

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

**Marcin Konik**

## **Musical Life in Corpus Christi Church in Lviv and Adjacent Dominican Monastery**

### **Historical Background**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were three provinces of the Order of Preachers on the territory of the Polish Commonwealth. The Polish province, established in the thirteenth century, was the oldest of them. The other two, Lithuanian and Ruthenian, were founded in the seventeenth century<sup>1</sup>. The Dominican monastery in Lviv has attracted my attention for several reasons. It was established in the middle of the fourteenth century and initially belonged to the Polish province. In 1378 it was handed over to the *Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium* (the Association of the Pilgrim Brothers)<sup>2</sup>. When this organization ceased to exist the monastery in Lviv returned to the Polish province. In later years, however, this province came into conflict with some monasteries located in the east. To settle that dispute, in 1612 the Ruthenian province was established and the city of Lviv was incorporated into it. For a musicologist the surviving archival documents from the local Dominican monastery are intriguing, inasmuch as they comprise a unique source: the only copy of the account book of the musical ensemble in Poland.

In the period of the Polish Commonwealth there were two separate monasteries of the Dominican Order in Lviv. They both consisted of cloister buildings and the adjacent church. The younger of them was the monastery at the Church of St. Mary Magdalene founded in 1600<sup>3</sup>. The other one was the Corpus Christi Church. According to the tradition preserved among the Dominican monks, it was established during the evangelizing mission of St. Hyacinth of Poland to Ruthenia that took place in the 1220s and 1230s<sup>4</sup>. On the basis of the older

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<sup>1</sup>See Anna Markiewicz, *Osiemnastowieczne inwentarze jako źródło do dziejów klasztorów prowincji ruskiej dominikanów*, in: „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, 2013, R.61 Nr 1, pp. 75-84.

<sup>2</sup>The Association of the Pilgrim Brothers See Jerzy Kaliszuk, *Liber mortuorum dominikanów lwowskich – analiza kodykologiczna*, w: „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, t. XLIV, 2006, pp. 99-108.

<sup>3</sup>See Stefan Gąsiorowski, *Wierzytelności dominikanów lwowskich u żydów z terenu Rusi Czerwonej w 2. połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, w: *Dominikanie na ziemiach polskich w epoce nowożytnej.*, Anna Markiewicz, Marek Miławicki OP (red.), Kraków 2009, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> See Ibidem, ss. 193-194.

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work by Abraham Bzowski<sup>5</sup>, Sadok Barącz mentioned this mission in his *opus magnum* entitled *Dzieje Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce* (The History of the Order of Preachers in Poland). Barącz remarked also that St. Hyacinth couldn't have visited the city of Lviv about 1233<sup>6</sup>, because it was established by the prince Daniel of Galicia around 1250. However, Władysław Żyła<sup>7</sup> quoted a document issued by the provincial chapter according to which the Dominican friars took care of the small church of John the Baptist located at the foot of the Lviv Castle Hill<sup>8</sup>. Interestingly enough, this document is dated 1234<sup>9</sup>. The exact date of the establishment of Corpus Christi Church is unknown. According to Antoni Małecki, a 19th-century historian of the city and the vice-chancellor of the local university, the Dominican monks settled in Lviv in 1270<sup>10</sup>. His statement is in conformity with the most recent findings pinpointing that the above event took place in the second half of the thirteenth century, shortly after the foundation of the town.

Corpus Christi Church has been one of the most beautiful historical monuments in Lviv. In his guidebook published on the eve of the Second World War Aleksander Medyński wrote:

Corpus Christi Church belonging to the Dominican Order (the Dominican Square). It is one of the most beautiful monuments in the entire city. The friars settled in Lviv in the second half of the thirteenth century. During the reign of Kazimierz III the Great people in his kingdom were strongly encouraged to erect new buildings. The friars contributed to this royal policy building a wooden church, but it was consumed by fire in 1407 and, subsequently, superseded with a gothic temple

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<sup>5</sup>Abraham Bzowski, *Propago D. Hyacinthi Thavmatvrgi Poloni, Seu De rebus praeclarè gestis in Prouincia Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum. Commentariivs. F. Abraham Bzovii Sacrae Theologiae Magistri, Ord. Praedic.*, Venice 1606 (<http://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=5656>, accessed: 17.11.2015).

<sup>6</sup>Barącz derived this date from the earlier work by Klemens Chodykiewicz. Cf. Klemens Chodykiewicz, *De Rebus Gestis in Provincia Russiae Ordinis Praedicatorum Commentarius : Libris XI. Digestus In Duas Partes divisus. Diversarum antiquitatum Monumentis & Observationibus Illustratus*, Berdyczów 1780.

<sup>7</sup>See Władysław Żyła, *Kościół i Klasztor Dominikanów we Lwowie*, Lwów 1923. The author of this publication referred to many intriguing documents that are currently lost or unavailable.

<sup>8</sup>Ibidem, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>*In anno vero 1234 hanc Ecclesiam (św. Jana Chrzciciela) regebant primitus PP. Dominicalli Missionarii ut patet ex archivoi Ilorum (Akta kapituły lwowskiej ob. lać)*. Quoted after: Władysław Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>10</sup>Antoni Małecki, *Klasztory i zakony w Polsce w obrębie wieków średnich (Dokończenie)*, in: „Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki” supplement to „Gazeta Lwowska”, r. 3 nr 9, Lwów 1875, p. 783. Małecki's study comprises a list of quite detailed references. These references are provided with brief annotations, too. For instance, Małecki labeled the magnum opus by Sadok Barącz as “unbearably diffuse” and wrote: “Bzowski's [study] is succinct and the most valuable of all. Regrettably, even the dates provided by this great writer hardly always hold up to criticism [...]” *ibidem*, p. 780.

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made of bricks. In the sixteenth century that shrine suffered from fire several times, and in the eighteenth was about to collapse. Therefore, in 1745 it was demolished in order to build a new church at the expense of one of the wealthiest and most influential patrons of the Dominican Order in Poland: Józef Potocki — the castellan of Kraków and the grand Crown hetman<sup>11</sup>.

The information provided by Medyński was borrowed from, among others, *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* (The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland) containing a fairly detailed description of the Dominican church and monastery in Lviv<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> Aleksander Medyński, *Lwów: przewodnik dla zwiedzających*, Lwów 1938, p. 47.

<sup>12</sup> According to *The Geographical Dictionary...* the first church burned not in 1407 but in 1408: “2. Dominican monastery and church dedicated to Corpus Christi. It is probable that Dominican monks settled in Lviv as early as in 1270. They have lived in a monastery there since prince Lev, at the request of his wife Constance, provided them with a suitable place to build it. Their first monastery was wooden and burned in 1408. The new church and cloister, made of bricks, were erected at the same place owing to the generosity of multiple pious people and thanks to Mik. Benko’s donation; they were finished owing to the munificence of Mik. Czech (according to the archival source A. gr. II 44 in 1402 Benko of Żabokruki [today Kvitneve in the Ukraine] donated his village Zarduce to the Order and the friars accepted the act and terms of the donation (ib. 46); in 1406 the monks took multiple responsibilities regarding M. Czech (ib. 56); in 1408 king Władysław Jagiełło endorsed the proprietary rights of the Order to its estate in Lviv (ib. 60); in 1442 Stan. Dawidowski donated to the order one hundred and eighty groszes of the annual income from the village of Dawidowo (ib. 113); in 1474 Ludwik, a papal nuncio, granted the Lviv monastery a privilege to administer indulgences (ib. IV, 195). The church was refurbished and rebuilt several times. The present temple was erected between 1749 and 1764 following the example of the St Peter’s Basilica in Rome. Its architect was Jan de Witte, future general of the Polish army and the commander of the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski. The church is huge and almost the most marvelous in Lviv. Inside, the circle of pillars supports balconies and galleries embellished with 16 statues of the Fathers of the Church. The galleries are provided with slightly lower pillars supporting the copper dome. The church has six smaller chapels and the Potocki chapel that is larger and bears its name to commemorate the house of its founder, Mr. Mikołaj Potocki, a starost of Kaniów [nowadays Kaniv in central Ukraine]. This chapel houses the miraculous statue of Our Lady. Made of alabaster, it is one of the oldest monuments of purely Greek art of sculpture, perfect in its form. According to the legend, St. Hyacinth took the holy statue from Kiev, salvaging it from Tartars. (See Przyj. dom. 1856, p. 222; Przegląd bibliogr.-archeolog. 1881, p. 235). The image of Our Lady with the Holy Infant in the main altar — according to the tradition painted by St. Luke — stylistically belongs to the Byzantine school. It was crowned in 1751. The 100th anniversary of that event was celebrated in 1851 (See Pietruszewicz „O cudotwornej ikonie Preśw. Bohor. w kosteli OO. Domin. wo L. i polskojehendijeja”, w Zorihałyckoj, 1851, Na 56 i 57; „Stuletni obchód koronacyi P. Maryi w koś. Domin. w r. 1851”, Supplement to Gaz. Lwow. 1881, No 117 i 121, i Przyj. dom. 1851, pp. 187 and 200). Besides, one should mention six alabaster statues of armored knights that in 1866 were brought out from the vaults under the church, renovated and put in the temple. The photographs of these statues were published in a separate album. Among the newer tomb sculptures within the church we will mention two: that of Borkowska by Thorvaldsen (See Przyj. Ludu, 1843, p. 116 and Tyg. ilustr. 1880, Na 258) and that of Artur Grottger (See Biesiada Liter. 1882, X2 343). The monastery is made of brick and consists of a pair of small two-floor wings. Its part adjacent to Skarbkowska Street is stronger, whereas the part adjacent to the Dominican Square is weaker, because in 1559 Łukasz Górka lay siege to the cloister and stormed it from this direction (his wife, duchess Elizavieta (Halszka) Ostrogska, took refuge in the monastery together with her mother). At first, the monastery was focused on religious propaganda, then on education and scholarly work. It was hardly unusual that more than 100 friars lived in the cloister, so “Studium generale” was established for them. The history of the monastery is abundantly reflected in its archives. Berhoff mentioned that in 1684 Palavicini, a papal nuncio, visited the complex. Some portraits hanging in the galleries are recommendable to see e.g., the portrait of Mik. Benko and Mik. Potocki on the ground floor and the portrait of S. Okólski on the first

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Throughout its history the city repeatedly fell prey to the flames and the buildings above were not an exception. Only in the sixteenth century Corpus Christi Church suffered from fire three times: in 1511, 1527 and 1571. In 1621 it was visited by Polish king Zygmunt III on his way to Chocim. On that occasion the king allegedly said: “Neque vidimus, neque audivimus in omnibus dominiis regni nostri, ut sit tam pulchre accomodatus conventus” (We have neither seen nor heard of a monastery more beautifully arranged in our kingdom)<sup>13</sup>. In 1744, however, the church building was about to collapse. Consequently, it was designated for demolition. The new temple was built between 1749 and 1764 owing to the donation of Józef Potocki. In the last stage of the construction works the rosary chapel (the so called Potocki Chapel) was added; the finishing works lasted until 1798. Much earlier, in 1765, new organ was constructed by Michał Sadkowski. Its casing was provided by Sebastian Fessinger and cost 4500 zlotys<sup>14</sup>. Unfortunately, in 1778 fire once again destroyed the interior of the shrine.

The unpublished papers of Sadok Barącz — nowadays a part of the collection of the Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv — contain the following reference to that disaster:

But in 1778, on the 17th of May, about 4 p.m. [...] a fire, which broke out beyond the Cracow Gate, burned to the ground our cathedral church and the convent. One of the nuns, Rev. Marta, died of flames that consumed also archbishop's apartments, vicarage and belfry. The bells melted down. The hospital burned as well and four people inside. The fire devoured the monastery of the Dominican fathers, 30 tenement houses and twice as many houses within the city walls [...] /: I found this information in a book belonging to the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv<sup>15</sup>.

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floor. Their detailed description can be found in the booklet by Stanisław Kunasiewicz entitled “Przewodnik pokoś. Bożego Ciała OO. Domin. we L.” Lwów, 1876, pp. 6, 13 and 82. There is another painting in the vestibule, most probably made in the sixteenth century, that presents the king kneeling before the image of Our Lady and surrounded by multiple dignitaries. It was restored by Schlegel (see Tyg. Lwow. 1867, No 4). Bibliography: Piątkowski „Wiadomość histor. o stat. Jackowej”, Lwów 1857; Schneider „Pomniki w katakombach pod koś. Bożego Ciała”, Lwów 1867; Ulanowski „Wiad. histor. w krótkości skreślona o cudow. obrazie Matki Bos.” Lwów, 1851; idem „Obraz Najś. Panny przez Łukasza malowany”, Lwów, 1853; Lipiński „Wiad. histor. o koronacyach obrazów Matki Boskiej w Polsce”, Warszawa, 1850, p. 16; „Klasztor i kościół Dominikanów” z ryciną w Galicyi w obrazach, zeszyt VII; w Lwowianinie, 1836, str. 109 i 118; w Przyj. Ludu, 1847, str. 44; „O Dominikanach lwow.” ob. Przyjacieli dom., 1854, str. 11 i 66 i rkp. w Bibl. Ossol. No 2320: „Primordium conventus ordinis Scti Dominici leopolitensis et locationis descriptio.” *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, t. V, ss. 515-516.

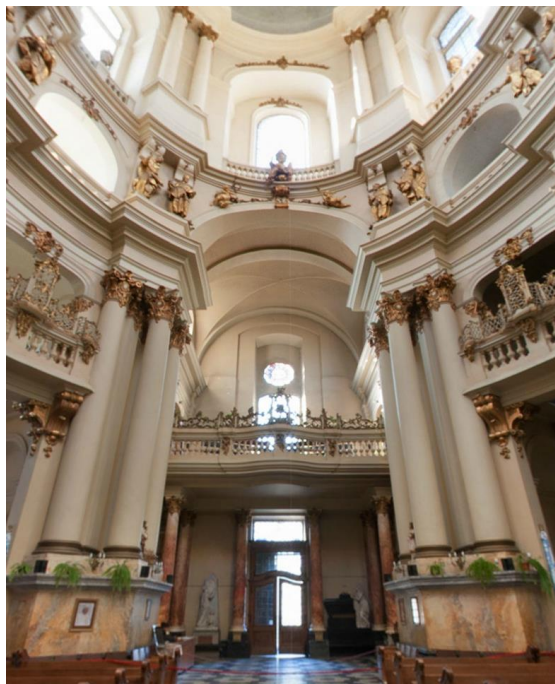
13 Szymon Okolski, *Russia florida rosis et liliis: hoc est, sanguine, praedicatione, religione et vita. Antea f. f. ordinis praedicatorum peregritatione inchoata, nunc conventuum in Russia stabilitate fundata, per R. P. F. Simonem Okolski, S. T. M. priorem tysmienicensem luci exposita*, Lwów 1646, p. 122.

<sup>14</sup> *Liber Consiliorum 1606-1767*, p. 413, quoted after: Aleksander Medyński, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Sadok Barącz, *Notes*. Manuscripts from the, Stefanyk National Science Library in Lviv fond 141, 307, p. 93

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Fig. 1. The organ gallery in the Corpus Christi Church in Lviv. On the left side: present state (photograph by M. Konik). On the right side: the photograph taken in the 1920s (by [?] Jaworski)



From 1895 to the outbreak of the First World War the church was once again restored, which included, among others, the replacement of the organ<sup>16</sup>. In the Interwar era there were

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<sup>16</sup>See Władysław Żyła, *op. cit.*, p. 5. The author was rather disappointed about the results of the works. He wrote: “1895 marks the beginning of the thorough restoration works in the church. At first, between 1895 and 1896, they pertained to its exterior and the dome was provided with new lantern. Zacharewicz and Sosnowski were in charge. The renovation of the interior started in 1905 and lasted until the outbreak of the war. The alabaster statues had originally stood inside the gothic temple. When the new shrine was built, they were transferred to the vaults. In 1866 they were moved to the church, and now, once again, to the vaults. The appearance of the church has undergone a partial change. First of all, its interior has been changed radically. White walls have been painted pink-tinged *écru*. Green capitals have become golden. Green rococo statues in the drum have also been gilded and now, because of their brick-red complexion, hardly differ from the American Indians. The old main altar, made of wood, has been replaced with a stucco one whose shade is a little bit different (ashen bluish). The shafts of the stucco columns are iron, so, to support them, massive columns have been built underneath, in the vaults. The lower part of all walls, the base course, has been covered with stucco imitating yellowish veined marble or, to be more precise, yellowish alabaster. The pilasters in the nave under the organ gallery have been covered with reddish stucco imitating white-spotted red marble. As all the columns and the base course were originally white, the color scheme of the church has been slightly altered. Some elements of the church interior have been rearranged, too. The wooden altars from the larger side chapels lying on the transversal axis of the temple have been, alas, replaced with the red pseudo-Rococo ones made of stucco. Excellent quasi-Rococo grillwork has been added to the organ gallery and to the small balconies in the chancel. Of the old organ only few figures have remained; the new instrument has been provided with pseudo-Rococo casing. Screens in the beautiful balconies that face the nave along the diagonal axis of the church have been restored and partially filled in. So that to make the architectural design visible the pulpit has been removed together with the large painting attached to it. The Rococo altar within the Rosary Chapel has been replaced with its faithful stucco copy. Even some wooden parts

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some unsuccessful plans to convert the vaults in the underground temple, too. After the Second World War the church was used as a storehouse for cement (in the 1970s) whereas the monastery was changed into a museum of religion and atheism. Since the 1990s the temple have belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

The ensemble from the Dominican monastery in Lviv must have left a collection of musical documents, but due to the turmoils of history they have not survived. The collection of books from this cloister has also been scattered, which eventuated mainly from the dissolution of multiple religious orders and monasteries in the Habsburg monarchy imposed by the emperor Joseph II in the 1780s. The books from the dissolved Galician cloisters were partially gathered in Lviv (in the local seminar and faculty of theology). We know that in 1776 Dominican friars from the city owned a library which comprised more than 4000 tomes, including 843 Polonica<sup>17</sup>. The part of the archival sources from Lviv transferred to the Dominican monastery in Jarosław eventually found its way to the Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order in Kraków (hereinafter APDD)<sup>18</sup>.

The *Catalogue* of the library of the Corpus Christi Church in Lviv (1776), nowadays a part of the collection of the Stefanyk National Science Library, is interesting, inasmuch as it contains no record regarding musical sources. They were obviously not included, which supports the hypothesis that such publications and manuscripts were typically kept not in the library but in the musical gallery in the church; consequently, they all burnt in 1778<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, after 1945 the surviving ones were stored without care or even deliberately destroyed. As a result, musicologists should not count on the discovery of a larger set of musical documents

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from the original altar have been incorporated into the copy. The only difference is red color. The pattern embedded in the restored floor and new benches reflect the elliptical plan of the temple”. Władysław Żyła, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>17</sup>See Józef Krętosz, *Księgozbiory kościelne na terenie lwowskiej archidiecezji obrządku łacińskiego na przełomie XVIII/XIX w.*, w: „Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne” 2007, t. 40, z. 2, pp. 405-421.

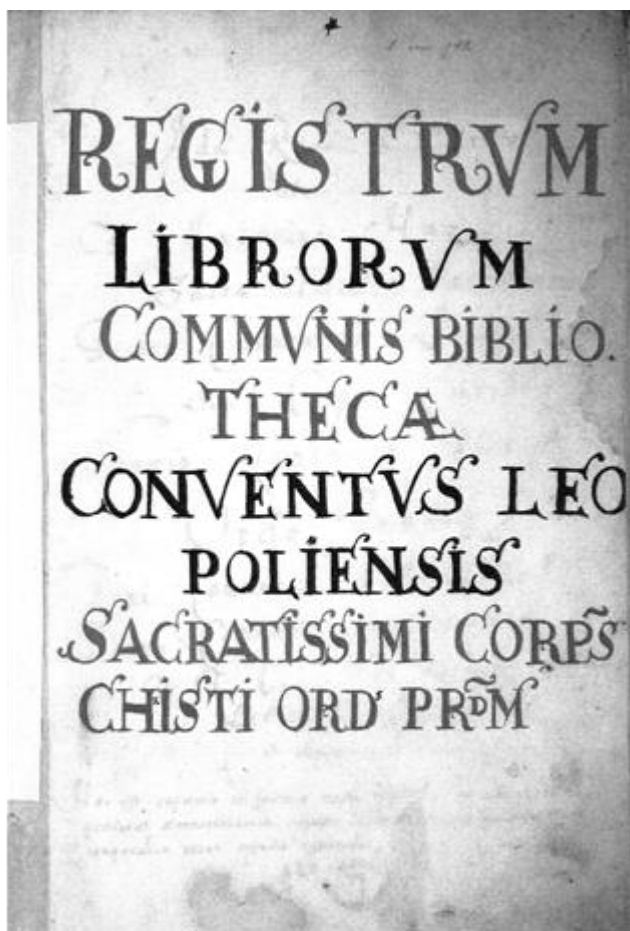
<sup>18</sup>„At the close of the eighteenth century various archival documents and the copies of the obtained privileges from the dissolved monasteries in Bochnia, Lviv, Przemyśl, Sambor and Sieniawa were transferred to the Dominican cloister in Jarosław where mildew and mice wreaked great havoc on them. Despite that barbarian destruction for a skilled researcher they still contain valuable information able to shed light on our history and sphragistics”. Sadok Barącz, *Archiwum WW. OO. Dominikanów w Jarosławiu*, Lwów 1884, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Conducting the preliminary archival research in Lviv I was unofficially informed that more Dominican sources from the eighteenth century have been saved from destruction. However, despite all my efforts, I was unable to receive further information about them. I would like to give my acknowledgment to Mrs. Oksana Shkurgan, a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Science, for her help in my research.

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connected with the above-mentioned ensemble. However, even the available sources shed much light on the shape of musical life in Corpus Christi Church. To begin my investigation, I will now describe them briefly.

Fig. 2 The title page of the *Inventory* of the library of the Dominican monastery in Lviv by the Church of Corpus Christi (1776).



### **Historical sources to the musical life in Corpus Christi Church in Lviv**

Most of archival sources concerning the history of Corpus Christi Church in Lviv is nowadays in APPD in Kraków. As many as 765 items stored in that institution are from Lviv. Although few of them regard musical life, two are of particular importance: the expense ledger of the musical ensemble covering the years 1761–1785<sup>20</sup> and the inventory of musical in-

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<sup>20</sup>APPD, cat. no. Lw 57.

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struments from 1710<sup>21</sup>. Besides, the collection of APPD contains several loose documents pertaining to musical life<sup>22</sup> and a number of manuscripts from Lviv which were used for liturgical purposes<sup>23</sup>.

Among various documents bearing catalogue number Lw 444 there is an intriguing letter from 22 October 1725. Its author was archbishop Vincenzo Santini, a papal nuncio to Poland<sup>24</sup>. In his request Santini calls on Dominican brothers from Lviv to surrender a trumpeter Jakub Stagórski into the hands of Felicjan Tymiński, a starost of Chęciny. Stagórski was accused of stealing 2000 tynf coins and abducting a trumpeter Fabian Smoleński. Both musicians were suspected of taking shelter in the analyzed cloister.

Another valuable source of knowledge on musical life in Corpus Christi Church is the undated (most probably written in the eighteenth century) *Compendium Expensarum*<sup>25</sup> — an account ledger whose records regard the expenses on musical setting provided to the services during Lent and on the costs it generated. It reveals the probable composition of the ensemble. According to this expense book, the services were accompanied by music on Maundy Thursday and on six consecutive Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Saturdays of Lent as well as on Ash Wednesday. This included both the masses and other Passion services.

“[...] For priests for 25 masses ut supra hic (as stated here): 42 florins	To pay: 50 groszes and 1 szeląg for one mass
For Rev. Sacristan for the equipment 4 florins	To pay: 4 groszes and 2 10/25 szelągs for one mass
For Mr. Sacristan for wine 5 florins	To pay: 6 groszes for one mass

<sup>21</sup> APPD, cat. no. Lw 95.

<sup>22</sup> APPD, cat. no. Lw 444.

<sup>23</sup> *Sequentiale Ord. Praedicatorum*, rkp. 5L, 1556 r.; *Psalterium nocturnum cum hymnario de tempore*, rkp. 20L, 1617 r.; *Psalterium diurnum cum hymnario de tempore et de Sanctis*, rkp. 21L, 1627 r.; *Antiphonarium Communale de Sanctis conventus Leopoliensis*, rkp. 32L, 1588-1590 r.; *Antiphonarium S. Ord. Praedicatorum de Sanctis pars hiemalis*, rkp. 33L; *Antiphonarium Ord. Praedicatorum de Sanctis pars verna*, rkp. 42L, 1616 r.; *Antiphonarium de Sanctis pars aestiva*, rkp. 43L, 1616 r.; *Antiphonarium festivum cum hymnario „Celeusma Divorum”*, rkp. 62L, 1743 r., [Antiphonarium] *Supplementa festorum quorum officio in Antiphonariis non reperiuntur*, rkp. 67L, 1800 r.; *Processionale S. Ord. Praedicatorum*, rkp. 74L, kon. XV w. / pocz. XVI w. [?]; *Collectarium cum Capitulis*, rkp. 80L, XV w.

<sup>24</sup> Vincenzo Santini (1676– d. 5.07.1728) was a papal nuncio to Poland between 1722 and 1728. He came into conflict with the Polish parliament as, according to the latter, his interference in the internal affairs of the state went too far. As a result, the pope was officially requested to dismiss him. See *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej – tom II 1572-1795*, Warszawa, 1981, p. 437.

<sup>25</sup> *Compendium Expensarum faciendarum ex Fundatione Be. Memor: Sophiae Klunska pro Deuotione Quadragesimali...*, APPD, cat. no. Lw 444.



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For two bell-ringers 5 florins	To pay: 6 groszes to both for one service
For <i>pulsantes</i> 12 florins	To pay: 13 groszes and 2 $\frac{14}{20}$ szelągs for one ringing
For extraordinary attendant 8 florins	To pay: szelągs for one service
For Organist 12 florins	To pay: for one Passion service $13 \frac{2}{27}$ groszes
For Cantor 10 florins	To pay: for one Passion service $11 \frac{3}{27}$ groszes
For the first singer 8 florins	To pay: for one Passion service $8 \frac{2}{17}$ groszes
For the second singer 8 florins	To pay: for one Passion service 8 groszes [...]
For two treble singers 8 florins	To pay: for one Passion service to both 8 groszes 2 [...]
For the first violinist 10 florins	To pay: for one Passion service $11 \frac{3}{27}$ groszes
For the second violinist 10 florins	To pay: for each Passion service $11 \frac{3}{27}$ groszes
For the instrumentalist 10 florins	To pay: for one Passion service $11 \frac{3}{27}$ groszes
For the organ blower 5 florins	To pay: for each Passion service 5 groszes
Cumulatively 157 florins <sup>26</sup>	

According to the above-mentioned financial statement the total cost of a single Lent service amounted to 157 florins and as many as 48% of that sum (76 florins) was not directly connected with the musical setting. The ensemble employed a cantor, organist, four singers, two violinists and one additional instrumentalist. They were paid 81 florins — a moderate remuneration if we take account of the fact that the same ensemble may have received more than 30 florins for a single performance (for instance, on 6 July 1761 the musicians earned 30 florins and 12 groszes “for entertainment”<sup>26</sup>).

Regrettably, the available documents do not contain the date of establishment of the pertinent ensemble. In fact, however, it was typical of such ensembles to perform many years before they were formally established. Moreover, the Order of Preachers was particularly suspicious about the introduction of polyphonic music into its churches. The successive attempts to regulate this issue have been reflected in the acts of its general chapters. Perhaps the best résumé of the provisions concerning the Dominican policy towards the liturgy and the place

<sup>26</sup>*Registra Capellae Conventus Generalis Leopoliensis...*, 1761-1785, APPD cat. no. Lw 57

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

of music in their order is *Summarium ordinationum*<sup>27</sup> by Kamil Jasiński OP. This work was so much appreciated that Tomasso Turco, a general of the Dominican order, asked Jasiński to work out a book of rules for his fellow brothers to abide by during various religious ceremonies. According to Jasiński, as early as in 1242 the chapter of Bologna placed a prohibition on performances of polyphonic works. The ban was to be repeatedly imposed, and it is obvious that the friars used to circumvent it. Robert Świętochowski remarked that the musicians from Dominican churches performed polyphonic compositions even outside their temples, but it was forbidden — in Corpus Christi Church such a prohibition was reportedly binding in 1624<sup>28</sup>, which is a late date. Very similar restrictions regarded organ music. Of course, in this case the discrepancy between the letter of the law and the everyday practice was similar, too. Jasiński devoted the entire chapter in his book — although it is barely extensive — to the issue of organ music. He noted that in 1290 the chapter of Ferrara forbade to use this instrument<sup>29</sup>. In 1555 the chapter of Naples concluded that in the churches already provided with pipe organ “nobody should use it to perform vain and secular works, because the organ play has become a part of solemn Divine Worship<sup>30</sup>”. The prohibitions were continually repeated, but in the course of time gradual concessions were made to music enthusiasts. Hence, in 1523 an order was issued to sing the whole *Credo*, perhaps to defy the practice of *alternatim* which was popular at that time.

Dominicans from Lviv are known to have employed secular organists since, at least, the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>31</sup>. However, the polyphonic music was still treated with reserve by their Order as in 1603 the chapter of the Polish province prohibited perform-

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<sup>27</sup> K. Jasiński OP, *Summarium ordinationum capitulorum generalium Ord. Praed.*, Kraków 1638, APPD cat. no. 512 II – 514 II. There are more historical editions of this publication. According to Sadok Barącz Jasiński was „an alumnus of the Dominican monastery in Kraków who in 1622 was awarded a degree of Doctor in Divinity by the general chapter in Milan for his scholarly works. He finished his pious life in Kraków in 1651”. See Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, Lwów 1861, t. 2, pp. 174-175.

<sup>28</sup> See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 1-2, Warszawa 1963, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Ferrariae 1290. ordinatum erat, vt in Ecclesijs nostris non habentur Organa, excepto Conuentu Bononiensi, obreuerentiam S. P. N. Dominici [...]*, Jasiński, op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>30</sup> *Quando in nostris Ecclesijs Organa pulsantur, non pulsantur in eis seculares vanitates, quia sonus in Organis hodie est pars solennitatis Diuini cultus [...]*, ibidem.

<sup>31</sup> According to Robert Świętochowski these were: Andrzej (1576), Jakub (1579-1594), Marcin (1590), Mikołaj (1591-1594), Mikołaj Pajączek (1595), Sebastian (1587-1592), Stanisław ze Lwowa (1592). See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne...*, p. 15.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

ing it, except in few monasteries<sup>32</sup>. In 1607 the congregation of St. Hiacynth from Lviv issued an act stipulating which feasts may be provided with polyphonic musical setting<sup>33</sup>. The list included the feasts connected with Christ, Holy Mary and the patron saints of the Order<sup>34</sup>. One should stress that it was very probably an attempt to regulate the practical issues connected with the place of polyphonic music in the liturgical practice in Corpus Christi Church. In other words, the local ensemble must have existed since, at least, the final quarter of the sixteenth century. If its origins were typical, in the beginning it may have mainly consisted of the friars. Yet the records in the expense ledger regard two organists — Sebastian (in 1587) and Jakub (in 1588) as well as “organists” in the plural (1590)<sup>35</sup>, so the secular musicians must have joined the ensemble, at least, in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the account book mentions also wind instruments: *trąbi 12 gr.* (12 groszes for trumpets)<sup>36</sup>. It does not mean, however, that the ensemble had a particular or separate status. The above-named records appear sporadically, and it may reflect the fact that in the analyzed period the similar ensembles were usually ephemeral undertakings. During the course of the seventeenth century the one from Corpus Christi Church developed<sup>37</sup>. According to the expense ledger covering the years after 1613, on 8 June 1622 one zloty was spent for singers’ winter caps (*Spiewackum za magierki*); the crackow shoes were purchased for a singer (5 October 1622) and for a young treble singer (24 July 1630), too.

The records explicitly testifying that some string players joined the ensemble do not appear before the second half of the seventeenth century, though. The oldest of them is dated 17 September 1668 and states: “*Za Strony do Skrzypcow Oycu Cantorowi Ambrozemu 1 [zł] 14 [gr]*”(1 [zloty] and 14 [groszes] for father Ambroży, a cantor, for violin strings<sup>38</sup>). The later records concerning the instruments and the ensemble (including organ blowers) refer to the following dates:

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<sup>32</sup>See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, s. 10

<sup>33</sup>*Liber consiliorum Conventus SS. Corporis Christi Ordinis Praedicatorum 1606-1767*, APPD cat. no. Lw 4, k. 8.

<sup>34</sup>See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup>*Registrum expositorum Conuentus Leopoliensis nouiter comparatum...*, APPD cat. no. Lw 19.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 195.

<sup>37</sup>*Registrum Expositorum An(n)i MDCXIII In Pecuniis pro rebus*, APPD cat. no. Lw 20.

<sup>38</sup>*RegistraexpensarumConventusLeopoliensis SS. Corporis Christi OrdinisPraedicatorum 1663-1709*, APPD cat. no. Lw 24.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

<b>1670</b>		
08 March	Remuneration for the musicians playing at the feast of St. Thomas	3 [zlotys]
18 March	Remuneration for Szymon, an organ blower, for several ember days	2 [zlotys]
2 May	2 bunches of violin strings	24 [groszes]
[...] June	Remuneration for Szymon, an organ blower, for ember days.	2 [zlotys]
7 August	Remuneration for musicians	3 [zlotys]
	Remuneration for trumpet players	3 [zlotys]
1 October	Remuneration for an organ blower for ember days	2 [zlotys]
16 November	Remuneration for the musicians	6 [zlotys]
	Remuneration for the trumpet players	6 [zlotys]
24 November	Shoes for Daniel, a musician playing at the organ gallery for several Sundays	6 [zlotys]
28 November	Fee for the father Zygmunt, an organist, to repair his fur coat	3 [zlotys]
26 December	Fee for the second singer for shoes and for Christmas time	4 [zlotys]
<b>1672</b>		
March	Remuneration for the trumpet player for his play at St. Thomas's feast	3 [zlotys]
15 June	Violin strings	1 [zloty] 10 [groszes]
26 November	Remuneration for the musicians who played at the first Rorate Mass	3 [zlotys]
25 December	Remuneration for the musicians for playing at the feast and at its novena.	5 [zlotys]
	For strings <i>in fortunato</i>	1 [zloty]
<b>1673</b>		
7 March	Remuneration for the musicians playing at the	2 [zlotys]



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numerous string purchases the ensemble was gathering and performing together only at the most important feasts and celebrations e.g., St. Thomas of Aquino’s feast, St. Dominic’s feast, Rorate masses or Christmas. Apart from the friar-organist a secular one was employed. Since 1654 the Dominican monastery in Lviv was obliged to abide by the regulations imposed by its provincial Jacek od św. Marka OP and containing a close list of festive days on which divine services may have been accompanied by music. The catalogue included, among others, such feasts as Corpus Christi, Christmas, the Circumcision of Jesus and Easter; it embraced also some feasts connected with Our Lady (e.g., the Assumption and Nativity of the Holy Mary and the feast of the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary) or the particular saints (St. Dominic, St. Thomas of Aquino, or St. Hyacinth of Poland). The musical setting was provided also to the masses said for the confraternity of the Holy Rosary<sup>41</sup>.

The above-mentioned inventory list of musical instruments is a part of the broader manuscript cat no. Lw. 95<sup>42</sup>. Despite being quite laconic, it is worth quoting *in extenso*:

<b>[p. 91]</b>
Anno Domini 1707   on 16 of August   The catalogue of books of the Monastery of the Most Holy Corpus Christi in Lviv
Gradual on the liturgical seasons with metal fittings and all registers in the corners. Lacks one plug.
Gradual on the liturgical seasons with brass fittings. Lacks one fitting. Lacks registers.
Gradual on the feasts of saints with fittings and registers.
Antiphonary on the liturgical seasons with fittings. Lacks oneplug. Lacks registers.
Antiphonary on the liturgical seasons. Lacks two fittings, plug and registers.
Gradual for Holy Week with fittings. Lacks plugand registers.
Antiphonary on the feasts of saints in white cover with registers.
Antiphonary on the feasts of saints in red cover with fittings and registers.
The complete Psalter with registers. Lacksthreefittings.
The partial Psalters with all fittings. Lack registers.
The book of invitatories. Complete. With fittings and fastenings

<sup>41</sup> *Liber consiliorumConventus SS. Corporis Christi OrdinisPraedicatorum 1606-1767*, APPD cat. no. Lw 4, k. 147v, the regulation imposed by father Jacek od św. Marka (9 July 1654).

<sup>42</sup> APPD, cat. no. Lw 95, pp. 91-93.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

Another book of invitatories. Lacks one fastening.
Two Psalters for a cantor. Good condition. Lack fastenings.
Two collectars.
A book of antiphons (texts and musical notation).
Two breviaries <i>in folio</i> and a smaller one.
Two old breviaries. Bad condition.
Two chained breviaries in the organ gallery.
Two Psalters in bad condition.
An envelope with brass fastenings for a medium-size book.
Old Mass book.
Two parchment copies of the office of the dead for cantors
<b>[p. 92]</b>
A book of choral sequences
Five antiphonaries for processions. Written in old script.
Two new antiphonaries for processions in white covers.
A passional. Covered.
A book of ceremonies.
Four books with the Gospels in green cover.
A red parchment book.
A parchment book for the Holy Week. In white cover.
Office of the dead written on parchment. Lacks cover.
It lacks prayer book on the liturgical seasons and on the feasts of saints.
One positive organ with lower flute register
14-stop positive organ standing in the gallery with pipes imitating the sound of a drum
Two kettledrums with screws and tuning wrench
Two trumpets with <i>Ce sol fa ut</i> provided with tassels and tubular mouthpieces
Violin with ebony bow, made by Karkowski, once belonging to father Srocki.
Three standard violins with bows.
Tenor violin.
Viola.
Two trombones and one bass trombone.
Lute.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

Cornett.
Dulcian [OED: an early one-piece bassoon].
Various figurative compositions for choir.
A book of alla breve compositions for vespers and complete anthems.
Paper tubes.
Written office of St. Rosa.
Meditations by Thomas a Kempis
It lacks small positive organ with octave register.
Small book for Holy Week, parchment but with several paper pages with handwriting.
Delivered directly to brother Dominik Żukowski, a cantor in the monastery in Lviv on 8 October 1707. Brother Rajmund Palczewski, Brother Dominicus Zukowski Cantor in the monastery [?], manu propria. We confirm this inventorying, undertaken on our request. Brother Józef Prolis, manu propria.
<b>[p. 93]</b>
The list of musical instruments in Corpus Christi Church in Lviv. 6 June 1710. [...]
Positive organ with lower flute register.
Two old trumpets with tassels
Two cornets: one in good condition, the other one broken.
Three standard violins and one with ebony bow made by Karkowski.
With p [.....]
Two violin bows.
Viola with a bow.
Kettledrums with mallets and wrench.
Trombone and bass trombone. Both old.
Dulcian [... ..]
Two tubular and three horn mouthpieces.
Tenor violin
Keys to the organ loft and to the bellows room.
I think the above-mentioned equipment allows for singing and playing.
Hac omnia recepi et revidi [...] non cum omnibus reg. [...] i.e. violins and violas lacking strings. Fr Dominicus Zukowski S Th L.   Cantor Conven mpp   Hoc omnia reddidi Veneran   de Pri Fri. Dominico Zuko   wski Cantori Contu Leopoli   manu pro[pria]



The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

According to the above list in the first years of the eighteenth century the ensemble possessed the following musical instruments:

	1707	1710
Violin	4	4
Tenor violin	1	1
Viola	1	1
Lute	1	–
Cornett (zinc)	1	1(2)
Trumpets	2	2
Trombone	3	2
Dulcian	1	1
Kettledrums	2	1(2)
Positive organ	2 (3)	1
	18(19)	14 (16)

The ensemble used zincs, dulcian, lute and trombones, which, at that time, were old-type instruments, typical of the composition of the orchestra from the seventeenth century. The number of instruments at its disposal proves it was quite big: its capability to perform various works must have been considerable. However, there are no regular records in the account ledgers regarding the ensemble, and therefore one should consider how exactly it was organized. The archival sources from the 1720s provide the information on the members of the ensemble but — once again — irregularly<sup>43</sup>. On the other hand, the bequests to the ensemble<sup>44</sup> made in the last quarter of the seventeenth century might support a hypothesis that it was already permanent at that time.

In 1725 the Dominican fathers from Lviv — their prior was Piotr Prasołowicz<sup>45</sup> — decided to establish a hall of residence and, consequently, imposed a regulation on the size of

<sup>43</sup> See *Incipiunt Registra Perceptorum Sub Prioratu 4-to Admodum Reverendi Ac Eximii Patris Fratris Josephi MocarSKI Sacrae Theologiae Magistri Et Patris Provinciae Anno Domini 1720*, APPD cat. no. Lw 27.

<sup>44</sup> For instance in 1688 the monastery received a bequest to sing the Litany twice a week *Liber consiliorum Conventus SS. Corporis Christi Ordinis Praedicatorum 1606-1767*, APPD cat. no. Lw 4.

<sup>45</sup> Piotr Prasołowicz (d. 1739) a prior of the monastery in Lviv and then a provincial. Cf. Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, Lwów 1861, vol. 2, pp. 232-233.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

the ensemble and the duties of its members. The prior “proposuit an cappella sit conservanda” i.e. asked the chapter if the ensemble should be still maintained, which supports the hypothesis that the ensemble had existed for some time before. It was, as it seems, the first document directly concerning the ensemble<sup>46</sup>. The most valuable of such manuscripts covers the years 1761–1785<sup>47</sup>, and in that period the expenses and incomes pertaining to the ensemble were recorded separately. However, the ledger of 1663–1709 is almost bereft of such information, which is puzzling — especially as regards the years 1700–1709<sup>48</sup>. For instance, in the entire 1709 only one and ambiguous entry concerning the issue was recorded in the above account book. It states that on the 7th of January 8 zlotys were paid to “the musicians singing carols”, which may refer either to the members of the Corpus Christi ensemble or to some other singers; the sum of 8 zlotys was quite high and appropriate for a professional orchestra, though. Perhaps the separate account ledgers dedicated to the ensemble were kept at that time, but did not survive. Regrettably, the number and state of the preserved sources does not allow us to prove such hypothesis. On the other hand, the register of incomes from 1761 contains a hint: it begins in July and its first entry contains the inventory of the equipment belonging to the ensemble<sup>49</sup>. We know for sure that the above-named costs and incomes were separately recorded, and that the money earned by the musicians was gathered together in a separate “budget” and then gradually spent to meet the ongoing needs. For example, according to the entry in the same book in March 1777 “the budget was funded with 130 florins from the public masquerade<sup>50</sup>”. In 1765 one of the Dominican accountants wrote: “the father formerly responsible for the finances of the ensemble handed me over the money which, according to the expense register on the reverse side of the ledger, remained in its budget. I am rewriting all these expense records, amounting to 107 florins, here — as they should be written in this place<sup>51</sup>”.

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<sup>46</sup> A. Rev. S. Th. Magister proposuit an capella sit conservanda et an retinendi omnes saeculares qui nunc sunt an veris eligendi aliqui tantum? Statuerunt Patres eligendos esse sex et retinendos, habeant que suum seniores; et hi sex quolibet anno tenebuntur e docere alios sex sive religiosos sive saeculares, omnes proventus suos ad commune depositum sunt reportaturi in quo adessetentur et invigilare venerandus pater organarius quoted after: Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, s. 19.

<sup>47</sup> It is the above mentioned expense and income ledger, APPD cat. no. Lw 57.

<sup>48</sup> APPD cat. no. Lw 4.

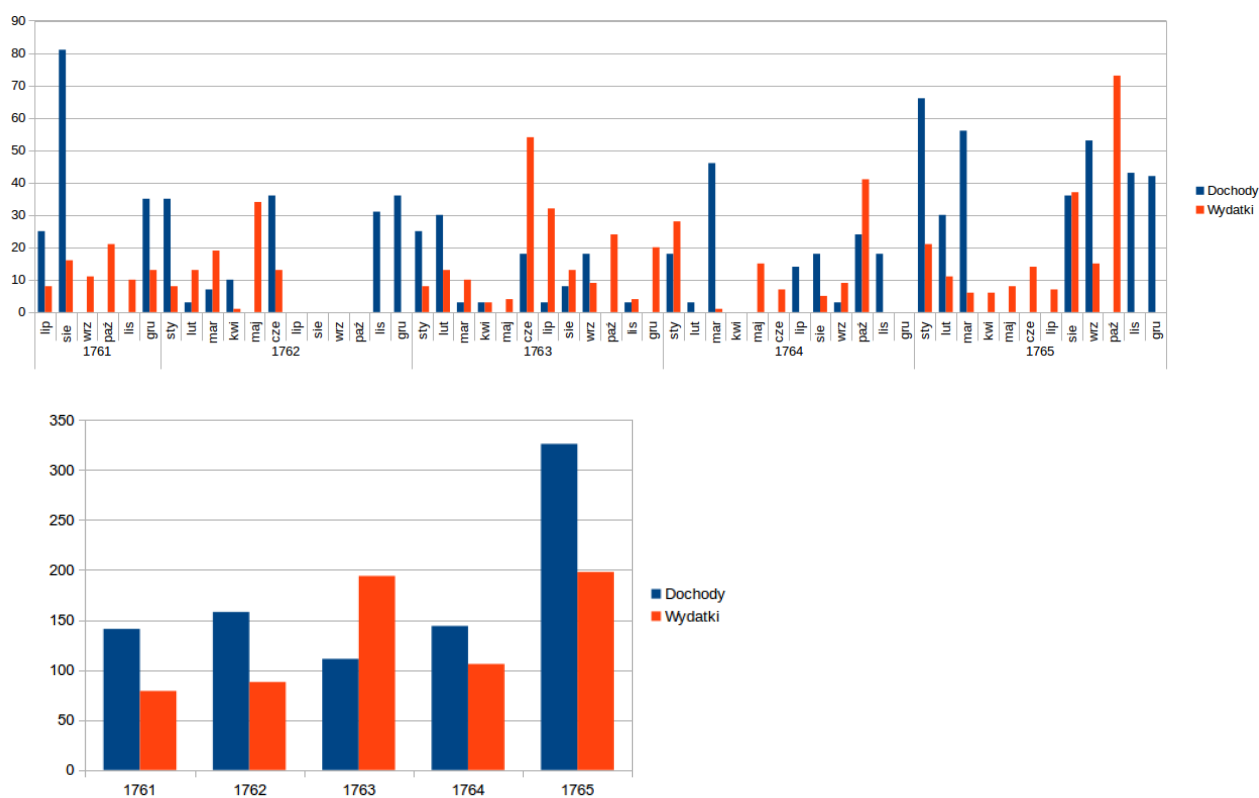
<sup>49</sup> *Post facta[re] calculationisrec[epi] ab ante fl 43 [gr] 2*, ibidem, p. 1 of the income register.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, income register, p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, income register, p. 3.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

The expenses for the ensemble incurred by the monastery and reflected in the manuscript Lw 57 can be divided into the following categories: 1) the costs of living of the musicians (remunerations and all additional expenses, e.g., the costs of clothing); 2) the costs of repairs of the instruments and other expenses (for instance various food rations including hardly insignificant sums for vodka). The main sources of income were 1) fees “for entertainment” which means occasional performances ordered by wealthier pilgrims or guests of the monastery; 2) fees from the mutual collaboration with other monasteries; 3) funeral masses; 4) other (performances at various feasts but also e.g., loans paid back to the “budget”). The charts below present the total expense and income account covering the first five years of the analyzed ledger<sup>52</sup>.



<sup>52</sup> The sums were rounded off to whole zlotys. Some months lack data, which reflects the lack of expenses or incomes in that period. In some cases the accountants recorded the expenses or incomes, but did not write in which month (not to mention the exact date) it took place. Therefore, in the above account such fees were included in the nearest empty month — it regards, for instance, the expenses covering the period from October to December 1765. The entries starts from June 1761.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

The analysis of the financial structure of the ensemble reveals that per year it may have been profitable (although 1763 was an exception). Its biggest source of income were fees “for entertainment” — such services usually cost up to twenty zlotys, but some clients were particularly generous. For example in March 1764 a certain L. Papara paid the musicians 46 zlotys<sup>53</sup>. The revenues from funeral masses were quite frequent, too. Besides, the musicians often performed for various guilds as well as for the monasteries belonging to orders other than Dominicans from Corpus Christi Church. These were: Dominican nuns, Carmelite monks and nuns (both those of the ancient observance and the discalced ones), Augustinian and Basilian monks and the various male and female branches of the Order of Friars Minor such as Franciscans, the Reformati and the Observants. However, it included also performances in many orthodox churches in Lviv, for instance in the Dormition Church historically known as the Vlach Church and for the Benedictine nuns of the Armenian Rite. With some orders Dominican friars from Corpus Christi signed annual contracts concerning the “leasing of their ensemble”. In 1770 the discalced Carmelite friars agreed to pay them 150 zlotys for it; in 1773 the discalced Carmelite nuns paid 176 zlotys for eleven instances of “leasing<sup>54</sup>”. Taking account of the fact that the same ensemble performed at all important feasts in its mother church, and attended the services of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary there, it must have been very busy and renowned. According to the ledger entries concerning the particular and festive days, the musicians gave performances several times a day — especially at feasts. For instance, in June 1779 “17 zlotys were received from the fathers Franciscans and another 17 zlotys from the fathers Reformates for the feast of St. Anthony<sup>55</sup>”. For obvious reasons the ensemble made most of their guest appearances at the local Dominican convent (more than 80 entries in the accounting book between 1761 and 1785). However, the Reformato monks and the Observant nuns were visited by them with unusual frequency (more than 30 and more than 20 times, respectively).

Strangely enough, there are several entries in the income ledger according to which the ensemble was paid “by the Confraternity [of the Passion] for the attendance at the procession

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<sup>53</sup> Sometimes the ensemble was paid even more lavishly – on the 8th of September 1766 it earned as many as 74 zlotys for a single “act of entertainment”. The remuneration for similar performance on 15 February 1768 amounted to 58 zlotys.

<sup>54</sup> Discalced Carmelites (friars and nuns) very often concluded such agreements.

<sup>55</sup> APPD cat. no. Lw 57, income register, p. 22.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

on Good Friday”. It is probable that on such occasions only singers were employed, because the Church, commemorating the death of Christ, imposed a prohibition against the use musical instruments on that day. Besides, the above remunerations were always modest (up to 8 zlotys) whereas the usual fee for providing full musical setting to a religious service may have reached twenty. Yet sometimes music resounded during The Three Days. According to the manuscript of *Mandatum Novum*, a composition by Władysław Leszczyński (1618–1680), when this work was played at the Jasna Góra Monastery on Maundy Thursday the choir was accompanied with double bass viol.

In Corpus Christi Church one took care of the instruments, too. Numerous records regard their repairs and their collection was often replenished. For instance in August 1765 new violin was bought for 31 zlotys while some months later (the ledger lacks the exact date) new Augsburg trumpets were purchased for 32 zlotys<sup>56</sup>. According to the account book at that time the ensemble had the following instruments at its disposal: violins, violas, cello, double bass, trumpets, horns, oboes, English horn, transverse flute, bassoon, kettledrums, clavichord and, most probably, positive organs included in the older catalogues. The ensemble making use of so many instruments must have been exceptionally big and its professional capabilities — above the average.

Although the analyzed ledger cover the years after 1761, the ensemble undoubtedly started thriving earlier. It has been attested by Michał Wilczek OP in his detailed account of the coronation ceremony of the holy image of Our Lady of Victory<sup>57</sup>. That event took place in 1751 and the musical setting to it was provided by various ensembles from Lviv:

Nine days before the eve of the coronation ceremony a triumphal gate was erected in front of the facade of the [Corpus Christi] church. It was marvelous, and included spacious and comfortable galleries for several musical ensembles. Their duty was to raise cries of triumph and therefore greet the coronation of the Holy Virgin in the following order: every morning after 6 a.m. they played the songs on trumpet, as usual. Then, around 11 p.m. the musicians from the Town Hall tower played a bugle call. The ensemble from the triumphal gate responded, and so they played in turns for the whole hour among the incessant noise of trumpets and kettledrums. At midnight they

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<sup>56</sup> APPD cat. no. Lw 57, expense register pp. 10-11.

<sup>57</sup> Wilczek published the content of the sermons preached during the crowning feast and its octave. Michał Wilczek, *Hasło Słowa Bożego...*, Lwów 1754.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

performed a litany of the Blessed Mary, freshly composed and different every day. The litany was crowned with another bugle call. After 1 a.m. the songs were played in turns from Town Hall and from the gate, and many people listened to this concert late into the night<sup>58</sup>.

[... ] after the sermon the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary and *Ave Maris Stella* were performed, in conformity with the Roman Manual<sup>59</sup>.

The coronation was followed by the procession in which took part the representatives of all orders from Lviv

[...] some of them accompanied by their ensembles, some by trumpeters and kettledrummers playing for the unwaning triumph of the Crowned Queen<sup>60</sup>.

[...] When the holy image was introduced into the Great Chapel in the Dominican church — to the accompaniment of those triumphant tunes and newly-composed anthems sung by cantors, friars and the faithful — Rev. Archbishop-Crowner [...] intoned *Te Deum Laudamus*<sup>61</sup>.

[...] The lunch was served for all the guests in four places. A gun salute was fired. The musicians sitting on the triumphant gates played a bugle call and other marches. The faithful and the confraternity from Yavoriv donated a silver votive deposit to Our Lady. Then, at 4 p.m. , Rev. Archbishop-Crowner started the vespers and solemnly celebrated them to the accompaniment of the sweetest music<sup>62</sup>.

On the next day — it was Friday the fourth of June and the feast of the Visitation of the Holy Mary — a procession took place and then

the Arch-confraternity together with the leader priest sang a rosary in front of the facade of Corpus Christi Church. Then, a gun salute was fired again, and the ensembles, consisting of the most renowned musicians who received special invitations for that performance, played their Litany of the Blessed Virgin from the triumphal gate<sup>63</sup>.

During the octave

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<sup>58</sup> Ibidem, [pp. 688-689].

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, [p. 745].

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, [p. 758].

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem, [p. 762].

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, [p. 764].

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, [p. 770].

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

silver votive deposits were donated by various groups of people who came to Lviv to celebrate the coronation and jubilee, as well as by the members of the city guilds with their banners, musicians, trumpeters and kettledrummers. During the octave and even later those ensembles whose turn to perform was in the morning provided the musical setting for the mass, and those whose turn was in the afternoon sang the litany before the uncovered image of Our Lady<sup>64</sup>.

### To conclude the octave

all the city walls and towers and triumphal gates mighty resounded with cannons, trumpets, kettledrums and [...] music; Rev. Archbishop-Crowner celebrated the vespers, adding priestly splendor to the common ceremony assisted by the most sacred chapter, all the clergy and wonderful music — with the same pomp and majesty as on the day of coronation<sup>65</sup>.

Besides, many processions comprising the representatives of city guilds, confraternities and private people were giving votive deposits — once again to the accompaniment of music. For example “on the 7th of July the confraternity of the holy rosary from Kostejiv processionally donated a silver deposit to the sound of trumpets, drums and orchestra [...] the weavers guild did so on the 13th of July, having marched in procession from the church of St. Stanislaus with their banner, trumpets and drums<sup>66</sup>”. Among various ensembles accompanying the city guilds in the above-mentioned processions there was also that of Corpus Christi Church. The musicians from Lviv donated their gift to the image of the Blessed Virgin on another occasion:

on 22 November, being the day of St. Cecilia, a patron of musicians and also of the Order of Preachers, all the ensembles from Lviv — i.e. that of the Archcathedral, of Corpus Christi Church and of the Jesuit Church — after the solemn mass in the Archcathedral went in procession [to Corpus Christi Church] together with the members of the Archconfraternity of the Holy Trinity. Having provided an accompaniment to newly-written plays staged at three corners of the city, they donated a huge votive deposit with lavishly gilded monogram of the Blessed Virgin<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, [p. 772].

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, [p. 774].

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, [s. 778].

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, [s. 779].

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

An intriguing aspect of Lviv in the eighteenth century was its multiculturalism reflected in the shape of the triumphal gate erected in front of the facade of Corpus Christi Church. Apart from that, the entire street from the Dominican temple to the main square was embellished with very specific paintings encouraging people to worship Our Lady. They presented the human supporters (called “genii”), representing the inhabitants of various countries, who hold and indicated the images of the Mother of God encouraging everybody to worship Her. Those pictures contained an inscription in a foreign language, including very exotic ones e.g., “Indian” “Arabian”, “Assyrian” or “Moorish” (cf. Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Two supporters (literally “the genii”) from the publication by Michał Wilczek — the Moor and the Englishman).



The ensemble from Corpus Christi was involved in the entire coronation feast, which proves its professional capabilities. It performed new compositions dedicated to the occasion (mainly litanies) but also some foreign works e.g., *Joas* by Niccolo Jomelli published in Venice in 1745. Wilczek included the whole libretto for this oratorio in his book entitled *Hasło Słowa Bożego*. In the beginning of chapter XXXII he wrote: “On the Sacred Oratorio Sung



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and Played during the Coronation Ceremony. In order to strictly follow the instructions of *Caeremoniale Romanum* regulating in which moments of the service and in which manner one ought to show respect to the Hallowed [...] then, on Tuesday falling in the octave of the coronation, Our newly crowned Lady was worshipped in various ways. The ensemble, consisting of the most renowned instrumentalists and singers, played a sacred oratorio by Niccolo Jomelli, formerly staged in Venice. The performance was excellent and audience delighted. The libretto, based on the biblical story, was prepared by Pietro Metastasio<sup>68</sup>. According to Robert Świętochowski the oratorio was played by the ensemble from Corpus Christi Church<sup>69</sup>. On the other hand, Wilczek claimed that the task required the employment of foreign musicians. Taking account of the available archival sources, the performance of Jomelli's work was hardly beyond the reach of the former group of artists, though.

Enumerating the members of the analyzed ensemble Robert Świętochowski paid particular attention mainly to the composers e.g., brother Jakub Domański OP (the 1740s), Hermanowski (1741–1743), Jan Staromieyski (1743) and Leopold Pych<sup>70</sup> who must have been highly regarded (the height and frequency of remunerations he received reflect his professional position). Interestingly enough, Świętochowski omitted a certain Żebrowski. Yet the manuscript Lw 57, apart from the income register, contains the expense register whose entries concern the maintenance costs of the ensemble. According to them, Żebrowski was its member between 1761 and 1768:

	Zlotys	Groszes
1761		
August: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	7	22
September: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	3	21
1762		
August: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	3	
25 October: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	3	

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, [s. 788].

<sup>69</sup> Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, p. 11

<sup>70</sup> See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, pp. 21-22.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w dominikańskim konwencie Bożego Ciała we Lwowie* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, *Musica Iagellonica*, Kraków 2016, pp. 153–180), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

1763		
3 January: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	4	
20 January: colophony for Mr. Żebrowski		7
22 February: strings for Mr. Żebrowski	6	10
1765		
June: strings for Żebrowski	2	
25 September: remuneration for Mr. Żebrowski for a symphony	1	8
1767		
10 May: colophony, bone glue and ink for Mr. Żebrowski	1	17
1768		
19 (?) I made a surcharge for Mr. Żebrowski's salary	10	
October: remuneration for Mr. Żebrowski, Mr. Pawlikowski and Gaździkowski for copying manuscripts		9

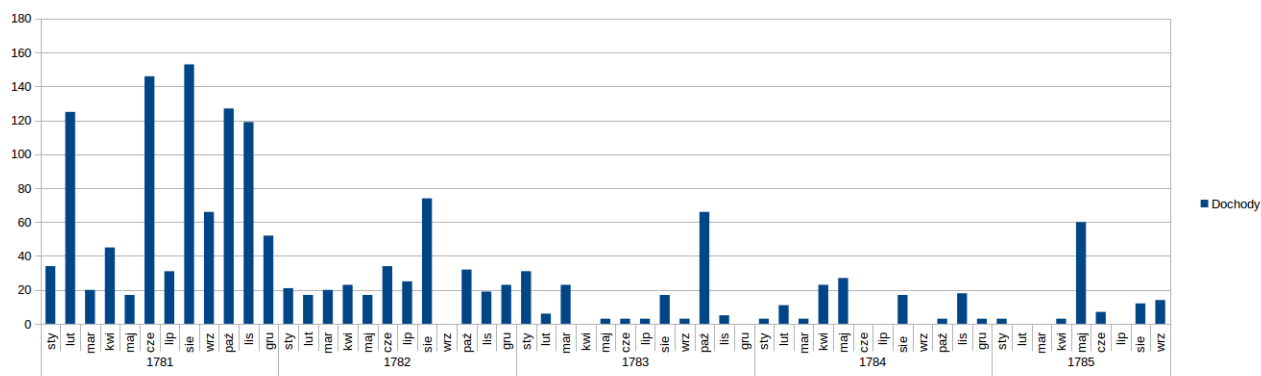
Is the above-mentioned Żebrowski identical with Marcin Józef Żebrowski, one of the most eminent Polish composers of his era? The surname Żebrowski was quite popular so it might be a pure coincidence. However, most of the records concerns strings and colophony and Marcin Józef Żebrowski — renowned for his play at the monastery of Jasna Góra — was a brilliant violinist. The entry dated on 25th of September 1765 is particularly interesting as it regards the remuneration for a symphony and the referred musician composed several works belonging to this genre<sup>71</sup>. On the other hand, Paweł Podejko determined that Marcin Józef Żebrowski resided in Jasna Góra from 1745 to 1765 and in 1780<sup>72</sup>, which cast doubt on his potential employment in Lviv. Unfortunately, there is still a 15-year gap to fill in the biography of the famous Żebrowski. The fee received for a symphony was so small that most probably concerned copying its manuscript. Żebrowski from Lviv several times purchased bone glue (perhaps to repair a violin) and ink; he was also an active copier (remuneration for Mr. Żebrowski [...] for copying manuscripts). A renowned composer, such as Marcin Józef Żebrowski, would surely prefer to have avoided such mundane tasks.

<sup>71</sup> See Paweł Podejko, *Kapela wokalnoinstrumentalna na Jasnej Górze*, Warszawa 2001.

<sup>72</sup> Paweł Podejko, *Katalog tematyczny rękopisów i druków muzycznych kapeli wokalnoinstrumentalnej na Jasnej Górze*, in: „*Studia Claromontana*”, vol. 12, Kraków 1992.

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There is no document allowing us to determine the exact date of dissolution of the Corpus Christi ensemble. According to Robert Świętochowski “it lasted until the end of the eighteenth century and was finally destroyed by the reforms of the emperor Joseph II<sup>73</sup>”. But the analysis of the archival sources may shed more light on the issue. The last records in the income ledger are from September 1785 to be followed by the series of blank pages. Of course, one may hypothesize that the ensemble was less and less active, and eventually keeping the separate account book became pointless. The structure of incomes in the last years covered by the ledger reveals more, though.



In 1781 the total income generated by the ensemble amounted to 935 zlotys. In 1782 a crisis struck: the income fell to 305 zlotys. In 1783 this severe economic slump deepened. The income fell to the meager sum of 160 zlotys and discipline slackened: the entries appeared concerning the cases of leasing the instruments (e.g., “for leasing double bass”) and of fines imposed on musicians for non attending the compulsory services. In the same year the Dominican friars charged 43 zlotys for “public masquerades and for non-attendances<sup>74</sup>”. In 1784 such fines amounted to 72 zlotys while the total income was 108 (almost 67%). The severe crisis lingered for another year when only 99 zlotys were earned by the ensemble (and as much as 60 of them were fines). Most probably its last performance took place in August 1785 at the feast of St. Bartholomew (14 zlotys was paid as a remuneration). One cannot exclude the possibility that few of its members from time to time played in Corpus Christi Church even later. However, it is only an unsupported hypothesis.

<sup>73</sup> Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne... (ciąg dalszy)*, w: „Muzyka”, nr 4, Warszawa 1963, p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> APPD cat. no. Lw 57, income register p. 28

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## **Conclusion**

The Dominican monastery and Corpus Christi Church in Lviv was an important centre of musical life within the city. The vocal-instrumental ensemble may have been established there in the half of the sixteenth century to reach its greatest glory in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Regrettably, only scarce material traces of existence of this ensemble, such as musical manuscripts, have been already found. On the other hand, some compositions by the musicians connected with the above-mentioned church (e.g., Leopold Pych or Jan Staromieyski) have been preserved in the collections belonging to other museums and monasteries. The available archival sources prove, nonetheless, that it may have been one of the biggest and most professional Dominican ensembles in the Polish Commonwealth.

translated by Piotr Plichta