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## **Mandatum rite in the 14<sup>th</sup> century “Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum” (AKKK, Ms. 11) from the Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter**

The purpose of this study is to present the formulary of Mandatum rite of Maundy Thursday recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum* (54v–56v) located in the Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter under the siglum AKKK, Ms. 11<sup>1</sup>. The structure of Mandatum formulary, consisting of chosen antiphons with verses, and particular orations, varied in different late medieval manuscripts produced in various liturgical centres. The formularies differed in terms of rubrics, order of chants drawn from the common „pool” of antiphons, and their melodic variants<sup>2</sup>. In this regard the study of individual Mandatum formularies might be useful in tracking the degree of “kinship” between different late-medieval manuscripts and liturgical traditions of performing the rite in the Western Church.

### **1. “Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum” (AKKK, Ms. 11)**

The history of the manuscript Ms. 11 is very interesting in terms of transmission of liturgical tradition<sup>3</sup>. Most likely the manuscript was produced in Czech for the cathedral of Olomouc in 14<sup>th</sup> century. As Szymon Fedorowicz writes, Czech

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<sup>1</sup> Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) siglum: PL–Kk 11.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Amiet, *Le Mandatum de Jeudi Saint XIIIe–XVIIIe siècles*, “Études Gregoriennes” 29 (2001), p. 68–87.

<sup>3</sup> See W. Danielski, *Przedtrydenckie księgi liturgiczne pochodzenia czeskiego w bibliotekach polskich*, „Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne” 23 (1976) nr 4, p. 85–93; Sz. Fedorowicz, *Ołomuniecki pontyfikal na Wawelu*, „Analecta Cracoviensia” 41 (2009), p. 377–390; G. Ryś, „*Consecratio ecclesiae et animae*”. *Sekwencja znaków i ich rozumienie*, „Biblioteka Kapitulna na Wawelu”

origins of the manuscript are indicated by the names of Czech patrons included in the Litany of the Saints: Vitus, Adalbert, Wenceslaus, Benedict „cum fratribus”, Maurice, Procopius and Ludmila<sup>4</sup>. More detailed information indicating the place for which the book was destined is given in the following rubric: *Ordo qualiter in iherosolimitana et in nostra et in aliis quam pluribus sacri ordines fiant. Henricus dei gratia sacre olomucensis ecclesie minister* (136 r.)<sup>5</sup>. Researchers agree that it may concern bishop Hinco – Henricus Berka (in office between 1326–1333), however Wojciech Danielski suggests that the mention of Jerusalem in the rubric may also indicate other bishop of Olomouc Henricus Sdiko (in office between 1126–1150) who visited Palestine in 1137<sup>6</sup>. As he further concludes „the given pontifical would be then a 14<sup>th</sup> century copy of an earlier one”<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless it is assumed that the manuscript was produced in 1320<sup>s</sup> or 1330<sup>s</sup> in Olomouc. It was brought to Krakow most likely shortly after its production, perhaps due to the lack of the ‘up-to-date’ pontifical in the Krakow’s cathedral collection, and was used there until around 1423, when bishop of Krakow Zbigniew Oleśnicki ordered a new pontifical<sup>8</sup>. The new place of use of the manuscript is indicated firstly by where it has been stored for longer period of time, i.e. the Archives of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, and by numerous, large additions and corrections, both in rubrics and liturgical text, proving that the content had been updated from the original version and adapted for the use in the new location, that of Krakow<sup>9</sup>. Sz. Fedorowicz mentions also two paper leaves, handwritten most likely in 1370<sup>s</sup> or 1380<sup>s</sup>, stuck to the inside of the wooden binding, containing a letter addressed to certain Maciej, the Vicar of Krakow Cathedral, which may prove, that the manuscript has been in Krakow since 14<sup>th</sup> century or a bit later<sup>10</sup>.

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10 (2017), p. 25–29; see J. Lewański, *Liturgiczne łacińskie dramatyzacje Wielkiego Tygodnia XI–XVI w.*, Lublin 1999.

<sup>4</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 385.

<sup>5</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 385; W. Danielski, *Przedtrydenckie księgi liturgiczne*, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 385; W. Danielski, *Przedtrydenckie księgi liturgiczne*, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> W. Danielski, *Przedtrydenckie księgi liturgiczne*, p. 88, author’s translation.

<sup>8</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 385.

<sup>9</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 386.

<sup>10</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 386.

## 2. Mandatum formulary in AKKK, Ms. 11 (54v–56v)

As it has been said, manuscript 11 is a pontifical, a book intended for the bishop containing liturgical texts necessary for his celebration of liturgy. The title *Cereemoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum* was added later to the book<sup>11</sup>. As researchers claim, the content of the manuscript shows mostly Roman influences<sup>12</sup>, which seems to apply also to the Mandatum formulary. After detailed examination it can be stated that the formulary of Mandatum recorded in Ms. 11 descends from one of the redactions of 10<sup>th</sup> century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* (PRG) which was widespread in Europe since its production around 950<sup>s</sup> – 960<sup>s</sup> in Mainz<sup>13</sup>. The rubrics and orations for Mandatum rite in Ms. 11 are almost identical with these of *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*<sup>14</sup>, with the exception of one oration "post mandatum" *Annue misericors Deus ut qui divina praecepta* which is not included in Ms. 11. Also not all chants recorded in *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* are contained in Ms. 11 formulary (11 out of 20), although they appear in the same order. Ms. 11 has also four-line staff notation indicating melodies of incipits of antiphons and one verse. Both redactions after the text of antiphons record indication *cum aliis antiphonis*, which informs about other existing chants that might have been used during the rite. The interesting fact is that in other pontifical used in Poland – *Pontificale Plocense*<sup>15</sup> from the turn of 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, which represents the type of later redaction of *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*<sup>16</sup>, the Mandatum formulary is exactly the same as in Ms. 11. The rubrics, orations, selection and order of chants are identical. This may indicate that the primary version of Mandatum formulary recorded in *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* could have been edited and eventually shortened over time in terms of number of antiphons. This later version served as a template for both pontificals, although it is unknown which exact books were used as a model during

<sup>11</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Ołomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 377.

<sup>12</sup> See Sz. Fedorowicz, *Ołomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 388–390.

<sup>13</sup> *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, eds. C. Vogel, R. Elze, vol. 3, Vatican 1963 & 1972 (Studi e Testi, 226–227, 269); Mandatum formulary see vol. 2, p. 77–79.

<sup>14</sup> By *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* the author refers to the edition prepared by: C. Vogel, R. Elze in *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle*, vol. 1–2, Vatican 1963 & 1972 (Studi e Testi, 226–227).

<sup>15</sup> Library of the Major Seminary in Płock, MsEPI 4, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales siglum PL–PŁm–MsEPI 4.

<sup>16</sup> A. Podleś, *Pontyfikał Płocki z XII wieku*, „Notatki Płockie. Kwartalnik Towarzystwa Naukowego Płockiego” 26 (1981) nr 3, p. 9–16.

the production of manuscripts<sup>17</sup>. A further in-depth study in search of similar formularies in other late medieval pontificals and liturgical manuscripts could reveal how common was that particular formulary in the pre-tridentine diocesan liturgies. It also seems that the Mandatum formulary of PRG type was well received in Krakow Cathedral. Later redactions of Mandatum formulary contained in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts produced for the use of cathedral<sup>18</sup> are based on this *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* model in terms of rubrics and orations, however they contain different selection and order of antiphons as well as different variants of melodies<sup>19</sup>.

The Mandatum rite recorded in Ms. 11 starts customary after the Mass of Lords Supper and vespers. According to the rubrics the celebration takes place before or after the meal, in proper place, with bishop, clergy and presbyters, four acolytes carrying candelabras, thurible and incense and subdeacon carrying the Gospel. The deacon proclaims the Gospel according to St. John *Ante diem festum paschae*, the same as during the Mass. Next the bishop says oration *Deus cuius cenam*, after which he puts aside his robes, and, having girdled himself with a linen cloth, washes his disciples' feet while the appropriate antiphons are chanted (the bishop is called *pontifice* which clearly indicates Roman influences). After that the deacon reads the Gospel of St. John starting from *Amen, amen dico vobis* until *et ego in ipsis*. The bishop says orations: *Suscepimus Deus, Tu mandasti mandata tua, Tu lavasti*

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<sup>17</sup> *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Cracoviense*, as said before, was produced in Czech milieu, most probably in Olomuniec around 1320–1330s, perhaps on the basis of other Roman pontifical (see Sz. Fedorowicz, *Olomuniecki pontyfikał na Wawelu*, p. 88), while the latest paleographic research revealed that one of the main scriptors of *Pontificale Plocense* (12/13<sup>th</sup> cent) could come from the milieu of the benedictine abbey of Saint Laurence in Liège, however it is not possible to establish whether the manuscript itself was produced there or in the scriptorium of Płock which is also one of the hypothesis (see J. Tomaszewski, *Analiza kodykologiczna i paleograficzna Pontificale Plocense I*, in: *Studia nad Pontificale Plocense I, XII–XIII w.*, vol. 3, eds. H. Seweryniak, W. Liszewska, Pelplin 2020, p. 302). Nevertheless *Pontificale Plocense* must have been produced on the basis of some later redaction of *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* as it represents „the oldest type of pontifical: pontificale Romano-germanicum in its later later stage in relations to its archetype” (see A. Podleś, *Pontyfikał Płocki*, p. 10–11).

<sup>18</sup> It has been established that four liturgical manuscripts stored in Archives of Krakow Cathedral Chapter contain Mandatum formularies with the same repertory of chant and orations and similar rubrics.

<sup>19</sup> The edition of formulary with transcription of rubrics and chants appeared in author's publication: *Tradycja obrzędu mandatum w katedrze wawelskiej w późnym średniowieczu na podstawie rękopisów z Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej*, w: *Studia z dziejów katedry na Wawelu*, red. E. Zych, Kraków 2023, p. 81–90 (Biblioteka Kapitulna na Wawelu, 17).

*pedes*, orations after *Mandatum Adesto domine* and *Deus qui discipulorum tuorum*, and in the end the oration *Respice Domine* for those who performed the rite.

The formulary contains only the incipits of chants, which means that they were well known and most probably included in other liturgical books like gradual or antiphony, used by cantors and schola during the ceremony. Through comparison of dozens of late medieval liturgical manuscripts it is known that there existed a common pool of antiphons used for *Mandatum rite*. The full text of the antiphons and verses recorded in Ms. 11 may be therefore deciphered and is as follows<sup>20</sup>:

An. *Mandatum novum do vobis ut diligamus invicem sicut dilexi vos dicit dominus.*

Ps. *Beati Immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege domini.*

An. *In diebus illis mulier que erat in civitate peccatrix ut cognovit quod Iesus accubisset in domo Simonis leprosi attulit alabastrum unguenti et stans retro secus pedes Domini Iesu lacrimis cepit rigare pedes eius et capillis capitis sui tergebat et osculabatur pedes eius et unguento ungebat.*

Ps. *Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis in civitate dei nostri in monte sancto eius.*

An. *Postquam surrexit dominus a cena misit aquam in pelvem coepit lavare pedes discipulorum hoc exemplum reliquit eis.*

Ps. *Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.*

An. *Domine tu michi mihi lavas pedes respondit Ihesus et dixit ei si non laveris tibi pedes non habebis partem mecum.*

An. *Dominus Iesus postquam cenavit cum discipulis suis lavit pedes eorum et ait illis scitis quid fecerim vobis ego dominus et magister exemplum dedi vobis ut et vos ita faciatis.*

An. *Si ego dominus et magister vester lavi vobis pedes quanto magis vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes.*

Ps. *Quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine virtutum concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria domini.*

An. *Cena facta dixit Iesus discipulis suis amen amen dico vobis, unus vestrum est hic qui me traditurus est in hac nocte.*

Ps. *Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*

An. *Diligamus nos invicem quia caritas ex Deo est et qui diligit fratrem suum ex Deo natus est et vivit in Deo.*

Ps. *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum.*

An. *In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei estis discipuli si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem.*

<sup>20</sup> In the transcription of antiphons a modern spelling has been used.

Ps. *Laudate dominum in sanctis eius*<sup>21</sup>.

An. *Ante diem festum pasche sciens Iesus quia eius hora venit ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad Patrem et cena facta surrexit lintheo praecinxit se misit aquam in pelvem cepit lavare pedes discipulorum. Venit ad Petrum dicit ei Symon: non lavabis mihi pedes in aeternum. Respondit Iesus si non laveris te non habebis partem mecum. Domine non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput.*

An. *Vos vocatis me magister et domine et bene dicitis sum et enim si ego lavi vestros pedes Dominus et magister et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes or Vos vocatis me dominus et magister et bene dicitis et vos debetis alter alterius pedes lavare.*

### 3. Text edition of Mandatum formulary in Ms. 11

The rubrics of Mandatum rite in *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum* are written in red color, while the liturgical text customary with black ink. Each antiphon containing notation starts with ornamented initial therefore in majority there are no rubrics „Antiphona” preceding this liturgical text (opposite to psalms). In the following edition the liturgical texts is written in italics in order to distinguish it from rubrics, orations are highlighted in smaller font. All existing abbreviations have been resolved and the rules of modern spelling have been applied (punctuation, capital letters in case of proper names and *nomina sacra*).

His omnibus ita expletis, procedat dominus episcopus cum omni alacritate cum presbiteris et clero, si vult ante vel post cibium, ad locum ubi vult mandatum perficere. Sintque ibi parati processores acoliti duo cum candelabris duobus, tercius thuribulum portans, quartus cum thimiaterio, et subdiaconus evangelium ferens. Et diaconus imponat evangelium: *Ante diem festum*, sicut ad missam. Perlecto evangelio, dicat episcopus hanc orationem:

Oremus. Deus cuius cenam sacratissimam veneramus ut ea digni inveniamur munda nos quaesumus a sordibus peccatorum qui ad insinuandum nobis humilitatis exemplum pedes tuorum dignatus es lavare hodie discipulorum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum amen.

Data oratione, episcopus ponit vestimenta sua et precinctus lintheo, preparet se ad lavandos pedes discipulorum suorum. Et primum, incipiente pontifice, mutuatim

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<sup>21</sup> To the author's knowledge psalm 150 rarely appears in Mandatum formularies, therefore it is difficult to settle which verses were sung in this case.

pedes lavent et abstergant, canentes antiphonas: *Mandatum novum*. Psalmus. *Beati immaculati*. Antiphona. *In diebus illis*. Psalmus. *Magnus Dominus*. *Postquam surrexit*. Psalmus. *Deus misereatur*. Antiphona. *Domine tu michi*. *Dominus Ihesus*. *Si ego dominus*. Psalmus. *Quam dilecta*. *Cena facta dixit*. Psalmus. *Miserere mei Deus*. *Diligamus nos invicem*. Psalmus. *Ecce quam bonum*. *In hoc cognoscent omnes*. *Laudate dominum in sanctis*. Antiphona. *Ante diem festum*. *Vos vocatis*. Cum aliis antiphonis. Quibus finitis, diaconus cui mandatum fuerit, imponat evangelium secundum Johannem, quasi lectionem legens ab eo loco ubi scriptum est: *Amen, amen dico vobis, non est servus maior domino suo usque: et ego in ipsis*. Fecit preces: *Suscipimus Deus misericordiam tuam*. *In medio templi tui*. *Tu mandasti mandata tua*. *Custodire nimis*. *Tu lavasti pedes discipulorum tuorum*. *Opera manum tuarum ne despicias*. Orationes post mandatum:

Adesto, domine, officiis nostrae servitutis, quia tu pedes lavare dignatus es tuis discipulis, ne despicias opera manuum tuarum quae nobis retinenda mandasti, ut, sicut hic exteriora abluuntur inquinamenta corporum, sic a te omnium nostrum interiora laventur peccata. Qui cum Patre. Deus qui discipulorum pedes abluens pio affectu eis exemplum praebuisti mandatumque dedisti, concede propicius, ut per obsequium mandatorum tuorum, eorum obetntu de tuo laetemur aspectu. Qui cum Patre.

Oratio pro hiis qui mandatum adimpleverunt:

Respice, Domine, super hos famulos tuos qui se inclinando obedientiae sanctae, pio obsequio fratrum suorum expleverunt servitium, ut te semper habeant in auxilium et in bonis actibus superent inimicum et inoffense semper agant servitium consuetum, ut aeternum a te mereantur percipere premium. Per Dominum.

#### 4. Transcription of chants “ad Mandatum” in Ms. 11

The chants of Mandatum formulary in Ms. 11 are written on red four-line staff. The original mixed German-Messin notation has been replaced in this transcription by square notation on four-line staff used in modern notation of Gregorian Chant. In one case (antiphon *Cena facta*) a *divisio finalis*, not found in the manuscript, has been used to separate the melody of antiphon from that of the verse. In the transcription of the chant text all abbreviations have been resolved, original Latin spelling has been retained and no additional punctuation was introduced.

**M**   
 andatum novum Ps. Beati immaculati

**I**   
 n di-e-bus illis Ps. Magnus dominus

**P**   
 ost quam surrexit Ps. Deus misereatur nostri

**D**   
 omi-ne tu michi

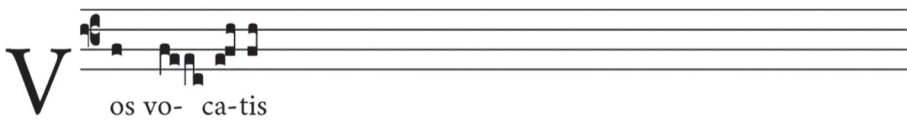
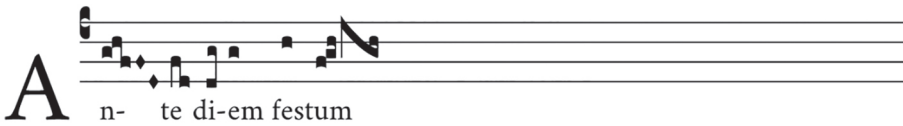
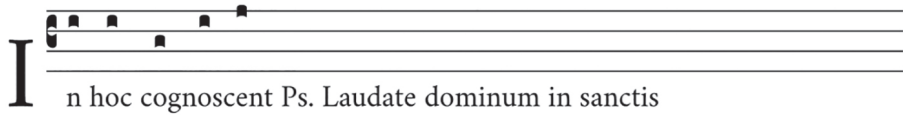
**D**   
 omi-nus ihesus

**S**   
 i ego dominus Ps. Quam dilecta

**C**   
 ena facta dixit Ps. Miserere mei deus

**D**   
 i-ligamus nos in-vicem Ps. Ecce quam bonum





## Conclusion

The example of *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum* AKKK, Ms. 11 and Mandatum formulary shows to certain extent how and from where Krakow Cathedral could receive its liturgical customs and how they were adapted to local use. As for the performance of Mandatum rite, it is unknown whether it was celebrated in Krakow Cathedral according to the formulary recorded in Ms. 11. There are no survived musical and liturgical books from 14<sup>th</sup> century for the cathedral use containing Mandatum formulary that could confirm it. Supposedly in the end of 14<sup>th</sup> or in early 15<sup>th</sup> century it had already been replaced by a new tradition, perhaps generated by Krakow Cathedral, recorded in books from 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century produced for the cathedral use. This example shows how vivid was the development of liturgy and how complex was its transmission, especially in dioceses that didn't have its own long-standing traditions. Hence it seems important to study the history and content of medieval liturgical manuscripts, as they can reveal the ways of formation and transmission of liturgy and particular liturgical traditions that existed before the Council of Trent, which largely unified the liturgy of Western Church.

## Appendices

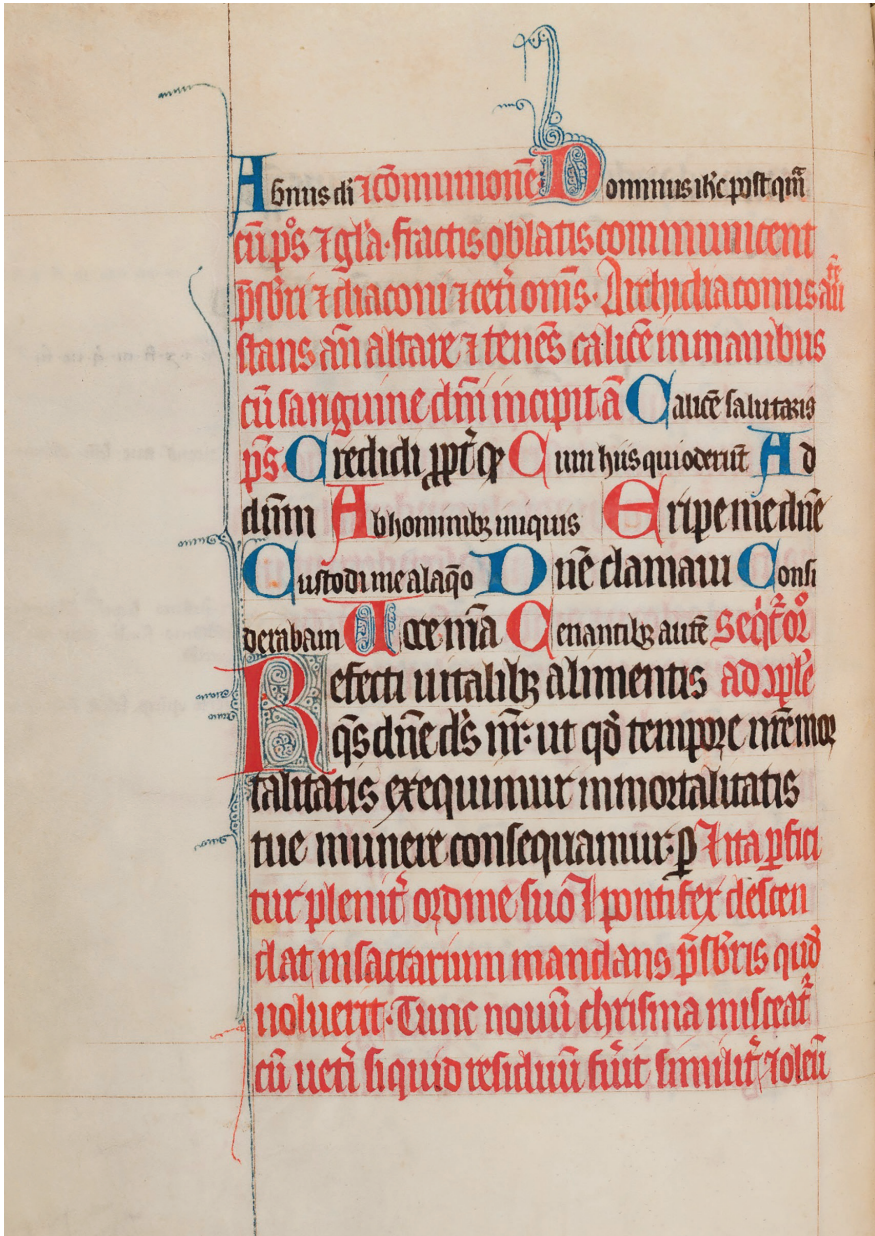


Fig. 1. *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum*, Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 11, folio 54 v.

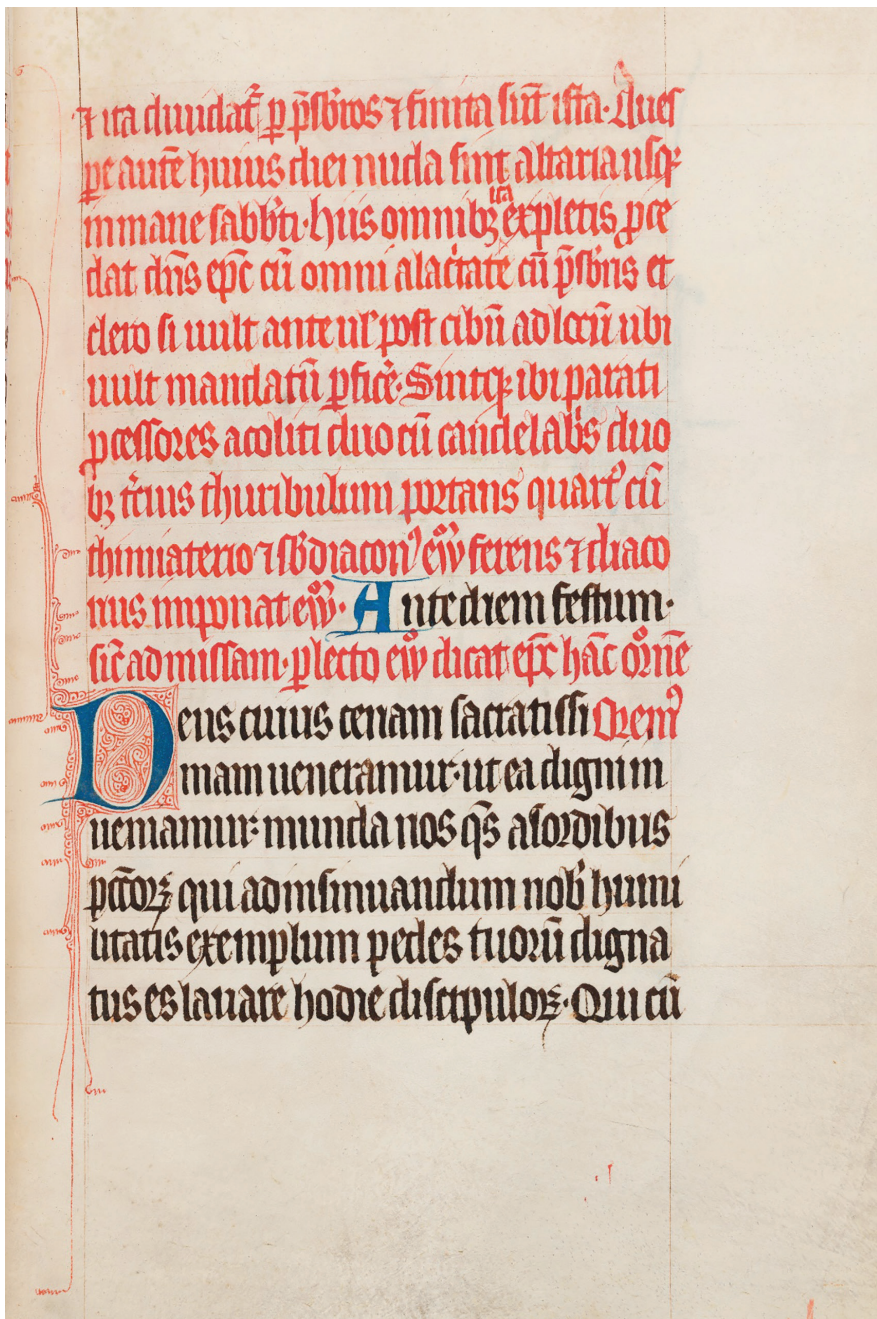


Fig. 2. Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum, Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 11, folio 55.

p̄te ⁊ sp̄ū sc̄o uiuus ⁊ regnas d̄s. p̄ omnia  
 secula seculorum amē. *Data oīne ep̄c̄o*  
*mit uestimenta sua ⁊ p̄cinctus lintheo p̄*  
*paret se ad lauandos pedes discipulorū*  
*suoꝝ. ⁊ p̄mum incipiente pontifice mutua*  
*tm pedes lauent ⁊ abstergant canētes as*  
 maculati. *am*  
 andatum nouum *ps* B̄ti mā. *ndiebu* *phoas*  
 dominus *ps* Magnus. *ost quam surrexit* *ps* *De m̄ a*  
 Domine tu michi. Domine ihesus. *Si ego do*  
 dilecta. *ps* Quia Lena facta dixit. *ps* Miserere mei  
 qm̄ bon̄. *ps* *Ecce* *In hoc cognoscent*  
 Laudate dominum in sanctis. *amph*  
 .vii.

Fig. 3. *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum*, Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 11, folio 55 v.

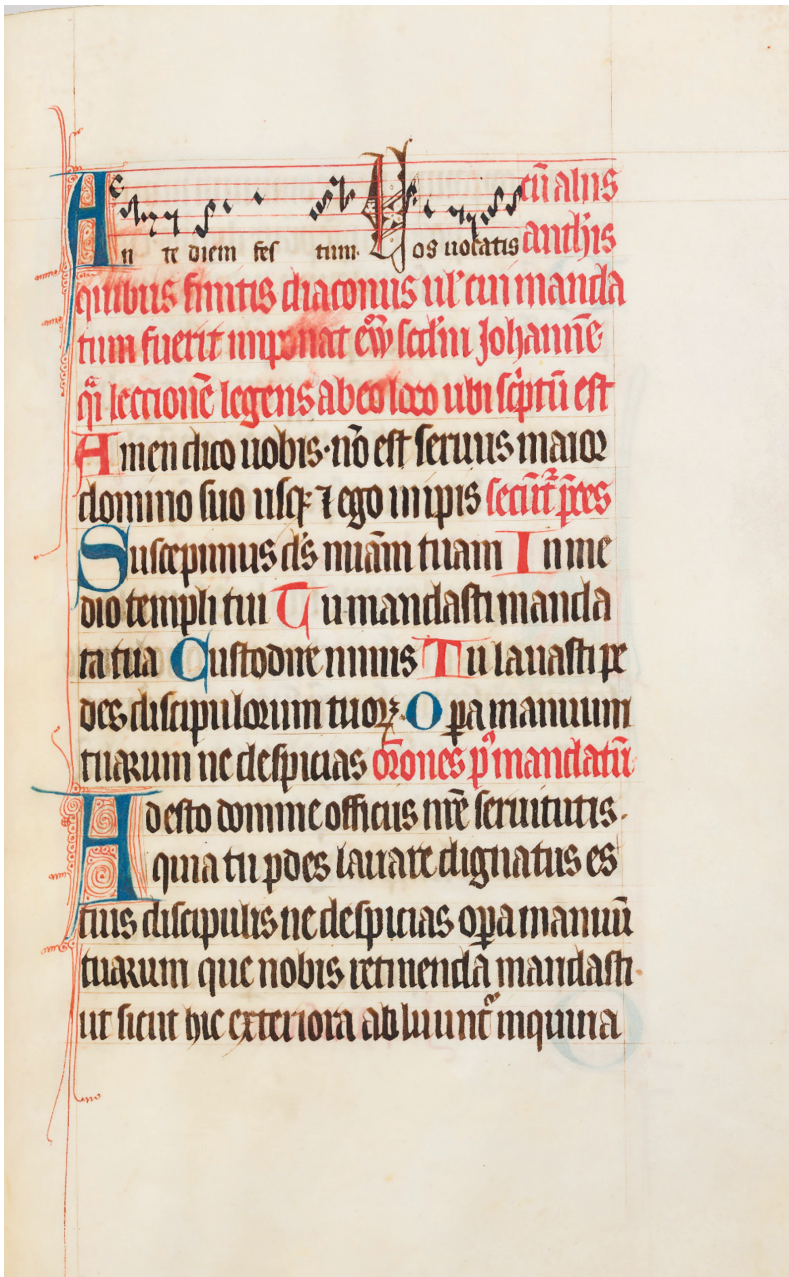


Fig. 4. Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum, Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 11, folio 56.

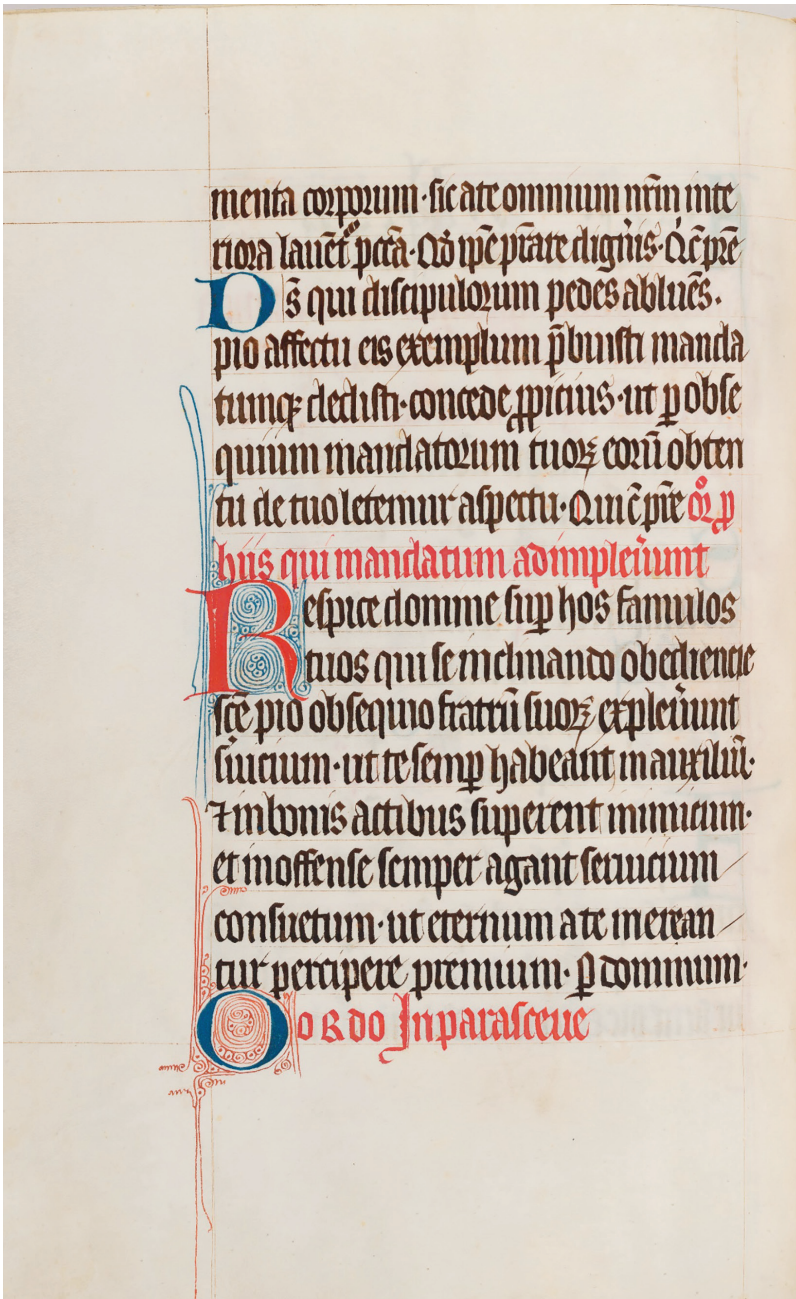


Fig. 5. *Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum*, Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, Ms. 11, folio 56 v.

## Abstract

Mandatum rite in the 14<sup>th</sup> century “Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum” (AKKK, Ms. 11) from the Archives and Library of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter

The study of history and content of medieval liturgical manuscripts can reveal the ways of formation and transmission of liturgy and particular liturgical traditions existing in the Western Church before the Council of Trent. The purpose of this article is to present the formulary of Mandatum rite recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century pontifical Ms.11 located in the Archives of the Krakow Cathedral Chapter, and to attempt to identify its sources. The article provides the edition of the text of the rubrics and orations as well as melodic transcriptions of the chants.

**Keywords:** Ceremoniale et Pontificale Episcoporum, AKKK Ms.11, PL-Kk 11, Mandatum, Gregorian Chant, liturgy, Krakow

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