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“CLEARLY, CAREFULLY AND PRECISELY”
ON MUSIC IN THE CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE ORDER OF SAINT PAUL THE FIRST HERMIT
FROM THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

INTRODUCTION

Constitutions have a normative character for a religious community and regulate its life in detail. In the constitutions of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit, these regulations concern liturgy and music, which are at the center of daily activities. In the history of the Pauline Order, which Pope Clement V approved in 1308, granting the Rule of St Augustine,¹ several constitutions were adopted. The first edition was released in 1309.² The next three editions, mentioned in the title, were approved after the Council of Trent, whose decisions significantly influenced the shape of the liturgy and the attitude to music in the Pauline Order.³ These editions include the

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¹ Augustine of Hippo, *The Rule of Saint Augustine: with Commentary by Hugh of St. Victor*, trans. Dom Aloysius Smith (Chaucer House Press, 2021).

² On liturgy and music in the constitutions from 1309 in relation to the cult of St Paul the First Hermit, see Olha Dzhana, “‘Officium rhythmicum’ o św. Pawle Pierwszym Pustelniku w przedtrydenckiej tradycji. ‘Ordinis Fratrum Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae,’ PhD diss., John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, 2024, <https://repozytorium.kul.pl/items/7c209f7f-0433-44bc-8b07-c0fae8c7c138>, 73-74.

³ A breakthrough moment for the Pauline Order in the field of liturgy after the Council of Trent was the adoption of the Roman missal and breviary in 1600, as well as the ban on the use of old liturgical books; Janka Szendrei, *Der Ritus tridentinus und die paulinische Tradition im Ungarn des 17. Jahrhunderts: Kompromiss, Kontrafaktur, Modifikation. Zum pauliner Graduale der Budapester Universitätsbibliothek A 115 (1623)*, in *The Past in the Present. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional*

constitutions for Pauline monasteries in Poland from 1636,⁴ the second constitutions for the entire order from 1643,⁵ and the third constitutions from 1725.⁶ The choice was dictated by the fact that all the above-mentioned constitutions were created between two ecumenical councils: The Council of Trent and the First Vatican Council, as well as before the publication of the Code of Canon Law in 1917.⁷ The aim of the article is to present references to music contained in the given sources, compare them and draw conclusions on the topic of music codification in the Pauline con-

Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Budapest & Visegrád, 2000, ed. L. Dobszay, vol. 2 (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), 330; Jakub Kubieniec, "Średniowieczne rękopisy liturgiczne z archiwum jasnogórskiego," in *Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich w Polsce. Źródła i początki*, ed. R. Pośpiech, Musica Claromontana – Studia 1 (Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego–Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Świętego Krzyża, 2012), 135; in the field of church music, the Council of Trent gave the following command: "They shall also banish from churches all those kinds of music, in which, whether by the organ, or in the singing, there is mixed up any thing [sic] lascivious or impure; . . . , so the house of God may be seen to be, and may be called, truly a house of prayer"; Council of Trent, *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent, Celebrated Under the Sovereign Pontiffs Paul III, Julius III, and Pius IV*, ed. and trans. James Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 161.

⁴ *Constitutiones Pro Monasteriis S. Pauli P. Eremitae in Polonia consistentibus (anno Domini MDCXXXVI)*, Archivum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae II. Fontes 2, ed. S. Świdziński (Coesfeld: Verlag Barmherziger Bund, 2006); next to the Latin text, there is a parallel text in German entitled: *Konstitutionen für die Klöster S. Pauls des ersten Eremiten, die es in Polen gibt, aufgeschrieben und zur Befolgung übergeben (1636)* (henceforth: *Constitutiones 1636*); the 1636 edition is the result of an attempt to develop the constitutions of the Pauline Order in accordance with the provisions of the Council of Trent; the constitutions intended for the Polish Province were presented at Jasna Góra, and were a pioneering work in relation to the constitutions approved in 1643 by Pope Urban VIII.

⁵ *Konstytucje Zakonu Świętego Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika zatwierdzone i potwierdzone przez Jego Świątobliwość Papieża Urbana VIII*, trans. Agnieszka Caba (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Paulinianum, 2019) (henceforth: *Konstytucje 1644*); *Constitutiones Religionis S. Pauli Primi Eremitae a Sant. D N Papa Urbano VIII approbatae et confirmatae*, Archivum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae II. Fontes 21, ed. S. Świdziński (Coesfeld: Verlag Barmherziger Bund, 2014) (henceforth: *Constitutiones 1644*); the difference of one year between the approval and publication of the constitutions is due to the delay in printing; Ferdynand Pasternak, "Historia kodyfikacji konstytucji zakonu paulinów od 1308 do 1930 r.," *Nasza przeszłość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce*, 31 (1969): 49.

⁶ *Constitutiones Religionis S. Pauli Primi Eremitae a Sant. D.N. Papa Urbano VIII, approbatae et confirmatae. Editionis Tertiae*, Voivodeship Public Library in Opole, shelfmark 2459 st. (henceforth: *Constitutiones 1725*); the 1725 edition considered new explanations from the Holy See and changing living conditions, and errors were corrected.

⁷ In the history of the Pauline Order, new constitutions were issued twice more, in 1930 and 1986; *Konstytucje Zakonu św. Pawła I-go Pustelnika uznane i potwierdzone przez papieża Piusa XI Roku Pańskiego 1930* (Częstochowa: Drukarnia Tomasza Nagłowskiego i S-ki, 1933); *Konstytucje Zakonu Świętego Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika*, in *Reguła, Konstytucje i Dyrektorium Zakonu Świętego Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Paulinianum, 2005), 37-111.

stitutions. The structure of the text is divided into three main parts according to the three editions of the constitutions.

CONSTITUTIONS FROM 1636

The first records on music in the constitutions for the Polish Province appear in the context of the Marian cult, in the fragment devoted to the organization of time during the day. After the Prime sung at six o'clock in the morning, a sung or spoken Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary was celebrated, according to the requirements of a given convent.⁸

To maintain unity, the discipline of performing psalms was ordered to be observed by placing rests in the middle and at the end of a verse, and by both parts of the choir starting to sing at appropriate moments. Due to the adoption of the Roman breviary and missal by the Pauline Fathers, and for a proper selection of the liturgical repertoire, it was recommended to place a calendar for the current year in an accessible place, in accordance with the order of the Roman church. Everyone was obliged to recite the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the choir, in addition to the Paschal Triduum. Instead of Psalm 51 *Miserere* and the oration, brothers recited *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* five times.⁹

The constitutions for the Polish Province provide guidelines for organists and church musicians. The superior was obliged to make sure that they did not play or sing any worldly songs, contrary to their pious vocation, and to the great scandal of people.¹⁰ Excessively worldly musicians had to be released, so that they did not unnecessarily burden the monastery. Choirboys and other musicians, whose presence in the monastery was not necessary, were to be sent away, also for the reasons of economy, while essential musicians were to be cared for and fed outside the cloister.¹¹

The office of a hebdomadary,¹² described in the constitutions, was related to music, and his duties included primarily celebrating a sung or spoken conventual

⁸ *Constitutiones 1636*, 6-9.

⁹ Replacing the Liturgy of the Hours with other prayers was common in the Pauline Order, which is confirmed by the examined constitutions; this obligation applied especially to those monks who could not read; if someone among the lay brothers had the ability to read, he could, with the permission of his superior, read the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and other pious books, which, however, did not exempt him from reciting the prescribed prayers; *Constitutiones 1636*, 50-51.

¹⁰ This point brings to mind the decree of the Council of Trent on what should be observed, and what should be avoided when celebrating Mass; see footnote 3.

¹¹ *Constitutiones 1636*, 10-11.

¹² *Hebdomada* (Latin)—a week ended with Sundays in the understanding of Christians; *Słownik łacińskopolski*, ed. M. Plezia, vol. 2, *D-H*, s.v.: “Hebdomada” (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2007); a hebdomadary was appointed for one week to sing the chapter Mass and lead in the recitation of the breviary.

Mass. In the choir, where he was to conduct weekly or nightly canonical hours, he was to admonish the sacristan and the director of vocal exercises. In the absence of his superiors, he was obliged to reprimand slack and absent wards, and, if necessary, punish them for the sake of decency, and if he himself was treated contemptuously by words or gestures, he was to act most severely.¹³

Music was mentioned in the section devoted to the election of the provincial and his office. On the day of election, the chairman of the chapter was obliged to celebrate a sung Mass of the Holy Spirit, while the other participants celebrated it according to the order given in the table with the collect of the Virgin Mary and Mother, and St Paul the First Hermit.¹⁴

In the fragment regarding the office of the vice prior, among his many duties, those related to music were also mentioned. The vice prior was to be present during all canonical hours, and to carefully supervise stops and rests in the performance of psalm verses. He was also obliged to zealously participate in all ceremonies in accordance with the breviary, missal and monastic ritual, and to encourage others to do the same.¹⁵

Detailed guidelines on the organization of singing are included in the description of the choir director's function. He was obliged to familiarize himself early enough with the repertoire that was to be performed during exercises with the brothers, so that they could follow the conductor. He should have rehearsed singing and religious recitative, distinguished here, for fifteen minutes, after breakfast and the main meal. Not only did he have to correct vocal errors, but also, in the absence of the vice prior, censure inattentive participants of the ceremony and inform his superiors about the insolent ones. Finally, an instruction was added to the duties of the choir director that the antiphons *de Beata* should always be sung after Vespers, even when the Vespers itself was not spoken.¹⁶

CONSTITUTIONS FROM 1643

In the second constitutions for the entire order, the first mention of music concerns the performance of the office. The legislator ordered that the Divine Office be celebrated "clearly, carefully and precisely, standing, not sitting."¹⁷ The weak, old and sick were excluded from this obligation. The discipline of singing also included

¹³ *Constitutiones 1636*, 56-59.

¹⁴ *Constitutiones 1636*, 66-67.

¹⁵ *Constitutiones 1636*, 90-91.

¹⁶ *Constitutiones 1636*, 94-95.

¹⁷ *Konstytucje 1644*, 49; in the original: *clare, distincte ac punctatim stando quidem, non sedendo; Constitutiones 1644*, 21.

observing rests in the middle and at the end of lines. It was further ordered that – identically to the constitutions for the Polish Province – the antiphon after Vespers of the Blessed Virgin Mary should be sung, even if the Vespers itself was spoken. Vespers and Masses on feast days were to be sung. The recommendation known from the very first constitutions,¹⁸ recalling the assumptions of the Cistercian reform of Gregorian chant, was repeated to maintain moderation in terms of dynamics and style when singing, avoiding “long codas.”¹⁹ The junior brothers were to devote a quarter of an hour after lunch to practice singing.²⁰

The performance of liturgical chants was also accompanied by gestures ordered by the legislator. In the point on customs and ceremonies, monks were obliged to reveal part of their tonsure during the performance of the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* to express their respect for God and Mary, and to bow their heads as altar boys at the names “Jesus” and “Mary.”²¹

Liturgical chants were mandatory during monastic chapters. On the first day of the meeting, the fathers were obliged to celebrate various votive Masses with collections about the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Paul the First Hermit. The constitutions lack clear information about singing or speaking them. However, singing was expressly ordered in the case of the Mass of the Holy Spirit, celebrated on the same occasion by the general or provincial.²²

If the office of the general of the order expired during the chapter, his resignation was preceded by a sung service of the Blessed Virgin Mary, celebrated by the religious vicar.²³ The election of a new general or provincial began with the chants: *Veni Creator Spiritus*; *Qui regis Israel, intende* (Ps 80); *Ave maris Stella*; *Kyrie eleison*; *Pater noster*; *Domine, exaudi orationem* (Ps 143), and orations: *Deus, qui corda fidelium*; *Actiones nostras*; *Famulorum tuorum, quaesumus*.²⁴

¹⁸ *Constitutio Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae iuxta textum ante annum 1643 conscriptum. Historia – textus – sententia*, Archivum Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae II. Fontes 1, ed. S. Świdziński (Augusta Treverorum: Ex Typographia ad S. Paulinum, 1973), 89.

¹⁹ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 609-10.

²⁰ In this point, the 1643 constitutions, following the example of previous acts, contain orders to replace the sung and spoken canonical hours with other prayers, as in the case of lay brothers, whose duty was to recite *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* 30 times instead of Matins and Lauds, 15 times instead of Vespers, and seven times instead of other hours, ending each duty with a single *Credo*; *Konstytucje 1644*, 49-50; substitution also concerned the Mass liturgy; brothers, who were not priests, were obliged to recite *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* 22 times instead of the anniversary Mass of atonement for negligence celebrated in May; similarly, lay brothers were obliged to recite the same prayers 50 times instead of the anniversary Mass for the dead; *Konstytucje 1644*, 53.

²¹ *Konstytucje 1644*, 72.

²² *Konstytucje 1644*, 84.

²³ *Konstytucje 1644*, 86.

²⁴ *Konstytucje 1644*, 88.

In the second constitutions, the legislator devoted much more space to the organization of singing and the office of the choir rector, called cantor. The leader of singing should have had the best possible knowledge of the missal and the Roman breviary, the monastic chant and the so-called melorecitation, i.e. recitative. In the case of new and difficult repertoire, which was especially called figural music (*musicae figuratae*), the cantor was obliged to conduct singing rehearsals with the participation of all brothers and musical priests. The unique role of music in the Pauline liturgy is clearly emphasized by the fact that the choristers were to be completely obedient and available to the cantor during rehearsals, under penalty discerned by the superior, to avoid dissonance and being out of tune during public performance. The subjects of the cantor's attention were unspecified major and minor chants, double antiphons and points that had to be observed between speaking or singing the office. It was also the duty of the choir director to restrain those who accelerated while singing, so that they could perform equally with others. If necessary, the function of an auxiliary cantor was allowed, who supported the main cantor in singing and conducted rehearsals.²⁵

The legislator also named chorale singing, distinguishing it from melorecitation. In the Pauline tradition, this term means the repertoire taken from the diocesan center in Esztergom, Hungary, and later modified according to one's own likings and needs.²⁶ The practice of adopting and transforming chants from various diocesan and monastic centers was also known in subsequent centuries. Many Pauline sources reveal compositions known from elsewhere but showing native paleographic and melodic features.²⁷

According to the constitutions, the cantor's duties also included ensuring the correctness and quantity of liturgical books, as well as even the manner of placing them on the lectern and putting them back in their place of storage. The cantor was to pay attention to the posture, when and how the *Kyrie eleison*, *Gloria*, *Offertorium*, *Sanctus*, and other chants should be performed. His last duty was to ensure punctuality of the commencement of canonical hours, and to inform brothers about anniversaries, chapters and Masses.²⁸

The 1643 constitutions also provided for the office of hebdomadary, whose tasks included, among others: celebrating a sung or spoken conventual Mass; eliminating

²⁵ *Konstytucje 1644*, 134-35.

²⁶ Domonkos Farkas, "The Main Research Results of Pauline Liturgical Chant in Hungary," in Pośpiech, *Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich*, 424.

²⁷ Iwo Hubert Siekierka, "Notacje muzyczne najstarszych świadectw monodii chorałowej Jasnej Góry," in Pośpiech, *Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich*, 408-9; Marta Popowska, *Liturgia paulińska w świetle rękopisu ms. R659/III-913*, in Pośpiech, *Liturgia w klasztorach paulińskich*, 246-47.

²⁸ *Konstytucje 1644*, 135.

errors during the office at the altar and in the choir; clear and understandable beginning of the sequences and canonical hours in accordance with the Roman missal and breviary. A peculiar practice assigned to the hebdomadary was to raise his voice and extend last syllables at the end of each reading to signal its end.²⁹

The legislator provided penalties for negligence and errors in liturgical singing in the category of *levis culpa* – those who did not admit their guilt to the community in time, had to touch the ground and beat their chests.³⁰ Offenders were ordered to recite prescribed prayers or undergo bodily discipline, and they were also deprived of meals, commensurate with the offense and the status of a person, as assessed by the superior.³¹ The renewal and even development of penal regulations regarding singing proves the constant care of the Pauline monks for the quality of performing the liturgical repertoire in the community.

The Marian theme relates to punishing singing offenses. Anyone who, remaining in pride, deserved a greater punishment than being expelled from the choir or other punishment for a serious crime, could be deprived of the rosary and sent to the lowest jobs in the monastery.³² It is noteworthy that taking away the rosary was considered a punishment, even more severe than being moved to the last place in the choir.

CONSTITUTIONS FROM 1725³³

The first reference to singing in the 1725 constitutions appears in the fragment devoted to receiving the habit by novices. The introductory prayer was followed by the hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and the spoken (*dicantur*) Litany of the Saints.³⁴

In the point on customs and ceremonies, the legislator mentions *Coronam B. V. M.* This term may mean the rosary or a type of book with prayers to the Blessed Virgin Mary that could be sung.³⁵ However, in the case described in the constitutions,

²⁹ *Konstytucje 1644*, 136.

³⁰ *Konstytucje 1644*, 163.

³¹ *Konstytucje 1644*, 164.

³² *Konstytucje 1644*, 174.

³³ Due to the almost identical content of the constitutions from 1643 and 1725, to avoid repetitions, only those fragments of the third constitutions are quoted which contain new elements in the field of music compared to the previous text.

³⁴ *Constitutiones 1725*, 10.

³⁵ An example of such a prayer book is the codex *Corona beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, published in print based on the regulations of the Franciscan Order in Kraków in 1625, currently kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (shelfmark Asc. 1170); another example of a book with the same title is a collection of sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary—*Corona beatæ Mariæ Virginis*

monks were to stay in the choir and pray in silence, provided with a prayer book and lectern.³⁶

There is a fragment related to music regarding the body posture when saying or singing the names “Jesus” and “Mary.” The existing regulation was extended to include the order to kneel as an expression of request when performing the verse *Te ergo quaesumus* in the hymn *Te Deum*,³⁷ and the hymns *Ave maris Stella* and *Salve Sancta Parens*.³⁸ The text of the third constitutions also differs from the previous ones since some prayers and chants were fully recorded, e.g. all seven stanzas of the hymn *Ave maris Stella* in the chapter devoted to the election of the general or provincial, which was preceded by the chant *Veni Creator Spiritus*.³⁹

CONCLUSION

The presented Pauline constitutions prove that the order paid a lot of attention to liturgical music, taking care of both the accuracy of singing and the organization of teaching it. This is evidenced by the existence of the function of the hebdomadary or choir director, as well as the use of a catalog of penalties for offenses against the liturgical and musical discipline. Besides, matters relating to organists and other church musicians, regulated at the level of the 1636 constitutions, reflect the seriousness liturgical music was treated with. These regulations also indirectly point to the widespread use of the pipe organ in Pauline monasteries, if not also of other musical instruments, considering the church musicians mentioned in general.

For the entire order, the 1643 constitutions were most extensive and groundbreaking in the field of music, which corresponded to the decisions of the Council of Trent and posed their specific implementing act, “tried” earlier in the form of the constitutions for the Polish Province. The 1725 constitutions slightly expanded the scope of provisions on liturgical and musical practice, while maintaining the existing principles. All the examined editions, despite the lack of musical notation present in the 1309 constitutions, prove that the codification of music in the Pauline

(*sermones*)—published in Strasbourg around 1485, kept in the Library of the University of Wrocław (shelfmark GW 7572).

³⁶ *Constitutiones 1725*, 61.

³⁷ In this point of the constitutions, the hymn *Te Deum* is called *hymnus Ambrosianus*, which indicates that the authorship of the work is attributed to St Ambrose, next to St Augustine; Sławomir Sosnowski, “*Te Deum* – pieśń pochwalna,” *Roczniki Teologiczne* 46, no. 8 (1999): 75, 83.

³⁸ *Constitutiones 1725*, 62.

³⁹ *Constitutiones 1725*, 81-82.

Order was characterized by detail and rigor in regulating singing, postures, participation in vocal exercises, and the selection of the liturgical repertoire.

Moreover, in those three constitutions, a regular occurrence of references to music in connection with the Marian cult is noticeable. These references concern the celebration of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as well as prayers and chants often mentioned with specific titles. Some manifestations of Marian piety survived in subsequent constitutions, such as replacing the celebration of Masses and canonical hours with the multiple repetition of *Ave Maria* or the constant singing of a Marian antiphon after Vespers. Therefore, Marian piety was, to a certain extent, a principle organizing the liturgical and musical regulations contained in the Pauline constitutions.

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FROM THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

S u m m a r y

From the very beginning of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit, music was the object of particular concern of the Pauline Fathers, which has been reflected in the monastic constitutions. Three of them are the title sources of the article, the aim of which is to present references to music contained in the Pauline constitutions from 1636, 1643 and 1725, compare them and draw conclusions on the codification of music in these constitutions. The text is divided into three main parts, respectively, to three editions of the constitutions. All the sources examined prove that the codification of music in the Pauline Order was characterized by detail and rigor in regulating singing, postures, participation in vocal exercises and the selection of the liturgical repertoire. Marian piety was a special principle that organized the liturgical and musical regulations contained in the Pauline constitutions.

Keywords: music; constitutions; Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit; 17th and 18th centuries; Pauline Fathers

„WYRAŹNIE, STARANNIE I DOKŁADNIE”:
O MUZYCE W KONSTYTUCJACH
ZAKONU ŚWIĘTEGO PAWŁA PIERWSZEGO PUSTELNIKA
Z XVII I XVIII WIEKU

Streszczenie

Muzyka od początku istnienia Zakonu Świętego Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika była przedmiotem szczególnej troski ojców paulinów, co znalazło odzwierciedlenie w konstytucjach zakonnych. Trzy z nich stanowią tytułowe źródła artykułu, który ma na celu przedstawić odniesienia do muzyki zawarte w konstytucjach paulińskich z 1636, 1643 i 1725 r., ich porównanie oraz wyciągnięcie wniosków na temat kodyfikacji muzyki w tych konstytucjach. Tekst dzieli się na trzy główne części odpowiednio do trzech wydań konstytucji. Wszystkie przebadane źródła świadczą o tym, że kodyfikacja muzyki w zakonie paulinów odznaczała się szczegółowością i rygoryzmem w regulowaniu śpiewu, postaw, udziału w ćwiczeniach wokalnych i doborze repertuaru liturgicznego. Szczególną zasadą porządkującą przepisy liturgiczno-muzyczne zawarte w konstytucjach paulińskich była pobożność maryjna.

Słowa kluczowe: muzyka; konstytucje; Zakon Świętego Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika; XVII i XVIII wiek; ojcowie paulini