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## The Orchestra at the Jesuit College and its Participation in the Religious Life of Sandomierz in the 17th and 18th Centuries

*Kapela przy kolegium jezuickim i jej udział w życiu religijnym Sandomierza  
 w XVII–XVIII wieku*

### ABSTRACT

Jesuit orchestras have contributed greatly to the development of vocal and instrumental music in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The beginnings of the orchestra at the Collegium Gostomianum in Sandomierz date back to the twenties of the 17th century. One of the main objectives of the orchestra was to add splendor to celebrations in St. Peter and Paul's church in Sandomierz and festivities organized by the Jesuits and their wards. They performed on major feasts of the liturgical year and on monastic feasts, for example, in honor of St. Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Society of Jesus, as well as on canonization of Stanisław Kostka. The orchestra also supported the school theater, performing

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a tragedy and comedy. Not only did the Jesuit musicians play at the home church, but also during Masses (main, votive, anniversary), processions and celebrations in other churches of Sandomierz, primarily at the Dominican monasteries of St. James and St. Mary Magdalene, at the Benedictine's and the Collegiate Church of Our Lady.

**Key words:** Jesuits, Jesuit orchestras, music dormitories, conflicts between orchestras, Sandomierz, Collegium Gostomianum

The activity of the boarding house and Jesuit band in Sandomierz has not been fully discussed so far. It was mentioned in older studies on the history of the Society of Jesus in Poland, written by Załęski<sup>1</sup> and Bednarski<sup>2</sup>. Various aspects of its functioning compared to other music schools were brought up by Jerzy Kochanowicz in a series of publications about this issue<sup>3</sup>. The source materials of the monastic provenance were also used by Waldemar Białousz<sup>4</sup> to describe the history of Collegium Gostomianum. A cursory piece of information about the boarding house was included in the entry dedicated to the Sandomierz college in *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*<sup>5</sup>, the biographies of the boarding house prefects and composers associated with the band were compiled in this book as well. The role of musicians in celebrating religious ceremonies in the home temple and in other churches of Sandomierz was mentioned in relation to the activities of Jesuit theater<sup>6</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 1905, p. 884.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bednarski, *Kulturalne dzieje jezuickiego kolegium w Sandomierzu*, in: *Pamiętnik Koła Sandomierzan 1925–1935*, Warszawa–Sandomierz 1936, p. 53; idem, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich w Polsce. Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego*, Kraków 1933, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza, organizacja i działalność jezuickich burs muzycznych*, Kraków 2002; idem, *Przepisy dotyczące jezuickich burs muzycznych*, Kraków 2002; idem, *Słownik geograficzny jezuickich burs muzycznych*, Kraków 2002; L. Grzebień, J. Kochanowicz, *Słownik jezuitów muzyków i prefektów burs muzycznych*, Kraków 2002. See also: J. Kochanowicz, *Wkład jezuitów w kulturę muzyczną okresu staropolskiego*, in: *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, ed. I. Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, Kraków 2004, pp. 545–562; idem, *Jesuit Music Seminaries in Poland and Lithuania During the 17th and 18th Centuries*, 'Studia Comeniana et Historica' 2006, 36, pp. 172–177.

<sup>4</sup> W. Białousz, *Collegium Gostomianum. Dzieje szkoły jezuickiej w latach 1602–1773*, vol. 1, Sandomierz 2002, pp. 80–85.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, ed. L. Grzebień in cooperation with the Jesuit team, Kraków 2004. The Sandomierz boarding house is mentioned by A. Szweykowska, when she depicts distinguished organiser of such institutions, Stanisław Karnicki, see: A. Szweykowska, *Wkład jezuitów w kulturę muzyczną Rzeczypospolitej w XVII wieku*, in: *Jezuici a kultura polska*, eds. L. Grzebień, S. Obirek, Kraków 1993, p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> H. Ćwiek, *O religijnej kulturze muzycznej Sandomierza*, 'Studia Sandomierskie' 1981, 2, pp. 229–230; M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna Sandomierza do końca XIX w.*, in: *Muzyka i śpiew liturgiczny. Materiały z sympozjum 20 listopada 2001 roku*, ed. J. Zimny, Sandomierz 2002, p. 136.

when discussing musical culture of the city<sup>7</sup>. In addition, information about the Jesuit band appears in the context of its relationship with the collegiate band, which was not always going well<sup>8</sup>.

In the paper previously unknown materials from the so-called Lithuanian *Metrica*<sup>9</sup> are used. This collection of documents includes a detailed description of Collegium Gostomianum at the time of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, as well as archives of provenance of other orders operating in Sandomierz, and parish records, mainly concerning the conflict between the priests of the parish church of St Peter and Paul, and the Jesuits<sup>10</sup>. As a supplement to this data, a document containing bequests on the Jesuits of Sandomierz, kept in the Library of the PAU PAN in Krakow is also used<sup>11</sup>.

The activity of the Jesuit band was based on several bequests from donors, who were diocesan clergy, including canons of the Sandomierz collegiate church, two of whom were also parish priests of the church of St Peter and Paul. The situation was similar in the case of the financial basis of musical boarding houses operating at other Jesuit colleges. The first of them were created thanks to the generosity of bishops or canons, while the later got bequests from lay persons. However, many of these institutions were maintained by the Jesuits themselves. At the beginning, these institutions functioned as boarding houses for the poor, which in 1609–1621 were renamed into musical boarding houses<sup>12</sup>. They took over the existing property of boarding house for the poor.

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<sup>7</sup> L. Grzebień, *Z życia jezuickiego teatru szkolnego w Sandomierzu w XVII i XVIII wieku*, in: *Diligis me? Pasce. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana biskupowi sandomierskiemu Wacławowi Józefowi Świerżawskiemu na pięćdziesięciolecie święceń kapłańskich 1949–1999*, vol. 2, eds. S. Czerwik, M. Mierzwa, R. Majkowska, Sandomierz 2000, pp. 330–331; J. Okoń, *Teatr szkolny jezuitów w Sandomierzu*, 'Zeszyty Sandomierskie' 1999, 9, p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> F. Kiryk, *Stosunki kościelne, oświata i opieka społeczna*, in: *Dzieje Sandomierza XVI–XVIII w.*, vol. 2, part 2, *W czasach stagnacji i upadku*, part 3, *Sztuka*, ed. F. Kiryk, Warszawa 1993, p. 83; M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie sandomierskiej (Studium historyczno-muzykologiczne)*, Lublin 2005, typescript of the doctoral dissertation defended at the Institute of Musicology of the Catholic University of Lublin in 2005, owned by the author, pp. 271–276; the information included in this work was used in the following publication: A. Mądry, *Barok*, part 2, *1697–1795. Muzyka religijna i jej barokowy modus operandi*, in: *Historia muzyki polskiej*, vol. 3, Warszawa 2013, pp. 185–186, 301–302.

<sup>9</sup> Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [hereinafter: AGAD], Tzw. Metryka Litewska [hereinafter: ML], ref. no. VII 131.

<sup>10</sup> Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej [hereinafter: AKKS], deposit in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, Archiwum kościoła św. Jakuba [hereinafter: AkJ], *Książka różańcowa* [no ref. no.].

<sup>11</sup> J. Pielas, *Zapisy szlachty na rzecz jezuitów sandomierskich w XVII wieku*, in: *Z życia religijnego szlachty i ziemiaństwa między Wisłą a Pilicą w XVI–XX wieku. Studia*, eds. J. Gapys, M. Nowak, J. Pielas, Kielce 2014, pp. 63–83.

<sup>12</sup> J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, pp. 60–64.

The situation was the same in Sandomierz, as the first bequest was to a boarding house for poor students<sup>13</sup>. It was made by Krzysztof Marciszewski, the parish priest of Czermin, a village where the Jesuits of Sandomierz had a mission station. On 6 October 1624, he bequeathed 3,300 Polish zlotys 'to the boarding house in Sandomierz'<sup>14</sup>. The sum was secured on the estates of the village of Breń with a farm and a field called Kobile, belonging to brothers Mikołaj, Jan and Hiacynt Mielecki. In return, the young men were obliged to pray the litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints, alternately in the morning and evening (the first one in the morning, the second one in the evening and the third one in the morning of the next day). They should also participate in all sung and read masses as well as rosary and anniversary services held annually for the deceased benefactors. The benefactor wished the boarding house to accept students who were devoted to God and to the service to the Church and who would like to join the clergy in the future. Moreover, young men from Czermin were to be admitted to the group of students who could live in this house, and each parish priest of this village was to recommend them personally or in writing to the rector of the Jesuit college<sup>15</sup>. In the existing literature on the subject, the date given for this bequest is 11 September 1630, when Marciszewski engrossed (entered) this document into the book of the Sandomierz consistory, fearing difficulties on the part of the lessee Mikołaj Mielecki and his wife<sup>16</sup>. The amount of 3,300 zlotys for boarding house is dated at the same time.

Next, on 27 April 1637, Mikołaj Leopoldowicz, doctor of philosophy and medicine, canon of the Sandomierz collegiate church and parish priest of the church of St Peter and Paul, allotted 6,000 zlotys to fund various items for the chapel of St Nicholas and Stanisław, bishops, as well as to support six musically gifted youths who were to play instruments and sing figuratively during the services held there (*cantu figurali, instrumentis musicis divina decantabunt officia*<sup>17</sup>). It was restored and destined for a newly founded seminary of lay clerics, which was managed in perpetuity by Leopoldowicz, and after his death it was to be taken over by the Jesuits. The main sum was secured on the estates of the villages of Łąckie and Boksyn,

<sup>13</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 817, sheet 470v. 'Bursa[m] seu domu[m] pro adolescentib[us] tenuioris fortun[a]e in scholis Patrum Societatis Jesu Sandomiri[a]e'.

<sup>14</sup> 'na bursą w Sandomierzu'.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 468–471.

<sup>16</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 818, sheets 42–43. The authors give a lower amount of 3000 Polish zlotys, but it is not known when it was reduced. J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, pp. 70, 231–232; W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 82; J. Pielas, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 819, sheet 238.

belonging to Samuel Grot Słupecki from Konary, the castellan of Radom and the starost of Zawichost. Unfortunately, the amount of the *wyderkaf* rent<sup>18</sup> to be paid of this sum was not specified, it was only noted that it should be divided into three parts. One of them was allotted to 24-hour lighting of the tabernacle in the church of St Peter and Paul; for the second part a canopy and red linen robes for church service should be purchased; and the third part was the basis for the support of 6 talented and honest young men, each of whom was to receive 60 Polish zlotys annually for the musical setting of the services<sup>19</sup>. Perhaps it was Leopoldowicz's bequest who marked the beginning of the band, because it is the first information about musicians playing musical instruments at this church.

A donation to the musicians' boarding house was also made by Stanisław Umiński, doctor of both laws, apostolic protonotary and a long-time parish priest of the Church of St Peter and Paul (in the years 1664–1692), unfortunately the exact date of bequest was not given. He donated a garden located at Zawichojska Street in Sandomierz and allowed the band to use the organ that he had funded for the church, when the old one was destroyed during a fire after the Swedish had blown the castle up in 1657. In return, residents of boarding houses had to play and sing during the mass on the holidays, when it was a parish priest who had the right to celebrate mass, and not the Jesuits<sup>20</sup>. Perhaps this garden is mentioned during a dispute with Jakub Orzechowski, the altarist of the altar of St Anne, in 1694. He took the land together with the fund allotted to the maintenance of the boarding house. However, the conflict was resolved amicably<sup>21</sup>.

According to data of monastic provenance, in 1693 the musicians' boarding house had the sum of 10,000 zlotys and annually it received a rent of 700 zlotys of this amount. This year it was also noted that it received the sum of 2,300 zlotys, which was secured at the synagogue in Sandomierz<sup>22</sup>.

Jan Łuczkiwicz, a Canon of Krakow, was another benefactor of the boarding house. In 1704, he bequeathed 1,000 zlotys for poor students. Then, in 1718, he donated 12,000 zlotys for the support of twelve poor

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<sup>18</sup> *Wyderkaf* (Wyderkauf) is a form of money loan in return for a specific rent, paid once a year or in several annual installments. The main amount was secured on real estates, mortgaging them, but it was not reduced by the rent paid. The debtor could be freed from paying the rent only when he repaid the main sum. B. Lesiński, *Kupno renty w średniowiecznej Polsce na tle ówczesnej doktryny i praktyki zachodnioeuropejskiej*, Poznań 1966.

<sup>19</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 819, sheets 237–239; ref. no. 596, sheet 33v.

<sup>20</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheet 10v.

<sup>21</sup> W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*.

students and 2000 zlotys to build a house for them<sup>23</sup>. In 1747, the musicians' income came from four sums secured in various villages near Sandomierz (2000 zlotys in Piskorzyn, 2300 zlotys in Wielowieś, 4,000 zlotys in Skrzypaczewice) and the local synagogue (2,300 zlotys)<sup>24</sup>. Rents of those sums were paid in cash and in food.

The band's income was increased when it was giving concerts in other churches and was paid for it (see below). The best documented is the income for performances in the collegiate, in which the musicians received payments totaling 399 zlotys 14 groszy (in the period of 1693–1733). With regard to the Dominican churches, the sources are not so precise, the band received mostly refreshments (herring, vodka) and only sometimes a cash equivalent. Moreover, in the account books there are some difficulties with distinguishing it from the collegiate band. In the church of St Jerome, Jesuit musicians earned 14 zlotys for one performance.

The band had its own building where musicians could live, practice playing musical instruments and learn singing. The monastic regulations required that the boarding house should be located in a separate building so that musical exercises would not interfere with the work of the Jesuits in the college<sup>25</sup>. It was similar in Sandomierz, but the description of the boarding house dates back only to the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773 (see appendix). The house was probably wooden. Slightly damaged, it was placed in the vicinity of school buildings and the cemetery by the church of St Peter and Paul. In 1693, when the councilors with jurors and all townspeople handed over the square for the construction of the house to the altarist of the Corpus Christi altar, it was noted that it was situated between the Jesuit house and the musicians' college boarding house next to the temple<sup>26</sup>. This mention contradicts the previous claims that the boarding house was built only thanks to its having been funded by the canon

<sup>23</sup> S. Załęski, *op. cit.*, p. 884; S. Bednarski, *op. cit.*, p. 53; J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, p. 70; W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 84; J. Paszenda, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

<sup>24</sup> J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, p. 232; W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>25</sup> J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, p. 255.

<sup>26</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 246 II, sheet 84v: 'aream pro mansionem commoda circa ecclesiam parochialem Sancti Petri et Pauli Sandomirien[sem] ex opposito ecclesiae eiusdem penes domum religiosorum patrum Societatis Jesu collegii Sandomirien[is] et bursam alias domum collegii musicoru[m] eorundem patrum Societatis Jesu [...]'; the historians of Jesuit architecture did not take an interest in boarding houses and did not specify their exact location in the entire complex of college buildings, see: W. Kieszkowski, *Kolegium jezuickie w Sandomierzu*, in: *Pamiętnik Koła Sandomierzan 1925–1935*, Warszawa–Sandomierz 1936, pp. 5–49; M. Juszczak, *Historia budynku i remontu*, in: *Collegium Gostomianum*, vol. 4, Sandomierz 2002, p. 537; J. Paszenda, *op. cit.*, pp. 299–332, as well as papers in the collective work titled *Sandomierz. Badania 1969–1973*, vol. 2, *Wzgórze Collegium Gostomianum*, ed. S. Tabaczyński, Warszawa 1996.

Jan Łuczkiwicz in 1718. Inside there was a hallway leading to six small rooms. Each of them had a tiled stove and shuttered windows with lead-framed glass panes, only in one of those room the window was unglazed and boarded up. At the end of the hallway there was a door leading to the small stable. The interior of the building required renovation, as the floors and ceilings were damaged, as well as some furniture and doors. The roof was covered with old and damaged tiles, in some places supplemented with shingle, six chimneys in good condition stuck out above it. Two rooms were rented for 36 zlotys to Mr. Franciszek, on the basis of a contract concluded with the last rector of the college, Dominik Wereszczaka, on 23 June 1773. The third room was rented by Mr. Jaskulski on the basis of an oral agreement<sup>27</sup>. Comparing the building of the boarding house in Sandomierz with the buildings of this type located by other Jesuit colleges, it can be stated that it was small<sup>28</sup>. However, this cannot be translated into the size of the band, as it is known that some of the musicians were not students of the college and came from their place of residence or rented lodgings from the townspeople of Sandomierz.

The beginnings of the music band at Collegium Gostomianum date back to the 1720s. According to the sources, Jan Strzałkowski, the college preacher, was the first prefect of the boarding house in 1626–1627. The literature on the subject stated that, until the dissolution of the order in 1773, 44 Jesuits, eight clerical students and one brother who helped running the boarding house and choir, which operated earlier, served as the prefects<sup>29</sup>. Thanks to juridical files documenting the conflicts between the Jesuit and collegiate bands, two more prefects could be found, namely the professor of the syntax class (i.e. the first class of grammar), Piotr Suchodolski (1707), and the master of the grammar class, Wojciech Jankowski.

Only two of the band's musicians have been known so far, namely, Chlewiczowski, a 'resident of Jesuit boarding house', who sang in the collegiate choir since 1726, and Jędrzowski, the 'Jesuit organist', who played the organ also in the collegiate church in 1757–1776<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, there is an information from 1726 about two musicians, S. Łęcki and J. Borkowski, who are identified with the Jesuit band. Their names were recorded on cards with voice score, e.g. from vespers by Simon Ferdinand

<sup>27</sup> AGAD, ML, ref. no. VII 131, sheets 50–50v.

<sup>28</sup> See: J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, pp. 255–262.

<sup>29</sup> W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, pp. 182–183.

<sup>30</sup> M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, p. 245. The author found these names in the account book of the collegiate band: 'Percepta et expensa czynszów pro collegio musicorum w kolegiacie sandomierskiej 1682–1812', AKKS, ref. no. 431.

Lechleitner. However, in the case of Borkowski, his activity as the musician of a collegiate band is documented more thoroughly<sup>31</sup>.

In the files of the Sandomierz officialate from the 17th century, it was possible to find the names of several members of the Jesuit band along with the instruments they played. In fact, in 1654 the professor of rhetoric Andrzej Kanon spoke front of the consistory as the prefect of the musicians' boarding house (*Contubernii Musicorum Eccl[esi]ae S. Petri Sandomirie[nsis] Provisor et Praepositus*<sup>32</sup>), initiating a trial against his charge from the boarding house, Jakub Łyszkiewicz. The canon accepted him to study music (*ad informatione[m] et instructionem sua[m] in arte musica*<sup>33</sup>), but he escaped during the band's stay in Radomyśl and stayed there in an Augustinian monastery as an organist. The Jesuit, in the presence of the musician, glorified Maciej Mazurkowicz, the horn player, demanded that the boy be brought to Sandomierz and the organiser of his escape be punished. The official ordered to fulfill this request under penalty of excommunication<sup>34</sup>. Kanon appeared in court again in the presence of glorified Andrzej Mazurkowicz, the large tuba (*sztort*) player, who testified that he had seen the boy in his family home in Sandomierz, but did not detain him. He also confirmed that the fugitive was currently staying with the Augustinians in Radomyśl<sup>35</sup>. The next stage of the trial was the lawsuit brought by Kanon against the congregation in Radomyśl. Two Augustinian monks appeared in court, namely prior Gelazy Włodowski (from Włodawa) and preacher Michał Vadovius, who testified that the boy had indeed been in their monastery, but soon departed from there and they did not know where he was. However, the prefect of the boarding house questioned their testimony, summoning priest Aleksander Kochanowicz, the headmaster of the school in Radomyśl, as a witness, who stated that he had seen the boy in the congregation and heard from the said preacher that he had given the boy a letter of recommendation to the provincial. The official ordered the Augustinians to swear an oath that they did not know if the boy had returned and that they had not given him any help in

<sup>31</sup> M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, p. 259, Simon Ferdinand Lechleitner, *Vesperae: Dixit – Confitebor – Beatus vir – Laudate pueri – Laudate Dominum – Magnificat*, CATB, 2 V, 2 Litui, Org. 1726. On the Violino primo part it was noted: *Ad majorem Dei Gloriam BVM S[ebastian] Łęcki*, while on Violino secundo: *Laus Deo Patri S[tanislaw] J. Borkowski*. He is also mentioned on two other scores by this composer, *ffertorium de S. Michaelae Archangelo* i psalmie *Credidi – In convertendo – Domine, probasti – Beati omnes*, as well as on the manuscript of the songs *Planctus o Męce Pańskiej*, *Ibidem*, pp. 260, 262.

<sup>32</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 825, sheet 93.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 93–93v.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 93v–94.

escaping<sup>36</sup>. After a few days both monks swore an oath. Unfortunately, no more information is available on how this case ended<sup>37</sup>.

In addition, the trial files regarding the dispute between the Jesuits and the parish priests of the church of St Peter and Paul allowed to establish the names of other musicians who were the members up the Jesuit band. In 1707, syntax students, including the nobleman Odolski, Mroczkiewicz and Wodecki, participated in the attack on collegiate musicians<sup>38</sup>. In 1710, the boarding house student Ruszkowski [Rozkawski, Roszkawski]<sup>39</sup>, who was attacked together with another unnamed musician by the parish clergymen, testified. During the mass celebrated on Christmas Day by the rector of the college, the parish clergymen entered the church, one of whom, named Kowski, began to use an ax to break the door to the choir gallery where both musicians were present. They also armed themselves with axes in case they had to defend themselves after breaking down the door. Fortunately, this did not happen, but the parish clergymen took the bolt from the main door of the church and exited through another door. Faced with such scandalous behavior, the rector of the college ended the mass. Sadly, it was not specified what instruments the two musicians played<sup>40</sup>. It is difficult to establish why only two musicians played on Christmas, perhaps the others went home for a Christmas break or the band was reduced due to the plague that hit the city in 1708, disrupting the activity of the Jesuit college.

Very little information about the instruments of the Jesuit band has been preserved. It is known that in the 17th century the aforementioned Maciej Mazurkowicz, who played the horn, and Andrzej Mazurkowicz, who played the large tuba (*sztort*), performed there. The source does not specify whether they were related. Both had a *glorified* (*ślawetny*) title before their surnames, which suggests that they came from among the

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 94–94v.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 97.

<sup>38</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheets 40v–41v, 70–75.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps he is identical with J.F. Ruszkawski, a violinist who played in the collegiate band from 1714 to 1722. Such a name appeared on two pieces from the repertoire of the collegiate band, of which he was a copyist: the first by the composer Paweł Sieprawski, *Motetto de Sanctis, de Confessoribus: Plaudite sidera*, for 7 voices: CATB, 2 V, Solo Clno, Org. 1716. On the scores of Alto and Violino Primo there is an annotation *Ora pro J. Ruszkawski*. On the second piece by Andrzej Siewiński, *Ave Regina caelorum*, 6: 2 CB, 2 V, Vla di Gamba, Org. 1713 the following was added: *ex scriptis J. Ruszkawski*. W Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków muzycznych Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu, 'Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne'* 1965, 10, pp. 232–233; M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, p. 255.

<sup>40</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheets 338–338v.

townspeople<sup>41</sup>. Jakub Łyszkiewicz from Sandomierz, Andrzej Kanon's student, who fled to the Augustinians, played the organ. In the 18th century, already after the dissolution of the order, in a description of the college the following instruments were mentioned: a large positive organ, an old double bass (*kwartwiola*) and two trumpets with no mouthpieces were mentioned<sup>42</sup>. This does not mean, however, that the band did not have other instruments. It can be assumed that since it was invited to many churches in Sandomierz and graced the most important ceremonies in its home temple, it certainly had an extensive line-up and played on a high level.

One of the main goals of the band was to grace the services in the church of St Peter and Paul and celebrations organized by the Jesuits and schools run by them. It is known that in 1684 the band performed on the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, which was the patronal feast of the order. At that time many of the faithful came, including the local nobility, and the college records stated that 1500 Holy Communion were administered then<sup>43</sup>. In 1710, it played on Christmas Day, when the rector of the college celebrated the third mass on that day (the first two were read). By analogy it can be assumed that like the rest of the bands belonging to other colleges this one also performed during the services throughout the liturgical year, accompanied Easter processions and on the Feast of Corpus Christi and its octave. During the Christmas season it performed carols and during Lent – multi-voice passions.

In 1698, the band took part in the celebrations of the Feast of St Francis Xavier, one of the co-founders of the Society of Jesus, a missionary, called the apostle of India. He was particularly worshiped in Sandomierz as a benefactor of the city and its surroundings. Next, in 1715, in connection with the announcement of the canonisation of Stanisław Kostka, the musicians played a concert for many of the faithful, including nobility from all over the province. The church and tower were illuminated and decorated with tapestries and garlands of greenery, guns were fired and a fireworks display was organised. Triumphal gates decorated the streets of the city, through which the image of the saint was carried to the home temple in a solemn procession accompanied by a band from the Benedictine nuns' church. The procession was interrupted by the performances of the students who were dressed up and re-enacting scenes from the saint's life.

<sup>41</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 825, sheets 93v, 94.

<sup>42</sup> AGAD, ML, ref. no. VII 131, sheet 43.

<sup>43</sup> J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, p. 193; W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 83, states that the band played at that time on the New Year Day.

The situation was similar in 1726, when he was officially declared a saint. At that time, three triumphal gates were built (by the Jesuit church, by the Bobola nobility boarding house, and by the seminary). In a solemn procession two chariots carried pictures and emblems of saints from the collegiate church to the church of St Peter and Paul. School rectors, including Hieronim Wielopolski, delivered panegyrics. The celebrations, accompanied by the band, lasted eight days and attracted crowds of the faithful from all over the province<sup>44</sup>. The band also supported the activities of the school theater, performing in the plays of tragedy in 1720 and comedy in 1753<sup>45</sup>.

Moreover, on 14 June 1715, in the church of St Peter and Paul the boarding house students sang a mass for the soul of the parish priest, Stefan Zuchowski, and were paid 8 zlotys for it. In January this year, during his funeral, a band performed in the collegiate church, but it was not specified whether it was collegiate or Jesuit band, it is known that it was paid 12 zlotys 'for a mass sung in ornamented voice (*cantus fractus*)<sup>46</sup>'.

The band played not only in the home church, but also during masses (high, votive, anniversary ones), processions and services in other churches in Sandomierz, primarily in the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Dominican churches both of St James and St Mary Magdalene, at the Benedictine Sisters and in the church of St Jerome.

The performances of Jesuit boarding house students in the collegiate church are known on the basis of the existing records of expenses the chapter had to cover to pay them in the period between 1693 and 1733. They were invited to the *Martyrs of Sandomierz* fair on 2 June to the Corpus Christi, Advent and Christmas processions, as well as on the occasion of jubilees and during the assemblies of general chapters in early September. These fees varied each year depending on the number of performances. In 1693, they were paid 260 Polish zlotys for the third quarter of the year, while in 1704, 4 zlotys for participation in the Corpus Christi procession.

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<sup>44</sup> S. Bednarski, *Kulturalne dzieje*, p. 59; J. Kochanowicz, *Geneza*, pp. 195–198; W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>46</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 246 II, sheets 58, 59. The concept of 'broken song' (*cantus fractus*) was developed in the Middle Ages and means dividing (breaking) the main course of the melody with the short interludes, while keeping the measure. *Cantus fractus* is treated as a kind of ornamentation, enriching a simple melody and making it more artistic; M. Walter-Mazur, *Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Poznań 2014, p. 283; eadem, *Osiemnastowieczna praktyka muzyczna w klasztorach żeńskich w Sandomierzu, Staniątkach i Starym Sączu – próba porównania*, 'Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny' 2013, 11, p. 89; M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 288.

In 1721 the band played during the assembly general chapter (1 zloty) and during Advent (7 zlotys 18 groszys). A year later the Jesuit boarding house musicians earned 44 zlotys 18 groszy for honouring the services during the church fair on June 2, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, during the celebration of the jubilee and during the assembly general chapter. In 1732 two Jesuit musicians were paid 7 zlotys 18 groszy for playing during the September session of the chapter committee, similarly in the period between 1724 and 1725, 'the band that helped' during chapter assembly was paid 6 zlotys. In 1726 the students played 'during Corpus Christi, the chapter, and the jubilee', receiving 20 zlotys for it. Similarly, in the following two years total amounts were paid for the performance of Jesuit musicians who assisted the collegiate band: 12 Polish zlotys 20 groszy (in 1727) and 14 zlotys (1728). Another piece of information comes from 1731, when the Jesuit band once again supported collegiate musicians on Christmas (8 zlotys) day. In 1733 the students earned 6 zlotys for playing during the general chapter assembly<sup>47</sup>. However, due to another conflict between the two bands, which took place in 1735, the committee of prelates and canons forbade Jesuit musicians to perform in the collegiate temple<sup>48</sup>.

The Jesuit band was also invited by Dominicans to the church of St James. In the monastery account book, expenses for the band during various ceremonies were recorded, but there is a problem in distinguishing it from the collegiate chapel. When Dominicans invited both bands, they were distinguished because they were paid separately and different drinks were bought for each of them. However, if only one band performed, its affiliation usually was not specified. In the aforementioned book of expenses, a very interesting information was noted, i.e. the Dominicans decided to build a porch next to prior's windows: '[pri]mo so the trumpeters had the place to trumpet during celebrations and holidays just near the church, so the whole city – as it seemed – could hear them from the hill, [secun]do for prospect' (for better view over the musicians)<sup>49</sup>. It was *sui generis* stage where bands could perform during various holidays and trumpeters from these bands could announce the upcoming celebrations. This was the case, for example, before the feast of St Hyacinth in 1734: 'a tyńf (1 zloty 8 groszys) for the honey pot for the

<sup>47</sup> M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, pp. 274–275.

<sup>48</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Katalog praatów i kanoników sandomierskich od 1186–1926 tudzież sesje kapituły sandomierskiej od 1581 do 1866 r.*, Radom 1926, p. 148 (chapter sessions with separate pagination); M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, p. 276.

<sup>49</sup> '[pri]mo aby na uroczystości i święta mieli trębacze gdzie trobić i zaraz przy kościele, jakoż na całe wydawało się miasto ze wzgórza, [secun]do dla prospektu'. Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu [hereinafter: BDwS], ref. no. G 876, sheet 39.

band that trumpeted the festival [solemnitatem] and performed sonatas on the porch for the first time'<sup>50</sup>. The situation was similar in 1735, when the prior of the Dominicans decided to popularise the Feast of St Pius, a pope from the Order of Preachers. Then the band was announcing this feast from the first vespers until evening. In return, they were treated, together with other invited guests, with good alembic vodka<sup>51</sup>. This ceremony gained popularity in the city and therefore the prior in the following year (1736) invited the band to announce the upcoming festival: 'It was secundo secunde celebration of the festive solenitas S. Pii Summi Pontificis, who decus supremu[s] Ordinis N[ost]ri, for an hour before the evening the band was trumpeting and announcing the ceremony with kettledrums, about which the informatory cards have been in the churches for a week, then it played sonatas gracefully on the porch in front of the prior's windows, also de mane et pro secundis vesperis, after vespers'<sup>52</sup>.

The Jesuit band could perform only on Sundays and feasts, but not the main ones, which was probably caused either by the fact that in those cases it graced the services in the home temple or by a break in school activities that resulted in students going home. In 1735 it was noted: 'Primae vesperae the band played, ex quo that it was Dominica, because aliis temporib[us]

<sup>50</sup> 'kapeli za garniec miodu co solemnitate[m] otrobiła i sonaty na gonku pierwszy raz grała tynf'. BDwS, ref. no. G 876, sheet 39.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 48v. 'Festu[m] S. Pii ad populu[m] movente Deo zacząłem promować solennissime, kartki wprzód popisawszy i po kościołach poprzyklepiawszy, że jest patron a pace S. Pius i tę uroczystość pro tranquillitate publica odprawowaliśmy. Popularitas była wielka in hac ecclesia supra spe[m] et praelati hospites nobilesq[ue], samych księży na trzydzieści z mszami, JX officiał celebrował, ja kazanie miał etc. Kapella sonaty na ganku ante primas vesperas i aż pod sam wieczór wygrawała także in ipsa festivitate. Wielce lud przyjemny i ukontentowany był hac solemnitate i upraszali, obligowali aby co rok solemnne tego S. Ojca papieża dominikana solennizować. Za wódki garniec dobry alembikowej dla gości kapelli i o[]jców' osiemdziesiąt groszy'.

[Festu[m] S. Pii ad populu[m] movente Deo I started to promote solennissime, having first written the cards and stuck them in the churches, that he was a patron a pace S. Pius and we held this celebration pro tranquillitate public. Popularitas was great in hac ecclesia supra spe[m] et praelati hospites nobilesq[ue], thirty priests with masses, JX official celebrated, I had a sermon etc. The band on the porch ante primas vesperas and until the very evening played sonatas also in ipse festivitate. The people were very pleased and content with hac solemnitate and they asked and obligated to solemnise this Holy Father, Dominican Pope, solemnly every year. Eighty groszys for a large pot of alembic vodka for guests, the band and fathers'].

<sup>52</sup> 'Już to secundo secunde odprawowała się festive solenitas S. Pii Summi Pontificis, który decus supremu[s] Ordinis N[ost]ri, kapella przed wieczorem z godzinę otrębowała i kotłami ogłosiła uroczystość, na którą kartki po kościołach na tydzień rozpisane, po tym sonaty wdzięcznie wygrywała na ganku przed przeorowskimi oknami, także de mane et pro secundis vesperis, po niesporach'. BDwS, ref. no. G 876, sheet 63.

it plays during very holidays [...] 8 tynfs (10 zlotys, 4 groszys) for eight honey pots for the band, guests and fathers and utriusque[ue] c[onve]ntus' (10 złp. 4 gr.)<sup>53</sup>.

Jesuit musicians also performed in the church of St Mary Magdalene, which was located near the market square. It is interesting that the Dominicans together with the Jesuits celebrated the feast of St Thomas Aquinas, doctor of the Church, and the band took part in these celebrations every year. According to the ordinance of 1692, issued by the Dominican provincial superior for both Sandomierz monasteries, the fathers of the monastery of St James and the Jesuits with musicians were to come to the church of St Mary Magdalene, where confessions, masses, panegyrics and preaching as well as a solemn procession were planned for the whole day. Dominicans should have invited the band and rewarded it properly<sup>54</sup>. Indeed, in the book of expenses of St Mary Magdalene monastery various amounts of money and various types of alcohol were noted as a means of payment<sup>55</sup>. The Dominican provincial superior also recommended that the band should grace Emmaus (the second day of Easter) and the New Year. In October 1726, Jesuit musicians played on the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary during a solemn procession throughout the city, attended by monks from both convents and both rosary confraternities: 'In festo

<sup>53</sup> 'Primaes vesperae kapella grała, ex quo że Dominica była, bo aliis temporib[us] w same grawają święta [...] Za miodu ośm garcy dla kapelli, gości i ojców utriusq[ue] c[onve]ntus ośm tynf[ów]'. BDwS, ref. no. G 876, sheet 51v.

<sup>54</sup> AkJ, *Książka różańcowa*, p. 83.

<sup>55</sup> BDwS, ref. no. 887, sheet 21. (1727) 'Za śledzie tak do stołu jako i dla kapelli 1 złp. 15 gr., za wódke tak dla gości jako i dla muzyków 4 złp. Notandu[m] że ab immemorabili tempore et annis ojcowie jezuiti na obiad nie zostawali się, którzy pro festo Doctoris Angelici zawsze celebrują, hoc anno JMX Maniecki summe a JMX Kościuszko teolog pierwszy miał kazanie i dali się uprosić ad mensa[m] Dominici, etia[m] non invitati invitaverunt se ojcowie kameduli rytwiańscy, którzy na kwerelech będąc przyszli i do stołu. Dla tych i innych gości i dla oratora jezuity, który po obiedzie laudabiliter miał oracyą pułszusta wydało się wina i zapłaciło 27 złp. 26 gr. [...] Dla kapelli co Passią grała za śledzie 27 gr. [...] Kappeli jezuitki co pro festo Doctoris Angelici grała 5 złp. 2 gr.'

[For herring both on the table and for the band 1 zloty 15 groszys, 4 zlotys for vodka both for guests and musicians. Notandu[m] that ab immemorabili tempore et annis the Jesuit fathers did not stay for dinner, who pro festo Doctoris Angelici always celebrate, hoc anno JMX Maniecki summe a JMX Kościuszko theologian was the first to have a sermon and they allowed themselves to be invited ad mensa[m] Dominici, etia[m] non invitati invitaverunt se the Camaldolese Fathers from Rytwiany, who were to file the complaints (kwerele), also came to the table. To these and other guests as well as for the Jesuit orator, who had laudabiliter speech after dinner, five and half units of the wine were handed over and 27 zlotys 26 groszys were paid. [...] 27 groszy for the herring for the band, which played Passion. [...] 5 zlotys 2 groszy for the Jesuit band that played pro festo Doctoris Angelici'].

Sacratissimi Rosarii sometimes there is solemn processia a conventu of S. Mariae Magdalena, which is always assisted by St James church's confraternity of this fraternity and order on the Sandomierz market [-] At the table there were Reverend Canons, magistrate and some folk necessary for the monastery, 4 tynfs (10 zlotys) for Jesuit band' (10 złp.)<sup>56</sup>.

The Jesuit band was also invited by Benedictine sisters, the performance in 1763 is confirmed. At that time, the band played during the name day of the daughter of Morski, castellan of Przemyśl. She was a student of the convent school. The following year, the nuns invited musicians twice to play litanies during the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary and on the anniversary of the election of the abbess<sup>57</sup>.

This band performed in the hospital church of St Jerome during the patron's fair in 1669. Then it was paid 14 zlotys. Henryk Ćwiek stated that the musicians played in this temple several times, but he did not record the dates or the sums of money they earned. However, it is currently difficult to complete this information, as it is impossible to retrieve the account book of St Peter and St Jerome hospital<sup>58</sup>.

Jesuit musicians were known in Sandomierz not only for their performances, but also for their conflicts with the parish clergy of St Peter and Paul church, as well as with the collegiate band, which took place between the end of the 17th century and 30s of the 18th century. In the literature on the subject to date, these disputes have been interpreted as musicians competing for payment for honouring services or participating in funerals in Sandomierz churches. However, they should be considered in the broader context of the dispute over the Church of St Peter and Paul between Jesuits and parish priests and their vicars.

The first conflict began as early as in 1697, when during the conventual mass, celebrated on Christmas Day by the parish priest Stefan Żuchowski, the Jesuits entered the temple and took the tablecloths, candelabra with

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<sup>56</sup> 'In festo Sacratissimi Rosarii bywa solemn processia a conventu S. Mariae Magdalena, której assisteje zawsze konfraternia od S. Jakuba tegoż bractwa i zakonu po rynku sandomierskim [-] Byli u stołu IMość Ksieza Kanonici, magistrat i niektórzy potrzebni klasztorowi, kapeli jezucki 4 tynfy'. BDwS ref. no. 887, sheet 15.

<sup>57</sup> H. Ćwiek, *op. cit.*, pp. 229–230. The author stated that the Jesuit band performed during the indulgence ceremonies in the monastery church of St Michael over dozen times a year, but he did not write in what years or on what source material this information was based. M. Walter-Mazur, *The Musical Practice of the Sandomierz Benedictine Nuns During the Eighteenth Century*, in: *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology*, vol. 11, *Source Studies in Musical Culture*, eds. A. Mądry, M. Walter-Mazur, pp. 194–195; eadem, *Muzyka jako element klasztornych uroczystości w świetle XVIII-wiecznych archiwaliów benedyktynek kongregacji chełmińskiej*, 'Hereditas Monasteriorum' 2013, 2, p. 75.

<sup>58</sup> H. Ćwiek, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

candles and the antependium (richly decorated altar veil), and they forbade clerical student to serve at mass. They prevented the musicians from playing the organ because they took the pins out of them. Żuchowski, for a scandalous interruption of the mass in the presence of many townspeople and nobility, sued Krzysztof Wierzchowski, the bishop of Krakow, rector of the college<sup>59</sup>. In 1701, a few witnesses testified in the consistory of Sandomierz. They confirmed the accusations. Jan Dachowicz, the altarist of the parish church, testified that the Jesuits had repeatedly interrupted conventual sung masses with their music and that they had destroyed their positive organ 'and now they're breaking the one belonging to the parish and smashing the parish bells'<sup>60</sup>. There were two choir galleries in the church, one with the parish organ and the other, Jesuit one, with the positive organ situated above their sacristy<sup>61</sup>.

Jakub Orzechowski, the senior of the collegiate psalterists, confirming the testimony of his predecessor, added that being the vicar of this parish and celebrating High Masses on Sundays and holidays, he himself experienced such behavior of the Jesuits, who often played litanies on the occasion of the name day of one of their monks, which meant that parish masses had to be continued as read. It was similar with vespers: if they did not end before the laudes (i.e. the prayers of praise, which are part of the pastoral prayers), then the Jesuits began to play litanies and the vicar had to leave the altar without ending the service. Moreover, Orzechowski, at the order of the parish priest, Żuchowski, allocated 80 zlotys to repair the parish organs broken by the Jesuits, which they destroyed again<sup>62</sup>. The parish organist Bartłomiej Jabłoński and the two town councilors of Sandomierz, Stanisław Wodecki and Stanisław Szajkowski, spoke in a similar vein<sup>63</sup>.

Subsequent excesses took place in 1707, when the city was threatened with the imminent plague. On All Souls' Day when the mass was celebrated

<sup>59</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheets 12–12v, 32–32v.

<sup>60</sup> 'a teraz farny psuią i dzwony farne tłuką'. AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheet 37v.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 426v. 'Mieli zapewne jezuci swój pozyteu, na którym grewali na swoje święta, i ten pozyteu bywał osobno na ichże chóрку, a zaś organy były farne, na wielkim farnym chórze, ale stopiły się jak Szwedzi miasto i kościół spalili' ['The Jesuits probably had their positive organ, which they played during their holidays, and this positive was present separately in their choir gallery, and the other organ belonged to parish, on the parish great choir gallery, but they melted when the Swedes burnt the city and the church']. *Ibidem*, sheet 427v, 'Jezuici mieli i swój pozyteu i swój chórek na tym miejscu gdzie teraz formy stoją' ['The Jesuits had their positive organ and their small choir gallery in the place where the forms now stand'].

<sup>62</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 38.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 38v–40v.

by the parish priest and archdeacon Żuchowski, the syntax students, inebriated with booze by the boarding house prefect Piotr Suchodolski, 'insulted the ones who played [collegiate musicians – author's note] the mass, they made tumult and noises'<sup>64</sup>. During the Elevation, one of the students bursted into the choir gallery and hit the violin and violinist's hands with a stick, destroying his instrument. After the mass was over, when the Jesuits were celebrating their mass in the chapel, those drunk students vomited (*they had vomites*). In addition, the syntax students, together with their professor Suchodolski, blocked the way for magister Wikiński, the regent of the collegiate band, and his companions. They took his thaler, which he received for the performance of the band from the captain of the military unit stationed in the city (perhaps it was the general of the Swedish army, Brandt<sup>65</sup>). The collegiate vicar, Błażej Łapczewski, who testified in this case, added that the Jesuit students stayed at the collegiate church for two days, on All Saints' Eve and on the feast itself. On All Souls' Day the prefect of the boarding house was at the cemetery and did not let priest Wojciech Gorzuchowski persuade him to stop his reprehensible doings. Moreover, he gave his own pupils a quart of vodka to boost their vigor up ('the master as their professor inebriated them, so they had more courage to insult these collegiate musicians'<sup>66</sup>).

In addition, at the funeral of the parish altarist Dachowicz, master Suchodolski ordered his students to prevent the collegiate musicians from entering the choir gallery 'pray quidem, but do not allow those collegiate musicians to enter the choir gallery'<sup>67</sup>, who were invited to the parish temple to provide musical setting for the service. At that time, the Jesuit students, armed with sticks, carried out the prefect's order, so the collegiate band had to play in front of the high altar. Another witness in this case, Sebastian Wiesiowski, a collegiate psalter, stated that the students themselves told him that prefect Suchodolski had ordered them to destroy both the violin and the positive. Futile was the intervention of the parish

<sup>64</sup> 'znieważali w tymże kościele farnym mszą grających [muzyków kolegiackich – author's note], tumulty i hałasy czynili'. *Ibidem*, sheet 40v.

<sup>65</sup> S. Załęski, *op. cit.*, p. 893. The historian presented Brandt as friendly to the Sandomierz Jesuits, in contrast to the Saxon, Moscow and Polish armies previously stationed in Sandomierz, which committed robberies, arrests and murders. Brandt, together with the military elders, was invited to dinner at the college by rector Gengel on the feast of St Ignatius on July 31, 1707. However, he was not able to save the city from paying war contributions.

<sup>66</sup> 'od magistra jako swego profesora opojeni dla fantazyi, aby znieważali tych muzyków kolegiackich'. AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheet 40v.

<sup>67</sup> 'módlcie się quidem, a nie dopuszczajcie na chór muzyków tych kolegiackich'. *Ibidem*.

vicars, Szymon Folańkiewicz and Wojciech Gorząchowski, who asked the prefect to let the musicians into the choir gallery, arguing that it was built at the expense of the parish priest, Żuchowski, and therefore the parish clergy could freely use it. Suchodolski said that it was a Jesuit church and no one else should rule it. After the mass, the violin and the positive were brought to the temple and had to be carried to sacristy by priests, because it was feared that if the musicians took them, the instruments would be destroyed by waiting Jesuit students. Nevertheless, student Mroczkiewicz hit one of the priests, aforementioned Gorząchowaki, with a stone and destroyed the violin. The injured vicar testified that when he was carrying the instrument towards the main door of the church, his way was blocked by the musicians 'and I said to the students: – are you going to smash it or not? So a student called Odolski replied: – Thou come thyself behind the church, priest, and soon you're going to see how we smash it'<sup>68</sup>. In this situation the vicar retreated to the sacristy and then the aforementioned Mroczkiewicz stopped him, threw a stone at the violin and also hit his left hand. However, he did not return the positive to the collegiate church until two days later, as during that time the students were still waiting near the church to destroy it<sup>69</sup>.

The behavior of students and their guardians was widely echoed, and the case was sent to the Sandomierz consistory on 7 November 1707. An interesting letter was written by Jan Kazimierz Odolski, the royal secretary, in which he apologised to the parish priest Stefan Żuchowski for the conduct of his nephew Odolski, mentioned in the testimony by the vicar Gorząchowski. This student took part in an attack on collegiate musicians and reprehensibly spoke to the clergyman carrying the instrument. In the *post scriptum*, uncle wrote that another student, Wodecki, was also punished by his parent<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> 'i jam rzekł do studentów: – a będziecieś tłuc czyli nie? Aż jeden się student odezwał Odolski nazwany: – Chodzieno popie z temi skrzypcami sam za kościół, wnet obaczysz jak je potłuczemy'. *Ibidem*, sheet 41.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 40v–41v. The same testimony is provided in sheets 70–75v.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 71. 'W Sandomierzu 4 Nove[mbris] 1707. Perillustrio et Reverendissime Domine Domine et Patrone Colendissime Observand[um]. Oprócz expostulacyey W[asz]m[ości] Pana, miałem i ja cordolium iustum z okazyey nieuwagi synowca mego, karałem go zatym exemplariter i przed requisicyą W[asz]m[ości] Pana o to że immixtus szkolney młodzi, czatował iussus od Profesora swego iako mi powiedział na muzykantów przezaczney kapituły tutejszej contra decennam status z uszczerbkiem i mojej reputacyej. To deforme obsequium i dla innych okkazyi podobnych, pensatum konniwencyą, którą zwyczajnie sequitur dissolucya, i widziałeś W[asz]m[ości] Pan w dzień zaduszny w kościele enorme tego exemplum, miałem intencją powiedzieć to W[asz]m[ości] Panu ustnie obszerniej, ale zagościwszy z folwarku mego po kilkakroć do rezydencyej W[asz]m[ości] Pana daremnie, wyrażam graphice nieukontentowanie moje z instytucyey synowca mego i dissolucyey

When in 1710 documentation was prepared for the bishop of Krakow, which was to be used to transfer the parish to the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, other witnesses were called to testify in disputes between the Jesuits and the parish clergy, which also included conflicts between the two music bands. The precentor of mansionaries<sup>71</sup>, Paweł Bielak, responding to 27 questions, some of which concerned the insubordination of Jesuit students, provided information about them being sent deliberately by their superiors in order to attack the house of collegiate musicians<sup>72</sup>. In turn, the townsman Stanisław Szajkowski stated that one of the collegiate musicians, whose violin had been destroyed, lived in his house<sup>73</sup>. It also turned out that councilor Stanisław Wodecki let the apartment to the aforementioned student, Odolski. He testified that he saw the student vomit, he had to be taken out of the church because he

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nawet i inspektorow. Zostawam przy tym na zawsze extra vicissitudinem odmiany W[asz] m[ości] Pana i Dobrodzieja. P.S. Iussu Profesora obtendebat i kondyscypuł synowca mego Wodecki przed rodzicem swoim strofowany i karany o nieprzystoyny wspomniany proceder. Uprzejmie życzliwym bratem i uczciwym sługą Jan Kazimierz Odolski Je[go] K[rólewskiej] M[ości] i pieczęci koronnej sekretarz m[anu] p[ropri]a’.

[In Sandomierz 4 Nove[mbris] 1707. Perillustrio et Reverendissime Domine Domine et Patrone Colendissime Observand[um]. In addition to your complaint, your grace, I also had cordolium iustum due to the inattention of my nephew, I punished him exemplariter and according to your request for he immixtus among students waited iussus by his professor, as he told me, for the musicians by the splendid local chapter contra decennam status harming also my reputation. This deforme obsequium and for other similar occasions, pensatum with consent, which is usually sequitur by dissolution, and on All Souls' day you, your grace, saw enorme of this exemplum in the church, I had the intention to tell you orally about it more thoroughly, but having visited the your grace's property several times in vain, I graphice express my unhappiness with the disposition of my nephew and with the dissolution even of the inspectors. As far as this case is concerned I stay forever extra your grace's and benefactor's vicissitudinem. P.S. Iussu of Professor obtendebat and the schoolmate of my nephew, Wodecki, was reprimanded by his parent and punished for the inappropriate practice mentioned above. A politely kind brother and honest servant, Jan Kazimierz Odolski, manu propria secretary of His Majesty and the Royal Seal’].

<sup>71</sup> Mansionaries – the college of clergy at the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Sandomierz. They were obliged to sing the small office of the Blessed Virgin Mary every day and to celebrate the foundation masses. They were led by precentor, sometimes called senior or primarius, see also: D. Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz – Kościół i miasto*, Kielce 2012, pp. 23, 123–139, 297–301.

<sup>72</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheet 101. At that time, testimony was also given by the canon of the Sandomierz collegiate church and the parish priest of the second church of St Paul Jakub Orzechowski, vicars of the church of St Peter, Sebastian Wiesiowski and Wojciech Koszycki, senior of the college of psalterists Walenty Dygulski, psalterist Sebastian Michalski, mansionary Maciej Turowiński, vicar of the collegiate church Błażej Żapczyński and two councilors Kazimierz Krajewski and Marcin Motkowski, *Ibidem*, sheets 100–107.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 105.

was half-dead. The councilor's wife was amazed, disgusted, and shouted very loudly at the student<sup>74</sup>.

Before the case of 1707 ended, further excesses had taken place at the end of 1710<sup>75</sup>. On Christmas Day, when the Archdeacon and the parish priest Żuchowski was celebrating mass, Jesuit students, on the order of the prefect of the boarding house and the master of grammar, Wojciech Jankowski, stormed the choir gallery, broke down the door and attacked the organist of the parish, Romuald Gorecki. Koszycki, the vicar, who managed to open the door bolted by the students from inside, came to help the bleeding organist, but the prefect Jankowski, armed with an ax, did not allow him to enter the choir gallery. At the beginning of 1711, the ended up at the bishop of Krakow, Kazimierz Łubieński, who appointed commissioners to investigate the course of events<sup>76</sup>, because the Jesuits presented a slightly different version of the events, claiming that it was five parish and collegiate vicars and mansionarie who attacked the Jesuit musicians, beat them up with fists and whips and then kicked out of the choir gallery. Together with other allegations against Żuchowski and the clergy of the parish and collegiate church, they sent a complaint to the bishop<sup>77</sup>. To confirm this, they presented several witnesses in court, mainly their students. Among them was the musician Roszkowski (Ruszkawski), 25 year old, who testified that during the Christmas mass celebrated by the rector of the college, diocesan priests stormed the choir gallery and one of them smashed the door with an ax, while two musicians took their own axes. The attackers could not break down the door completely, so they pulled the bolt out of it and threw both musicians out of the choir gallery. The Rector had to end the mass read without the accompaniment of music<sup>78</sup>. Interestingly, all the testimonies were published in the form of a brochure and sent to the Roman Rota in 1712. The parish priest Żuchowski responded to them, stating that the

<sup>74</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 105v.

<sup>75</sup> W. Białousz, *op. cit.*, p. 84, incorrectly stated that the conflict took place on Christmas Day in 1711.

<sup>76</sup> AKKS, ref. no. 596, sheets 209v–210, 239.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 221, 224–225v., 298, 319v, 334–334v.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 338–338v. ‘Octavus testis. Honestus Rozkawski musicus annorum 25 iuravit etc. [...]. Fuit hoc, quod die Nativitatis Christi sub tempus devotionis, quando missam inchoabat pater rector, aliquot presbyteri venerunt ad ecclesiam, ex quibus rev [erendus] Kouski [Koszycki] securi effringebat fores ad chorum, nos duas secures recepimus tumae temporer, quantando sectae temporer. Postea non potuerant securibus sufficienter effringere, vectem a foribus ecclesiae acceperunt, et excusserunt ad reliquum fores et nos in choro existentes dispulerunt. Causam scientiae dixit: fuit tum temporis in choro. Subdiaconus cum diacono debuerunt ire ad sacristiam, et pater rector legendo finivi missam’.

witnesses were young and poor charges of the Jesuits, whose testimonies were supplemented with false information<sup>79</sup>. The parish priest's witnesses stated alike, saying that some of the students testifying in favour of the Jesuits were studying at the college for two or three years, and two of them had already died. Moreover, another witness was a stranger and wandered as a barber surgeon, and yet another one was a beggar. On the other hand, the opinion about the musician from the boarding house, Ruszkowski, was presented by the parish vicar, Sebastian Wiesiowski, who claimed that he was educated at the college in Sandomierz as a boy, but the rector Jagniński wanted to put him in fetters because he tried to escape<sup>80</sup>. At the end of 1712, Żuchowski summoned several other witnesses to the Sandomierz consistory, mainly clergy connected with the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the parish of St Peter. Among the questions placed at the beginning of the protocol, there was also one concerning the events on Christmas Day in 1710. The question was whether the witnesses saw the prefect of the boarding house Jankowski punched the parish organist, who did not want to play during the mass started by the rector of the Jesuit college. The organist was bleeding and the crowd of the faithful present in the church, agitated by the commotion in the choir gallery, wanted to force the door leading there<sup>81</sup>. In 1712, one of the parish vicars wrote down in ten points all the abuses committed by the Jesuits and students, including musicians in the parish temple, and sent it to the provincial superior of the Society of Jesus, indicating at the end that a letter on this matter would also be sent to the superior general of the order<sup>82</sup>.

The conflict was resolved in 1718 when the parish was moved from the church of St Peter and Paul to the collegiate church. Moreover, in 1730, both the collegiate chapter and the Jesuits pledged to punish their culprits or hand them over to the opposing camp<sup>83</sup>. However, as early as 1735 Jesuit musicians beat up members of the collegiate band. The chapter lodged a protest to the court and passed a resolution prohibiting the Jesuit band from playing in the collegiate church. The clergymen from this church were not allowed to hire Jesuit musicians to celebrate services and accompany funerals<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 408. '[...] admisit pueros scholares mendicos musicos, illorum[ue] depositiones multis solecismis conscripsit'.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 421v. 'Ruszkowski musicus ex bursa patrum et educationis p[atrum] a puero, hunc p[ate]r Jagniński regens voluit compedib[us] adstringere quod profugeret'.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, sheet 429v.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, sheets 287–287v.

<sup>83</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 148; M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie*, p. 276.

Despite such cases of insubordination of musicians and clergy associated with the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Church of St Peter and Paul, it should be said that, paradoxically, they also have a positive aspect, especially for historians. Thanks to the testimony of witnesses in these conflicts, one can learn about many interesting facts concerning the functioning of both bands, learn the names of musicians and prefects of the boarding house, as well as the names of the damaged instruments. On this occasion information was also provided on the services in which the musicians took part. It can hardly be said that mutual animosities had a negative impact on the musical level of both bands.

The above analysis shows that the Jesuit chapel performed mainly in its home church of St Peter and Paul, on the main holidays of the church year as well as during monastic holidays, e.g. in honour of St Franciszek Ksawery or on the occasion of the canonization of Stanisław Kostka. The band also supported the activities of the school theater, performing in tragedy and comedy plays. In addition, Jesuit musicians played during masses, processions and services in other churches in Sandomierz, primarily at the Dominicans, both from the Church of St James and St Mary Magdalene, at the Benedictine nuns in the Church of St Michael, in the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and in the Hospital Church of St Jerome. When Andrzej Kanon was the prefect of the boarding house, the band also performed in Radomyśl in the Augustinian church. For nearly two centuries, the Jesuit band contributed to the development of the cultural life of Sandomierz, and the boarding house served as a center for music education.

## APPENDIX

## Jesuit boarding house

## Bursa jezuicka

Wychodząc z cmentarza jezuickiego w prawej ręce znajduje się Bursa dla Kapelii, do której wejścia znajdują się drzwi roboty stolarskiej stare z dwoma hakami żelaznymi z zawiasą jedną całą, drugą przełomaną ze skoblami bez zamku. Wstępując do sieni, w której żadnej nie masz powały. W prawą rękę o trzy kroki są drzwi stolarskie stare złe do pierwszej izdebki, które *ab extra* mają dwa haki ze dwiema zawiasami żelaznymi, ze dwoma skoblikami i zwiecządem *ab intus* haczyk ze dwiema skoblikami. W tej izdebce w prawą rękę w ścianie jest jedno okno w ołów oprawne mające tafelek czternaście całych a sześć przepadniętych i ołowiem zaprawnych z okiennicą starą. *Ad faciem* wstępu w drugiej ścianie także jedno okno w ołów osadzone mające tafelek sześćdziesiąt i dwie całych z okiennicą złą. W lewą rękę przy drzwiach komin stary z piecem starym wapnem pobielonym, powała w niej zła, podłoga jeszcze gorsza wygniła. Koło pieca są drzwi podwójne na zawiasach i hakach dwóch ze dwoma skoblikami i haczykami bez zamku. Przez które wchodząc do drugiej izdebki po prawej ręce od Wisły w ścianie są dwa okna, w pierwszym w ołów osadzonym tafelek całych sied[em]naście, dwie złych a połowa zalepiona z okiennicą złą. Drugie okno bez szyb deseczkami zabite. W tej izbie piec z kominem stary, powała stara bez podłogi. W le[k. 50v]wą rękę wstępu są drzwi do sieni stolarskie stare nowo listwowane ze dwoma hakami, zawiasami i zamkiem starym, kluczem, z skoblami i haczykiem. Stół się w niej znajduje stary z nogami popsutymi. Wyszedszy z tej drugiej izdebki dalej sienią idąc w [...] od prawej ręki do izdebki trzeciej są drzwi proste stare z dwoma hakami, zawiasami, zamkiem starym, z klamką i kluczem. W prawą rękę wyjścia piec stary z kominem takim *ad faciem* wstępu są dwie ściany, od Wisły są dwa okna stare w ołów oprawne, jedno tafelek trzydzieści ośm, drugie trzydzieści cztery podobnych z okiennicami starymi mające. U tej izdebki powała stara, podłoga ładajaka. Po lewej ręce sieni wstępnych drzwi o trzy kroki stolarskie stare ze dwiema zamkami i zawiasami z skoblikami dwiema, wrzeczędem i haczykiem w prawej ręce wyjścia piec stary z kominkiem złym, wapnem pobielany, przy piecu w ścianie są drzwi stolarskie stare ze dwiema hakami i zawiasami zabite. W tej izdebce małej znajdują się okna dwa, pierwsze mające tafelek w ołów oprawnych małych i starych pięćdziesiąt i dwie, drugie mające tafelek podobnych większych trzydzieści i dwie, z okiennicami do nich starymi. Przechodząc znowu dalej sienią po [pra]wej ręce izdebka druga, do której drzwi stolarskie stare ze dwiema hakami, zawiasami i zamkiem

starym bez klucza, mająca piec stary ladajaki z kominem zepsutym, okna u niej dwa bez szyb okiennicami zabite. Dalej w sieni postępując izdebka trzecia, do której drzwi stolarskie zepsute ze dwoma hakami i zawiasami, z wrzeczadzem i skoblami dwoma i haczy[kie]m, w której rudera tylko komina i piec zostają, okna dwa zabite okiennicami staremi bez zawias. Powąła stara, podłoga zgnięła. W końcu sieni czyli korytarzyka są drzwi proste z dwoma hakami i zawiasami, tylko przez które wszedłszy znajduje się [...] stajenka, w której drzwi wjazdne na biegunach i knaku (krzaku) jednym żelaznym z wrzeczadzem i dwoma skoblami. Przepierzonka u niej *ad instar* komórki z tarcic, drzwiczki do niej bez żadnego żelaza. Facjata u tej bursy, w której *ad instar* trzy okna były, stara była. Dachówka gontami pobita stara i ladaco z gruntu potrzebująca reparacyi kominów murowanych w górę wywiedzionych jeszcze dobrych sześć No 6.

W tej Bursie izdebek dwie pierwszych po prawej ręce wchodząc *vigore contractus are[n]datoru[m] annualis d[ie] 23 Junii A[nno] 1773* od dnia świętego Jana Chrzciciela ręką I[ego] M[ości] Xiędza Wereszczaka *protunc* Rektora SJ podpisanego za[sz]łych 36 wypłaconych do tegosz dnia w Roku 1774, kończącego się I[ego] M[ości] Pan Franciszek trzyma. Trzecią zaś izdebkę na tej stronie trzyma I[ego] M[ości] Pan Jaskulski za zł [...] bez kontraktu tylko według przyrzeczenia słownego wypłaciła do S. Szymona w roku terażniejszym do przyszłego. W tej sience kuchenka bez odrzwi i [...] <sup>85</sup>.

(translated by LINGUA LAB)

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#### STRESZCZENIE

Jezuickie kapele w znacznym stopniu przyczyniły się do rozwoju muzyki wokalne i instrumentalnej w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Początki kapeli w Collegium Gostomianum sięgają lat dwudziestych XVII w. Jednym z głównych jej celów było uświetnianie nabożeństw w kościele św. Piotra i Pawła w Sandomierzu oraz uroczystości organizowanych przez jezuitów i ich podopiecznych. Występowali w najważniejsze święta roku liturgicznego i święta zakonne, na przykład na cześć świętego Franciszka Ksawerego, jednego z założycieli Towarzystwa Jezusowego, a także z okazji kanonizacji Stanisława Kostki. Kapela wspierała także działalność teatru szkolnego, występując w sztukach tragedii i komedii. Muzycy jezuicy grali nie tylko w macierzystym kościele, ale także podczas mszy (głównej, wotywniej, rocznicowej), procesji i uroczystości w innych kościołach sandomierskich, przede wszystkim w klasztorach dominikanów św. Jakuba i św. Marii Magdaleny, benedyktynek oraz w kolegiacie NMP.

**Słowa kluczowe:** jezuici, kapele jezuickie, bursy muzyczne, konflikty między kapelami, Sandomierz, Collegium Gostomianum

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