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## **The Office of St. John the Almsgiver in Cracow**

In dramatic times for the Eastern Church, characterized by invasions of the Persians and the Arabs, the Melkite patriarchal throne in Alexandria was assumed by Bishop John, who—alongside Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem—was without doubt one of the most interesting figures in the Eastern episcopate at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. A Cypriot from a noble family, he chose the religious path only after the death of his wife and children; but already as a youth, awoken from his sleep by a young woman—an experience which must have upset the innocent 15-year-old and left him bewildered until the unknown woman turned out to be the personification of Mercy—he recognized his particular charisma, to which he owes his Greek nickname ‘*Elemosinarios*’. He began giving alms already that same mystical night, and practiced them with unconditional ardor—devoid of even pious suspicion and sensibility—for the rest of his days; he died in 606 in his hometown of Amathus, where he had hidden himself from the Persian invasion. His saintliness was proclaimed by the work of Sophronius and John Moschos—the same people whose travel throughout the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt was crowned by the charming *Spiritual Meadow*—as well as, above all, by his life story as written down by Leontios, Bishop of Neapolis.<sup>1</sup> The Greek text of this

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<sup>1</sup> The *Vita* authored by John and Sophronius (the future Patriarch of Jerusalem, who knew the Almsgiver personally) has only survived in a fragmentary manner in later revisions (see

second work, was translated into Latin already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century by the Roman librarian Anastasius, who dedicated his translation to Pope Nicholas I.<sup>2</sup> Also contributing to the popularization of the saint's veneration in the West were the Hospitalers, who—how could it be otherwise—chose him as their patron saint. A second wave of devotion to the merciful bishop—which encompassed, above all, Central Europe—was induced by the bringing of relics of John to Buda in 1489. They came there from Constantinople as a gift from the sultan for King Mathias Korwin, and were placed in the castle chapel.<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter—whether from Hungary or from Istanbul itself—the bishop's temporal remains arrived in Cracow. They were brought, together with an array of other relics, and placed in St. Catherine's Church by Mikołaj Lanckoroński of Brzezie, no doubt in connection with the diplomatic mission on which King Jan Olbracht had sent him to Sultan Bayazid II in 1501.<sup>4</sup> At St. Catherine's Church, which was the burial place for the Lanckoroński family in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Mikołaj also funded an altar decorated by a polyptych painted in the first years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with scenes from the life of the saint.<sup>5</sup> At

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Hippolyte DELAHAYE 'Une Vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumonier', *Analecta Bollandiana* XLV, 1927, pp. 5–74). Leontius' biography was published in a critical edition by Heinrich GELZER *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des Heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien*, «Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und domengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften» V, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig 1893. Based on these two sources, biographies of John were created by, among others, Metafrast (ed. Jean-Paul MIGNE, «Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca», CXIV, p. 896) and appeared in the famous *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine.

<sup>2</sup> The text was published first by Heribert ROSWEYDE (*Vitae patrum*, Antwerp 1615), and then by Jean BOLLAND and Gottfried HENSCHEN in: «Acta Sanctorum», *Ianuarii*, II, pp. 498–517 (cited hereafter as *AASS*); also published was a Latin version of Metafrast's biography, pp. 517–530). Rosweyde's version was reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (XCIII, 1613—see GELZER, op. cit., XXXV). In the present article, quotes from Anastasius' translation come from the *AASS*. The chapter division is a bit different in the *Acta Santorum* and Gelzer's edition. In this article, I have adopted the one from the publication of the Latin text.

<sup>3</sup> In July 1505, among the participants in a mass celebrated at this chapel was Prince Sigismund, who also funded a large votive candle on the Almsgiver's altar. See Urszula BORKOWSKA *Królewskie Modlitewniki. Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)* [*Royal Prayerbooks. A Study in the Religious Culture of the Jagiellonian Age (15th and the beginning of 16th C.)*] Lublin 1999, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> See Stanisław CYNARSKI *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezia od XIV do XVIII wieku. Sprawy kariery urzędniczej i awansu majątkowego* [*The History of the Lanckoroński of Brzezie Family from the 14th till the 18th C.*], Warszawa–Kraków 1996, p. 112; Urszula BORKOWSKA, op. cit., pp. 220–221.

<sup>5</sup> The paintings from the Augustinian altar have been written about by, among others, Władysław PODLACHA ('Tryptyk św. Jana Jałmużnika w Krakowie. Ikonografia i styl' ['The

least from 1505 onwards, John had his own altar (together with SS. Jerome and Wolfgang) in the Chapel of St. Lawrence at the Cracow cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Shortly thereafter, more of them appeared in the churches located at the foot of Wawel Hill.<sup>7</sup> Aside from Lanckoroński, another promoter of the saint's veneration in Cracow was, above all, Bishop Jan Konarski, reputedly a connoisseur and lover of Greek religious literature.<sup>8</sup> In 1504, he decreed a privilege promising venerator of the saint a 40-day indulgence.<sup>9</sup> One of the possible ways of obtaining the indulgence, recommended by the bishop to the priests, was to sing through the 'new history' of St. John the Almsgiver.<sup>10</sup> A copy of that history with musical notation has survived, together with the letter of indulgence, in a manuscript at Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej (Archive of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter) (ms. 60), and it is this record which will be the object of my analysis.

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Triptych of St. John the Almsgiver in Cracow. Iconography and Style', *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* XV, 1936, I, pp. 14–20), Michał WALICKI (*Krakowska Legenda Jana Jałmużnika [A Cracovian Legend of St. John the Almsgiver]*, Warszawa 1966) and, many times, Krystyna SECOMSKA ('Materiały do ikonografii ołtarza św. Jana Jałmużnika' ['Materials for the Iconography of the Altar of St. John the Almsgiver'], *Pamiętnik Literacki* LI, 3, 1960, pp. 146–152; 'Ołtarz św. Jana Jałmużnika' ['The Altar of St. John the Almsgiver'], *Studia Renesansowe* IV, Wrocław 1965, pp. 224–325; Krystyna SECOMSKA 'Krakowska Legenda św. Jana Jałmużnika. Problemy genezy stylu i warsztatu' ['A Cracovian Legend of St. John the Almsgiver. Provenience of Style and Workshop'], in: *Sprawozdania Komisji PAN*, vol. XXXIII, 1989, pp. 327–328). All Polish researchers have favored the view that the polyptych was of local origin.

<sup>6</sup> Jerzy RAJMAN *Sredniowieczne patrocinia krakowskie [Cracovian Patrocinia of the Middle Ages]*, Kraków 2002, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Such altars were built at St. Mary Magdalene's Church (ca. 1508), St. Anne's Church (ca. 1513) and St. Mary's Church (ca. 1515). Cf. Jerzy RAJMAN, op. cit., pp. 51, 64, 71.

<sup>8</sup> Krystyna SECOMSKA *Krakowska Legenda...*, op. cit., p. 328; see also a biographical note written by Maria GOETEL-KOPFFOWA (*Polski Słownik Biograficzny [Polish Biographical Dictionary]* XIII, pp. 458–461). 'Konarski, perhaps under the influence of his environment, showed complete tolerance of the first attempts to introduce lectures on Justinian law and Ancient Greek at the university [...] It is characteristic that the hymnological *œuvre*, as well as lectures and publications popularizing Patristic literature in Kraków, undertaken enthusiastically by three foreign humanists and the young Hosius, coincided closely with the devotion of the bishop, who valued highly the reading of the writings of the Eastern Church Fathers' (pp. 460–461).

<sup>9</sup> In 1505, another venerator of John, Erazm Ciołek, Bishop of Płock, applied for a similar privilege. Cf. Urszula BORKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 221; Stanisław CYNARSKI, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> *Item: quicunque sacerdotum novam historiam orauerit Sancti Joannis Elemosinarii quod habeat quadraginta dies indulgentiarum* (Biblioteka Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 60, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>).

Despite suggestions appearing in the literature, this manuscript does not contain the Life of the saint.<sup>11</sup> Its content is represented exclusively by chants of the office and the *proprium missae* in honor of the Alexandrian bishop. Fragments of the Life appear, however, together with the text of the office chants, written in with great care—perhaps at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century—at the end of a Wawel breviary from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Archive of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, ms. 30), which represents the second and, apparently, last manuscript source for the history of interest to us.<sup>12</sup> This office had clearly been known to scholars for quite a long time. Rhymed antiphons as well as a hymn were published on the basis of ms. 30 (unfortunately not without errors) by Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Dreves.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of this edition, the history was discussed by the Rev. Bronisław Gładysz, who—excluding the hymn—published a none-too-flattering opinion concerning it, terming it a poor work—a not very fair assessment, especially since it was formed on the basis of only selected parts of the office.<sup>14</sup> The hymn *Laudibus summi decus* was, relatively speaking, the most fortunate. It was praised by Gładysz; it was considered by Hieronim Feicht as one of the most beautiful Polish hymns; finally, Henryk Kowalewicz and Jerzy Morawski printed a critical edition of it in the «Musica Medii Aevi» series.<sup>15</sup> Both the hymn and the entire history have been categorized, by pretty much general agreement, as being of indigenous production, cautiously surmising that the author was one of the Kraków

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<sup>11</sup> According to Urszula BORKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 221; Jerzy RAJMAN, op. cit., p. 254. The content of the manuscript has been characterized correctly by Jerzy PIKULIK ('Sekwencje polskie' ['Polish Sequences'], «Musica Medii Aevi», vol. IV, Kraków 1973, p. 20).

<sup>12</sup> The office is written on ff. 459–464. The Vespers antiphon *ad Magnificat* II is missing. Printed versions of the *historia* are to be found in several later breviaries from Cracow, Płock and Gniezno (sources: see 'Hymny Polskie' ['Polish Hymns'], ed. Henryk Kowalewicz and Jerzy Morawski, «Musica Medii Aevi», vol. VIII, Kraków 1991, p. 98).

<sup>13</sup> «Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi», vol. IV, Leipzig 1888, pp. 162–163 (hymn) and vol. XXVI, Leipzig 1897, pp. 166–167 (antiphons). In the *Analecta*, as well as in the older literature, ms. 30 is cited under the old call no. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Bronisław GŁADYSZ 'O łacińskich oficjach rymowanych z polskich źródeł średnio-wiecznych' ['On the Latin Officium in Polish Medieval Sources'], *Pamiętnik Literacki* XXX, 1933, 2, pp. 344–346. Gładysz seems not to have used the manuscript, but rather the edition published in «Analecta Hymnica», as he repeats the errors of the latter, unfairly attributing them to the author of the office.

<sup>15</sup> *Hymny polskie*, op. cit., pp. 97–99. I do not cover here the chants from the mass, of which, as well, only the sequence has seen a published edition.

Augustinians.<sup>16</sup> The entire cycle, oddly—bearing in mind the paucity of Polish works of this type—has not yet seen broader discussion (perhaps because the saint was born in Cyprus, and not along the Vistula or the Moldau). We have every reason to believe that the work really was written in Cracow; ms. 60 from the Kraków Archive is the only record of chants about St. John the Almsgiver with musical notation. The office does not appear in Czech or Hungarian sources.<sup>17</sup> and judging from the data from late medieval calendars, outside of Poland, the Hungarian court and Bratislava (where his relics were transferred in 1530),<sup>18</sup> the saint was mentioned only by the Paulines, who were strongly associated with the Esztergom rite.<sup>19</sup>

Why was it in Cracow that the trouble was taken to create an expanded office, as well as draw up a valuable polyptych in honor of John? In comments on the blossoming of the Almsgiver's veneration in Cracow, several of its promoters, as well as their possible motivations, have been indicated previously. First of all, this 'elite veneration' was connected with the royal family. As Urszula Borkowska writes: 'The distribution of alms, as we know from surviving royal account books, was regularly practiced by the Jagiełło dynasty. No doubt for this reason, St. John the Almsgiver was particularly close to their hearts'.<sup>20</sup> According to Krystyna Secomska, also coming into play could have been 'an

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<sup>16</sup> Henryk KOWALEWICZ *Zasób, zasięg terytorialny i chronologia polsko-łacińskiej liryki średniowiecznej* [*The Store, Territorial Range and Chronology of Polish-Latin Medieval Lyrical Poetry*], UAM in Poznań, «Prace Wydziału Filologicznego—seria Filologia Polska», No. 13, Poznań 1967, pp. 115–117.

<sup>17</sup> This information was kindly conveyed to me by Zsuzsa Czagány of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>18</sup> In 1530, they were found in a convent in suburban Bratislava. They were ceremonially transferred to the cathedral in 1632. *AASS*, pp. 531–532.

<sup>19</sup> The saint was also venerated in Milan and Toledo. The Paulines commemorated him on 3 February or (as in Buda), on 12 November; in Bratislava, his feast was observed on 11 November (*translatio*); and in Poland (Cracow, Gniezno, Płock), on 14 November. See Herman GROTEFEND *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, vol. 1, Hannover–Leipzig 1891, p. 120; Henryk WĄSOWICZ *Kalendarz ksiąg liturgicznych Krakowa do połowy 16. wieku. Studium chronologiczno-typologiczne* [*The Calendar of Liturgical Books from Cracow till the 16th Century. A Chronological-Typological Study*], Lublin 1995, especially p. 481. The Roman martyrology, on the other hand, commemorates him on 23 January. On the ambiguous data concerning the day and qualifications (*translatio, dies natalis*) for commemorations of this saint, see also *AASS*, p. 495.

<sup>20</sup> Urszula BORKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 221. The author also refers to her article: 'Miłosierdzie królewskie' ['Royal Mercy'], in: *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane A. Gieysztorowi w 50-lecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 683–694.

already deeply-rooted interest in Eastern hagiography in Jagiełło dynasty circles'.<sup>21</sup> However, the author considers the main inspirer of the veneration to be Bishop Konarski, 'a distinguished connoisseur of Eastern religious literature'<sup>22</sup> (NB In his letter of indulgence, Konarski attributes the authorship of the biography of St. John the Almsgiver to St. Jerome, which, shall we say, compromises him somewhat as a 'distinguished connoisseur'<sup>23</sup>). Secomska does not even exclude 'ecumenical' considerations, suggesting that 'at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the leading representatives of the Church in Poland were attempting to bring about a union with the Orthodox Church'.<sup>24</sup> Obviously, we cannot forget about Mikołaj Lanckoroński, who brought the relics to Kraków, as well as funded an altar and, most probably, also the Wawel manuscript with the history of John—as is attested by the Zadora coat of arms to be found on both artifacts. If it had not been for the activities of this *generosus dominus ac strenuus miles*—as Konarski calls him in the already-mentioned letter of indulgence—the above motivations with all certainty would not have had a chance of being fulfilled. Whatever those motivations were, however, they brought about the writing in Kraków ca. 1504 of a unique office commemorating the 'elite' Cyriot-Egyptian saint, a work without doubt deserving of discussion, with which I shall now proceed.

The construction of the history, including prayers and readings, is presented in outline form in the Table 1. As can be seen, it is a cathedral office of 5 psalm antiphons in the Vespers, as well as 9 antiphons and *responsoria* in the *matutinum*. The six readings assigned to be read during two of the *matutinum* nocturns were taken from the Latin version of Leontios of Neapolis' *Vita*; for the third nocturn, a pericope from chapter 6 of the Gospel according to St. Luke is given as the lesson. The majority of the antiphons (excluding the last two, to the canticles) are rhymed and, in a general way, glorify the saint's virtues. Their form was analyzed and harshly assessed by the Rev. Gładysz, with whose

<sup>21</sup> Krystyna SECOMSKA *Krakowska legenda...*, op. cit., p. 327.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328

<sup>23</sup> *Proinde beatissimum Joannem Bude cum summo honore quiescentem et miraculis assiduis fulgentem patriarcham olim et Antistitem Alexandrianum Eleemosinarium sive misericordem nuncupatum, cuius admirabilis sanctitas a divo Yeronimo scriptis illustrata legitur* (ms. 60, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). This obvious anachronism could be explained by the fact that the biography of John written by Leontios was added to an ascetic anthology widely read in the Middle Ages, entitled *Vitae Patrum* (also published by Rosweyde—see note 2 above), and often attributed in its entirety to Jerome.

<sup>24</sup> Krystyna SECOMSKA *Krakowska legenda...*, op. cit., p. 327.

opinion I shall not presume to argue. In four of them, there appear allusions to the biography of John drawn up by Leontios. The *responsoria* are written in prose, and quite freely paraphrase the text of fragments of John's Life, normally read earlier as *lectio*:

**Vita auctore Leontio episcopo**

caput I, 5 (AASS, p. 499)

Mittens enim dispensatores et eum qui dicebatur Super pacem, dicit coram omnibus [...]:

*Non iustum est, Fratres, nos ante alterius cuiusquam curam habere, quam Christi [...]*

Euntes ergo per totam civitatem conscribite mihi usque ad unum omnes Dominos meos [...]

*Quos vos egenos et mendicos vocatis, illos ego Dominos...*

**Johannis Eleemosinarii historia,**

Archive of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, ms. 60, *responsorium*

In patriarchali alexandrina sede beatus Johannes eleimon legitime sublimatus astanti presbiterorum corone dixit:

*non est iustum o fratres alterius cuiusquam quam Xpisti curam imprimis agere*

quapropter euntes solicite inquirete \*

Ut Domini mei fideliter conscribantur.

*Vs. Quos enim egenos et pauperes vos vocatis*

Domini mei sunt ne igitur congruis frustrentur stipendiis agite. Ut Domini...

The author of the *historia* selected the most effective fragments from the *Vita*. In Vespers I, mention is made of John's peculiar episcopal exposé (*responsorium*). The antiphons of Nocturn I narrate the conflict of John with the patrician Niketos; while the readings and *responsoria* present the night visit of the beautiful heavenly maiden and the subsequent trial, to which John was subjected after his vision (from which he, of course, emerges victorious). The third reading is a compilation of the speeches of John to his subordinates (already used in the Vespers) and the story of the smart beggar who several times got in line for alms, each time—to the offense of John's aides—receiving it. In the second Nocturn, there appears firstly an account of the bishop's decrees, his conversation with Sophronius and assistance provided to refugees from Syria. The second reading tells the charming story of the luckless Naukleros, whom the bishop unhesitatingly gave successive loans for the purchase of successive ships, and to whose aid he came in a supernatural manner during a storm. The *responsorium* following this lesson mentions, yet again, the problems John had with his economical and sensible stewards. In the last reading, the author of the *historia* linked a statement by John on prayer with the story of the patriarch's return to Cyprus, his death and the miraculous event during his burial (two

bishops resting in the grave got up to make room for him between themselves). This is the last reading from the biography, and the *responsoria* following it somehow out of necessity refer in part to events preceding the bishop's death (assistance to refugees, adventures of Naukleros, the ardor of the faithful in imitating their pastor and, finally, the post-mortal miracle experienced by the woman who was afraid that the patriarch might not have taken the secret of her transgression—written by the shy penitent on a piece of parchment—to his grave). The antiphon to the Canticle of Zechariah in *laudes* tells of the charming banter of John with Christ ('yes, yes, good Jesus, we shall see who will be faster: You in the sending down of good things, or I in their distribution'—in the original text, similar words fall from the lips of one of John's disciples, *nomen omen* Zechariah, and not from those of the patriarch himself). The antiphon to the *Magnificat* from Vespers II closes the cycle, mentioning yet again the tale of the circumstances surrounding the death and burial of the saint. Despite certain inconsistencies and disturbances in the dramaturgy, we can probably consider the composition of the office to be a successful one, above all because of the interesting alternation of narrative fragments with poetic insertions, and the crowning of the whole with a gigantic, ca. 80-word antiphon.

The musical plane of the work—especially as far as the tonal side is concerned—also bears traces of the compositional dilemmas of the office's creator. The antiphons of Vespers I and *laudes* are arranged in order by mode (see last column of Table 1). In Vespers I, also included in the order of the office is an antiphon to the canticle and—perhaps by chance—the invitatory antiphon of the next liturgical hour. Traces of the numerical order of the composition are also to be found in the *responsoria* of the night service. After the three responsories of Nocturn I, maintained in the three first modes, in Nocturn II there appear at once chants from modes 6–8; but the *responsoria* from Nocturn III do not retain the numerical sequence. It is characteristic, however, that these chants, like the antiphons of Nocturns I and II, utilize modes arranged in ascending order (1, 5, 7; 1, 3, 7; 1, 4, 5); only in Nocturn III are all three antiphons maintained in mode 7. All told, the composition includes: 2 chants in mode 8; 3 chants each in modes 2, 4 and 6; 4 chants each in modes 3 and 5; 6 chants in mode 1; and as many as 8 works in mode 7. The predilection for the authentic *tetrardus* may be a sign of the times, for the melodies of the *historia* clearly diverge from the stylistic language of traditional (and even somewhat

less traditional) Latin plainchant. Let two chants serve as an example of the style of this office. The first is an antiphon of Nocturn III, maintained in our anonymous melographer's 'favorite' mode 7 (see Example 1). We find in it the majority of the characteristic traits of the antiphons of the St. John office. Cadences—in almost every word—end on the nodal notes of the *tetrardus* (*g* and *d*), which is a characteristic trait of chants from the late medieval period.<sup>25</sup> The tonality of the work does not, however, have the traits of ascetic correctness encountered in many works of this period. Numerous leaps (especially a fourth or fifth down), deviation to *a'* on the word 'large', closure of a somewhat awkward motif on the words 'et propter opera pia', as well as the melisma 'in(troduxit)' in the range of a major sixth, or the series of thirds accompanying the words 'in regna ce(lestia)', indicate that the composition already belongs to a different era than the chants of typical medieval histories of the saints. The wide range as well as ornamental melodic style also belong to the typical traits of the antiphons in the office *Diem hanc condignis*.

These same tonal and melodic properties can be observed in the expansive narrative responsories, which suffer a bit from a lack of melodic coherence (the original musical arrangement also includes their verses). Short phrases, often linked schematically with leaps of a fourth or a fifth, deprive the composition of fluidity and—there is no point in denying it—are somewhat tiresome. *In patriarchali alexandrina* is among the most successful (see Example 2). In this *responsorium*, it is worthwhile to draw attention to the interesting change in musical narrative, from more ornamental to declamatory, in the place where the text gives voice to John and cites his words ('non est iustum o fratres'). Also convincing is the introduction of the full of character and somewhat peculiar phrase ('ut domini mei...'), emphasizing the caesura at the beginning of the *repetenda*, constructed of descending, 'interlocking' thirds. Apparently the author of the musical arrangement of the history *Diem hanc condignis* had a particular liking for that melodic figure. We find it in many other chants in this office. It appears in the form (*d'*-*b*)-*c'*-*a*-*b*-*g*-*a*-*f* or in retrograde, in various modes, both on successive syllables of text and in the form of a vocalise (see Example 3).

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. David HILEY 'Chorał gregoriański i neogregoriański. Zmiany stylistyczne w śpiewach oficjów ku czci średniowiecznych świętych' ['Gregorian and Neogregorian Chant. Changes of Style in Office Chants for Medieval Patron Saints'], *Muzyka* 2003 vol. 2, pp. 3–16.

Finally, it is worthwhile to take up the question of the authorship of the office. Henryk Kowalewicz has suggested that the work was written by a member of the Kraków Augustinian community. He was convinced of this by the fact that St. Catherine's monastery holds a relic of John, as well as that the above-mentioned triptych with scenes from the life of the patriarch was made for this church.<sup>26</sup> It is not out of the question that this is the case. The known 16<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical manuscripts of Cracow's Augustinian hermits confirm that a feast dedicated to him was observed there.<sup>27</sup> The only surviving example of the history with musical notation was, however, definitely created for the purposes of the cathedral. It is written in the Gothic notation used in diocesan sources, while the Augustinian hermits utilized square notation. Likewise, differentiae in the Psalms in ms. 60 point to the Germanic dialect of the Kraków cathedral chant tradition, rather than the Western one characteristic of the Augustinians. Obviously, these differentiae could easily have been changed, if there had been a necessity to adapt the Augustinian hermits' office for the purposes of the cathedral liturgy. The more authoritative melodies of the chants themselves, unfortunately, do not provide much conclusive information. The composition was written at the end of the Middle Ages and, consequently, utilization of expressions characteristic of either dialect is devoid of consistency. In my opinion, aside from the aforementioned weak evidence associated with differentiae, the argument which favors a diocesan rather than Augustinian origin for the *historia* is the choice made by its author of threads from the patriarch's Life. It is characteristic that in the Augustinian polyptych there appear numerous figures of ascetics (including ones not mentioned in the Life)—let us recall that John was the patriarch of monkish Egypt. The office, on the other hand, does not even once allude to the ideals and figures of the monastic world, despite the fact that the biography of John written by Leontios mentions, among others, Abba Hilarion, the devout monk Sabinus (who during a vision saw the triumphant entry of John into heaven—what

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<sup>26</sup> Henryk KOWALEWICZ, op. cit., p. 117: 'The place of composition of the above works was unquestionably Cracow. In this city, St. John the Almsgiver enjoyed particular veneration. The arrangement of songs about this saint should perhaps be attributed to the Cracow Augustinians, for in St. Catherine's Church, at the Augustinian monastery in the Kazimierz district of Cracow, an altar with a famous triptych from the 16<sup>th</sup> century was dedicated to him.'

<sup>27</sup> See Jerzy PIKULIK 'Sekwencje...', op. cit., p. 27; idem: *Polskie graduaty średniowieczne* [*Polish Medieval Graduals*], Warszawa 2001, p. 380. The saint was also probably commemorated by the Premonstratensian sisters in Cracow (Jerzy PIKULIK 'Sekwencje...', op. cit., p. 37).

wonderful material!), St. Simon the Stylite, Serapion and Vitalis. It is difficult to believe that an Hermit of St. Augustine would not take such opportunities to introduce monastic episodes into the office.

The work was undoubtedly written not much before the letter of indulgence of Jan Konarski (1504), as is borne out in its description by the bishop as a '*historia nova (!)*'. It owes its existence to many factors which have already been discussed, and which together led to a somewhat unexpected rebirth of veneration for the Egyptian patriarch in the Central European capital. The work that was composed is perhaps not a masterpiece. Its anonymous author certainly, however, would have considered as his own the words of the librarian Anastasius—the translator of the Life of John the Almsgiver into Latin—which the latter addressed to the Pope: 'neque propter fistulam plumbeam, aquam limpidissimam despicias: neque propter spinas quae producant, rosam quae producitur spernis'.<sup>28</sup>

Table 1. *Johannis Eleemosinarii historia*

incipit	genre	concordance with Leontius' Vita	mode
<b>First Vespers</b>			
<i>Diem hanc condignis</i>	antiphon 1		1
<i>Vir erat sanctus opere</i>	antiphon 2		2
<i>Quem Alexandria presulem</i>	antiphon 3		3
<i>Hunc claritas generis</i>	antiphon 4		4
<i>Fulsit orbi celebrior</i>	antiphon 5		5
<i>Qui despicit proximum suum</i>	capitulum		
<i>In patriarchali alexandrina sede</i>	responsory	cf. Vita I, 5	8
<i>Laudibus summi decus</i>	hymn		
<i>Amavit eum</i>	versicle		
<i>Beatus Johannes eleimon</i>	antiphon <i>ad Magnificat</i>		6
<i>Deus qui beatum Joannem</i>	oratio		
<b>First Nocturn</b>			
<i>Iubilemus Domino qui viam salutarem</i>	invitatory antiphon		7
<i>Johannes Eleemosinarius vir beatus</i>	antiphon 1	cf Vita IV	1
<i>Patricius adversus virum Dei infremens</i>	antiphon 2	cf Vita IV	3
<i>Benedictio Domini super opera</i>	antiphon 3		7

<sup>28</sup> *Vita auctore Leontio episcopo, Praefatio interpretis, 4, AASS, p. 498.*

<i>Amavit eum</i>	versicle		
<i>Sanctus Iohannes dictus elemosinarius</i>	lesson 1	Vita II, 11	
<i>Beato Iohanni elemosinario</i>	responsory 1	cf Vita II, 11	1
<i>Animatus itaque visione virginis</i>	lesson 2	Vita II, 12	
<i>Visione virginis animatus</i>	responsory 2	cf Vita II, 12	2
<i>Promotus tandem in episcopum</i>	lesson 3	Vita I, 5; I,13	
<i>Peregrino bis mutato</i>	responsory 3	cf Vita II,13	3
<b>Second Nocturn</b>			
<i>Invocabit Dominum</i>	antiphon 4		1
<i>Ad clamorem pauperum</i>	antiphon 5		4
<i>Nomen admirabile pietatis</i>	antiphon 6		5
<i>Iustum deduxit</i>	versicle		
<i>Vir sanctus iste intelligens</i>	lesson 4	Vita II,9-10	
<i>Dum ministri et officiorum prepositi</i>	responsory 4	cf Vita II,9	6
<i>Naulerus quidam peregrinus</i>	lesson 5	Vita III,14-16	
<i>Vestiti pauperes</i>	responsory 5	cf Vita II,8	7
<i>Iste vir sanctus</i>	lesson 6	Vita XIII, 80, Vita XIV, 89-90, 92-93	
<i>Tanta gracia fuit cum viro Dei</i>	responsory 6	?	8
<b>Third Nocturn</b>			
<i>Celi tabernaculum</i>	antiphon 7		7
<i>Adiutus virtute Domini</i>	antiphon 8		7
<i>Innocens manibus</i>	antiphon 9		7
<i>Iustus ut palma</i>	versicle		
<i>Estote misericordes</i>	Gospel reading		
<i>Bis passo naufragium</i>	responsory 7	cf Vita III,14-16	1
<i>Videntes indesinentem</i>	responsory 8	cf Vita IX,50	5
<i>Cum vir deificus</i>	responsory 9	cf Vita XV	7
<b>Lauds</b>			
<i>Iohannes elemosinarius patriarcha</i>	antiphon 1		1
<i>Quem in visu mater domini</i>	antiphon 2		2
<i>Charitate mox ignitus</i>	antiphon 3		3
<i>Hinc famentes pascere</i>	antiphon 4		4
<i>Hunc laudat ecclesia</i>	antiphon 5		5
<i>Iustus germinabit</i>	versicle		
<i>Dum in oracionis devocione</i>	antiphon <i>ad Benedictus</i>	cf Vita I,3	7
<b>Second Vespers</b>			
<i>Iustus germinabit</i>	versicle		
<i>Dum in spiritu previderat</i>	antiphon <i>ad Magnificat</i>	cf Vita XIV	6

Example 1. *Innocens manibus*, ms. 60, 16<sup>v</sup>



In- no- cens ma- ni- bus et mun- do cor- de vi- xit vir il- le be- a- tus  
cu- i me- ri- to Do- mi- nus lar- ge be- ne- di- xit  
et propter opera py- a in regna ce- les- ti- a il- lum in- tro- du- xit. Ps. Dñi est terra

Example 2. *In patriarchali Alexandrina sede*, ms. 60, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>



In pa- tri- ar- cha- li A- le- xan- dri- na se- de be- a- tus Jo- hannes e- le- i- mon  
le- git- ti- me sub- li- matus a- stan- ti pre- sbi- te- ro- rum co- ro- ne di- xit:  
non est iustum o fratres al- te- ri- us cu- ius pi- am quam Xpisti curam im- primis a- ge- re  
qua- propter e- un- tes so- li- ci- te in- qui- ri- te \* Ut Do- mi- ni me- i  
fi- de- li- ter con- scri- ban- tur.  
V. Quos e- nim e- ge- nos et pau- pe- res vos vo- ca- tis Do- mi- ni me- i sunt  
ne i- gi- tur con- gru- is fru- stren- tur sti- pen- di- is a- gi- te. Ut  
Glo- ri- a Pa- tri et Fi- li- o et Spi- ri- tu- i San- cto. Ut Do(mini).

