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Musical Life of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order: the Monasteries that Did Not Maintain Permanent Ensembles

In the eighteenth century, there were three provinces of the Dominican Order on the territory of the Polish Commonwealth: Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian. They embraced about 160 monastic centers of which only few maintained permanent vocal-instrumental ensembles (at least for several years). The studies by Robert Świętochowski proved that in the early years of the seventeenth century, when vocal-instrumental music composed for religious purposes began to thrive in the Polish Commonwealth, the authorities of the order were persistently unwilling to the musical accompaniment in its churches except for plainchant¹. It stemmed from the concern for the comprehensibility of the texts of prayers and echoed the discussions carried on in the middle of the sixteenth century. It was the Council of Trent (1545-1563) that emphasized the disastrous impact of secular music on religious compositions and attempted at pruning the Catholic churches of polyphony blamed for making sacred texts unintelligible; it especially regarded masses. However, at the same time (in 1603) the chapter of the Polish Province permitted to use polyphony in the bigger monasteries (Kraków, Poznań, Vilnius, Lublin, Sandomierz, Przemyśl and Piotrków) where the performances of sophisticated music and the existence of ensembles seemed to be reasonable; regardless of the place, the polyphony was allowed at Marian feasts. Although this directive was later amended to meet the changing needs and expectations of the believers, it played the role of the main factor governing the time of the introduction of polyphony into Dominican temples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹ The directive of the chapter of the Polish Province of 1 July 1603, in: *Acta Cap. Posnaniensis*: „27. Ordinamus, ne cantus choralis postponatur. Ideo cantum figuralem non admittamus, nisi in conventibus maioribus, vide licet: Cracoviensi, Posnaniensi, Wilnensi Lublinensi, Sandomiriensi, Praemisliensi, Petricoviensi, ratione Iudiciorum Tribunalium, in minoribus vero cantu choralis utatur, exceptis solemnitatibus B.M.V.”; See *Acta Capitulum Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vol. II: *Akta kapituł prowincji i kongregacji Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego działających na obszarze Polski w jej historycznych granicach*, ed. Roman Fabian Madura, typescript, Archiwum Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, cat. no. S44/8a–d, p. 8; cf. O. Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce (ciąg dalszy)*, „Muzyka” 1963 nr 3, pp. 10–31, especially pp. 10–11.

The state of preservation of archival sources (particularly the monastery account ledgers recording the fees spent on musical ensembles) hinders the attempts to reconstruct the musical life in the Dominican churches in the seventeenth century. It is not entirely so about the eighteenth century because in this case the surviving documents enable the researchers to grasp more regularities in its shape. However, one should stress that the particular Dominican monasteries were, to a great extent, autonomous and governed by their internal councils. As a result, each of them turned out very specific, and no universal policy towards the introduction of polyphony has ever been made within the Order.

In all the Dominican temples, both in those maintaining the ensembles and in those abstaining from such a step, plainchant has always remained the basic form of musical setting during the services², although accompanied by the organ play and, perhaps, supplemented with organ compositions that are nowadays lost. The terms “organarius” or “cantor” added to some friars’ names referred to their functions and related duties. The extant archival books are full of names (and sometimes surnames) of cantors and organists; the latter were even more frequently recorded as their presence was obviously desirable. Secular organists were very often employed simultaneously with their Dominican counterparts or in place of them. The Order of Preachers put particular emphasis on providing the proper musical education to its members showing considerable aptitude for playing the keyboard instruments³. For instance, Andrzej Nizankowski (died 1655) was so gifted that the authorities of the Order decided to send him to Rome for further studies⁴. Hence, for three years Nizankowski played the organ in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva. Between 1633 and 1634 he even studied under the kind supervision of the famous local composer and organist Girolamo

² Every Dominican novice was taught the rudiments of plainchant and, potentially, general musical education. The provincial chapter in Lublin (1594) put emphasis on it.

³ There are some mentions concerning the training of the candidates for organ players in Belz in 1494. Cf. Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne...*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ The stay of Nizankowski in Rome is attested e.g. by the manuscript (APPD, cat.no. Pp 78, k. 24r) *Nekroipaφia seu Obitus Fratrum [...] of 1615* which was complemented by various scribes until the nineteenth century: „Fr Andreas Organista Nizankouius, in arte pulsandi organa suo saeculo vix parem habens, vt pote qui in proeuctioni aetate, Romam profectus, et in Con(ven)tu Super Mineruam per triennium organa cum laude pulsans, cupiens in hac arte perfectio reuadere, etiam nibi Magistro Frescobaldi vtebatur. Tandem in Conuentu Crac(oviensi), quem sua arte per multos annos, cum admiratione et laude multorum condecorauit, die 3^a Aprilis annum 63. supergressus. 1655. anno. fatis cessit.”. Almost the same information is provided by the manuscript of the middle of the eighteenth century stored in the General Archives of the Order of Preachers in Rome (AGOP XIV. Lib. LLL 13, k. 882r-916v) entitled *CONTINUATIO GESTORUM FF Ordinis Praedicatorum. In Regno Poloniaeac Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae de gentem Ab Anno Dni 1420.*, k. 913v.

Frescobaldi. A little earlier, about 1625, Frescobaldi took care of Franciszek Lilius in whose case the circumstances accompanying the studies in Rome were similar. Since 1630 Lilius has been a chapel master of the ensemble from the Wawel Cathedral in Kraków. He collaborated with the Dominican friars⁵ and, perhaps, recommended them the choice of Frescobaldi as a tutor for Nizankowski.

Although many Dominican monasteries reverberated only with plainchant (often with organ accompaniment), this study focuses on the fact that even those of them lacking separate ensembles were not entirely bereft of vocal-instrumental music with its mutable stylistics and irresistible power to attract the listeners' attention.

The oldest monastery of the Order of Preachers in Poland, established in Kraków in 1223, is thought to have greatly contributed to the development of music despite the fact that it is not fully attested by the archival sources. Being the seat of the authorities of the Polish Province, the cloister in Kraków provided its seminarians with the education on the level of *studium generale*⁶. The founder of the Dominican Order in Poland, St. Hyacinth, has been buried in the adjacent church of the Holy Trinity (in a coffin-like reliquary). In the first years of the seventeenth century, the ranks of Dominican friars greatly increased. The mother monastery, most populated in the entire province, was inhabited by 102 friars⁷ and their number was to grow in the subsequent decades. It was a beneficiary of multiple foundations involving the most powerful and influential houses of the Polish Commonwealth⁸.

⁵ In 1643 one published in print in Kraków the set of compositions by Lilius to the texts of Błażej Derey OP. The publication was entitled *Nabożne pieśni, które przy gromadnym odprawowaniu różańców [...] śpiewane być mogą* (Eng. Songs of Piety Suitable for a Performance During the Rosary Prayer in a Group). The contemporary edition: *Nabożne pieśni [...] Wydane przez Br. Błażeja Dereia*, Kraków 1645, facsimile edition, with the introduction of Tadeusz Maciejewski, Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, Warszawa 1977; four songs with the music by Lilius were published by Piotr Poźniak in: *Śpiewnik Staropolski*, zes. 1: *Pieśni Maryjne i o Świętych*, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 1995.

⁶ A classical but older study on the history of the Dominican Order in Poland is by Sadok Barącz OP: *Idem Rys dziejów Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, W. Maniecki, Lwów 1861, 2 volumes. The case of the monastery in Kraków is included in the second volume, pp. 303–308. For more recent research see one of the studies by Jerzy Kłoczowski (a bibliography of his works can be found in: *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska w Średniowieczu i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga (Wielu) Narodów*, «Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce», W Drodze, Kraków 2008, pp. 449–453.

⁷ Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Polska Prowincja Dominikańska...*, op. cit., p. 376.

⁸ For the most recent information on that issue see *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich dominikanów*, ed. Anna Markiewicz, Marcin Szyma, Marek Walczak, Wydawnictwo Esprit SC, Kraków 2013. For the issues connected with e.g. financing the monastery and the church see Marek Miławicki OP, *Kształtowanie się własności ziemskiej klasztoru dominikanów w Krakowie w okresie przedrozbiorowym*, w: *Inter Oeconomiam Coelestem et Terrenam. Mendykanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne*, ed. Wiesław Długokęcki, Tomasz Gałuszka OP, Rafał Kubicki, Anna Zajchowska, Wydawnictwo Esprit SC, Kraków 2011, pp. 277–301.

Interestingly enough, in spite of its privileged status, the Holy Trinity church apparently lacked the separate ensemble, at least in the second half of the eighteenth century (the surviving account books cover that period). Yet some polyphonic works must have been performed in Kraków before 1700. The book of rosary fraternity from the same church, written in 1694⁹, includes the picture whose purpose was, most probably, to present its interior (as suggests the placing of the image of the Holy Trinity in the main altar). According to that picture, on the southern side of a chancel, above the choir stalls, there was a small organ loft. Against the backdrop of organ casing, its author depicted a group of Dominican musicians embracing a singer, a boy (treble singer), a violinist, an organist and, perhaps, a cantor-conductor. If this picture had reflected some real event, it would be a proof of occasional performances taking place in the temple. One may also speculate that the presented setting is typical of the Polish musical repertoire of the seventeenth century because it seems to reflect a church concerto for a limited number of voices. Besides, there are some separate records in the expense ledger covering the early years of the seventeenth century that might refer to the sporadic performances of a musical-vocal ensemble conducted by a cantor¹⁰.

Somewhat after 1600 (perhaps about 1635), an anonymous Italian monk visited multiple Dominican monasteries in Poland, including the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kraków and the adjacent cloister inhabited by 130 friars. He marveled at the beauty of both and was delighted with the piety of the believers who visited the grave of St. Hyacinth all day and all night long. He emphasized the fact that the sung mass was celebrated there every day, and mentioned two high-quality pipe organs¹¹. The first of these instruments was probably built in 1534 by Klemens of Mielec OP on the occasion of the beatification of St. Hyacinth¹². The second organ was big and built after 1530 owing to the donation of the Dominik Michałowski, a bishop and a member of the Order of Preachers). In 1689 the Rosary Chapel

⁹ *W Imię Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystus Centurya Arcybractwa Rożańca Świętego [...] w Roku Panskim 1694 [...]*, APPD, cat. no. Kr B4. The upper part of this miniature is presented on the cover of this book. I give my acknowledgements to father Ireneusz Wysokiński, the head of the Archives of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order for this consent to photocopy and scan it.

¹⁰ Several entries of the years 1603–1609 were quoted by Robert Świętochowski. See Robert Świętochowski *Tradycje muzyczne zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce (ciąg dalszy)*..., op. cit., p. 11.

¹¹ [...] L'altar maggiore è così alto che tocca la volta, e tutto dorato; di larghezza poi ampia tutto il vano della Chiesa, o p(er) dirmeglio, del Choro, vi sono due Organi di bonta singolare." AGOP cat.no. XI.20. Anonymous document, undated, untitled and still unpublished k. 1v.

¹² See Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce (dokończenie)*, „Muzyka” 9, 1964 nr 2, pp. 49–52. See also http://www.organy.art.pl/instrumenty.php?instr_id=245 [accessed July 2014].

was provided with a positive organ. Besides, there was one more organ in the church, equally old as those mentioned by the unnamed Italian. Its description included in the inventory list of 1820 is as follows¹³:

In the middle of the church, on the vast loft, there is an old-fashioned organ. It seems to be suspended in the air because it almost touches the vault. The loft, made of pinewood and painted, lacks embellishments. One may enter it through the door fixed with the iron fittings. The doorframe is made of stone. The door leads to the church attic and then to the corridor in the cloister. This organ is no longer used. Some of its pipes were removed and transferred to the new instruments standing above the main entrance to the temple. As it is in danger of collapsing, it urgently needs dismantling.

Going back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is worth recalling that this was a period in which - among other things, thanks to the efforts of the abbot Erazm Koniuszowski¹⁴ - some important artistic initiatives took place leading to enrichment of the interior of the chapel of St. Hyacinth and consequent stylistic changes within. The church and organ were repainted at that time¹⁵.

No later than in 1618 the local prior established a very fruitful cooperation with the leading artist of the early Baroque era in Poland, the Venetian Tommaso Dolabella (c. 1570-1650), who created many valuable paintings for the Order of Preachers¹⁶. The new spirit of Baroque art of the Italian origin has become visible in Kraków. It also affected music.

Although this is not supported by archival sources, Dominicans friars may have employed multiple musicians from Kraków whenever it was necessary. For instance, since the 1540s the Rorantist Ensemble has performed in the Sigismund's Chapel. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Wawel Castle was still a place where periodically resided royal court

¹³ There were three organs in the church 1) big organ on the loft above the main entrance built by Józef Sitarski in the years 1765–1768 2) small organ in the chancel by the Chapel of St. Hyacinth. 3) another organ, small and very old.

¹⁴ Koniuszowski was the prior of the Dominican monastery in Kraków from 1607 to 1610 and from 1614 to 1622.

¹⁵ AGOP XIV. Lib. LLL 13, k. 901v: [Koniuszowski] „Ecclesiam totam cum organis depinxit”.

¹⁶ Dolabella lived in the tenement house at Stolarska street in Kraków from 1618 until his death. He has been buried in the Holy Trinity Church. The tenement house belonged to the Order of Preachers. See Jerzy Żmudziński, „Opus vitae” *Tomasza Dolabelli w krakowskim kościele i klasztorze Dominikanów* oraz Anna Pawłowska, *Retoryka sztuki. Rola fundacji artystycznych w krakowskim klasztorze Dominikanów w dobie potrydenckiej reformy Kościoła*, w: *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich dominikanów...*, op. cit. pp. 691–702, 567–575.

together with a large ensemble consisting of Italian artists headed by Asprilio Pacelli who arrived to Poland from Rome.

Zygmunt III Waza eventually settled in Warsaw for good, so in 1619 the bishop of Kraków established a vocal-instrumental ensemble at the Wawel Cathedral able to perform the works written in *stile moderno*. In 1630 one appointed its head Franciszek Lilius, a descendant of the Italian family of musicians. Nizankowski was an organist in the Holy Trinity church until his death in 1655, and certainly had an opportunity to play there some works by Frescobaldi. Lilius passed on two years later, in 1657. Many of his polyphonic masses, church concertos and instrumental works may have been performed in the same temple, but only one printed publication of 1645 (*Nabożne pieśni* — Eng. Songs of Piety — four simple devotional songs resembling polyphonic lauds and written for rosary fraternities) attests his relationship with the Order of Preachers. One of these songs entitled *Święty Jacyniec z pałacu Boskiego* (Eng. O, Saint Hyacinth who Dwells in the Lord's Palace) pertains to the founder of Polish Dominicans.

Father Błażej Derey, residing in the Dominican monastery in Kraków from 1635 until his death in 1666¹⁷, no doubt deserves the name of *spiritus movens* of musical life within its walls as a copyist and illuminator. He prepared plainchant manuscripts and the edition of *Antiphonary*¹⁸ used in various monastic centers belonging to the Dominican order. He was an editor and, perhaps, the author of the texts of *Nabożne Pieśni*. He also contributed to the preparation of the polyphonic versions of several compositions that were performed not only in Kraków such as *Bogurodzica* (Eng. Mother of God), *Credo Mazoviticum*¹⁹, or the sequence in praise of St. Hyacinth entitled *Salvatorem collaudamus*. These works are polyphonic, but their striking simplicity stems from *stile antico*, the sixteenth-century convention prevailing in the Holy Trinity church until 1650.

¹⁷ Cf. Derey Błażej, w: *Słownik muzyków polskich*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Kraków 1964, vol. 1, p. 107; Robert Świętochowski, *Kapela OO. Dominikanów w Gidlach*, „Muzyka” 18, 1973 nr 4, p. 65.

¹⁸ *Antiphonarium de tempore et de sanctis iuxta ritum sacri ordinis praedicatorum. Pars Hyemalis*, Kraków 1655. That publication contains the melodies according to their reformed versions i.e. pruned of folk elements. The reform of plainchant was conducted about 1626 by another Dominican monk, Izajasz of Lipnica. Cf. Robert Świętochowski, *Tradycje muzyczne zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce (ciąg dalszy)...*, op. cit., pp. 22–23.

¹⁹ See Waldemar Kapeć, *Czterogłosowa „Bogurodzica” z kancjonału o. Błażeja Derey’a z 1630 r.* and id. *Pięciogłosowe „Patrem Mazoviticum” z kancjonału O. Błażeja Derey’a z 1630 roku*; both studies are available on the webpage <http://users.dominikanie.pl/~wkapec/> in the Tab. „Muzyka” [accessed: January 2016].

The shape of musical life in the Cracow Dominican was, to some extent, influenced by the activities of the fraternity of the Holy Rosary that — according to the tradition — was founded by St. Hyacinth. This is evidenced not only the publication of *Pieśni nabożne* (Eng. The Songs of Piety). Owing to the efforts of father Valerian Litwanides in the seventeenth century the fraternity started imitating the annual processions held in Bologna on the feast of the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary and the anniversary of the battle of Lepanto²⁰. The celebrations took place on the main market square and included the ceremonial translation of the relics of St Hyacinth. They were attended by almost entire city, among others by the senators and monks “whose songs reverberated with joy²¹.”

Despite the obvious differences, there is mutual resemblance between musical life in Dominican cloisters in Kraków and Bologna. In both of them, it was centered around the tomb of the saint and founder of the monastery as well as around the cult of the holy rosary involving the activity of dedicated fraternity. We can assume that in the city on the Vistula river, as in the San Domenico, a way of providing musical setting to the services was the employment of external ensembles maintained by other churches and monasteries in the city.

Musical life in the Holy Trinity church probably faded in the period of disastrous Swedish invasion of 1655-1660. It was also hindered by fire that consumed the temple in 1668 and 1681. However, in the 1680s new main altar was erected (it burnt down in 1850²²) whose authors were George Hankins and sculptor from Olomouc, Franz Zürn. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a new decoration of the chapel of St. Jack was done by Baldassare Fontana²³. Due to the lack of appropriate archival sources, the shape of musical life in the Krakow Dominicans in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century remains obscure.

In this difficult and uncertain times, however, many illustrious composers associated with the ensembles from the Wawel Cathedral were still active in Kraków, among others Bartłomiej Pękiel (d. approx. 1666) and Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki (a chapel master of the

²⁰ Dolabella immortalized such a procession in his painting entitled *Battle of Lepanto*, which in fact referred to the newly fought battle of Chocim. The procession was a real event taking place in 1621 to beseech God to support Polish army against the Turks. The painting, made for the Dominican monastery in Poznań, is now housed by the State Museum of Art at Wawel Castle in Kraków.

²¹ The account of the procession by Justyn Miechowita quoted after: Anna Pawłowska, *Retoryka sztuki...*, op. cit., p. 572.

²² The Church of the Holy Trinity was almost completely consumed by fire in 1850.

cathedral ensemble in the years 1698-1734). Simultaneously, some monastery ensembles started thriving, for instance these run by the Calced Carmelites from the Church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesuits from the church of St. Peter and Paul. Dominican fathers could at times employ both (as well as other local ensembles); the necessary musical materials probably belonged to the employed. One can only guess which composition present in the seventeenth-century repertoire would be the most suitable work to perform in the temple of the Holy Trinity. In respect of setting and subject, the anonymous church concert for a soprano voice, two violins, and organ to the text whose incipit is *Gaude Fili Hiacinthe* might be taken into account²⁴. It is very short and technically non-demanding. Its form consists of relatively few phrases whereas the text put emphasis on the glory of St Hyacinth and the idea of intercession of Our Lady²⁵.

The analysis of the account books covering the period 1763-1801, i.e. the last decade of existence of the Polish Commonwealth and the early years of the partitions (cf. Appendix, Tables 1, 2)²⁶ sheds a little more light on the issue of musical culture in the referred Dominican church. Owing to the donation of Roman Sierakowski in the 1760s the equipment in the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary underwent changes. In the 1780s the side altars in the aisles were replaced²⁷. As regards Polish music, it started to exhibit a stylistic shift and show more and more interest in instrumental compositions, although the religious repertoire was characterized by coexistence of the features typical of the late Baroque and galant style.

²³ His best work in Kraków is the interior of the academic Church of St. Ann.

²⁴ The provenance of that work is dubious. According to some scholars, it might have been prepared in the vicinity of Kraków. Adolf Chybiński mistakenly ascribed it to Jacek Różycki due to the convergence of the name of the composer and the title of the composition. The copy is stored in the Jagiellonian Library among the manuscripts bearing cat. no 5272 (file 46). Cf. Zofia Surowiak, *Zbiory muzyczne proveniencji podkrakowskiej*, zeszyt 1, «Musicalia vetera. Katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce», vol. II, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Kraków 1972.

²⁵ „Gaude Fili Hiacinthe quia tuae a Filio meo exaudiantur preces et quicquid petendum dixeris me interveniente consequeris. Gaude Fili Hiacinthe quia a Filio meo exaudiantur tuae preces. Gaude Fili Hiacinthe gaude gloriose. Alleluia.” („Rejoice, o son Hyacinth, for your prayers to my Son have been answered, and he complied with all your requests owing to my intercession. Rejoice, o son Hyacinth, for your prayers to my Son have been answered. Rejoice in the glory of God, Alleluiah”).

²⁶ *Liber perceptaru depositariorum Conventus Cracoviensis Ord: Praed: [...] 1763. Die 12 Mensis. Jul.*; entry in the back of the book: *Liber expensarum depositariorum Conventus Cracoviensis [...] 1763. Die 12 Mensis. Jul.*; manuscript APPD, cat. no. Kr 28. Because the entries from both books pertaining to music are presented in the tables in the Annex, this study contain few quotations and lacks the references to the particular pages of the manuscript.

²⁷ Anna Dettloff, *Rzeźbiarskie wyposażenie kościoła Dominikanów w Krakowie w XVIII w.*, w: *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich dominikanów...*, op. cit., pp. 775–786.

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, these were cantors and organists who took care of musical setting in the monastery in various Dominican monasteries (e.g. in Gidle). With this respect, Kraków was not an exception. Because in the Holy Trinity Church they were both monks already provided with lodging and board, their remunerations were relatively low amounting to 30 zlotys per year²⁸. It is known that at least from 1763 to 1769 the post of organist in the analyzed temple was held by father Bernard Bittner (Bitner), not identical with Libory Bytner being an organist in Gidle from 1755 to 1764 (contrary to the opinion of Robert Świętochowski)²⁹. The general refurbishment of the shrine taking place at that time included not only some major changes in its interior design but also the works pertaining to a large new organ placed on the loft above the main entrance; the necessary funds were given, among others, by Benedykt Ronikiewicz and the then father provincial, as well as by the authorities of the Franciscan Clarisses whose convent was adjacent to the church of St. Andrew in Kraków. The instrument was built by the organ master Józef Sitarski whereas Jan Fegg (also known as Jan Wag) made the woodcarvings. Fegg was an artist of German origin and the executor of many similar orders in various churches in Kraków³⁰. Somewhat earlier, between 1745-1754, Sitarski has constructed an organ for the Cistercian abbey in Jędrzejów; it is still in use. He agreed to build such an instrument inside the Wawel Cathedral, too³¹. As concerns his contract in the Holy Trinity church, it included not only the erection of the organ but the modernization of the loft. The resulting instrument, which regrettably burnt down in 1850, was a pioneering attempt to provide the organ with the new, early-classical tone. Despite all the mastery of the project, the bellows were misplaced. Repeatedly repaired in the 1770s and 1780s, they had to be moved to another location in 1781³².

After August 1778, the organist was brother Wincenty Różycki (Różycka), a sub-sacristan. In May 1782, he decided that the monastery needs a piano for more private

²⁸ In the monastery in Gidle the lowest annual salary of the secular musician amounted to 60 zlotys.

²⁹ Robert Świętochowski OP, *Kapela OO. Dominikanów w Gidlach*, „Muzyka” 71, 1973 nr 4, p. 64. According to the ledger, on 30 XI 1764 he went to Sieradz. See the study on musical life in the sanctuary of Gidle included in this book.

³⁰ More on the look and construction of the organ loft and casing and their embellishments (sculptures) See Anna Dettloff, *Rzeźbiarskie wyposażenie kościoła Dominikanów w Krakowie w XVIII w.*, op. cit., pp. 776–777.

³¹ Waldemar Kapeć OP, *Zachowane dyspozycje organów Józefa Sitarskiego*, available on the webpage <http://users.dominikanie.pl/~wkapec/>, in the Tab „Muzyka”.

³² The repair works were conducted by Ogonowski.

performances. It cost 100 zlotys. The prior gave necessary 70 zlotys, but because Różycki spent another 30 from his private funds, he considered the piano as his own. Therefore, in April 1786 the authorities of the order eventually returned him the input. That is one of many episodes being the evidence that in the monastic circles in the Polish Commonwealth music was also performed as a form of leisure³³. It is not known whether the grotesque annexation of the piano contributed to the change on the position of organist at the church of the Holy Trinity. In November 1786 this post was, nevertheless, taken for the subsequent seven years by brother (then father) Antonin Lipski³⁴. The third partition of the country (1795) resulted in less regular payment for the organist. It can be assumed that between 1795 and 1801 a certain father Apolinary held this post; he played partially for free.

In the account ledgers covering the second half of the eighteenth century, as few as one name of a cantor was recorded. It belongs to Kajetan Aczkiewicz who might have been employed as a cantor much longer but was mentioned only in the entries of 1767-1768. It is hard to figure out what was the reason for the fact that at the beginning of 1781 the monastery decided to employ for two years “a castle cantor” (most probably a member of one of the ensembles from the Wawel Castle). His task, typically performed by a friar-cantor, was to learn the Dominican novices the rudiments of plainchant. One may hypothesize that the “castle cantor” was Bernard Bitner. Formerly a member of the order, Bitner discarded the habit after its highest authorities refused to appoint him preacher general. Having been secularized, he received a dispensation necessary to become a vicar at the Wawel Cathedral. Since 1774 he had been recorded as a chapel master of the ensemble performing in this church. In the 1780s and 1790s, he conducted the Rorantists Ensemble. Hence, the phrase “castle cantor” might refer to him³⁵.

Masses were those regular and year-long church services in which musical setting could have been provided, although more often in the form of plainchant than polyphony. Of course, relatively few high masses were celebrated in comparison to the number of the low ones. According to the surviving list of mass intentions of 1726, in that particular year in the Holy Trinity church only ten percent of them (192 of 1967) was sung. All others were read

³³ See e.g.. Alina Mądry, *Barok, cz. 2...*, op. cit., pp. 363–367.

³⁴ Father Wincenty Różycki worked as an organist in the monastery in Klimontów for seven months (27 April–27 November 1793). Then he moved to the cloister of St. Mary Madeleine in Sandomierz

³⁵ Cf. Robert Świętochowski OP, *Kapela OO. Dominikanów w Gidlach*, op. cit., p. 64

(1967)³⁶. Another permanent devotion involving the same type of music was singing of the Marian Litany of Loreto by probationers. According to the directives of the Warsaw chapter of the Order of Preachers (1616), in the Dominican churches, this service was compulsory and took place on every Saturday. As regards the monastery in Kraków, in the eighteenth century the Litany of Loreto was sung on Tuesdays, too. These additional performances took place after the lunch in the St. Dominic Chapel located the southern aisle of the church. The place was also known as the Myszkowski Chapel³⁷. The influential family epitomized in its name donated 4000 zlotys to the cloister, and at least since 1763 the annual interest on this sum, amounting to 100 zlotys, has been partially used to remunerate the singing novices taking part in the above devotion (they were given 20 zlotys).

It is worth noting that the creation of private foundations, dedicated to the celebration of certain types of devotions involving music, forced the Dominican friars from Kraków to engage vocal-instrumental ensembles available in the city (there is no information from which churches they were). Thus, until 1767 the interest on the estates in Dobranowice and Poborowice (amounting to 160 zlotys) was spent for providing music to the annual celebrations in honor of St. Pius V falling on the 5th of May. Pius V had become a member of the Order of Preachers in Vigevano long before he was elected a Pope. He died in the odor of sanctity in 1572 to be proclaimed a saint on the 22th of May 1712. In the Polish Commonwealth, his cult began spreading soon after that event, although it is not known when it found its way to the monastery in Krakow³⁸.

In a similar manner, between 1768 and 1783 the Dominican friars from Cracow paid for the services of ensembles solemnizing the annual feast of St. Mary Magdalene (falling on the 22nd of July). In this case, the required fees came from the interest on the money donated by father Apolinary Bielowicz. Because Bielowicz was the head of the Polish Province of the Dominican Order in the years 1737–1740, one may assume that the referred feast had been

³⁶ The manuscript (loose card) entitled *Reductio Onerum Missarum. Conventus Cracoviensis Provinciae Poloniae Ordinis Praedicatorum. Facta ab Ejusdem Ordinis Reverendissimo Patre Magistro Generali Patre Thoma Ripoll Anno Domini 1726*, AGOP XIV. Lib. AAA Pars 2.

³⁷ The litanies celebrated on Saturdays may have been sung as well, but the expense ledgers do not contain sufficient evidence of such practice.

³⁸ The services in honor of St. Pius V in the church of St. Jacob in Sandomierz have been celebrated since 1735. That tradition was initiated by the then prior Florian Istubowicz. See *Index expensarum Conventus [...] Sub Titulo S. Jacobi Apostoli Majoris [...] in Antiqua Sandomiria [...] Anno Domini 1732 Die 29 Januarij [...]*; rękopis w Bibliotece Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu, sygn. G. 876, p. 48v.

already celebrated much before 1768. The money invested in the town of Andrychów brought the monastery 80 zlotys per year, and the costs pertaining to the ensemble amounted to 20. The musicians played vocal-instrumental compositions during the vespers and masses (votive and sung) as well as the so-called stage concerts or loggia concerts (in the archival sources they were referred to as “ganki”: this is regular plural form of the Polish noun whose basic meaning is “a porch”, but in that case used in the obsolete sense of an open, usually elevated, platform surrounded with a balustrade and musical concerts played from such an “stage”) that consisted of open-air pieces involving wind instruments (performed e.g., from the church tower or in front of the temple). The archival sources from multiple cultural centers (e.g. Sandomierz, Jasna Góra) indicate that this was common practice in the eighteenth-century Poland³⁹.

After 1700 polyphonic passion gained popularity in many European countries, as it strongly appealed to the imagination of the faithful. In the Polish Commonwealth, such performances included not only biblical texts but also *plancti*, vernacular poems expressing mourning and grief⁴⁰. In the Holy Trinity Church in Kraków, there was a woman called Mrs. Mateuszowa who leased one the tenement houses near the temple belonging to the Dominican Order. For almost a decade (1787-1796) she had paid a sum of 54 or 60 zlotys for playing vocal and instrumental passion on every Sunday of Lent.

Aside from the permanent foundations dedicated to provide religious services with music, wealthier people paid for the involvement of a cantor, organist or ensemble in a mass or funeral ceremony.

Until 1774 musical ensembles participated in the services celebrated in the Holy Trinity church only to a limited extent. That was due to financial strains resulting from the complexity of the political situation of the country and the burden of building new organ. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, however, the improvement of the situation allowed for inviting the musicians to the Dominican temple in Kraków as many as seven times per year. The occasions to do it were, of course, the major Christian feasts (Christmas, Easter, The Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, the Feast of the Holy Trinity and All Saints’ Day), but also the feasts of the Blessed Virgin and Dominican saints (St. Dominic, St. Hyacinth and

³⁹ See Alina Mądry, *Barok, cz. 2.....*, op. cit., pp. 158, 223.

St Thomas). The ensemble provided musical setting to the votive masses, high masses, and the first and second vespers. Occasionally, it solemnized the ceremony of celebrating the first mass by the newly ordained priests, took part in the early morning Advent masses (Pol. roraty) and sung Christmas carols. One should notice that the public processions in the octave of Corpus Christi, taking place outside the church, were accompanied by music, too. The amount of “stage concerts” increased in the 1780s: on the day of St. Dominic in 1787 three of them were played.

The Order of Preachers in Kraków took care of the church of St. Giles located at the foot of the Wawel Hill. This temple is very small, so one cannot perform gigantic musical works within its walls. However, there was a small positive organ inside, and an ensemble played inside (perhaps as much reduced as possible). The local canon priest was obliged to celebrate three masses in St. Giles every week, and one of them had to be sung⁴¹. Dominican cantors celebrated high masses also in the St. Mary’s Church adjacent to the Main Market Square⁴². In 1798 and 1799 the rosary fraternity became more active than in the previous years. It paid several times for the organ play during the services and financially remunerated the ensemble for the performances during the votive masses at the feasts of St. Dominic and St. Hyacinth.

According to the account ledger, in November and December 1782 the analyzed Dominican monastery was visited by a chapel master and composer spelled as “Bryxy” and marked as “a famous musician.” This episode from the musical history of the place is both intriguing and full of riddles. The most famous composer bearing this name, František Xaver Brixl, died in 1771. Therefore, the guest of the friars from Kraków might have been Václav Norbert (father Jeroným) Brixl (1738–1803), a Cistercian monk and organist since 1781 being a chapel master in the parochial church in Planá. However, it is more probable that “Bryxy” is identical with Viktorin (Ignác) Brixl (1716–1803) an organist, composer and chapel master in Poděbrady. His compositions, imbued with the Neapolitan stylistic features, embrace masses, offertories, arias, the oratorio *Jephta* and a keyboard sonata. “Bryxy” sold the Dominican

⁴⁰ See Karol Mrowiec, *Pasje wielogłosowe w muzyce polskiej XVIII wieku*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Kraków 1972.

⁴¹ Manuscript in AGOP, cat. no. XIV. Liber O, pars secunda, pp. 803-805.

⁴² *Catalogus Patrum et Fratrum in Conventu Cracoviensi [...] 1756*, manuscript in AGOP, cat. no. XI.20120, [k. 1r]: „B.V. Mae in foro Cracoviensi S V P. fr. Aeschilius Trzebuchovski. Cantor. annum aetatis agens 32. Prof. 12.” In the same year (1756) the cantor in the monastery in Kraków was: „V. P. fr Vincentius Schwartz Cantor Chori figuralis. annum aetatis agens 29. Prof. 11.”; *ibid.*

friars fifteen of his compositions for 108 zlotys (two requiem masses, three solemn masses, and ten preludes of more private character).

The archival sources, scant as they are, show that especially in the eighteenth century (but also in the seventeenth) the monastery and temple of the Holy Trinity in Kraków was an important cultural center in which polyphonic church music was performed, supported and popularized. It enriched the services at the feasts celebrated by the Catholic Church, as well as those more important for the whole Order of Preachers, or its branch residing in Kraków, or particular believers and donors.

In the eighteenth century, there was another cloister involved in the development of polyphonic music. As early as in 1226, only three years after the establishment of the Holy Trinity temple in Kraków, bishop of that place Iwo Odrowąż decided that some Dominican monks should settle in the already existing church of St. Jacob in Sandomierz. The history of this settlement quickly turned out to be tragic, because at the turn of 1259 and 1260 all the friars (forty-nine) were slain by the Tartars. Consequently, the local cult of these martyrs has flourished. The revived monastery was once again invaded and plundered in 1657, together with the entire city, and the perpetrator was the prince of Transylvania George Rákóczi II with his Swedish allies. This time one Dominican father was killed (Augustyn Rogala). The monastery survived all the later wars and turmoil until the tsar's edict of the 9 of November 1864 on its dissolution. The monks moved to nearby Klimontów. Twenty years later large part of the former cloister was turned into barracks, but the more deteriorated areas were subjected to demolition. The church of St. Jacob was partially burnt in 1905 to undergo disputable reconstruction. Inside the shrine, there have been a sarcophagus and tombstone monument of the woman considered its founder: duchess Adelajda who died in the thirteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, the monastery mentioned above belonged to the poorest Dominican cloisters in the entire Polish Province both regarding the size of its budget and economic condition⁴³. The donations it received were hardly ever lavish, but it had many

⁴³ The manuscript entitled *Tabella Varias in Columnas Discributa In quibus Caenobia Provinciae Poloniae [...] Conscripta 12. Januarij Anno Domini 1774* (AGOP, sygn. XIII.17025) includes the fees at the disposal of the particular monasteries belonging to the Polish Province of the Order of Preachers. According to that source, the priories of St. Jacob and St. Mary Madeleine in Sandomierz were among poorest in the province with the budgets amounting to 21.896 and 19.000 florins, respectively. For the sake of the comparison: the monasteries in Poznań (116.957), Kościan (31.609), and Klimontów (40.500) were wealthier. The Dominicans from the Holy Trinity Church in Kraków, being the capitol of the province, were ten times richer (256.363 florins) than their

smaller sources of income such as: rent of premises (for residential and commercial purposes e.g. as salt storages and granaries), donations in kind, financial donations, public collections, special-purpose funds (e.g. for celebrating masses, Christmas Eve and processions; for the rosary fraternity), lease of inns, the charges for saying mass and others⁴⁴. The anonymous Italian pilgrim whose opinions are quoted in this publication was in Sandomierz in 1634. He described the place as a beautiful town rich in orchards whose quality outpaces the other ones in Poland. However, according to him, the church was austere-looking and the cloister in poor condition except for the refectory. He was surprised by the fact that the anniversary of martyrdom of the Dominican monks was celebrated in the collegiate church instead of the temple belonging to their order⁴⁵.

The musical life at St. Jacob's is partially reflected in its archival documents. These are, above all, the account ledgers covering the years 1732–1758⁴⁶ and 1776–1807⁴⁷ (Cf. Annex, Tab. 3,5). Similar sources covering the entire seventeenth century and the missing years of the eighteenth have not survived. The financial condition of the monastery was indeed bad. Between 1700 and 1750 the balance sheets, regularly prepared, always indicated the budget deficit which initially amounted to about 7%, raised up to 75% (around 1750). The budget become more balanced in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The number of entries pertaining to the expenditures on music varies from zero to more than a dozen each year. Unfortunately, the information regarding the incomes dedicated to musical life are very rare. They refer mainly to singing votive masses and masses for the dead as well as the repair of the organ (Cf. Annex, Tab. 4).

The entries in the account ledgers had to be accepted by the current prior who, to the great extent, shaped the activities and the lifestyle of the monks. Therefore, the records shed some light on their actual interest in music. However, one should take into consideration the

counterparts from Sandomierz. The monasteries maintaining their own ensembles had 103.000 (Gidle), 87.450 (Dzików) and 105.000 (Borek Stary), respectively.

⁴⁴ The earlier economic history of the monasteries in Sandomierz was described by Dominika Burdzy in her study *Majątek dominikańskich klasztorów św. Jakuba i św. Marii Magdaleny w Sandomierzu do końca XVI w.*, w: *Inter Oeconomiam Coelestem et Terrenam...*, op. cit., pp. 333–360.

⁴⁵ AGOP cat. No. XI.20, k. 6 r-v.

⁴⁶ *Index Expensarum Conventus [...] in Ecclesia Sub Titulo S. Jacobi Apostoli Majoris [...] in Antiqua Sandomiria [...] Anno Domini 1732 Die 29 Januarij [...]*; from the back of the book: *Elenchus Perceptarum [...] 1732 Die 29 Januarij*; Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, cat. no. G 876.

⁴⁷ *Regestra Expensarum Convento Sandomiriensis ad S. Jacobum Apostolum [...] comparata Anno Dni 1776 [...]*; BDS, cat. no. G 1074. The excerpts from the account ledgers are provided by rev. Stanisław Makarewicz in *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów kultury artystycznej dominikanów sandomierskich w XVIII w.*, „Studia

miserable financial condition of the monastery and the impact of wars and conflicts that accompanied the gradual decline of the state. The entries of the years 1732–1736 are not so numerous, but particularly rich in valuable information. At that time the prior was Florian Istubowicz. He came from Kraków and was once (at the turn of 1726 and 1727) appointed the head of the second Dominican monastery in Sandomierz adjacent to the church of St. Mary Madeleine. Istubowicz strove for improving the spiritual and cultural life in St. Jacob's and during his term of office the priory spent annually 40 florins (about 3% of all the expenditures) on music. The entries written by him are sometimes close to the work of a historian depicting the daily struggle for survival in the middle of austere and harsh province.

Organ play was relatively the most stable form of musical accompaniment in St. Jacob's. Regrettably, the available archival sources are not precise enough to tell us how often the organists were changed (contrary to the situation in Kraków, they were laymen), or if the friars (none of them received adequate musical education) occasionally employed two or more of them. The copyists sometimes did not provided the names of organists. The entries of 1741–1742 and 1744–1745 do not mention the fees spent on organist. Perhaps none of musicians agreed to play in the Dominican temple at that time. For the local instrumentalists the first employer was the parochial church of St. Paul, and despite the mutual proximity of both shrines performing in St. Jacob's was considered as a secondary and hardly profitable job. Only six names of the organists were recorded in the entries in the account books covering, more or less, the first half of the eighteenth century. These were: Adamski, Andrzej Wizbicki and Jakub Cernikowicz (1732); Jacek Paskiewicz (1733–1736); Szajewski (1752); Michał (1753–1754). As for Paskiewicz, there is another, more elaborate, entry concerning him. According to this note, dated on the 7 of January 1734, his annual salary amounted to the meager sum of 20 zlotys. However, he was receiving additional in-kind support and was allowed to eat at monastery every Sunday:

As for the salary of the organist Jacek Paskiewicz, he received 4 korzec (about 500 kg) of rye and the board instead of the due 5 zlotys for playing at ember days and feasts. Therefore, his salary will amount to 20 zlotys. First of all, I pawned back his attire, because he was dressed in sheepskin as beggars do (4 zlotys, 22 groszes). Added on the 1th of May: second of all, I bought him a hat in

Kraków, because he asked me (4 zlotys). Added on the 1st July: to pay 8 zlotys and 22 groszes. To sum up: I added 11 zlotys and 8 groszes to the 20 zlotys mentioned above.

In the analyzed era it was common to receive an amount of vodka as the equivalent of one's salary⁴⁸. The remuneration of organists eventually increased up to 40 zlotys per year. The fees spent e.g. for clothes were, nevertheless, deducted from this sum. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the post of organist was hardly ever vacant, but the personal rotation of its holders proved to be quite high. Among the known organists employed in that period were: Benedykt Kiciński, Augustyn, Pawelski, Jan Słomiński, Jakub, Barłomiej, Józef, Wojciech Wosiński, and Jędrzcimski. Benedykt Kiciński worked in the church of St. Jacob for the longest period (1783–1793).

The above temple, barely spacious, had a positive organ inside. According to the ledger entry of 5 May 1732 regarding the transfer of the tomb of duchess Adelajda⁴⁹, it stood close to the main altar and vestry entrance. At the turn of 1750 and 1751, a bigger organ was subjected to serious overhaul, which took five months. The name of the involved organ master is unknown. On the other hand, there is an information that Kazimierz Kolasiński, an organist from the collegiate church in Sandomierz between 1721 and 1751, conducted the tests of the repaired instrument. Besides, his wife spent 17 zlotys on the renovation whereas a certain rev. Jasiński donated as many as 300. The major repair works may have stood behind the fact that the records in the account books attesting the services of organists soon became more frequent. In 1776 much more substantial works have begun: the new instrument was to stand upon the rebuilt organ loft above the western entrance. This time the supervisor was Józef Sitarski, formerly employed in Jędrzejów and Kraków. His name appears in the ledgers of St. Jacob's from January 1776 to January 1777. One may hypothesize that the decision to build new organ was, in fact, taken in Kraków. In 1776 Sitarski also built small a positive organ. Besides, in 1777 the monastery had a clavichord being at the organist's disposal.

It is typical of the archival organ repertoire in Polish churches to hardly exist. The temple of St. Jacob in Sandomierz is not an exception. One may only guess that the organists

⁴⁸ In the Dominican monastery in Košice, nowadays in Slovakia, it was wine, because of a milder climate allowing for viticulture (Cf. Annex, Tab. 22).

⁴⁹ In the seventeenth-century painting from the Cathedral Church in Sandomierz, which presents the church of St. Jacob at that time, small organ loft is placed between the chancel (gallery) and transept.

improvised or provided the accompaniment to the vocalists during the services. The expense ledger comprise one unusual entry, dated 25 April 1732, in which it mentions the performance of the Marian litany by the organist between the elevation and *Pater noster*. That was an element of the celebrations of the feast of St Mark. Another entry, attesting the organ play during the votive mass and passion service, is of March 1753.

The Dominican fathers from St. Jacob's did not maintained their ensemble. They quite regularly invited the external ones, although in the years 1744–1746 (when the priors were Hieronim Pikarus and Jan Chrzyciel Stobecki) the number of such events was radically reduced. Besides, no ensemble played there between May 1794 and April 1798, perhaps due to the final loss of the state independence. The account books hardly ever recorded the origin of the guest musicians. According to some single entries, before 1785 these were two main ensembles from Sandomierz (one from the Jesuit church and the other from the collegiate church) invited in turns⁵⁰. Between 1785 and 1786 the invitation went to the ensemble from the nearby Dominican sanctuary of Our Lady in Dzików. As regards the musical manuscripts stored in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, two are no doubt connected with the ensemble from Dzików; some other ones may have the same provenance⁵¹. They might have been all performed in the church of St. Jacob. However, its prior Bonawentura Oprzątkiewicz fell into musicians' disfavor. Being the prior of the monastery of St. Mary Madeleine in Sandomierz, he once refused to pay the ensemble from Dzików for the services it had already provided. Therefore, appointed the prior of the adjacent monastery, he had to celebrate the feast of St. Jacob a capella (in 1747).

Four feasts were very regularly solemnized by the presence of musical ensemble: the feast of St. Vincent Ferrer (5.04), St. Jacob the Apostle (25.07), St. Hyacinth (17.08) and the forty-nine Dominican martyrs of Sandomierz (30.10). The importance of St. Hyacinth for the Order of Preachers in Poland does not require any further explanation. The relationships between St. Jacob or the thirteenth-century martyrs and the analyzed church have been even

⁵⁰ To find more on the musical life in the collegiate church see: Jan Chwałek, *Księga rachunkowa kapeli kolegiackiej w Sandomierzu*, „Muzyka” 1973 nr 3, pp. 130–131; id., *Muzycy kapeli kolegiaty sandomierskiej w latach 1682–1812*, „Muzyka” 1974 nr 4, pp. 70–72; Maria Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie sandomierskiej (studium historyczno-muzykologiczne)*, PhD dissertation written under the supervision of prof. dr hab. Jan Chwałek in the Institute of Musicology of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, Lublin 2005.

⁵¹ It was active between about 1735 and 1787; See the study on the ensemble from Dzików included in this book.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich prowincji polskiej nieutrzymujących stałych kapel* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 2016, pp. 76–112), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

more obvious. By contrast, the reasons of the heed paid to the feast of St. Vincent Ferrer are less patent. The cult of this Dominican preacher was quite popular among Polish members of the order. In Sandomierz it may have played such an unusual role because St. Vincent Ferrer was one of the patron saints of the fraternity connected with the church of St. Jacob and still active until, at least, the sixteenth century⁵². The musicians were also invited to play, though with less regularity, at Easter Monday, St. Valentine's Day (after 1786), St. Philip and Jacob's Day, and at the octave of Corpus Christi – not to mention more sporadic occasions e.g. consecration of the church, visits of prominent guests, various anniversaries or funerals. Despite all efforts of the prior Florian Istubowicz, the cult of St. Pius V, the patron of peace (so much desired by the people who suffered from the Great Northern War) has never become permanent in Sandomierz. However, Istubowicz wrote an entry in the expense ledger describing the ceremony of translation of the image of this Pope to the central place in the church of St. Jacob (1736). His account is a rare historical source evidencing e.g. the role of music at that time:

To move people to God, I started promoting the solemn feast of St Pius V. I wrote many cards announcing that such a saint and the patron of peace exists, and put them up in all the churches around [...] The episcopal official celebrated the mass and I served as a preacher, etc. The ensemble played sonatas from the gallery before the first vespers and at dusk. The people were indeed content with such solemnity, and there were many requests to celebrate the feast of this saint Dominican and Pope every year [...]

According to this entry and several others, since 1734 the ensemble has played “stage concerts” outside the church i.e. on a platform overlooking the city and built by the prior’s residence.

[...] at dusk the ensemble from the collegiate church played sonatas blowing their French horns, oboes, and trumpets. They played for an hour and a half standing on the platform built by the windows of the prior’s residence. I had this platform erected to provide the trumpeters with a place

⁵² Cf. Dominika Burdzy, *Bractwo św. św. Jakuba, Dominika, Piotra Nowego Męczennika, Tomasza z Akwinu i Wincentego Ferreriusza pod opieką sandomierskich dominikanów w XV–XVI w.*, w: *Dominikanie na ziemiach polskich w epoce nowożytnej*, red. Anna Markiewicz i Marek Miławicki OP, Wydawnictwo Esprit SC, Kraków 2009, pp. 43–62.

to do their job adjacent to the church. Indeed, they seemed to blow their trumpets from somewhere above. Besides, it was done out of respect, because the musicians blew their trumpets in the morning as well as during the second vespers, and then performed many sonatas for various instruments to the greater glory of God and St. Hyacinth.

Instrumental music in the Polish Commonwealth in the first half of the eighteenth century is a fascinating field of study, but the sad lack of surviving manuscripts of compositions from that period is a serious issue. The existence of such works is attested, above all, in the extant copies of the inventory lists of musical documents which were prepared in the analyzed era and happily survived. For instance, the repertoire of the Jesuit ensemble dated 1737 includes, among others, eight sonatas. As regards the sonatas mentioned in the account ledgers from the monastery of St. Jacob, one should notice that they were played by both local ensembles: that from the collegiate and Jesuit church⁵³.

The types of services provided with musical setting (sometimes jointly with another ensemble) — votive masses, high masses, the second vespers and “stage concerts” — were the same as in the Holy Trinity temple in Kraków. Since the 1770s the services mentioned above have become the core of the repertoire at the greater feasts: apart from them some additional and smaller works such as arias and motets have been played. Some trumpeters were separately employed to announce the festive day with fanfares.

St. Mary Madeleine’s monastery, was formally established in 1289. Its location within the walls of Sandomierz resulted from the martyrdom all the Dominican friars suffered at the hands of Tartars. Until 1643 it was generally subordinate to St. Jacob’s. Even as an independent priory it has never flourished⁵⁴; in 1807 it ceased to exist. The church of St. Mary Madeleine survived several years longer to be demolished in 1860. The former cloister buildings are nowadays the seat of the City Office. The expense book of this monastery covers the years 1724–1739 (cf. Annex, Tab. 6)⁵⁵ and is a good supplement to its counterpart from the church of St. Jacob whose oldest entries are of 1732. The comparison of both ledgers

⁵³ Cf. Alina Mądry, *Barok*, cz. 2..., op. cit., pp. 398–403.

⁵⁴ According to the relation of an Italian Dominican (AGOP cat. no. XI.20, k. 6v), in 1634 the cloister was poor and inhabited by six monks at variance with one another. The cloister (the building — literally) started to be headed for collapse. The church retained its beauty but was rough-looking. Even the chalices were old and not gilded.

⁵⁵ *Regestrum expensarum C.[onventus] Sand:[omiriensis] S.[anctae] M.[ariae] Magdal:[enae] Ab Anno 1724 [...] Ad Annum 1739 [...]*, Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, cat. no. G 887.

reveals that both monasteries hardly differed in terms of their activity in solemnizing the services with music. In this respect, there was a mutual collaboration between them. The ensembles were more frequently invited when the prior of St. Mary Madeleine's was Florian Istubowicz (1726-1727). For the organists the work in the above temple was probably an additional employment because in some entries they are referred to as organists "from the collegiate church" or "from the Church of the Holy Spirit." It is hard to determine if the younger Dominican shrine in Sandomierz had a larger instrument than a positive organ (subjected to overhaul every few years).

The musicians employed in the collegiate and Jesuit churches also played in St. Mary Madeleine's several times a year. It regularly took place when the musical setting was redundant in their primary temples i.e. at the feasts of St. Thomas Aquinas (7th of March), St. Mary Madeleine (22nd of July) and St. Dominic (8th of August). In the younger of the Dominican monasteries of Sandomierz all Marian feasts — for instance the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary or the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin — seem to have been celebrated more solemnly and zealously in comparison to St. Jacob's, which resulted in the wider involvement of musical ensembles therein. It is not a coincidence that around 1731 Aleksander Borkiewicz established a fund dedicated to bringing financial support to ensure that the ensemble attend the votive Mass in honor of Our Lady said on every Saturday⁵⁶. Besides, the ensemble was invited to St. Mary Madeleine's to enrich the New Year's Day with its play. There are some mentions according to which since 1727 the passion service was sung on every Sunday of the Lent. The ledgers of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Kraków attested the same custom in the later period. The authorities of both Dominican monasteries in Sandomierz paid, alternately, for the attendance of the musical ensemble at the processions held at the feast of Corpus Christi and on Sundays in its octave⁵⁷. Despite the small dimensions of these priories and their gradual impoverishment, noticeable in the eighteenth century, they both had a long tradition and were still able to appreciate the power of polyphonic music which added great splendor to divine services and — especially in

⁵⁶ The image of the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary has been one of very few remains of the demolished church of St Mary Madeleine. It is now exhibited and worshipped in the church of St. Jacob in Sandomierz.

⁵⁷ The processions took place also at the feast of the Holy Rosary, but the ensemble were not involved. According to entry of the expense ledger dated 6 September 1726 (cat. no. G 887, k. 15r). „At the feast of the

the instrumental form — could bring much joy to the believers. St Jacob's and St. Mary Madeleine's collaborated with many local ensembles and might have contributed, to some extent, to the establishment of another one in the nearby Dominican monastery of Dzików. On the cultural map of Sandomierz, they both have reverberated with music.

Another cloister of St. Mary Madeleine belonging to the Order of Preachers stood in Kościan until the authorities of Prussia decided of its dissolution in the first half of the nineteenth century. Located in a quite remote place, it resembled St. Jacob's with regard to the size. Its financial condition was only slightly better. According to the tradition, it was established in 1410 thanks to the efforts of local townsmen and Jan Biskupiec later appointed Bishop of Chełm. Its jewel in the crown was the crucifix exhibited in the seventeenth-century chapel. Recognized as miraculous, it was attracting many believers from all the country. Therefore, musical life in Kościan has taken a very specific shape, and various types of musical setting played an important role in the services celebrated in the sanctuary. The book of mass intentions covering the second half of the eighteenth century (see Annex Tab. 12⁵⁸, 13⁵⁹) shows how much veneration the believers had for the miraculous crucifix. It also proves that the monastery in Kościan exceeded the other Dominican cloisters in respect of the number of sung masses. According to the local account ledgers, covering the years 1728–1753 (cf. Annex, Tab. 10) and 1776–1785 (Annex, Tab. 11), the friars used to employ external ensembles, but there were some periods in which they additionally maintained their own musicians.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the main type of musical setting was organ play accompanying the plainchant. The church of St. Mary Madeleine was provided with larger organ, and a separate positive organ stood in the Chapel of the Most Sacred Crucifix. The organists in Kościan earned more than their counterparts from Sandomierz — 80 zlotys per year. Their period of employment typically amounted to several years. Apart from a certain Antoni, the holders of this post were Stanisław Grodzicki (between 1739 and 1743) and, subsequently, Dąbrowski. They had some everyday duties, but the archival books attest

Most Sacred Rosary the solemn procession is held from the monastery of St. Mary Madeleine to the main market square. It is always attended by the rosary confraternity from the church of St. Jacob'

⁵⁸ [income ledger 1766–1784]; Archives of Archdiocesan of Poznań cat. no. AZ 005/001.

⁵⁹ *Liber tam Missarum percipiendarum [...] quam perceptarum bonnorum 1764 sub Prioratu Adm. Rev. Patris Antonii Kicinski 1764–1781*; The Archives of the Archdiocese in Poznań, cat. no. AZ 005/003. The book is in poor state and therefore the quoted excerpts refer to the book of mass intentions covering the year 1774.

that they played at *Requiem* masses, Advent morning masses, and litanies as well (it cost 6 zlotys to order such a musical service). By contrast, a vocal-instrumental ensemble was invited to Kościan few times. It solemnized St. Dominic's Day and the Ascension Day but also a feast distinctive of the local sanctuary i.e. Holy Rood Day also known as the Day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (celebrated on the 14th of September).

Since the 1760s the recorded expenses have become more diverse and interesting. Regarding organists, the staff turnover greatly increased, perhaps because the same function started involving more responsibilities than before. Ignacy Perszyński, Samsonowicz, Rafał, Roborowicz, Wierzbński, Mikołaj Bączkiewicz, Gosławski, Józef Adamski and Knuliński: these are some of the recorded names of the musicians playing the organ in the church of St. Mary Madeleine in Kościan. The first and the last of them are worth noticing. Ignacy Perszyński (employed in 1770) might have been a relative of Jan Kasper Perszyński (1718–1758), a composer, cantor, and organist of Leszno. Knuliński damaged a positive organ but occupied his post longer than others (1780-1783). His resignation might have resulted from the installation of the new organ The works, taking place in the years 1783–1784, involved the woodcarver Jan Molcan and the organ master Piotr Zeydler of Lwówek. The latter suddenly died. In 1785 the newly contracted organ master, Józef Ostrowski, changed the entire project.

One may hypothesize that at least in 1767 the Dominican friars decided to establish their own ensemble able to significantly enrich the services celebrated in the Chapel of the Most Sacred Cross and to be admired by the believers. First of all, they bought a violin (its strings were then continually replaced). At the same time, several trumpeters were employed (Mierzwiński, Jan, Franciszek Bylicki and Rafał) whose fanfares add more splendor to divine services. The purchase of ink and music paper, recorded in 1769, may reflect the fact of gathering the repertoire by the musicians. In 1770 a tenor joined them. Unfortunately, it seems that the hopes for maintaining the separate ensemble were irrevocably dashed in 1776. The ledger entries of 1777-1778 do not comprise any mentions pertaining to it. Since 1779 the ensemble from Rąbiń — located at a distance of 16 km to the east — have become more and more frequent guest in St. Mary Madeleine's.

This description of musical life in the Dominican monastery in Kościan is brief and very fragmentary. However, it shed some light on the efforts taken by the friars to run the

sanctuary of the Holy Rood. In order to meet the expectations of the peregrinating believers, they strove for establishing the ensemble in a place whose lack of vivid musical environment made such attempts hard.

The monastery of the Holy Trinity in Kraków was a seat of the authorities of the large administrative district of the Order of Preachers. The cloisters in Sandomierz and Kościan were, at least in the eighteenth century, smaller provincial centers of religious and cultural life. By contrast, the Dominican monastery in Klimontów is exceptional, because it was established very late, owing to the will of one man, and many miles away from major cities. This event took place in 1613. Its *spiritus movens* was Jan Zbigniew Ossoliński of the Topór coat of arms (d. 1623): a voivode of Sandomierz and the owner of the newly founded town of Klimontów⁶⁰. His decision to bring Dominican monks, much respected and admired, to the area stemmed from the fact that in the sixteenth century that particular province had become fiercely Protestant. Jan Ossoliński had been also a Calvinist, but then converted to the Catholic faith and, consequently, started looking for the best solution to reverse the tide of the Reformation within the voivodeship. It included the erection of the church (finished in 1620) and cloister, as well as providing the friars with adequate financial resources. Ossoliński gave them small image of the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Holy Infant, perhaps of Russian origin. Since the last decades of the eighteenth century, this image has been miraculous. The anonymous Italian visiting Polish monasteries saw (around 1633) the cloister buildings still under construction, but he found the church of St. Hyacinth very beautiful. He put emphasis on the image of Our Lady with kneeling Dominican saints i.e. St. Dominic, Hyacinth, and Catherine⁶¹.

To ensure the financial security of the foundation Ossoliński gave the monks, among others, two villages (Olbierzowice and Płaczkowice) as well as the church in the former one turned into parochial temple. The consecration of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Hyacinth took place on the 10th of July 1633. The new priory briefly thrived. It soon fell

⁶⁰ Eugeniusz Niebelski, *W dobrach Ossolińskich. Klimontów i okolice, Urząd Gminy w Klimontowie*, Klimontów 1999; zob. także: *Lustracja Kościoła i Klasztoru XX. Dominikanów Klimontowskich, oraz wszelkich dotyczących się Rekwiżytyw, tudzież funduszow i z tych według zasad Instrukcyi wyprowadzonej Intryty na gruncie dnia iak wewnątrz uskutecznioma*. [na k. 110v:] „[inspection] conducted on the 4th of December 1817 by rev. Aleksy Łykowski, the prior of the Dominican monastery in Klimontów”. Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, set of documents entitled *Klasztor OO. Dominikanów w Klimontowie 1811-1849 r.*, cat. no. 2048, k. 61r-110v.

⁶¹ AGOP sygn. XI.20. Anonymous, untitled, undated and unpublished document, k. 5v

prey to the pillage and atrocities accompanying the Swedish invasion. The number of inhabitants of Klimontów decreased to about five hundred souls. Swedish army quartered in the town once again in 1704, during the Great Northern War; Russian army did so in 1764, almost immediately after the renovation of the church (1761). It all resulted in the consistent impoverishment of the small monastic center run by more or less twenty monks (such a number was typical of the Dominican monasteries at that time). The friars were held in high esteem by the local people. However, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, there was a center “for the brothers involved in scandals or too much keen on liquors⁶²” within the spacious cloister buildings; it has run for several years. In 1864 many Polish monasteries were dissolved yet not Klimontów. On the contrary, the Russian authorities decided to give it a status of the so-called permanent monastery and transfer there all friars from the liquidated ones (situated e.g. in Lublin or Sandomierz). Unfortunately, the estates belonging to the priory in Klimontów were mostly impounded, which brought the place to a gradual decline. The rest was a matter of age and time. With the still falling number of its Dominican hosts, the monastery ceased to be in 1901.

Despite all these obstacles and straits, the monks took considerable efforts to provide the services with music. The first organ loft with the instrument was built, perhaps in the 1620s, but the organ still existing in the church of St. Hyacinth stood there later, most probably at the end of the seventeenth century. The architectural peculiarity of the shrine is another musical loggia situated inside the temple (on the level of the first floor) but at the end of the cloister gallery. The ensemble from the palace in Ossolin (less than 5 km northeast of Klimontów) reportedly played there in the first years of the existence of the church⁶³. Alas, the account ledgers containing hard evidence on the musical life in this monastery, stored in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz cover only the last two decades of the eighteenth century when the glory of the place was long past (cf. Annex, Tab. 7, 8)⁶⁴.

At that time music in St. Hyacinth's was generally limited to plainchant and organ play. Few instances of votive or funeral masses involving organists were attested by the expense books. However, according to the provisions of some contracts concluded between the

⁶² Eugeniusz Niebelski, *W dobrach Ossolińskich...*, op. cit., p. 75.

⁶³ Eugeniusz Niebelski, *W dobrach Ossolińskich...*, op. cit., p. 85.

⁶⁴ *Liber Perceptorum Comparatus Anno Dni 1785*, cat. no. G 1076 and *Liber Expensarum Comparatus Anno Dni 1785to*, cat. no. G 1078.

monastery and its donors, the friars were obliged to celebrate and partially sing the particular devotions on behalf of the generous founders⁶⁵. According to the report sent in 1728 to the authorities of the Order of Preachers in Rome, 17 of the ordered masses was sung in Klimontów (of 1123) throughout the year. Jan Zbigniew Ossoliński and his son Maksymilian also made such donations — usually given in exchange for celebrating masses, offices for the dead, or litanies.

The monastery employed two organists. The one playing in St. Hyacinth's earned 40 zlotys per year. The duty of the other one was to play in the parochial church in Olbierzów, and his annual salary amounted to 32 zlotys. A positive organ may have stood in the latter temple because the new instrument of that type was built there in 1791. The major overhaul of an organ (perhaps of the larger organ in St. Hyacinth's) was conducted in 1786. For several months of 1785, the post of organist in the cloister was in the hands of a father Bernard. The performance level must have been high, because in 1792, for seven months, the organist was father Wincenty Różyczka from the Holy Trinity Church in Kraków. Besides, the account ledgers mention some secular organists: Rykter, Łęcki, Józef and Bartłomiej. The amateur members of the rosary fraternity who sang during high masses (probably in unison) also contributed to the musical life and were rewarded with mead portions.

As we see, the musical setting in Klimontów was modest and characteristic of most Dominican monasteries at that time. On the other hand, there is some information on the performances of the ensemble there. It is not known from which place that ensemble came. The most possible answer is the church of St. Joseph in Klimontów, a large and beautiful collegiate temple built in the 1640s owing to the funds of Jerzy Ossoliński⁶⁶. In Klimontów the vocal-instrumental ensemble regularly performed on New Year's Day and at the feasts of St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Vincent Ferrer and St. Dominic. Less frequently it solemnized the Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi, the feast of St. Hyacinth and the feast of the Holy Rosary. Its repertoire, according to the ledgers, was not exceptionally rich, but — as in Kraków and Sandomierz — embraced solemn votive masses, high masses and vespers;

⁶⁵ Cf. the following set of documents: AGOP, cat. no. XIV. Lib. AAA Pars 2, k. 628r-v.: *Conventus Climuntoviensis*.

⁶⁶ It is hardly possible because in 1732 the palace in Ossolin was about to fall into ruin. Cf. *Spis inwentarza majątku Ossolin. 1732 r.*; available on the webpage http://www.ossolinski.info/bib/ossolin_inwentarz_1732.pdf [accessed: June 2015].

One should once again consider the issue of the contribution of various religious fraternities to the musical setting in these Dominican monasteries that did not maintain their own ensembles. In the San Domenico church in Bologna, it was the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary that bore the responsibility for the selection of the illustrious musicians to play in the Rosary Chapel and for paying them salaries; the local monks put emphasis mainly on plainchant⁶⁷. According to the current state of the art, among the Polish fraternities the one from the small rosary chapel in the monastery of St. Dominic in Poznań was particularly thriving (see Annex, Tab. 9). Although the available archival sources do not contain sufficient evidence to prove that the local Dominican fathers maintained the separate ensemble, the expense books of the confraternity (the oldest records are of 1774) comprise up to thirty entries per year pertaining to musical life⁶⁸. It is worth noticing that these entries, with very few exceptions, regard the performances of the ensemble attending the services on the following occasions: main feast days (early morning Advent masses, the New Year's Day, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension Day, All Saint's Day, and All Souls' Day), Marian feasts (Nativity, Purification, Annunciation and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the feast of the Name of Our Lady, the feast of the Holy Rosary, and the feast of the Translation of the Holy House of Mary to Loreto), feast of the particular saints (especially the patron saints of the sick i.e. St. Sebastian, St. Valentine and St. Roch, but also St. Mary Madeleine and St. Cajetan, the patron saint of those seeking for employment) and the anniversary of the consecration of the chapel. In the period of Lent, the musical accompaniment was limited to organ play. On some festive days, the trumpeters were invited to perform "stage concerts." They also took part in the public processions held at the feast of the Holy Rosary. If a member of the fraternity died, an ensemble attended the funeral mass.

Unfortunately, the copiers forgot to write where the ensembles came from. They are almost sure to have come from the parish church, because, according to its statute, it held a monopoly on the performances in the temples within the city of Poznań and on charging related fees. The compositions connected with this ensemble — today stored in the Archives

⁶⁷ See the study on musical life in Bologna included in this book.

⁶⁸ *Expensae Sub Promotoratu [...] Fratris Domini Sukwikowski Ao. 1774* (a fragment from: *Percepty i Expensy Bractwa Różańcowego, 1779-1841*), Archives of the Archdiocese of Poznań, cat. no. AZ005/012.

The translation of the text *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich prowincji polskiej nieutrzymujących stałych kapel* from the book *Życie muzyczne w klasztorach dominikańskich w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (red. Aleksandra Patalas, *Musica Iagellonica*, Kraków 2016, pp. 76–112), prepared within a project financed by the Polish National Science Centre (decision no. DEC-2011/03/B/HS2/04186).

of the Archdiocese of Poznań — might have been played in the church of St. Dominic as well⁶⁹.

The above survey of musical life in various Dominican monasteries in the Polish Province of the Order of Preachers allows us to reveal some general mechanisms governing the choice of musical setting in order to meet the needs of the particular monastic centers. They were in each case unique in respect of financial condition of the cloister and local peculiarities including the prominence of the specific feasts and diverse expectations of the believers and pious guests.

translated by Piotr Plichta

⁶⁹ Alina Mądry, *Barok, cz. 2...*, op. cit., pp. 408–412.