 352, 374, 396; *Liber actorum*, pp. 68, 89. In the monastic necrology, he was described as ‘an excellent musician, president of the chapel of the Most Precious Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ [in Poznań]’; it was also related that he had an accident while crossing the River Vistula, ‘but after calling on the help of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose image is in the church in Markowice, he was miraculously rescued, emerging from danger alive and well’ (‘Musicus excellens, praesidens oratorii SSmi Sanguinis Christi, in ante itinerans naufragium passus, sed invocans patrocinium B.M.V. in ecclesia nostra Markoviensi miraculis clarae, ex imo Vistulae evasit vivus et sanus’), as cited in *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 641).
- 65 *Decretale*, p. 339.
- 66 Uldaricus a S. Procopio (Christophorus Gorner / Gerner) (1722–90) entered the novitiate probably in 1742. He took his religious vows on 10 December 1743 in Gdańsk, and was ordained a priest on 4 February 1748 in Poznań. He lived in Poznań (as a student) from 1747 to 1751 and in Gdańsk from 1754 to 1757, then was a *magister cappellae* (*Praefectus Capellae*) in Kcynia between 1757 and 1760, in 1758 appointed singing teacher to the younger friars. From 1763 to 1769 he lived in Warsaw, and from 1775 to 1781 in Markowice, where he may also have been involved in music. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 256, 313, 334, 339, 352, 373, 395, 469, 488.
- 67 Faustinus a S. Saturnino (1736–70) took his monastic vows c.1756, when he was living in Markowice, and together with Faust a S. Francisco and Godefridus a S. Jacobo (Jacobus Styller) he took organ

In Obory, there was probably only a small ensemble of two or three people, comprising an organist and one or two trumpeters (as in other monastic provinces, such as Trembowa, where the so-called 'home ensemble' consisted of an organist and a trumpeter).⁶⁸ There was an organ in the church in Obory, and we know the name of one organist: Crispinianus a S. Stephano (Stepanus Kozłowski).⁶⁹ Apart from that, in 1742–43, a secular musician, Gabriel Seneński, was employed in Obory.⁷⁰ His duties included playing the bugle call every morning and evening in honour of the Virgin Mary, playing various instruments in the music gallery on Sundays and feasts, and teaching two boy trumpeters. His contract also specified that he could play at weddings and church fairs and in noble houses, but only after obtaining the prior's consent. Unfortunately, we do not know whether or not Gabriel Seneński lost his job as a result of the provincial definitory's ban on secular musicians living in the monastery.

As almost no documentation has survived from the Carmelite monasteries in Drohobycz and Płońsk (the Carmelite Archives in Kraków have copies of various documents from Drohobycz, including items related to property, as well as three inventories from Płońsk, but they lack any information about music), it is impossible to characterise the musical life in these centres. However, there was certainly an ensemble in Płońsk at least in the second half of the 1730s, since during the provincial chapter in 1736 Fabianus a S. Valentino was appointed kapellmeister there.

It was recently discovered that there was also a Carmelite ensemble on Leszno in Warsaw, founded in 1751 by Joannes Jaworski and his wife Marianna. The foundation act is preserved in the monastery documentation,⁷¹ and information about the foundation was also given during the provincial chapter.⁷² In the books of chapter of the monastery in Warsaw, it was written that the musicians' duties included playing for mass on Sundays and feasts (including Vespers), and also for the mass in honour of the Virgin Mary on Saturdays, and in honour of St Joseph on Thursdays, for which

lessons (their teacher was Archangelus a Monte Carmelo). He subsequently lived in Kcynia, where he was a sacristan (1766–69) and a *magister cappellae* and sacristan in the Carmelite church (1769, 1770). This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 322, 352, 380, 396, 421; *Liber actorum*, pp. 118, 189. In the monastic necrology, he was called 'Musicus. Vocalista' (cf. *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 175, p. 371; *Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 341), but it is not clear where and when he performed as a musician.

68 M. Bebak, 'Informacje o muzyce'.

69 Crispinianus a S. Stephano [also a S. Thoma] (Stepanus Kozłowski) (1733–87) entered the novitiate probably in February 1758, and took his religious vows on 22 February 1759 in Poznań. He worked as an organist at the Carmelite church in Obory (1763–66) and also in Drohobycz (1766–72). Between 1775 and 1781 he lived in Markowice, where he may also have been involved in music. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 373, 396, 421, 469; *Liber actorum*, pp. 119, 158, 189.

70 Tadeusz Maciejewski was the first to provide this information, cf. T. Maciejewski, 'O Eliaszu Karmelicie', pp. 111–115.

71 'Akta klasztoru', no page number in the files (dated 15 March 1751).

72 *Decretale*, p. 274.

each musician was to receive ten tynfs a month.⁷³ Two musician-friars were noted already during the next chapter, in 1754.⁷⁴ The *magister cappellae*'s name appears for the first time in 1757, when it was Fortunatus a S. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi.⁷⁵ The next *magistri cappellae* were Conradus a S. Chrysogono (Josephus Werner)⁷⁶ and the above-mentioned Theophilus a S. Dorothea. More information not yet been found.

CONCLUSIONS

The traces of the musical activity of the Carmelites prove that musical life in the Greater Poland province was quite rich. Unfortunately, the information contained in extant sources does not allow us to specify who belonged to the ensembles in Markowice, Kcynia, Gdańsk and Warsaw, or what exact repertoire those ensembles performed. Judging by the aforementioned ordinance from 1743, the ensembles had to include more than just an organist and musicians playing wind instruments (both monks and secular musicians). It is a pity that bills from these monasteries have not been preserved, as they could have provided a lot of valuable information about paying musicians, purchasing musical instruments and accessories, and perhaps also the repertoire (judging by preserved books from other provinces).

Finally, it should be stated that further detailed research is needed into the musical culture of the Carmelites in the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is to be hoped that documentary and factual research, followed by interpretation, may result, in the nearest future, in the first monographic study on the presence of music in this religious environment.

73 'Anno 1751 16ta February [...] Statimus conducti sunt Musici. Quorum Obligatio est: ludendi Missam diebus p. Dominicis, et Festivis, una cum Vesperis secundis; nec non in honorem Matris Amabilis diebus Sabbathinis, ac ferijs Quarlis S. Josephi, pro pretio menstruo victus, Tynf: 10 cuilibet; et medio Hungaricali pro labore', cited after *Decretale*, p. 844.

74 They were Brocardus a S. Francisco and Albinus a S. Caecilia; cf. *Decretale*, p. 313. It is known that Brocardus a S. Francisco (Franciscus Scholtz / Szholtzt) (1720–75) entered the novitiate probably in September 1747 and took his religious vows on 4 September 1748 in Poznań. From 1754 to 1757 he was a musician and tailor in Warsaw. Between 1760 and 1763 he lived in Markowice, where he may also have been involved in music. Cf. *Decretale*, pp. 313, 352; *Liber actorum*, p. 49. Albinus a S. Caecilia (Franciscus Toczynski) (1724–99) entered the novitiate probably in July 1748 and took his religious vows on 7 July 1749 in Poznań. From 1754 to 1757 he was a questor and a musician (*Questuarius Musicus*) in Warsaw, then from 1757 to 1760 a porter (*Custos Portae*) in Warsaw. Between 1760 and 1763 he lived at the monastery in Markowice, and from 1763 to 1769 in Warsaw, where he may have been involved in music. This biographical information was taken mainly from *Decretale*, pp. 313, 334, 352, 373, 395. In the monastic necrology, he was described as a 'Tibicen' (*Album fratrum*, PL-Kkar AKKr 482, p. 137).

75 Fortunatus a S. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi (1728–61) entered the novitiate probably in 1748 and took his religious vows in 1749. From 1757 to 1760 he was a *magister cappellae*, sacristan and preacher (in German) in the Carmelite church in Warsaw. Cf. *Decretale*, p. 334; *Liber actorum*, p. 67.

76 See n. 64.

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KARMELITAŃSKIE ZESPOŁY MUZYCZNE PROWINCJI WIELKOPOLSKIEJ W XVIII W.: MUZYCY I REPERTUAR

Artykuł dotyczy kultury muzycznej karmelitów dawnej obserwacji na terenie Wielkopolski w XVIII w. i został przygotowany na podstawie materiałów archiwalnych przechowywanych w polskich i zagranicznych archiwach. W 1743 r. zakonne władze Prowincji Wielkopolskiej wprowadziły zarządzenie, zgodnie z którym z karmelitańskich zespołów mieli być usunięci świeccy muzycy. W tekście wskazano zatem te karmelitańskie ośrodki, w których w XVIII w. aktywne były kapele wokalnie-instrumentalne (Poznań, Markowice, Gdańsk, Kcynia, Obory, Drohobycz i Płońsk, a także nieznanne wcześniej informacje o kapeli karmelitów w Warszawie), oraz wymieniono muzyków związanych z tymi zespołami (kapelmistrzów, organistów i innych muzyków). Szczególną uwagę zwrócono na kompozytorów i kopistów. W toku badań ustalono wiele szczegółów z życia Eliasza (Elias a Monte Carmeli), który przez wiele lat pełnił obowiązki kapelmistrza w Poznaniu, wskazano jego świeckie imię i nazwisko

(Jan Matalski), a także podsumowano informacje na temat źródeł do jego twórczości. Zwrócono uwagę na postać Fabiana od św. Walentego (Valentinusa Winklera), który będąc kapelmistrzem i organistą, prawdopodobnie również komponował. Przybliżono ponadto sylwetkę Teofila od św. Doroty (Theophilus a S. Dorothea), który był kapelmistrzem w Markowicach i Warszawie, a także kopistą dzieł, m.in. arii Hassego i Pergolesiego. Wskazując organistów aktywnych na terenie karmelitańskiej Prowincji Wielkopolskiej, odniesiono się do terminów „organista choralis” oraz „organista figuralis”, które obecne są w źródłach zakonnych, a także wskazano obowiązki organistów znane z drukowanego ceremoniału z 1766 roku.

Marek Bebak

Keywords / słowa kluczowe: Carmelites / karmelici, Greater Poland Province / Prowincja Wielkopolska, Elias a Monte Carmeli / Eliaz Karmelita, Theophilus a S. Dorothea / Teofil od św. Doroty, eighteenth century / XVIII w.

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