

Magdalena Walter-Mazur

The Musical Culture of Polish Benedictine Nuns in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Volume 12

Eastern European Studies
in Musicology

Edited by Maciej Gołąb



PETER LANG

The study is the first monograph devoted to the musical culture of a female order in Poland. It is a result of in-depth research into musical, narrative, economic, and prosopographic sources surviving in libraries and archives. Focused on the musical practice of nuns, the book also points to the context of spirituality, morality, and culture of the post-Trident era. The author indicates the transformation of the musical activity of the nuns during the 17th and 18th century and discusses its various kinds: plainsong, Latin and Polish polyphonic song, polichoral, keyboard, vocal-instrumental and chamber music. She reflects on the role of music in liturgy and monastic events and in everyday life of cloistered women, describes the recruitment of musically gifted candidates, and the scriptorial activity of nuns.

Magdalena Walter-Mazur is Professor at the Institute of Musicology of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her current interests include the musical culture of female convents in the 17th and 18th century. She combines her interest in the relations between music, spirituality, and social life with archival study.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations	9
Introduction	11
1 Contexts. Female monasticism in the early modern era.	
Culture-creating role of the convent	17
1.1 Post-Tridentine reform of convent life for women	17
1.2 The nuns' practice of music	26
1.3 The regeneration and development of female convents in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during Counter-Reformation	40
1.4 Reform of Chełmno and the founding campaign of Polish Benedictine Sisters. The culture-creating activities	44
2 The musical culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation in the seventeenth century	55
2.1 Abbess Magdalena Mortęska and her views on the role of music in the life of a monastic community. Music in the Polish editions of the Benedictine rule	55
2.2 Recruitment of musically talented candidates and musical education at the convent	64
2.3 Polyphony, <i>alternatim</i> practice and vocal-instrumental music in the convents in Chełmno, Toruń, Poznań and Radom in light of chronicle records	76
3 Seventeenth-century musical sources from the convents of Benedictine nuns in Toruń and Jarosław	91
3.1 Partbooks TorA and TorB held at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin	91

3.2	Toruń manuscript Ms. Akc. Nr 127 held at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences	98
3.3	The Jarosław collection of two-choir compositions for female voices L1643 held at the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz	102
4	The musical culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation in the eighteenth century	135
4.1	The musical practice of nuns at the convents in Sandomierz, Lvov, Nieśwież, Jarosław and Przemyśl	135
4.1.1	Sandomierz	139
4.1.2	Lvov	153
4.1.3	Nieśwież	156
4.1.4	Jarosław	159
4.1.5	Przemyśl	162
4.2	Music as an element of convent celebrations	163
4.3	Cantoressees, singers and instrumentalists. Examples of the professionalisation of nun-musicians	181
5	Eighteenth-century musical sources from the convents of Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Jarosław and Lvov	205
5.1	Cantionals	205
5.2	Organ books	209
5.3	The didactic remarks <i>Zrozumienie Consonancyi dobrych i złych</i> [The Understanding of Good and Bad Consonances] in the organ book from Przemyśl	223
5.4	Vocal-instrumental and instrumental compositions	233

6 The musical life in the convents of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno reform, Benedictine nuns from Staniątki and Poor Clares from Stary Sącz. A comparative perspective	249
6.1 The musical culture of Benedictine nuns from Staniątki in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries	249
6.2 The musical culture of Clarist nuns from Stary Sącz during the eighteenth century	259
Conclusion	273
Appendix I Convents belonging to the Chełmno reform in chronological order	277
Appendix II List of compositions from ms. L 1668 with concordances in the RISM database and Fabiańska's collection from Stary Sącz	281
List of Figures	291
Bibliography	295
Sources	295
Editions	297
References	301
Index of Names	317
Index of Places	327

List of Abbreviations

A	alto
AGAD	The Main Archive of Old Documents (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych)
B	bass
bc	basso continuo
BDSand	Diocesan Library in Sandomierz (Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Sandomierzu)
C	canto
cemb	harpsichord (cembalo)
cl	clarinet
clno	clarion
cor	French horn (corno)
fg	bassoon
fl	flute
Kbch	The Chronicle of the Benedictine Nuns of Chełmno (<i>Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich</i>)
Kbp	The Chronicle of the Benedictine Nuns of Poznań (<i>Kronika benedyktynek poznańskich</i>)
Kbr	The Chronicle of the Benedictine Nuns of Radom (<i>Kronika benedyktynek radomskich</i>)
Kbs	The Chronicle of the Benedictine Nuns of Sandomierz (<i>Kronika benedyktynek sandomierskich</i>)
Kbst	The Chronicle of the Benedictine Nuns of Staniątki (<i>Kronika benedyktynek staniąteckich</i>)
ms.	manuscript
NG	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, London 2001
ob	oboe
org	pipe organ
PL	The Order of Convent Hours and Works Described in a Rule for the Whole Day (<i>Porządek godzin y zabaw zakonnych przez cały dzień w regule opisanych</i> , [Aldegunda Szklińska] rkp. D4 Archiwum PP Benedyktynek Lwowskich w Krzeszowie)
PS	The Choir Orders (<i>Porządki chorowe</i> , [Scholastyka Moszyńska], rkp L 1651 Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu)

RISM	Rèpertoire International des Sources Musicales
S	soprano
T	tenor
tr	trumpet
vl	violin
vla	viola

Introduction

In 2007, while looking through the microfilms held at the National Library, among plainchant manuscripts from Pelplin I quite accidentally came across a partbook with mensural notation. The title, which claimed that the book was notated by a nun of the Rule of Saint Benedict in Toruń in 1632, provided the starting point of my adventure of discovering the musical culture of Polish Benedictine Sisters. The reading of numerous works by Małgorzata Borkowska OSB, a historian of female monasticism, made me aware of the exceptional status of that order in the history of the Church in Poland, and the special character of the period from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries in its history. The extant chronicles, registers, ceremonials and other convent documents gradually allowed me to become better acquainted with the fascinating world of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century nuns, where music, as an ornament of the liturgy and an expression of religious feeling, played an important part. A search of the materials revealed the fact that the surviving music collection left by the Benedictine nuns was, alongside the Pauline, Cistercian and Jesuit collections, one of the richest within the legacy of Poland's monastic orders. In my research, I was able to consider 858 compositions preserved in versions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among them 465 in complete form, with only 92 given attribution or identified. I was greatly encouraged to proceed with my research by the fact that many of the sources I used had not previously been present in the musicological discourse on the subject of the music of past centuries, or the information they contained had not been fully utilised.

Scholars researching Western monasticism are in agreement that the period from the end of the Council of Trent until the final decades of the eighteenth century, when under the influence of the social climate of the Enlightenment convents began to be dissolved, was the last phase of its vigorous development. In the title of this book, the time period of the discussed material is described as encompassing the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is an approximation since a few of the sources and some information also come from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The use of the adjective "Polish" in the title of this volume was a deliberate decision based on the fact that, during the relevant period, recruitment to Benedictine nunneries involved almost exclusively persons of Polish extraction whose native tongue was Polish; Polish was also the language in which the Rule was published, and in which most of the information in the chronicles and documents was conveyed.

Moreover, the post-Tridentine reform of the Chełmno branch of Benedictine Sisters and the school of spirituality, created at that time on the basis of various contemporary models, was the work of a Polish woman, Magdalena Mortęska, and had its own distinctive character. Although the attempt to create a uniform organisation of reformed Benedictine nunneries was unsuccessful, Borkowska introduced into the literature the term “Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation”, referring to the foundations with roots in Chełmno and Toruń. The nunnery at Staniątki, which had continuously existed since the Middle Ages, did not belong to this congregation and had few contacts with the other Benedictine convents. For this reason, the musical culture of that nunnery, which has its own literature,¹ was not the subject of my research and appears in the final chapter only for purposes of comparison. When investigating the extant musical sources, I concentrated on music created during the defined period, ignoring the repertory in the surviving liturgical books. Plainchant and plainchant books are discussed only as part of the musical and scribal practice of Benedictine nuns.

Sources document the fact that the nuns of the Chełmno reform cultivated various musical genres and styles, which for the purposes of the discussion undertaken here I have described as professional practice. The reason is that to pursue such practice the nuns not only had to be talented and have good voices, but they also had to have musical training in the skills of reading and transcribing music, performing polyphonic works, playing instruments, solo singing and realising *basso continuo*, the partially improvised organ accompaniment. In this kind of practice, the nuns used music repertory, probably obtained in various ways, which was created for professional music ensembles and as a rule required significant performance competence. During the seventeenth century, we can include vocal polyphony and organ play in the professional practice of the Benedictine nuns. The *alternatim* practice, involving the alternating use of vocal polyphony, chant and organ fragments, also played a part in giving the liturgy a musical setting. During the eighteenth century, the range of musical genres being practised was significantly extended and changed its character; the nuns cultivated vocal-instrumental religious music intended for the kinds of typical scoring at that time: from solo voice accompanied by the so-called

1 See primarily S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar kancjonałów staniątteckich (XVI-XVIII) (Polyphonic Repertory of the Staniątki Cantionals (16th-18th ct.))*, Lublin 1997, and the most recent volume *Monografia zespołu muzycznego oraz katalog muzykaliów klasztoru ss. Benedyktynek w Staniątkach (Monograph of the Musical Ensemble and Catalogue of the Musical Collection of the Convent of the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki)*, ed. M. Konik, Kraków 2016.

Kirchentrio, to more extended scores for a number of vocal parts and differentiated instrumental parts². Moreover, they would perform instrumental chamber compositions, as well as solo works for keyboard instruments.

Among Benedictine nunneries of the Chełmno reform to date, it has been mainly the convent in Sandomierz which has been known in the musicological literature for its musical activity³. However, even that excellent music collection has not as yet been subjected to a thorough study. Three M. A. students at the Lublin Catholic University undertook a study of an organ manuscript belonging to the legacy of Benedictine Sisters from Przemyśl⁴, while an initial study of the music collection as a whole was undertaken by Tadeusz Maciejewski⁵. Three partbooks of Toruń provenance were merely mentioned in publications by Edward Hinz⁶, Paweł Podejko⁷ and

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- 2 On the subject of scoring for eighteenth-century church ensembles, see A. Mądry, *Barok, część druga 1697–1795. Muzyka religijna i jej barokowy modus operandi (Baroque, part two 1697–1795. Religious music and its baroque modus operandi)*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 374–378.
 - 3 W Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków muzycznych Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu (Catalogue of musical manuscripts heritage at the Library of the Clerical Seminary in Sandomierz)*, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 1965/10, pp. 223–278; W Lyjak, *Przyczynki do dziejów muzyki u Panien Benedyktynek w Sandomierzu (Contributions to the history of music at the Benedictine nunnery in Sandomierz)*, *RM* 1983/16, p. 26.
 - 4 T. Bratkowski, *Repertuar polskich śpiewów religijnych w rękopisach Panien benedyktynek w Przemyślu (Repertory of Polish religious chants in the manuscripts of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl)*, M. A. thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1991; J. Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe z XVIII-wiecznego rękopisu klasztoru Panien benedyktynek w Przemyślu (Eighteenth-century organ compositions from a Benedictine Sisters' manuscript in Przemyśl)*, M. A. thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1992; M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe z rękopisu ms. 10 z klasztoru benedyktynek przemyskich. Problem faktury, formy i funkcji (Organ fugues from manuscript ms. 10 from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl. Texture, form and function)*, M. A. thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1989.
 - 5 T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej benedyktynek przemyskich (Notes on the musical past of Benedictine Sisters from Przemyśl)*, *Musica Galiciana* 1999/III, pp. 87–104.
 - 6 E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej w diecezji chełmińskiej (From the History of Church Music in the Chełmno Diocese)*, Pelplin 1994.
 - 7 P. Podejko, *Dawna muzyka polska na terenie dzisiejszego województwa bydgoskiego i Pomorza Gdańskiego (Early Polish music in the area of today's Bydgoszcz voivodship and Gdańsk Pomerania)*, in: *Życie muzyczne dawnego Gdańska, Pomorza i Kujaw (Musical Life of Old Gdańsk, Pomerania and Kujawy)*, Gdańsk 1980.

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska⁸. Manuscript 127 from the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences was known and catalogued⁹ for the RISM database together with the whole of that library's collection, but it was only while I was researching this source that its Toruń provenance was established. Works from the organ book of a Sandomierz Benedictine nun, Jadwiga Dygulska, drew the attention of Jerzy Gołos¹⁰, while Roman Pelczar included in an article a few sentences about the musical life of Benedictine nuns from Jarosław¹¹. Relying on the achievements of the researchers listed here, as well as my own research into all accessible sources, I attempt in this volume to create a narrative picture of a bygone musical culture of Polish Benedictine nuns. That culture grew out of their need to adorn their worship, but also perhaps the need to achieve self-realisation through musical practice. The numerous works of Małgorzata Borkowska, as well as the earlier works by Karol Górski, were of fundamental importance in providing the context for the musical culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation. Extremely helpful were also the publications of Jolanta Gwioździk devoted to the library collection and the intellectual culture of the nuns, as well as the research of Anna Szylar, which concentrated on the history of the convent in Sandomierz. A wider European context was provided for this study by many interesting monographs devoted to the musical culture of nuns, mainly Italian¹², but also

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- 8 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok. Część pierwsza 1595-1696 (Baroque. Part one 1595-1696)*, Warszawa 2006.
 - 9 D. Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich (Music Repertory from Seventeenth-century Manuscripts from Gdańsk)*, Gdańsk 2005.
 - 10 J. Dygulska, *Książka do chóru do grania (ukończona przed 1796)* (A Book for the Choir to Play (completed prior to 1796)), ed. J. Gołos, Warszawa 2012. This is an edition of solo compositions for a keyboard instrument from manuscript BDS and L 1668. This publication is difficult to obtain and lacks a critical apparatus. Prior to this edition, a number of pieces from the manuscript in question appeared in: *Barokowe organy ze Swornigaci na Pomorzu. Wybór utworów na małe organy lub inne instrumenty klawiszowe (Baroque organ from Swornigacie in Pomerania. A selection of compositions for small organ or other keyboard instruments)*, from Polish sources from the mid-18th to early 19th centuries, prepared for publication by J. Gołos, issue 2, Bydgoszcz 1982.
 - 11 R. Pelczar, *Życie muzyczne w kościołach i klasztorach Jarosławia (Musical life in the churches and convents of Jarosław)*, *Nasza Przeszłość* 107/2007, pp. 5–38.
 - 12 C. Monson, *Disembodied Voices. Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, Berkeley 1995, R. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens. Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan*, Oxford 1996, C. Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls. Nuns and Music in Siena 1575–1700*, Oxford 2002.

German¹³, Austrian¹⁴ and Spanish¹⁵, published mainly in English. Religious, social and cultural contexts relating to the functioning of the musical culture of Polish Benedictine nuns, as well as their European parallels, are discussed in the chapter 1.

The research presented here relied primarily on sources. Alongside sources containing musical compositions, I also tried to make use of all accessible texts of different kinds, such as convent chronicles, directoria, ceremonials, registers, menologia, correspondence, account books and even household documents. Not many of them have been published in our time, the majority of them are accessible in archives, also in the form of microfilms. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 present a picture of the musical culture of Polish Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation, based on information taken from all these sources. In view of the significant differences in the musical style and the functioning of music in nunneries between the two consecutive centuries, as well as the period of decline of musical practice caused by wars in the second half of the seventeenth century, I discuss the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries separately. In the final, sixth, chapter I present, for purposes of comparison, the musical culture of the convent at Staniątki and the convent of Poor Clare Sisters in Stary Sącz. That chapter is based mainly on the literature of the subject.

While conducting my research into the musical culture of Polish Benedictine nuns I encountered much friendly interest, help and support from many people. Particularly inspiring were contacts with Professor Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Rev. Sister Dr Małgorzata Borkowska, Professor Marek Derwich and Professor Ryszard Wiczorek. I owe a great deal to my Colleagues: Irena Bieńkowska, Jolanta Gwioździk, Tomasz Jeż, Alina Mądry, Agnieszka Leszczyńska, Aleksandra Patalas, Danuta Popinigis, Danuta Szlagowska and Anna Szylar. Conversations with them, their knowledge and experience have left their mark on this volume. I very much appreciate the help given freely by

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- 13 L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Fruehen Neuzeit*, Köln 2005.
 - 14 G. Walterskirchen, 'Musica figuralis est in bono statu'. *Musik im Benediktinen-Frauenstift Nonnberg in Salzburg, Musik der geistlichen Orden in Mitteleuropa zwischen Tridentinum und Josephinismus*, hrsg. L. Kačič, Bratislava 1997, J. K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-century Vienna*, Cambridge 2014.
 - 15 Baade C., *Music and Music-making in Female Monasteries in Seventeenth-Century Casti le*, Ph.D. diss., Duke University 2001 and, by the same author, *Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain, Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe. An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. C. van Wyhe, Ashgate 2008.

Professor Noel O'Reagan, Dr Coleen Baade, Irena Rybicka M. A., Dr Marcin Konik and Dr Maciej Jochymczyk. I remember with great gratitude my recently deceased colleague Elżbieta Wojnowska, who worked for many years at the RISM centre at the National Library in Warsaw and who patiently helped me find my way among the secrets of source and repertory research, willingly sharing her knowledge. I have grateful memories of the consecutive Directors of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, Rev. Dr Andrzej Barzycki and Rev. Dr Andrzej Jakóbczak, as well as of the Director of the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, Rev. Professor Anastazy Nadolny. My thanks also go to the Benedictine Sisters at Krzeszów, Przemyśl and Żarnowiec for their hospitality.

None of my plans for the intended research could have been realised without the financial support of the grant which I received from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education/National Science Centre (NN 105 022038), and also without the support of my home institution, the Institute of Musicology at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

1 Contexts. Female monasticism in the early modern era. The culture-creating role of the convent

1.1 Post-Tridentine reform of convent life for women

Most scholars agree that the period from the middle of the sixteenth to the final decades of the eighteenth centuries was distinctive in the history of Western monasticism. It is described as the last phase of splendour and comprehensive development of convent establishments: spiritual, economic and cultural. It was also a period when the congregations of monks and nuns grew both in numbers and significance. The beginning of that period coincides with the years when the deliberations of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) were taking place, but it should be acknowledged that attempts at reversing the decay of monastic life in the Catholic Church were also being made independently of the Council. However, the Council's decisions confirmed these attempts and supported them with the authority of the Church. It is generally thought that the flourishing of the convents was brought to an end by the trends promoted by the Enlightenment, which, regarded all those monastic orders that did not actively work towards benefitting the community as unnecessary.

The fall of monastic establishments in the first half of the sixteenth century was linked on the one hand to the Reformation and, on the other, to the general tendency in the Church to adopt secular feudal relationships within its own institutions and to neglect the spiritual sphere. Where Reformation was victorious, convents would usually disappear, while in the Catholic communities, the Church estates were perceived in the social-economic perspective as “tasty morsels” for the aristocracy, who would have their children appointed as abbots and abbesses. The phenomenon was the direct cause of the decline of the spiritual culture during that period of the history of monasticism. It consisted in the fact that the posts of abbot were awarded by rulers to their supporters and their children, just as were other state appointments which provided specific levels of income. An abbot or abbess appointed by order did not need to be a clerical person at all, and frequently such people took no interest in the communities entrusted to their care.

The regeneration, which began to encompass the sphere of monastic life from about the middle of the century, was closely linked to the spirit of the Renaissance era. It was characterised by an enthusiastic worship of reliance on laws, sources

and methods, born out of the mental attitude of “man euphoric about the new discoveries and possibilities, and at the same time worshipping old authorities; but not those of yesterday, but those going back centuries”¹⁶. This attitude created the possibility of establishing a number of new convents and reform of the old ones. The reform thus consisted of a return to the roots, i.e., the ancient monastic rules, and interpreting them with legalistic precision in relation to the actual conditions. Religious life was to be based on intellectual foundations and so, being a monk or a nun demanded intellectual and spiritual development. Alongside liturgical prayer in the monastic choir, great significance came to be attached to mental prayer and methodical contemplation¹⁷.

The problem of reconstructing monastic life in the Catholic Church was addressed at the Council of Trent during the final, 25th session. By then, the principles of the reform were apparently being established in great haste. Emphasis was placed on the necessity of adhering to the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. All individual property of nuns and monks (the proprietarism widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) was thus to be included in the communal property, and members of the convent were not allowed to move from their monastic authority to any other. It became impossible to elect the convent superior other than by the secret ballot of the members of the community, which was aimed at preventing appointments by the order of state rulers. All female convents were obliged to adhere to strict passive and active enclosure, on pain of excommunication; this rule was also to be adhered to by women's communities which had not previously followed enclosure, such as the tertiaries or the Beguines. Entry into a convent required meeting two conditions: completed 12 years of age and completely voluntary decision. The bishop or his delegate was obliged to ask about this decision twice: before the taking of the veil and before the eternal vows, the so-called monastic profession. Making the profession was only allowed for persons over 16 years of age. The age at which a person could become a mother superior was also stipulated. All these rules were aimed at preventing the pursuit of the custom of oblation and of appointing minors as abbots and abbesses. The profession would not become valid until a year's novitiate had been served. Nuns were expected to make confession once

16 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w epoce nowożytnej (Female Convents in Poland in the Modern Era)*, Lublin 2010, p. 28. Cf. by the same author, *Białe i bure. Historia życia monastycznego w dużym skrócie (White and Dun. A Very Brief History of Monastic Life)*, Kraków 2005, p. 164.

17 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie ...*, p. 31.

a month, and to receive communion at least once a month (during the Middle Ages they would take communion only a few times a year). Pastoral care in convent churches was to be supervised by local bishops¹⁸.

The establishment of the rule of strict enclosure, which was to apply to all female religious communities, reflected the attempt to ensure full social control by the Church over the unmarried women entrusted to it, analogous to the full control exercised over secular women, first by their fathers, and then by their husbands (“aut maritus aut murus”)¹⁹. For a while, this limited the possibilities of active life for those women who saw their vocation in helping the poor and the needy, in response to the challenges of their times (starvation, poverty and homelessness among women and children, disease and prostitution). Those congregations which formed around such women as Angela Merici, the founder of the Ursulines, Francesca Romana, Mary Ward or Jeanne de Chantal, who combined the Biblical attitudes of Mary and Martha, were to cease to exist or adopt a contemplative monastic character²⁰.

However, the rules established at the Council were not fully applied everywhere and at all times. This can be observed on the example of the rule of strict enclosure, which was adhered to with varying degrees of diligence also in Poland. Moreover, in the seventeenth century, mainly in France, a number of female congregations were formed which, as if anticipating the postulates of the Enlightenment era, regarded active work for the benefit of their fellow men as their main aim. Above all, they saw women in a new social and religious role outside the family: as teachers, as supporters of and carers for the sick, the orphaned and the imprisoned, and as the bearers of good news through acts of mercy. According to Silvia Evangelisti, this new status of the socially active nun prepared the ground for the long-term process of the acceptance of women, also unmarried ones, functioning within the society and outside the walls of the house and the convent²¹.

The purpose of enclosure, i.e., the physical separation from the world, was supposed to provide the opportunity of leading a spiritual life without distractions, a mental concentration on building a friendship with God and worshipping Him

18 M. Borkowska, *Białe i bure...*, p. 12.

19 M. Bogucka, *Gorsza pleć. Kobieta w dziejach Europy od antyku po XXI wiek (The Inferior Sex. Women in the History of Europe from Antiquity until the 21st Century)*, Warszawa 2005, p.158.

20 Cf. on this subject J.A. Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 452–472.

21 S. Evangelisti, *Nuns. A History of Convent Life*, Oxford 2007, p. 11.

through personal prayer and conventual liturgy. The restrictive attitude of the church hierarchs to the question of enclosure also demonstrates the anti-erotic obsession, characteristic of the post-Tridentine era, as well as a total lack of trust in relation to women; it was thought that they were not capable of resisting any external temptations²². Various researchers also see in the conventual cloistering the equivalent of a phenomenon which exists in many patriarchal cultures – the women's sphere, where they are excluded from public life, but at the same time enjoy a degree of internal autonomy, as well as being “protected” from men²³. The strict enforcement of enclosure by Italian bishops resulted in protests and pressure from the patricians to moderate its effects. While members of rich families wanted to avoid financial ruin entailed in having to pay dowries for all their daughters, at the same time they did not want to lose them altogether²⁴.

In the argument about the nature and place of women in society, which went on from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, extreme opinions could be heard: alongside questions as to whether women were human at all, and whether they had immortal souls, one also found opinions claiming that women were superior to men, as well as the sensible hypothesis that the intellectual “weakness” of women was related to their social position and lack of education, and not to their nature. The Catholic Church took a middle position on the *querelle des femmes*. On the one hand, it continued the misogyny of the earlier centuries, with the majority of Renaissance theologians believing women were not equal to men, that they were weaker morally²⁵. Sexuality continued to be perceived as a sin,

22 In a number of extant documents from Italy concerning the regulation of employment of music teachers by female convents, we find the clearly formulated condition that such a musician must have an unblemished reputation and... be an elderly person (R. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens. Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan*, Oxford 1996, p.60).

23 *The Crannied Wall. Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. C. Monson, Ann Arbor 1992, p. 9.

24 Although the Council of Trent introduced the obligation of questioning the candidates for eternal vows in order to eliminate cases of girls placed in nunneries against their will, this did not solve the problem at all, at least not in Italy. In reality, the pressure exerted on children by their families with regard to their marriage or the choice of monastic vocation had a tradition going far back into the past, according to which the children simply “belonged” to the parents, and the latter naturally had the right to dispose of them. Cf. M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII-XVIII wieku (The Everyday Life of Polish Female Convents from the 17th to the 18th Centuries)*, Warszawa 1996, pp.14–15.

25 M. Bogucka, *Gorsza pleć...*, p. 120.

and the “shameful” manner in which procreation was carried out was regarded as a consequence of the original sin. On the other hand, during the period after Trent, the worship of Mary, Mother of God, became even more intense in the Catholic Church. While her Person raised femininity to a very elevated level, we should remember that in the worship of the Mother of God great importance was attached to her virginity, *ante partum* and *post partum*. The implications of this were clear – a woman could achieve higher status than previously, as well as a degree of independence, but at the price of renouncing her “sinful” sexuality.

Undoubtedly, however, both the directives of the Council of Trent and the aspiration of early modern states to introduce control over the social order also in the moral sphere, meant that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of the greatest flourishing of female monastic communities. The purpose of their presence within the Church was to praise the glory of God in liturgy and in liturgical and personal prayers for the Church, the state, the rulers, the founders, the benefactors, as well as the families of the nuns, in relation to their various needs, both in this and eternal life. The general climate of the times, as well as the fact that a significant part of the female population adopted a contemplative life, led to the appearance in the seventeenth century of numerous female mystics.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such countries as Italy, Spain, France and Poland saw a significant increase in the number of women belonging to higher social strata who lived within the walls of convents. Particularly impressive are the percentages relating to Florence, where during the years 1500–1799 as many as 46% of women from elite families made monastic profession, and to Milan, where 75% of women from aristocratic families lived enclosed within convent walls. A reason for this state of affairs could be found in the inflation of marriage dowries, which were three to ten times higher than conventual dowries²⁶. Italian aristocracy would not allow their families to be degraded by having their daughters marry men of lower social status, which would entail lower dowries. For this reason, the only way of avoiding financial ruin for families with a large number of female progeny was to place some of their daughters in convents²⁷. However, it would be too simplistic to regard the economic factor as the only reason for the increase in women’s conventual professions. The climate created during the post-Tridentine period favoured religious ardour,

26 S. Evangelisti, *Nuns...*, pp. 4–5.

27 C. Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls. Nuns and Music in Siena 1575-1700*, Oxford 2002.

and therefore, some of the vocational decisions would undoubtedly have been authentic and not enforced by the family. Moreover, we need to remember that life in a female convent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must have appeared a great deal more attractive than we suppose today.

Alongside sources from that period which confirm the existence of cases when girls were shut in convents against their will and thus condemned to constant frustration and suffering²⁸, we also find statements from those directly involved about the advantages of being a nun in comparison to the life of a wife and a mother. On entering a convent, the woman freed herself from the full control which was exercised over her first by her father or guardian, and then by her husband, chosen by her family, often without consulting her wishes. She would avoid the threat to her life and the suffering involved in bearing children, the duties of managing a home and a family and the potential uncertainty relating to the status of being a widow. Instead, she gained an identity outside of marriage which had full social acceptance, and which ensured a quiet and usually comfortable existence in a community of women organised on a pattern similar to that of a family (mother superior and sisters, and social bonds which were not just transient ones made in this life but eternal ones). Also, and this might have been of importance to some individuals, she would have the opportunity of gaining knowledge and of self-realisation through practising art, such as poetry, painting or music.

28 In the *Introduction* to the collection of essays *The Crannied Wall* (p. 2), C. Monson quotes a harrowing letter from the nuns at the Convent of Saint Naborre and Felix in Bologna to the Pope in 1586, expressing their feelings after the introduction of the restrictive enclosure: “Le monache del Monasteriodi S. S. Nabor et Felice di Bologna ... espongono a vostra Beatitudine con ogni humilta le sue miserie et calamite che non ostante che la maggior parte di loro siano stato rinchiuso da lor parenti in questo luogo contra lor volonta, con tutto cio loso potavano con qualche pazienza, et da un tempo in que sono state tante travagliate, con diverse costitutione e hordini, che non possono con le lor forze resistere piu... hora in ultimo oltredi haver ci levato l’organo, il medico le vien prohibit che nisuno persona eccetto che’lpadre et madre le posse parlare et vedere, che li lor servitor vechi che erano soli ti fare li lor servizii nel monasterio possa parlare a nisuna monacha parlando incoranno in scomunire reservata alle sede apostolica, come anchora delli putini che entrano in su la rotte et delle putine d’anni quarto o cinque che pongono il piede dentro della porta senza licenza subito si incorre nella istessa scomunica, dove che dubitamo con tante stretzeze essendo loro prive, et abbandonate da tutti, non haver l’inferno in questo mondo et nelaltro” (Rome Archivio segretoVaticano, Sacra Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari, item 1586, letters A-C).

There is much information from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries relating to the literary output of nuns, mainly in the sphere of drama. The theatre was a highly appreciated form of art during the baroque period, and an important medium of social communication at that time. Organising spectacles at nunneries served as a way of transmitting morally uplifting content and was the preferred form of recreation²⁹. Theatrical spectacles had a didactic purpose, depicting attitudes worthy of emulation, exemplified by saints and martyrs of both genders. Often their subject would concern the life of nuns directly, such as the story of a girl who wanted to enter a convent whereas her father wanted to have her married. The story had a happy ending, with the young woman able to become a nun and the young man falling in love with another. Such dramas provided the opportunity of demonstrating the superiority of a monastic vocation and of highlighting the misfortunes awaiting a woman in married life. Convent spectacles were often accompanied by music.

Although the dramas staged in nunneries were almost always prepared and viewed by the nuns themselves, on quite a few occasions they were the subject of admonishment by bishops. The authorities were concerned by the fact that the nuns who played male parts dressed in men's clothing and grew their hair for the female parts³⁰. However, the most disturbing were cases of organising theatre spectacles in the parlatoria in convents in Northern Italy in such a way that invited secular persons could participate in them as an audience (through the grilles)³¹. The subjects of spectacles staged at convents focused around topics which were biblical (such as Judith and Holofernes), hagiographic and moralising; this last group would often include comedy scenes. Among highly regarded female writers for the stage, we could mention Marcela de San Felix, an illegitimate daughter of Lope de Vega, the seventeenth-century intellectual Juana Ines de la Cruz³² (see Fig. 1),

29 See E. Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*, Cambridge 2002.

30 Nuns had their hair cut short or even shaved off. The cutting of the hair was usually one of the elements of the liturgy of taking the veil.

31 S. Evangelisti, *Nuns...*, pp. 110–111.

32 Juana Ines de la Cruz was an extraordinary figure, particularly important in the culture of Mexico. She is regarded as one of the earliest creators of Mexican literature. Born in 1648 as an illegitimate child of a Spanish captain and a Creole woman, she grew up in the home of her grandparents. She learned to write, read and count very early, using her grandfather's library to teach herself on her own. At the age of 16 she found herself at the court of the Viceroy Antonio Sebastian



Fig. 1: Juana Ines de la Cruz, portrait by Miguel Cabrera, ca. 1750. Source: creative commons wikimedia.org, no copyright

de Toledo, who organised a scientific debate with the participation of the most renowned theologians and scholars, during which Juana answered questions put to her, to the great amazement of all. Rejecting a number of proposals of marriage, she entered the convent of Hieronymites. Criticised for her works by the archbishop of Mexico, towards the end of her life she ceased to write; she also sold her book collection numbering 4000 volumes, and her musical and scientific instruments. She died in 1695 during a plague. We know that alongside many literary and philosophical works, she also wrote *villancicos* for four voices, one of which survives. She was a woman of great beauty, immortalised in a number of portraits. (<http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/philosophers/cruz.html>, accessed: 23.07.2013, also there a list of the works of Juana de la Cruz and other literature relating to her).

Cherubina Venturelli, abbess of the Benedictine Sisters from Orvieto and Violenta Do Ceu from Portugal³³.

The still existing buildings which housed baroque convents, both male and female, are full of works of visual art, and their quality and quantity testify to the financial resources of these old institutions. The artistic patronage of convents functioned along the same principles as the patronage of other institutions, church and secular. Altars, frescoes, sculptures, paintings and furnishings were commissioned by the mother superior on behalf of the community, sometimes one of the richer nuns might also fund a work of art for the convent. Representations with religious themes intended for the cloistered part of the building served the purpose of contemplating the truths of the faith or the virtues of the saints, with aesthetic aims less important; some of these works were objects of worship, being regarded as miraculous figures or paintings. Alongside religious representations, we also find in convents extant portraits of nuns – the mothers superior, those who came from aristocratic families or who occupied a special position within the convent. Moreover, nuns were depicted as, for example, the followers taking part in religious scenes, as well as at prayer or carrying out their work. In some convents in Italy, Spain and Germany, there are also surviving works of their nuns and information about their talents in visual arts³⁴.

Women's convents had on occasion been important centres of musical culture since the Middle Ages, as can be seen from the works of such a figure as Hildegard of Bingen. However, during the deliberations of the Council of Trent devoted to the reform of female convents, a real threat arose in relation to the status of music in convents. Many researchers emphasise the fact that the passing of the rules concerning monasteries, including the music present in them, was done in haste. The reform of monastic life was prepared over a period of a few weeks, and the debate lasted only a few days, while other regulations took months to prepare. The bishop who led the work of the commission was Gabriele Paleotti, the future archbishop of Bologna. At his inspiration the Council fathers discussed a restrictive law regarding music, such as the one from the legend about Palestrina, the saviour of church polyphony: "Chapter 7 (CT 9: 1043) Let the Service of God be conducted with a voice raised, but not by professional musicians hired for that purpose; during the offering of the holy mass let them respond as the choir used to do, but let them not usurp the role of the deacon or sub-deacon in reciting the Holy Gospel, letters or other readings. Let them avoid modulating and changing

33 Ibid., pp. 100–101.

34 S. Evangelisti, *Nuns...*, pp. 161–173.

voice and other arts of singing which they call “figural” or “organicum”, both in the choir and elsewhere”³⁵.

This was a very radical limitation, which basically made plainchant the only allowed way of singing. Paleotti’s secretary, before the discussion on the reform of monastic life, wrote, “I hear that the reform of the friars is not much liked by the fathers, but they will reduce it to a much abbreviated form and will speak in generalities, in order to finish up quickly. I believe the same thing will be done in the reform of the nuns; but because they have no advocates here, the matter could go more severely for them”³⁶. Fortunately, during the general debate, the music of the nuns found its defenders. These were Giovanni Battista Orsini and Francesco Piccolomini. During the final, closing session of the Council, on 3 and 4 December 1563, it was decided “non prohibeantur cantus musici”, while detailed decisions were left to the superiors of specific convents: bishops, prepositors or provincial synods³⁷. In this manner, the presence of music was preserved for women’s convents, but the freedom of practising it depended on the bishop in charge of the particular location, who usually held authority over the female convents in his diocese.

1.2 The nuns’ practice of music

On the basis of monographs or notes written to date on the subject of the musical culture of nuns during the period of interest to us, it has to be said that the greatest number of sources documenting lively musical practice survives in Italy. There is much to indicate that this practice was very rich indeed. The exceptionally high standard of music-making among Italian nuns is testified to by

35 “Caput septimum... Divina autem officia ab eis alta voce peragantur, non a mercenariis ad id conductis, et in missae sacrificio chorus quidem respondere solet, respondeat; pares vero diaconi vel hypodiaconi in sacri Evangelii vel canonicae Epistolae aut alter ius sacrae Lecyionis recitacione non usurpeat. Vocis modulation atque inflexione aliove cantus artificio, oud figuratum vel organicum appellatur, tamin choro quam alibi abstineant”, quoted after: C. Monson, *The Council of Trent Revisited*, JAMS Vol. 55, No 1 (Spring 2002), p. 20. The author interprets the expression ‘organicum’ as ‘instrumental’.

36 “La riforma de’frati intendo che non e molto approvata da’ padri, pero la riduranno a forma assai piu breve, et si parlera in generale per finirla presto. Il simile credo si fara nella riforma di monache, pur per non avere esse qui procuratore alcuno, la cosa per loro potria andare piu stretta” (CT3, pt. 1, p. 756 n. 1), quoted after: C. Monson, *The Council of Trent...*, p. 21.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

such evidence as the admiring comments in the diaries of travellers who had the opportunity of hearing the convent virtuosi during their visits to Milan or to Bologna, as well as the fact that services with the participation of singing and playing nuns were attended by large audiences, which sometimes were too large to be accommodated in church. One might say that these performances provided a kind of tourist attraction of these cities.

Among the factors which had a special influence on shaping such a rich musical practice in Italian convents, the high level of musical culture at the courts of the aristocracy and patricians, from which the novices were recruited, undoubtedly played an important part. The presence of music at home created the need for continued involvement in it among the women who entered the nunneries. Moreover, amateur musicianship, alongside the skill of dancing and a knowledge of literature and social forms, was part of the canon of the education of well-bred women³⁸. This was a feature which distinguished Italian convents from those in Spain, Germany and Poland, where music was made mainly by daughters of musicians, for whom the education received at home took the place of a dowry and offered a chance of social advancement.

For nuns in Italy, where enclosure was adhered to very strictly, music was an important channel linking them to the outside world. Even if most of the time they could not be seen, their voices could be heard. While monophonic plainchant was the "impersonal", or "non-individual" voice of the whole community, polyphony was made up of the separate voices of individual nuns. The rising personalism of the early modern era blended even more perfectly with modern music for solo voices accompanied by an instrument.

There was much tension around the subject of music-making by nuns, and the opportunities and freedoms in this respect depended on the views of the person with authority over the convent, i.e., the bishop of the given locality. Masses, vespers and other religious services brought sizeable audiences to conventual churches and, as sources testify, often became cultural events. Such musical productions were the means by which individual convents established their prestige, which later translated into concrete financial support and influence through the entry of candidates from rich families and through donations. In turn, this

38 B. Castiglione, *Il Corteggiano*, book 3, chapter 9, on the subject of *donna di palazzo*: "E, per replicar in parte con poche parole quello che già s'è detto, voglio che questa donna abbia notizia di lettere, di musica, di pittura, e sappia danzare festeggiare". Quoted after: A. Newcomb, *Courtesans, Muses or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy, Women Making Music. The Western Art Tradition 1150-1950*, ed. J. Bowers and J. Tick, Urbana 1987, p.111.

was linked to the effective functioning of the convent. The musical fame of such convents as the Benedictine Saint Radegonda in Milan, which attracted travellers from many parts of Europe, including the Polish Princes Ladislaus IV Vasa and Jakub Sobieski³⁹, in turn, built up the prestige of the families who entered their daughters in them, as well as the city as a whole. Especially talented singers and instrumentalists gained such fame and regard that panegyrics were devoted to them. If one of them also possessed heroic virtues, as did Caterina Vannini⁴⁰, she would become the object of a local worship after her death⁴¹, which significantly raised the position of her home convent.

39 R. Kendrick, *Celestial sirens...*, p. 115.

40 In her early youth Caterina Vannini became a courtesan because of the financial crash which affected her family, but at the early age of 13 (!) she started out on the path of changing her life, having been moved to do so by hearing a sermon about Saint Magdalen. From then on, she became an ascetic and tried to gain entry to a nunnery. Following the example of other holy women and making penance for her sins, she would eat only once a day small portions of bread with water, deprive herself of sleep in a reclining position, and flagellate herself. She would contemplate Christ's passion and receive the Eucharist every day, and sometimes she would have mystic visions. Towards the end of her life she was in close correspondence with Federigo Borromeo (archbishop of Milan, nephew of and successor to Charles Borromeo), who was fascinated by female mysticism and even wrote a treatise devoted to pastoral care of nuns who were mystics (*De extatismulieribuset illusiis*, publ. 1616). We also owe to him a description of one of the ecstatic states which Caterina entered on a regular basis a few times a day: "she used to take into her hands a lute, which she had learned to play when she was very young, and touching the strings, she used to play a song that was both most delicate and most far removed from the melody and the form of songs that we hear on earth: it has been certified by the worthiest people of faith that here on earth such a manner of singing and such succession of harmonies had never before been heard. Now, this woman continued to sing and play for only a little while before she was enraptured, and although she ceased to sing, she continued to play, never once erring in her choice of harmonies. When some time had passed, she came out of her ecstasy and blushed because she had lost touch with the world of normal sensations in the presence of her companions; and her right arm and hand, with which she plucked the strings hurt her somewhat.... When she came out of ecstasy, she sometimes sang so much better than usual, and all who heard her marveled as at something never before heard, and she used to say «Don't be so astonished, for I learned this manner of singing in heaven»" (F. Borromeo, *De extatismulieribus...*, quoted after: C. Reardon, *Holy Concord...*, pp. 106–107).

41 In 1618, Federigo Borromeo published the *Vite* of the lutenist Caterina Vannini. As a reclaimed prostitute, and then a mystic and an ascetic, Caterina was the personification of the ideal nun: Mary Magdalene (C. Reardon, *Holy Concord...*, p. 104).

However, there was another side to that phenomenon, especially if the convent was at that time under the jurisdiction of an orthodox post-Tridentine archbishop, such as Carlo Borromeo. Later to become a saint, in music-making by the nuns he saw above all a threat to enclosure, i.e., to the piety and virtue of the nuns, as well as the risk of succumbing to the sins of pride and vanity. In the eyes of Carlo Borromeo, the bond between the musician nuns and their audiences, which also included their families, was a negative phenomenon. But the most dangerous were the contacts with professional male musicians when receiving lessons or obtaining repertoire⁴². The story of Sister Angela Serafina tells us volumes here. She carried out the duties of an organist, and in accordance with the instructions of her mother superior, she received lessons from an (elderly) musician-organist in a parlour divided in half by a grille. The nun and her teacher were each on different sides of the grille, and each had a clavichord of their own. However, one of the nuns, who was Borromeo's confidante, stated during a visitation that the man had been served a meal by his pupil inside the enclosure. Sister Angela Serafina received very strict punishment, infringing her dignity and depriving her of her favourite occupation: for three months, she was to go without the veil, i.e., with her shaven head bare; she was suspended in her duties as organist for six years, the clavichord was taken away from her cell and she was forbidden to play it for three years, as well as being forbidden to sing polyphony⁴³. Fortunately, Carlo Borromeo's successors in Milan were not such post-Tridentine radicals; under his nephew, Federigo Borromeo, a man whose vision of the world was an optimistic one, filled with the good Lord's creations, among which he very clearly also counted music, the nuns could make music without any obstacles, since when performed by a truly pious person, with the right *affetto*, it might lead to mystical transcendence.

Among Italian nuns, there appeared a number of renowned composers, who published their work in print. Many of them were also addressees of dedications of collections of compositions published contemporaneously, which indicates the existence of some contacts between composers and conventual *maestri*, not necessarily direct ones. Singers and instrumentalists who wore the veil were often known "in the world" by their surnames or the names which were preserved in sources outside the nunneries.

42 There are many extant music publications, obviously with religious music, which were dedicated to specific nuns, singers or instrumentalists, by the composers.

43 R. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens...* p. 64.

Music in convents functioned in a number of spheres. The most important was clearly the music which provided the setting for the liturgy, on ordinary days and particularly on feast days. At that time there were many opportunities for special religious celebrations. This was aided by the worship of saints and relics, which intensified after the Council, with eagerly celebrated processions and visits of clerical and secular personages. Special settings were also provided for the conventual rites of passage, such as the taking of the veil, profession or consecration of virgins. These rites were attended by numerous invited guests, families and friends of the families of the heroines of the ceremonies. Nuns also performed in the conventual parlours; these events were an expression of hospitality and respect towards the convent's benefactors or persons from whom a mother superior hoped to obtain some benefit. Music was supposed to dispose of them favourably. Some evidence indicates that music, and in particular improvised lute playing, played a part in the private devotions of at least three nuns: the already mentioned Caterina Vannini, Maria Francesca Piccolomini from Siena and Lucrezia Vizzano from Milan.

As regards the repertoire, the seventeenth century saw performances of compositions in concerting style, both those for large ensembles of a ceremonial nature, and those scored for fewer parts – 1–3 vocal parts accompanied by *basso continuo*. Works of this last kind, i.e., motets and concertos, are most abundantly represented among those produced by nuns-composers themselves. Nuns in Italy were quick to pick up the latest trends in music. Among the texts which they set to music, an important part was played by fragments from the *Song of Songs*: the expression of mystical marriage⁴⁴.

In Spain, sources created by the convents themselves were partially destroyed during the civil war in the 1930s. However, Colleen Baade, author of a text on the musical culture of female convents in Castile, obtained much information from convent sources found in state city archives. These are administrative documents very valuable for historians, relating to expenses, as well as contracts relating to entries into convents. Moreover, some information could be found in external sources, such as letters, biographies, as well as a treatise on the teaching of how to play the organ, in which a number of pages is devoted to teaching girls who were to become nuns, or books devoted to cities, such as *Historia de la muy noble Ciudad de Guadalajara* by Francisco de Torres (1647). This book contains a description of ceremonies accompanied by music which took place in the convent of the Franciscan tertiaries in Guadalajara. During processions, an altar was

44 R. Kendrick, *Celestial sirens...*, pp. 167–174.

built next to the convent, and the nuns performed music standing in curtained windows. Moreover, as noted by Torres, sometimes these ceremonial processions were visited by the royal ensemble, which together with the conventual ensemble performed music in *alternatim* technique. The author expresses great regard for the skill of the nuns, describing them as “celestial sirens”. De Torres mentions 11 by name and refers to another 26 who belonged to the ensemble and played a variety of instruments⁴⁵. There are a number of such extant descriptions of conventual ensembles, full of admiration for them, concerning convents in Madrid, León, Toledo and Valladolid. These descriptions and other testimony show that musical performances by nuns on the occasion of religious feasts were great cultural events, awaited with impatience by the audiences. Their musical productions were described – likewise also in Italy – as “heavenly music” or “angelic choirs”.

The picture which emerges from these sources shows that many female convents in Castile possessed the musical culture of a high standard. It seems to be characteristic of Spain that the music was performed mainly by women who were accepted as nuns specifically for that purpose. Often these were daughters of musicians or girls from poorer families who had no chance of being provided with the appropriate dowry. Their musical services would be interpreted as paying off the debt incurred by the convent community to which they did not contribute any financial benefit. The sociological background of the functioning of convents and convent music was the same in Spain as in Italy; the difference was that in Spain, as in Poland, we are dealing with a wave of new foundations, on the Iberian Peninsula established mainly by queens and princesses. The author of the quoted monograph does not record any testimony concerning limitations and obstacles placed by bishops or inspectors in relation to the performance of music by nuns, unlike the situation in Italian convents. Often the descriptions of the performances and talents of individual nuns refer to the fact that their musical talents were never an object of pride or vanity for the individuals in question, and did not interfere with their life of contemplation. We do have testimonies that the nuns themselves were aware of such a danger. For example, the mystic, singer and organist Donia Maria Velaz Avila would often flagellate her hands in order not to be tempted to admire their beauty when playing the organ⁴⁶. As far as the repertory of female monastic communities is concerned, organ

45 C. Baade, *Music and Music-making in Female Monasteries in Seventeenth-Century Castile*, Ph.D. diss., Duke University 2001, p.1.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

music played a very important role. Above all, it accompanied the singing, but it is known that organists also played improvised variations. Among important instruments was also the harp (candidates entering the convent without a dowry were expected to learn to play it) and the dulcian (a reeded wind instrument, a kind of bassoon, popular in seventeenth-century Spain). They also played the cornett (zink), the violin, the cello and the shawm. Performances were directed by *maestre di capilla*. The genre which was most popular with the performers were the *villancicos*, which brought the greatest applause from the audiences. The nuns would commission them from friendly composers, a fact confirmed by a number of surviving letters relating to such matters⁴⁷. It is known that other compositions were written specifically for nuns, i.e., for high voices. However, the sisters also used polyphonic repertory scored for mixed voices, containing parts beyond the range of female voices⁴⁸.

In German-speaking areas, in contrast to Italy but similarly to Spain or Poland, research into the musical culture of female convents is also made more difficult because of the state of preservation of the sources (Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, dissolutions). Also, the issue of the musical culture of nuns did not become a subject of interest to researchers prior to the end of the twentieth century. However, the extant scattered sources demonstrate that the musical culture of German-speaking nuns involved more than cultivating plainchant, and included polyphonic compositions, instrumental music, hymns in their native tongue, and even theory of music. From as early as the fifteenth century, the organ begins to appear in conventual churches, but it is not until the seventeenth century that we encounter nun-organists; it is likely that a secular organist would have been employed previously. By the end of the seventeenth century, we find organ textbooks intended for nuns, mainly preparing them to realise *basso continuo* in compositions in concerting style⁴⁹, which found their way to German nunneries on the northern side of the Alps as early as the first decades of the seventeenth century⁵⁰. Prior to the introduction of enclosure limitations by the Council of Trent, in many female convents which were "Hausklöster" for the

47 Ibid., p. 11.

48 The extant music collection of the convent of Saint Anne in Avila is discussed in detail in Chapter V of Baade's dissertation (ibid., pp. 180–215).

49 L.M. Koldau, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln 2005, pp.638–640.

50 G. Walterskirchen, 'Musica figuralis est in bono statu'. *Musik im Benediktinen-Frauenstift Nonnberg in Salzburg*, in: *Musik der geistlichen Orden in Mitteleuropa zwischen Tridentinum und Josephinismus*, ed. L. Kačič, Bratislava 1997, pp. 28–33.

more distinguished families, ensembles were founded, or court musicians were “shared” if the convent was in the vicinity of the court. After the reform, the nuns themselves began to play the role of singers, organists, instrumentalists, chapel masters and even composers. As in other countries, musically talented candidates were welcome and even allowed to enter the convent without a dowry. In convents originating from communities formed under the influence of *devotio moderna*, such as the Beguines, which after the Council were also subject to regular enclosure, the tendency was not to cultivate a professional musical style, being satisfied instead with creative work in the area of religious hymns. The hymn repertory of female convents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has survived in considerable quantity. The texts are mainly Latin-German, and their functions are both liturgical and non-liturgical⁵¹.

In Italy, Spain and Germany we can observe during that period the phenomenon of professionalisation among nun singers and instrumentalists⁵². The virtuoso style of music during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries presented the performer with considerable challenges, which amateurs were usually no longer able to meet. The phenomenon of musical professionalisation among secular women emerges at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its beginning could symbolically be regarded as the formation of *Concerto delle donne* within the framework of *musica secreta* of Duke Alfonso d’Este in 1580. In a sense, we are dealing here with a boundary situation, since Laura Paverara, Anna Guarini, Livia d’Arco and Tarquinia Molza were officially employed as *le corteggiane* of the Duchess. In reality, however, as the documents show directly, they received much higher payments than other members of the court – for their beautiful voices and regular performances at the Duke’s command⁵³. The

51 L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik...*, pp. 642–650.

52 Cf. on this subject M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnic śpiewaczek i instrumentalistek w XVII I XVIII wieku. Profesjonalizacja zakonnic-muzyków na przykładzie polskich benedyktynek (The status of nun singers and instrumentalists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The professionalisation of nun-musicians on the example of Polish Benedictine Sisters)*, *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 2010, pp. 69–77.

53 A. Newcomb, *Courtesans, Muses or Musicians?...*, pp. 93–95. As far as the annual remuneration was concerned, female singers received approximately twice as much as Ippolito Fiorino, *maestro di cappella*, or Lucasco Lucaschi, a composer. Moreover, the Duke gave generous dowries to three of them and probably helped in arranging their marriages to nobly born bachelors. For these young women, it would have been a social advancement, since Pavera and Guarini came from burghers’ families; the second of them was one of the seven children of Giovanni Battista Guarini, poet and court secretary. Livia d’Arco on the other hand was a daughter of an impoverished

fashion for maintaining female musicians, who did not appear as members of the official ensemble, but as part of the chamber *musica privata*, quickly spread to other courts in Italy. Another area where women, performing both as actors and singers, were becoming professionals, was *commedia dell'arte*.

After 1600, the demand for women singers and players grew within the courtly *musica secreta* and, above all, in theatrical spectacles which involved music. The transition from music-making *donne di palazzo* to professional singers or instrumentalists can be regarded as having already taken place. Among the many well-known seventeenth-century women who might be described as professional musicians – i.e., persons educated in that area and supporting themselves by musical activity – women from musician families were predominant, which meant a relatively low social status. The great majority of them were, for obvious reasons, singers. The ambivalence in the attitude to their activities involved, on the one hand, admiration for their craftsmanship, which was richly rewarded, and on the other, criticism from the moral point of view for exposing themselves to the lustful gaze of men and, in that sense, “selling themselves”⁵⁴. Where instrumentalists were concerned, it is well known that, since ancient times, an instrument in the hands of a woman was an attribute of the oldest profession, unless she was Saint Cecilia.

Clearly, objections concerning the reputation of women-musicians did not apply to nuns. They were protected from all accusation by their virginity: vowed on entry and guaranteed by the walls and grilles of the convent enclosure. Eternal virginity removed the odium of being a sinner-temptress from women who were given to God. The music performed by nuns was the adoration of God and an ornament to the liturgy devoted to Him. The nuns who sang and played were usually totally invisible to the secular congregation in the church, since

gentleman. Tarquinia Molza was not involved, since she joined the ensemble already a widow (*ibid.*, p. 96).

54 Cf. *The Cranied Wall...*, pp. 4–5 and S. Rose, *Music in the market-place, Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. T. Carter and J. Butt, Cambridge 2005, p. 76. These negative associations probably also related to the widely known musical skills of Venetian courtesans (cf. *ibid.*, p. 95 and A. Newcomb, *Courtesans, Muses or Musicians? ...*, pp. 104–107). At this point it is worthwhile to mention Barbara Strozzi. There are some indications that she also might have been a courtesan (cf. E. Rosand, *The Voice of Barbara Strozzi, Women Making Music. The Western Art Tradition 1150--1950*, ed. J. Bowers and J. Tick, Urbana 1987, pp. 168–191). Interestingly, the majority of singers, instrumentalists and composers whose life story we can follow in the sources disappear from the scene at the point when they marry.

they were in the *empora* divided from the interior of the church, or in a separate location, known as the inner church. According to numerous testimonies from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, music by nuns was described by those participating in convent ceremonies or services as heavenly or angelic music⁵⁵. A number of elements combined to create this impression of an extraordinary, unearthly aura which encompassed the audiences listening to music in the churches of female convents: the “incorporeality” of the invisible performers, whose voice often came from above, from the convent choir gallery; the awareness of their separate status within their gender, gained through retaining virginity and total devotion to God, as well as the somewhat exotic sound of exclusively high, female voices⁵⁶. However, the fundamental and necessary condition of such high and widespread praise for the music performed by the nuns was, clearly, the very high standard of their performance.

The greatest number of reports by outsiders concerning the music performed by nuns comes from Italian and Spanish centres⁵⁷. Of interest is also one of the earliest descriptions of a music ensemble made up of nuns at the San Vito convent in Ferrara. This ensemble was probably the most famous one in Italy towards the end of the sixteenth century. The actual report by Hercole Bottrigari – included in his work titled *Il Desideria* (1594) – concerns a concert which most probably took place not in church but in the convent parlour, at one time between 1576 and 1587. Bottrigari describes a long table at which twenty-three nuns sat down in total silence, their modest behaviour, and the activities of the *maestra*. He expresses his admiration and amazement at the perfection and the harmony of the vocal-instrumental performance⁵⁸, all the greater because “neither Fiorino nor Luzzasco, although held by them in great esteem, nor any other musician, advised them or made any contribution to their work”. He notes that concerts of this kind took place only on certain occasions: the greatest church feasts and for the pleasure of the ducal couple, as well as at the intercession of Fiorino or

55 Cf. R. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens...*, pp. 160–163.

56 In other churches the singing was done exclusively by men.

57 Cf. monographs devoted to the musical culture of the convents in Siena, Milan, Bologna and Castile, correspondingly: C. Reardon, *Holy Concord ...*; R. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens...*; C. Monson, *Disembodied Voices. Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*, Berkeley 1995; C. Baade, *Music and Music-making...*

58 H. Bottrigari, *Il Desideria*, quoted after: J. Bowers, *Woman Composers in Italy, 1566–1700, Women making Music. The Western Art Tradition 1150–1950*, ed. J. Bowers and J. Tick, Urbana 1987, pp.125–126. Bottrigari notes that “undoubtedly, these were women”.

Luzzasco, well-known professors and noble music lovers⁵⁹. There is a noteworthy coincidence here; after all, at that very time the ensemble *Concerte delle donne* was created in Ferrara at the court of Duke Alfonso d'Este. Might it be the case that the extraordinary idea of raising the prestige of the court through music performed by ladies was born in a convent's parlatorium?

In Milan, performances by nuns were the city's tourist attraction⁶⁰. Claudia Sessa, a singer and instrumentalist from the convent of the Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, drew such crowds to the convent church on feast days that many had to stand outside. Cardinals and crowned heads from Austria, Sabaudia and Castile also attended her performances⁶¹. The Milan convent of Saint Radegonda, famous for its music productions during the second half of the seventeenth century, also produced two composers, Margaritta Cozzolani and Rosa Giacinta Badalla⁶². Carlo Torri, author of *Il ritratto di Milana*, went so far as to claim that, in respect of musical attractions, even Rome, with its "new Orpheuses", had to give way to Milan and its singers in nuns' habits⁶³. As we can see, the convent *virtuose* in Italy enjoyed great fame outside their convent's walls, and thanks to foreign visitors, that fame spread beyond Italian states while many sources conveyed the admiration for the talent of the singers. However, what was their status within the community? It seems that it was quite high, especially since many of the Italian nun-musicians known to us today came from patrician, or even aristocratic families, like Maria Francesca Piccolomini. This was a different situation from that in Spain and Poland, where we do not find any daughters of magnates or senators among the music-making nuns. As to their social origins, we also find among the outstanding singers and instrumentalists of Italy persons from lower classes, and even a former prostitute⁶⁴. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzoloni

59 H. Bottrigari, *Il Desideria*, quoted after: *ibid.*, pp. 125–126. The author of the description mentions that the ensemble has existed for a long time and gives this as the explanation for their perfect concord.

60 Jakub Sobieski in his *Peregrynacje po Europie (Peregrinations through Europe) (1607–1613)*, ed. J. Długosz, Wrocław 1991, p.174, describes the "alternata" performance of the *Magnificat* by Donna Grazia in the church of the Augustine nuns in Milan.

61 J. Bowers, *Woman Composers...*, pp. 126–127.

62 In fact, more than half of the women whose compositions were published in Italy during the seventeenth century were members of convents. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

63 C. Torri, *Il ritratto di Milano*, Milan 1674, p. 360, quoted after: *ibid.*, p. 127.

64 This is the mystic Caterina Vannini, who made a great impression on the listeners when, in a state of ecstasy, she improvised on the lute. Cf. C. Reardon, *Holy Concord...*, pp. 106–107.

from Siena mentions four nuns known best for their musical talent among “the excellent women of Siena worthy of remembering” and recalls the pseudonyms based on their names: la Landa, la Giarra, la Grisona and la Bargaglia⁶⁵. Two of them, Landi and Bargagli, came from the aristocracy, but the other two were of lower birth.

In this respect, the situation in Spain was totally different, although many convents also were famous there for their musical productions. The work of nun-musicians in Spanish convents shows all the marks of professional activity as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, including special training for the craft, applying for a “position” and having a contract that specifies the mutual obligations of the convent and the nun-musician. The acceptance of a candidate was sometimes preceded by an exam to verify her skills. In return for her musical services, the nun-musician was offered her keep: housing, food, clothing, and small remuneration⁶⁶. It should be noted that the status of nun-musicians within the convent was a great deal lower in relation to the other nuns belonging to the choir who came from the affluent homes of the nobility and brought with them appropriate dowries. Some statements in the sources indicate that singers and instrumentalists formed a group similar to the convent conversas, i.e., those sisters who carried out physical work and did not take part in all the services in the choir. Their musical activity was interpreted as the fulfilment of a financial obligation, the payment of a dowry throughout their lives, which they did not bring with them on making the convent profession. For this reason, some guardians of the musically talented girls paid the full dowry. The music-making of those in their care was then understood to be a gift to God and an expression of love for Him, and not payment of a debt. A singer endowed with a dowry was the very famous Alfonsa Gonzales de Salazar, to whom Cervantes dedicated a sonnet which claims that Donna Alfonsa’s voice and beauty (!) change earth into heaven⁶⁷. Little girls from poorer families who showed musical talent were destined for a convent from a very early age. In order for the family to conclude an appropriate contract and obtain dispensation from paying the dowry,

65 I. U. Azzolini, *Le pompesanesi*, Pistoia 1649, quoted after: *ibid.*, p. 3. Azzolini notes that, as well as playing various instruments, they were also proficient in counterpoint.

66 C. Baade, *Musicand Music-making...*, pp. 120–125. The sums of money awarded to instrumentalists were also intended to cover the expense of maintaining the instrument, purchase of strings etc.

67 C. Baade, *Music and Misgiving: Attitudes Towards Nuns' Music in Early Modern Spain*, in: *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe. An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. C. van Wyhe, Ashgate 2008, pp.92–93.

a teenage girl⁶⁸ had to have considerable musical skills; hence, she would begin receiving music lessons as early as at five or six years of age. Pablo Nassarre, a Franciscan organist, devoted a number of pages of his *Escuela musica* to the teaching of “ninas para religiosas”, i.e., girls intended to be nuns⁶⁹. In his opinion, a candidate for a convent organist should have a good technique with keyboard instruments, including the ability to improvise variations, as well as the ability to sing *avista* both Gregorian chant and polyphony. She should also be able to accompany her own singing on the harp⁷⁰. In fact, a nun-organist would often also act as a *maestra di capella* and a teacher for nuns. Information about the duties of the organist in a convent can be found in a letter from the organist of the cathedral in Pampeluna to the *maestro di capella* in Segovia, in which the former talks of a female convent, which is seeking a candidate able to carry out the duties of singer, harpist, teacher, and act as the person responsible for musical performances during feast days⁷¹.

In German-speaking regions, the richest musical culture was in Nonnberg, a convent of Benedictine Sisters in Salzburg, and in the convents of Vienna. In Nonnberg, towards the end of the sixteenth century, mothers superior employed musicians from outside who were responsible for providing settings for the liturgy. The post-Tridentine reform of life in female convents, requiring strict enclosure, was adopted by that convent in the 1620s. On the one hand, it put an end to the rich musical practice of the convent provided by paid musicians from outside; on the other, it forced the nuns to become active musically. Concerting style, already dominant at that time, demanded professional musical training from the nuns, as was the case in the other centres under discussion. Hence, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Nonnberg records numerous entries into the convent of daughters of musicians: neighbouring chapel masters, organists and choir directors. These persons were responsible for musical education of talented nuns within the convent, as well as acting as chapel mistresses and choir regents⁷².

Numerous surviving records testify to the high standard of musical performances in that convent, as well as the efforts undertaken to maintain

68 It was thought that girls should enter the convent before puberty, i.e., at the age of 11–12. Cf. C. Baade, *Music and Music-making...*, p.138.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 137 and the following. Nassarre, himself blind from birth, also devoted some pages to the teaching of organ-playing to the blind.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 141.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

72 L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik...*, p. 685–690.

it. In fact, there were two obstacles to admitting candidates from families of musicians: firstly, Nonnberg was a convent which only accepted nobly born candidates; secondly, due to financial reasons, the bishop temporarily banned increasing the number of nuns. In spite of these obstacles, documents from that period record the admission of seven daughters of musicians, among whom only the two von Biber ladies (aunt and niece) were of noble birth⁷³. Those not of noble birth were included in the first choir⁷⁴, and their musical education was regarded, as was the case in other countries, as equivalent to a dowry, with the exception of Anna Maria Schweiger who was admitted as a convert. Noble-born members of the convent also occupied themselves with music; visitation files from 1704 describe ten of twenty-eight choir ladies as *Musikantinnen*, but by 1734 this description is given to fifteen surnames out of the thirty-four persons actually residing at the convent⁷⁵.

Along singing, the nuns of Nonnberg cultivated organ, harpsichord, violin, *viola damore*, the flute, lute and *tuba (tromba) marina*. There is nothing to indicate that the status of nun-singers and instrumentalists who came without coats-of-arms or dowries was any lower than that of the other choir sisters. On the contrary, as an example, Anna Kunegunda Ramhaufski, daughter of an organist from Lambach, alongside the posts of chapel mistress and choir regent⁷⁶ also held the post of prioress, the highest after the mother superior⁷⁷.

As we know, Vienna was a very musical city at that time, competing with Italian centres in musical culture. In this context, significant were the personal interests of Emperors Leopold I and Joseph I, Leopold's oldest son and heir. Both had received a thorough musical education and tried composition. Nuns who

73 Anna Magdalena von Biber, daughter of Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, and her niece Ludmilla Barbara von Biber. In this context, the case of Barbara Stadlmayr is unclear. Admitted in 1650, although she entered as the first candidate not of noble birth, taken on because of her musical education, soon after entry she was ennobled, as was her father, Johann Stadlmayr, chapel master at the court in Salzburg and then in Innsbruck. Cf. L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik...*, p. 694.

74 These were: Barbara Stadlmayr, Anna Kunegunda and her sister Maria Eleonora Ramhaufski, and Maria Walpurga Regina Biechteler.

75 G. Walterskirchen, '*Musica figuralis est in bono statu*' ..., p. 29.

76 It is not clear whether the names of the highest musical posts at the Nonnberg convent, i.e., those of chapel mistress and choir regent, were synonymous or whether they referred to separate functions: correspondingly the director of the vocal-instrumental ensemble and the person supervising vocal performances. Cf. L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik...*, p. 690.

77 *Ibid.* p. 690.

resided in Vienna in a number of convents were also inspired by the example of their Italian sisters, emphasizing the importance of musical practice and enriching the “cultural offer” of the city⁷⁸.

Female convents in Vienna were closely linked to the imperial court. During the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, it was customary for the ladies of the Habsburg family, reigning empresses and their daughters, along with their ladies-in-waiting, to visit conventual churches on major and minor feast days in order to participate in the services there. Diaries show that there might have been from three to as many as ten such visits in a month, and music performed by the nuns during the liturgy would be their integral part. Sometimes the ladies would be accompanied by the emperor himself, who would occasionally arrive with the court ensemble. Members of the reigning family would sometimes attend the ceremonies of taking the veil and the vows at Viennese convents⁷⁹. Convent music played a significant part in combining piety and regal representation, so characteristic of the Habsburgs of the time.

1.3 The regeneration and development of female convents in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during Counter-Reformation

The situation of female convents in Poland was different from those in Italy, Spain and France. This was the result of the Reformation, which in the sixteenth century was supported by a considerable section of Polish gentry and the overwhelming majority of burghers. The spiritual and cultural mood of the period meant that – although female convents were not dominated by the phenomenon of “appointment by command”⁸⁰ – nuns recruited mainly from among girls who were poor and unwanted by their families. The time had long gone when princesses from the Piast dynasty entered the convents of the Cistercian and Poor

78 See J. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth Century Vienna*, Cambridge 2014, *passim*, Convents in Vienna were not as numerous as in Italian cities. Around 1700 there were between 350 and 400 nuns living there (out of 100 000 inhabitants). *Ibid.*, p. 1.

79 *Ibid.*, pp. 4–8.

80 With the exception of the Norbertines, where the convent’s property was administered by the provost elected for life. Borkowska quotes one example of rebellion by a prioress against the imposition of a royal appointee who was not even a priest or a monk (M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie ...*, p. 15).

Clare sisters. In the sixteenth century, rich gentry and magnates would regard a daughter entering a convent as a stain on the honour of the family⁸¹. Thus, in the year 1577, when the church synod in Piotrków in Poland enacted the reform passed some years previously at the Council of Trent, the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania had in total some 147 nuns living in nineteen convents⁸². In some convents, particularly those located in the cities of Royal Prussia, where Lutherans were the majority among the residents, such as Toruń, Chełmno and Żukowo, there was literally one nun per convent⁸³. However, this was the dawn of a new era for Polish female monastic vocation, when the wave of post-Tridentine religious ardour was to bring a true explosion of vocational calls, including those from the most illustrious families, as well as new conventual foundations.

The flood of vocational entries to female convents which we observe during the years 1580–1630 can also be observed because at that time most communities began to be diligent about keeping convent registers up to date. This was accompanied by a slow change in the attitude of the higher social layers towards female convents. The metaphor of a wave of vocations is fully justified here, since in many places the recruitment of novice nuns increased from several in a decade to between thirty and forty. The social profile of the new recruits also changed. Girls from among the gentry began to outnumber those from burgher families, and there was also a significant number of daughters of magnates and senators. Obviously, particular convent communities had their own specific intakes. Some poorer foundations were dominated by girls from burgher communities, such as the Benedictines in Radom; in others, richly endowed, like the Benedictines in Sandomierz, such girls were the exception. The entry of so many candidates was also accompanied by the creation of new foundations, many established by magnates for their daughters, in which they would later “naturally” become mothers superior or prioresses⁸⁴. The most

81 Borkowska (ibid., p. 15) quotes the biography of Magdalena Mortęska written by a Jesuit, Stefan Brzechffa, *Najprzewielebniejsza w Bogu panna Magdalena Mortęska (The Most Reverend in the Lord Mistress Magdalena Mortęska)*, Poznań 1747, p.9: “And so he promised Magdalena to help her live in a maiden state and promised her an expensive house of his in Toruń, as well as her keep in accordance with her status immediately, so that the maiden would not shame the family by entering a convent”.

82 Ibid., p. 19.

83 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie ...*, p. 19. In Poland, there were no cases of dissolving convents by force, as happened in German cities, where sometimes the nuns were “dragged out” from their buildings and chased out or forced to marry.

84 M. Borkowska (ibid., p.31) quotes a Jesuit, Łukasz Paprocki, who wrote about the election of Katarzyna Potulicka in Sierpc (1651): “although there were other senators’

fruitful of the new foundations turned out to be the reformed convent of the Benedictine Sisters in Chełmno. The Benedictines, under the leadership of the reformer Magdalena Mortęska, filled the two houses in their possessions in Chełmno and Toruń, taken over when practically moribund, and in addition sent nuns to another twenty foundations, which continued to appear during that period until the Swedish invasion⁸⁵, but with the greatest intensity up to 1640⁸⁶. Moreover, the self-reforming convent of the Norbertines increased its holdings from six to nine convents in the Commonwealth and Silesia. The Brigid Sisters of Lublin conducted a significant founding campaign during that period, establishing another seven houses in eastern Poland. The Bernardine nuns, who had just one cloistered house, increased their holdings by as many as twenty-one convents, eleven new ones and ten transformed on the basis of the post-Council regulations from tertiary into enclosed. Dominican nuns, who had just one house in Poland, created another eleven. Alongside these, four houses were preserved out of the five that housed the tertiary Dominican sisters, who previously had not been subject to strict enclosure. Poor Clare Sisters increased their holdings from three to eight convents. Among the female convents present in the Polish lands since the Middle Ages, only the Cistercians and Sisters of the Holy Ghost de Saxia did not expand, creating merely one new house each⁸⁷. New female convents “imported” from Western Europe or created on native, even local, initiative, also appeared in the Commonwealth. Borkowska distinguishes three types of new convents: those established during the Middle Ages, but previously represented in Poland only by their male branches (Augustians, Carmelites of the Old Observance), and those established in the West during the Tridentine reform or later (Barefoot Carmelites, Benedictines Sacramentines, Visitation Sisters, who had as many as twenty houses in Poland towards the end of the eighteenth century). The third type includes convents created in Poland and devoted to teaching and to caring for the sick: Saint Catherine Sisters, Presentation Sisters and Mariae

daughters, the founder’s blood rightly prevailed” (*Łaski cudowne przy kościele sierpskim Wniebowzięcia* (Miraculous graces at the Sierpc church of the Assumption), Warszawa 1652, introduction).

85 The Swedish invasion of Poland took place during the Second Northern War 1655–1660.

86 The Benedictine convent at Staniątki, which did not accept the Chełmno reform, continued to exist from the thirteenth century onwards without major interruptions. It founded only one new house, in Kraków, but after a while it was dissolved.

87 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie ...* pp. 114–116.

Vitae Sisters. In total, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were 152 female convents active in Poland⁸⁸.

The great majority of female convents in Poland in the post-Tridentine era was of a contemplative character, in accordance with the principles established by the Council of Trent, requiring strict enclosure. In spite of this, they often combined a monastic lifestyle with schools for girls, which had enormous significance for shaping a new, more enlightened Polish society. However, not many communities involved themselves in caring for the sick or running almshouses. This was a very bad situation from the point of view of local enlightenment activists, most of whom came from the clergy. However, from the point of view of the history of musical culture, this was beneficial, since it was the contemplative lifestyle which provided the opportunity and the place for practising art, including music.

It should be emphasised that the post-Tridentine renewal of convent life of women in Poland took place because of internal initiatives, and not because of an outside stimulus. The period in question sees the appearance of magnificent women who, in spite of the image of a typical matron of the period, uneducated and totally dependent on men, managed groups of people, carried out reforms, established new foundations, negotiated with powerful secular and church personages, undertook litigation over convent property, preaching spiritual teachings and writing down their deliberations.

The end of the epoch of the flowering of monasticism, including female monasticism, is linked to important social and political changes, as well as changes in mental attitudes brought about by the Enlightenment. The postulates of the rationalist leaders of the new era, who demanded an end to the slothful way of life of such a large portion of the population and retention of only those convents that actively benefited society, met with the favour and approval of the governing powers. The latter, when putting these postulates into practice, took the opportunity of appropriating monastic property. In France, a Commission for Monastic Affairs was established as early as in 1766. In 1768, it dissolved one fifth of the existing convents, but it was the French revolution which contributed to their almost total collapse. In 1789, monastic vows were banned. Some of the nuns took government pensions and moved “into the world”, while some emigrated⁸⁹, also to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During the Napoleonic wars, large numbers of convents were also temporarily dissolved in Italy and Spain. In 1782, the Emperor of Austria, Joseph II, dissolved all contemplative convents in the state he governed, leaving only those

88 Ibid., p. 118.

89 M. Borkowska, *Białe i bure...*, pp. 206–207. Some 20 000 monks and nuns lived in France in the middle of the century.

which carried out some benevolent activity. For this reason, the majority of female convents survived in the part of Poland under Austrian rule, since they demonstrably conducted educational activity. Under the Prussian rule, after the first and second partitions of Poland⁹⁰, all convents were dissolved. In the Polish Congress Kingdom subordinated to Russia, dissolutions were conducted in waves, particularly as a form of repression after consecutive uprisings. Novitiates were closed, and only four so-called collective houses survived, in which nuns from the dissolved convents would be placed⁹¹. Nineteenth-century romanticism brought with it another monastic renewal in the West, but Polish convents could only be reborn after Poland regained its independence in 1918. However, social changes meant that convents never regained the cultural and creative significance which they enjoyed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1.4 Reform of Chełmno and the founding campaign of Polish Benedictine Sisters. The culture-creating activities

The Chełmno reform of the Benedictine nuns⁹² is, in essence, the work of one person, Magdalena Mortęska (1554–1631), daughter of Melchior, castellan of Malbork, and Elżbieta of the Kostka family (see Fig. 2). At the age of twenty-four, against her father's wishes, Magdalena entered the deserted convent at Chełmno,

90 The territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria. The first partition took place in 1772, the second in 1793, and the third in 1795.

91 On the subject of the dissolution of convents in the areas belonging to the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see P.P. Gach, *Kasaty zakonów na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Śląska 1773–1914 (Dissolution of Convents in the Area of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Silesia 1773–1914)*, Lublin 1984, and the website <http://www.kasaty.pl/home/> (accessed 15.06.2017) which is part of the project of the National Programme of Development of the Humanities “Dziedzictwo kulturowe po klasztorach skasowanych na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej oraz na Śląsku w XVIII i XIX wieku: losy, znaczenie, inwentaryzacja” (“The cultural heritage of the convents dissolved in the regions of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Silesia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: their history, significance and inventories”).

92 There is a rich literature on the topics of the reform of Chełmno, Mother Magdalena Mortęska and the beginnings of this congregation. These are primarily the works of M. Borkowska: *Słownik polskich księń benedyktyńskich (Dictionary of Polish Benedictine Abbesses)*, in: *Siostryzakonne w Polsce (Nuns in Poland)*, vol. 2, Niepokalanów 1996, pp. 104–105; *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich w Polsce (Dictionary of Benedictine Nuns in Poland)*, Tyniec 1989, pp. 43–46; *Mniszki (Nuns)*, Kraków 1980, pp. 15–46; *Zakony żeńskie... (Female Convents)*, pp. 139–141; also earlier works, those by K. Górski, *Matka*



Fig. 2: Abbess Magdalena Mortęska, portrait from the seventeenth century. Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz

in which she found the aged Poor Clare sister Zofia Izdebieńska and six novices living without any conventual formation. Undoubtedly, she had the support of a relative on her mother’s side, Bishop Piotr Kostka, in becoming professed after four months and becoming the abbess there a year later. The situation at the

Mortęska (Mother Mortęska), Kraków 1971, and E. Janicka-Olczakowa, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce (Female Convents in Poland)*, *Kościół w Polsce (The Church in Poland)*, vol. 2, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1969, pp. 743–745.

beginning of the regeneration of the convent is described in *Wstęp do reguły reformowanej* (Introduction to the reformed rule):

We could not get any knowledge of convent life not only from the people or the nuns but also from any other writing because there was no written rule until later, in the empty convent dwellings, when they were being cleared of dust and rubble, a very old one was found written in Latin; for this reason, when we were also suffering from lack of priests and other support, we could not understand or create a rule according to our needs, and only with the Lord's help did we understand a little of it, and taking advice and instruction from pious people, what we made of it, we diligently followed with a simple heart⁹³.

From the very beginning, Mortęska was supported with spiritual and legal advice by the Jesuits, who represented the spirit of the period; she also preferred them to any others as chaplains in the new houses she was creating. In order to provide the nuns with appropriate spiritual leadership, she established a special Jesuit college in Toruń, later moved to Poznań⁹⁴, which was intended to educate chaplains for Benedictine sisters.

The convent at Chełmno was the first in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to be reformed in accordance with the instruction of the Council of Trent; this caused a great influx of candidates who wanted to begin life as nuns in a convent with a strict rule, highly regarded and known for its ardent devotion. During her governance as abbess, which lasted half a century, Mortęska accepted more than 200 professions and the centre in Chełmno provided the womanpower for eight new foundations. Moreover, other convents that she regenerated or founded also became founders themselves, which meant that by the middle of the century the total number of convents originating from the Chełmno reform grew to twenty-two⁹⁵. This vibrant growth of the congregation was cut short by the war and the economic crash in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Having witnessed the decline of convents in her youth, Abbess Mortęska wanted to avoid such dangers in future, by creating a congregation, i.e., a closely formed organisation of all abbeys originating directly or indirectly from Chełmno, under her own leadership. She planned a common novitiate in

93 *Reguła s. Ojca Benedykta ... iz reformacją porządków chełmińskiego ... iinszychwszystkich ... klasztorów* (The Rule of the Holy Father Benedict with the Reform of the Order of Chełmno and all Other Convents), ed. II, Lublin 1637, quoted after: M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie...*, pp. 140–141.

94 During the early years the chaplains of the Benedictine nuns at Chełmno were the Jesuits Jan Zębowski, Wojciech Pakost and Paweł Boksza. Kbh, pp. 9, 31, 42, 49.

95 Cf. Appendix II.



Fig. 3: Seventeenth-century votive picture from the church of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in Chełmno, depicting the Benedictine Sisters being led by the abbess. Property of the Sisters of Charity in Chełmno

order to ensure a solid and cohesive formation, as well as the participation of the abbesses of all the convents belonging to the congregation in the election of each new abbess. However, it turned out that the Tridentine reform, with its great emphasis on the enclosure of nuns, did not offer such an opportunity to female convents. Mortęska then began attempts to ensure that at least all the reformed houses should live according to one, precisely formulated rule, adapted to the time and place. Her insistence led to the production of a new edition of the Rule of Saint Benedict in Polish which, after obtaining the Pope's approval, she published in Kraków in 1605. The rule was accompanied by numerous declarations explaining its content and making it more precise. It also contained a programme for the teaching of girls in the convent school, and one for the formation of novices, both produced by Mortęska (see Figs. 3 and 4).

In her administrative activities, as well as in the spiritual care over the nuns entrusted to her, Mortęska encountered numerous obstacles. The first serious threat of a split in the congregation appeared very early on, at the

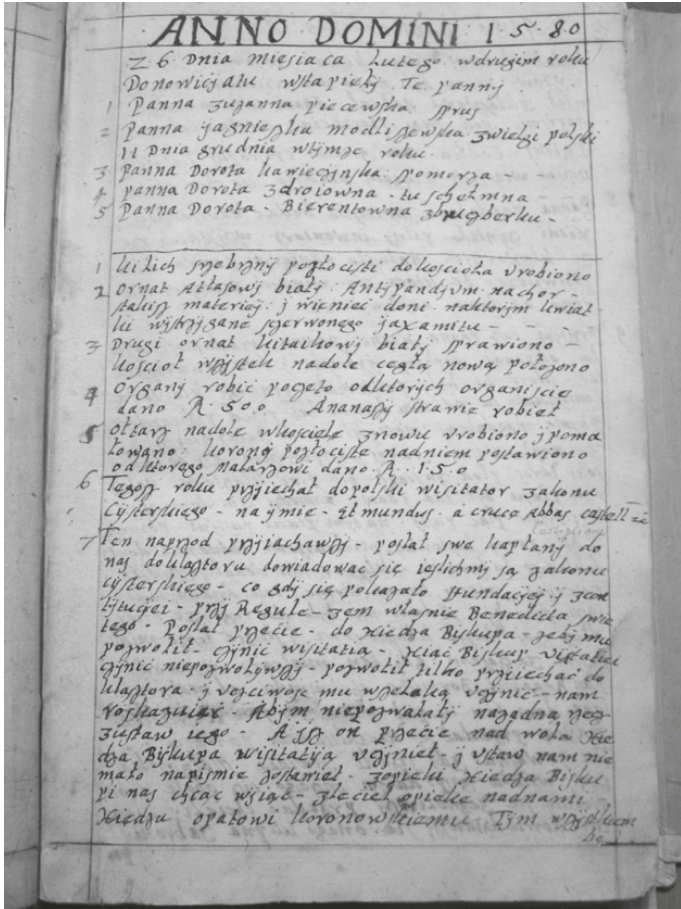


Fig. 4: A page from *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich* (Chronicle of the Chełmno Benedictine Sisters), held at the Archive of the Sisters of Charity in Chełmno

convent in Toruń⁹⁶. The rebellious nuns from Toruń, under the leadership of Mortęska's pupil, Zofia Dulcka, did not want to adopt the reformed rule

96 K. Górski, *Zofia Dulcka księni toruńska i jej spór z Magdaleną Mortęską księnią chełmińską o reformę zakonu* (Zofia Dulcka, abbess of Toruń, and her conflict with Magdalena Mortęska, abbess of Chełmno, over the order's reform), *NaszaPrzeszłość* 25/1966, pp. 155–178.

prepared by the Chełmno abbess, and succeeded in publishing their own⁹⁷. The striving for separation in Toruń ceased only after the deaths of both abbesses, Mortęska and Dulaska, in the same year, 1631.

Some differences in customs also appeared in the Lithuanian convents, for which separate declarations were added to the reformed rule by bishop Eustachy Wołłowicz. However, the majority of convents of reformed Benedictine Sisters acknowledged the authority of the abbess of Chełmno until the end of the seventeenth century, in spite of the fact that each house was formally subordinate to the bishop of their particular location. Similarly, after her death, Mortęska became the subject of worship in many convents belonging to the Chełmno reform. The process of her beatification began, but it was discontinued after the wars which took place in the second half of the seventeenth century⁹⁸.

The spirituality of the “new” Benedictine nuns clearly referred to the ancient Benedictine vows of stability of location, conversion of life and obedience. However, in accordance with the reformed rule, the nuns also added to these the vows of poverty and chastity⁹⁹.

This last vow was linked to the monastic idea of virginity consecrated to God, which was celebrated with great solemnity during the ritual of consecration. According to Borkowska, of the five spiritual principles included in the vow, the greatest importance was attached to chastity and obedience, as an expression of bridal love for the Saviour. Benedictine nuns were to express their bridal love above all through the liturgy and asceticism¹⁰⁰. The emphasis on liturgical life was the order’s ancient heritage; the status of the liturgy was linked to the care after the beauty of choral singing. Moreover, asceticism was linked not only to

97 Researchers of the history of the Chełmno reform of the Benedictine Sisters, Karol Górski and Małgorzata Borkowska, agree that the conflict between the abbesses at Chełmno and Toruń did not concern essential elements of the rule (for the differences between the two editions see Małgorzata Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie...*, pp. 147–160). It was more a matter of the nuns of Toruń wanting to retain their autonomy and their refusal to accept the superiority of Chełmno. There was also the matter of money. Dulaska’s first accusation against Mortęska was that the latter used part of Dulaska’s dowry to establish the college of Jesuit chaplains, and not to the benefit of the convent in Toruń (K. Górski, *Zofia Dulaska...*, p. 157).

98 The process of beatification of Magdalena Mortęska was reopened on July 3, 2016.

99 M. Borkowska, *Szkic duchowości benedyktynek Kongregacji Chełmińskiej (1579–1933)* (*An outline of the spiritual life of the Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno Congregation (1579–1933)*), *Duchowość zakonna. Szkice* (*Conventual Spirituality. Essays*), ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1994, p. 38.

100 *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

fasting and penance, although these were obviously practised; it was a number of inner and external practices relating to working on one's attitude and personality. Diligent work on one's weaknesses was to lead to an attitude which Benedictine nuns described as "Godthinking:" concentrating one's attention on God, which was to flow from a faith that was intellectually developed and led to purity of heart. Of great importance was also the ideal of obedience to one's superiors, not the kind of "obedience of a corpse" consisting in relinquishing one's own will, but a willing, joyful obedience.

A solid intellectual formation as the foundation of monastic life was an important aspect of the reform from the beginning of the Chełmno congregation. We should remember that, particularly during the sixteenth century, this formation would have had to start from practically nothing, i.e., from learning to read and write. The absence of these skills was an obstacle in the admission to the profession. Spiritual reading, both individual and communal, was a very important source of piety. Hence all convents created book collections, sometimes very rich ones¹⁰¹. Novices would begin their training with methodological meditation, promoted by the Jesuits, which became a very significant religious practice for the Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno reform. They had to write down their thoughts, which had to follow prescribed points, and the mistress of the novitiate would check and correct them. Naturally, the spirituality and customs of the Benedictine nuns underwent changes over the period of two centuries. The initial period was characterised by an extremely ardent attitude, a worship of rule and method, and emphasis on inner asceticism. Borkowska regards this as manifestations of belated Renaissance. The typical baroque religiosity, which dominates from the second half of the seventeenth century, brings emotionality, multiplicity of rituals, a search for spectacular practices and experiences, and a degree of shallowness¹⁰².

Borkowska distinguishes five periods in the development of the Chełmno congregation¹⁰³; three of them and the beginning of the fourth belong to the

101 J. Gwioździk, *Kultura umysłowa benedyktynek kongregacji chełmińskiej w okresie staropolskim (Intellectual culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation during the Old Poland period)*, *Sanctimoniales. Zakony żeńskie w Polsce i Europie Środkowej (Sanctimoniales. Female Convents in Poland and Central Europe)*, ed. A. Radzimiński, D. Karczewski, Z. Zyglewski, Bydgoszcz-Toruń 2010, pp. 481–499.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49

103 M. Borkowska, *Benedyktyнки (Benedictinenuns)*, *Zakony benedyktyńskie w Polsce. Krótka historia (Benedictine Convents in Poland. A Brief History)*, Tyniec 1981, pp. 147–150.

period of interest to us. The history of the congregation encompasses the years 1579–1933, framed by the regeneration of the convent in Chełmno after the entry of Magdalena Mortęska and the formation of the Congregation of the Immaculate Conception, encompassing all the convents of Benedictine nuns in Poland which survived the period of dissolutions.

The initial period lasted until the Cossack and Swedish wars in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was a time of energetic expansion, as well as of self-identification, establishment of the rule, and spirituality. Regarding the latter, emphasis was placed on liturgical and mental prayer, self-denial, methodological contemplation following the model of Ignatius, personal poverty and obedience. Favourite reading was the Holy Scripture, *The Imitation of Christ* and contemporary works on asceticism, primarily those from the Jesuit authors.

The second period was one of coping with the difficulties caused by the wars. It came to an end in around 1725, when the convents were restored following the destruction caused by the Northern War. The period was to some extent dominated by concerns relating to economic matters in the life of the communities. Recruitment was down, but the custom of *peculium*, which allowed the nuns to have a sum of money at their private disposal, came to be accepted. Naturally, under these difficult conditions the campaign of founding new houses came to an end, as is stressed by Borkowska, particularly since with the growth of the number of female convents of different orders, there simply was no need for more¹⁰⁴.

The third period encompassed half a century of stability which lasted until the partitions of Poland. In some houses, there was a spontaneous striving for reform in the areas of discipline and observance. The number of vocations rose. More attention was paid to external ascetic practices; contemplative practices weakened, while additional services multiplied.

The fourth period opened with the partitions of Poland. From then on, the fate of convents in each of the partitions took a different course. In the Prussian partition, after half a century in a vegetative state, all convents were dissolved. In the Russian partition, after the initial period of a seemingly favourable attitude by the authorities, the convents were gradually dissolved one by one. From 1865, there was a ban on accepting novices. Until Poland regained its independence only Łomża, Vilnius and Kowno retained their communities. In the Austrian partition only one convent was dissolved, in Jarosław, and this happened very quickly, as early as 1782. The other convents survived because of their educational

104 Ibid., p. 149.

activities, but the Austrian authorities attempted to limit their role to exactly that of educational congregations.

Some culture-creating activities going beyond the convent community were undertaken by the reformed order of Benedictine nuns of Chełmno, among them the education of secular girls, support for a new type of religiosity based on intellectual foundations through publishing initiatives and through setting up of devotional sisterhoods at convent churches. The Benedictines were the first female order in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania to attempt the inclusion of running schools for girls as one of the convent's tasks. Mortęska, who herself was still illiterate at the age of twenty, understood the need for the education of women very well. Before the Council of Trent, girls from noble homes would also be entrusted to nuns to be "brought up"; they lived in cells together with the nuns, and the effects of such an upbringing would depend in every case on the skills and personalities on both sides. Nuns would primarily teach domestic skills, shape the girls' morality, and occasionally teach them to read and write¹⁰⁵.

In contrast, the schooling at the establishment of the Chełmno Benedictines included both upbringing and teaching. Clearly, the teaching programmes changed and looked quite different in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Initially, teaching included reading and writing, arithmetic and handicraft, as well as church singing. Eventually the nuns began to accept candidates intended specifically for the post of teacher, as well as employing secular persons. As a result, the range of subjects increased and included foreign languages, usually French and German, religion, arithmetic, geography, history, botany, calligraphy, sometimes drawing and often music and dance. In the second half of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the Visitation Sisters, they also began to organise theatrical performances in their schools¹⁰⁶.

105 A. Szylar, *Działalność oświatowa benedyktynek sandomierskich w latach 1616–1865* (*Educational Activities of Benedictine Nuns in Sandomierz 1616–1865*), Lublin 2002, pp. 60–61.

106 It was not until the 1780s that convent schools under state supervision began to introduce uniform teaching syllabuses; prior to that the parents had considerable influence on what their daughters were taught, paying for additional lessons, in a particular language, dance or music. Among the most frequently chosen instruments were keyboard and guitar. See A. Szylar, *Idealy wychowawcze w klasztorach żeńskich w okresie potrydenckim do początków XIX wieku* (*Educational ideals in female convent schools during the post-Tridentine period until the early nineteenth century*), *Pedagogia Christiana* 2012/2 (30), pp. 20–22.

The daily routine of the secular maidens, as the pupils were referred to, was strictly planned and modelled on the discipline of the convent. The day began at 5 a.m. with a wake-up call, prayer, meditation and mass. After that, two hours, until 9 a.m., were devoted to classes, followed by breakfast, and then further classes from 9.30 until 11 a.m. These were followed by lunch and free time until 12.30, and lessons until 4 p.m., ending with the reciting of the litany at the church. The following hours were devoted to recreation; the girls would also then perform domestic duties, supervised by the mistress. Supper was served at 6 p.m., with a short period for private activities afterwards, followed by reciting the litany, examining one's conscience, and bedtime at around 7 p.m. Teaching thus took about five to six hours per day¹⁰⁷.

The moral development was shaped by conversations between the girls and the mistress of the secular maidens on theological subjects, preparing them for carrying out the examination of conscience, making confession and receiving Holy Communion, teaching them the principles of the faith, impressing on them the necessity of constant prayer, of living in harmony with God and people, and of perseverance in not giving in to temptations. Care was also taken over appropriate external behaviour, consisting in being natural in one's manner, eliminating fast, loud or unclear speech, carrying out all activities with decorum, being able to cope with adversity, and maintaining cheerfulness of spirit. The boarders were also taught to maintain order and cleanliness in their surroundings¹⁰⁸.

Convent schooling for girls, which was also conducted by female convents of other orders, spread its influence only over a very small proportion of female children. Pupils came primarily from the homes of the gentry, but also of the burghers. Borkowska estimates that, in 1700, some 1500 girls per year would be taught, and their education usually continued for about three years¹⁰⁹, while during the eighteenth century this number might have doubled¹¹⁰.

The post-Tridentine period in the history of monasticism, during which the majority of female convents were cloistered, was characterised by concentration on the worship and on the liturgy. This resulted in the building and richly furnishing of conventual churches with altars, paintings, sculptures and an organ. Such a trend favoured the development of artistic patronage suited to the

107 A. Szylar, *Działalność oświatowa benedyktynek...*, p. 57.

108 *Ibid.* p. 57.

109 There were of course cases of children who, for family reasons, spent a very long time at the convent.

110 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 64.

financial potential of the centre and encouraged the nuns themselves to be active in the areas of literature, theatre, music and artistic craft, primarily embroidery.

In the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, this period had its own specific characteristics: monastic life needed not so much reform, as rebuilding from the foundations according to the Council's precepts. What is also characteristic of female monasticism in Poland is the considerable independence of the convents theoretically subordinated to bishops, with the abbesses sometimes having a higher social position than their superiors because of their birth. This independence also manifested itself in the manner of conducting artistic patronage and satisfying nuns' cultural needs, including music. Undoubtedly the example of Magdalena Mortęska, founder and reformer of the Benedictine nuns at Chełmno, had a significant influence on the development of musical culture in the convents belonging to that congregation. Immediately after taking on the challenge of regenerating the convents in Chełmno and Toruń, Mortęska concerned herself with cultivating professional music alongside the observance of liturgical chant.

2 The musical culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation in the seventeenth century

2.1 Abbess Magdalena Mortęska and her views on the role of music in the life of a monastic community. Music in the Polish editions of the Benedictine rule

We know the person and the life history of Mortęska from many sources, including the biography written shortly after her death by a Jesuit, Stanisław Brzechwa¹¹¹. The reformer of the Benedictine nuns declared her desire to become a nun at about the age of twelve, and she put her intention into practice more than ten years later, in spite of strong opposition from her father¹¹². The latter, suspecting the intentions of his twenty-four-year old daughter who persistently refused every suitor, gave orders that nobody should “teach her to write and read, or lend her religious books”. However, the court steward taught her to write “within two weeks”¹¹³. She must have been extremely intelligent and prepared to put much effort and passion into her education, since the person we encounter many years later on the pages of the sources is someone with a penetrating mind, the power of eloquence and considerable diplomatic skills, who conducts arguments with church dignitaries and often emerges victorious. Mortęska’s thoughts on the Passion of Christ recorded by one of the sisters left the Jesuits full of admiration, and finding it hard to believe that this was the work of a woman. After her death, the abbess of Chełmno became the object of worship, but historical circumstances in the seventeenth century caused the process of her beatification to be interrupted¹¹⁴.

111 *Pochodnia ludziom zakonnym... wystawiona* (A beacon for monastic persons), no place of publication, 1634. Probably written with Mortęska’s beatification process in mind.

112 The family did in fact put up strong opposition; however, we also need to be aware of the fact that as a potential bride Magdalena had a defect: she had one eye missing. She gouged it out at the age of eight when helping in the kitchen. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

113 K. Górski, *Matka Mortęska...*, p. 12.

114 The information gathering for the beatification of the Servant of God Magdalena Mortęska began again in February 1968, at the inspiration of the Benedictine Sisters from Żarnowiec, the bishop of Chełmno Kazimierz Kowalski and Professor Karol Górski. However, because of the death of bishop Kowalski and financial difficulties, work on the beatification ceased on that occasion as well*. (*See <http://www>.

The place of music in the life of monastic communities was sanctioned by tradition from the very beginning of their existence, since chanting was the medium of celebrating the liturgy, and that was always at the centre of the life and activities of the community. This applied to the reformed convent of Benedictine Sisters in Chełmno, whose example was shortly followed by the numerous convents newly founded or “renewed” by the nuns from Chełmno. The author of the chronicle of the Chełmno Benedictines places on one of its first pages the chapter “O sporządzeniu chwały Pańskiej przez wszystkie rok” (On making the glory of the Lord throughout the year)¹¹⁵:

Throughout the year on each feast day: Masses, vespers, hours celebrated by singing ... and on special feasts matins with laudes After five there would be prime, and after prime, *Rorate* sung for each day and vespers throughout all of Advent. During fasting Quadragesima on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays: have sung Masses and sermons then. Compline and *Salve* for each day of Lent would be celebrated by singing, and afterwards **would come figural singing of motets on the Lord's Passion**¹¹⁶. On the last day before Easter, so that the priest would have less work, they would celebrate all the prefaces at the masses themselves by chanting. Moreover, dark matins with lamentations, lessons and laudes, and after them tropes in the right order. On Good Friday, **they would sing the psalter by the Lord's tomb figurally and mourning motets on the Lord's Passion**. On Saturdays throughout the year, they would always sing votives of the Blessed Virgin, commending themselves into her care.

Such a significant role of music must have meant that the novices spent much time learning and practising singing. The person responsible for preparing the chants was a cantoress appointed by the abbess; the cantoress would occupy a very important position in the hierarchy of the monastic family. Perhaps it was also she, or another competent sister, who was in charge of copying the books¹¹⁷

benedyktynki-zarnowiec.pl/aktualnosci/55-384-rocznica-smierci-matki-morteskiej. Accessed: 15.06.2017). The beatification process was initiated for the third time in July 2016 in the diocese of Toruń.

115 *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich (Chronicle of the Benedictine Sisters from Chełmno)*, ed. W. Szoldrski, Pelplin 1937, p.11, quoted afterwards as Kbch. However, even earlier, writing about the old history of the convent “before its reform”, the chronicler notes that “the ladies were constant in mortification and in work, wrote various books, mostly Latin and German, and other ones they wrote for singing” (p. 4).

116 All the bolding of passages in this book comes from the author.

117 We only know two names of the scribes from the early days of the activities of the Chełmno Benedictines. These were Dorota Łążeńska, a nun from Toruń, who copied *Antyfonarz chorałowy (Plainchant antiphonary)* now held in Żarnowiec, dated to 1622, and Dorota Wichorska, whose signature we find on the *Antyfonarz (Antiphonary)* copied in 1617 in Chełmno for the Jarosław community, and now held at the Archive

with which the consecutive foundations were always provided, as is frequently mentioned in the chronicles: "Enormous books written on parchment would be sent immediately, a gradual with masses for the Lord's days ... and all the feasts throughout the year. Psalter in large print on parchment, and with it hymns and accommunal notated with prayers for the dead"¹¹⁸.

In *Akta Radziwiłłowskie* (The Radziwiłł Files) we find a very interesting exchange of letters between Magdalena Mortęska and Krzysztof Radziwiłł¹¹⁹ concerning the foundation of the convent in Nieśwież, one of the first to be established by the Benedictine nuns of Chełmno. The letters show how much importance was attached by the reforming abbess to the matter of music in liturgy: "Of these books, two agendas are needed, two missals, two graduals, one for the choir, the other for the ladies to learn to sing. However, if two are not possible, let it be one proper one. Two psalters, two antiphonaries. May they have full communal offices in them, for the Lord's days and feast days, with good large print and large notes"¹²⁰.

The abbess of Chełmno returns to the question of the conditions for celebrating the liturgy, providing comments on equipping the convent buildings:

Their second obligation that the Founder needs to know about. They should celebrate the glory of the Lord in the Choir according to the Roman breviary not only with reading but with singing, for the Founding benefactors as well as for the needs of the church. For which they need books both for reading and for singing. A place is needed for celebrating the Lord's glory, so that it is upstairs and not downstairs, quiet, spacious, light, and so equipped that the secular people from downstairs cannot see any monastic person ... Before the Choir where they sing let there be a Hall, and from that Hall let there be a passage to the Dormitory, so that this Hall would be between the Church or the Choir and Dormitory. And since the community cannot be large, it would be hard for the Ladies to perform in the Choir without an organ, and if that cannot be at once, at least a regal¹²¹.

Radziwiłł responds in a letter addressed to Mortęska and preserved in the same files, probably with yet another letter from the abbess on the issue of an organist

of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl (ref. no. 9). See M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej* (*Lexicon of Polish nuns in the pre-partition period*), vol. I: *Polska zachodnia i północna* (*Western and Northern Poland*), Warszawa 2004, pp. 290 and 227.

118 Kbh, p. 20, concerning the equipping of the house in Toruń in 1581.

119 AGAD, ArchiwumRadziwiłłów (The Radziwiłł Archive), section VIII, ref. no. 283.

120 Ibid., p. 13, pagination in pencil.

121 Ibid., p. 49.

in mind: “To get an organist is very difficult, but there is one, so at the beginning he will be able to do it. So long as [earlier?] they hold the offices separately, in order that he can be at the other church on time”¹²².

We can see from this correspondence that the reformer of the Polish Benedictine sisters had very specific requirements to put to the rich founder: before the nuns appear, there must be a spacious, bright choir with a passage to the dormitory, books for singing, not hand-copied but printed, with large music notes, it would be best if there were two copies of each, one for the choir, one for practising; an instrument, and if there could not be an organ than at least a regal, and an organist.

Obviously, the tradition of plainchant was not new, and we can see that great importance was attached to it. Much more interesting for us is the fact that, from the beginning of the Chełmno reform, there is talk of cultivating polyphonic singing, presumably initially only involving the Lent services, which were always given an especially carefully prepared setting. Only ten years after *Mortęska* was consecrated as the abbess of Chełmno, that practice extended to the liturgy of the mass; we do not know whether only on feast days or during everyday services but, in any case, the chronicler notes that: “that year, the choir ladies began to sing mass figurally, that is, with a number of voices”¹²³.

In light of the extant documents¹²⁴ it is quite apparent that *Magdalena Mortęska* had very clearly formed views on the role and place of music in the life of the monastic community. The reformed rule prepared by her and published in 1605¹²⁵ for Benedictine convents of the Chełmno congregation devotes more space to matters relating to music within the framework of liturgy than the two other editions from the first half of the seventeenth century: the *Toruń* one¹²⁶

122 *Ibid.*, p. 64

123 *Kbch*, p. 35.

124 In particular the two convent chronicles, of Chełmno and Toruń, and the Chełmno rule.

125 *Reguła św. Ojca Benedykta, z łacińskiego przetłumaczona, i z reformacją porządków chełmińskiego, toruńskiego, żarnowieckiego, nieświejskiego i inszych wszystkich, które teraz są i na potem zjednoczone będą, klasztorów panińskich* (*The rule of Saint Father Benedict, translated from Latin, and with the reformation of the orders of Chełmno, Toruń, Żarnowiec, Nieśwież and all the others which are now and will be united later, all female convents*), Lublin 1635 (second edition). No copy survives from the first edition, we learn about it from the *Chronicle*.

126 *Reguła św. Ojca Benedykta, z dawna władzą Stolicy Apostolskiej potwierdzona, a teraz na polski język z konstytucjami abo ustawami tegoż błąg. patriarchy dla panien zakonnych kassynieńskiego zgromadzenia wiernie przetłumaczona* (*Rule of Saint Father Benedict, long confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic Capital, and now faithfully translated into the Polish language with the constitutions or decrees of that blessed*

and the one for Staniątki¹²⁷. What makes the Chełmno rule particularly different from them is the very detailed working out of the obligations of the cantors¹²⁸. Naturally, in many areas, the three editions of the rule are in agreement; for example as regards the use of polyphonic singing only for the more important feast days and services during the Paschal Triduum¹²⁹. Musicological literature is also familiar with the notes regarding music from *Kroniki benedyktynek chełmińskich* (Chronicles of the Chełmno Benedictine Sisters), which tell us that as early as a year after taking up the position, the abbess commissioned the building of an organ in the convent church of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist. Later on, twice during her life, she ordered the reconstruction and modernisation of the organ¹³⁰. Since there was an organ in the choir gallery¹³¹, then presumably the convent church employed an organist. Thanks to the research by Jerzy Domaśłowski we even know one of the first “organist(s)

patriarch for the monastic ladies of the Kassinenian congregation), Toruń 1626 (edition difficult to access, because the print was destroyed after the resolution of the conflict between Toruń and Chełmno in 1634). The Toruń rule differs from the other two with regard to matters relating to music in that the editor (probably Dulcka herself or someone acting on her instructions) emphasises the need for producing and printing books with liturgical chants: “So that they can be remembered better, books should be made in which all the singing for Lent and all that for the procession of the Novices and consecration and the sisters’ funeral and other chants like that should be included and should be given for printing”. (S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna w najstarszych redakcjach Reguły benedyktynek w języku polskim* (*The issue of music in the oldest editions of the Rule of Benedictine Sisters in the Polish language*), Barok 1997/II, p. 74).

127 *Reguła ojca Świętego Benedykta przodka i patriarchy pierwszego dla zakonników pod tąż regułą w klasztorzym zamknięciu żyjących ... płci białogłowskiej tejże reguły akomodowana* (*The rule of Saint Father Benedict ancestor and first patriarch for monks living in monastic enclosure under this rule ... the same rule adapted for female gender*) Kraków 1646.

128 S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna...*, pp. 72–73.

129 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70. All the Rules indicate plainchant as the basic and “natural” way of celebrating the liturgy; two rules, the ones from Toruń and Staniątki, prefer a rhythmically uniform performance of the chant, but the Chełmno one chooses a rhythmically differentiated one (“let words be well pronounced with prolongation” – *ibid.*, p. 70). Later notes in the chronicles, as well as the extant repertory, show clearly that, in time, the limitations on the use of polyphony came to be freely overstepped.

130 AD 1595: “The organ was remade and 6 bellows and 3 voices were added to it” (Kbch, p. 53). AD 1613: “In the same year all the organ and bellows were remade, where there are now 36 voices, and 6 new and large bellows” (Kbch, p. 145).

131 Or, rather, at the tiny “choirette”, where there was hardly room for two persons.

for the Ladies”, Michał, whose portrait is to be found on the door of the organ manual at the church of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist¹³². Today we can add new items to the source information already present in the literature regarding the musical practice of the Benedictine Sisters from Chełmno¹³³, found in *Kroniki benedyktynek toruńskich* (Chronicles of the Toruń Benedictine Sisters), and in a manuscript published by Karol Górski, containing instructions on the spiritual life imparted to the nuns by Magdalena Mortęska. The chronicler from Toruń, hostile to the abbess of Chełmno, describes a particular episode which testifies to Mortęska’s personal involvement in the issues of musical settings for the liturgy at Chełmno. Thus, initially she had agreed that the novices should decide for themselves whether after taking their vows they wanted to live in Toruń or in Chełmno. Afterwards, however, when many good singers chose Toruń, she tried to persuade them to change their decisions, using their confessor as an intermediary¹³⁴. On the other hand, singing “in the choir”, i.e., during the liturgy, was probably the object of envy by those sisters who, for various reasons, such as lack of ability or other duties, did not have such an opportunity. A paragraph of interest to us appears in *Nauki Panny Ksieni* (The Teachings of Mistress Abbess)¹³⁵ in the chapter on the necessity of reconciliation and forgiveness, with

132 J. Domasłowski, *Kościół i dawny klasztor cysterek w Chełmnie* (*The Church and the Old Convent of Cistercian Sisters in Chełmno*), Warszawa 1983, p. 50. The portrait comes from 1619 (the year the building of the imposing prospect was completed), and has the inscription “M ... W / organista/ aetatis sue 36, AD. 1619”. The dotted fragment contains a sign which is difficult to interpret and which Domasłowski reads as the letter A (p. 51), while Edward Hinz reads it as S (E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, p. 91).

133 Cf. E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, pp. 89–91.

134 The chronicler described these nuns as “(Those) without whom Mistress Abbess could not do for the singing” (“Kronika benedyktynek toruńskich”, ed. W. Szoldrski, *Miesięcznik Diecezji Chełmińskiej* (previously *Orędownik Kościelny* 1934, p.202); later quoted as Kbt).

135 The manuscript titled *Nauki duchowne służące do postępu duchownego od moi matki I dobrodziki wielki panny Ksyni, któremi dawała częścią w osobności, częścią w pospolitości z inszymi w kapitulach i w rozmowach duchownych* (*Spiritual teachings to make spiritual progress from my mother and benefactress Mistress Abbess, which she gave me partly in private and partly in common with others in chapters and spiritual conversations*), held at Biblioteka Ossolineum, manuscript section No.1384, was published by Karol Górski in his volume *Kierownictwo duchowe w klasztorach żeńskich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku* (*Spiritual Leadership in Female Convents in Poland during the 16th–18th Centuries*), Warszawa 1980. The manuscript is probably the work of four or five scribes and was written during the years 1616–1631. It does not give

stress more on asking for forgiveness than on forgiving (“although you have not given cause, go, confess yourself to that opinion, apologise”)¹³⁶:

The response to those who do not have the opportunity of singing in the choir or reading is that they would spend their time usefully by serving the order in other ways. The Abbess did not allow this freedom (i.e., the freedom to choose the functions one was to perform) and gave this answer to them as a wake-up call. King Solomon had at his court not only those who sang music, but those who bowed standing before him, that is, the others who were admiring his wisdom. Lord Jesus also needs such votaries who, for the sake of love and glory, would honestly admire in their souls' truth and simplicity¹³⁷.

The problem of jealousy over the opportunity to sing must have been serious at that time, since we find a trace of it in *Nauki Panny Ksieni*, given as an example of humble acceptance of the consequences of the vows of obedience. This appears in a manuscript devoted wholly to the matter of the spiritual life of the nuns, which very rarely touches on customs and practices of everyday convent life.

A reference to music also appears in *Nauki Panny Ksieni* at another point, where the subject is the grateful meditation on the goodness, beauty and usefulness of creation. Among expressions of delight in trees which give fruit, herbs, and animals which “feed, delight, cure and clothe”, we also read that the Creator: “has given grace to sound: various voices with their most graceful melody, so that this grace would encourage man to admiration and love, and with its greatness to fearfulness and honesty”¹³⁸. It is not quite clear whether the instructor had in mind simply all the sounds of nature, or also music, which she regarded as a phenomenon of a natural origin, but the second interpretation seems more probable in view of the presence of the word “melody” in the quotation.

In this context, it would be difficult not to ask about the cultural competence of our heroine in the area of music, and about the manner in which she might have acquired it. To what extent was her musical experience linked to her life “in the world”, and to what extent to the period after entering the convent? Magdalena Mortęska's mother, Elżbieta, came from the Kostka family, and many Kostkas left a permanent mark on the history of the Commonwealth¹³⁹.

the name of the Abbess of the title, the author of the teachings, or where they took place, but on the basis of analysis of content and the dating Karol Górski reached the conclusion that these are the teachings of Magdalena Mortęska.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

137 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

138 *Ibid.* p. 31.

139 For example, Saint. Stanisław Kostka, d. 1568 as a Jesuit novice, beatified in 1605 and canonized in 1721. The saint was a distant cousin of Mortęska, from the Mazovia

Particular prominence was achieved by that branch of the family which lived in Pomerania. The name of Kostka also appears in the history of music of the Polish Renaissance; among its patrons we have the crown treasurer Stanisław Kostka (1549–1602), at whose court Diomedes Cato was employed for eleven years, as well as a singer whose name was Ades¹⁴⁰. Testimony as to an interest in music by members of that family is also provided by *Pieśń nowo uczyniona na wesele wielmożnego Pana Jana Kostki ze Szymbarku* (Newly written song for the wedding of the illustrious Sir Jan Kostka from Szymbark) and three songs by Tomasz Bielawski *Procesja wielkanocna w niektórych śpiewaniu kościelnym tegoż święta przełożona* (Easter procession put into some church singing for that feast) dedicated to Elżbieta Kostka from Sztemberk (Szymbark), daughter of a castellan from Gdańsk¹⁴¹. In view of the by then numerous branches of the Kostka genealogical tree, one is struck by the fact that the three persons mentioned whose names history also links to music come from the same line as Elżbieta née Kostka Mortęska¹⁴², the mother of the woman who reformed the Benedictine nuns.

The bishop of Chełmno, Piotr Kostka, who supported Mortęska in her work to regenerate the convents in Chełmno and Toruń, was a cousin of her mother¹⁴³. While we have no information about the music at the court of bishop Kostka in Lubawa, it is highly likely that an ensemble did exist there¹⁴⁴. During the early years of the work of the regenerated convent at Chełmno the young abbess was helped in legal matters by her distant cousin Mikołaj Kostka, later abbot of the Cistercians in Pelplin.

branch of the family. Contrary to Karol Górski's supposition, the abbess of Chełmno must have heard about her relative being raised to the altar, since his portrait from 1619 is to be found in the church of the Benedictine Sisters in Chełmno (cf. J. Domasłowski, *Kościół...*, p. 51).

140 P. Podejko, *Dawna muzyka polska...*, p. 73.

141 J. Kostka, *Potomkowie Nawoja herbu Dąbrowa. Ród Kostków* (J. Kostka. *Descendants of Nawoj, coat of arms Dąbrowa. The Kostka family*), Koszalin 1995, pp. 14–16.

142 Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 14–16. Stanisław Kostka, crown treasurer, and Elżbieta née Kostka Żalińska were Magdalena Mortęska's cousins, while Jan was her uncle, her mother's brother.

143 Bishop Piotr Kostka (1532–1595) was a talented diplomat, highly regarded also by the Protestant patriciate of Royal Prussia for his efforts to maintain the legal separateness of that region. He was highly educated, knew five foreign languages and maintained contacts with men of letters.

144 Confirmation of the existence of a vocal-instrumental ensemble at the court in Lubawa comes only during the times of bishop Kuczborski, ie., the years 1614–1624 (cf. E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, p.130).

Mortęska was very pleased that her convent, and later the other convents of the Chełmno congregation, were subject to the bishop's obedience, and not only because of the person of Piotr Kostka and his reforming leanings. Usually, obedience to the bishop gave an abbess greater autonomy than subordination to Benedictine brothers, who would often interfere with convent governance¹⁴⁵. The abbess of Chełmno never contacted any Benedictine or Cistercian monasteries¹⁴⁶. From the very beginning of Mortęska's activities at Chełmno, the nuns' chaplains and confessors were Jesuits¹⁴⁷. This choice was not accidental, since it was the Jesuits who during the post-Tridentine period were the conveyors of the message of reform; they were "the voice of their century"¹⁴⁸. As we know, in spite of Ignatius Loyola's critical attitude towards the performance of music in Jesuit churches, in northern countries, where the Catholic Church had to compete with Protestant churches for the souls of the faithful, the Jesuits willingly made use of this art, and even nurtured it as a kind of "propaganda tool"¹⁴⁹. It was Mortęska and bishop Kostka who were instrumental in establishing the Jesuit *collegium* in Toruń in 1596¹⁵⁰. It may be that the Jesuits employed by the Benedictine nuns acted as intermediaries in obtaining musical repertory.

In the musical landscape of the city of Chełmno, where at the age of twenty-four Mortęska entered the path of her vocation, an important point was

145 M. Borkowska, *Potrydencka wersja reguły św. Benedykta (Post-Tridentine version of the Rule of Saint Benedict)*, in: *Zaprzewodem Ewangelii (Following the Gospel)*, Tyniec 1986, p. 252.

146 Particularly after a visit by the Cistercian abbot Edmund a Cruce in 1580, who attempted to impose on the Benedictine Sisters at Chełmno the rule and obedience of the Cistercians, claiming the authority of the medieval history of the convent (cf. M. Borkowska, *Potrydencka wersja reguły...*, pp. 249–262).

147 With one exception: during the years 1581–1587 the chaplain was a Bernardine, Father Marcin Biegunowski, who also served the Benedictine Sisters in Toruń.

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 252–253.

149 See T. Jeż, *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej (Musical culture of the Jesuits in Silesia and Kłodzko region)*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 97–112. Loyola and later leaders of the Society of Jesus were not so much hostile to music as holding the opinion that it might distract members of the Society from their proper tasks, i.e., pastoral duties and the education of youth.

150 Although a Jesuit musical residential school was active in Toruń from 1620, we know that even earlier they organised church ceremonies and processions with vocal-instrumental music. Cf. J. Kochanowicz, *Słownik geograficzny jezuickich burs muzycznych (Geographical Dictionary of Jesuit Music Residential Schools)*, Kraków 2002, p. 222.

undoubtedly the parish church, located two blocks away from the convent and the church of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist belonging to the Benedictine nuns. Records of a visit by the Dean of Chełmno, Jan Schmack, from 1650, quoted by Hinz¹⁵¹, reveal the presence of seventeen collections of polyphonic church compositions in the church library, encompassing from three to ten partbooks. Among the composers there are the names of Luca Marenzio, Lodovico da Viadana, Christoph Demantius, Francesco Milleville, Gregor Aichinger, Caspar Hassler and, naturally, Orlando di Lasso; we also find mentioned here “six libri introitum” by Marcin Leopolita.

In the close vicinity of the Benedictine convent in Chełmno the Conventual Franciscans had their church (of Saint James and Saint Nicholas) and monastery. It was to the Franciscans that, in 1613, Mortęska gave the elements of the old organ, built in 1580, when it was again being extended and modernised¹⁵². During the years 1614–1617 the guardian and curator of the Franciscan monastery in Chełmno was none other than Wojciech Dębołęcki. During that period, he composed and published in Toruń (1616) his composition for five parts *Benedictio mensae*. Employed by the abbess at the convent church, the secular organist certainly might have been an intermediary in obtaining repertory for his employers, both close to home and perhaps further afield.

2.2 Recruitment of musically talented candidates and musical education at the convent

The significant role of music in the life of the convent community meant that the novices had to spend a considerable amount of time learning and practising singing. In Toruń even the candidates began undergoing tuition “They would learn there to read and sing, preparing for their novitiate at the same time”¹⁵³, writes the chronicler about the young ladies entering the convent taken over by Mortęska in 1579.

Girls who could sing beautifully and had musical training were accepted even without dowry, since their musical talent represented great value to the community¹⁵⁴. Evidence that the whole congregation valued the musical skills of its members can be found in their obituaries. The Poznań schedule attached to the Benedictine chronicle and containing brief chronological notes about

151 E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, p. 53.

152 Ibid., p. 93; J. Domałowski, *Kościół...*, p. 48.

153 Kbch, p. 19.

154 Cf. M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 43.

deceased nuns, alongside important dates and functions fulfilled also mentions their beautiful voices, sometimes extraordinary ones, as in the case of Anna Michałowiczówna: “her voice was good, namely, bass in singing figurally, almost not like a woman’s”¹⁵⁵. In the notes, we also read about an enthusiastic cantress, Katarzyna Szadzionka, who died in 1625. She was “so full of love for those whom she taught to sing that she enticed them to it in various ways. Being ill with violent tuberculosis for a number of years, even ill on her bed she would teach the sisters to sing. When one came to visit her, she would often say: Little sister, I will tell you something about singing if there is a need”¹⁵⁶.

Among the girls accepted without the necessity of bringing a dowry we find both daughters of organists (referred to as “organiścianka” (daughter of organist), who presumably received musical education at the family home, and young women whose earlier musical training is unknown, and about whom the chronicles say that they were accepted “for the voice”. One of the first candidates of this kind was a daughter of a miller from Trzęsacz, Urszula Kowańska, who in 1600 was sent to the post of cantress at Żarnowiec, where she died in 1618¹⁵⁷. Sources from Chełmno, Toruń, Sandomierz, Radom and Słonim all record entries of musically educated or talented girls in the seventeenth century.

The first half of the seventeenth century is the best documented period in terms of sources, as well as one of intense development of Benedictine communities of the Chełmno congregation. At that stage, there are no signs of the professionalisation of nun-musicians within the community. That period was one of great religious ardour, which also manifested itself in strict adherence to the rule, and that did not make provision for special treatment of those nuns who were responsible for the musical setting of the liturgy. The bishops who were

155 *Kroniki Benedyktynek Poznańskich (Chronicles of the Poznań Benedictine Sisters)*, ed. M. Borkowska, W. Karkucińska, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2001, p. 238 (quoted afterwards as Kbp). Presumably transposed bass, but she must have had a voice that carried far and sounded good in low register. A comment on the subject of an unusual register of voice, so useful when performing polyphonic music, is also to be found in *Kronika benedyktynek staniąteckich* (Chronicle of Benedictine Sisters from Staniątka): Justyna Scholastyka Srebnicka, whose name figures in Saint F cantional, “sang a beautiful tenor” (S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, p. 96).

156 Kbp, p. 225.

157 She belonged to the first year’s intake at the reformed Chełmno convent, who did their novitiate in 1578. In the same year, she was briefly a cantress at Toruń, then subordinate to Chełmno, where she was known as Młynarzówna (Miller’s daughter). She was consecrated in 1579. She herself did not use a surname, signing herself “Urszula cantress”. Cf. M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 226.

the superiors of female convents, and their visitators, recommended that all the conventual “posts” should be subject to limited terms of office, with the exception of the post of abbess, who was elected for life. The remaining office holders would be appointed by the abbess for a period of a few to a dozen or more years, naturally taking into account the predispositions of specific individuals. Thus, sometimes after a period a cantoress would become the mistress of the novitiate, a teacher in the convent school for girls, the sacristan, and even the abbess, as did Anna Czarnkowska in Poznań. No information has survived about the performance of music in concerting style during that period. The absence of practice of this kind might have been caused by the girls’ musical skills being insufficient, but also by the fact that all three known Rules of the Benedictine nuns from the first half of the seventeenth century forbade nuns to play instruments other than the organ¹⁵⁸.

The fundamental musical practice for Benedictine communities was naturally that of choral chant, which was taught even during the trial period preceding the novitiate, and later during novitiate. Probably all the choir nuns, unless they were detailed to other duties, took part in choral chant during mass and liturgy of the hours. The teacher was the cantoress or presumably the mistress of the novitiate if she had suitable qualifications. The training included solmisation or reading notes with the voice and memorising the so-called tones, i.e. the most frequently performed chant melodies¹⁵⁹. The manuscript *Tony do nauki pannon*

158 S. Dąbek, “Problematyka muzyczna...”, pp. 62–74. Only what is known as the Wołłowicz declarations, i.e., the interpretation of certain points of the rules by the bishop Estachy Wołłowicz, appended to the Chełmno Rule, published in Vilnius in 1629, allow “the use of the organ, positive **or other instruments** serving to the Glory of God to help with choral singing”. At the same time punishment is threatened to nuns who would dare play instruments “for some amusement or frivolousness” (print A 21 Archive of the Vilnius Benedictines in Żarnowiec, p. 86, quoted after: M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 290). Małgorzata Borkowska mentions the fact that the abbess of Lvov, Dorota Daniłowicz, who held that post during the years 1640–1687, obtained permission from Rome for her subordinates to play various instruments, including guitars. She quotes in support an extant letter regarding this matter (K. Górski, M. Borkowska, *Historiografia zakonna a wzorce świętości w XVII wieku (Convent Historiography and Models of Sanctity in the Seventeenth Century)*, Warszawa 1984, p. 236). However, this author did not find such a document in the archive of the Lvov Benedictine in Krzeszów, and neither did Jolanta Gwioździk, who researches Lvov manuscripts.

159 Didactic materials from the seventeenth century have been preserved at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin. These are the first folios of the alto partbook from the convent of Benedictine nuns in Toruń (1633) and a manuscript from 1634 from the Benedictine

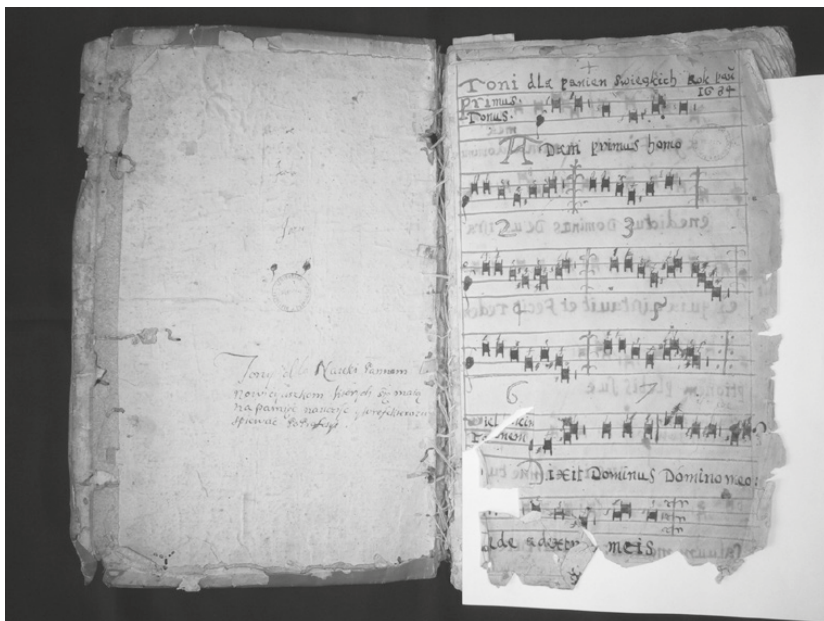


Fig. 5: *Tones for teaching novices*, manuscript without reference number at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, from the convent in Chełmno, f. 1

nowicjuszkom (Tones for the teaching of novices, see Fig. 5), held at the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin probably originated in Chełmno¹⁶⁰; it is one of two¹⁶¹ extant manuscripts originating from Chełmno, copied three years after the death of abbess Mortęska, in 1634. Evidence for its provenance is provided by the note

convent in Chełmno titled *Tony do nauki Pannom Nowicjuszkom których się mają nauczyć i śpiewać po Profesji* (Melodies for teaching Novices which they are to learn and sing after profession). Neither Pelplin manuscript has a reference number, and the first is also accessible as microfilm No. 18 066 at the National Library in Warsaw.

160 The orthography of the title is modernised, the original one is *Tony do Nauki Pannom nowicjuszkom których się mają na pamięć nauczyć i w refektarzu spiewać po profesyi* (Tones for the teaching of novices which they must learn by heart and sing in the refectory after profession).

161 The second is the antiphonary copied in 1617 by Dorota Wichorska in Chełmno for the Jarosław community, now held at the Archive of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, ref. no. 9.

on page 41: “Finis roku / 1634 / pannie annie / paprocki Na ten / czas mistrzini swiecz / kich panien” (Finished in 1635 for Mistress Anna Paprocka teacher of secular maidens at this time). Anna Paprocka, daughter of Jakub coat of arms Jelita, did her novitiate in Chełmno in 1616, and made her profession there in 1618. She probably became abbess in the year the *Tones* were written¹⁶².

The original purpose of the manuscript was probably different from that indicated by the quoted title (*Tones for the teaching of novices*), entered on the inside of the cover in handwriting which is different from the rest of the manuscript. On the first page of music notation, in the handwriting of the scribe, we find the title *Toni dla panien świeckich Rok pan(ski) 1634* (Tones for secular maidens Anno Dom 1634). The note on page 41 also indicates this purpose. Secular maidens were the pupils entered at the convent school, girls mostly aged 8–12 years. Only a small percentage of pupils would choose life in a convent, hence it is surprising to find the extent of the required liturgical competence supposed to be achieved after mastering the material in the tonary. It is probable that after a while the purpose of the manuscript was changed, and it was given to the mistress of the novitiate for teaching the novice nuns. Another puzzling piece of information appears in the title on the inner side of the cover: *Tony do Nauki Pannom nowicjuszkom których się maią na pamięć nauczyć i w refektarzu spiewać Po Profesji* (Tones for teaching Novices which they must learn by heart and sing in the refectory after profession). Why, having learned the chant repertory by heart, should they sing it after the profession in the refectory? After profession because it was only then that they could take an active part in the liturgy of the convent, but the question of the refectory still remains. Perhaps it was in the refectory that the cantoress held singing rehearsals, using this opportunity to test the young women who made profession.

A physical and palaeographic description of the manuscript, as well as of its contents, was given by Rev. Edward Hinz. The typescript, titled *Cechy paleograficzne i zawartość rękopiśmiennego kancjonału chorałowego dla nowicjuszek zakonnych z 1634 roku*, (Palaeographic features and contents of manuscript chant cantional for convent novices from 1634) is held at the Diocesan Archive in Pelplin. Since this text has not been published, we will quote the information it provides. The manuscript was in upright format 31 x 19 cm, bound in soft leather covers of brown colour, filled with the written-on parchment. The

162 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 243. Borkowska says that Paprocka became abbess in 1633 or 1634; the note in this manuscript, indicating that she was still mistress of secular girls in 1634, points to the second date of election.

paper folios do not have original foliation, the later foliation in pencil includes folios 1–50¹⁶³. The text of the chants is written in Latin minuscule, while music notation is *nota quadrata* with Romanesque features. Black and red ink was used in writing the manuscript (four-line staves, majuscules of the incipits, markings of some feast days, and signs separating individual chants are in red)¹⁶⁴.

The contents of the tonary¹⁶⁵ discussed by Hinz are as follows: folios 1–6v contain examples of eight psalm tones and melodies of the *Magnificat*, along with mnemonic examples for learning the tones¹⁶⁶. Two versions are given in each tone: the one beginning with the *initium* (grand tone) and with the tenor (“small tone”)¹⁶⁷. Folios 6v and 7 contain the hexachords *durus* and *mollis* together with the text written under the music: “W tych tu sesci notach / wsitka iest nauka / Kto chce skale poznać / po be(mo)le poznay / Druga po bedurze / obie są potrzebne” (In these here six notes / all the teaching is given / who wants to know the scale / will know it by B molle / the second by B durum / both are needed” (see Fig. 6).

Hexachordum naturale on C was not taken into account here, but only hexachords on G and F. Names of notes are also given in the appropriate location on the four lines: C sol ut, D la re, E mi, F fa ut etc. Such “combined” names of notes, which functioned until the seventeenth century, related to the solmisation system in which the same note belonged to different hexachords.

The second part of the manuscript (ff. 7r–29r) contains breviary hymns with detailed descriptions of being intended for a particular day and place in the liturgy. The third part (29v–47r) includes *brevis* responsories and antiphons for compline, prime, terce, sext and none, intended for different feast days and liturgical periods¹⁶⁸. The fourth part (ff. 47v–49r) notates various melodies of the chant *Benedicamus Domino – Deo gratias*.

163 E. Hinz, *Cechy paleograficzne i zawartość rękopiśmiennego kancjonału chorałowego dla nowicjuszek zakonnych z 1634 roku (Palaeographic features and contents of manuscript chant cantional for convent novices from 1634)* manuscript at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, p. 1.

164 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

165 E. Hinz incorrectly describes this manuscript as a cantional, since in musicological literature this term refers to collections of hymns.

166 “Adam primus homo”, “Quatuor evangeliste”, “Quinque libri moysi”, “Sex sunt hidrie apposite”, “Septem schole artes”, “Sed octo sunt partes” – the remaining ones are not visible because parts of the paper are missing.

167 E. Hinz, *Cechy paleograficzne...*, p. 2.

168 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

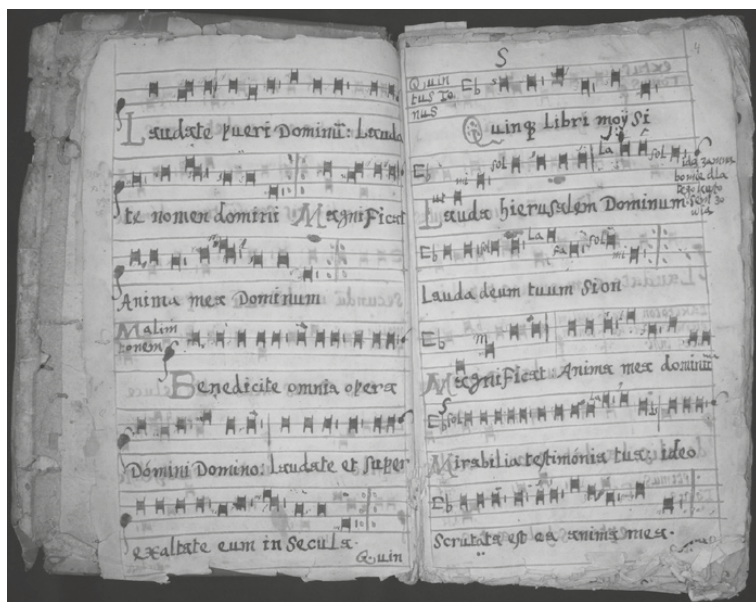


Fig. 6: Tones for the teaching of novices, manuscript without reference number from the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Chełmno, ff. 3v and 4r

On the final pages (49v-50) we find the notation of the antiphon *Salve regina* and an outline for the antiphon for the magnificat *Pater manifestavi*¹⁶⁹. As we can see here, during the year's novitiate, the novices¹⁷⁰ had to memorise a sizeable chant repertory. Presumably not all of them coped equally well with this task, which meant that those who possessed special musical talents could be identified.

In the legacy of the convent in Toruń we also find source confirmation of the teaching of solmisation, a necessary foundation for acquiring the skill of singing from music notation. In manuscript TorB from 1633, in the alto partbook, on the first page we find a table titled *Tablica iako inceptę podawać* (Table to be given incepta)¹⁷¹. This reflects the schema of the note system presented approximately

169 Ibid., p. 9

170 In the manuscript, the part originally intended for the pupils at the convent school ends on page 41, the rest does not differ from the preceding pages and is the work of the same copyist.

171 Incepta, i.e., the first notes of each part.

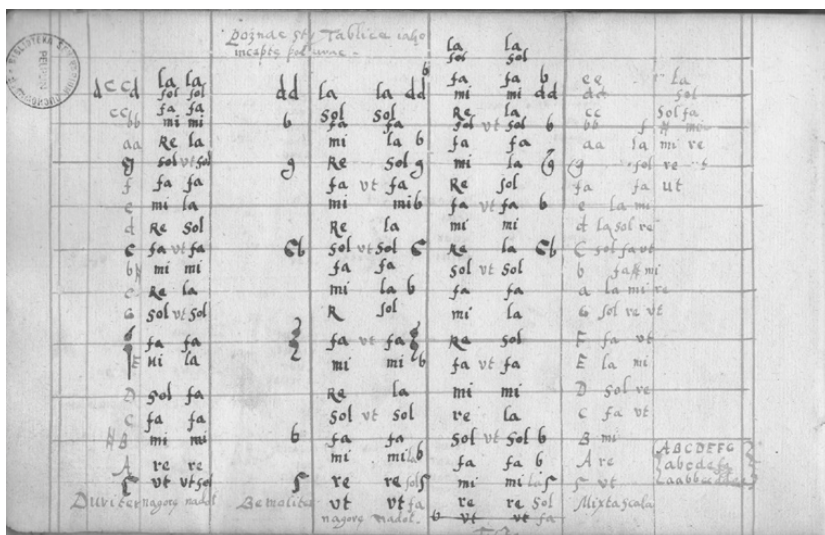


Fig. 7: “Tablica iako inceptę podawać.” Solmisation names of notes. *Notarum Anno Domini 1633*, [TorB], ms. With no reference, Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Alto partbook, f. 2v

as in the treatise by Tinctoris, where the letter names of notes from G to e2 corresponded to solmisation names of the consecutive hexachords *molle*, *durum* and *naturale* (see Figs. 7 and 8).

Everything points to the conclusion that polyphonic compositions were performed by persons selected by the cantores. Partbooks from Toruń from the 1630s include names of performers, added in a later handwriting next to a number of compositions. Undoubtedly not every nun would have been capable of performing Palestrina’s six-voice motets. The foundations of polyphonic practice at the convents in Chełmno and Toruń were probably created with a significant contribution by the Jesuits, who collaborated with Mortęska, and who may have acted as intermediaries in obtaining the repertory. In 1589, Jesuit musician and composer Jan Brant¹⁷² was sent from Poznań to Toruń and Chełmno for one

¹⁷² Jan Brant was also a doctor of theology, a professor at Jesuit schools and a polemicist. See L. Grzebień, J. Kochanowicz, *Słownik jezuitów muzyków i prefektów burs muzycznych* (Dictionary of Jesuit Musicians and Prefects of Music Boarding Schools), Kraków 2002, pp. 26–28.

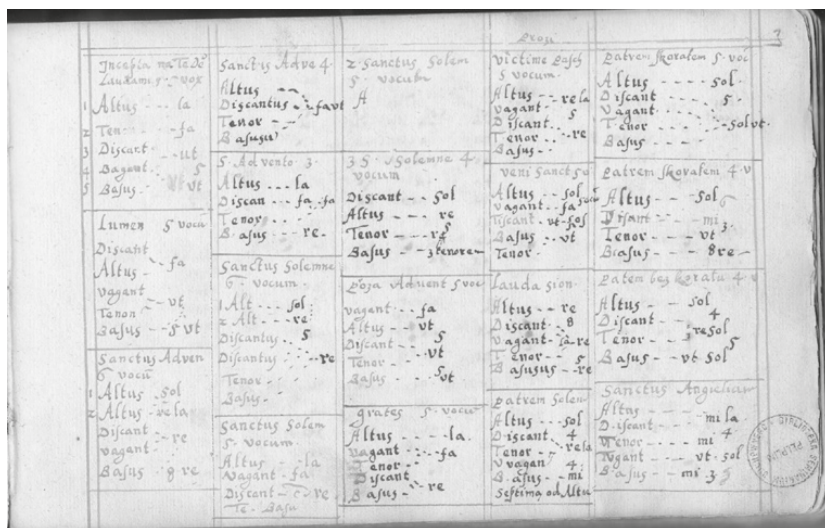


Fig. 8: The first notes of individual parts from some of the compositions notated in TorB, to be given before beginning the chant. *Notarum Anno Domini 1633*, [TorB], ms. With no reference, Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Alto book, f. 3r

month in order to teach the nuns to sing¹⁷³. We do not know whether any other musician was engaged as a teacher¹⁷⁴ and, in any case, we learn about the Jesuit visit not from the Benedictine chronicles but from Jesuit sources.

Music education at the convent also included writing music notation and learning to copy books. During the first period of increased foundation activities, Benedictine nuns needed many liturgical books necessary to introduce the “glory of God” in each new house. These books were part of the set with which the nuns departed for a new foundation, as the chronicles record. The nuns from Chełmno, travelling to Jarosław in 1611 and to Sandomierz in 1615, even took

173 Information contained in *Acta et historia Collegii Posnaniensis SJ* (1574–1606), Archiwum Metropolitalne Warszawskie, ms. 440, f. 175v., quoted after: J. Kochanowicz, *Słownik geograficzny...*, p.187. Both abroad and in Poland during the later years we find confirmed cases of nuns being taught music by the convent organist. The chronicles of Chełmno and Toruń do not mention this, nor do they record the month-long visit by Brant.

174 Confirmation of this kind of practice in a number of centres is not available until the eighteenth century, cf. pp. 156 and 160 in this book.

with them “partbooks for fractus singing”, i.e., manuscripts with polyphonic repertory. Everything points to the conclusion that these were music manuscripts produced mainly in-house; thus, there must have been scribes in Chełmno and Toruń, working to satisfy the needs of the new foundations. Unfortunately, we know the names of only two nuns who lived in the seventeenth century and who were the scribes of “notated” books (as they were called then). Dorota Wichorska signed her name on a plainchant manuscript from 1617 written in Chełmno for the convent in Jarosław¹⁷⁵, while the scribe of the antiphonary preserved in Żarnowiec was Dorota Łążeńska, a Benedictine nun from Toruń. The Archives of Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec and in Przemyśl also hold other liturgical manuscripts, mainly seventeenth-century antiphonaries, with which we will not be concerned here since they belong to non-professional musical practice. Moreover, they are of no particular interest from the point of view of hymnology either, since they do not contain the repertory specific to this branch of the order. Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno reform, in contrast to those in Staniątka, who retained the monastic breviary, adopted the Roman breviary from the beginning. Among the extant books of liturgy, four are exceptional, but not because of the repertory they contain.

Four large choir books, two antiphonaries and two graduals produced at the scriptorium in Toruń now belong to three different collections. Two of them are at the archive of Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec¹⁷⁶, the third at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin¹⁷⁷, and the fourth at the Library of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań¹⁷⁸.

175 The manuscript contains hymns and responsories for the whole year, has 75 folios, and is held at the Library of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl. Cf. T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 101.

176 *Antiphonarium Nativitatem S. Joannis... in quo continetur antiphonae... a festo Exaltationis sanctae crucis usque ad in Conventu Torunensi Anno Domini Millesimo sexcetesimovige simo secundo ora: from Antiphonarium ... anativitates. Joannis Baptistae ad festorum Exaltationis sanctae crucis ... in Conventu Torunensi Anno Domini Millesimo sexcetesimo vigesimo secu{n}do*, Archive of Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec, (no reference number). The two antiphonaries are complementary to each other, one contains the winter feast days, the other the summer ones.

177 *Graduales Missarum pro dominicis ... et graduale omnium sanctorum ... ordinis antique sancti Benedicti in Conventu Torunensi ... J Anno D 1637*, Biblioteka Diecezjalna w Pelplinie noreference number.

178 *Graduale missarum pro Dominicis per annum et festis solennibus salvatoris nostri ... in Conventu Torunensi ... Anno Domini millesimo sexcetesimo decimo septimo*, ms. 7021 BUAM. The chant books now held at Żarnowiec and Pelplin presumably travelled the

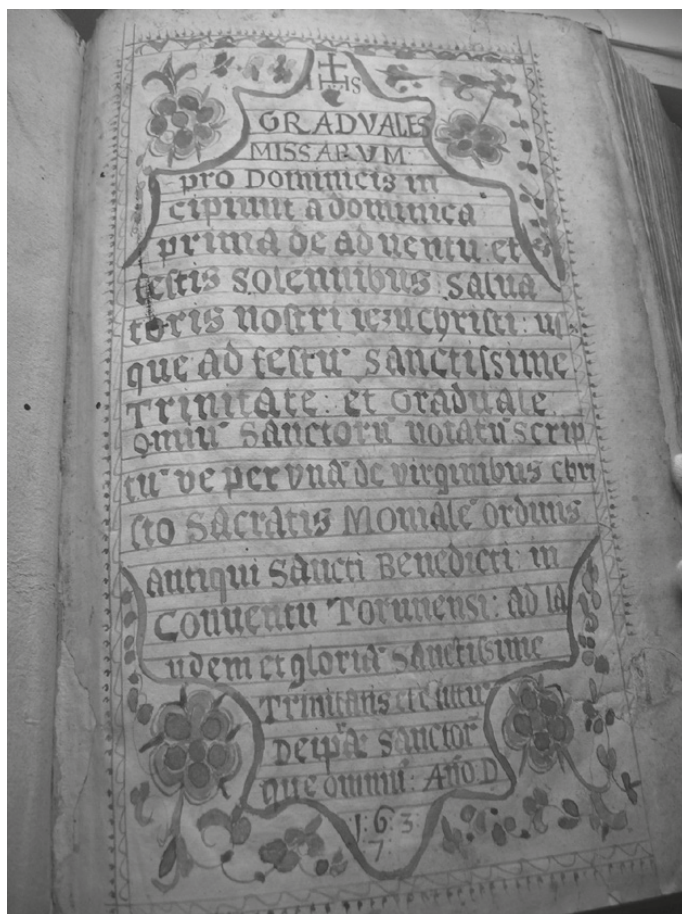


Fig. 9: Gradual from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Toruń (1637), ms. Without reference number, Diocesan Library in Pelplin [f. unnumbered]

same route as the partbooks from Toruń, which will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it is not known how and from where the antiphony from Toruń found its way to the University Library in Poznań. We do know that it arrived from an unknown location shortly after the end of the Second World War, together with other books: the accession records that it came from a “secured collection”. Andrzej Jazdon from the Special Collections Section told me the following story, heard from the late Dr Kornel Michałowski, musicologist, bibliographer and for a long time employee of the University Library in Poznań: the people who were organising the transport of a



Fig. 10: Gradual from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Toruń (1617), ms. 7021 Adam Mickiewicz University Library [f. unnumbered]

Their distinguishing graphic feature is the unusual kind of decorations: illuminations and ornamentations (see Figs. 9 and 10). The fact that they resemble patterns of Kashubian folk embroidery is not accidental¹⁷⁹. According to the author of *Sztuka ludowa na Kaszubach* (Folk art in Kashubia), who also quotes opinions of other researchers into folklore, the typical ornamentation encountered in Kashubian embroidery – stylised pomegranate fruit and tulips – originates from conventual embroidery, cultivated by the Norbertine Sisters

large number of books to Poznań were about to place a large hard object under the wheels of a car which got stuck in the mud and could not move, but fortunately Dr Kornel Michałowski stopped them, as the object was that very gradual.

¹⁷⁹ See more on this subject in this author's article *Four "Kaschubian" Plainsong Books and the Environment of their Creation*, *Musica Baltica. Music making in Baltic Cities*, ed. D. Popinigis, D. Szlagowska, J. Woźniak, Gdańsk 2014, pp. 323–334.

at Żuków and Benedictines at Żarnowiec¹⁸⁰. The nuns in Toruń presumably embroidered in a similar style, and the ornaments taken from the embroidery were also used to decorate the liturgical books being copied, preserving the typical flower motifs and colours: blue, red and gold. However, their painting skills did not match their skill in embroidery; some lack of precision in the execution of the coloured illuminations of the plainsong books is apparent. The nuns mainly embroidered paraments, but they also taught embroidery to the pupils of the convent schools, daughters of the gentry and burghers. The gentry living in the vicinity of Żarnowiec were very poor, and their lifestyle did not differ a great deal from that of the peasantry¹⁸¹; and it was probably from there, by cultural diffusion, that the baroque patterns of church embroidery found their way into the cottages of Kashubia¹⁸².

2.3 Polyphony, *alternatim* practice and vocal-instrumental music in the convents in Chełmno, Toruń, Poznań and Radom in light of chronicle records

Although the three Polish editions of Benedictine Rule from the post-Tridentine period which survive today have a very cautious attitude to polyphonic music, not assigning much space to it in the order of the liturgical year, the actual practice must have been a great deal richer, which is confirmed both by the relevant chronicles, and by the extant musical sources.

Reading the chronicles of the Benedictine congregation in Chełmno, we find much information concerning the musical practice related to liturgy¹⁸³. Alongside remarks about “singing” without any additional descriptions relating to cultivating plainsong, we also find comments about singing using the words “figura” or “figural singing” and singing described using the word “frakt” (“fractus”). Probably both terms, ‘figura’ and ‘fractus,’ in seventeenth century narrative sources referred to vocal polyphony. It is not until the eighteenth-century chronicles and directoria that we see the distinction between ‘figura’ – vocal polyphony, and ‘frakt’ (‘fractus’) – vocal instrumental music. The terms

180 B. Stelmachowska, *Sztuka ludowa na Kaszubach (Folk art in Kashubia)*, Poznań 1937, p. 55.

181 Cf. M. Borkowska, *Legenda zarnowiecka (The Legend of Żarnowiec)*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 112–113.

182 The same pattern also appears in Kashubian glass painting, on furniture and ceramics (cf. B. Stelmachowska, *Sztuka ludowa...*, p. 60).

183 See Appendix I

‘figura’ and ‘frakt’ come from Latin terms *cantus figuratus* and *musica figuralis* and *cantus fractus*¹⁸⁴.

Cantus figuratus referred to monophony which, in contrast to *cantus planus*, or plain song, made use of differentiated rhythmic values. Soon after, the term *musica figuralis* came to be used to describe polyphony, which also made use of specific rhythmic values. The second term, *cantus fractus*, appears in Latin theoretical writing from the late Middle Ages and refers to the “breaking” of rhythmic values, in other words, to ornamenting the melody by diminution, also described as *flores*. The Polish version of the term, ‘frakt,’ must have been generally familiar in the seventeenth century, since commentaries on the subject of this kind of liturgical-musical practice, mainly mocking and critical under the influence of dissidents, are found in ribald comedies. Thus, the cantor in the comedy *Szkolna mizeryja* (School misery; 1633) “can sing both plainsong well and fractus not too bad”, while the cleric Blasius from *Synod klechów podgórskich* (Synod of Highland clergy) criticises deviation from simple plainsong performances, complaining that “wola drugdzie, choćże drwią, gdy się wždy fraktuje, błazen to, co z chorałem teraz odprawuje”. They would rather go elsewhere, where they have fractus, even though they mock. Those who celebrate (only) by chanting are regarded as buffoons¹⁸⁵. In any case, these terms referred to musical practice different from plainsong, one which used mensural music notation, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it came to be attached to polyphony.

As well as performing vocal polyphony, an important element of the musical practice of the Benedictine nuns were performances involving alternation, in which the religious message took the form similar to a dialogue¹⁸⁶. In *alternatim*

184 Latin *fractus* means broken. Alongside *cantus fractus* we also find this word in combination with counterpoint: *contrapunctus fractus*, in the writings of Dressler, Burmeister and Nucius referring to counterpoint provided for *cantus firmus*. This type of counterpoint with long-note c.f. was popular in the works of German composers of both confessions during the second half of the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth centuries. Cf. T. Jasiński, *Contrapunktus fractus w wokalnejszej twórczości niemieckich kompozytorów pierwszej połowy XVII wieku (Contrapunctus fractus in vocal works of German composers in the first half of the seventeenth century)*, *Muzyka* 1988/4, pp. 49–66; and R.J. Wieczorek, *Musica figurata w Saksonii i na Śląsku u schyłku XV wieku (MusicaFigurata in Saxony and Silesia towards the End of the Fifteenth Century)*, Poznań 2002, p. 105.

185 J. Bobrowska, *Kultura muzyczna w świetle literatury staropolskiej (Musical culture in light of Old Polish literature)*, *Muzyka* 1977/2, pp. 42–43.

186 The *alternatim* practice related to performing religious repertory and was primarily cultivated in conventual centres. It had its roots in early Christian liturgy, in which

practice¹⁸⁷, taking turns with plainsong, polyphony appeared as an extension, a development, an ornament or organ music which “spoke” the inaudible words already linked in the memories of the performers and the listeners with the melody of *cantus firmus*. This practice might appear in such forms as: plain-song – polyphony; plainsong – organ; also, vocal polyphony – organ; and plain-song – vocal-instrumental ensemble. During the seventeenth century, the most frequent were probably the first three variants, since Polish Benedictine Sisters, with the exception of the centre in Vilnius, were not allowed to play instruments other than the organ¹⁸⁸. In the seventeenth century, they did not employ their own ensembles but only organists; during more important celebrations, ensembles “borrowed” from nearby Jesuits, the city or the bishop would sometimes appear. *Kroniki benedyktynek poznańskich* (Chronicles of the Poznań Benedictine Sisters) even mention “singing for three choirs ... one verse the priests, the second the sisters, and the third musicians and singers”¹⁸⁹, although unfortunately we do

such elements as psalms, responsories and alleluia were divided and performed alternately by two choirs or by a cantor-soloist and a choir. With the arrival of Notre Dame organum, polyphony enters the *alternatim* practice. The foundations of the later vigorous development of *alternatim* practice are apparent in the fifteenth century, when not only responsorial texts but canticles, hymns, sequences and parts of *ordinarium missae* came to be set in the same manner. Moreover, alongside the inclusion of fauxbourdon sections in the course of the plainsong, in the fifteenth century this practice also included the organ. It seems that the alternation plainchant-polyphony was the most popular form of this practice in the fifteenth century, while the largest number of sources documenting the participation of the organ in the *alternatim* practice comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (E. Higginbottom, *Alternatim*, in: NG, ed. S. Sadie, London 2002, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00683?q=Alternatim&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsth (accessed: 14.05.2014).

187 The term “alternate” must have also been in use, since this is the word used by Jakub Sobieski in his *Peregrynacje po Europie (1607–1613) (Peregrinations through Europe (1607–1613))*, p. 174, describing the performance of the *Magnificat* in the church of the Augustine Sisters in Milan.

188 Cf. footnote 47.

189 Kbp, 41. This description appears next to the date 1610 and probably relates to performing vespers in double rite. As is recorded by the chronicler, this practice lasted for only the first few years of the functioning of the convent in Poznań, then “following the opinion of some clergy this was done away with and only the priests with the sisters would sing, as they do until today” (e.g., until 1649 – the date the chronicle was written). Cf. M. Walter-Mazur, *z śpiewania waszego poznana będzie wasza gorącość, abo oziębłość ducha*. *Muzyka w klasztorze benedyktynek przyul. Wodnej* (“By your

not know whether the sisters and priests sang plainsong or one of these “choirs” sang polyphony. Had the sisters or the priests sang polyphony, it seems unlikely that the chronicler would not record this. On the other hand, neither Joanna Jaskólska nor her successor in the work of producing the chronicle mention anywhere the fact that the sisters sang “figurally”, i.e., polyphony; although contemporary Polish chroniclers of other Benedictine Sisters convents mention this quite frequently. We only learn from the register of deceased nuns at the Poznań convent that while Katarzyna Szadzionka was cantress, “the sisters would very often sing the litany figurally during Advent”, with this custom lasting until the year 1639¹⁹⁰.

Polyphony must have been quite widespread and valued as an ornament to liturgy, which is why the sisters travelling to the new foundations in Jarosław (1611) and Sandomierz (1615) took with them, as well as the plainsong books of liturgy, also “partbooks for singing cantus fractus”¹⁹¹. Records relating to music in *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich* (Chronicle of the Chełmno Benedictine Sisters) are also known in musical literature. They tell us that as early as a year after taking up her post, the abbess commissioned the building of an organ at the convent church of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist, and then twice during her life she commissioned the organ’s reconstruction and modernisation. She also commissioned the building of a positive to stand in the convent choir¹⁹². Moreover, as early as 1579, the Benedictine Sisters, alongside everyday liturgical practice with plainsong, would sing Passion motets and psalms at the Lord’s Tomb “figurally”, i.e., polyphonically, during the Paschal Triduum, and from 1589 on particularly holy feast days they would also sing the mass “in figure”¹⁹³. The chronicler from Toruń unfortunately does not record information on the subject of the nuns’ music-making, perhaps regarding it as ordinary convent practice. She regarded it as more important to record the conflict with the abbess from Chełmno, information about the visitations by consecutive guests at the convent, or “town gossip”, such as “Piotrek Krzesichleb, Toruń

singing will be known the ardour or the coldness of your spirit”. Music in the Benedictine convent at Wodna Street), Kronika Miasta Poznania 2010/2, p.48.

190 Kbp, p. 225.

191 Kbch, pp. 146 and 163.

192 The organ was located in the small choir gallery, which was outside the enclosure (cf. E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, Pelplin 1994, p. 89–90). This little choir exists in the church of the two Saint Johns to this day, as does the beautiful organ prospect. The instrument does not work, since it does not have the organ playing table.

193 Kbch, p. 11; E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, pp. 88–89.

minister, dropped dead suddenly when leaving home to give a sermon ... and so God punished him”¹⁹⁴. Only on one occasion does she note that the nuns sang *Te Deum Laudamus* in fractus, at the request of queen Constance Habsburg¹⁹⁵, who visited Toruń in 1623, and “whom the abbess ... took around the convent and to the choir, where she looked at the books for singing”¹⁹⁶. The queen may have examined the plainsong books illuminated with red, blue and gold, like those preserved at Żarnowiec, Poznań and Pelplin¹⁹⁷, and probably yet others of which we know nothing today. The partbooks with polyphonic repertory now held in Pelplin and Gdańsk are purely practical manuscripts, and their decoration is limited to minor ornamentations. In any case, the queen’s visit to the choir and the examination of books, the preserved manuscripts and the necessity of equipping the new foundations constitute strong arguments in favour of the hypothesis of the existence of a music scriptorium in Toruń.

We may be certain that the practice of singing polyphony in the Benedictine Sisters convent in Toruń was well developed because of the existence of the extant partbooks, which we discuss in a later chapter. We know that the Jesuit musician and composer Jan Brant, who was to teach the nuns to sing, stayed in Toruń in 1589. In the same year, the chronicle records that “the first mass sung with music from the city”¹⁹⁸. Unfortunately, this generalised phrase does not explain whether the mass was sung and played only by the city ensemble, in any case probably mainly Protestants, or whether the musical setting was the

194 Kbt, p. 281

195 Second wife of Sigmund III Vasa. She was probably interested in music. B. Przybyszewska-Jarnińska hypothesises that she was the one who sponsored the first staging of an opera at the Polish court in 1627, organised by Ladislaus IV to celebrate the king’s birthday (Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarnińska, *Barok. Część pierwsza 1595–1696 (Baroque. Part One 1595–1696)*, Warszawa 2006, p. 394). G.F. Anerio dedicated to her a mass for three choirs (*Missa Constantia*) (*ibid.*, p. 200).

196 Kbt, p. 325.

197 The Pelplin copy is poorer than the other ones in respect of the form and care of execution of the illuminations.

198 Kbt, p. 221. Participation of the city ensemble in a convent mass is quite surprising, since during the first fifty years of the existence of Benedictine Sisters’ convent in Toruń there was a vigorous conflict relating to the nuns’ income, appropriated by the Protestant City Council when the convent fell. In 1589, as a result of the efforts of Mortęska, and above all the intervention of the father of the Toruń abbess, a Protestant active at the royal court, Jan Dulski, a part of the rents due was returned. Perhaps the ensemble was sent by the Council to demonstrate the “thaw” in the relationship.

alternatim practice, or whether some parts were sung by the sisters, and others by the ensemble.

Even prior to 1600, the Benedictine nuns in Toruń employed an organist Piotr, who suddenly died in that very year. In 1611, a new organ was built in the church and Anna Fijałówna (Tyjałówna), an organist, made her profession in that year. As for the other nuns in Toruń who might have been active in the field of music, we encounter the problem of lack of care in keeping the registers at that convent¹⁹⁹. A few names and initials of nuns, of which we are able to identify only four²⁰⁰, appear in the manuscript partbooks from Toruń. In convent churches, both in Chełmno and in Toruń, vocal-instrumental music could also be heard on many occasions. We know that the bishop of Chełmno, Jan Kucborski, visited the Toruń convent of Benedictine nuns as a guest on a number of occasions, naturally not alone but with his servants and even with “music” i.e., his ensemble²⁰¹. At such times at the convent church there were “masses sung with the bishop’s music”²⁰². In the context of the conflict between the Benedictines and the Protestant City Council of Toruń²⁰³, what is amazing is the fact recorded again by the chronicler in 1599, that Father Stanisław Dziegielewski, who came to the convent for a service “held a mass sung with the city music”²⁰⁴.

199 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnicy* ..., vol. 1, p. 286.

200 Cf. chapter 3, pp. 95, 100.

201 In 1619, the bishop spent nearly a month as a guest at the convent “for the repair of his health”, and was fed at the convent, which the chronicler duly recorded. “And his music played mass on holy days, of which a few (i.e., musicians) were given a meal from the convent” (Kbt, p. 309).

202 Kbt, p. 313

203 The property and archives (documents, privileges, bestowments) which previously belonged to the Toruń convent came to be held by the Protestant councillors. This happened because even before the Reformation, the nuns dealing with spiritual matters, writing books and products of their craftsmanship, entrusted the administration of their estate to the “Toruń men” with whom they had an excellent relationship. When, during the Reformation, the convent became almost empty, the councillors, by then Lutherans, hoping it would soon become “extinct”, housed in some of the buildings a hospital for the poor and saw no reason not to take over the land belonging to the collapsing congregation. The end of the sixteenth and half of the seventeenth centuries were thus spent by abbess Mortęska and the Toruń abbess Zofia Dulcka in pursuit of court cases and efforts to have the convent property restored to it (see J. Fankidejski, *Klasztory żeńskie diecezji chełmińskiej (Female Convents in the Diocese of Chełmno)*, Pelplin 1883, pp. 132–134).

204 Kbt, p. 220.

The first mass at the building at Wodna Street in Poznań, at the new Benedictine foundation, took place on All Saints Day in 1607, in a chapel that was temporarily set up. The congregation included “many worthy people: clerical and secular persons”²⁰⁵, as well as five Benedictine nuns who arrived from Chełmno. Prior to the arrival of the next group of nuns, these five oversaw the renovation and adaptation of the buildings, and the administration of the funds of the new foundation. The mass was celebrated by Father Krajewski, one of the main collaborators of abbess Mortęska, sent by her to Poznań for a period of time. This was a mass “with music”, as the chronicler tells us with pride, which means that the musical setting was probably provided by a hired vocal-instrumental ensemble. It is most likely to have been a Jesuit ensemble, active in Poznań from the end of the sixteenth century; less probable, but also possible, is that it might have been an ensemble hired by the city council²⁰⁶. The *Chronicle of the Poznań Benedictine Sisters* mentions the presence of “music” in services held in their church seven times in total, but there can be no doubt that the Benedictine Sisters did not have their own ensemble. Twice there is a direct reference to the “music of His Excellence the Bishop”²⁰⁷. On one occasion the chronicle mentions “Jesuit music”, in 1719, during a funeral held at the convent church²⁰⁸. When in

205 Among these worthy people one should undoubtedly mention Anna Patruusówna, who initiated the establishment of a Benedictine convent in Poznań and was its co-founder. She was a daughter of a Poznań bookseller and publisher Jan Patruus, with family links to the most illustrious burghers in Poznań, a person devoted to the Catholic church, influential and possessed of a large fortune.

206 A permanent city ensemble in Poznań does not appear until 1774. This was an ensemble associated with the collegiate church of Saint Mary Magdalene, no longer in existence, referred to in the literature as the parish-city ensemble. However, we know that the city would also pay for musicians to add splendour to various ceremonies on earlier occasions (cf. Z. Chodyła, *Źródła do dziejówkapelifarnej-miejskiej II połowyXVIII wieku (Sources for the history of the parish-city ensemble from the second half of the eighteenth century)*, *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 2003/3, pp. 160, 161). The latest findings relating to the history and activities of the parish ensemble and then the parish-city one are to be found in an article by Alina Mądry (*Muzykafarska w XVIII-wiecznym Poznaniu (“Parish music” in eighteenth-century Poznań)*, *W służbie sacrum. Z kultury muzycznej Jasnej Góry i Poznania w XVIII wieku*, ed. P. Frankowski, A. Mądry, Poznań 2012).

207 Kbp, p. 91, 104. During the visitation by bishop Szołdrski. He was probably the person who reinstated the cathedral ensemble ca. 1650, after a gap in its activities following a fire in the cathedral in 1622 (cf. Z. Chodyła, *Źródła do dziejów...*, p. 161).

208 The chronicler did not record whose funeral it was, but in any case “there were enough relatives and priests” (Kbp, p. 274). “There was Jesuit music, prayers for the dead

1659 Jesuit priests conducted their first masses²⁰⁹, it is most likely that they were accompanied by their ensemble.

The consecration of the Benedictine nuns' church in 1610, conducted by bishop Andrzej Opaliński, was also carried out "with great ceremony". Prior to that, another eight nuns arrived from Chełmno, bringing with them everything that the mother house would usually provide for a new foundation; books of liturgy and pious books for reading, clothing and church equipment. All these items are listed, including their number, in *Kronika chełmińska*; it also tells us that Poznań received *Graduał notowany* (Notated gradual) and *Antyfonarz notowany* (Notated antiphony), i.e., books for conducting the mass and liturgy of the hours with plainsong notation. From that moment, the new community could begin to celebrate plainsong liturgy with singing. Because of this, abbess Mortęska also had to fill the post of cantress alongside other convent "posts". According to the *Chełmno chronicle*, the first cantress in Poznań was Katarzyna Strykowska, according to the chronicle from Poznań it was Barbara Orzelska. The first is more trustworthy, since it was being written contemporaneously, while the Poznań one *ex post*, from 1649. The chronicler, Joanna Jaskólska, learned the earlier history from documents and the recollections of the older sisters.

That temporal distance, the then general belief in the existence of ghosts, and the animosities between the Lutheran and Catholic communities, also involving the purpose of the building at Wodna Street, previously owned by Andrzej Górka, meant that the beginnings of the Poznań foundation acquired a legend of their own, recorded quite seriously by Sister Jaskólska²¹⁰. Thus, a Poznań burgher Krzysztof Riedt, a merchant of the Lutheran confession, whose house adjoined the so-called Palace of the Górka family, was supposed to have said "may I drop dead first before I hear these she-wolves howling", with the nuns' chanting in mind. In fact, soon afterwards, he died on his way from Toruń and a year later he was seen by his serfs in the form of a wolf, which confessed in a human voice that God punished him for insulting the nuns²¹¹. The Benedictine chronicler also

were sung by the convent" – this is the final sentence from the "younger" *Chronicle of Poznań Benedictine Sisters*.

209 The church of the Benedictine Sisters was one of the few in Poznań to survive the Swedish invasion.

210 Kbp, p. 39.

211 Krzysztof Riedt, one of the leaders of the Lutheran parish, did in fact die in 1607. Prior to that, he attempted to buy the Palace of the Górka family for his congregation (cf. *Kronikabenedyktynepoznańskich*, p. 280, footnote52).

noted that the son of that unfortunate, also a Lutheran, spoke very favourably about the Benedictines' singing "I give witness that, even in the coldest frosts, I always hear them singing so beautifully that it is my comfort in trouble and relief in sickness to hear them".

In fact, from the very beginning of the Poznań foundation the nuns had a keyboard instrument at their disposal, owing to abbess Mortęska's efforts. She bought a regal, a small organ with wooden pipes; later, in 1618, this instrument was sold to the Barefoot Carmelites, who were establishing their monastery in Poznań. It was also then that a choir gallery was built in the Benedictine nuns' church in Poznań which, presumably because of its small size, is referred to in the Chronicle as the "little choir", and in it an organ²¹². The Poznań Benedictines, like nuns from other convents, employed secular organists. As early as 1611 the chronicle mentions Master Marcin, the organist who helped organise the building of the altar, and then the organ. Małgorzata Borkowska is probably right²¹³ in saying that "Master Marcin" is unlikely to have been permanently employed by the nuns but, rather, "leased" from the Jesuits or the parish church. However, as early as 1636, the chronicle mentions the convent organist Bartosz and in an unusual, one might say paranormal, circumstances. Six months after his death, strange things started happening in the building that housed the priests who served the Benedictine nuns, and finally "it spoke ... I am the spirit of Bartosz the dead organist, I ask for help"²¹⁴. This, yet another story about ghosts, recorded by the chronicler on the basis of a report by an older nun, is of particular interest to us because of a certain instrument. The spirit of the organist asked first for masses, and then confessed that it could not be saved until the clavichord assigned by Bartosz during his life to another church became the property of the Benedictine Sisters. The clavichord was located at the organist's sister-in-law, a "painter widow". The alleged spirit begged the Benedictines' chaplain, Father Andrzej, to go at once, in the night, to that woman, collect the deposit and move it to the church of the "Chełmians"; as the Benedictine Sisters who followed the Chełmno reform were known in Poznań. When they managed wake the painter's widow, she objected, because the will made a different disposition but, at that moment, the spirit began to play the clavichord; not only that, it amazed everyone by playing a secular tune²¹⁵. The organist's sister-in-law would

212 Kbp, p. 41.

213 Ibid., p. 283, footnote 108.

214 Ibid, p. 88.

215 Ibid., p. 88.

not hand over the clavichord that night; whether she did so later is not known, since the chronicle does not concern itself with the later fate of the clavichord but with the spirit itself, which was finally decided to be the work of Satan and so Jesuit exorcisms were performed over it.

Taking into account the fact that it all happened in the dark (“he did not want to speak with the candle lit, only in the dark”), and because “some saw him in the person of a black boy in a cap”, we may guess that the whole episode was a hoax produced by the Jesuit bursars.

All in all, the chronicles of the Poznań Benedictine nuns do not tell us much about their music, nor about how the nuns themselves felt about it. The chronicle refers to the fact that the sisters sang on ten occasions but without a more detailed description of what kind of music it was. However, one reference indicates that singing meant more to the Poznań nuns than just an obligation to sing in the choir and a form of praying; it was also an expression of feelings. When the community was dispersed during the Swedish invasion, a few Benedictines from Poznań found shelter with the Cistercian nuns in Trzebnica, and one of the nuns, Joanna Jaskólska, the first author of the chronicle quoted here so extensively, fell mortally ill. When it came to her funeral, “the priests wanted to arrange the music, but the ladies, out of the love they had for her, would not have it that they should not sing themselves”.

As well as to the sisters’s singing, we find equally frequent references to the “music” played in the little choir. Perhaps it was not always possible for the small community to find sufficient number of musically talented nuns who could by themselves provide the setting for more important ceremonies, and therefore it employed the services of a neighbouring Jesuits’ ensemble, later perhaps also the parish one, while the bishop came with his own. The chronicler of the Poznań Benedictine nuns described the ceremony of consecration, in which the two Opaliński sisters took part among others:

This act was conducted with great ceremony, there were two bishops and many other prelates, his excellency the voivod and very many other senators. There was such a crowd that there was hardly enough room for the sisters²¹⁶. Two nuns came out with them, mistress prioress and mistress Sucharzewska. They were led to his excellency the bishop by mistress Opalińska, the wife of the Poznań voivod, and the wife of the starost

216 In Poznań the Benedictine convent was housed in the adapted patrician Górka palace, i.e., a large building on the town square. Thus, the chapel created inside was relatively small. See M. Walter-Mazur, *Z śpiewania waszego poznana będzie wasza gorącość, abo oziębłość ducha. Muzyka w klasztorze benedyktynek przy ul Wodnej, Kronika Miasta Poznania* 2010/2, pp. 46–47.

of Inowrocław, also Opalińska. **A porch was built all the way across the church for the music.** The wife of the starost, blood sister of mistress Franciszka, had the church beautifully upholstered, with Persian carpets on the ground as well, and some lengths of damask covering being laid. His excellency the Voivod was later host to the guests. Relatives of the other consecrated nuns hosted sisters on different days²¹⁷.

This ceremony took place in 1645 and was only the second consecration in a community which had existed since 1607. On that occasion, there were seven young nuns, including two daughters of Poznań voivods, brothers Jan and Piotr Opaliński²¹⁸. One of the consecrated was also the chronicler, Joanna Jaskólska. It is apparent that the Opaliński family took on themselves the initiative in organising such a solemn ceremony. The stand for the ensemble must have been built for that purpose, since there would not have been enough room for the musicians in the little music choir with the organ.

We find a little more detailed information about the musical practice of the nuns themselves in the obituaries, in which seven nuns are distinguished because of their musical talent and duties.

During the term of Katarzyna Szadzionka²¹⁹ as cantress, the nuns sang figurally, i.e., polyphony, during Advent. She was “very skilled and diligent in her care of the young ladies’ learning”²²⁰. Barbara Orzelska was another who was ardent in matters of God’s glory, as well as being a talented teacher; she “taught to sing those that did not know how, and those not eager she would lead to learn by great kindness”²²¹. Similarly, “very skilled and well-disposed towards young sisters in their learning” was Urszula Jawaskówna, “but as she herself had a heavy voice” she only lasted one year in the post²²². On the other hand, Anna Zbyszewska, had “a voice [truly] beautiful and strong”²²³, while the previously mentioned Anna Michałowiczówna had a voice so low that she sang the bass part in polyphonic compositions (although probably transposed an octave

217 Kbp, p. 112.

218 Franciszka Opalińska, daughter of Piotr, was a niece of Anna Kostczanka II, abbess of Jarosław. She was not a submissive person; according to Jaskólska’s chronicle: “her high birth made her audacious” (Kbp, p. 113). In 1649, she transferred to Jarosław.

219 She came from an affluent burgher family in Poznań. She did her novitiate in Chełmno and was consecrated in Poznań; she died in 1625, after some dozen years at the convent.

220 Ibid., p. 225.

221 Ibid., p. 224.

222 Ibid., p. 234

223 Ibid., p. 236.

higher)²²⁴. Interesting evidence for the music in the convent being a means of self-realisation and thus a remedy for depressive states is to be found in the obituary of Agnieszka Rozrażowska, who “was a custodian, cantoress, verger – all these posts were given to her to calm her, since without them great melancholy would come upon her.... When she had no employment, she would be constantly ill, but when she could work at a task she would be very well”²²⁵.

As has been already mentioned, none of the Poznań nuns was admitted “because of the voice” or the ability to play an instrument, as often happened in other Benedictine convents. Sources accessible to us do not allow us to conclude that the choir gallery housed instruments other than the organ²²⁶ – unless the painter’s widow did give up the clavichord of Bartosz the organist after all – or that one of the nuns played some instrument. However, talking about persons who were musically active, we also have to mention Father Andrzej, the Benedictine nuns’ chaplain during the 1640s, who “made up the singing and church comedies for Christmas”. This is one of the first references to the theatre at the convents of Benedictine Sisters in Poland, recorded in the *Chronicle* for the year 1642²²⁷.

The seventeenth-century part of the menologium from the Radom Benedictine nuns convent, which we know to have been equipped quite modestly, mentions the musical talents of eight nuns. Two of them undoubtedly played the organ; the others are mentioned in the context of singing, of ardour in the glory of God, and of holding the post of cantoress. The two daughters of organists, Elżbieta Jeżówna and Agnieszka Winnicka, were accepted into novitiate in 1650. In relation to the first of them, the register says simply that she was “veiled for her playing”. The obituary of Winnicka tells us about the special role of that sister in the musical practice of the Radom convent: “In 1691 mistress Agnieszka Winnicka died to the world but she lived for God ... full of ardour for the glory of God. She was an organist’s daughter, she taught young sisters with great love and passion ... whose passing would need ten water springs to cry, because so much orderliness God took away from us through her death”²²⁸. Other nuns distinguished by beautiful voices and entrusted with the musical setting of liturgy were

224 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

225 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

226 The music choir was outside the enclosure and nuns were not allowed in there.

227 Kbp, p. 109.

228 *Kroniczki benedyktynek radomskich (Little chronicles of Benedictine Sisters in Radom)*, K. Górski, M. Borkowska, *Historiografia zakonna a wzorce świętości w XVII wieku (Convent Historiography and Models of Sanctity in the Seventeenth Century)*, Warszawa 1984, p. 303. Quoted afterwards as Kbr. According to the register, Agnieszka Winnicka

Katarzyna Czaplicówna²²⁹, Regina Dębołęcka²³⁰, Anna Karniewska²³¹, Marianna Leżeńska²³², Anna Sulgostowska²³³ and Anna Bagien²³⁴. However, we cannot say anything about the musical practice of the Radom Benedictines apart from the fact that, most probably, it was limited to singing with organ accompaniment, and perhaps organ music.

Extant seventeenth-century archival material relating to the other seventeen convents of Chełmno reform, in some cases in vestigial form, does not contain information about the nuns' musical culture. Evidence for the cultivation of professional music, in this case vocal polyphony, is available for five convents: Chełmno, Toruń and Poznań (where this practice seems to have died out quite early), as well as Jarosław and Sandomierz. The Radom menologium mentions seventeenth-century nuns who sang beautifully, but it is not until the eighteenth century that we are told that the sisters sang "figurally and plainchant", and thus we do not know whether in seventeenth-century Radom the sisters sang professional musical compositions alongside plainchant. However, we would expect the professional practice of organ playing to be present there, since in order to create such a practice two daughters of organists were accepted during the 1650s. Probably organ-playing was also practised in other convents, at least in those founded by abbess Mortęska, because of her concern that an instrument and an organist should be present from the beginning of a new foundation. We learn of this from her correspondence with Krzysztof Radziwiłł quoted earlier.

entered novitiate when she was 8 years old (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 370).

- 229 A burgher's daughter from Poznań, she was accepted in Toruń in 1604. Sent to the Radom foundation, she spent her whole life in the post of cantress; very ardent, she died in 1642 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 291).
- 230 Also sent from Toruń (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 291).
- 231 Accepted by the convent in Radom in 1637, a talented singer, she died young, in 1642 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 369).
- 232 Accepted at Radom. In spite of poor health, she was a sub-cantress, died in 1656 (*ibid.*, p. 369).
- 233 "Mistress Anna Sulgostowska, entered in Radom ... came to the convent no longer young, led a pious life, and was particularly eager in praising God by being in the choir, she had a talent of voice from God and she sang as best she could". She died in 1662 (Kbr, p. 300).
- 234 An Austrian lady-in-waiting to queen Constance Habsburg. Entered novitiate in Toruń in 1617 at the age of 21; sent to the foundation in Radom, her posts there included those of cantress and mistress of secular pupils. Called Babusia (Granny) by the pupils, she died in 1666 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 296).

On the basis of the information given in the Chełmno *Chronicle*, that sisters travelling to the new foundations in Sandomierz and Jarosław took with them “partbooks for fractus singing”, we may conclude that polyphony was performed in these convents as well. In Sandomierz, as early as the second half of the seventeenth century, we find nuns whose musical competence is confirmed by later musical and other sources: Marianna Kupcewiczówna, Zofia Górską, Katarzyna Muszyńska, Agnieszka Bratysiewiczówna and Zofia Bratysiewiczówna²³⁵ As far as Jarosław is concerned, we also have the evidence of the partbooks preserved in the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, to be discussed in the next chapter. It is also from Jarosław that we learn, from a visitation report, that Abbess Anna Kostczanka “kept twelve musicians” in 1642²³⁶, which sounds as if the convent possessed its own ensemble. This would be an isolated case, since none of the convents belonging to the Chełmno reform, either in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, possessed its own secular ensemble; the usual practice was to hire a monastic or city ensemble from nearby, while in some houses in the eighteenth century Benedictine Sisters succeeded in forming vocal-instrumental ensembles of nuns, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, there is no doubt that all the Benedictine Sisters’ convents belonging to the Chełmno congregation cultivated non-professional music – liturgical monody – since all the novices were trained in celebrating the liturgy by chanting. Moreover, according to the Rule, every convent had to have a cantress, responsible for liturgical singing. We know nothing about the cultivation of monodic hymns with Polish text since no information about this survived from the seventeenth century, but it does seem likely, particularly since the partbooks to be discussed in the next chapter contain Polish hymns arranged polyphonically.

235 See M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, pp. 380–381. The oldest manuscript of a vocal-instrumental composition which belonged to the Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz at that time is dated 1693. Cf. Chapter 5 of this volume.

236 Ossolineum ms. 101/II, *Opisanie praw funduszów y przywilejów wielobnym Pannom Oyca św. Benedykta klasztoru jarosławskiego w roku 1749 zaczęte* (*Description of the rules, funds and privileges of the reverend ladies from the Jarosław convent of Father Saint Benedict, began in 1740*), p. 112. This information is surprising and seems unlikely, since in Jarosław there were at that time as many as four ensembles: two Jesuit ones, the city one and the palace one of Princess Ostrogska. It would seem more natural to hire musicians already employed in other ensembles in Jarosław than to create yet another permanent ensemble, as is suggested by the phrasing used in the source.

3 Seventeenth-century musical sources from the convents of Benedictine nuns in Toruń and Jarosław

3.1 Partbooks TorA and TorB held at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin

Three manuscript partbooks left by the Benedictine Sisters in Toruń²³⁷, from 1632 and 1633, contain polyphonic repertory for four to six voices. They provide material evidence that the nuns from the Chełmno congregation cultivated professional music. The sources in question are the Bass partbook titled *Antifonarium festis solennibus notatum scriptumque per unam de virginibus Christo sacramentalem ordinis antiqui S. Benedicti in conventu Turnensis AD 1632*, format 15 x 24 cm, with 161 folios, two of them blank, containing antiphons for psalms and *Magnificat* canticles and hymns for the more important feast days of the liturgical year, as well as eight 6-voice settings of the *Magnificat* and five Marian antiphons, and two partbooks, *Discant* and *Altus*, format 15 x 24 cm, numbering correspondingly 137 (including four blank) and 152 (including six blank) sheets, both titled *Notarum Anno Domini 1633*, and containing six sequences, seven settings of *Credo* (*Patrem omnipotentem*), ten pairs of *Sanctus-Agnus*, twenty-seven motets, five litanies, two Latin strophic songs, two Polish strophic songs, one with both Latin and Polish texts. The partbooks are held at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin without a reference number²³⁸.

The Bass book, to which we will give the working title TorA, contains eighty-six compositions, mostly for six voices, while among the seventy-four works in the *Discantus* and *Altus* books (TorB) the majority are arrangements for five and six voices, the four-voice ones are less numerous. In TorA more than half the manuscript is taken up by settings of antiphons for psalms and *magnificats* and hymns for Christmas, Marian feast days, Holy Week, Ascension Day, Pentecost,

237 On the subject of these manuscripts, see M. Walter-Mazur, *A New Perspective on the Musical Culture of the Polish Benedictine Nunneries in the Light of Toruń Sources, Early Music. Context and Ideas II*, Kraków 2008, pp. 137–159. They had been mentioned previously in the publications of E. Hinz, *Z dziejów muzyki kościelnej...*, p. 104, footnote 48 and B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok...*, p. 114.

238 The National Library holds microfilms of these partbooks (shelfmarks BN 18065 and BN 18066). Their probable meanderings from Toruń to Pelplin, partially shared with the manuscript discussed in the next sub-chapter, are described there on pp. 100–101.

Corpus Christi, as well as the feast days of Benedict, Scholastica and Stanislaus. All the antiphons in this part of the manuscript include a plainchant incipit, and only after that comes the polyphonic arrangement. A number of antiphons were set using the alternatim plainsong-polyphony technique. Later in the manuscript, there are twelve hymns in stanzaic form, among them three consecutive hymns *Cuius corpus sanctissimi*, *Cuius benigna gratia Stanislai* and *Quo vulneratus in super* with the same simple melody and schematic trochaic rhythm. Next come eight six-voice Magnificats by Orlando di Lasso²³⁹ in eight consecutive tones; next to the first one we find the inscription “Orland Magnificat 6 vocum Primus toni” (120r). These are followed by the Marian antiphons *Regina coeli*, *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Salve regina* (two settings) and another two Magnificats for four and five voices. One of the antiphons is distinguished by a simple, recitative melodic style in equal values, notated partly together with a transposition of the lower notes an octave higher (in parallel octaves). Two of the antiphons carry the note “ad organa” next to the title. The final *Salve regina* is described as “Smudzka Salve” (from *Żmudź?*), and on the other side of the notation of this work (148v) at the top we find the inscription “this part instead of the score”. Apart from those compositions where the simplicity of the setting has been indicated, in all the other ones the bass line has developed, varied melodics and non-schematic rhythm. This allows us to conclude that, stylistically, they do not belong to the retrospective polyphony trend, which becomes quite obvious in the case of Lasso’s *Magnificat* (see Fig. 11).

The contents of TorB partbooks are more complex in terms of their liturgical function; while the repertory of TorA could be categorised, following Dąbek, as belonging to the group “cantus officii”²⁴⁰, in TorB, alongside “cantus missae”: the parts *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus*, as well as the proprial motets, we also have litanies²⁴¹ and songs.

The partbooks of Descant²⁴² and Alto undoubtedly belong to the same set, the repertory and sequence are almost identical²⁴³. There are also minor differences:

239 This is the only attribution given in this manuscript, all the remaining compositions are notated anonymously.

240 S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, p. 42.

241 Interestingly, not one of them is devoted to Mary. These litanies are to the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, Christ’s Blood, the Holiest Sacrament and the Holy Spirit.

242 “Discant wisoki” (high descant), as noted on the first page of the manuscript by a hand different from the scribe of the whole.

243 In TorB in the case of one of the compositions (*Lumen ad revelationem*) the Alto was erroneously entered in the Soprano book, and the Soprano in the Alto.

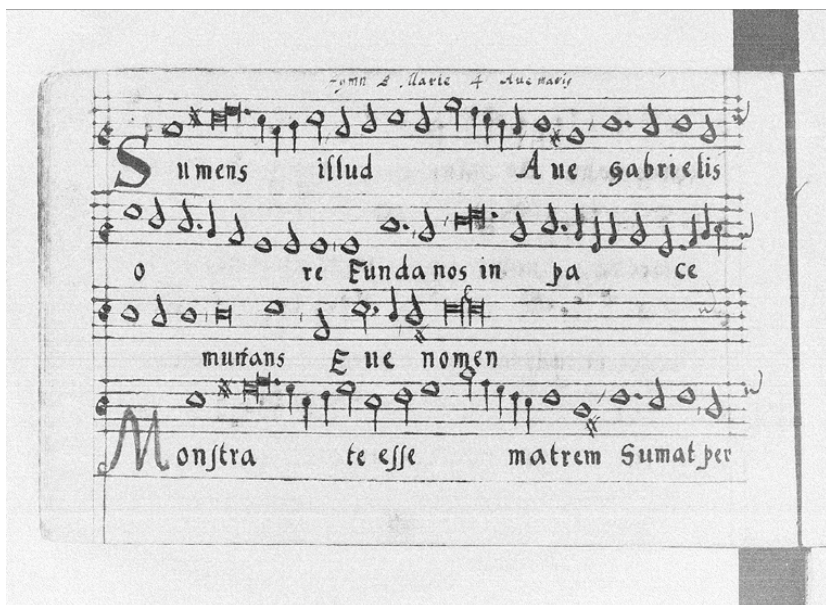


Fig. 11: *Ave maris stella*, setting using *alternatim* technique, and the title of the next composition. *Bassus sex vocum, Antifonarium*, TorA, ms. without reference number at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, f. 120r

in the Alto book, we find two motets missing from the Descant (*Domine, quando veneris, O viri Galilei, o amici Dei*), but it does not include the song with the Polish text notated at the end of the Descant²⁴⁴. In the final part of the manuscript of the Alto partbook we find two *Patrem paschale* 5 and 6 *vocum*, absent from the other book and written in another hand, whose style and manner of writing indicates that they come from a later period.

²⁴⁴ *Po upadku człowieka grzesznego* (After the fall of the sinner; without the initial fragment – the folio is missing) and *Królewnie wiecznej nieba wysokiego* (To the eternal princess of high heaven). Both songs are also present in the hymnbooks from Staniątki, i.e., StA, Str, StL and StD, Str, StL, as is the Latin *cantio O gloriosa domina* (StA, StD), notated in TorB. Cf. W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonatów staniąteckich i pieśni* (Catalogue of Staniątka cantionals and songs), Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne, vol. 41/1980, Lublin, pp. 127–191.

An analysis of the course and interrelationships of the two higher voices in the four-, five- and six-voice compositions indicates clearly the presence of two stylistic layers in manuscript TorB. In some compositions, the melodic features are of a typically linear, pseudo-plainchant character, and are based mainly on two rhythmic values: *brevis* and *semibrevis*. On the other hand, other compositions make use of differentiated rhythmic values, from the *brevis* to *semiminim*, and their *soggetti* are divided internally into clearly delineated motifs, alongside which there are also melismas based on runs of seconds. The presence of rests and repetition of sections of themes using motivic work indicates complex contrapuntal relations between the voices, and frequently there is imitation between them. The litanies and some parts of the mass seem to be particularly advanced stylistically. We have two “pairs” of sections which in the alto books carry comments possibly indicating that their users had stylistic awareness, or simply that some of the sections had been in use for a long time, while others were newly acquired by the community: *In rorate Agnus Dei 4v. Stare [old] – Sanctus in Rorate nowe [new] 4 voc.* and *Solenne sanctus 5 voc. stare [old] – Sanctus 2 classis 5 vocum nowe [new]*.

Attempts to identify the repertory notated anonymously, carried out by searching for concordances²⁴⁵, were successful in relation to thirteen motets, i.e., to the majority of works in this genre, but brought no results in relation to the remaining compositions (sequences, masses, litanies). Among the identified motets we find four compositions by Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina and five by Orlando di Lasso, as well as one each by Tomas Luis da Victoria, Jacob Handl

245 For this search, I used the following thematic catalogues: the RISM database; thematic catalogue of the Pelplin tablature (*The Pelplin Tablature, Antiquitates Musicae in Poloniae*, vol. I *A Thematic catalogue*, ed. A. Sutkowski, A. Osostowicz-Sutkowska, Graz-Warszawa 1963); R.A. Muranyi, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Musikaliensammlung von Bartfeld (Barifa)*, (*Deutsche Music im Osten*, Bd.20), Bonn 1991; D. Popinigis, D. Szlagowska, *Musicalia Gedanensia. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w Zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, Gdańsk 1990; *Musikaliensammlung Schmolln*, ed. R. Ziegler, Tutzing 2003 and the private database of Elżbieta Wojnowska from Centrum RISM Biblioteki Narodowej in Warsaw, which includes incipits of compositions from the Legnica and Oliwa tablatures. A thematic catalogue of tablatures from Legnica edited by Elżbieta Wojnowska and Tomasz Jeż was published in 2016 (*Katalog tematyczny utworów w siedemnastowiecznych tabulaturach organowych z legnickiej kolekcji Bibliotheca Rudolphina*, Warszawa 2016).

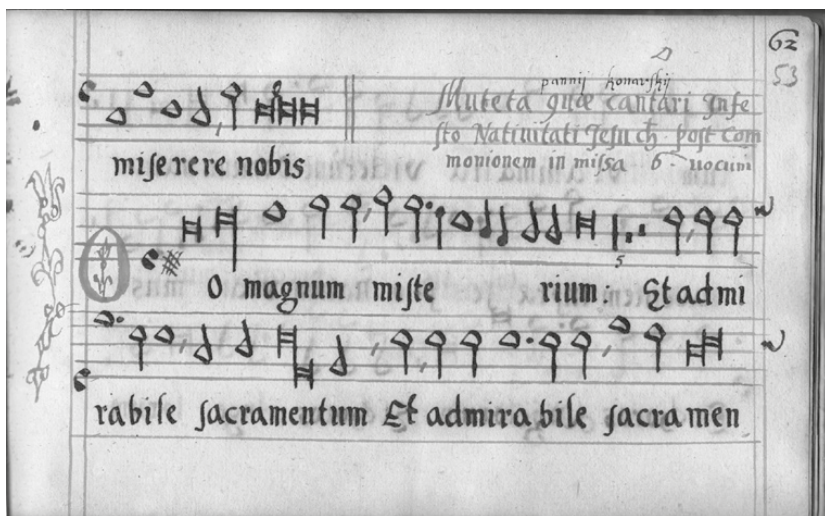


Fig. 12: *O magnum misterium* [G.P. da Palestrina]. *Notarum Anno Domini 1633*, TorB, ms. with no reference number from the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Soprano partbook, f. 53r

(Gallus), Jacob Mailand and Christophorus Clavius²⁴⁶. The concordances demonstrate that the compositions entered in the partbooks from Toruń belonged to the Central European repertory which was popular and often appeared in anthologies (see Fig. 12).

Both manuscripts show clear traces of usage; alongside the wear and tear of the paper, there is the evidence provided by the numerous added notes made in hands other than the one who underlaid the music with the text. On the one hand, these are descriptions of the occasions at which these works were performed, of the kind “*Muteta que cantari in festo Sancte Marie post Communionem in missa 6 uocum*”, the inscription preceding the 6-voice motets *Surge propera* and *Surge amica mea* by Lasso in the Alto book. Moreover, at the top of almost every page there is the title and sometimes the purpose of the composition – a kind of “living page” which makes it easier to orient oneself in the material. In TorB some of the

²⁴⁶ Christophorus Clavius (1538–1612) was a Jesuit active in Rome; he was a mathematician and astronomer. A number of motets has been attributed to him, including *Domine Jesu Christe*, published in *Suavissimorum modulorum selectissime cantiones sacrae...*, Munich A. Berg, 1590. This work is also noted in the Schmolln tablature, where the composer appears under the name of Peter.

initials are ornamented by drawings with plant motifs, while in TorA only the first letters are thickened. A very interesting trace of usage is the presence of surnames or initials added next to some motets. The most probable interpretation seems to be that the nuns indicated were to perform the given part solo or to “lead” its performance²⁴⁷. On the basis of these notes, containing six surnames or initials²⁴⁸, it was possible to identify fully only two persons: Barbara Konarska²⁴⁹ (her name on the page on Fig. 12), whose name most frequently appears in the Descant book, and Teresa Tupalska²⁵⁰, who also sang in the highest voice. These are unlikely to be the names of persons to whom the community owed the presence of these compositions, since in the case of *O magnum misterium*

247 From the rule of the Chełmno Benedictine Sisters (*Regula reformowana* from 1605, reprinted in Lublin in 1635 at the printing works of Paweł Konrad) we know of the practice where the cantress would designate some sisters to begin the singing (S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna...*, p. 73). On the other hand, the repertory contained in these partbooks is so extensive and demanding that perhaps some selected nuns, such as Konarska and Tupalska, specialised in singing, thus freeing the others from the necessity of learning difficult parts.

248 Unidentified or not fully identified: Sister Helstowy, Sister G.C., the Kalenski sisters and Sister Kucbo... (the rest of the surname illegible). Jadwiga Kalińska is recorded as a Benedictine nun from Toruń in the menologium of the Norbertine Sisters in Strzelno; she died after 1633 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 298), and perhaps she had a sister at the convent. There is also Teresa Kalińska, at least one generation younger, who in the years 1689, 1698 and 1700 is recorded as prioress, and in 1704 as secretary; she died before 1731 (*ibid.*, p. 300). On the other hand, Kucborska (recorded without the first name) tried to escape from the convent prior to 1697 (*ibid.*, p. 301). In Toruń the Benedictine Sisters kept records of the nuns only for the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the names of later ones were obtained by Małgorzata Borkowska from various sources and undoubtedly this is not a full list (*cf. ibid.*, p. 286).

249 The resolute note “panny Konarskiej” (belonging to Mistress Konarska) above the motets *O magnum misterium* and *Domine, Domine Jesu*, led Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska to put forward the supposition that the sister in question might have been their author. Unfortunately, the compositions turned out to have been the work, respectively, of Palestrina and Christophorus (Peter?) Clavius. All we know about Barbara Konarska is that she was a Benedictine nun in Toruń, entered after 1643 in the Marian Sodality; she was subprioress during the years 1653–1654 (*cf. M. Borkowska, Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 297).

250 Teresa Tupalska was a candidate at the convent in 1640 (according to her father’s extant letter); she died in 1665 or 1666. These dates indicate that the manuscript was undoubtedly still in use some ten years after having been written (*cf. ibid.*, p. 298).

the name of Sister Konarska appears in the Descant book, and Sister Helstowy's in the Alto. Another fact worth noting is that the motet *Domine Jesu Christe* is copied twice, and the second copy is underlaid with a Polish text: *O Panie Jesu Christe nie jestem godna* (Oh, Lord Jesus Christ, I am not worthy).

The partbooks from Toruń have no possessory notes, unlike the cantionals from Staniątki, almost all of which belonged to individual nuns. The appearance of various surnames within the partbooks seems to indicate that they were the property of the community as a whole, or that they were passed from hand to hand as needed. The Alto book was probably used by the cantoress, since on the first page we find a table with a system of solmisation hexachords, presumably for teaching purposes. On the three pages which follow we have a table titled *Incepta*, with the initial notes (notated with solmisation signs) of all the voices in consecutive compositions, to be given to the sisters before the singing (Fig. 8 Chapter 2).

The comment placed at the end of *Incepta* leads to the subject of performance practice in the context of the problem of the Bass voice: "Each incepta needs to be given according to the key / and when the Descant is very high then generally take it an octave lower". Since one could generally take the Descant an octave lower, it was presumably quite obvious that the bass, and perhaps the tenor, should be taken an octave higher, although the manuscripts do not mention it directly at any point²⁵¹. A degree of support for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that at one point in the Alto book, when the Alto has *tacet*, there appears the Bass part added in another hand on the cut sheet; so that the one who was singing alto, rather than rest, should help the sister singing the lowest part. It may be that the bass was also played on the organ; at the time of writing the manuscript, one of the Benedictine Sisters in Toruń was Anna Fijałówna/Tyjałówna, daughter of an organist who professed in 1613 and was undoubtedly still alive in 1643.

Towards the end of the TorA bass book there are two Marian sequences, the title of which contains the phrase "ad organa". The discontinuous course of the text underlying the music shows that this was a setting intended for *alternatim* performance: organ – polyphony. Another of these antiphons at the end has the mysterious inscription "Salve Regina Smudzka for six parts this part instead of the score". That part has text underlay, as is the case with all the other compositions

251 The manuscript L 1643 from the first half of the seventeenth century, held at the Sandomierz collection, contains compositions intended for two choirs, CCCB and CCAB, and the "Bass" is notated in the alto key. Cf. subchapter 3.

notated in the manuscripts in question, but its melodic features are pronouncedly non-vocal: repetition of notes, and dominance of leaps of fourths and fifths. The remark about this part serving instead of the score suggests that the Benedictine nuns may have been familiar with the *partitura pro organa* practice.

3.2 Toruń manuscript Ms. Akc. Nr 127 held at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences

Manuscript number 127 is totally untypical in comparison with other musical items now held at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences²⁵². None of the musical manuscripts preserved there from the churches of Saint John, Saint Catherine and Saint Bartholomew contain compositions with Polish texts, and the graphic appearance of the manuscript is also different. Manuscript 127 is a Descant partbook, in oblong format 14.5 x 24 cm, bound in green leather. The initial folios of the manuscript are missing, and the first extant one contains the notation of the final fragment of the pair of mass parts *Sanctus – Agnus Dei*, from the words “in nomine Domini”. Glued on the inner side of the cover is a sheet, preserved in fragments, with the inscription: “Sanctissime Beate Mariae Anno D. 1634” and at the bottom of the page there are the initials D.P., probably written by the same hand. When examining the manuscript for the first time one is immediately struck by the external similarity – the format, the distribution of lines, the use of red ink to draw staves, initials and minor ornamentation, the ductus of the handwriting – between this and the three partbooks discussed earlier, now held at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, which belonged to the Toruń Benedictine nuns and which also came from the 1630s. The flow of the handwriting in all the four books, i.e., in the three “Toruń” ones and in ms. 127 is very close, but a number of minor deviations suggest that each was written by a different hand. The close similarity may result from the fact that the scribes learnt to write at the same “school”.

The manuscripts in question are notated on paper with the same or very similar watermarks, with the coat of arms of Gdańsk²⁵³. The repertory of these partbooks

252 I would like to express my warm gratitude to Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, who drew my attention to this manuscript. I am also grateful to Danuta Popinigis, with whom I looked through it at the Gdańsk Library of PAN, as well as Sister Małgorzata Borkowska OSB and Ms Danuta Szlagowska for providing me with valuable information.

253 Tracing, precise superposition and comparison are made more difficult because of the positioning of signs in the sewing of the folios. See J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigryny papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI*

is also similar: Latin and Polish, of a liturgical character²⁵⁴. All the compositions in ms. 127 are notated anonymously, apart from one, *O gloriosa Domina*, which is given the title *O glor. Orlandska* in the manuscript. To date it has not been possible to identify the other compositions. We find four concordances between ms. 127 and the partbooks from Toruń:

- 1) The manuscript from Gdańsk opens with the notation of the pair *Sanctus – Agnus* with the beginning missing; that part is also found in TorB, and it is described there as *Sanctus Rorate 4 vocum*;
- 2) Motet *Fiant Domini oculi tui* is also present in TorB; in both partbooks, it is notated immediately before the sequence of a few litanies, and these litanies are different in the two manuscripts (in ms. 127 there are 13 of them, in TorB – 5). In both manuscripts, this motet has the same title: *Muteta da Pacem*. Moreover, immediately before *Fiant Domini* in TorB, and divided by yet another motet in ms. 127, there is a motet devoted to Saint Stanislaus, titled correspondingly *Sancti Stanislai Muteta* and *S. Stanislai Muteta* but the motets are different: *De concine coelum gaude* and *Ortus de Polonia*;
- 3) *Sumens illud ave*, or the hymn *Ave maris stella*, is probably the same as the one notated in the Bass partbook in TorA. In both sources, it was intended to be performed *alternatim*, with polyphonic notation of the setting of the even strophes. The odd ones may have been performed as plainchant or on the organ; both solutions were practised by the Benedictine nuns (see Fig. 13);
- 4) *Salve Regina* is another work in *alternatim* technique; its polyphonic setting begins with the words *Vita dulcedo*. It is also notated in the Bass partbook TorA, and there is no doubt as to its identity in view of the *soggetto* of the last verse, *O pia*, with imitation technique in both versions. In TorA the work is titled *Salve Regina ad organa 4 vocum*.

In the sources held at Pelplin, which contain mainly five- and six-part compositions, all four compositions mentioned above have next to them the comment “a4”, which supports Danuta Szlagowska’s supposition that ms. 127 is a part of an incomplete set of four partbooks.

wieku do połowy XVIII wieku (*Watermarks of the Papermills Located in the Area of the Commonwealth of Poland from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Eighteenth Centuries*), Wrocław 1969, p. 9, similar watermarks No. 175181.

254 A list of the compositions notated in ms. 127 is to be found in: D. Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny...*, pp. 119–120.

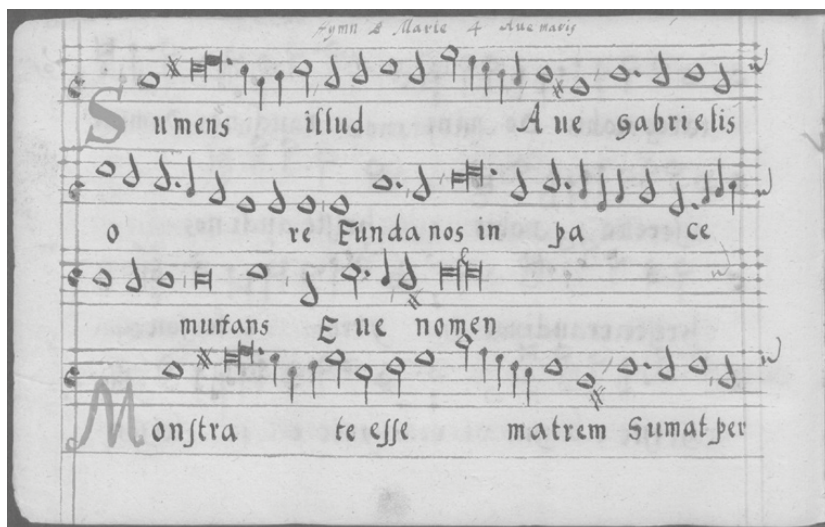


Fig. 13: *Ave maris stella*, setting for four parts in *alternatim* technique, ms. akc. 127 from the Gdańsk Library of PAN, Alto partbook probably from the convent in Toruń, k. 136v

Ownership of ms. 127 by the female community of Benedictines is indicated by one of the two *Litanies to All Saints*. Alongside biblical and ancient saints, only two medieval ones are mentioned by name. These are *Sanctus pater Benedictus* and *Sancta Scholastica*, the most important patroness of Benedictine nuns, sister of Saint Benedict and founder of the female line of the order.

Of great importance for establishing the provenance of the manuscript are the surnames, written in it in a later handwriting next to two compositions: “p. [mistress] Piorecki”, “p.[mistress] Zukinski” (ms. 127, 45r) and “p. [mistress] Gierzenski” (ms. 127, 69r). Given here in their original grammatical and orthographic form of feminine Genitive or Dative, today we might read it as: “of Mistress Piorecka/Piórecka, Gierzeńska/Gierzyńska /Girzyńskiej, Zukińska/Zukińska”. The names added in a later handwriting above a number of compositions which are also found in the Toruń partbooks TorB²⁵⁵ probably meant that this person performed solo or “led” that voice in the composition. The first two names from ms. 127 have been identified as most probably referring to nuns from the Toruń

255 Including “Panny Konarskiej”, “p. Helstowy” and “p.p. Kałenskich”.

convent, Konstancja Piórecka²⁵⁶ and Apolinaria Girzyńska²⁵⁷. The name of the third nun mentioned here appears only once in the three volume *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*: Katarzyna Żukińska is a Benedictine nun who in 1704 entered the brotherhood of Saint Anne with the Norbertine Sisters in Strzelno. Małgorzata Borkowska says about her: “probably from Sierpc”²⁵⁸.

The names of the nuns entered in the manuscript show that the book was still in use at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately, on the basis of the documents with prosopographic data available to us today, we cannot identify the person with the initials D.P., entered on the title page, probably the scribe or owner of the manuscript.

Taking this information into account, it seems we can assume that ms. 127 comes from Toruń. Together with the three partbooks held at Pelplin it was written in the first half of the 1630s, i.e., during the early period of the governance of Abbess Elżbieta Piwnicka, the calmest period in the history of the Toruń convent. These four books contain polyphonic repertory, most of it in Latin, numbering some 230 compositions in total.

How could this manuscript have found its way to the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences? After the dissolution of the Toruń convent by the Prussian authorities in 1833 some of the nuns who went to Żarnowiec managed to take with them the archives and some memorabilia, in spite of the fact that, as we are told by Małgorzata Borkowska, they were displaced with literally immediate effect. Unfortunately, two years after the closure of the Toruń convent came the announcement of the dissolution of Żarnowiec²⁵⁹.

The sisters had their archive taken away from them; part of it later found its way to Pelplin – including the plainchant antiphonary and three partbooks from Toruń, and probably also the manuscript from Gdańsk – and the property and processual records to the State Archive in Gdańsk. After Poland regained independence, part of the archives of the Benedictine Sisters from Żarnowiec and Toruń was returned to Żarnowiec. For many of these documents this decision

256 Confirmed and consecrated on 4 December 1696 (Akta Kapituły Chełmińskiej A 41 (Records of the Chełmno Chapter A 41)). Information obtained with the kind help of Sister Małgorzata Borkowska.

257 By 1714, the ex-prioress must have been advanced in years. She died before 1734 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 301).

258 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 71.

259 The nuns who lived there were not moved, but allowed to stay in the parish until death. The last nun from Toruń living in Żarnowiec died in 1866.

had dreadful consequences, since during the Second World War the German pastor's housekeeper used them to light the stove²⁶⁰.

Most probably the manuscript in question, now ms. 127 at the Polish Academy of Sciences library in Gdańsk, was held at Pelplin, together with the other three books belonging to the set. Just prior to the beginning of the Second World War, there was an effort to remove and conceal the valuable Peplin collection before the coming storm²⁶¹. A large part of them, later discovered by the Germans at the collegiate church in Zamość, was placed by them at the City Library in Gdańsk. However, as was revealed during the process of reclamation of the Pelplin collection after the war, they were held in various places in Gdańsk, even in private hands²⁶². Perhaps then during that period the partbooks in question found their way to Muzeum Pomorskie, where they were given shelfmarks M.P. 6–9²⁶³, which would indicate that at that stage they were still a four-part set. Unfortunately, by the time the manuscript was passed to the Polish Academy of Sciences library in Gdańsk, during the 1950s, only one partbook was recorded²⁶⁴.

3.3 The Jarosław collection of two-choir compositions for female voices L1643 held at the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz

Manuscript L1643 from the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz is a collection in many respects exceptional, recorded as a set of eight partbooks. This source, discovered in the Sandomierz Diocesan Library, and initially researched shortly after the Second World War by Wendelin Świerczek²⁶⁵, did not attract closer

260 Until this point my account of the story of the archives is based on: M. Borkowska, *Legenda Żarnowiecka (The Legend of Żarnowiec)*, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 178–179.

261 B. Góra, *Straty wojenne i rewindykacja zbiorów Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Pelplinie (War losses and reclamation of the collection belonging to the Library of the Higher Clerical Seminary in Pelplin)*, *Studia Pelplińskie* XXX/2000, p. 201.

262 *Ibid.*, pp. 202–207.

263 In any case these books are absent from the first inventory of the Stadt-Muzeum, later Muzeum Pomorskie, from 1887.

264 Cf. D. Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny...*, p. 118.

265 “*Kancjonały Sandomierskich Panien Benedyktyniek: B. Zbiór wielogłosowych śpiewów kościelnych z XVII i XVIII wieku (The cantionals of the Sandomierz Benedictine Sisters: B. Collection of polyphonic church chants from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)*, *Biuletyn Zrzeszenia Księży Muzyków* 1948, m 7, pp. 1–2; and *Kancjonały Sandomierskich Panien Benedyktyniek, Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* 1958, m 7–8, pp. 240–243.

attention of musicologists, apart from a very valuable and interesting M.A. thesis written at the Catholic University of Lublin by Irena Rybicka²⁶⁶, devoted to the eight magnificats included in it. The manuscript encompasses eight partbooks in oblong format, 16.5 x 20 cm, four of which have folios with red edges, while the other four have folios with green-blue edges. All are uniformly bound in soft cardboard covered in brown leather, with embossed bordure on the front page and fully embossed back²⁶⁷. In the central part of the cover there is the monogram IHS which gives the impression of having been embossed independently of the other ornamentation. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a quite different, inexperienced and careless hand embossed on every partbook

266 I Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe z kancjonatu sandomierskich pp. benedyktynek (sygn. L.1643; I połowa XVII wieku) (Two-choir magnificats from the cantional of the Sandomierz Benedictine Sisters (ref. no. L.1643; first half of the seventeenth century))*, M.A. thesis, Catholic University of Lublin 1990. Unfortunately no published work resulted from this very interesting and carefully prepared thesis. I would like to express my warmest gratitude to Irena Rybicka for allowing me access to the typescript of her thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Marcin Konik and Dr. Maciej Jochymczyk for their selfless help.

267 According to Irena Rybicka the style of the cover decoration seems to be linked to the Cracovian school from the sixteenth century. The bordure is made up of lines, acanthuses and medallions with heads of kings. Irena Rybicka found a similar book cover among reproductions illustrating a volume by A. Bochniak and K. Buczkowski, *Rzemiosło artystyczne w Polsce (Artistic Craftsmanship in Poland)*, Warszawa 1971, figs. No. 135–136. This was the cover of a book from the library of Sigismund August from 1559 (now in the collection of the National Museum in Kraków). See I. Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe...*, p. 17. According to Dr Arkadiusz Wagner from the Institute of Scientific Information and Bibliology at the Mikołaj Kopernik University in Toruń – to whom I would like to express here my warm gratitude for his expert opinion – the materials used (brown calfskin on cardboard) and the form of decorations (tracer frame with motifs referring to antiquity) allow one to conclude with high degree of probability that the cover was produced in the same period as the manuscript, i.e., in the first half of the seventeenth century. The great popularity of the decorative formula described here would allow one to move the date of the production of the cover both backwards and forwards in time. The form of the work also allows us to hypothesise that this is the work of a local bookbinder (e.g., from Kraków, but also perhaps from Jarosław). Krystyna Kieferling's book *Jarosław w czasach Anny Ostrogskiej. Szkice do portretu miasta i jego właścicielki (1594–1635) (Jarosław in the Days of Anna Ostrogska. Sketches for a Portrait of the Town and its Owner (1594–1635))*, Przemyśl 2008, pp. 220–221) tells us that in the early years of the seventeenth century there was a bookbinder in Jarosław called Mateusz Szymończyk. He collaborated with the bookseller Andrzej Cichończyk and printer Jan Szeliga.

the abbreviated names of the parts, written in capitals: “DISZKANT PIERWSZY W PIRHO, DISZKANT WTORY W PIRW HO” (First Descant in First Choir, Second Descant in First Choir) etc.²⁶⁸. The number of folios in the individual partbooks is as follows: CI1 – 91; CI2 – 96; CI3 – 76; BI – 73; CII1 – 64; CII2 – 77; AII – 82; BII – 88. Since the greater part of the manuscript carries original pagination in ink, we can approximately estimate the number of the missing folios²⁶⁹. Continuous numbering of pages is found only in CI1 and BII; in the other parts the numbers of missing folios, starting with CI2, are: 1, 13, 23, 25, 13 and 6. Every partbook contains blank pages, the fewest number of them is in CI2 (11), the greatest in AII (60). The collection is extensive, containing more than 110 religious works with Latin and Polish texts, with polyphonic settings, many of them polychoral, transmitted anonymously. The partbooks do not contain any dates or surnames²⁷⁰, while the few comments next to the compositions relate only to performance practice. On the basis of the characteristics of the handwriting, Wendelin Świerczek dated the collection to the end of the seventeenth

268 Further on I will use the following abbreviations for the consecutive partbooks: CI1, CI2, CI3, BI, CII1, CII2, AII, BII. The names of parts adopted correspond to those used in the partbooks at the beginning of the music notation (1mus Cantus Primi Chori, Cantus 2ndus Primi Chori etc.).

269 The final pages of the partbooks do not have the original ink pagination; they are numbered in pencil, probably by Wendelin Świerczek.

270 The front covers of six books only carry the initials of the surnames (less likely to be first names, as was supposed by Rybicka), preceded by the letter P (Panna – Mistress/Maiden). These initials are written in ink, not very carefully, and appear together with an equally carelessly written note indicating the presence of *Stabat Mater* in the manuscript (in CI I “w tym Partesie / yest Stabat Mater” (in this partbook/ there is Stabat Mater), in CII “Wty Jest Staban mater i to si Spiwa” (In this there is Staban mater and that is sung), and in BII “Stond Spiwa sie / Staba Mater dolosa / zawse w wie I lko subte” (From here is sung Staba Mater dolosa/ always on Easter Saturday)). One might hypothesise that these inscriptions were written much later than the manuscript itself, and by that time the manuscript would basically no longer be in use; only once a year, on Easter Saturday, there would be sung quite a simple, stanzaic and homorhythmic *Stabat Mater*, which probably belonged to the part of the manuscript which was written later. Another pointer to some temporal distance between the creation of the source and the writing of the initials is also the cavalier treatment of what were probably expensive, skilfully crafted, leather covers. These initials are G, Ż, T (or Ł or F), K, S, Gum. It would be a highly unjustified procedure to try and identify the owners of the partbooks on the basis of the first letters of their surnames, but later on we will try to use them as an element supporting our hypothesis as to the provenance of the manuscript.

and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. However, even a first glance at the ductus of the music notation present in the manuscript makes one suspect that it was written much earlier, in the first half of the seventeenth century. The majority of the copyists of the collection L1643 wrote quite large music notes, with clear tear-like shape characteristic of manuscripts from that century; we also encounter here the direct sign being used very consistently. The repertory in the collection is in the polychoral style of the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The supposition that the source originates from the seventeenth century is confirmed by research into the watermarks and the style of ornamentation on the cover. The whole collection is written on uniform paper from the paper mill in Zgorzelec. The watermark depicts a lion in a cartouche with a crown; in the upper part of the cartouche, under the crown, there is the inscription Gorliz. Very similar watermarks are reproduced in *The Nostitz Papers*²⁷¹, interpreted there as coming from paper from the years 1626 and 1635 (No. 228 and 229); by then watermarks from Zgorzelec from the years after 1635 have different forms²⁷². Only on two folios at the beginning of books CII and BI do we find fragments of a different watermark, resembling Doliwa with Leliwa, familiar from the paper used in Kraków during the years 1606–1623 and in Lubin in 1627²⁷³. This information inclines one to date the books to the period from the second half of the 1620s to the first half of the 1640s. Dating to a later period, made difficult by wars and epidemics, is unlikely.

There is much to indicate that the eight books in question were prepared at some bookbinding establishment especially for notating the music of the two-choir repertory. We have the evidence of the different colours of the edges of the folios in the book containing the parts of the first choir from the book with the parts of the second choir. Indications of the books being created earlier and filled in later also come from the lack of a relationship between the fascicle

271 *The Nostitz Papers; Notes on Watermarks Found in the German Imperial Archives of the 17th & 18th Centuries, and Essays Showing the Evolution of a Number of Watermarks*, Hilversum 1956, p. 52., quoted after: I. Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe...*, p. 19.

272 *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19. The export of paper from Silesia during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was mainly directed towards the east (Poland, Lithuania, Ruthenia). During the thirty-year war the paper industry in Silesia gradually declined (K. Maleszyńska, *Dzieje starego papiernictwa śląskiego (History of old paper industry in Silesia)*, Wrocław 1961, p. 131, quoted after: *ibid.*, pp. 18–19).

273 J. Siniarska-Czaplicka, *Filigiany papierni...*, tabl. XVI, quoted after: *ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

structure and the distribution of the contents, or the appearance of consecutive handwritings.

The repertory in the collection, exclusively liturgical or linked to liturgy, includes compositions devoted to Saint Benedict (3) and Saint Scholastica (5), which points to the conclusion that they originated from a female Benedictine convent. Since the collection was preserved in Sandomierz, and since there are no provenance or possessory notes, both Wendelin Świerczek and Irena Rybicka assumed that the polychoral collection belonged to the convent of Benedictine nuns there, well known for its rich musical practice. It seems, however, that the origin of the collection is unlikely to be Sandomierz, in view of the presence in it of five compositions devoted to Saint Anne. The number of compositions in honour of Saint Anne is the same as those devoted to Saint Scholastica, the main patron of the female branch of the order of Saint Benedict. In the legacy of the seventeenth-century Benedictine nuns from Sandomierz we find no trace of the worship of the mother of Virgin Mary²⁷⁴. None of the founders of the Sandomierz Benedictine convent called Anne or any of the abbesses during the period of interest to us²⁷⁵ (see Fig. 14).

Looking at the other Benedictine convents from the point of view of the presence of the worship of Saint Anne, the most probable answer seems to be to link the origin of the collection to the Benedictine sisters in Jarosław. This was founded in 1611 by *Anna Ostrogska née Kostka*, the owner of the city at that time. During the first century of its existence, until 1692, the convent was governed by three consecutive abbesses with the same name and surname, three *Anna Kostkas* (*Kostczanka*). The altar of Saint Anne at the church of the Benedictine nunnery at Jarosław was also funded by Abbess *Anna Kostczanka* and consecrated by her in 1628²⁷⁶. That same abbess donated to the convent

274 Cf. W. Marszałek, *Kult świętych w klasztorze Panien Benedyktynek w Sandomierzu (The Worship of Saints at the Convent of Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz)*, M.A. thesis KUL 1999, *passim*.

275 It was not until the years 1660–1666 that the Benedictine nuns there were ruled by Abbess *Anna Oleśnicka*; however, her governance came at a difficult time for the convent, of plague and escapes from invasions, and thus we cannot link the writing of the manuscript to that period, even if we ignore its earlier dating on the basis of codicological information.

276 Manuscript at the Ossolineum Library shelfmark 101/II (BNMf3948), *Opisanie praw i przywilejów wielebnym Pannom Oyca św. Benedykta klasztoru jarosławskiego w roku 1740 zaczęte (Description of the rights and privileges of the reverend ladies of Father Saint Benedict of the Jaroslaw convent began in 1740)*, p. 7.

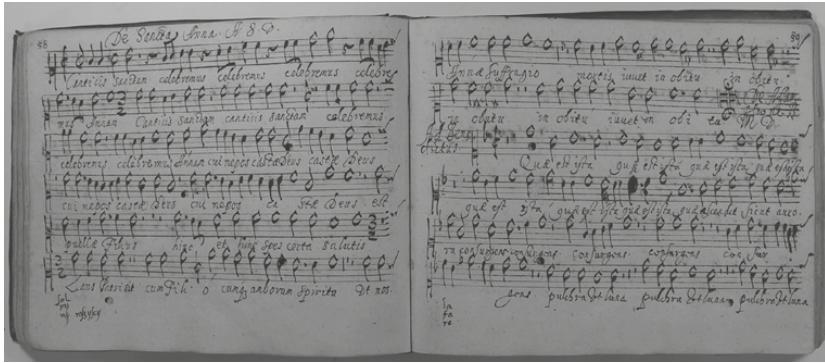


Fig. 14: *Canticis sanctam*, motet to the glory of St Anne, ms. L 1643 from the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, which probably came from the Benedictine convent in Jarosław, Soprano book of the first choir, pp. 58–59

church a “pure gold monstrance studded with jewels” on her nameday, and offered one just like it to the Jesuits from Saint John’s²⁷⁷. The worship of the Saviour’s Grandmother was also present at the collegiate church at Jarosław²⁷⁸. A particular worship of Saint Anne at the place of the manuscript’s origin is also evidenced by the inscription placed on the inside page of the back cover of part CII: “Jezus, Marya, Anna”, referring to the representations of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne²⁷⁹. The presence of compositions devoted to other saints may also provide evidence of the collection originating in Jarosław, above all, the three works devoted to Saint Nicholas, one of them with the acrostic NIKOLAUS.

277 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

278 Saint Anne was the patron of the chapel at the Jarosław collegiate church, in which Princess Ostrogska buried her four prematurely deceased sons (K. Kieferling, *Jarosław w czasach...*, pp. 38–39). At the collegiate church, there was also a brotherhood bearing her name, and on each Tuesday the organist would play a votive in honour of Saint Anne. Diligence in especially honouring one’s patron saint was a fairly typical feature of the piety of Polish magnates in the seventeenth century.

279 In Christian iconography Saint Anne is often depicted together with Mary and baby Jesus in a manner which emphasises her maternal relationship with the Mother of God. Usually Mary, holding Jesus, is sitting in the lap of Saint Anne, and sometimes she is even depicted as a little girl. Cf. the picture of Saint Anna Samotrzecia from the Carmelite church in Strzegom (now at the National Museum in Wrocław) from the end of the fourteenth century.

Saint Nicholas was the patron saint of the hill on which the convent was built, as well as the convent church in Jarosław. On the other hand, the presence of the motets *Angele Dei* and *Laudem date*²⁸⁰ may be related to the brotherhood of Saint Guardian Angels, founded at the convent church by abbess Anna Kostczanka I in 1629. Every Wednesday its members organised Brotherhood masses, sung or read, about holy Angels²⁸¹. Saint Michael, patron of Christian knights, to whom are devoted three motets from manuscript L1643, was greatly revered throughout the whole of the Commonwealth. The “Heavenly Hetman”, as the saint was described by Anna Ostrogska herself, was the object of an especially intense worship also in Jarosław, as one of the patrons of that city. The princess founded a statue of Saint Michael, which soared over the city from the tower of the collegiate church of Jarosław, as well as founding two churches bearing his name on her estates beyond the city walls²⁸². The feast of Saint Michael was also observed with great ceremony at the church of the Benedictine Sisters; thanks to the foundation established by Father Michał E. Snopkowiecki at the beginning of the seventeenth century; on that day music would be provided by the ensemble musicians, who were given certain sums for food and wine²⁸³.

A factor which supports the hypothesis that the manuscript originates from Jarosław is the presence in the music collection from Sandomierz of other music manuscripts from that centre. The Diocesan Library in Sandomierz holds three music manuscripts which point to Jarosław provenance: two from the Jesuit collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and one given to Sister Żaboklicka, a Benedictine nun from Jarosław, with the date 1709²⁸⁴. It is highly probable that it was that nun, Helena Żaboklicka, who was the owner of one of the partbooks, the one with the initials P[anna] Ż[aboklicka] written on the cover. When trying to “fit” the initials on the covers of the partbooks: G, Ż, T (or Ł, or F), K, S and Gum, to the surnames written in the register of the Jarosław Benedictines, I concentrated on Gum and Ż as the letters which stand at the beginning of relatively fewer surnames. The most probable later owners of the manuscripts seem

280 Titled *De Angelis*.

281 Ossol., shelfmark101/II, k.105v., quoted after: R. Pelczar, *Życie muzyczne...*, p. 35.

282 K. Kieferling, *Jarosław w czasach...*, pp. 48–49.

283 Ossol., shelfmark 101/II, k.110, quoted after: Roman Pelczar, *Życie muzyczne ...*, p. 32.

284 *Wielebnej w Chrystusie JPannie Żaboklicki Wojewodziance Podolski Zakonnicy Reguły S.O.B. ... Paniien Jarosławskich WM Pannie z serca Kochany Ciotce y Dobrodzi...* (To the reverend in Christ Mistress Żaboklicki, Daughter of the Voivod of Podole, Nun of the S.O.B. Order ... of Jarosław ladies heartily beloved Aunt and Benefa...; on the back of the title page *Concerto pro defunctis Parendum est*, BDSand 499/A VIII 139.

to me to be Apolonia Gumowska and Helena Żaboklicka. They went through their novitiate, profession and consecration in the same years (correspondingly, 1693, 1695, 1696), and thus they belonged to the same generation²⁸⁵. By the time they lived in the convent, the manuscript was already sufficiently old to have had scratched in ink on its leather-bound and embossed cover the words “Wty Jest Staban mater i to si Spiwa” (Here is Staban mater and it is to be sung), as well as the initials of the then current owners²⁸⁶.

There were nine copyists engaged in writing the manuscript (A-I)²⁸⁷, but the polyphonic repertory was entered by eight hands (A-H); copyist I notated only two monophonic plainsong votive masses in book CI3. The number of copyists, perhaps not accidentally the same as the scoring of the majority of the compositions, as well as the manner of notating, create the impression that the manuscript was the work of an organised group of people who, however, did not complete it.

The entering of the compositions into the eight partbooks is begun by copyists A and B, with the first one entering only two works. Copyist B continues immediately after, notating the next eight compositions, on two occasions leaving blank pages in all the parts, two or three the first time around, only one the second time. Probably, copyists A and B made entries in all the eight books (probably because in book CI3 there are pages torn out where there should be entries in the hand of B). It may seem puzzling that copyist B entered the same, very long litany *De nomine Jesu* twice. The two entries of this litany are separated by only one very short piece, *O magnum misterium*. However, a closer look allows us to guess why the copyist repeated the entry: the consecutive invocations of the litany are sung alternately by the two choirs. In the first entry, on each occasion when invocations are sung by the other choir there are only rests; in the second

285 Gumowska died in 1748, Żaboklicka in 1734. M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej (Lexicon of Polish nuns during the period prior to partitions)*, vol III: *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie i Ziemie Ruskie Korony Polskiej (Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenian Lands of the Polish Crown)*, Warszawa 2008, p. 211.

286 As far as the remaining letters are concerned, in that generation of Jarosław nuns we find Anna Golyńska (novitiate 1688, d. 1738), Katarzyna Głębocka (nov. 1686, d. 1735), Alojza Glinczanka (nov. 1689, d. 1744), Katarzyna and Ludwika Tarłówna (correspondingly: nov. 1688 and 1690, d. 1728, 1741), Anna Korabiewska and Anna Krasowska (nov. 1680, 1679, d. 1713, 1726), Teofila and Marianna Sołtykówna (nov. 1688, 1693, d. 1761, 1748), Katarzyna Skurczycka (nov. 1689, d.1760).

287 I owe the identification of the scribes to I. Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe ... Aneks*, phot. 3 11.

entry at those points we find incipits of the texts of the invocations with the comment “not sung”, which may have been a practical way of facilitating the performance of the litany.

In some of the books the blank pages left by copyist B are filled by copyists C and D, as well as A, with parts from various compositions. After copyist B the work is continued by copyist C, who enters *Magnificat octavi toni a 8* in six books. Copyist C does not enter them in books CI2 and CI3, where we find the hand of copyist D; who, *nota bene*, enters different compositions in each of the partbooks. Trying to save the situation, copyist C enters her *Magnificat* earlier in part CI2, where copyist B left some space. Copyist C may have carried out the same procedure in part CI3, but the relevant pages have been removed, which is why we have *Magnificat octavi toni* in an incomplete form, deprived of one part. On the following dozen or so pages in books BI, AII and BII the next two copyists, E and H, enter the same group of a few compositions, not always in the same order. This is an unusual situation in this manuscript, since on most occasions all the voices of a given work are entered by the same scribe. In CI1, CI3 and CII1, as well as CII2, these parts of the manuscript correspond to blank pages or isolated and chaotic entries by copyist D. That copyist enters at that point in CI1, tightly filling the gap, a set of compositions partly totally different, and partly the same as E and H.

From approximately page fifty to page ninety, we again find complete and consecutively ordered entries of compositions by copyists B, F, again B, again F and C. This is followed by a gap of a few pages, after which copyist G enters two *Magnificats: wielkanocne a 6* (Easter Magnificats a 6) and *tertii toni a 8*. Copyist D intervenes again in the gap between the handwritings of C and G, over-eagerly entering in the seventh part *Magnificat Wielkanocne a 6* (repeating the part of CI3), and enters other compositions in CI2.

From approximately page 100 to 150 we find a section of the manuscript where instead of complete and orderly entries of compositions there are blank sheets, missing sheets, incomplete entries by copyists D and E, and two plain-song votive masses in CI3, probably entered later, after it had become clear that work on the polychoral repertory would not be continued. In partbook CI2, on pages 109–145, copyist D enters compositions directly one after another, a significant number of which appears only in that partbook, or also in CII2 and BII. When entering some of them in the lower voices copyist D collaborates with copyist E. Both of them also enter parts of compositions the other parts of which had been entered much earlier. Thus, for example, two works celebrating Saint Michael, *Factum est silentium* and *Princeps gloriosissimae*, entered in the hand of D, appear in different partbooks, correspondingly on pages 115, 42–43, 22–23,

127–128 and 114, 41–42, 22, 126–127. Of these two, one is undoubtedly incomplete, since the title describes it as *a* 8. How were the performers to cope with such a lack of synchrony in the notation? We find a similar example in the entry of the composition *Gaudeamus omnes*, celebrating Saint Scholastica, on pages 38, 146, 105–106, 102–103, 21–22 and again in the same partbook on pages 124–125. In CI1 and CI2 the entry of this composition, written in the hand of E, breaks off after the third line and after entering the clef in the next line. In BI, we have a complete entry in the hand of copyist H. It is also complete in partbooks CII2 and BII (here entered twice). Scribes E and H, unlike the others, did not enter parts in all the partbooks. We find the hand of copyist E only in CI1, CI2, CI3, CII2 and BII, and the hand of H only in CI3, BII and AII. It appears as if their role was to help copyist D.

Should we sum up the chaos which rules throughout a significant part of the manuscript with a paraphrase of the familiar proverb about too many cooks spoiling the broth? Perhaps not. One explanation for the “untypical” manner of shaping the manuscript might be the hypothesis that it functioned as a repository. This would also be confirmed by the fact that the manuscript does not show signs of much use²⁸⁸, and by the desynchronisation of the notation of some of the compositions in consecutive partbooks. Following an analysis of the participation in the writing of the manuscript by consecutive copyists, we can divide them into two groups. Copyists A, B, C, F and G entered compositions in an orderly sequence, in that the same copyist entered a given composition in all the partbooks. On the other hand, copyists E and H did not enter compositions in all the parts, but, instead, collaborated with copyist D. The role of the latter is difficult to interpret. On the basis of a graph depicting the contents of the books and the participation of the scribes²⁸⁹ one might conclude that she was the greatest “mess-maker” of them all. However, when one looks at the ductus of that nun’s handwriting, the most careful and most skilled among those present in the collection, this makes evaluation more difficult. It is difficult to decide whether copyist D introduced chaos into the manuscript by trying to “cram” consecutive compositions into already bound partbooks, or whether, writing at a later date, tried to save the situation by filling the gaps which had been created.

288 The manuscript bears signs showing that it had been used sparingly. The corners of the pages are clean, although the colouring of the edges is rubbed off on the corners. However, all the partbooks are eaten through by insects, which as a rule does not pose difficulties in reading the entered text.

289 This hand-drawn graph cannot be included in the book because of its size.

It was also copyist D who introduced most of the corrections, mainly in the form of glued-in strips with self-corrections, and began to create a contents list on the initial, unlined pages of the partbooks. The same hand also wrote performance notes, which appear most frequently in book CI2²⁹⁰.

It should also be emphasised that book CI2 is generally the “leading” voice as far as the shaping of the collection is concerned, since it contains nearly all (with the exception of four) polyphonic works notated in the source. Those which appear only in this partbook are entered in the hand of D, those which are also notated in only some of the books are entered by copyists D, E and H. Copyist D is the main copyist of book CI2; that book also contains a contents list which is different from the others, including more compositions but not ordered alphabetically. Are we then dealing with a partbook belonging to a cantress, and was that cantress the nun referred to here as copyist D?

In all the partbooks with the exception of CI2 and CI3²⁹¹ the first page contains an alphabetical contents list, encompassing the first two letters of the alphabet. The contents list includes works beginning with the letter A and three of the five compositions beginning with B, and then it breaks off. Under it, in partbooks CI1 and AII, can be seen a carelessly drawn cross, drawn with another writing implement, while in partbooks BI, CII1 and BII another handwriting wrote words which might mean “what to write”. Also, only in partbook CII2 do we find, added in a different hand, the work *Chrystus zmrtwychwstał* (Christ has risen). Among works beginning with A we find in the contents list of partbook CI2 the work *Archanioł Gabriel* (Archangel Gabriel), absent from the manuscript, and another *Ave Maris Stella*. There are more inconsistencies of this kind in the other partbooks; for example, the contents list in CI1 shows the compositions *Adiuro vos*, *Alma redemptoris* and another *Attollite portas*, although they are missing from this book. The entries of these compositions in the “leading” partbook, CI2, are within the range of pages left blank in CI1, all entered in the hand of D, i.e., the scribe of the contents list. Presumably this might mean that it was planned to enter them in partbook CI1. However, the plan was implemented only in part, since these three works were also entered only in one or two partbooks other than CI2. On the other hand, the contents list of CI2 does not show the work *Anna, pia mater*, entered by scribe D also at the point where in CI1 pages were

290 In the majority of cases these are the so-called *incepta*, i.e. notes from which consecutive voices begin to sing, sometimes with such remarks as, e.g., to give “not high”.

291 In partbook CI3 the sheet with the contents list had been removed, while the contents list of book CI2 is arranged differently.

left blank. However, that composition was entered in the final section of the manuscript, on pages 168–169, and only in partbook CI2, which suggests that this final section was written relatively later, after the contents list had been entered.

Assuming that the repertory entered in manuscript L 1643 functioned in the Benedictine nuns community in Jarosław during the 1620s, 1630s and the beginning of the 1640s, while analysing the liturgical purpose of the compositions, we may ask about the significance of polyphonic and polychoral practice in the liturgical-musical culture as a whole – a culture which also included plainsong chant and the financing of vocal-instrumental music²⁹². Among the 110 polyphonic compositions entered there we find seven for four voices, two for six voices, one each for nine and ten voices²⁹³ and forty-one eight-voice ones. The fifty-two listed compositions carry in their titles indications of the number of voices, the other fifty-eight do not have such information. However, among the latter, twenty-one are notated in all the eight partbooks, hence one can assume with a high degree of probability that these compositions were also intended for eight voices. We would thus have sixty-two compositions intended for two four-voice choirs²⁹⁴. It is difficult to tell what the scoring was for the other compositions, preserved incompletely and without an indication of the number of voices.

292 I. Rychlik (*Kościół i klasztor pp. Benedyktynek w Jarosławiu (The Church and Convent of Benedictine Nuns in Jarosław)*, Jarosław 1903, p. 17), and other authors after him, are of the opinion that the Benedictine nuns had their own ensemble, which in 1642 numbered 12 persons. This information was most probably taken from the manuscript Ossol, shelfmark 101/II, p. 112v; we do in fact find there the phrase that the abbess “kept 10 priests and 12 musicians”, which appears to mean that they were permanently employed at the convent. However, it seems highly improbable that the abbess of Benedictine nuns would establish a fifth ensemble in the city, alongside the two at the Jesuit colleges (in Jarosław there were two Jesuit colleges: the Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist from 1573 and the Blessed Virgin Mary “in the Field” from 1629; both had music bursaries), the third – collegial one, and the fourth, the private ensemble of Princess Ostrogska (see R. Pelczar, *Życie muzyczne w kościołach i klasztorach Jarosławia (Musical life in the churches and convents of Jarosław)*, *Nasza Przeszłość* 107/2007, passim). In that situation, it would undoubtedly have been more practical to pay the musicians from the existing ensembles, which was common practice in the other convents of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno rule.

293 I. Rybicka (*Manificat dwuchórowe...*, p. 105) mentions 2 ten-voice *Salve Regina*, but it seems that the notation of the second one, present only in partbook CI2, is in fact the ninth voice of the first *Salve*.

294 Not all of them survive in a complete form.

There are forty-six compositions notated in full: forty-one eight-voice, four four-voice and one six-voice. One composition has only the verbal text with blank space left for the music²⁹⁵. The collection contains mainly Latin liturgical repertory; there are only eight works with Polish texts. There is a significant dominance of office chants, particularly those intended for afternoon services, vespers and compline. These are thirty-four antiphons, nineteen responsories, ten canticles (nine Magnificats and one canticle of three youths *Benedicite omnia opera domini*), seven hymns and two psalms²⁹⁶. Alongside these we have nine mass chants: three *offertoria*, three *communias*, one sequence with a Polish text *Chwał Syjonie Zbawcę* (Praise the Saviour, Oh Zion), one introit, one alleluia verse.

The manuscript also contains nine songs (three carols among them)²⁹⁷, five litanies and two lamentations²⁹⁸. We also find here compositions the liturgical function of which is unknown, for which we can establish the origin of the text: *Adiuvo vos* and *Vulnerasti car meum* are texts from *Song of songs* popular in the seventeenth century, set to music and used particularly in the piety of female convents. *Dilecte me, noli me deserere* are fragments of the rhymed legend of Saint Scholastica and Saint Benedict, *O viri Galilei, o amici Dei* is troped poetry based on the chapter of the Acts of the Apostles relating to the Feast of Ascension, while the chant with the short text *Deo dicamus gratias* may have had various functions, such as at the end of the mass.

The texts of the other compositions are of an unidentified origin and unknown liturgical function, but they obviously belong to a particular worship. Among them we find three works devoted to Anne (*Canticis sanctam, Nihil est Annae, Salve Anna sanctissima*), one each for the feast of Saint Benedict (*Benedictum Sanctum*), Saint Scholastica (*O sanctissima anima virginis Scholastice*), Guardian Angels (*Angele Dei*), and Corpus Christi (*Salve corpus Jesu, Sine sitim*)²⁹⁹.

295 *Czemu me oko...*, copyist D, partbook ClI.

296 In discussing the contents of the manuscript I rely largely on the findings of Irena Rybicka (*Magnificat dwuchórowe...*, pp. 30–36).

297 Among them *Kolęda wdzięczna* (*A grateful carol*) and *Chrystus z martwych wstał jest* (*Christ has risen from the dead*) are the only completely preserved polychoral compositions with the text in Polish known to date.

298 I mention the sequence *Stabat mater* in this group, since in the collection it is titled *Plankt grobowy o Żalósnej Boga Rodzice* (Tomb lamentation about the Sorrowful Mother of God) (cf. *ibid.*, p. 32).

299 Entered in ClI2 by copyist D in a group of four works described as “For Corpus Christi” (pp. 46–51). Alongside those listed also: *O quam suavis est domine, Dominus Iesus In quanocte*.

The Jarosław Benedictine sisters left us neither their ceremonial nor directorium³⁰⁰, thus we cannot be certain how particular feast days were celebrated and, following from that, the role played in them by the nuns' polychoral practice. However, more than half of the recorded repertory contains guidelines regarding its liturgical purpose. As for the liturgical period for which the compositions in this collection are intended, Advent, Christmas and Easter are represented in more or less similar quantities (correspondingly eight, twelve and fifteen), while obviously the greatest intensity of possible performances of polychoral works falls during the period of the two most important Christian holy occasions. Corpus Christi also had a rich musical setting (11), and some compositions may probably have also been sung on other days, as works devoted to the Most Blessed Sacrament. We also find in the collection works about the Lord's Passion (2), works celebrating the Holy Trinity (2), the name of Jesus (2), and the consecration of the church (1). A record number of compositions relates to the person of the Mother of God (33); these works were performed during Advent and Christmas, but also on Marian feast days: the birth of the Mother of God, the Annunciation, Purification (Candlemas) and Ascension (see Fig. 15). The collection also contains a large group of works devoted to other saints: Angels (3), Anne (5), Benedict (3), Virgins (3), John the Evangelist (1), Machabees (2), Martyrs (42), Archangel Michael (2), Nicholas (3), Scholastica (5), Widows (4) and All Saints (2). Such a rich and varied liturgical repertory allows one to suggest that polychoral performances played a significant part in the musical practice of the writers of the manuscript, and that these performances were cultivated throughout the liturgical year, and not just on the occasion of the most important feast days. It is also in accordance with the baroque tendency of

300 In the archives left by the Benedictine nuns, sources of this type have been preserved from Sandomierz, Lvov and Nieśwież, but they are dated as late as the second half of the eighteenth century – a period when the convents tried to record and preserve their customs with the tradition being threatened. Prior to that, during the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in the words of Małgorzata Borkowska: “the baroque sense of liturgy was being expressed freely, multiplying rites and adding external splendour to the ceremonies” (M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 264). Borkowska quotes examples of introducing new local customs on the order of the abbess, in relation to events which were regarded as important for a given convent. These local customs may have concerned the worship of a particular saint, or the reciting of particular prayers. Our collection comes from that period, of a degree of freedom and differentiation of traditions of individual worship centres. For this reason, we are unable to describe with certainty the manner of their use on the basis of the texts of the compositions alone.

adding splendour to the setting of the liturgical ceremonies, and with the spirit of the Benedictine order, in which it was the liturgy which was at the centre of the life of the communities of monks and nuns.

The majority of the compositions entered in L 1643 are two-choir compositions for eight high voices, notated in a number of *chiavette* using the clefs G2, C1, C2, C3 and C4. While the legacy of the seventeenth century holds a sizeable repertory of compositions *a voci mutate*, i.e., for “male” voices, with the exception of the soprano, in contrast, a similar polyphonic repertory for female voices is a rarity; particularly rare are examples of polychoral works intended purely for high voices³⁰¹. This results from the fact that although female convents cultivated polyphony, very often they used compositions in ordinary notation scored for mixed voices; nuns coped with them in a variety of ways, while composers and editors preferred their works to have universal application. Even the published polyphonic works by Italian nun-composers were almost always intended for mixed parts. The manner of notating polyphonic works, including polychoral ones, in reality had no influence on the performance practice in female convents.

The methods of dealing with the absence of male voices in the performance ensemble may be reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary information preserved in sources primarily in Italian convents. And so: 1. the whole work might be transposed, most often a fourth or fifth upwards³⁰²; 2. the bass voice might be transposed wholly or partially an octave upwards; 3. the bass part might be replaced by an instrument; 4. the bass part or bass and tenor parts might be

301 The author is familiar with only two motets and one part of a mass from Adriano Banchieri's edition *Messa solenne a otto voci* from 1599: *Laetamini et exultate, Adoramus te dulcissime Jesu Christe* and *Crucifixus*, as well as two other editions containing works of this kind: Tomaso D. Baldoni (Venice 1601) and Francesco Martini (Rome 1617). Baldoni's collection is titled *Vesperì per tutte le solennità dell'anno, con una messa & Te Deum a 6 voci pari; aggiuntovi Falso Bordone, & Gloria Patri... a 8 voci pari*. In the introduction to the *basso continuo* book we are told: “In questi ultimi giorni ad istanza d'alcuni Reveren. Patri & Reveren. Monache di Padoa ho composti certi Salmi & Messe a 6 voci che possono cantarsi alla Bassa senza Soprani & all'Alta senza Bassi?”. I am grateful to Candance Smith and Professor Craig Monson for this information.

302 A modern female performer of the convent repertory is of the opinion that a composition would be performable by female voices if its ambitus was between a and a². Cf. booklet accompanying the recording *Sulpitia Cesis, Motetti spirituali (1619)*, Cappella Artemisia, dir. C. Smith, Tactus 2009.

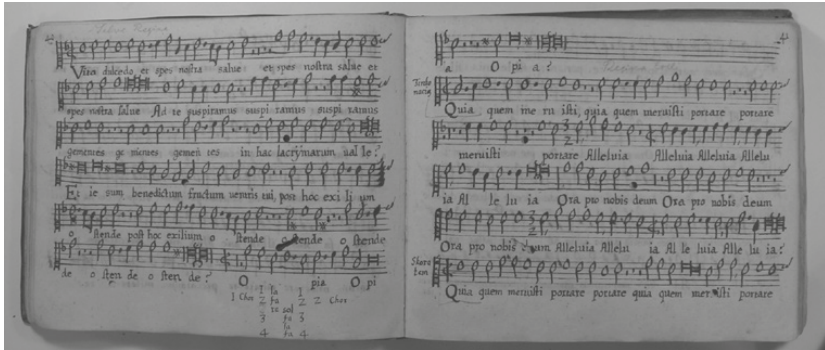


Fig. 15: *Salve Regina* and *Regina coeli*, eight-voice settings in *alternatim* technique, ms. L 1643 held at the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, probably from the Benedictine nuns convent in Jarosław, Alto I choir partbook, pp. 40–41

performed on instruments, and the female singers could also perform the same parts in transposition³⁰³. Compositions in manuscript L1643 have *ad aequales* texture, which means that their notation does not reflect transposition of the bass an octave higher. The *ambitus* of these works spans the distance between the notes f-a³, i.e., corresponds to transcription an octave higher than the *ambitus* recommended by theorists for *voci mutata*³⁰⁴. On the whole one does not notice a difference of register between the choirs, even when, in a few cases, the *chiavette* deviate slightly from one another. Some of the compositions were written for equal voices, i.e., within the same register (e.g., *Exultate Deo* or *Benedicite omnia opera Domini*), in others one can distinguish voices whose part fits approximately within the ambitus of Soprano, Alto and Tenor. Some of the voices have a very wide ambitus, such as Canto II in *Benedicite omnia opera: a - a³* or BI in the same work: f - f³.

303 Both in Italian and Polish sources we find information about nuns who sang tenor and bass parts very well. In all probability, the information about a nun singing bass should not be understood to mean that she sang in the register of a bass voice, but that she performed the bass part in total or partial transposition.

304 F. Carey, *Composition for Equal Voices in the Sixteenth Century*, *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Summer 1991, p. 315. The subject of writing compositions *a voci mutata* was discussed by Pietro Aaron, Gioseffo Zarlino, Thomas Morley and Pietro Cerone. They recommended not going beyond the ambitus of 15 or 17 notes; usually they proposed A-a³, G-g³ or F-f³ (ibid. pp. 301–303).

In view of the absence of concordances to our Jarosław repertory, we should assume that the works included in manuscript L 1643 may have been written as being intended for high voices, or been transposed from scoring for *a voci mutate*. Such an unusual case for polychoral repertory of notating compositions (originally or after transposition) using only high clefs was presumably a way of facilitating the performance of these compositions.

When we start questioning the origin of the repertory in manuscript L 1643, we will mainly be able to pose questions to which today we do not know the answers³⁰⁵. We do know that the collection includes compositions written within a Polish community. This is obvious in the case of the eight works with Polish texts (see Ex. 1) and two Magnificats, the Easter and Christmas ones, which quote Polish hymns³⁰⁶; and it is also possible in the case of works devoted to Saint Anne and Saint Nicholas, the saints linked to the local worship in Jarosław. The magnificats in questions are *Magnificat Wielkanocne sex vocum* and *Magnificat Tertii Toni Pro Natali Domini 8 vocum*³⁰⁷. In the first of these the anonymous composer used five hymns: *Chrystus Pan zmartwychwstał (Et exultavit)*, *Chrystus zmartwychwstał jest (Quia fecit)*, *Wstał Pan Chrystus (Fecit potentiam)*, *Chrystus zmartwychwstał jest, alleluja (Esurientes)*, *Dnia tego świętego (Sicut locutus)* and as a return *Chrystus Pan zmartwychwstał (Sicut erat)*. The hymn *Chrystus zmartwychwstał jest, alleluja* is present in our collection also in an eight-voice setting. In fact, Rybicka saw features of contrafacture between that and a part of *Esurientes* from *Magnificat Wielkanocne*³⁰⁸. Interestingly, four out of the five hymns on which *Magnificat Wielkanocne* from the Benedictine manuscript is based were also used by Marcin Leopolda in *Missa paschalis*. Of greatest significance in this mass is the melody of the hymn *Chrystus Pan zmartwychwstał*; it opens nearly all the parts of the mass and is the one quoted most frequently³⁰⁹.

305 A search for concordances in the RISM database produced negative results.

306 Their presence had already been noted by Wendelin Świerczek (*Kancjonały Sandomierskich Panien Benedyktynek*, p. 242). Irena Rybicka analysed these magnificats in greater depth (*Magnificat dwuchórowe ...*, pp. 44–49), and in this paragraph, I base my comments on her findings.

307 The collection also includes other, four-voice magnificats intended for those feast days, but in an incomplete form. Although the highest voice, which in the complete canticles carries the hymn c.f., is missing, on the basis of similarities in the melodic material Rybicka has put forward a cautious hypothesis that they also used the melodies of the same hymns.

308 *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

309 K. Morawska, *Renesans. 1500–1600*, Warszawa (1994), pp. 145–146.

That same melody begins and ends the Easter Magnificat in manuscript L 1643. The melodies of the hymns in question also appear in the pseudo-plainsong *Credo paschale*, various versions of which are to be found in Polish graduals from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which was hypothesised by Feicht³¹⁰ to have been the basis of the mass by Marcin of Lvov. The origin of the melody of the hymn *Chrystus Pan zmartwychwstał* is unknown, but the other sources on which *Missa paschalis* and *Magnificat wielkanocne* are based come from plainsong; similar hymns were sung in Czech and German³¹¹. In *Magnificat Bożonarodzeniowy* the composer makes use of four carols: *Resonet in laudibus* (the first half of the melody of the carol in *Et exultaviti*, the second in *Quia fecit*), *Puer nobis nascitur (Fecit potentiam)*, *Nużmy wszyscy (Esurientes)*, *Anioł pasterzom (Sicut locutus)* and as the return *Resonet in laudibus (Sicuterat)*. In this setting of Mary's canticle after every one of the six verses³¹² there appears the refrain taken from the melody of the refrain of the carol *Resonet in laudibus: Eia, eia, Virgo Deum genuis*. In both "song" Magnificats *cantus firmus* is found almost exclusively in the highest voices of both choirs; songs are generally used in full, and their consecutive phrases appear in the dialogue of the two choirs³¹³.

Are there any compositions among the other works the creation of which is linked to Polish culture? Was there a composer of, for example, one of the Polish-language works, among the nun-performers and nun-scribes? Did Melchior Fabricius, a Jesuit who came to the college at the church of Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist in Jarosław on two occasions as a lecturer on theology, contribute to the collection either as a composer or as an intermediary in obtaining the works? He was also known as composer of *Magnificat na 8 głosów* in the Pelplin Tablature³¹⁴. Could another Jesuit from Jarosław be such an

310 Feicht thinks that *Credo paschale* must have been known much earlier (H. Feicht., O "Mszy wielkanocnej" Marcina Leopolda (On the "Easter Mass" by Marcin Leopolda), *Studia nad muzyką renesansu i baroku*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 38–39). I. Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe...*, p. 49.

311 H. Feicht, O "Mszy wielkanocnej" ..., p. 37.

312 According to the convention popular at that time, the magnificats in manuscript L 1643 were intended to be performed in the alternatim technique, hence polyphonic settings are given only to the even-numbered verses, while the other ones are simply omitted.

313 I. Rybicka, *Magnificat dwuchórowe...*, p. 45–46.

314 Melchior Fabricius taught theology at the Saint. John and Saint John college in Jarosław during the years 1622–1623 and 1630–1631; and was also its graduate (R. Pelczar, *Działalność oświatowo-kulturalna jezuitów w diecezji przemyskiej w XVI- XVIII wieku*

intermediary or composer? After all, Jesuits were exceptionally mobile members of the Church, and because of the views of Abbess Magdalena Mortęska they very often worked with Benedictine nuns as their chaplains and confessors. Or perhaps some other musician from Jarosław, employed at the college or in the ensemble of Princess Ostrogska, contributed to the creation of the manuscript? Perhaps the Benedictine Sisters from Jarosław obtained the repertory in the collection through the family connections of Abbess Anna Kostczanka, since the Kostka family were among important patrons of music in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania³¹⁵. The repertory most probably came from various sources and was entered in manuscript L 1643 which was to be its repository³¹⁶. In that case, might it also contain works from the “partbooks for fractus singing”, with which the abbess from Chełmno, Magdalena Mortęska, equipped the nuns travelling to the new foundation in Jarosław in 1613³¹⁷?

The musical style of polychoral compositions in the collection in question points to their creation after 1600. As a measure of “modernity”, or stylistic sophistication, of the two-choir compositions, we should take the presence of elements of contrast or concerting technique, and attempts to break away from the chain form of composition characteristic of the Renaissance motet. We find such elements in the majority of the compositions included in the manuscript³¹⁸. The main factors of contrast in the repertory under discussion

(Educational and Cultural Activities of the Jesuits in the Diocese of Przemyśl during the 16th-18th Centuries), Przemyśl 1999, p. 49).

315 Cf. M. Walter-Mazur, *Music in the Benedictine Nunneries in Chełmno and Toruń after the Post-Tridentine Reform*, *Musica Baltica. The Music Culture of Baltic Cities in Modern Times*, Gdańsk 2010, p. 446.

316 I expect that at the time it was being written it was intended as a repository, but later, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it must have been used for practical musical purposes, probably because of one composition: *Stabat Mater* (“Wty Jest Staban mater to si spiwa”, as per the anonymous inscription on the cover of C2II).

317 *Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich*, p. 146. The only surviving manuscript written in Chełmno for the “Jarosław choir” is a plainsong antiphonary now held at the Benedictine nuns convent in Przemyśl (ref. no. 9). It was written by a Benedictine from Chełmno, Dorota Wichorska, in 1617 (cf. R. Pelczar, *Życie muzyczne...*, p. 33).

318 My conclusions regarding the style are based on the detailed analysis of the nine *Magnificats*, contained in the oft-quoted work by Irena Rybicka, as well as twelve other works analysed by me. That analysis would not have been possible without the participation of my students who carried out the transcriptions: Ewelina Chatłas, Ewa Fabiańska, Paweł Frasz, Anna Gref, Olga Lisiecka, Aida Michałowska, Michał Niemczyk and Sonia Wronkowska. I would like to take this opportunity to express my

are metre and rhythm. Nearly all the compositions use duple and triple time, and the changes sometimes take place on a number of occasions during the course of the work. Just as frequently the composers obtain contrast by using slower and faster rhythmic motion in consecutive sections (very apparent in *Exultate Deo*), but as yet they do not employ internal rhythmic contrast in the themes. As far as texture is concerned, it is dominated by *nota contra notam*, which is typical of polychorality. In order to introduce differentiation, we find sections using *floridus* counterpoint and imitation – the latter rarely (see Ex.2). We note imitations between parts within a choir and anticipation of one voice in relation to the others. In fact, these are more in the nature of pseudo-imitations, since the factor which determines the linear course is harmony – often such an “imitation” is carried out within the same chord or two. All the kinds of texture which have been mentioned: homorhythmic, free polyphonic and imitative appear in the composition *Laetami in Hierusalem*. This motet is also interesting in another respect.

Kołąda wdzięczna Pro Nativitate Christi Domini A 8 V.

The musical score is for a motet titled "Kołąda wdzięczna" (A 8 V). It is written for eight voices: Cantus I 1, Cantus I 2, Cantus I 3, Bassus I, Cantus II 1, Cantus II 2, Altus II, and Bassus II. The lyrics are: "Ko - łą - da wdzięcz - na nie - stwo - rzo - ne Slo - wo Syn Bo - zy Syn Bo - zy". The score is in G major and 3/4 time. The lyrics are printed below the corresponding staves.

heartfelt gratitude to them. The works which had not been transcribed were analysed by me on the basis of the notation in the partbooks.

19

C I1 zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu -

C I2 zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu -

C I3 zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu -

B I zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu -

C II1 zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo

C II2 zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo

A II Syn Ho - zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo

B II zy Pan - ny na - ro - dzil się no - wo

25

C I1 Al - le - lu - ja

C I2 Al - le - lu - ja

C I3 Al - le - lu - ja

B I Al - le - lu - ja

C II1 Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja

C II2 Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja

A II Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja

B II Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja Al - le - lu - ja

Example 1. Fragment of the transcription of the composition *Koleđa wdzieczna* from ms. L 1643 BDSand, from the edition *Sanctimonialis autem femina. Magnificat, motety i pieśni na dwa chóry żeńskie z rękopisu L1643 Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu*, ed. and intr. M. Walter-Mazur, Sandomierz 2012, pp. 285–287. Transcription by Sonia Wronkowska

It uses a device characteristic of the concerting texture, namely, contrasting one voice (the highest) with the remaining seven³¹⁹. Similar attempts to operate eight voices in a manner which goes beyond the typical two-choir texture is found in *Salve Anna sanctissima* which in the manuscript is accompanied by the note “For echo” (see Ex. 3); the composer juxtaposes C1 of the first choir with the whole of the second choir; CI1 and BI with the second choir, and, in turn, against the latter three voices from the first choir (CI2, CI, B); it is they which create that echo effect, repeating the last word of the theme. We can also see contrasts in different planes: melodic features (cantilene-declamatory), treatment of the text (syllabics-melismatics), tonality (chords with major third – chords with minor third), progressions.

319 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski (Music under the Patronage of the Polish Vasas. Marcin Mielczewski)*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 254–266, has drawn attention to the use of a similar device in the works of Claudio Monteverdi, Giovanni Battista Chinelli, Antonio Bertali, Franciscus Lilius, Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Marcin Mielczewski. However, in the case of these composers the relationship between the solo section of the highest voice and the following *tutti* of the others consists in repeating the material in simple harmonisation; on the other hand, in works in L 1643 we have a variety of situations: in *Salve Anna sanctissima* we have repetition, in *Laetamini in Hierusalem* and in *Angele Dei* we have dialoguing between the elements of scoring based on different words and different motivic material, while in *Canticis Sanctam* the words are repeated, but the composer made use of motivic work in the musical setting.

Canticis sanctam

25

ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu - i ne - pos cas -

ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu - i ne - pos cas -

ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim ce - le - bre - mus An - nim

ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu - i ne - pos cas -

bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu - i ne -

bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu - i ne - pos cas -

bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim

bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus ce - le - bre - mus An - nim cu -

26

tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos ca - stae

tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i

cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us

us cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De -

pos cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae

cu - i ne - pos ca - stae De - us

cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i

i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu - i ne - pos cas - tae De - us cu -

(continued on next page)

Canticis sanctam

31

C11 De - us est pael - lae Fi - li - us

C12 ne - pos - ca - stae Se - us est pael - lae Fi - li - us

C13 eu - i - ne - pos - cas - tae De - us est pael - lae Fi - li - us

B1 - us cas - tae De - us est pael - lae Fi - li - us

C11 De - us cns - tae De - us no -

C12 eu - i - ne - pos - cas - tae De - us no -

AII ne - pos - cas - tae De - us no -

BII i - ne - pos - cas - tae De - us no -

45

C11 hinc et hinc spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri -

C12 hinc et hinc spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri -

C13 hinc et hinc spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri -

B1 hinc et hinc spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat -

C11 bis de - cus spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri - sit

C12 bis de - cus spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri - sit

AII bis de - cus spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri - sit

BII bis de - cus spes cer - ta sa - lu - tis Laus Pat - ri - sit

Example 2. Fragment of transcription of the composition *Canticis sanctam* from ms. L 1643 BDSand, from the edition *Sanctimonialis autem femina. Magnificat motety i pieśni na dwa chóry żeńskie z rękopisu L 1643 Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu*, ed. and introduction M. Walter-Mazur, Sandomierz 2012, pp. 259–264. Transcription by Sonia Wronkowska.

Salve Anna Sanctissima

De Sancta Anna

Musical score for the first system, measures 1-11. The score includes parts for Cantus I 1, Cantus I 2, Cantus I 3, Bassus I, Cantus II 1, Cantus II 2, Altus II, and Bassus II. The lyrics are: Sal - ve An - na San - ctis - si - ma. Cantus I 2 and I 3 have the instruction *Na Echo to ten cicho*. Cantus II 1, II 2, and Bassus II have the instruction *Na Echo*. The lyrics for Cantus II 1, II 2, and Bassus II are: Sal - ve An - na san - ctis - si -

Musical score for the second system, measures 12-19. The score includes parts for C11, C12, C13, B1, C11, C12, A11, and B11. The lyrics are: sal - ve An - na san - ctis - si - ma. C13 has the instruction *Echo*. C11, C12, and B11 have the instruction *na*. The lyrics for C11, C12, and B11 are: sal -

(continued on next page)

Salve Anna Sanctissima

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Salve Anna Sanctissima". It is arranged for two choirs of women (C11-C13 and CII1-CII2) and two basses (B1 and BII). The score is divided into two systems, starting at measure 21 and 25. The lyrics are in Latin, including "sa-cro-be-a-ta Con-iu-ge", "An-na san-ctis-si-ma", and "sa-cra-ti-o-ne fi-li-a". The notation includes treble clefs for the choirs and bass clefs for the basses, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words appearing in multiple staves to indicate different parts of the choir or basses.

Example 3. Fragment of transcription of the composition *Salve Anna sanctissima* from ms. L 1643 BDSand, from the edition *Sanctimonialis autem femina. Magnificat motety i pieśni na dwa chóry żeńskie z rękopisu L 1643 Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu*, ed. and introduction M. Walter-Mazur, Sandomierz 2012, pp. 241–244. Transcription by Sonia Wronkowska

Where kinship of material in corresponding sections of the two choirs is concerned, we are rarely faced with literal repetition. Usually the rhythm contour is retained, but the melody undergoes variational changes based on motivic work. Some composers also use progressions. Melodic changes often cause harmonic changes, which also contribute to creating the impression of difference while simultaneously producing a feeling of the sameness of corresponding sections, provided by the identical rhythmic figures. A very important element of the polychoral work is its dramaturgy. It has been described by Władysław Malinowski in terms of exposition, confrontation and summing up, and raised to the rank of the fundamental element which shapes the course of the composition³²⁰. In the manuscript discussed here, we can clearly see that the composers of these works approach the shaping of the dramaturgy in a self-aware and non-schematic manner. Alongside the “typical” succession of the three elements already mentioned, which might otherwise be described as presenting the theme consecutively in both choirs (exposition), dialoguing of the choirs with the use of motifs of the themes or new ones – a densification of the “action” (confrontation), the *tutti* (summing up), in these works we also find more individual solutions, sometimes associated with the nature of the text. And so, in the already mentioned composition *Laetamini in Hierusalem*, because of its lofty character, the element of summing up is dominant, with confrontations introduced for the sake of variety – dialogues of short motifs or phrases. “Polychoral exposition” is in practical terms absent from this work, since it begins with *tutti*, and the first subject is not repeated at all. On the other hand, *Tua est potentia* begins with a confrontation and that factor decisively dominates the composition. A typical exposition, in which the *soggetto* presented by one of the choirs is repeated by the second choir, appears in the second section of that work, and the repetition is in transposition. *Ecce nomen Domini* begins with a solo invocation by C1 of the first choir, to which the response is provided by the *tutti* of the other voices with the continuation of the first *soggetto*. It is then repeated again, this time in full, by *Canto Primo* of the first choir, and this is followed by *tutti* which introduces the next *soggetto*; after three bars this turns into a confrontation between the two choirs, consisting in dialoguing and interlocking of

320 “at a certain stage of its development, the polychoral technique constitutes the form of a composition. The attempt to rationalise the ways of using the choirs in Zieleński’s *symphoniae sacrae* is, at the same time, an attempt to rationalise the form of these works” (W. Malinowski, *Polifonia Mikołaja Zieleńskiego*, Kraków 1981, p.84).

short motifs. It is apparent in many compositions that their authors, instead of a classical, “rhetorical” manner of developing the verbal-musical material of the motet, preferred to use more dynamic and suggestive kinds of dramaturgy.

In many works from manuscript L 1643, we can observe the phenomenon of breaking the Renaissance chain form. The analysed material illustrates this break with the pure medley form which leads in three directions: the arch, the rondo, and an undefinable form characterised by the prominent destabilising of the proportions between the constituent sections of the work, and which consists in multiple repetitions of some of the sections. An example of that last tendency is the very much extended, numbering 239 bars, motet *O sanctissima anima virginis Schlastice*. Its structure might be described as AB + B’C D E D E’ B’ D E D E’. An example of the quasi-rondo form is *Benedicite omnia opera Domini* (ABCDBDBD), and the arch form is *Laetamini in Hierusalem* (ABCA’). Naturally we also find examples of chain forms, such as in the motets *Egredere si praeuales* or *Alma redemptoris Mater*. In any case, in the majority of the forms of compositions analysed here, both those in which the form seems more rationalised and those in which it is difficult to perceive similarity to any familiar pattern, a very important element of shaping the form is the repetition of whole sections, sometimes many times. This is undoubtedly an expression of striving to achieve a musical integration of form.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the devices which, according to various authors, were neglected by composers of polychoral works, i.e., the musical illustration of the text. We find examples of their use in the repertory of interest to us, but they confirm the opinion quoted here by being somewhat rare. Thus, we find triple metre on words directly relating to God in *Egredere si praeuales* (“nec potui obtinere quod volui, rogavi **Deum meum** et exaudivit me”; triple metre appears only on the bolded words). In *Alma redemptoris Mater* the words about Mary’s virginity are emphasised musically (“Virgo prius ac posterius”; triple metre and syncopes), the E flat note appears on the word *peccatorum*, the dialoguing of choirs clearly increases in density on *succurre cadenti*. In *Exultate Deo*, in accordance with the tradition of musical settings of this psalm, the motor rhythm and multiple repetition of short melodic-rhythmic motifs may suggest playing on instruments. We also encounter an illustration of the words *Deus terribilis* that refer to military associations in the motet *Tua est potentia* with an affective declamation of the text on semiminims and a fuse combined with motifs containing leaps of the fourth and fifth in some of the voices. Moreover, there is a fragmentation of rhythmic values on the words *nascetur tibi parvulus* and numerous repetitions, using dialogue and progression, of the words *sine fine* in the motet *Laetamini in Hierusalem*.

At first glance, two-choir compositions entered in the manuscript created to cater for the needs of the Benedictine nuns show associations with the “Roman” style of polychorality: they lack differentiation of the choirs in respect of register, they lack independent instrumental parts, and the lowest voices of both choirs in the *tutti* fragments very rarely sound otherwise than in unison or octave. On the other hand, we find here some elements less characteristic of the “Roman school”³²¹, which herald some acquaintance with new stylistic trends, such as the emergence from the choirs of a single voice or a duet of voices and contrasting it with the one full choir or *tutti*, the use of the echo technique, the introduction, sometimes on a number of occasions throughout the work, of fragments in triple metre, dialogues of the choirs operating in short motifs, textural contrasts³²², using repetition of the sections. These works would thus represent a style close to the polychoral works composed by the royal chapel master, Asprillo Pacelli³²³, or the chapel master of Lew Sapieha, Giovanni Battista Cocciola³²⁴, but different in respect of the use of registers of voices from the typical “Venetian” output of Zieleński or Hackenberger. It is satisfying to be in possession of a valuable musical source, which confirms the high standard of musical culture of the convent of Benedictine nuns in Jarosław, and provides yet another original piece of evidence of the popularity of polychoral technique in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the first half of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, there is a certain lack of satisfaction because of our inability to place it in the context of the musical practice of that centre. Unfortunately, neither the chronicle of the Jarosław convent nor its register of expenditure – i.e., the sources which provide most information about the practice of music – have survived

321 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska in her article *Włoskie “szkoły” polichóralności z perspektywy dworów polskich Wazów i austriackich Habsburgów (Italian “schools” of polychorality from the perspective of the courts of the Polish Vasas and Austrian Habsburgs)*, *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 57–77, draws attention to the fact that the stylistic differentiation of the Roman and Venetian “schools” adopted in the literature corresponds more closely to the situation from the second decade of the seventeenth century, since prior to that in the works of Roman composers such as Pacelli we find certain devices regarded as characteristic of Venetian polychorality, such as changes of metre or the quasi-rondo form (*ibid.*, p. 71).

322 Irena Bienkowska, *The Polychoral Works of G. B. Cocciola from the Pelplin Tablature within Context of the Stylistic Changes of the Epoch, Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels von den cori spezzati zum konzertierenden Stil*, Gdańsk 2004, p. 59. describes the 8-voice compositions of Giovanni Battista Cocciola in very similar categories.

323 See A. Pacelli, *Sacrae cantiones*, ed. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Warszawa 2012

324 G.B. Cocciola, *Dziela zebrane*, ed. I. Bienkowska, Warszawa 2004.

to our times. The surviving registers do not carry information about the activities of individual nuns, concentrating only on dates and values of dowries, which makes it impossible to postulate the likely scribes and performers of the compositions from the collection in L 1643. The only person who might be thought to have been concerned in the creation of the manuscript in some way is the first cantress of the Jarosław convent, Elżbieta Bobolanka, who moved to that post from Chełmno in 1611 and died in Jarosław in 1656³²⁵.

Habent sua fata libelli... taking into account the fact that the collection was transferred and preserved during the dissolutions of the convents and the historical turbulences which afflicted Poland and that the partbooks in question had probably not been in use for a very long time, we may regard their survival if not as a miracle, at least as a very fortunate accident.

It is all the more fortunate because in this part of Europe in general, and in convent collections in particular, what survives is decisively dominated by repertory from the eighteenth century and later. Most seventeenth-century music documents did not survive until the rise of interest in “antiquities” in the nineteenth century, since during the seventeenth century’s turbulent history and frequent fires the saving of music books was undoubtedly not a priority.

The surviving seventeenth-century repertory of the Benedictine nuns, unfortunately only partially in complete form, comprises in total 408 compositions of vocal polyphony from the sixteenth and the beginnings of the seventeenth centuries. It is mainly Latin liturgical repertory, but on the final pages of each partbook we also find notated religious compositions with Polish texts. The partbooks where this repertory has been entered come from only two centres: the convent in Toruń and, probably, Jarosław. However, we may conclude that a similar performance practice of vocal polyphony may have also been cultivated in the other convents belonging to the Chełmno congregation during the first half of the seventeenth century. That practice began during the first years of the existence of the reformed convents of Benedictine nuns, i.e., during the 1580s, and referred to the then current musical style. At the time of being entered in the partbooks in question, their repertory was already of a retrospective character, but belonged to the *prima practica* style which was still being cultivated by the church. We have no evidence of the Benedictine Sisters taking up the then current style of vocal-instrumental music during the first half of the seventeenth century; this did not become possible until the eighteenth century. The second half of the seventeenth century was a very turbulent period, which did not create conditions

325 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I, p. 235.

favourable to culture-creating activities by the convents. We have no sources from that period which would confirm the Benedictines' musical activities. The first ones after the period of decline are preserved in the music collection from Sandomierz; these are the vocal-instrumental church concertos from 1693 and 1700. They open a totally new chapter in the musical practice of the Benedictine nuns belonging to the Chełmno congregation.

4 The musical culture of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation in the eighteenth century

4.1 The musical practice of nuns at the convents in Sandomierz, Lvov, Nieśwież, Jarosław and Przemyśl

The picture of the musical culture of Benedictine nuns following the Chełmno reform during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which we gain from the extant sources lacks continuity. As has already been said, we have no information concerning the second half of the seventeenth century: no music documents, chronicles or accounts survive to this day. We are thus unable to say whether vocal-instrumental musical practice existed earlier in the convent communities, or whether it appeared suddenly during the period under the Saxon rulers. The then current, sumptuous and impressive musical style, to which the music of the nuns referred, would have meant transgressing against the reformed rule which forbade playing instruments other than the organ³²⁶. This coincides in time with a certain change in the spirituality of the nuns – the original strictness and asceticism are replaced by external manifestations of religiosity – numerous services conducted with “pomp and circumstance”.

The convents of reformed Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz, Lvov, Jarosław and Nieśwież were some of the rich magnate foundations. Their material status helped their culture-creating activities, among which performing music in various forms played an important part. In these convents, as we learn from the sources, the nuns themselves cultivated vocal-instrumental music. In the poor convent in Przemyśl they had to be satisfied with singing and with organ music. All convents would from time to time hire professional ensembles to add splendour to the ceremonial masses.

326 “Thus we do not allow them in any way to play on any instruments and order the abbess not to allow any sister to dare do so” (*Reguła św. Ojca Benedykta, z łacińskiego przetłumaczona i z reformacją porządków chełmińskiego, toruńskiego, żarnowieckiego, nieświeżskiego i inszych wszystkich... które teraz są i na potem zjednoczone będą, klasztorów panieńskich* (Rule of Saint Father Benedict translated from Latin with the reform of the orders of Chełmno, Toruń, Żarnowiec, Nieśwież and all others ... which now are and later will be united, female convents), Lublin 1635, pp. 30–31).

The liturgy of the hours and masses, and sometimes services of other kinds, held in the choir gallery, would take at least approximately six hours on an ordinary day, and naturally more time during feast days, of which there were very many throughout the year³²⁷. Prolongation of the time devoted to choir prayer on feast days would result from the simple fact that the liturgy was sung instead of being read. The higher the rank of the feast, the more effort was made to emphasise this by a suitable musical setting.

Musical practice of Benedictine nuns in the eighteenth century took various forms. The simplest of them was monophonic singing without instrumental accompaniment, in the shape of plainsong strictly assigned to a given day in the liturgy, and Latin and Polish hymns selected for the occasion. The plainchant of the nuns was often accompanied by the organ; this was common practice at that time, documented in sources of various kinds, primarily in organ books from Sandomierz and Przemyśl containing liturgical plainsong chants with the bass part, sometimes figured (see Fig. 16). For this reason, the superiors of convents were eager to have a sister-organist among the nuns, usually one trained in the organ-playing craft at home, and accepted willingly even without a dowry³²⁸. The organ might also co-create the setting for the liturgy in *alternatim* technique, which involves performing some fragments of the liturgical texts vocally and replacing the other fragments by playing the organ³²⁹. This manner of using the instrument was described in the sources as “przegrawanie” (running through), although it is possible that the same description was used for solo organ playing and improvised inserts. Another form of music-making was polyphonic singing, which had a different character in the seventeenth century and different again in the eighteenth. The extant partbooks from Toruń from the 1630s and from Jarosław from 1620–1640 contain professional polyphonic repertory for four to eight voices; these are mainly motets which stylistically fit into the final decades

327 Małgorzata Borkowska, Benedictine Sister and historian of female monasticism, calculated that as much time was assigned to liturgy as to sleeping (divided into two periods), an hour for contemplation and reading, and five hours for work. M. Borkowska, *Liturgia w życiu benedyktynek sandomierskich (Liturgy in the life of Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz)*, *Klasztor Panien Benedyktyn w historii i kulturze Sandomierza (The Convent of Benedictine Sisters in the History and Culture of Sandomierz)*, Sandomierz 2001, p. 44.

328 On that subject see M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnicy...*, pp. 72, 75.

329 As we know, the *alternatim* technique could also take other forms: the performance of the mass part, the Magnificat or a hymn might be divided into fragments performed as plainsong and polyphony or plainsong and vocal-instrumental music.

The image shows a page from a handwritten organist's book. It features two systems of music. The first system is for the voice, with a single staff containing the lyrics: "propter magnam gloriam tuam Domine". The second system is for the organ, with two staves (treble and bass clefs) and the lyrics: "ni gerite vesce Christi. Qui tollis peccata mundi scilicet scilicet deprecationem nostram". The third system continues the organ part with the lyrics: "Quoniam tu solus Sanctus et tu solus Dominus tu solus altissimus. Je su". The fourth system is a short organ fragment with the word "Lte.". The fifth system is for the voice, with a single staff and the lyrics: "Patri omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium". The sixth system is for the organ, with two staves and the lyrics: "Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum filium Dei unigenitum Et ex Patre natum ante Omnia saecula". The handwriting is in a historical cursive style, and the paper shows signs of age.

Fig. 16: *Et in terra* (fragment) and *Patrem* (fragm.) Canto voice and bass line serving as the basis of realising the organ accompaniment., „Księga organisty” (Organist’s book), ms 10 at the Library of the Benedictine Sisters Abbey in Przemyśl, k. 7v

of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth, whereas eighteenth-century sources³³⁰ contain typically hymnal repertory, for four voices, of a manner that is simple but not devoid of charm. In their writings, both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nuns described polyphonic singing without instrumental accompaniment as “figura”³³¹. The most elevated and ceremonious were the liturgical celebrations during which vocal-instrumental works were performed. This kind of musical setting was often entrusted to the hired local ensembles, but we do know that in the eighteenth century some convents succeeded in creating their own vocal-instrumental ensembles with nuns as musicians. It is certain that such ensembles were active in Sandomierz, Lvov, Jarosław and Nieśwież³³². The nuns described vocal-instrumental music as “frakt” (fractus)³³³.

The sources reveal a certain gradation of the kinds of musical settings in respect of “ceremoniousness”. Alongside the basic form of celebrating the liturgy, i.e., the reading of it, the simplest and most common musical form of the liturgy was plainsong, sometimes made more varied by including Latin and Polish hymns. Next came vocal polyphony, performed more often in the convent in Sandomierz than in Lvov; by that time, during the baroque era, it was more of a

330 This concerns the cantionals of the Benedictine nuns from Sandomierz, L 1642 and L 1644. The first originates from 1721 and was written by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, the copyist of numerous vocal-instrumental compositions (see Chapter V.4). L 1644 is identical in terms of content but written in a different hand. The cantionals of Benedictine Sisters from Staniątki contain less uniform repertory, although this also has retrospective and popular features rather than professional ones. On the subject of *Kancjonały staniąteckie* see S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar ...*, passim. The Cantionals are digitalised within the project *Muzyka Benedyktyniek Polskich (Music of Polish Benedictine Nuns)* directed by Marcin Konik. See <http://biblioteka.benedyktynki.eu/mbp/#/collection>.

331 From Latin *cantus figuralis* meaning polyphony in theoretical-musical treatises.

332 Extant expenditure books for years 1740–60 from Nieśwież record sums for buying strings and for the teacher, “Master Cięćielowicz”, who “teaches playing”. There were also payments to another teacher, Master Płoszyński, who taught singing, since eighteenth-century vocal-instrumental works required considerable vocal skills. Unfortunately, we have no chronicle or account books for Jarosław, but the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz holds a composition dedicated to one of the Jarosław nuns, Żaboklicka. It is *Concerto pro defunctis Parentum est* for solo soprano, two violins and organ.

333 On the subject of the use of the term ‘frakt’ in the eighteenth century in relation to vocal-instrumental music M. Walter-Mazur, *On how the nuns sang...*, pp. 269–276.

relic of the past, a setting more severe and not as impressive as vocal-instrumental music. Celebrating the liturgy “with playing” the organ was regarded as more ceremonious than polyphony: it accompanied monophonic singing, both plain-song and hymns, presumably in various ways.

The organists may have played the introductions, accompaniments, and solo inserts in *alternatim* technique. They also played solo works, which substituted for the *proprium* part of the mass. However, the most ceremonious form of ornamenting convent celebrations was vocal-instrumental music. This required considerable musical competence from the performers, both singers and instrumentalists, because of its virtuoso style³³⁴.

4.1.1 Sandomierz

From the chronicle of the convent in Sandomierz for years 1762 and 1780, we learn that a group of nuns lived at the convent at that time who were educated in music and had particular skills of singing and playing instruments. One might say they were involved in music professionally; on the pages of the chronicles they are even referred to as singers and players³³⁵. Their daily routines were sometimes different from those of the other nuns, to allow them to prepare compositions and to concentrate on their performance during services. The chronicler records such differences as mass being said for them earlier than for the whole congregation, and their being sometimes allowed not to observe the canonical hours in the choir³³⁶. They were not supervised by the cantress,

334 Not everyone liked it. Musical-liturgical practice of the Benedictine nuns from Jarosław was criticised on many points by bishop Sierakowski during his visitation in 1743. The metropolitan from Przemyśl reveals himself in this report as an enthusiast of the Gregorian chant. He repeats, following the Chełmno rule, the ban on the nuns themselves playing instruments, and orders the figural singing to be limited which, “per negationem”, provides evidence of the existence of such a practice among the nuns in Jarosław. While they are allowed sometimes to display their “figural singing”, they should not sing “new songs, often peculiar”, since “... we are to sing bravely against those who would sing so very quickly and sickly that they often seem to be kittens and not women singers” (report of visitation in manuscript BOssol, shelfmark 101/II on folios 175v-188v).

335 The author of *Porządki chorowe (Rules for the choir)* also mentions “singers” (feminine form) on one occasion, that of carol singing at the manger (p. 178).

336 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego od roku 1615 (The History of the Sandomierz Convent from 1615)*, ed. A. Szylar, Sandomierz 2005, pp. 85, 144, 156.

but by another nun, responsible for vocal-instrumental performances³³⁷. This group consisted of nine nuns who in the eighteenth century were accepted by the convent without dowries, precisely because of their musical talents which represented great value to the community.

Probably other nuns, including gentlewomen accepted with dowries, took part in the vocal-instrumental performances alongside them. Musical activities of some nuns were recorded in various ways in the sources, particularly in the register, chronicles, and on the pages of extant music documents. Among the scribes, addressees of dedications, or owners of manuscripts, we find the names of Katarzyna Muszyńska, Zofia Bratisiewiczówna, Anna Stogniewówna, Teresa Nobiszowska, Krystyna and Łucja Czeladzińska, Marianna Moszyńska, Marianna Mokronowska, Agnieszka Sosnowska and Urszula Morska. In total, we find twenty-five nuns³³⁸ whose musical activities in the Sandomierz convent during the eighteenth century are documented in the sources. The largest number of nun-musicians active at the same time was during the years 1740–1790; potentially there were always seven or eight persons capable of taking part in music performances.

The question arises here of the musical education of the nuns mentioned in the sources. There is no information about the employment by the convent of teachers of music, and in general there are no references to the nuns teaching each other³³⁹. This seems to indicate that the musical practice of the convent in

337 In records from 1761 the chronicler notes that the abbess appointed as “cantoress Mistress Nobiszowska ... Fractus given correspondingly to Mistress Krzewska and Mistress Zygmuntowska” (*Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 69).

338 The profiles of some of them will be presented in the third subchapter.

339 However, it seems that this would have been a natural practice. In the obituary of Teresa Nobiszowska we read that “she was cantoress for a dozen or more years, she was most excellent and hard-working in singing and playing, both in maintaining the choir and in teaching others” (BDS G 1392, p. 193). However, we do not know whether this refers to teaching solo singing or playing, or the usual tasks of a cantoress. On the other hand, Tekla Wolska, who died in 1802, “**taught herself** to play the organ and owing to this talent held the choir strongly together” (*ibid.*). The existence of the relationship mistress – pupil among musically talented nuns is confirmed on many occasions in Italian convents of various orders, cf. C. Monson, *Disembodied Voices...*, pp. 36–56, but we do not have clear indications of such practice for the Sandomierz centre. On the other hand, we may guess that it concerned playing *tromba marina*. On this subject, cf.: M. Walter-Mazur, *Zapomniany instrument, zapomniana praktyka. Tromba marina w klasztornym muzykowaniu w XVIII wieku (Forgotten instrument, forgotten practice. Tromba marina in convent music-making in the eighteenth century)*, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Section L*, vol XV,1/2017, pp. 39–58.

Sandomierz was based on skills already possessed by the candidates at the time they entered the nunnery. The training in singing, received by all the novices, included only the foundations of solmisation and plainsong chant used in the liturgy, performed by the whole convent. The skills needed for singing the liturgy would clearly not be sufficient to perform eighteenth-century virtuoso arias. Vocal-instrumental music was thus performed by nuns who already possessed an accomplished vocal technique and the ability to play an instrument at the time of entry into the convent. When, in 1787, there was no nun possessing a vocal talent or a suitably high voice, the convent simply permanently employed a secular woman singer, mentioned only by surname, Kozłowska. She was probably of the burgher class, perhaps from a family of musicians; registers of expenditure mention her among the servants of the convent, which would indicate that she stayed there permanently, with housing and food provided³⁴⁰.

It is known that musical talent provided a route to social advancement on more than one occasion. Undoubtedly, for a commoner, to find herself among the nuns of the Sandomierz convent, which as a rule accepted only ladies with a heraldic pedigree, was an advancement of this kind. Among the nuns mentioned above who were accepted without a dowry, three are certain not to have been from the gentry: Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, Jadwiga Dygulska and Cecylia Zymuntowska. They came from families of musicians and were probably trained in music at home, with the intention of being placed in the convent. It seems that the trumpeter Chęciński, whose name will appear again later, had a similar plan for his daughter or a relative, unless we are dealing with a similar surname. Marianna Chęcińska visited Sandomierz twice in 1768, “for tests” before novitiate, and previously she had also visited other convents. Finally, however, she gave it up, which is a decision recorded by the chronicle with some irony, indicating that the community was willing to accept the talented girl, who “was to be accepted from charity (i.e., without a dowry) for her talents and ability to play and sing in the choir”³⁴¹. As for the social origins of the other nuns who were active musically and who were accepted “from charity”, i.e. Zofia Strzemianówna, Katarzyna Krzewska, Katarzyna Sroczyńska, Marianna

340 *Regestra podskarbskie zaczynające się w R. P 1769* (Treasury registers beginning from A. D. 1769), manuscript BDSand G 889, years 1787–1794 and 1795–1806. In 1795 and 1796 there are also two payments to “Justyna, the second singer”. By 1803 there are no longer any payments to the singer Kozłowska. Perhaps this is the same person as Franciszka Kozłowska, who taught guitar at the convent school for girls during the years 1810–1818 (A. Szylar, *Działalność oświatowa benedyktynek...*, p. 115).

341 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 119.

Balicka, Agnieszka Sosnowska and Elżbieta Dutkiewiczówna, it is difficult to establish anything definite. Perhaps they also came from musicians' families, or families which could not provide them with dowries and thus enable them to marry³⁴². They were thus probably taught music from an early age, and accepted into the convent when they were in their teens. As for the nuns with heraldic pedigrees who entered with a dowry and participated in music-making at the convent, we may suppose that they learned music at home or at the convent school, where the curriculum included the teaching of singing and the playing of instruments. Pupils of the school in Sandomierz included Urszula Morska, Scholastyka Moszyńska and Magdalena Witkowska, and teachers there included Łucja Czeladzińska, Marianna Mokronowska and Agnieszka Sosnowska³⁴³. Additional music lessons may have been awarded to talented pupils, since the teaching programme in the schools of Benedictine nuns in the eighteenth century would be adapted to the expectations and needs of parents and pupils³⁴⁴.

It is difficult to say anything certain about the possible staffing of the ensemble of nuns at Sandomierz. Alongside the singers there must have been on every occasion a nun who played a keyboard instrument. The fact that the accounts often list repairs of violins and purchase of strings for them also suggests the participation of at least one violinist, or – which is more likely in view of the typical eighteenth-century scoring of compositions – two violinists³⁴⁵. In very many compositions we have the part of alto viola, also in the works of Krystian Ruth, probably written especially for our nuns. We do not know which one, or more, of the nuns played *viola da gamba*. It is certain one of them took part in providing the musical setting for the funeral of

342 The chronicle tells us that Elżbieta Dudkiewiczówna was an orphan (ibid. p. 207). The practice of such “preparing” of poor girls for entry into a convent and thus ensuring a quiet and reasonably comfortable life was very popular in Spain. Cf. unpublished dissertation: C. Baade, *Music and Music-making in Female Monasteries in Seventeenth-Century Castile* (Ph.D. diss., Duke University 2001), quoted by this author in: *Status zakonnic...* pp. 62–64.

343 A. Szylar, *Działalność oświatowa benedyktynek...*, pp. 115, 155.

344 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie ...*, p. 260.

345 In *Regestry podskarbskie* we find numerous records of purchases of new strings, as well as repairs to violins and purchases of new ones in 1788. We know two violinists' surnames: one is Katarzyna Sroczyńska mentioned at the beginning, the other is Magdalena Witkowska, a pupil at the convent school and later a Benedictine nun, for whom in 1791 a purchase was made of “strings for violins”.

Katarzyna Wybranowska in 1765³⁴⁶. There is also no mention of playing the theorbo, although we know that the instruments survived³⁴⁷. However, the most difficult question to answer is what was the function in the ensemble of the “tuba”, mentioned in the accounts. It is undoubtedly a string instrument and undoubtedly had been in use, since *Regestry podskarbskie* for years 1787, 1790 and 1792 record certain sums being expended on “strings for Tuba for the choir”³⁴⁸. On the basis of our knowledge of the musical practice of nuns in South Germany, we conclude that what is involved is *tromba marina* known in German as *Nonnengeige* or *Trompetengeige*³⁴⁹. Playing it must have been an important element of musical practice of the nuns in Sandomierz, since in the obituaries of as many as three of them it is noted that they played that instrument³⁵⁰. Most probably they performed the function of wind

346 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 76. *Viola da gamba* also appears in the scores of two extant compositions: Roman Zajączkowski’s *Veni creator spiritus*, dedicated to Katarzyna Muszyńska, Cappellae Magistrae in 1706 (2CATB, 2vni, 2clno, viola da gamba, org); and in *Ave Regina coelorum* from 1714, signed M. M. for 2C2vni, viola “Dygamba”, org.

347 The inventory from 1816 mentions, alongside a piano and two “old” violins, two “turubany bez stron” (theorbos without strings), i.e., theorbos, instruments to accompany singing, popular at Polish courts during the eighteenth century, probably long fallen into disuse. This document was found by Wiktor Łyjak at AGAD ref. no. 855, p. 45 (Centralne Władze Wyznaniowe w Królestwie Polskim (Central Authority for Faiths in the Kingdom of Poland)) - W Łyjak, *Przyczynki do dziejów...*, p. 27. On the other hand, one might wonder whether these two “turubany” might perhaps be a pair of *trombae marinae* (see M. Walter-Mazur, *Zapomniani instrument, zapomniana praktyka...*).

348 The name *tuba marina*, from which comes the term for the instrument used by the Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz, is a Latinised version of the more common name *tromba marina* (S. Berdux, E. Tremmel, *Trnmscheit! Tromba marina, Musikinder Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachtei, IVII, p.972). This instrument had a characteristic, somewhat rough sound caused by the vibration of the bridge, resembling the sound of trumpet; like the natural trumpet, it produced aliquotes of the basic note. Popular in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, then forgotten. Its later use is documented in the community of German nuns, particularly in the seventeenth century. Sources left by the Polish Benedictine nuns show that *tromba marina* was undoubtedly played in Sandomierz and in Lvov. On the subject of the instrument, see *The Tromba Marina – A Study in Organology*: <http://www.oriscus.com/m/itrn/index.htm>.

349 L. M. Koldau, *Frauen-Musik...*, pp. 685–690.

350 As well as Marianna Moszyńska, we can be certain that two other nuns played *tromba marina*: Elżbieta Dudkiewiczówna and Łucja Czeladzińska.

instruments, which are present in the scoring of the extant compositions. In one of the motets there is a *tuba solo*; a motet by Krystian Ruth devoted to Saint Gertrude, a Benedictine, and dedicated to Marianna Moszyńska, the same one to whom her own sister dedicated *Porządki chorowe*; the “tuba” part has unfortunately not survived in this manuscript³⁵¹. Two manuscripts from the Sandomierz collection in which such a part is preserved are probably the only ones in Poland. One of these is ms. AVI43 (No. 239), *Symphonia toni D* for two violins, viola, two horns, two oboes and two *tromba marina*, identified in the RISM database as a composition by Johann Gottlieb Naumann from Dresden³⁵². The two parts for the “tubas” are referred to as Tuba 1ma in D and Tuba 2da in D. In accordance with the possibilities of an instrument producing notes corresponding to harmonic tones, these parts encompass spread triads in one lined octave and four diatonic notes of the two-lined octave in the range from d” to a”. A comparison of the Sandomierz copy of Naumann’s symphony with that held at Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo³⁵³ shows that the parts of the “tubas” do not differ in any way from those scored for trumpets. Another Sandomierz manuscript containing a part for *tromba marina* is the pastorella *A cóż to się dzieje* dated to the year 1773 (37/A I 37), belonging to Marianna Mokronowska, one of the nuns who played that instrument. On the cover the score lists it as “tuba pastoralis”, and the part is titled “tuba solo”³⁵⁴.

Although references to specific nuns playing instruments are quite scarce, the chronicler does mention “playing” in the parlour in order to entertain Prince Szembek and “playing instruments” for “the Austrian colonel’s wife”³⁵⁵ whom the Abbess received in 1773. Prince Krzysztof Hilary Szembek, since he is probably the person involved, visited the convent in Sandomierz twice, in 1775 and in 1779. Perhaps his musical preferences were known to Abbess Siemianowska, because she received him twice to the sound of instrumental music: in 1875 “in order to show her gratitude[, the abbess] presented the whole congregation to

351 We thus do not know the kind of texture of the “tuba” solo.

352 RISM: 850006371.

353 Ms. shelfmark Mayr347.63a. The author would like to thank Marcello Eynard from Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai in Bergamo for providing pictures of the parts for comparison.

354 See M. Walter-Mazur, *Zapomniany instrument, zapomniana praktyka...*, pp. 53–54.

355 “To whom the congregation expressed its great goodwill by playing instruments and showed it in other ways” (*Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 161).

him and the nuns in the parlour³⁵⁶ **played concerts** in order to show their pleasure at his kindness³⁵⁷, while in 1779 the visitor “was given a splendid dinner, during which the nuns **played various symphonies**, for which he thanked the abbess warmly and showed great politeness to the nuns”³⁵⁸. We should be aware that references to instrumental chamber music at the convent in Sandomierz appear during the 1770s³⁵⁹, which coincides with the beginnings of the reception of the classical style in the works of Polish composers.

As in other female convents, in Sandomierz there was also the custom of inviting professional ensembles on more important feast days, to add splendour particularly to masses. Benedictine nuns usually invited the ensemble from the Jesuit college, especially when celebrating the saints of their order, i.e., Benedict and Scholastica. They undoubtedly also had contacts with the collegiate ensemble since a number of works preserved in the Sandomierz collection signed with the names of the nuns had originally been owned by the musicians from that ensemble. Musicians who played at the convent obviously received payment, but the general custom at the convent was also to invite them after work and offer refreshments in the parlour. The book of expenditure documents a number of occasions during the years 1770–1780 when payment was made for “mead for the musicians” to the sum of 2–9 zloty³⁶⁰. It may be that the musicians repaid that hospitality by making a gift of composition manuscripts; many manuscripts preserved in BDSand as part of the legacy of the Sandomierz Benedictines carry dedications for specific nuns, or for the whole “choir of ladies of the Benedictine Order in Sandomierz”. Among the previous owners or donors of those manuscripts which we know belonged to the Sandomierz convent we find six musicians from the collegiate church in Sandomierz, two organists from there, one Jesuit and one musician from the Jesuit ensemble.

A phenomenon which was exceptional in Poland was that of shared performances of vocal-instrumental work in church by nuns and secular musicians. In the *Regestry przychodów i rozchodów* (Registers of income and

356 The original “furta” (gate/portal) was the term used by the nuns to describe the parlour, i.e., the area outside the enclosure where guests and those visiting on business were received.

357 Ibid., p. 195.

358 Ibid., p. 221.

359 Six symphonies and three chamber compositions belonging to the legacy of the Sandomierz Benedictines have been preserved in ms. BDSand.

360 The sum appears quite sizeable, considering that, for example, a washerwoman maintained by the convent earned 20 zlotys a year.

expenditure) we find information about payments to “Mr Chęciński”, who was a trumpeter at the collegiate ensemble, and for another “trumpeter hired in addition to Mr Chęciński”, as well as a “Bass” and “trumpeters” not mentioned by name. From 1787 there are also regular payments to “the singer Kozłowska”. Clearly, in view of the rule of strict enclosure, such shared performances would not have been possible if the choir area at the convent had not been adapted for this purpose. The choir was divided into two parts; one part was entered by means of wooden stairs which led from the interior of the church, i.e., from outside the enclosure. The other part of the choir was entered from the convent corridor on the first floor. However, at some point the passageway for the secular musicians must have been connected to the convent corridor, since in his protocol after the visitation in 1762 bishop Sołtyk recommended that “the porch through which the musicians walk to the choir should be fenced off with an iron grid to the wooden one, up to the ceiling, which will prevent going down from the porch onto the convent corridor without losing light”³⁶¹. The construction of the organ commissioned by Abbess Franciszka Tarłówna in 1752 was also original. In a contract concluded with the organ master Jan Bittner we read: “The keyboard is to be for two choirs, one made for secular persons, the other for the convent ladies”³⁶². Thus the keyboards were on the two sides of the wooden grid. On the south side sat the secular organist, on the north side a nun³⁶³. What is interesting, during the period in question, between 1769 and 1794, is that we do not find anywhere in the register of expenditure any information about payments to an organist. Everything thus seems to point to the conclusion that the convent “ensemble” performed only with nun-organists, while on the other side of the grid it may have been supported only by trumpeters who also might have played French horns, a Bass singer and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, a secular female singer. The separate organ keyboard on the

361 BDSand GI098, quoted after: A. Szylar, *Kościół św. Michała w Sandomierzu (Saint Michael's church in Sandomierz)*, *Nasza Przeszłość* 2003/99, p. 232.

362 Contract between Abbess Tarłówna and Jan Bittner organ master dated 16 May 1752, BDSand ZBS Akta Ksieni Tarłówny. Johann Bittner who signed the contract was probably German. At that time he was working on the conservation of the organ at the collegiate church (see S. Makarewicz, *Bazylika katedralna w Sandomierzu (Cathedral Basilica in Sandomierz)*, Sandomierz 1976, p. 23). The cost of building and assembling the eight-voice organ was 720 zlotys.

363 BDSand G 866 and 891, quoted after: A. Szylar, *Kościół św. Michała...*, p. 234.

side outside the enclosure was probably used only during performances of visiting ensembles.

Before the great organ appeared at the convent choir, the nuns accompanied themselves on a positive, which was later passed on to the parish church at the convent settlement of Góry. The convent also possessed another positive organ³⁶⁴, a harpsichord, a spinet, a clavichord³⁶⁵ and, from 1774, a tangent piano³⁶⁶ constructed by the organ master Ignacy Skurski³⁶⁷ (see Figs. 17 and 18).

It appears that Abbess Marianna Siemianowska and Jadwiga Dygulska, convent organist at that time, must have been very interested in keyboard instruments and kept abreast of the latest developments in this area. The constructor of the *Tangentflügel*, Franz Jacob Spaeth, finished work on it in 1770³⁶⁸, and only four years later that instrument appeared in Sandomierz. In 1789, *Regestry wydatków* for the first time mentions an instrument described as Fort Piano, but it is possible that this refers to that tangent piano, and not yet another instrument. Interestingly, the harpsichord was used in the choir during liturgy. In 1763, under the date of 12 November, the chronicler records that “on [that]

364 This may have been a boxed positive organ, which has survived to our times and is now an exhibit at the Diocesan Museum in Sandomierz. After conservation carried out by Rev. Jan Chwałek in 1990 it is a working instrument. See U. Stępień, *Wyposażenie wnętrza kościoła pw. św. Michała. Przyczynek do dziejów kultury artystycznej benedyktynek sandomierskich (The equipment of the interior of the church of Saint Michael. A contribution to the history of the artistic culture of the Benedictine sisters in Sandomierz)*, *Klasztor Panien benedyktynek w historii i kulturze Sandomierza*, ed. K. Burek, Sandomierz 2003 p. 95.

365 Girls who entered the convent school were taught to play the clavichord. One of the teachers was Marianna Mokronowska (see M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnicy...*, vol. II, p. 394). It may be that there was also another clavichord at the convent, as *Regestry podskarbskie* record in 1788 the purchase of “a clavichord for playing in the choir” for 126 zlotys (BDSand ms. 889, p.182).

366 This was a keyboard instrument constructed in Germany in 1770. It offered the possibility of dynamic shading like the clavichord and registers like the harpsichord. Moreover, its sound was fuller and stronger owing to the use of longer strings and jumping tangent (see A. Mądry, *Carl Philip Emanuel Bach. Estetyka-stylistyka-dzieło*, Poznań 2003, pp.107–108).

367 BDSand ZBS Akta ksieni M. Siemianowskiej, various contracts, 30 July 1774. This instrument is now at the Diocesan Museum in Sandomierz and is one of the two of this type preserved in Poland. On this subject, see B. Vogel, *Two Tangent Square Pianos in Poland*, *The Journal of American Musical Instruments Society* XX/1994, pp.84–89.

368 A. Mądry, *Carl Philip Emanuel Bach...*, p. 107.



Fig. 17: Boxed positive of the Sandomierz Benedictines. Property of the Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz. Photograph from the Museum collection

day for the first time they played on the clavicymbalum in the choir the vespers, compline and litany³⁶⁹. At one point as many as two keyboard instruments were present in the choir, apart from the organ and the positive³⁷⁰; in 1765, we read in the chronicles: “on that day the Doctor began to repair and tune the clavicymbalum and the spinet brought from the choir into the hall³⁷¹. Some kind of keyboard instrument was also sometimes needed in the parlour, since this was

369 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 51.

370 The positive organ probably also stood in the choir, unless the chronicler referred to the organ in that way out of habit: “The nuns with the priests also sang plainsong Mass with the positive “ (1766; *ibid.*, p. 92).

371 *Ibid.*, p. 76. We do not know who this Doctor was, but perhaps it might have been Doctor Karol de Rhein a Boslarn, who in 1766 married Róża Krasuska in the Benedictine’s church (*ibid.*, p.104). Also in the same year he offered his composition *Salve Regina* for the celebration of the profession of Urszula Morska (AVI20).



Fig. 18: Tangent piano belonging to the Sandomierz Benedictine nuns constructed by Ignacy Skurski in 1774. Property of the Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz. Photograph from the Museum collection

where the nuns performed for the illustrious guests of the convent. Presumably, another one must have also been kept in the area where the nuns who formed the vocal-instrumental ensemble held rehearsals. Perhaps, that was the refectory. This was also the place where the nuns from time to time performed the litany, for which they received wine from the abbess³⁷². We do not know whether these instruments were permanently kept in these locations or whether they were moved as needed.

We thus have information confirmed by sources about the convent in Sandomierz being in possession of a beautiful collection of seven or eight keyboard instruments, not counting the “music box for teaching canaries”, purchased for 12 zlotys in 1788³⁷³ which was probably a mechanical instrument. We

372 Ibid., pp. 72 and 74.

373 Ms. 889 BDSand, p. 177r.

also have confirmation of the presence of violins, undoubtedly more than one³⁷⁴, and *tromba marina*, for which strings were bought nearly every year. The chronicle tells us that the convent also had a *viola da gamba* and a French horn, which Elżbieta Dutkiewiczówna was learning to play. The registers also tell us about a harp, for which strings were bought in 1789³⁷⁵.

The set of instruments possessed by the nuns seems to be quite inadequate to perform many of the compositions contained in the manuscripts held in BDSand. The scores of the preserved works with confirmed provenance from the Benedictine nunnery in Sandomierz are varied and typical of the eighteenth century; from solo voices with *basso continuo* accompaniment only to voices accompanied by double violins, trumpets, oboes and horns. Occasionally the title pages also mention viola, viola da gamba, double clarinets, bassoons and flutes, as well as the already mentioned tuba, or *tromba marina*.

It is difficult to tell which of these parts or during which period the nuns may have performed themselves, and which were performed by secular musicians on the other side of the grid. One should also take into account the possibility that the nuns, having received the music of some composition from a member of an ensemble invited for refreshments, or having acquired it in some other way, adapted the manner of its performance to their capabilities. Where the male voice parts are concerned, the Tenor and the Bass, things seem quite obvious. The tenor voice could be sung by a nun with an appropriately low voice; some of the notes could be transposed. The bass voice, if they did not engage a singer from the collegiate ensemble, might probably be sung by a sister, with transposition an octave higher. On the other hand, one of the title pages of a work scored for two Sopranos, Bass, two trumpets and *basso continuo* carries the comment "Clarini need to be played on violins". This information is written in one of the oldest preserved vocal-instrumental compositions, the title page of *Concerto de resurrectione* by Kazimierz Boczkowski, dated to 1700³⁷⁶ (see Fig. 19). However, on the last page of the manuscript, under the organ part, we find the inscription "Tubas to be tuned to De la sol re higher", indicating that the trumpet part was also played on *tromba marina*. In the second half of the century, the parts of trumpets and French horns may have been sometimes performed by paid trumpeters. But who would have played the parts of the oboe or the flute? In view of their texture and register, they

374 New ones were purchased in 1788 for 14 zlotys (BDSand ms. 889, p. 183v).

375 Ibid., p. 191v.

376 BDSand ms. 244/A VII 4.

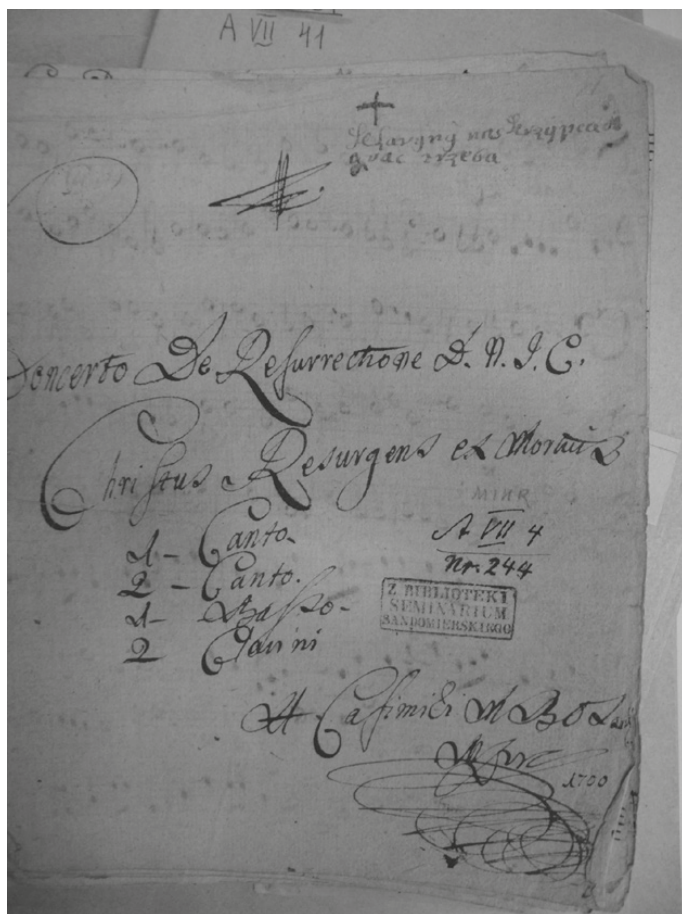


Fig. 19: Kazimierz Boczkowski, *Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, title page, ms. 244/A VII 4 BDSand. At the top, the inscription “Klaryny na skrzypcach grać trzeba” (Clarini parts should be played on violins)

could have undoubtedly been played by violins. This was probably the basic means of performance alongside keyboard instruments, and presumably one of the nuns could play the viola, which appears in the scores of a number of compositions.

In almost every year included in the surviving books of expenditure, new “strings for the choir” were purchased, but there is no mention of buying

or mending wind instruments. This may not be decisive, since there is no mention of the French horn on which Dutkiewiczówna learnt to play, nor even of the tangent piano bought in 1774, and presumably funded by the abbess. It is probable that the nuns which the chronicle or register mention as playing “instruments” without detailing the latter, may have possessed their own flutes or oboes, but this remains a hypothesis. The facts are what we find in the preserved manuscripts and the scores contained therein: out of the sixty-seven examined in respect of the scoring, twenty-two are intended for vocal parts, two violins and *basso continuo*, and seventeen have the same parts enriched by two trumpets; thus, these two kinds of scoring are in the majority. Vocal parts accompanied only by *basso continuo* appear in seven works. The other instruments: viola, tuba, oboe, horn, flute, bassoon or clarinet appear only occasionally; among them, viola, oboe and the horn have the strongest presence. Thus, when it came to realising the part of the trumpet, which appears extensively in the scores of the repertory from Sandomierz, this must have been done by outside musicians, something which is confirmed on a number of occasions in *Regestry wydatków* (Registers of expenditure). We also know about the practice of replacing the trumpet with the violin as well as *tromba marina*, otherwise there would be no need to buy strings for the latter on a regular basis. As for the manner of realising the parts of the instruments the presence of which at the Sandomierz Benedictine convent is not confirmed by the sources otherwise than their mention on the title pages of the manuscripts, we can consider a number of ways of performing the compositions omitting these parts, or their performance by musicians from outside, or their performance by nuns who had their own wind instruments (e.g., by Dudkiewiczówna, although the register mentions that she was learning to play, and not that she played the French horn), or the realisation of the parts of wind instruments by nuns playing *tromba marina* or the violin. It is of interest that works composed by Joseph Ruth especially for the Benedictine sisters from Sandomierz included, alongside vocal parts and *basso continuo*, two violins, viola (Alto Viola) and *tromba marina* (Tuba), which may perhaps indicate that wind instruments in the score did present a problem for the nuns. As we can see, the picture of the vocal-instrumental musical practice of the Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz remains unclear, and our imagination has to oscillate between the rich sound of a set of varied instruments, an exotic sound of an ensemble with *tromba marina*, and the sound “cut down” and reduced to the organ and violin. Also, depending on the occasion and the options open at a given moment, each of these versions might have been performed in the convent choir.

4.1.2 Lvov

We learn about the musical practice of the Benedictine sisters in Lvov³⁷⁷ from the registers of expenditure which survive for a significant part of the eighteenth century³⁷⁸ and, above all, from the extensive manuscript D4, which contains the directoria³⁷⁹ for 1749 and 1789, written by Adegunda Szklińska, an outstanding nun from Lvov³⁸⁰.

From the Registry wydatków, we learn that an ensemble was invited to the convent church a number of times in the year. The celebrations at which it played each year were almost without changes: the feast days of the patrons of the Benedictine order, Benedict and Scholastica, Saint Fortunatus, whose relics were held at the convent church and greatly revered³⁸¹, All Saints – the patron feast day of the Benedictine nuns' church, Saint Angels whose brotherhood was founded by Abbess Daniłowicz in 1641, and sometimes at Christmas.

Moreover, on a number of occasions, we find information about ensembles performing at the ceremonies of the taking of the veil and profession.

377 We are concerned here with the “Latin” Benedictine Sisters; Lvov was also home to the convent of Armenian Benedictines, who adopted the Chełmno rule in 1680. Apart from the obituaries of three cantores and one nun organist there is no other surviving information about their music-making. Cf. H. Augustynowicz-Ciecierska, P. Szczaniecki, *Kronika benedyktynek ormiańskich (Chronicle of Armenian Benedictine nuns)*, *Nasza Przeszość* 62/1984, pp. 97–150. Armenians, called “Ormianie” in Poland, constituted a significant but mostly assimilated national minority in the eastern territories of the Commonwealth from the fourteenth century.

378 The archive of Lvov Benedictines in Krzeszów, G16–19, the registers cover the years 1718–1785.

379 More on the subject of this manuscript and its contents in the next subchapter. Further on the manuscript will be referred to as PL (Porządek Lwowski; The Lvov Rule).

380 Christened Ludwika, born ca. 1715, professed in 1731, consecrated in 1736. She played the violin and was a beautiful singer; she also copied for the novitiate *O dobrach duchowych stanu zakonnego świadectwa ojców świętych* (On spiritual values of the monastic condition evidence of the holy fathers) (Biblioteka Stefanyka in Lvov, MB 62). The Jagiellonian Library holds two hymnbooks without the music with her signature as owner (BJ 7479-I i 7481-II). We know that she was mistress of the novitiate on two occasions, and then prioress. She died in 1801 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic ...*, vol. III, p. 240).

381 See J. Gwioździk, *Kult św. Fortunata w klasztorze lwowskich benedyktynek (The worship of Saint Fortunatus in the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Lvov)*, *Studia bibliologiczne ofiarowane prof. M. Pawłowskiej*, vol.15, ed. K. Heska-Kwaśniewicz, Katowice 2005, pp. 232–249.

Interestingly, Benedictine Sisters invited various ensembles: the Jesuits, the Carmelites, the Archbishop's and the parish one. Probably one of the musicians was teaching the sisters to play, since in 1742 there is a record of a payment of 18 zlotys to the "violinist for teaching the ladies"³⁸², presumably for the whole year. In each year, there are also other expenses relating to the practice of music: repairs to the instruments: the positive, the clavicimbalum and violin, purchase of strings for the clavichord, violin and *tromba marina* (tuba), finally, the purchase of instruments; in 1727, a "good Gdańsk violin" was bought for 14 zlotys. The convent employed a secular organist, who is also mentioned as the person who repaired keyboard instruments. In 1745, the sum of 8 zlotys was paid to a "Reverend Carmelite Father for composing plainsong music".

The above records show that the nuns in Lvov played keyboard instruments: positive organ, harpsichord and clavichord, as well as the violin and *tromba marina*. This is the third female convent centre in the Commonwealth, after Sandomierz and Stary Sącz, where the practice of playing that instrument has been confirmed³⁸³. The great organ was probably located in the choir gallery and was probably at the disposal of the organist. There is no information about other instruments in the sources available at present.

Manuscript D4 tells us much of interest about the life and the liturgy of the Lvov nuns, including information about their musical practice. The day's schedule included an hour of singing tuition every day for a designated group of nuns: "then ... those who are to learn singing will go to be tutored and spend an hour on that tuition"³⁸⁴. Probably this did not involve the everyday plain-song chants, since that had to have already been learnt during novitiate, but the preparation of special, vocal-instrumental repertory, needed on many occasions throughout the year because of the numerous feast days involving solemn celebrations. Evidence of the existence of a group of nuns selected for the professional performance of music is also provided by another remark by Szklińska, written at another point. In *Porządki chórowe* (Rules for the choir) from 1780 we read that, on the day of All Saints at the order of Saint Benedict (13 November), the adoration in pairs at the Most Sacred Sacrament has been abolished, "because the Cantorettes complained that they had nobody to enter [for the scheduled adoration], since there were many old and weak ones and they

382 The teacher of violin in question may have been Jan Piotr Habermann, cf. p. 199.

383 See M. Walter-Mazur, *Forgotten instrument, forgotten practice...*

384 PL, p. 3.

had regard to those, others stood and sang the hours, and above all that for that celebration there was no ensemble, and only the nuns alone sang and played the *summa* and were excused from the register of prayers. **As many persons were removed as belong to the Fractus** [emphasis mine – MWM]³⁸⁵. In Lvov, it was also customary that on some feast days the singing or the vocal-instrumental music performed by a group of nuns accompanied prayers or contemplation by the others, providing a kind of background to it. During Lent “after compline, *Salve* is always to be sung, and after *Salve*, they will occupy themselves with prayer, and the other ladies will sing litanies or passions and Lent hymns”³⁸⁶. On the Sunday of the octave of Corpus Christi with the Most Blessed Sacrament “let them pray silently and guard Lord Jesus, and those who can play let them play the instruments to relieve the sisters in the singing”³⁸⁷. From 1749, under the governance of Abbess Kossakowska, a new forty-hour service was established at the Benedictine church in Lvov at the presentation of the Most Blessed Sacrament, celebrated “with playing and singing”. However, the next abbess, Kurdwanowska, forbade the playing of instruments or much singing on those days, in order to promote contemplation, since “that is exactly how they conduct this service in Rome”³⁸⁸.

As for the musical settings, in Lvov there was a clear hierarchy of those, depending on the rank of the feast day. On the days when the saints being recalled had some significance for the Benedictines’ spirituality, the author of the manuscript indicates the necessity of celebrating sung hours, including singing *Te Deum* at matins. It seems that a large amount of singing was a burden for the sisters, as is indicated by an incident described by Szeklińska on the feast of Saint Ursula. In 1739, on that day the convent came under the threat of fire, from which it was fortunately saved through the intercession of that saint. For this reason, Abbess Kuropatnicka ordered *Te Deum* to be sung at matins on that day. However, this order did not make a deep impression on the hearts of the sisters, and they did not always sing that hymn, but only when the prioress was present at matins or when she clearly ordered it in the evening. “At other times, it would happen that some would start singing and sang, while the others during that time when the others sang would with all their strength use their voices stubbornly to speak, and so for some verses there would be a wolves’ vespers

385 Ibid., p. 98.

386 Ibid. p. 11.

387 Ibid., p. 36.

388 Ibid., p. 51.

[wild hubbub], with the speaking ones winning over the singers, who had to stop because they could not carry on”³⁸⁹.

Special singing was assigned to some feast days, alongside the usual liturgical chants, such as the hymn *Nowa jutrzeńko kraju sarmackiego* at vespers on the feast day of Saint Stanislaus Kostka, or on Marian days in the morning *Zawitaj ranna jutrzeńko* and in the evening “for good night *O gloriosa virginum*”. Alongside the sung services, the author of *Porządki* mentions services “played in plainsong” or simply “played”, “intoned” and “fracted”, as well as those held “in choirs with priests”. In the first two cases, it is difficult to be certain that they refer to the same thing. It may be that in the first case the author had in mind the chanting of plainsong accompanied by the positive organ, and in the second the substitution of some permanent parts by instrumental music. As far as the term “intoned vespers” is concerned, it seems to refer to *alternatim* practice with the organ (positive) and plainsong. In all the eighteenth-century sources known to me, “fracting” referred to vocal-instrumental music, in contrast to the seventeenth century, where it referred to polyphony. Holding or singing services in choirs with priests referred to *alternatim* practice in the situation where instead of two choirs of nuns there would be a convent choir and priests’ choir. This created an additional spatial effect, since the nuns were upstairs in the choir gallery, and the priests downstairs at the main altar. On one occasion, there is even a mention of the singing of four choirs (at Christmas), as well as *alternatim* of priests with an ensemble³⁹⁰. Vocal-instrumental music appeared at the afternoon services, vespers and compline, as well as the masses attended in church by the secular congregation. The canonical hours from prime to none, all held together before noon, were more modest and internal.

4.1.3 Nieśwież

We may acquire some idea of the musical practice at the convent of Benedictine nuns in Nieśwież during the eighteenth century on the basis of an accounts book³⁹¹ and the ceremonials now held at Żarnowiec³⁹². Regularly,

389 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

390 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

391 *Rejestr rozchodu i przychodu klasztoru nieświeżskiego 1733–1811 (Register of expenditure and income at the Nieśwież convent 1733–1811)*, AGAD Archiwum Radziwiłłów, section VIII, ref. 324.

392 The archive of Benedictine sisters from Vilnius in Żarnowiec, Fl1 the so-called *Mały ceremonial nieświeżski (Small ceremonial for Nieśwież)* (copy from 1724) and Fl2 *Ceremoniarz obrządków kościelnych według reguły i zwyczaju zakonu ojca s. Benedykta*

in December of every year, the cantoress received ca. 18–20 zlotys “for Sapiencja”. Clearly what is involved here is *O Sapientia*, the first of the intricate antiphons which in the liturgy of the church appear in the week before Christmas. This provided an opportunity to pay the cantoress a kind of “bonus” for the whole year of effort to ensure the beauty of the Glory of God. This was all the more appropriate because, in contrast to the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century saw in Polish female convents widespread proprietarism, i.e., the sisters owning private property, including money. This was quite a large sum when one considers that two pairs of shoes would have cost then 1 zloty 20 grosz³⁹³.

As far as the instruments were concerned, the expenditure books note outlays on the organ, the positive, violin and harpsichord. The report of the bishop’s visitation which took place at the convent in 1828 lists in detail the instruments present in the choir: “positive for the hours”, five violins, one “basetla” (cello, *viola da gamba*?) and two flutes³⁹⁴; we may suppose that these or similar instruments had also been in use some decades earlier. In 1744 the Bernardine “organ master” was paid 40 zlotys for “repairing the small music box”; presumably a small positive organ, all the more likely since in 1750 there is talk of small and large positives³⁹⁵. This expenditure on the repairs to instruments and on strings appears regularly each year, demonstrating that the nuns from Nieśwież continuously played the violin and keyboard instruments. During the years 1736–1737 the convent spent significant sums on repairs to the organ, carried out by the Bernardines. In total, this cost 474 zlotys. As early as 1745 there are again sums intended for the organ (546 zlotys in total), and in 1752 the sum of 1800 zlotys is paid “to the organ masters for the work on the organ”³⁹⁶. Perhaps the previous repairs to the old instrument did not produce satisfactory results and the nuns

... dla pp. zakonnych klasztoru nieświeskiego (*Ceremonial of church rites according to the rule and custom of the order of Saint Benedict ... for the nuns of the Nieśwież convent*) (copy from 1807).

393 *Rejestr... klasztoru nieświeskiego*, passim. Also in Lvov, the *Sapientia* was an important moment for the convent community; on that day, all the nuns were to come together for the liturgy “those who had duties assigned to them, and the sick, and the novices” (PL, p. 109).

394 AGAD AR VIII No. 323, p. 19.

395 *Rejestr... klasztoru nieświeskiego*, p. 393.

396 We do not know whether they were Bernardines also on this occasion; probably not, since two organ masters are mentioned only by their first names in 1750: Marcin and Franciszek (ibid., pp. 399 and 411).

decided to purchase a new instrument with greater potential. This seems to be the only way of explaining such “profligacy”.

From 1755 we find expenditure on teachers of music, two of them from the start. Master Płoszyński taught singing, while Master Cięciłowicz³⁹⁷ taught playing. In 1759, alongside Cięciłowicz/Dziędziłowicz³⁹⁸, a Master Theodor appears as a teacher, and there are also payments to the organist for “teaching the convent ladies”; we do not know whether it is the same person as one of the musicians mentioned earlier. Cięciłowicz was associated with the convent and did other work for it, e.g., he copied or obtained compositions “for the choir”, as did Mr Theodor³⁹⁹. Like Benedictine Sisters in other convents, those from Nieśwież also sometimes invited ensembles to add splendour to more important celebrations. Among them was the feast of Saint Euphemia, the patron of the convent church, as well as the feast days of Our Lady Scapular and Saint Benedict. On two occasions, there is mention of bursars who played on three days in August 1739, i.e., during the celebrations of the Burial and Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, there were years when there was no record of expenditure on an invited ensemble; undoubtedly, such invitations were much less frequent than at Sandomierz or Lvov. A local curiosity is the record of payment to the “Orthodox priests for funeral rites, that sung mass for the soul of Mistress Hordynowna”⁴⁰⁰ and the purchase of a “missal in Ruthenian”, for which 35 zlotys was paid in 1751⁴⁰¹. Naturally, the liturgical

397 At the court of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł “Rybeńka” there were two musicians with that name, Leon and Stefan Cięciłowicz. Leon is listed during the years 1751–1759 as a violinist and chapel master, Stefan, who seems to have been younger, appears in the documentation as oboist in the years 1758 and 1765. It is thus highly probable that one of them, or even both, were involved in the musical affairs of the convent, which was located opposite the Radziwiłł palace in Nieśwież (see Irena Bieńkowska, *Kultura muzyczna na dworze Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła “Rybeńki” (1702–1762) w Nieświeżu (Musical culture at the court of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł “Rybeńka” (1702–1762) in Nieśwież)*, M. A. thesis written at the Musicology Institute of Warsaw University, Warszawa 1994, pp. 56, 57, 110). I would like to express my warm gratitude to Irena Bieńkowska for drawing my attention to this interesting coincidence.

398 Yet another version of this surname is Ciędzicielowicz (*ibid.*, p. 482).

399 In 1759 he undertook some travelling, and was given 19 zlotys “for travel” (*ibid.*, p. 474).

400 *Ibid.*, p. 231. Ordynówna/Hordynówna, convent name Magdalena, d. in 1736, from the Nowy Gród voivodship, at the convent from 1706 (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. III, p.100).

401 *Rejestr... klasztoru nieświeżskiego*, p. 403.

books purchased were primarily in Latin, and there were also “canticles for the Ladies”⁴⁰².

4.1.4 Jarosław

The collection of polychoral works from the first half of the seventeenth century, discussed in Chapter 3, most probably comes from the convent in Jarosław. Undoubtedly there must have been some kind of practising of professional music there, but the sources are insufficient to enable us to say much about it⁴⁰³. It is certain that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Stabat Mater* from the said collection was still being performed “always on Easter Saturday”⁴⁰⁴, as it says on the covers of three out of the eight partbooks L 1643 BDSand. It is possible that we owe the survival of this manuscript to the practice of singing this simple, homorhythmic setting of *Stabat Mater* for six voices, which even then probably sounded archaic. The main evidence of the cultivation of vocal-instrumental music at the convent in Jarosław in the early eighteenth century is the only surviving manuscript which can be linked to that centre. This is the manuscript held at BDSand ref. 499/A VIII 139, containing the anonymous composition *Parendum est* for Soprano, two violins and organ, with the inscription on the back of the cover “Wielebney W Chrystusie Pannie / Żaboklicki⁴⁰⁵ Woiewodzance / Podolski i Zakonnicy Reguły / S. O. B. Ichw Panien Jarosła / wskich MWM Pannie z serca / Kochany Ciotce y DobrodziIce” (For the reverend in Christ Mistress Żaboklicki / daughter of Podole Voivod and Nun of the rule

402 Ibid., p. 295.

403 It may be that at the beginning of the century Jan Ignacy Woytanowicz was still active there; he was the copyist of two plainsong books and a volume of reflections. Cf. T. Bratkowski, *Jan Ignacy Woytanowicz – skrytor w opactwie siostr benedyktynek jarosławskich (Jan Ignacy Woytanowicz - scribe at the abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Jarosław)*, *Additamenta Musicologica Lublinensia* 2009, pp. 43–54. The books written by Woytanowicz are preserved in Lvov (1691, antiphony, Biblioteka Stefanyka in Lvov, ref. LBAN 8:78) and in Przemyśl (antiphony from 1696 written for Anna Bronikowska, prioress of Przemyśl, Archive of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl ms. 12 and Ignatian reflections by Jan Krosnowski copied for Anna Bronikowska in 1690, Archive of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, ms. 5).

404 See previous chapter.

405 Helena Żaboklicka entered the convent in Jarosław in 1693, and died in 1734. She brought with her a large dowry, 10 000 zlotys. She was probably later an owner of one of the partbooks L 1643. Referring to her as “Aunt” in the dedication does not imply family kinship, since that was the way that the younger nuns addressed the older ones.

of Saint Benedict Order of Jarosław Ladies, for Your Ladyship from the heart for the beloved Aunt and Benefactress). The work was written at the convent in Sandomierz in the hand of Zofia Bratysiewiczówna in 1709. We do not know whether it reached its addressee, but it is highly likely, since the wrapper bears traces of the postage seal being stamped. The manuscript must have “returned” to Sandomierz after the dissolution of the convent in Jarosław in 1782, together with the partbooks L 1643.

The only information on the subject of later musical practice of the Jarosław Benedictines comes to us from the manuscript titled *Opisanie praw, funduszków i przywilejów Pannom Zakonu ... jarosławskiego w roku 1740 zaczęte* (Descriptions of rights, funds and privileges for the Ladies of the Order ... of Jarosław began in 1740)⁴⁰⁶ a part of which is a copy of the report after the visitation of bishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski from 1747⁴⁰⁷. The musical-liturgical practice of the Benedictine sisters in Jarosław was criticised by bishop Sierakowski on many points. Judging by this report, the metropolitan from Przemyśl seems to have been in favour of the return to Gregorian chant. He reiterates, following the rule of Chełmno, the ban on playing instruments by the nuns themselves and the order to limit singing “figurally”, which *per negation* provides evidence of the existence of this practice in the community of Jarosław nuns. Although they may sometimes show off their “figural singing”, they should not sing “new hymns, often peculiar”, since “we are to sing bravely against those who sing so very quickly and sickly that they often seem to be kittens and not women singers”⁴⁰⁸. The quoted words of the bishop allow one to guess that he was against performances in church of arias and concertos in the Neapolitan style.

The report of the visitation also tells us that the sisters would shorten the time intended for meditation by relying on a specially set clock which ran faster. The bishop ordered this clock to be moved to the tower, so that the nuns would have

406 Biblioteka Ossolineum ms. 101/II.

407 Recorded in ms BOssol 101/II on folios 175v-188v. On this subject, see J. Ataman, *W H Sierakowski i jego rządy w diecezji przemyskiej (W. H. Sierakowski and His Governance of the Diocese of Przemyśl)*, Warszawa 1936. The original to which Julian Ataman referred in his work was regarded as lost after the war. Recently it was discovered by Krzysztof Prokop in AGAD, set 396 ref. no. 247, see K. R. Prokop, *Nowoodnaleziona księga Acta Pontificalia Arcybiskupa W H Sierakowskiego (Newly-rediscovered book Acta Pontificalia of Archbishop W H Sierakowski)*, *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 2009/92, pp.185–204. Here I refer to the Ossolineum manuscript and the text by Ataman.

408 BOssol 101/II, p. 188.

no access to it. Moreover, they would fill the time for meditation with the singing of hymns, which also earned a rebuke. Sierakowski also forbade the reciting of their own invented texts within the office, as well as reciting them in three choirs with one verse being spoken or sung by the sisters, the second by the priest, and the third being played by the organist. As for hiring a secular ensemble, the bishop allowed this on the feast days of Saint Benedict, Scholastica, Nicholas (patron of the church) and the saints of the Order⁴⁰⁹.

Moreover, from the list of persons living in the convent in 1740, which includes all the nuns and the whole convent “family”, we learn that the Jarosław nunnery permanently employed an organist, Michał Tworowski, who “takes his food from the convent every day and an annual salary of 80 zlotys and living quarters as well”, and a “cantor and musician” Wojciech Różański, “who also takes his food from the convent every day and has a salary of 72 zlotys [a year]”⁴¹⁰. The question arises whether these convent singers, admonished by bishop Sierakowski, might have performed vocal-instrumental compositions together with the secular musicians employed by the convent? It does seem possible. The Benedictine church in Jarosław had the convent choir above the main nave along with two side choirs on both sides of the presbytery, of which at least one must have been a music choir. The distance between them was short enough to make synchronised performance possible; as we learn from the report of the visitation, the canonical hours were celebrated “for three choirs”: the sisters, priests and the organist “in his choir”, which the bishop in fact forbade⁴¹¹.

We do not know whether any of the nuns played an instrument; in 1731 Abbess Ludwika Tarłówna accepted into the convent three candidates without dowries, “but rich for the Glory of the Lord God”⁴¹², which may be interpreted as “very useful in the choir”, i.e., able to sing and perhaps to play. In her turn, in 1753 Abbess Katarzyna Sołtykówna accepted Barbara Duszakiewiczówna, “for singing and with an ability to play the organ”⁴¹³. This seems to indicate indirectly that there was another keyboard instrument in the convent choir, probably a positive.

409 Ibid., p. 188.

410 Ibid., p. 115.

411 Ibid., p. 175.

412 Barbara Opowska, Katarzyna Hernowska and Konstancja Rogulska, later a cantress. Ibid., p. 69. Generally, the convent in Jarosław accepted many candidates without dowries, but this was probably unconnected to musical practice.

413 Ibid., p. 70.

4.1.5 Przemyśl

The convent in Przemyśl was equipped much more modestly than those discussed previously. It was one of the two convents, alongside Łomża, which did not undergo dissolution and has existed without interruption from its foundation to this day. In the extant convent archives we find confirmation of the practice of plainsong chanting and, at one point in time, quite highly developed organ practice. It was not limited to accompaniment, but also included solo organ compositions and organ improvisation. This is confirmed by two surviving “organist’s books” and a manuscript which might be described as “the organist’s copybook”⁴¹⁴. We know only one name of a convent organist, Anna Michalkiewiczówna (Michalkiewiczówna), accepted in 1728 without a dowry as one “who could play the positive”, who died in 1768⁴¹⁵. However, she must have had successors, since in ms. 10, probably written in a large part by Michalkiewiczówna herself, we find a fragment with didactic remarks concerning *basso continuo* and organ improvisation; the same book also contains exercises which provide a practical supplement to the theoretical remarks. The didactic remarks are intended directly for the pupil, with feminine endings of verbs, which indicates that teaching to play the organ was part of the musical education taking place at the convent in Przemyśl. We may guess that the writing of these organ books, and in particular the didactic comments they contain, was an attempt to create continuity in organ practice.

We know a few more surnames of the cantores from the convent in Przemyśl; obituaries of two of them carry the remark that they had beautiful voices⁴¹⁶. A special person was Katarzyna Ziańska/Zięcińska, who brought “as her dowry excellent virtues and work to the Glory of God, and particularly she left behind the memory of having taught the other nuns to sing plainchant”⁴¹⁷.

414 Archive of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, ms. 10 and 11, the last without a reference. All three books the last one with ref. no. 11a, are accessible on the website “*Muzyka Benedykynek Polskich*” (<http://biblioteka.benedyktynki.eu/mbp/#/search?collectionid=20>). These sources will be discussed in the next chapter.

415 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. III, p. 307.

416 A. Szylar, *Pióro żadne nie jest w stanie wyrazić jej zalet*” *Listy informujące o śmierci mniszek adresowane do opactwa benedyktynek w Sandomierzu w zbiorach Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu (1781–1897)* (“No pen can give expression to her virtues”. *Letters Informing of the Death of Nuns Addressed to the Abbey of Benedictine Nuns in Sandomierz in the Collection of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz (1781–1897)*) Wrocław 2015, pp. 96, 126–128, 155.

417 *Statuta Ecclesiae et Monasterium Ordinis Sancti benedicti Premislae transflyvium San siti*, Archiwum Kurii Biskupiej in Przemyśl, ms. 163 f. 737v., quoted after: T.

Unfortunately, we do not find in the obituaries any confirmation of an organist tradition among the nuns⁴¹⁸. Moreover, there is no surviving evidence of the practice of vocal-instrumental music. However, we do know that the Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl had the custom of hiring an ensemble from the left bank of the river San in Przemyśl and, as was customary in other female convents, would serve them refreshments, which caused a row with bishop Sierakowski⁴¹⁹.

The greatest number of sources with information on the musical practice of Benedictines in the eighteenth century has survived from the convent in Sandomierz, and the great majority of eighteenth-century music documents comes from there. One is thus left with the impression that the convent in Sandomierz was distinguished by its high standard of musical culture in comparison with the others. However, taking into account the serious deficiency of sources which would allow us to learn the history of female convents, including those belonging to the Chełmno congregation, we need to be cautious in postulating such a hypothesis. In fact, the registers of income and expenditure of the convents in Sandomierz, Lvov and Nieśwież show significant similarities in respect of the expenditure on music, e.g., in respect of purchase and conservation of instruments. If relevant registers, menology and music documentation had survived for all the three centres, they could all represent equally interesting musical practice.

4.2 Music as an element of convent celebrations⁴²⁰

Among the very numerous feast days celebrated in the Catholic Church during the baroque period, there were special days which had specific individual liturgical and musical settings. Since they represented a content of profound and fundamental importance, days which recalled the greatest mysteries of salvation

Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 96. Ziecińska/Ziańska lived at the convent during the years 1723–1799.

418 The organ books show signs of use, therefore it seems likely that Michałkiewiczówna had pupils and successors. On one of the books, ms.11, on the title page, there is the inscription “Ms Krogulska gets really angry / and for jokes and that is bad”. However, we do not know of a nun with that surname.

419 Cf. the next subchapter, p. 182.

420 This subchapter is based on the author’s publication *Muzyka jako element klasztornych uroczystości w świetle XVIII-wiecznych archiwaliów benedyktynek kongregacji chełmińskiej (Music as an element of convent celebrations in light of eighteenth-century archives of Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation)*, *Hereditas Monasteriorum* 2/2013, pp. 57–80.

required particular ceremony; these included the Paschal Triduum, Easter and Christmas. At that time, another widespread custom was to celebrate with ceremony the Burial of the Blessed Virgin Mary on August 13, i.e., two days before her Assumption, celebrated on the August 15. Much importance was attached to the celebration of the octave of Corpus Christi and the feast days of the patrons of the order and the given location. Services and processions for Corpus Christi had a special character of demonstrating Catholic faith during that period, the feast days of the patrons were largely of a representative character. Independent of the liturgical cycle but very important for the monastic community were the ceremonies of taking the veil and making monastic profession, i.e., eternal vows⁴²¹. Characteristic of only some female convents, including the Benedictines, was the custom of the consecration of virgins⁴²². The ceremony would take place not less than a year after the profession and after the nun reached the age of twenty-five, and symbolised the mystical marriage between her soul and Christ. Music was also played to celebrate persons, when entertaining important guests, celebrating namedays or holding obsequies.

Our knowledge about the celebration of the events in question comes from the chronicle of the convent in Sandomierz⁴²³, the most recent and richest in detail⁴²⁴, and from the directoria from Sandomierz⁴²⁵ and Lvov⁴²⁶, also from the

421 The customs of the Benedictine nuns are discussed by M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...* pp. 46–49

422 Ibid., p. 50–54.

423 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*

424 Other chronicles of Benedictine nuns survive: from the seventeenth century there are those of Chełmno, Toruń, Poznań and Radom as well as the Grudziądz one from the eighteenth century, all of them with twentieth-century editions. From the Lvov convent, we have the manuscripts held at the Archive of the Lvov Benedictine Sisters in Krzeszów: *Opisanie wypadków i różnych interesów tyczących się zgromadzenia i dóbr konwentu lwowskiego* (Description of events and various matters relating to the congregation and property of the Lvov convent) (B3) and *Pamiętka 300-letniej rocznicy założenia klasztoru* (Remembrance of the 300th anniversary of founding the convent) (B6), written ex post in the nineteenth century. The Lvov manuscripts contain very little information about music, the Grudziądz chronicle has none.

425 *Porządki chorowe (Rules for the choir)* (Scholastyka Moszyńska), ms. L 1651 Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, further on quoted as PS (Porządki Sandomierskie; Sandomierz rules).

426 *Porządek godziny zabaw zakonnych przez cały dzień w regule opisanych (Hourly order of convent tasks throughout the day described in the rule)* (Aldegunda Szklińska), ms. D4 Archiwum PP Benedyktynek Lwowskich w Krzeszowie, further on quoted as PL (Porządki Lwowskie; Lvov rules).

eighteenth century. Some information is also provided by the registers of convent expenditure, of which extant are those from Sandomierz⁴²⁷, Lvov⁴²⁸ and Nieśwież⁴²⁹; there are also visitation files concerning the Przemysł⁴³⁰ and Jarosław convents,⁴³¹ and the ceremonial from Nieśwież⁴³².

Directorium and chronicle naturally are very different sources. From directoria, we learn what kind of musical settings were expected for the liturgical events recurring cyclically every year; the recommendations contained in them are based on the tradition created and established at a given centre and are aimed at passing it on. On the other hand, chronicles record not that which recurs, but that which happened on a particular occasion, hence we will not find in the chronicle of the Sandomierz convent the information about the setting of Christmas or Easter Week liturgies, but we will find a record of the music making in honour of the wife of an Austrian colonel in 1773, or of a mass sung “in fractus” on the occasion of the nameday of a chaplain, Jesuit Józef Karśnicki.

The Sandomierz directorium, titled *Porządki chorowe* (Rules for the choir), is a fragment of manuscript L 1651⁴³³, held at the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz. It contains monophonic liturgical chants, and was written in 1749 by Scholastica Moszyńska for her own sister Marianna who lived in the same

427 *Regestra podskarbskie zaczynające się w R. P 1769 (Treasury registers from A. D. 1769)*, ms. G 889 Diocesan Library in Sandomierz.

428 *Regestry przychodów i rozchodów klasztoru lwowskiego (Registers of income and expenditure of the convent in Lvov)*, ms. G 16–19 Archive of Benedictine sisters from Lvov in Krzeszów.

429 *Rejestr rozchodu i przychodu klasztoru nieświeskiego 1733–1811 (Register of expenditure and income of the convent in Nieśwież)*, AGAD Radziwiłł Archive, section VIII, ref. 324.

430 J. Ataman, *WH Sierakowski...*

431 *Opisanie praw, funduszków y przywilejów wielebnym Pannom Oyca św. Benedykta klasztoru jarosławskiego w roku 1740 zaczęte (Description of rights, funds and privileges of the reverend ladies of the convent of Saint Benedict in Jarosław begun in 1740)*, ms. Biblioteki Ossolineum, ref. 101/II.

432 *Ceremoniarz obrządków kościelnych według reguły i zwyczaju zakonu ojca s. Benedykta... dla pp. zakonnych klasztoru nieświeskiego (Ceremonial of church rites according to the rule and custom of the order of Saint Benedict ... for the ladies of the convent in Nieśwież)* (copy from 1807), ms. F12 Archive of the Vilnius Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec. This source is quoted by Małgorzata Borkowska in the chapter *Dwanaście miesięcy (Twelve months)* (devoted to the liturgical year) of her book *Życie codzienne...*, pp. 263–269, to which I refer below. The author also quotes PL, but does not concentrate on musical practice.

433 On pp. 177–190.

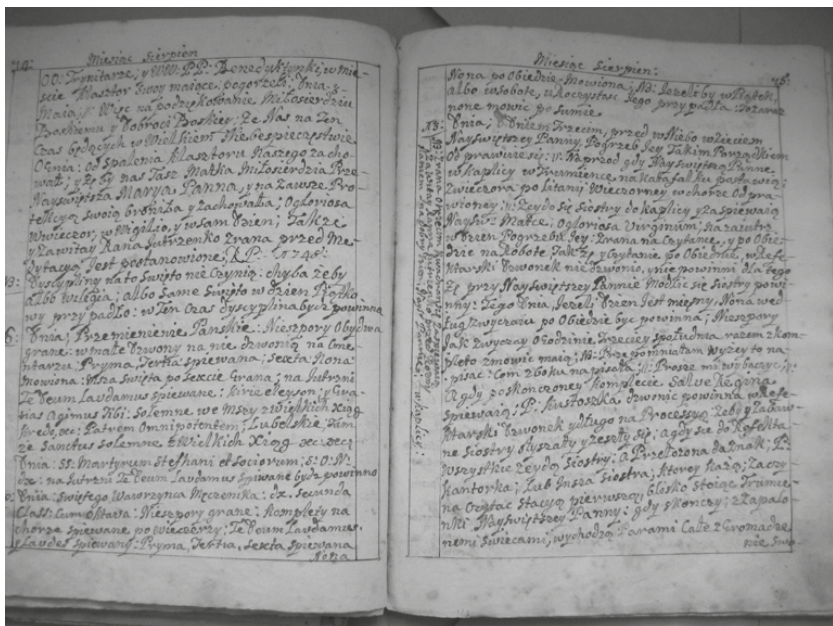


Fig. 20: Fragment of *Porządki chorowe* ms. D4. Archive of Lvov Benedictine Sisters in Krzeszów (quoted as PL), pp. 74–75

convent. Moszyńska recorded there the manner in which the liturgy was to be prepared for every feast day celebrated at the convent in Sandomierz, i.e., whether and what kind of musical setting was to be provided. In Moszyńska’s schedule plainsong chant was expected on ninety-two occasions in the liturgical year, as well as on all Saturdays and Sundays. The organ is expected to participate on fifteen feast days; moreover, it appears that it was played on every Sunday except during Lent. On fourteen occasions, Moszyńska mentioned “figural” singing, i.e. polyphonic without the accompaniment of an instrument. Finally, six feast days during the year were to be celebrated with the accompaniment of vocal-instrumental music.

The directorium from Lvov is more extensive and is a richer source of information regarding not only liturgy. It is now held at the Convent of the Benedictine Sisters in Krzeszów, ref. no. D4 (see Fig. 20). It was written by sister Aldegunda Szklińska and consists of three parts: *Porządek godziny zabaw zakonnych przez cały dzień w regule opisanych* (Order of the hours of convent tasks throughout the day described in the rule) on pages 1–24; 2. *Porządki chorowe na niektóre*

dni przez rok z starych przepisane R. P 1780 słowo w słowo (Choir rules for some days for the year copied from the old ones A. D. 1780 word for word), pages 25–47; and 3. *Porządki chorowe na wszystkie dni w roku spisane w roku Pańskim 1748 ... na nowe przepisane ... w Roku Pańskim 1780* (Choir rules for all days of the year, written in A. D. 1748 ... newly copied ... in A. D. 1780), pages 49–124. These three texts are bound together and preceded by a litany in Polish *Na czasy niebezpieczne, od powietrza* written in the hand of Aldegunda Szklińska. Both Lvov *Porządki chorowe* were written in the same year and presumably bound together shortly after. Although in many places they sound the same, they differ in a significant way. The first, as the title tells us, was copied “from the old ones, word for word”, while in the second one the author, as well as describing the liturgical customs from the version from 1748, adds information about the changes introduced by consecutive abbesses, hence its larger size. The difference between the “old” and “new” orders is apparent primarily in the celebration of a larger number of feast days; in the second one the author also provides more detail about the ceremonies, presumably in order to record permanently the established customs, being aware of the impending end of the epoch.

Celebrating Christmas in female convents is above all associated with convent carols⁴³⁴; some of them represent a specific subgenre of carols, quite outside the liturgy. Usually they take the form of congratulations directed to the abbess, convent benefactors and worthy guests; sometimes they would be reciprocated.

Carols of this kind represented a New Year gift and related to the actual convent reality. In the archive of Lvov Benedictines preserved in Krzeszów there is a collection of carols, ref. E16; unfortunately, we know nothing about their melodies – we only know that they were usually sung and not recited, since a deviation from this custom was noted when in 1794 the carol “was not sung in the superior’s residence but given into the hands” of the Lvov Abbess Elżbieta Benigna Kruszelnicka (1723–1804)⁴³⁵. We may suppose that the nuns would have used familiar simple melodies, which is suggested by the usually simple and rhythmical form of the texts.

434 Convent carols have their own literature which examines them from the historical-philological perspective, and therefore I do not describe them in detail. Texts concerning convent carols are quoted in the article by J. Gwioździk, *Old Polish Christmas carols of contemplative nuns (17th_18th century)*, *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology* 11, 2012, pp. 169–185.

435 Archive of Benedictine Sisters from Lvov in Krzeszów, ms. E 16 without pagination (carols written on loose folios).

A collection of carols has also been preserved in the music collection of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, which includes the legacy of the Benedictine nuns from Sandomierz. Alongside carols which have the character of a New Year gift, we find carols of a reflective-mystical and quasi-folk nature. Predominantly these are works with a vocal-instrumental setting, belonging to the pastorella genre, with some characteristic stylistic features against the background of Polish music of that period⁴³⁶.

Well-known carols also penetrated into the liturgy: “On Christmas Day ... when the priest begins *Gloria in Excelsis*, the organ is to play, and immediately afterwards the Ladies will sing *Quem pastores*, and having sung twice in Latin and in Polish only then sing *Gratias* again then carry on until the end, during the *offertorium* after the elevation and after *Agnus Dei* to sing figurally songs from the cantionals”⁴³⁷. The cantional L1642 from 1721 for four voices from Sandomierz contains eighteen carols: Latin, Polish and Latin-Polish; perhaps these were the ones sung on that day⁴³⁸.

Christmas Eve at the Lvov convent had a penitential character until vespers. We learn this from the order of the hours, *Porządek godzin*: after the first mass the nuns went in procession “in great silence” to the refectory, where the penitential rite took place, with lying cross-like and saying the *Miserere* psalm three times, with penitential psalms, self-flagellation and confessing sins to the abbess. Then the abbess sprinkled holy water, and the sisters apologised to each other for all the wrongs done throughout the year. In the afternoon, the great bell at the cemetery was rung for vespers, and it was “rung through”, announcing the approach of the great holy day. The vespers themselves were “fracted”, i.e., performed by an ensemble of nuns with voices and instruments⁴³⁹. After supper, there was a

436 See *Pastorele staropolskie na zespoły wokalnie-instrumentalne (Old Polish pastorellas for vocal-instrumental ensembles)*, part I, ed. A. and Z. Szwejkowski, Kraków 1968, p. VI. Cf. also W. Marchwica, *Sarmatisation of the Polish Christmas carol – posthumous success of the Jagiellonian dynastic ideology*, *Musica Iagellonica* 2012, pp. 71–81, idem; *Właściwości muzyczne kolęd polskich XVI-XVIII wieku (Musical characteristics of Polish carols from 16th-18th ct.)*, *Z kolędą przez wieki. Kolędy w Polsce i w krajach słowiańskich*, vol. III, ed. T. Budrewicz, S. Koziara., Tarnów 1996; A. Mądry, *Barok, część druga 1697–1795. Muzyka religijna i jej barokowy modus operandi (Baroque, part 2, 1697–1795. Religious Music and its Baroque modus operandi)*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 549–566. This issue will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter.

437 PS, p. 177.

438 BD Sand L 1642, pp. 28–50.

439 PL, p. 6.

procession to the manger scene prepared next to the altar in the church, and so for a moment the sisters would leave the enclosure:

After supper, the Custodian will ring for the Procession and litany, for which when everyone has come and the Abbess comes to the refectory, all leave in pairs with burning candles; and go to church singing the song *Za czasu Augusta pokoju złotego* (In August's time of golden peace); the Abbess will bring the Blessed Virgin to the Bethlehem manger, the prioress Saint Joseph, others – Angels, with the younger ones bringing the ox with the donkey. When they finish singing that song, a few sisters go back to the choir to sing the Litany of the Holy Name of Jesus with the positive ⁴⁴⁰.

The other sisters would remain in the church, kneeling on the steps of the altar. After hearing the litany, abbreviated according to the instruction given by Szklińska, the cantoress or another designated sister would say the prayers written for that day, after which came the rite of sprinkling holy water over all those gathered in the church. Then, at the sign of a bell rung by the prioress, the nuns “all in pairs should leave the church in great modesty”⁴⁴¹. Then they would bring another, smaller manger into the choir, also in procession, “carrying the Desert in which is the Birth of Lord Jesus and Blessed Virgin etc. etc.” and singing *Ave maris stella*⁴⁴².

The Sandomierz rules also mention a manger, but we do not know whether it was in the church or the choir: “there is also the old custom that the cantoress with the singers goes to the manger in the evening to sing carols to Lord Jesus, finding a choir day that is free from work”⁴⁴³. This comment concerned the Christmas period; Christmas Eve in Sandomierz was celebrated modestly, with plainsong, and the mass was supposed to be sung figurally only when it fell on a Sunday.

In the Lvov order of the hours (*Porządek godzin*) we are struck by the great importance attached to the sound of the bells. There was a number of them, differing in pitch and volume: the refectory bell, the little bell, the middle bell, the grand bell. There was also a bell at the cemetery, perhaps the same one as the one referred to as the grand bell:

440 PL, p. 114.

441 Ibid., p. 115. It is not quite clear whether secular persons could be present in the church at the same time, but it seems that that was the case.

442 PS, p. 115.

443 PS p. 178

The eve of the New Year: for the vespers, first they ring the Grand Bell at noon, the second time for vespers ring all the bells, from 3 in the afternoon vespers are played, compline sung, laude sung, after Contemplation they ring the little bell; then prime is sung. On the first day of the month they ring the little bell for the first mass; after prime the third is sung; after the third litany with collects, then holy mass is read, during which the Ladies take communion; after the mass they ring the grand bell, and the Ladies sing the sext and end with an antiphon; then a mass is played, then at collects in the mass they ring the grand bell for the sermon, after the end of the summa they immediately ring for dinner after dinner the litany, course hours⁴⁴⁴. At three quarters in the afternoon they ring the middle bell for none, when they sing verses in the none they will first ring the grand bell for vespers; when it strikes two in the afternoon they ring a second time for vespers all the bells; Vespers, compline like yesterday – This manner of the Lord's glory and ringing as on other solemn feast days, that is: the Lord Jesus, Blessed Virgin, the Order and the Church⁴⁴⁵.

Bells were an important part of the sound setting of the ceremonies of All Saints and All Souls Days. During the procession through the church and the cemetery, in which both the sisters and the priests took part, when the priest sang the responsory all the bells were supposed to ring, and they were all to stop when he sang *Kyrie eleyson*, and that happened every time. After *Salve Regina*, the choir bell should have been given a quick ring and care was to be taken to ensure that the other bells did not ring out⁴⁴⁶. On that day, all the bells were also rung during *Te Deum* and again, when the priests went to the vestry to change into black vestments⁴⁴⁷. On 14 November, the day of prayers for the founders, benefactors, friends of the convent, families and deceased sisters, at vespers “ring all the bells and the choir bell stopping three times”⁴⁴⁸. However, on the day of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Snows only the small bell was rung at the cemetery⁴⁴⁹.

Lent had a different character from the rest of the liturgical year, which had to be reflected in the kind of musical setting. *Porządki chorowe* from Sandomierz mention the fact that during Lent the organ should be silent, the only exception

444 This probably refers to the paraliturgical service of The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception, modelled on breviary offices and created during the Middle Ages in Italy or in Spain. It was first published in Polish in 1482. https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Godzinki_o_Niepokalanyh_Pocz%C4%99ciu_Naj%C5%9Bwi%C4%99tszej_Maryi_Panny (last accessed on 05.05.2018).

445 PL, p.26.

446 Ibid., p. 42.

447 Ibid., p. 91.

448 Ibid., p. 44.

449 Ibid., p. 73.

being if a double rite should fall on a Sunday. It was possible to sing figurally instead, i.e., in voices, without instruments. The rules from Sandomierz require *plancti* to be sung on feast days and Fridays of Lent⁴⁵⁰ while the ones from Lvov from 1782 mention singing and playing the passion on each Friday of *Quadragesima*: “during Lent they do not sing on any Friday *qui passus est pro nobis* because with passions being played the singers sing *Qui passus*, but when there will be no singers, the *fractus* will stop, there will be no passion, everybody should sing after compline as they sing throughout the year [on Fridays]”⁴⁵¹. Moreover, among the special chants of that time was *Salve Regina* sung every day after compline, and afterwards, during the sisters’ prayers “other Ladies will sing litany or Passion and Lent hymns”⁴⁵². In the second half of the eighteenth century, Passions were undoubtedly also performed in Sandomierz, since two of them are preserved in manuscripts from the convent⁴⁵³. The directoria from Sandomierz and Lvov and the ceremonial from Nieśwież devote most attention to the rites of Easter Week. All these texts instruct that the canonical hours of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday should be read in a specific and heart-rending manner: “in a low voice, slowly”⁴⁵⁴, “very seriously, as if pitifully, depressingly, in a low voice”⁴⁵⁵. Małgorzata Borkowska, quoting a description of the rites on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday from the Nieśwież ceremonial⁴⁵⁶, draws attention to their theatrical nature, in the spirit of the times⁴⁵⁷. In the *Mandatum* rite, the events of Maundy Thursday were re-enacted, i.e., the washing of the apostles’ feet and the breaking of bread. The abbess would play the part of Christ, and the prioress would be Peter, asking “*Tu mihi lavas pedes?*” A designated sister sang an appropriate excerpt from Saint John’s Gospel. The choir was decorated in the form of the cenacle, and after washing their feet the abbess would give to the sisters an (unconsecrated) wafer and wine from a goblet. After *Tenebrae* with the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the gradual extinguishing of all candles, groups of flagellants would appear in the church, often accompanied by someone dressed as Jesus in a crown of thorns, with a cross on his

450 PS, p. 175.

451 PL, p. 120.

452 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

453 Including *Passio D. NJ.* by Leopold Pych in manuscript 207/A VI 11, sent from the convent in Lvov.

454 PS, p. 180.

455 PL, p. 14 15.

456 Manuscript F 12 from the Archive of the Vilnius Benedictine Sisters in Żarnowiec.

457 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne ...*, pp. 266–267.

shoulder, led by his torturers by an iron chain. During the rites of the flagellants, the nuns in the choir sang Passion hymns⁴⁵⁸. They also flagellated themselves after the secular congregation had left the church.

Singing also accompanied Good Friday's theatrical presentation of the liturgy in Lvov, which was recorded in detail by Aldegunda Szklińska:

On Good Friday morning before the day at the hour that the superior has instructed, to which after the knocking⁴⁵⁹ they come to the refectory and take the discipline; afterwards they go to the choir for the sermon; after the sermon all having fallen cross-like on the ground say five prayers, then, when Mother Superior gives the sign they rise, having taken the crucifix laid on the ground they start singing the hymn *Rozmyslajmy dziś wierni chrześcijanie* [Faithful Christians let us ponder today] etc., kneeling, and at the line "and then they threw themselves" they rise and so singing and with the cross go in a procession to the refectory ... having sung the hymn they read penitential psalms, and having come to the psalm *Miserere* they will stop a while as the sisters disrobe and take the discipline ... having finished the psalms they go singly each to kiss the crucifix and having finished they do their contemplation, not going to church so as not to be distracted because there is knocking to go to the grave. ... after vespers the Lord's Burial. After hiding Lord Jesus in the grave when the Chaplains finish the responsoria they immediately sing in quiet voices in fractus the hymns about the Lord's passion and spend the whole day on that. ... There is a knocking for the service, of which the order is such: first before the grid downstairs the Vestry nun places the Lord Jesus in a coffin on a bier. There all the convent Ladies will gather and begin a Litany of the Holy Name of Jesus; two sisters intone and all respond; all go in pairs with burning candles; the one walking at the front carries the cross and four older ones the bier with the Body of the dead Lord Jesus; they carry it to the choir and there put it in the prepared place and finish the litany. They should sing it all without missing anything ... Then one reads what serves the time and the service and when she has finished two or three Ladies sing some hymns about the Lord's Passion one strophe each, and all the others do the discipline; this seven times, and when that is done they lie cross-like saying seven prayers and I believe in God... and when the Superior gives a sign they rise from lying cross-like and begin singing Jesus Christ Lord beloved, having finished they will go to their cells to calm down, and others, designated by the Cantorress, sing in pairs two hours each the "Żołtarz"⁴⁶⁰ day and night, when there is quiet and silence in the church; or they sing fractus quietly according to their ability and piety⁴⁶¹.

458 Ibid., pp. 266–267.

459 This refers to the sound of wooden knocker, which are still in use today during the liturgy of Good Friday. They replaced all the bells which grew silent on the evening of Maundy Thursday.

460 The Psalter.

461 PL, pp. 14–17.

Both the Sandomierz and Lvov directoria require singing, “accompanying” and “fracting” at the Lord’s grave throughout “because there should not be silence at the Lord’s tomb”⁴⁶². “But before the raising of the Lord Jesus from the tomb they grow silent. When the Lord Jesus is raised from the tomb only the priests sing”⁴⁶³.

It is apparent that music did not disturb concentration in prayer; it provided a background, and its words probably provided material for contemplation. Presumably, the aim was also to draw in the faithful visiting the church at that time, and demonstrate to them that the nuns accompany the Saviour at all times. The continuous music-making at Christ’s tomb is in total contrast to the Paschal Triduum experience today, when even the organ grows silent at the moment of Jesus being captured, and does not sound again until the sunset of Easter Saturday with the beginning of the Eve of Easter.

The sisters celebrated the feast of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary in a typically baroque manner. Similarly to the death and resurrection of Jesus, on August 13 there would be a Burial of the Blessed Virgin Mary, then there would be a vigil and prayer next to her “tomb” which in the morning of the Assumption day, August 15, would be found empty⁴⁶⁴. On the third day before the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin her burial is held in the following manner:

In the morning on the third quarter they will sing *Zawitaj ranna jutrzeńko* [Welcome, the dawn of the morning] before contemplation for the good day of the Blessed Virgin. ... First when they place the Blessed Virgin in the chapel in a coffin on the catafalque, in the evening after the evening litany held in the choir, the sisters will go to the chapel and sing for the Holy Mother *O gloriosa Virginum*. The next day, the day of Her burial: in the morning at the third quarter they sing *Zawitaj ranna jutrzeńko* before contemplation for a good day for the Blessed Virgin ... they should not ring the refectory bell because the Sisters should be praying by the Blessed Virgin. ... After compline is finished, they sing *Salve Regina*; the Custodian should ring for a long time the refectory bell for the procession so that those who are busy with tasks should also hear and could come ... The Cantor or another sister instructed to do so begins to read the first station, standing close to the coffin of the Blessed Virgin; and when she has finished the whole congregation comes out in pairs with burning candles, in its order, the younger ones first, the older ones behind them, singing the hymn *Ty któraś pięknie dni swoje skończyła* [You who ended your days in beauty] etc., which the Cantor should begin, and they

462 Ibid., p. 18. In PS, p. 180: “Singing after dinner (on Good Friday) according to the instruction of the Cantor either the psalter, or at an instrument, also after matins, so that there should not be a long silence in the church”.

463 Ibid., p. 18.

464 The Burials were banned in 1781 by the Cracovian consistory. See M. Borkowska, *Życie co dzieńne ...*, p. 268.

lead the Blessed Virgin in procession carrying the bier and the coffin before the grid, where they take communion. There they will wait; they read the second station, after which the Cantor will start *Monstrate esse matrem* and they repeat it three times. At that time, the Abbess if she is present at this burial, and if not, the Prioress, taking the coffin with the Blessed Virgin from the bier puts it in the tomb or in a place prepared for it on the altar; after this, having finished *Monstrate esse matrem*, they sing in parts the Bernardine *Sub tuum praesidium*. When that is finished the superior gives a sign and the sisters come out from the choir ... The eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin: there is no supper, as on the Fridays of Quadragesima. At dinner, the lectress should read the Martyrologium and the Gospels ... in the morning they should sing *Zawitay ranna jutzenko* at the tomb of the Blessed Virgin. There is no Alleluia in the mass, but immediately after the epistle they sing the gradual ... there is to be no playing the positive either before or after the gradual. ... When two in the afternoon is struck for vespers, first ring the grand bell; when 3 is struck for the second [vespers] all the bells are rung. Solemn vespers and compline with priests with the exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament, matins sung in the choir with the positive ... discipline in the choir at the Tomb of the Blessed Virgin.... On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin a Ceremony, vespers and compline played with the priests, *Te Deum Laudans* and laudes sung.... The sext should end with the antiphon *Salve regina*, priests ought to consecrate the greenery at the great altar before the procession and the summa⁴⁶⁵.

The description of this feast day in the *Porządki* from Sandomierz reveals significant differences in relation to the Burial in Lvov; above all in that priests took part even in the burial itself, and they were the ones who took over the initiative in the ritual theatricality, which took place in the church, while the nuns accompanied it by prayer and singing from the choir:

First, on the third day before the feast day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, at four in the afternoon after compline, when the priests have gathered, the Ladies in procession, singing the psalm *In exitu*, lead the Blessed Virgin downstairs while playing; where having arrived at the grid the priests are to take the Blessed Virgin with the bier and put it in the chapel in a prepared place. Immediately afterwards the priest starts the exhortation. After the exhortation, having taken the coffin and sprinkled holy water over it, the priests take the Blessed Virgin with great applause and still singing the psalm *In exitu* lead it to the church onto the catafalque. When the psalm is finished the preacher begins the sermon, after the sermon the widows say the oration and Angelus. Then the celebrating priest comes out in his vestments with an altar boy. They sing three antiphons and three collects; after the last collect, the priests sing *Benedicamus*, the choir responds *Deo dicamus*, after that they take the Blessed Virgin and put her in the tomb and then they ring the bells, the cappella sings *Salve Regina*, after that the litany: finish. For a good day and good night, they play hymns to the Blessed Virgin.

465 PL, pp. 75–78.

On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin itself, about five in the morning, when the priests begin to gather, the cappella is to sing *Ave Marya* and *Ave Regina Coelorum* then the priests come out, the celebrant in his vestments goes to the tomb and after incensing he takes the Blessed Virgin in his hands and sings three times *Assumpta est Maria* while walking, while the choir trumpeting through responds each time with *Gaudeant Angeli...* Only after that comes the exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament and missa lecta at which they play⁴⁶⁶.

It appears that the rite of the Burial at the Benedictine convent in Sandomierz was addressed more to the secular faithful present in the church than was the case in Lvov. The theatrical presentation took place in church, not in the convent choir, with the participation of priests and the use of more expressive means. A special sermon was expected, followed by a continuation of the theatrical presentation, i.e. the orations of the Widows and the Angels – perhaps a dialogue between those lamenting the death of Mary and the Angel who comforts them? Imitating the Easter Saturday entry into the church with the Pascha symbolising the Resurrected Jesus, the celebrant removes from the tomb the figure of Mary, lifts it and, walking, sings three times *Assumpta est Maria*. The choir responds with the accompaniment of trumpets. In both ceremonies, the Burial and the Assumption, music ensembles are expected to take part. In *Regestry podskarbskie* from Sandomierz we do in fact find frequent expenditure in August on a music ensemble or at least a trumpeter. However, this did not happen every year, so it seems that sometimes the nuns had to provide the vocal-instrumental setting themselves, and the “trumpeting” would have involved the use of *tromba marina*.

The chronicle of the convent in Sandomierz tells us that on the day of the Burial hospitality was offered to important persons who were friends of the convent. These persons took an active part in the procession behind the coffin, carrying the “insignia”:

[year 1764] The remembrance of the passing of the Blessed mother was held with the usual ceremonies, the nuns carried the coffin and the secular Ladies of the convent walked with the insignia for the reason that on that day the distinguished guests could not come because of thunder and violent rain, apart from a few persons who were close by. The exhortation was by Father Śliwiński [SJ]⁴⁶⁷ and the sermon by Father Filipecki SJ⁴⁶⁸.

466 PS, pp. 183–184.

467 SJ is the abbreviation of Societas Jesu, i.e., the name of the Jesuit Order.

468 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 65.

In Lvov, the rites of the Burial and Assumption of Mary had a more internal character, and the part of the celebrant was partially played by the abbess or the prioress. The eve of the Assumption had a penitential character. We also note that the expected chants were partly the same and partly different.

The Sandomierz chronicle makes it easy to observe that a solemn musical setting of the liturgy would very often be linked not to the liturgical calendar, but to various immediate occasions, such as the nameday of the abbess, anniversaries of elections, the nameday of one of the nuns, Morska, daughter of a castellan, the nameday of the chaplain⁴⁶⁹, visitation by the bishop, a visit of the provincial of the Jesuit order. Presumably the sisters, by hosting the distinguished guests “with pomp”, hoped to obtain some benefit for their congregation, as in the case of the visit by the Jesuit Łukasz Lasocki:

On June 7, there was in our church with a mass Father Lasocki, provincial of the Jesuit fathers, for whom at that mass the nuns played the litany in fractus, and after the mass at the order of the superior all the nuns went to the parlour to welcome the said Father provincial, to whom the superior after greetings recommended herself and our whole convent, asking him not to forbid direction⁴⁷⁰ which at that time all were taking, in which she was given every facility⁴⁷¹.

The nuns in Sandomierz also sang and played masses and litanies in the intention of current affairs of state, such as on November 5, 1764, and February 5, 1765, when “the congregation sang in the refectory the litany about the Holy Mother, commending the Polish Crown into her protection, for which the Reverend Abbess gave alms of wine”⁴⁷². On October 22, 1764, the convent “sang Mass about the Holy Trinity, *Te Deum Laudamus* [was sung] for the fortunate election of King Stanislaus Augustus and his continued governance”⁴⁷³.

Funerals also required a musical setting. The chronicler of the Sandomierz convent noted that, after the death of Katarzyna Wybranowska in 1765, *De profundis* was sung next to her body figurally, as well as three gradual psalms. However, the funeral mass was sung in plainchant; “as she wished, but with the playing of the harpsichord and viola”⁴⁷⁴. The chronicler’s remark might be interpreted as saying that under normal circumstances a funeral mass would be

469 For example, November 4, nameday of Father Karol Szajewski. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

470 Presumably spiritual direction, i.e., confession and conducting retreats.

471 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

472 *Ibid.*, pp.70, 74.

473 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

474 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

held with a more impressive musical setting, but since the deceased expressed the wish before she died of a modest and ascetic plainchant setting, the convent instrumentalists could only accompany and – presumably – realise the introductions and fragments of mass parts in *alternatim* technique, hence the mention of the harpsichord (quart cymbalum) and viola. The next year, when the three-year-old child of the convent servant Królikowski was being buried in the church, “the litany was sung and played in fractus”⁴⁷⁵. There are a number of references to singing figurally next to the body or during the funeral mass; for example, at the coffin of Father Marcin Głuszkowski the congregation sang “*Misere mei deus* figurally”⁴⁷⁶, during the obsequies of Father Stefan Staniowski “the nuns [sang] the mass in parts”⁴⁷⁷. Presumably vocal polyphony, more austere and restrained in its expression when compared to the virtuoso vocal-instrumental eighteenth-century music, was regarded as suitable for this kind of ceremony. The nuns also sang masses for the dead, which were ordered by their relatives, and these are the most frequent occasions when the chronicler records alms for the congregation.

The convent rites of passage – taking the veil, profession and consecration – clearly required a special setting to accentuate the importance of the events taking place. During the baroque period, they provided an excellent area for multiplying theatrical effects, rhetorical speeches and pathetic touches which often submerged the actual liturgy intended for that ceremony. It is worth noting that the rites in question created a situation where Christian personalism was given a voice. Here, before Jesus the Bridegroom, personified by the celebrant, stood not the whole community but a specific individual, in the presence of others – not only members of the convent, but secular people.

Analysing the extant descriptions of the rite of taking the veil, Małgorzata Borkowska shows how it evolved, from the initial simple rite hidden from the eyes of secular audience, which had been practised by the Chełmno congregation in the first half of seventeenth century, to the extended and prolonged public ceremonies in the presence of numerous invited guests, ending with refreshments or even entertainment and dancing.

The constitutions of the Toruń convent decree as early as 1626 that the candidate is to put on in her cell a black dress (i.e., the tunic of the habit), and then, with a wreath on her head and a burning candle in her hand, she is to enter

475 Ibid., p.92.

476 Ibid., p. 113.

477 Ibid., p. 116.

the choir, where the sisters had already gathered for the Mass. After the Mass and holy Communion, and clearly after the departure of the celebrant, the girl approaches the altar alone, puts her wreath down on it, and takes the white veil lying there; she then approaches the abbess, who puts it on her. The novice then returns to the altar, where she prays for a while, lying cross-like, “offering her beginnings to her heavenly Bridegroom and contracting a spiritual agreement with Him declaring her preparedness for every tribulation”. Then she just greets the whole congregation; no speeches are expected, nor anybody’s presence⁴⁷⁸.

On the other hand, the Wołłowicz rules from 1629, binding in the convents in Nieśwież, Kovno and Vilnius, establish that the taking of the veil is to be a public ceremony. On that day, the novice is to wear secular clothes “ochędźnie”, i.e., her best, and be present in the church during a sung mass and the sermon. The nun’s clothing has already been prepared for her at the altar. During the offertory, she approaches the celebrant and hands to him the burning candle. After the mass is finished, the celebrant consecrates the prepared nun’s robes and gives them to the novice who, having bowed to the altar and all those around, immediately goes to the door of the convent. Two nuns await her there and lead her in the enclosure, to the grid, where the abbess and her assistants wait for her. The priest begins *veni creator*, and the girl falls cross-like to the ground, and waits for a sign from the abbess, who then puts on her the clothes of a novice. Finally, the abbess passes the girl to the mistress of the novitiate with a blessing⁴⁷⁹.

Half a century later, at the Nieśwież convent, the ceremony is extended further and begins to resemble a marriage ceremony; the young woman is to be dressed “as handsomely as possible”, she may have a crown on her head, and she is led by her bridesmaids. She hands to the celebrant the candle and the wreath; the symbol of purity, and then she does not return to the bridesmaids. The abbess and her assistants do not wait in the enclosure but in the presbytery. Here, watched by the family and invited guests, the candidate’s hair is cut, her rich clothes are taken off and she changes into a nun’s habit. All this happens to the accompaniment of precisely prescribed chants and prayers, which include fragments performed solo by the candidate and her dialogues with the abbess. This is expected to be followed by an oration spoken by one of the invited guests, in which, in the name of the family, the candidate is given into the care of the abbess. “Having put on the veil, the girl falls to the abbess’s feet, then her parents’ and friends’, and goes to the choir”⁴⁸⁰.

478 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, p. 28.

479 Ibid., p. 29.

480 Ibid., p. 30.

During the next century, the elements of the ceremony multiplied further, turning it into the equivalent of a wedding. When Franciszka Tarłówna was “taking the veil” at the Benedictine convent in Sandomierz in 1703, she was welcomed at the door of the church by a pupil from the convent school dressed as an angel, and in later years yet another pupil stood there, “personifying the world”. Mistress Franciszka was wearing wedding apparel, she was led to the altar by two magnates, and two dozen candles burned around her hassock. Obviously, music had to be present, as well as speeches made by various persons⁴⁸¹. Before the taking of the veil by Urszula Morska, daughter of the Lvov castellan and niece of Abbess Siemianowska, an ensemble played at the church for a week, and on the day of the ceremony itself “cannons fired salvos from the first vespers”⁴⁸². The chronicler also does not neglect to list all the officials and church dignitaries who took part in the ceremony, nor to mention that finally “the abbess hosted all the guests⁴⁸³, the ladies in the archive and the gentlemen in the second parlour”⁴⁸⁴.

As to the customs relating to the taking of the veil in Przemyśl, probably originating from the mother convent in Jarosław, we learn about them from the visitation records of bishop Sierakowski from 1747:

As we ... learned, the previous practice was that the girl who was to take the habit or the veil was played to by an ensemble on various instruments at the parlour for a whole week for good morning and good night – like they do for secular Ladies before the Marriage Vows – as well as on the evening before the taking of the veil in the outer parlour with relatives and friends having dances.; and the Veiled Ladies were in public in Church or before the parlour behind the enclosure. As this is against modesty with distraction and scattering of the Order’s Spirit and may scandalise Secular People, we strictly forbid such practices to be ever pursued again⁴⁸⁵.

Among the post-visitation documents, we find the response of the abbess to this and other accusations and bans announced by the visitor. She asked on behalf of the convent whether it might after all be possible to allow music during the

481 Ibid., p.30.

482 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 83. Unfortunately, we do not know what ensemble was involved, the collegiate or the Jesuit one from Sandomierz, or perhaps the ensemble of castellan Morski.

483 I.e., invited to a feast funded by herself.

484 Ibid., p. 83.

485 *Statuta Ecclesiae et Monasterium Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Premislae transflyvium San siti*, Przemyśl, Archive of the Bishop’s Curia, ms. 163, f. 763, quoted after: T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 94.

taking of the veil. Bishop Sierakowski wrote back that superiors who allow such things require not an answer, but a punishment⁴⁸⁶.

The expansion of the ceremonies and the increasing pomp which came to accompany the rite of taking the veil are puzzling in so far that starting the novitiate was only the beginning of formation. It was possible to leave the novitiate or to be excluded from it, if the mistress observed unsuitability of the given person for the monastic condition. The rite which was final and truly decisive regarding the whole life of the girl was the profession of monastic vow.

Yet the rite of profession was conducted much more modestly. As in the case of taking the veil, according to the Chełmno rule it was to take place within the enclosure, whereas the Wołłowicz declarations move it to the presbytery. There, in the presence of the abbess, the novice read the text of the vow written on a sheet, which after reading she would publicly sign and place on the altar⁴⁸⁷. With time, a theatrical element appeared in that rite, one which would emphasise the novice's death to the world. From the Nieśwież ceremonial from 1675, we learn that "after the orations are over the novice throws herself down in a cross-like position, and will be covered with a shroud, four candles will be placed in the corners, the bells will ring and they will sing the psalm *Miserere mei, Deus* to show that she is dying to the world ... Then the celebrant or the deacon, turning, says to her: "Surge, qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus!". At these words the professant will get up and receive the Body of Christ"⁴⁸⁸.

The rite to which the nuns themselves attached particular importance, and which also acquired baroque elements, was Consecration⁴⁸⁹, i.e. the dedication of

486 J. Ataman, *W. H. Sierakowski...*, p. 265. The abbess also mentioned, in response to the bishop's ban in this matter, that according to the general custom the nuns give food to the ensemble hired for a solemn ceremony, but in accordance with the bishop's will they want to stop it, and only ask "for a licence" in case crossing the San might be difficult "... wheredanger is concerned, or at least great unpleasantness to fellow men". However, the bishop did not relent, describing the custom of offering a meal to the ensemble as "an indecent thing" and an unnecessary expense for the convent. (T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 95).

487 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

488 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

489 The rite of consecration could only be performed by a bishop, hence in some convents they had to wait some years for him. Thus, usually there was a number of nuns to be consecrated.

Virgins to the exclusive service of God, in theological interpretation understood as the act of concluding a mystical union between the nun and her Bridegroom – Christ. The Benedictine Sisters in Chelmno had the custom of every nun being consecrated by receiving her own copy of the ceremonial of the consecration, often beautifully decorated, to which in time she would add contemplations and other prayers. It was to serve her all her life as the source of texts for meditation⁴⁹⁰. The words spoken during that ceremony came mainly from *Song of songs*; even the introit *Tibi dixit cor meum* sounded like a personal and intimate confession: “My heart said unto thee, thy face, Lord, I sought, thy face I will seek; do not turn thy face away from me. Lord, my light and my salvation, what should I fear?”⁴⁹¹

The use of a particular kind of musical practice during convent ceremonies of the Benedictine nuns was variable, depending on economic and political circumstances. Undoubtedly it was more difficult to make music when poor harvest ruined the finances or when the enemy occupied the city – although attempts at negotiations would also involve music. The extent to which it was possible to employ unprofessional music-making, i.e. plainchant and hymn, or professional music-making, i.e., polyphony and vocal-instrumental music, would also depend on the musical skills of the nuns living at the convent at the time.

4.3 Cantores, singers and instrumentalists. Examples of the professionalisation of nun-musicians

Eighteenth-century vocal-instrumental repertory demanded from performers the fluent mastery of singing technique or an instrument; moreover, a good musician also had to be aware of certain aesthetic and interpretive rules that related to music performance. For this reason, the music education given to all the novices, which a hundred years earlier might have been sufficient to allow the more able to take part in the performance of vocal polyphony, was unquestionably insufficient for the performance of eighteenth-century music. Thus, abbesses of the convents of Benedictine Sisters of the Chelmno rule willingly accepted candidates who could demonstrate musical talent or, even better, a musical education. As in the seventeenth century, we find cases of such persons being accepted without the necessity of bringing a dowry. In total, for the eighteenth

490 See *ibid.*, p. 52.

491 Source: Vulgata Ps 26, 8–9. http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_vt_psalorum_lt.html (accessed: 07.04.2014).

century we have information about nineteen nuns⁴⁹² accepted by the convent without a dowry because of the usefulness of their skills for the choir.

We know, or can suppose with a high degree of probability, that seven of the nuns recorded in the sources who played music in the convent were daughters of musicians. These are the nuns in Radom who lived in the seventeenth century: Elżbieta Jeżówna and Agnieszka Winnicka, as well as the nuns active in the eighteenth century in Sandomierz, Agnieszka and Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, Cecylia Zygmunowska and Jadwiga Dygulska, as well as Anna Gembiczówna from Vilnius. For Lvov, Nieśwież and Słonim we have confirmed evidence of nuns being taught by professional musicians. In Lvov Ksaweria Niedźwiedzka and Katarzyna Kozłowska were taught to play the violin by a secular musician, Jan Piotr Habermann; he dedicated two works to these two nuns, his “disciples and benefactresses”⁴⁹³. For Nieśwież we have the surnames of the teachers (Płoszyński and Cięciłowicz) but we do not know the names of the pupils; in contrast, we know that Petronela Pogorzelska, Anastazja Janiszewska and Anna Szemiotówna were taught singing in Słonim.

In total, the sources for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give us evidence of various kinds of musical activity of 149 nuns belonging to the Chełmno congregation⁴⁹⁴, including 109 active in the eighteenth century; seventy-six of them filled the post of cantress for a time⁴⁹⁵. Most of the cantresses stayed in the post for a number of years, since jobs were to be rotated according to the convent rules. However, there were a few for whom this aspect of the rule was waived because of the competencies needed, and thus they held their posts for longer. We may regard six nuns, all of them from Sandomierz, as chapel mistresses, i.e., persons responsible for the functioning of the convent’s vocal-instrumental ensemble. Forty-five Benedictines of the Chełmno rule had beautiful voices and were able to sing not only plainsong but also solo parts in vocal-instrumental compositions. Fourteen of them played keyboard instruments, while eleven

492 Counting the nuns active during the eighteenth century; two of them were accepted in the seventeenth century.

493 There may have been other violin pupils at the convent in Lvov. Obituaries mention one more: Aldegunda Szklińska (A. Szylar, *Pióro żadne ...*, p. 93).

494 Some of the figures are given jointly for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in order to avoid double counting those nuns who were active at the turn of the century.

495 Many of the nuns whose names were recorded were musically active in various ways; the same person might have been a cantress, a singer and an organist, and for this reason such persons will be “counted three times” when discussing specialisms.

organists were active during the eighteenth century⁴⁹⁶. Moreover, we also encounter nine violinists, four nuns playing *tromba marina* and seven of whom it is known that “they played instruments” but we do not know which ones; all the instrumentalists were active during the eighteenth century. Among the musically active nuns, we should also mention ten scribes, among them three who only copied liturgical books and fifteen musical nuns whose specialisation remains unidentified, since all that is said about them is, for example, that “they had talents for the choir”. Obviously, we need to bear in mind that the listed nuns are only those who are mentioned in the sources. In reality, there were undoubtedly more persons active musically among the Chełmno Benedictine nuns.

The duties of the cantoress at the convent were not limited to teaching and to leading the singing. In fact, the cantoress was generally responsible for the course of the liturgy in the choir⁴⁹⁷, i.e., for that which constituted the most important element of the life of the convent community and took up a significant part of each day. She had to follow the directorium in order to select appropriate liturgical texts and to decide on the kind of musical practice that should be employed on a given day of the liturgical year and at the given canonical hour⁴⁹⁸. For this reason, the Chełmno rule gives high status to the post of cantoress, and all the nuns are obliged to show her in the choir “willing obedience without any excuses, exactly as to the prioress herself or the abbess”⁴⁹⁹. In fact, a cantoress did not have to have a professional musical education; however, she must have had a good ear and a good voice and be familiar with the liturgical repertory. She also did not have to be able to play an instrument, since in the majority of convents we notice a separation of the functions of the cantoress and the organist. In this situation, the logical solution would seem to be to appoint another person who would

496 Some of them were described as organists, of others it was said that they played the positive beautifully, but knowing the musical practice of the day we may be confident that in the great majority of cases it meant the ability to play all available keyboard instruments.

497 To the point that in Lvov the duties of the cantoress also included designating the nuns for the adoration before the Most Blessed Sacrament (cf. PL, p. 98).

498 We have information from the convents in Vilnius and Radom about the post of sub-cantoress, or assistant to the cantoress (cf. M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 369, and vol. III, p. 139), but this was not a typical solution in the houses of nuns of the Chełmno reform. In other female convents sometimes a second, or even a third cantoress would be appointed alongside the first, e.g., at the Norbertine convent in Ibramowice.

499 *Reguła św. Ojca Benedykta*, p. 31.

be responsible for the performance of vocal-instrumental music, for rehearsals and preparation of the ensemble, conservation of the instruments, obtaining appropriate music repertory and copying of the music; however, such a division of duties is documented only in sources for Sandomierz⁵⁰⁰. It appears to be the result of insufficiency of sources; wherever there was a musical ensemble made up of nuns, probably one of them must have been responsible for it, but this did not involve a separate convent post and presumably the chapel mistress was subordinate to the cantress.

In one of the fundamental sources on the basis of which we formulate our conclusions regarding the musical culture in the convents of Benedictine Sisters in the eighteenth century, i.e., the music collection BDSand, in music manuscripts we find surnames, names and monograms of fifteen Benedictines: one from Jarosław, two from Lvov and twelve from Sandomierz. They were all musically active in some way which we are not always able to identify more closely on the basis of the extant sources. Some among them stand out because of the volume of work contributed to the creation of the Benedictine nuns' music library, as well as colourful personalities. We will not find the names of any of these nuns either in Adolf Chybiński's *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800* (Dictionary of Musicians of Old Poland until 1800)⁵⁰¹ or in Józef M. Chomiński's *Słownik muzyków polskich* (Dictionary of Polish Musicians)⁵⁰² or in the biographical *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* (Polish Music Publishers' Music Encyclopaedia)⁵⁰³. We will, however, find them in Małgorzata Borkowska's *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej* (Lexicon of Polish Nuns until the Partitions)⁵⁰⁴ but, there, the author was not always aware of the musical activities of particular nuns, and even if she was, she gave that information in an abbreviated form in view of the general character of her lexicon.

The earliest born (c. 1655) of these ladies was a Benedictine from Sandomierz, Katarzyna Muszyńska, whose name appears in two manuscripts preserved in

500 We learn of the function of Magistra Cappellae from one of the Sandomierz manuscripts and from the chronicle.

501 A. Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800* (Dictionary of musicians of Old Poland until 1800), Kraków 1949.

502 J.M. Chomiński, *Słownik muzyków polskich* (Dictionary of Polish Musicians), vols. I and II, Kraków 1964–1967.

503 *Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM* (Polish Music Publishers' Music Encyclopaedia), ed. E. Dziębowska, Kraków 1998–2012.

504 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. I–III.

BDSand. She lived at the convent during the years 1678–1717⁵⁰⁵; the convent register⁵⁰⁶ records that she beautifully sang as a soprano. A note on one of the title pages tells us that she was a chapel mistress (*Magistra Cappel[l]ae*), which indirectly shows that even in the early eighteenth century Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz had a vocal-instrumental ensemble made up of nuns. Muszyńska must thus have had the musical education necessary for leading such an ensemble, but we do not know whether she brought it as a “dowry”, or whether she studied music at the convent. One of the manuscripts in question is a motet by Roman Zajączkowski, a Benedictine, with a dedication to Katarzyna Muszyńska *cappel[l]ae magistrae* written by the composer in his own hand in Sieciechów, with the date 3 May 1706 (ref 259/A VII 19). This composition, the motet *Veni Creator Spiritus*, was intended for a large performance ensemble: two Sopranos, Alto, Tenor and Bass, two violins, two trumpets, *viola da gamba* and organ. On the second manuscript, a motet by Paweł Sieprawski⁵⁰⁷ dated 13 August 1711, we see the monogram K.M.K. m O.S.P. Benedicti, which perhaps should be read as Katarzyna Muszyńska “Kappellae magistra Ordinis Sancti Patris Benedicti”. The polonised form of the Latin word *capella*- kapella – appears twice in *Porządku choro we* from Sandomierz.

During the period when the convent ensemble was led by Katarzyna Muszyńska, another musically very talented nun appeared at the convent in Sandomierz, and she probably became Muszyńska’s successor. Zofia Bratysiewiczówna⁵⁰⁸ (b. ca 1673, at the convent 1699–1730), was accepted into the convent “without dowry, for the choir”⁵⁰⁹. Zofia’s older sister Agnieszka was

505 I give as years of life at the convent the period between the profession (eternal vows) and death, unless it is indicated otherwise. Usually the candidates spent a year in the novitiate prior to profession, but at that time they were not fully members of the monastic community.

506 *Książka przyjęć do zakonu, profesji i konsekracji księń, elekcji, konfirmacji i śmierci wszystkich sióstr umarłych w klasztorzesandomierskim* (Book of entries into the convent, profession and consecration of the abbesses, elections, confirmations and deaths of all sisters who died in the convent in Sandomierz), ms. G 1392 BDSand, p. 166.

507 *Justus germinavit*, for SATB, two violins and organ, ref. 261/A VII 21.

508 Borkowska gives other versions of Zofia’s surname: Bratuszewiczówna/Braciszowiczówna, but the nun signed the manuscripts “Bratysiewiczówna” (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, t. III, p. 386).

509 The convent choir was the place, usually a gallery in the church, where the nuns celebrated the liturgy of the hours and other prayers, and where they stayed during mass. Music was an important element of the liturgy celebrated by the nuns, hence in this case “for the choir” meant “for singing and/or playing during liturgy”.

at the convent in Sandomierz, and we know from the register that she was a good singer⁵¹⁰. The register tells us about Zofia that she was “very able and needed for the choir”, and therefore the congregation did not stint on trying to provide medical treatment for her. She was sent for treatment to Lublin, and died there at the age of fifty-seven. Zofia’s name appears in twenty-seven manuscripts of vocal-instrumental compositions, mostly in the form of the monogram ZB. Most of these manuscripts are written in her own hand with great care, others are *ex scriptis* of the musicians from the collegiate church in Sandomierz⁵¹¹; those were probably a gift to her. The dates on the manuscripts signed by Bratysiewiczówna encompass the years 1708 and 1726.

Compositions copied or obtained by her form the core of the repertory of the convent ensemble during the first half of the eighteenth century, and some of them were also in use later. Altogether, Zofia Bratysiewiczówna is the leading scribe in the whole collection of partbook manuscripts BDSand, which encompasses the legacy of a number of dissolved convents and the collegiate church in Sandomierz⁵¹² (see Fig. 21).

Unfortunately, we do not know what other functions were performed by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna in the ensemble, apart from being a scribe and, probably, chapel mistress at some stage. Was she a singer or an instrumentalist? Perhaps her musical education included many specialisms, which was often the case among musicians at that time. It is very likely that she was a daughter or a relative of the musician recorded as Braticewicz⁵¹³, conductor of the collegiate ensemble

510 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 385.

511 Mikołaj Garzeński, violinist at the collegiate ensemble during the years 1722–1732, and Paweł Krzewdzieński (Krzewiński), organist at that ensemble during the years 1722–1723. Cf. M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie sandomierskiej (Musical culture at the collegiate church in Sandomierz)*, doctoral thesis, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 2005, pp. 259, 352.

512 On the basis of viewing the title pages and analysing the ductus of handwriting we may conclude that twenty-four partbook manuscripts are written in her hand.

513 As we know, surnames were written down as different phonetic variants. According to the convent register, the first name of the father of the Bratysiewiczówna girls was Adam. In the music collection of BDSand we find a manuscript from 1690 written by Albert Braciszowicz, cantor of the cathedral church in Lublin. This is *prosa de Corpore Christi Lauda Sion* by Maciej Wronowicz (249/A VII 9). Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether this was the same person as the father of the nuns from Sandomierz, or another member of this family of musicians.

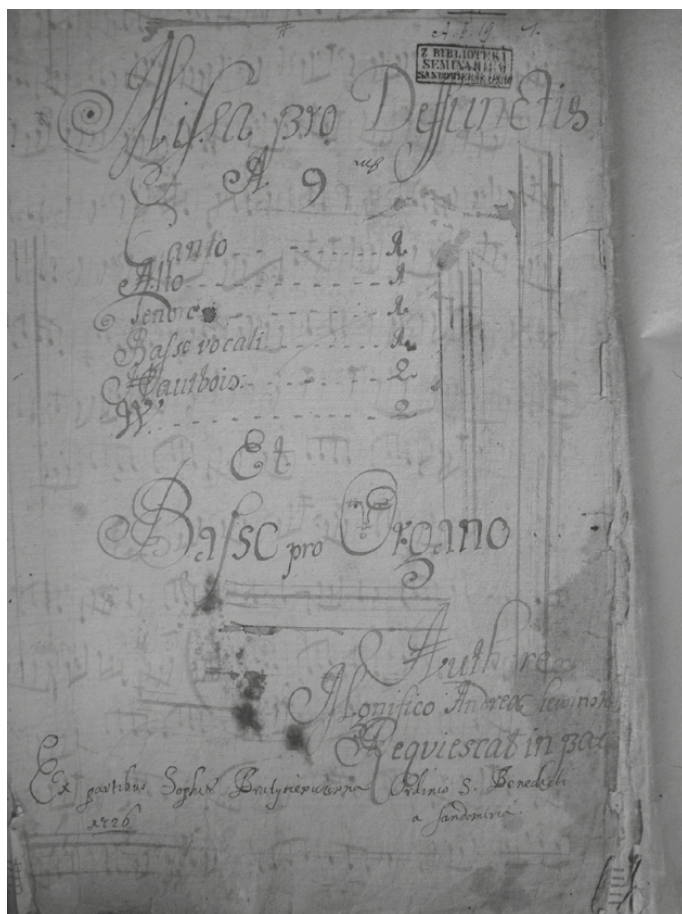


Fig. 21: *Missa pro defunctis* by Andrzej Siewiński, title page with the possessory note of the scribe, Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, ms. 79/A II 19 BDSand

in Sandomierz in the third quarter of 1696⁵¹⁴. By the next quarter another musician is recorded in that post, which would indicate that Bratysiewiczówna stayed in Sandomierz only briefly. This situation is similar to the cases of two other musicians who appear “for a moment” in the collegiate ensemble, and their stay there coincides in time with the appearance in the convent of a novice with the same surname who is accepted “for the choir” without the necessity of bringing

514 M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 348.

in a dowry. These cases involve Zygmuntowski⁵¹⁵, probably the father of Cecylia Zygmuntowska to be referred to later, and Chęciński⁵¹⁶, father of Marianna, who was staying at the convent as a probationer⁵¹⁷. We may surmise that Braticewicz, father of the older daughter who had already spent eight years at the convent, came in order to “negotiate” with the abbess the entry of another of his children without a dowry, at the same time promising that she would receive a good music education⁵¹⁸. Zofia was accepted two years later, and the number and quality of the manuscripts she left behind and the opinion held of her in the convent testify to her having fulfilled these expectations.

In total, we know of nine nun-musicians accepted by the convent in Sandomierz without a dowry. As well as Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, the manuscripts BDSand contain the names of three of them: Jadwiga Dygulska, Cecylia Zygmuntowska and Agnieszka Sosnowska⁵¹⁹. Two of them, Jadwiga Dygulska and Cecylia Zygmuntowska were accepted for novitiate at almost the same time, in 1738 and 1742. Both were daughters of musicians and both had musical education, but their characters turned out very different and their fate took very different turns.

Jadwiga Dygulska (b. c. 1722, at the convent in 1739–1796) was probably a relative, perhaps granddaughter, of Walenty, a musician from Sandomierz, the

515 Recorded in 1743, coinciding with the profession of Cecylia. See M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 350.

516 Recorded in the register during the years 1767–1769 (M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 350). He was hired by the Benedictine Sisters as a trumpeter for musical performances on the feast day of Saint Benedict; payments to him were recorded in the registers of convent expenditure (*Regestra podskarbskie zaczynające się w R.P 1769*, ms. G889 Diocesan Library in Sandomierz). Cf. also W. Łyjak, *Przyczynki do dziejów...*, p. 26.

517 Marianna Chęcińska decided against entering the novitiate, which clearly disappointed the sisters. *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, pp. 88, 90, 91.

518 In Spain, during the same period, guardians of poor or orphaned girls would enter into special contracts with convents, and the girls who were to become nun-musicians were taught music from early childhood. They had to be able to sight-sing well, play the organ and the harp, as well as to improvise, which required some knowledge of music theory and composition (C. Baade, *Music and Music-making...*, p. 138; cf. also M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnic śpiewaczek...*, pp. 62–64).

519 The others are Zofia Strzemiánówna (1699–1730), Katarzyna Krzewska (1722–1769), Katarzyna Sroczyńska (1722–1729), Marianna Balicka (1726–1732), and Elżbieta Dutkiewiczówna (1777–1794).

collegiate psalterist⁵²⁰. Highly regarded for her performance on the positive, for a time she was the convent organist⁵²¹. She copied two organ books, L1668 and L1669, the first of which is more extensive, while the second is partly a copy of the first. These books, written with care, contain first organ accompaniments for masses for various occasions of the liturgical year in the form of the melody of the plainchant notated in soprano clef, and the bass line, sometimes figured, intended to be realised as accompaniment on the organ. Such a performance of plainchant followed the then usual practice. Moreover, some of the notated parts, especially *Gloria*, confirm the existence of *alternatim* practice, which consisted in performing some fragments of the constant part of the mass vocally, and some only on the organ. In book L 1668, there is also information on the subject of the principles of music and 138 solo compositions for the harpsichord or the clavichord; a number of them are virtuoso pieces. Wiktor Łyjak in his article on the subject of musical practice in the convent in Sandomierz even made the suggestion, then repeated by Borkowska, that Dygulska was the composer of some of the works for the harpsichord⁵²², but in light of today's state of research this cannot be confirmed. Although on page 59 of the manuscript we find the mysterious note written in another hand: "Patybulum J.P. Dygulskiy dobrodzieyce moi do nożek padam" (I pay my respects to Reverend Mistress Dygulska, my benefactress). It would be difficult to identify this as attribution of authorship of the composition to this nun. Jadwiga Dygulska spent fifty-eight years of her life in the convent, leaving behind good and grateful memories, expressed in the the insert glued in book L 1668 on the instructions of the abbess:

Year of Our Lord 1796 13 April: / This hand-written book with masses and other music is given forever to the Choir; it is the work of the own hands of Jadwiga Dygulska SOB, who left it as her great remembrance, and that is why it is our duty to remember her soul. The abbess requires that it should not be neglected but preserved with great care,

520 Recorded in sources as senior psalterist during the years 1698–1732, see M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna w kolegiacie sandomierskiej*, p. 342. The register tells us that Jadwiga's father's name was Jan.

521 In the organ part of manuscript AIV15, containing the Litany to Mother of God, there is an added note "dla Imć Panny Dygulskiej RSO Benedykta" (for Mistress Dygulska of Saint Benedict Rule).

522 W. Łyjak, *Przyczynki do dziejów muzyki u Panien Benedyktynek w Sandomierzu* (*Notes to the history of music at the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz*), *Ruch Muzyczny* 1983/16, p. 26; M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII-XVIII wieku* (*Everyday Life at Polish Female Convents during the 17th-18th Centuries*), Warszawa 1996, p. 293.

because it is not likely that anyone else will ever leave such a beautiful memento of themselves apart from Marianna Moszyńska and Jadwiga Dygulska who left us the best books for singing and playing for the remembrance and glory of God, and whose souls let be remembered before God forever. / M. Siemianowska

On the other hand, Cecylia Zyguntowska (b. c. 1726, at the Sandomierz convent during the years 1743–1765 and 1784–1789) was a person whose exploits received much space in the convent chronicle being written during her life, because of the problems that she caused⁵²³. When one compares the facts concerning her life, origins and references to her in the chronicle, it is possible to make some suppositions as to whether behind the “capriciousness of a convent star undergoing the menopause”, as her story was summed up by Borkowska⁵²⁴, was the tragedy of a person placed in a convent by her family against her will and her predisposition.

Zyguntowska came from a family of musicians well known in Poland and active in the leading centres. Adolf Chybiński in *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800*⁵²⁵ tells us that the Zyguntowski family came from Kraków, and that they converted from Judaism to Catholicism towards the end of the seventeenth century. He mentions four musicians with that surname. The first one is Teodor, from 1768 singer and violinist in the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków, then in the cathedral ensemble, then chapel master at the court of Prince Sapieha, Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Teodor was the author of two compositions, *Miserere* and the cantata *Św. Wacław*. Then there were Adam (not Cecylia's father), a cellist, active in Warsaw from 1781, who probably died before 1828, Józef and Mikołaj, about whom nothing further is known. Perhaps, Józef Zyguntowski mentioned by Chybiński is the founder of the music school in Kraków, who directed it during the years 1773–1781. On the other hand, Mikołaj was probably a son of Teodor, a cellist⁵²⁶. As a four- or five-year-old, Mikołaj

523 On the subject of Cecylia Zyguntowska and the professionalisation of nun-musicians see also M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnic śpiewaczek i instrumentalistek w XVII i XVIII wieku. Profesjonalizacja zakonnic-muzyków na przykładzie polskich benedyktynek (The status of nun-singers and nun-instrumentalists during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The professionalisation of nun-musicians on the example of Polish Benedictine Sisters)*, *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 2010, pp. 57–77.

524 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne...*, pp. 78–79.

525 A. Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków...*, p. 146.

526 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta (Music at the Court and Theatre of Stanislaus Augustus)*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 91–92. Dembowski says that Mikołaj's father was Józef Zyguntowski (*Wolfgang Amadeusz Mozart. Listy*, ed. I. Dembowski, PWN, Warszawa 1991, p. 241.

Zygmuntowski performed for King Stanislaus Augustus in 1774. The little genius of the cello travelled around Europe in the company of his father; he appeared at the court in Paris as part of *Concerts Spirituels* and also gave concerts in Berlin, Leipzig and Salzburg. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who described meeting Mikołaj Zygmuntowski in Paris in 1778 in his letters, thought Zygmuntowski to be a “bad father”, as he forced the child into tedious practising and travelling. It was thought until now that Mikołaj died young, at the age of sixteen, at the turn of 1786 and 1787⁵²⁷. However, Żórawska-Witkowska recently came across traces of his later concert activities in Saint Petersburg⁵²⁸. Cecylia’s father was Adam Zygmuntowski, chapel master of the cathedral ensemble at Wawel during the years 1746–1748, later violinist and chapel master to the Pauline Fathers at Jasna Góra; earlier, as has been mentioned, in 1743, his surname had been recorded without the first name as a member of the collegiate church ensemble in Sandomierz. That date coincides with the year of Cecylia’s profession and the death of his younger daughter, Salomea, who joined the Sandomierz Benedictines on the same day as Cecylia but died after a few months as a novice⁵²⁹. It seems that Adam Zygmuntowski, like many musicians, thought that a musical education and a placement in a convent for his child would ensure social advancement, as well as a secure and comfortable life. He placed his son Michał with the Paulines, where the boy achieved a successful career as a musician, becoming first a singer and then composer and chapel master of their excellent ensemble. It appears that, in order to ensure a good future for his children, Adam would go to extremes – we do know that Michał Zygmuntowski was a castrato. Castrating boy singers was a very rare procedure in Poland; the great majority of castratos active at the court and churches of the Polish Commonwealth were Italians, as was the case in other countries⁵³⁰.

Another Zygmuntowski, Teodor (first mentioned by Chybiński), also placed his daughter in a convent: Julianna, born ca 1774, became a Poor Clare sister in

527 *Wolfgang Amadeusz Mozart. Listy*, ed. I. Dembowski, PWN, Warszawa 1991, p. 241. A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze...*, p. 92.

528 I am very grateful to Alina Żórawska-Witkowska for this information.

529 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 392.

530 Cf. Z. Chaniecki, *Dyskantyci w kapelach polskich od XVI do XVIII wieku (cz. II). Discantista e castrati (Descant singers in Polish ensembles 16th-18th ct. (part II). Discantista e castrati)*, *Muzyka* 1974/1, p. 51. Chaniecki notes that boy descants and castrati were gradually being replaced during the eighteenth century by female singers, whose surnames begin to appear in the lists of ensemble members, e.g., in Gidle, Borek Stary near Rzeszów, Pierań and Zamość (*ibid.*, p. 52).

Kraków and was a cantoress there⁵³¹. Thanks to Borkowska's *Lexicon* we find yet another nun from the Zygmuntowski family: Kunegunda, born in 1749, who during the years 1775–1825 was a Norbertine in Ibramowice, and in 1783 was the third cantoress there⁵³².

To return to our protagonist, Cecylia Zygmuntowska, it is worth noting that she is the first nun to be referred to in the chronicle as a singer. This may indicate that the sisters regarded her as a professional. We also know that she also played instruments; there is no information as to which, but they are likely to have included keyboard instruments and violin, those most needed in every ensemble at that time. During the years 1762–1764, Cecylia was the cantoress and, in 1764, the abbess appointed her chapel mistress, which presumably was more to her liking⁵³³. However, in 1765, Cecylia Zygmuntowska, who was making various demands and clashed with the abbess, asked for the opportunity of transferring to Radom⁵³⁴. That was granted, but once in Radom, seeing the modest living conditions in that convent, Cecylia deeply regretted her decision. She wanted to withdraw her request and to return to Sandomierz, but abbess Siemianowska did not agree⁵³⁵. The chronicle records a “declaration” which Zygmuntowska had to sign in connection with her transfer:

Points made to Cecylia Zygmuntowska Z.R.O.S.B⁵³⁶. of the convent in Sandomierz who wishes for change of location to another convent to achieve a true improvement of her life⁵³⁷.

- To agree to all the obligations practised in that convent and to take on the scapular without creating any difficulties.
- In the choir, always to guard the glory of God because at that convent it is not the custom for the singers to have any days designated before or after a feast day for being free from choir duties.

531 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 197.

532 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 190.

533 The description “chapel mistress” does not appear in the documents produced by the Benedictine Sisters. When writing about this function being entrusted to Cecylia Zygmuntowska, the chronicle says: “fractus passed from ms Krzewska to ms Zygmuntowska” (*Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 69).

534 In general, the Benedictines adhered to the principle of *stabilitas loci* and transfers were quite exceptional, usually in situations where conflict was beyond the possibility of resolution.

535 Zygmuntowska returned to the convent in Sandomierz in 1784, five years before her death.

536 Zakon Reguły Ojca Świętego Benedykta (Order of the Rule of Saint Benedict).

537 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 65.

- She should be satisfied with one confessor, a Bernardine father serving the whole congregation, and God forbid not to require any other, being content with an extraordinary confession with the whole congregation.
- She will not lay claim to any treatments with such ideas as she did here, nor claiming any preferences, being content with ordinary life....
- She will not press for any liquor, such as wine, which is more difficult to get there, and even more so for vodka, which has long not been allowed for the whole congregation....
- She will not get involved in any intrigues or seek acquaintance, but is to be an example to the whole congregation there, so that she does not bring shame on the convent from which she has been transferred.
- She will not have a separate cell, since because of space being slim ... she must stay with another, accommodating herself to the congregation there, where she has not done anything of merit.
- She will not start any gossip among the congregation, nor create dissension between the superior and the congregation, but only be concerned with the spiritual book and the choir, for which she was accepted here.
- She will adhere to sacred poverty in looking after the kerchiefs and dresses better than here, without commenting that the convent should give it to me even if I tear it.
- When the superior designates the task and work for her, she should accept it humbly and willingly, without making excuses that she was not taken on for the work, and think about the fact that she is in a humble monastic order, seeing that ladies of noble and honourable birth carry out this work for the sake of Christ.

The above declaration allows us to conclude that Zygmontowska did not feel a vocation for life in a monastic community, and she regarded her presence in the convent as a necessary condition related to the profession of a convent musician. The frustration probably made her cause conflict into which she dragged other nuns, and in addition she had problems with alcohol abuse. The register confirms that Zygmontowska, because of her talent and musical activities, was in fact at times relieved from other duties in Sandomierz. Why then did she leave at a time when she attained the post of chapel mistress? What did she hope for by moving to Radom? We know nothing about her activities in that convent⁵³⁸. It is puzzling that there are no music manuscripts written by her preserved in Sandomierz, apart from a small collection of plainsong chants L 1620; there

538 Information about the musical activities of the nuns in Radom is to be found in the preserved menologium. There is no entry there about Zygmontowska, since she died in Sandomierz; “Kroniczki benedyktynek radomskich” (Chronicles of Benedictine nuns in Radom), K. Górski, M. Borkowska, *Historiografia zakonna...*, p. 296–309).

are also no possessory notes with her name nor dedications to her. Her name appears only at the bottom in the *Canto* part of one of the compositions. It is thus possible that she took her music to Radom.

Obviously, it was not only daughters of musicians who were involved in singing and playing at the convent. A number of scribes and owners of music manuscripts belonged to families holding coats of arms and important posts in the Commonwealth; such families would place their daughters in convents, paying a dowry corresponding to their status. Marianna Moszyńska, was the daughter of the Urzędów cup bearer Stanisław to whom the composer Christian Joseph Ruth⁵³⁹, a friend of the Benedictines in Sandomierz, dedicated a composition. Altogether, as many as three of Stanisław's daughters entered the Sandomierz convent. The first one was Helena, born c. 1712, then the three years younger Marianna, and finally, against her parents' wishes, also the youngest, Scholastyka (b. 1729), who had earlier been a pupil at the convent school for girls⁵⁴⁰. Marianna and Scholastyka were musically talented. The younger one copied as a gift for the older one a plainsong antiphonary which, as well as the chants, contained *Porządki chorowe* i.e., the directorium relating to the manner of celebrating the liturgy throughout the year⁵⁴¹. Such a gift might indicate that Marianna became, or was to become, a cantress. Evidence of her interest in music is also provided by the didactic remarks concerning the teaching of singing, written on loose sheets and placed in manuscript L 1644 from 1750⁵⁴². A motet celebrating Saint Gertrude, dedicated by Ruth to Marianna Moszyńska, and perhaps composed

539 Ms. AVIII 45 BDSand. The composer dedicated his next two works to Łucja Czeladzińska and Marianna Mokronowska.

540 Borkowska tells us that her father was already preparing the wedding and its celebrations for her (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnicy...*, vol. II, p. 392).

541 On this subject see: M. Walter-Mazur, *Muzyka jako element klasztornych uroczystości w świetle osiemnastowiecznych archiwaliów benedyktynek kongregacji chełmińskiej* (*Music as an element of convent ceremonies in light of 18th-century archive material relating to Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation*), *Hereditas Monasteriorum* 2/2013.

542 Titled *Principia albo początki należące uczącemu się śpiewania figurału* (Principia or introduction for those learning figural singing). It explains in the form of questions and answers the foundations of hexachordal solmisation system, kinds of clefs, time signatures and rhythmic values. On this subject, cf. J. Prosnak, *Z dziejów nauczania muzyki i śpiewu w ośrodkach klasztornych i diecezjalnych w Polsce do wieku XIX* (*On the history of teaching music and singing in conventual and diocesan centres in Poland until the nineteenth century*), *Stan badań nad muzyką religijną w kulturze polskiej* (*State of Research into Religious Music in Polish Culture*), ed. J. Pikulik, Warszawa 1973, pp. 152–153.

especially for her, was scored in an interesting way: Soprano, Bass, two violins, organ and “tuba solo”⁵⁴³. It is thus probable that Marianna Moszyńska was one of the three nuns in Sandomierz who undoubtedly played that particular instrument.

Urszula Morska, daughter of castellan of Przemyśl and niece of Abbess Siemianowska, was the owner of four music manuscripts from the BDSand collection. We know nothing else about Urszula’s musical activities, we can only guess at them on the basis of the fact that she received one of the manuscript as a gift from her own sister Karolina, a Dominican nun in Lvov, and another one from her brother Mikołaj, a canon from Vienna, as is recorded on the title page. It seems that Urszula Morska had a special position in the convent. On her arrival, she brought a carriage and 40 Polish ducats as a gift from her father, Abbess Siemianowska’s brother-in-law⁵⁴⁴. On the day she took the veil, cannons were fired, on her nameday an ensemble played during the mass and the sisters sung a litany⁵⁴⁵. Later, as we learn from the chronicle, she was the abbess’s “right hand” and very often travelled away from the convent on various matters.

Less information is available about the other “ladies from the covers” of the music manuscripts from Sandomierz. Anna Stogniewówna⁵⁴⁶ (b. c. 1685, at the convent in 1705–1771) owned eight now extant manuscripts, dated 1730–1742. Perhaps at that time Stogniewówna was the chapel mistress. The compositions which she included in the repertory of the convent ensemble are works by two well known Polish composers of that time: Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki and Eliasz Karmelita, as well as those by the less well known Ferdynand Lechleitner, abundantly represented in the BDSand collection, and a local composer working at Raków Opatowski, Christian Joseph Ruth⁵⁴⁷. The three other compositions

543 Unfortunately, the *tromba marina* part from this manuscript has not survived.

544 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 45.

545 *Ibid.*, p.51.

546 Signed as Stogniewowna on the manuscripts. She was probably from the gentry, and brought as her dowry the farm of Mąkoszyn (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnicy...*, vol. II, p. 387).

547 The dedication, written in Ruth’s own hand, says: “Przewielebney w Bogu I JMCiPanny Anny Stogniewowney kantorki / PrzeŚwiętęgo Zakonu Świątęgo / Oyca Benedikta Oddaę przez / ręce na cześć y Chwale świątęmu / Oycu Benediktowi y Składam / mizerny charakter / Mottetto(sic!) de /S. Benedicto / a Voc. / Canto Alto Basso I Violino Primo Violino 2do / cum / Fundamento Generali / Autho. Chr. Josepho Ruth” (12/A I 12) (Into the hands of the most reverend Mistress Anna Stegniewowna cantoress of the most holy Convent of Saint Father Benedict I present to the glory of Saint Father Benedict an unworthy motet...).

are anonymous vocal-instrumental carols. Two of the manuscripts were a gift to her from A. Zajączkowski, a musician from the collegiate church chapel⁵⁴⁸ and someone called Sebastian Łęcki⁵⁴⁹.

Łucja and Krystyna Czeladzińska⁵⁵⁰ were probably related but they were not sisters. The older, Łucja, alongside the post of cantoress also held other ones: mistress of the secular maidens (teacher and mentor at the convent school for girls), mistress of the novitiate, mistress of the professants, custodian, and finally prioress⁵⁵¹. One might thus say she had a career at the convent. Czeladzińska played *tromba marina*; in BDSand there is one work with her possessory note, the motet *Haec dies quam fecit* by Krassowski, but the wording which precedes the name of Łucja Czeladzińska, *ex scriptis*, suggests that there had been other manuscripts which belonged to her. The title page shows the scoring: SATB, two violins, *clarino solo*⁵⁵², *organa*. Did Czeladzińska play the part of clarino solo on tromba marina? The high number – twelve – of manuscripts with possessory notes of the second Czeladzińska, Krystyna, leads us to suppose that she may have been the chapel mistress following Stogniewowna, and prior to Katarzyna Krzewska, who also occupied that post according to the chronicle⁵⁵³. Alongside the manuscripts dedicated to her and written in her hand, on a few of them her name appears as the consecutive owner, including three manuscripts of Zofia Bratysiewiczówna. One of the dedications is particularly solemn and written in the hand of the composer, Christian Joseph Ruth, who dedicated three of his works to Benedictine Sisters, including the already mentioned Anna Stogniewowna and Marianna Moszyńska:

As the smallest stream has its end and centre to which it / always flows / so I this unworthy work / place in the hands of ... / Chrystyna Czeladzinska / of the Most Blessed Order: to the honour and Glory / of Saint Father Benedict/ Aria de Angelis / Canto solo / Violino Primo / Violino Secundo / Alto Viola Necessaria / Fundamento Generali / Autho C. Joseph Ruth.

548 M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 349.

549 Someone called Łęcki one of the copyists of the ex-Jesuit manuscript from the collection of the collegiate church in Sandomierz (BDSand 268/A VII 28), and thus probably a pupil at the bursary or a secular musician in the Jesuits' ensemble. It may be that this was the same person as Sebastian Łęcki.

550 Łucja was born ca. 1688, at the convent from 1705, d.1770, Krystyna was born ca. 1719, at the convent from 1735, d. 1796.

551 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 387.

552 In fact, the manuscript has parts for two trumpets.

553 The surname of Krzewska does not appear on any of the manuscripts.

Attention is also drawn to another one:

To the most reverend Ms Chrystyna / Czeladziński of the rule of the Holy Father Patriarch / Benedict of the Sandomierz Convent Dedicated / from a lowly client Jan Musiałowski Scholae / Rhetorices Student / Ad M.D.G.B.VM. OOSSPPI.B.X / N.C.S.CHTI & Omnium SS Virginum⁵⁵⁴

These dedications indicate that Krystyna Czeladzińska was a familiar figure in the musical community of Sandomierz.

Marianna Mokronowska (born c.1754, at the convent in 1770–1802), daughter of Ludwik coat of arms Bogoria, grand guardian of the crown, has her signature on six manuscripts from BDSand. Among Mokronowska's was an aria for two Sopranos, two violins and organ, *Symfonia ex C* by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and a pastorella titled *A cóż to się dzieje*; unfortunately, these manuscripts are not dated. We do not know whether Marianna was ever a chapel mistress; however, there is no doubt that she was a teacher at the convent school, she taught German and clavichord. After 1780 she was the mistress of Renovation, which indicates that she was regarded as someone with extensive spiritual experience.

The last of the nuns from Sandomierz whose names appear on the musical manuscripts of the library is Agnieszka Sosnowska (c.1755–1827), who came from Ukraine and was accepted without a dowry as a “singer and player”⁵⁵⁵. It is likely that she led the ensemble, because there are eleven extant manuscripts which belonged to her, ten of them written in her very skilled and careful hand. However, Borkowska only tells us, following the register, that Sosnowska was a teacher at the school for forty years⁵⁵⁶.

The BDSand music collection also contains works dedicated to two nuns from Lvov. These are compositions by Jan Piotr Habermann, who was their violin teacher. The first of the Lvov nuns is Katarzyna Kozłowska, whose convent name was Cecylia, who lived at the convent during 1729–1789⁵⁵⁷. In a convent carol from ms. E16, now held at the Lvov Benedictines' Archive in Krzeszów, Cecylia is described as a lover of cats “Mistress Cecylia favours cats so much she will bring Jesus a cat to His door”. The composer dedicated to her and Marianna Ksaweria Niedźwiedzka (born c. 1724, at the convent in 1742–1793) his concerto *Lauda Sion* for Soprano, Bass, violin and organ: “to my special Disciples and

554 The title page of BDSand 436/A VIII 76 anonymous hymn for vespers *Laudibus cives* for SATB, 2 vl, 2 cl, org.

555 *Dzieje klasztoru sandomirskiego...*, p. 145.

556 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnice...*, vol. II, p. 395.

557 Date of birth unknown.

Benefactresses ... in Lvov 1748⁵⁵⁸. The work dedicated only to Niedźwiedzka was written in a beautifully decorated manuscript and entitled *Ista, quam laeti*, an aria for Soprano, three violins and *basso continuo*⁵⁵⁹.

Finally, we should mention Helena Żaboklicka from Jarosław, whose name appears not on the title page of the manuscript, but on its reverse⁵⁶⁰. We find there a dedication to the “Reverend in Christ Mistress Zaboklicki, daughter of the Voivod of Podole, Nun of the Rule of S.O.B.... of Jaroslaw Ladies from the heart to Beloved Aunt⁵⁶¹ and Benefactress”. We do not know whether *Concerto pro defunctis Parendum est* (499/A VIII 139, dated 1719) was copied for the nun from Jarosław in Sandomierz or whether it found its way to the library there after the dissolution of the Jarosław convent in 1782. We know very little about her, other than the fact that she lived at the convent in 1693–1734, and that she brought with her a significant dowry of 10 000 zlotys⁵⁶². In any case, that manuscript is the only piece of evidence of the presence of vocal-instrumental musical practice in the convent in Jarosław, from which very few archives survive.

The fact that the music collection BDSand bears traces of the activities of individual nuns is very important for the understanding of the musical culture of their convents and the way it functioned. While the chronicle tells us that the nuns themselves played and sang, it is only when we become aware of the richness of the collection from Sandomierz that we can appreciate the variety and standard of the repertory that they cultivated. That repertory is in no way inferior to other Polish centres from that period. The significance of the Sandomierz convent of Benedictine Sisters as a musical centre becomes particularly apparent; the activities of its vocal-instrumental ensemble can be documented for the whole of the eighteenth century because of the extant signed manuscripts and other sources. When we observe the personal involvement of members of consecutive generations of Benedictines in the functioning of their ensemble, we come to appreciate that cultivating professional music – not only plainchant and songs – was part of the tradition of this place. In their turn, double possessory notes and dedications demonstrate that the nuns living in cloister succeeded in

558 Ms. 257/A VII 17 BDSand.

559 Ms. 258/A VII 18 BDSand. Both works were published in: J.P. Habermann, *Utworywokalnoinstrumentalne*, ed. Z.M. Szwejkowski, Kraków 1966.

560 Anonymous *Concerto pro defunctis Parendum est* (499/A VIII 139, date 1719).

561 The Benedictines had the custom of younger nuns calling the older ones “Aunt”.

562 For 1 zloty one could buy a pair of shoes, and the annual salary of a convent washer-woman was 20 zlotys.

making “musical contacts” and that they themselves were known as musicians in their local community.

The number of musically active persons in other Benedictine convents of Chełmno rule are as follows. In Bysławek, which was a branch house of Chełmno, we know of only one nun who lived in the seventeenth century and was sent there as cantoress in 1603. This was Marianna Sapieżanka (daughter of Sapieha). In Chełmno, there are records of the musical activities of ten nuns, but only four of them in the eighteenth century (Amelia Senowna/Csenowna/Essenowna, Konstancja Waliszewska, Marianna Więckowska, Marianna Łaszewska). We know of only two nun-cantoresses in Drohiczyn⁵⁶³, N. Uszyńska and Placyda Perkowska. The obituary of the latter mentions that “she sang beautifully fractus and plainchant”; she was abbess for the final forty-three years of her long life. In Grudziądz, there is a record of two cantoresses, Joanna Działowska and Ewa Płaskowska, as well as a “would-have-been” singer, Marianna Hincz, who had a beautiful voice but lost it during the novitiate. In the Jarosław convent, we have a record of five musical nuns in the eighteenth century: Konstancja Rogólska, Barbara Opowska, Katarzyna Hemowska, Katarzyna Szadurska and Barbara Duszakiewicz. In the convent in Kowno, we have just one musical nun and not until the end of the century: Bogumiła Fergiss. The name of the only one nun-cantoress was preserved in Kraziai, but she was active in the nineteenth century, Delfina Podberska, who was cantoress from the day she entered the convent until her death. From the convent of the Latin Benedictine Sisters in Lvov – about whose musical practice we have quite a lot of information – come the names of seven nuns; among them is Aldegunda Szklińska, who wrote down the customs of her convent and played the violin. The others were violinists, organist, singers and cantoresses: Katarzyna Kozłowska and Marianna Niedźwiedzka, Marianna Moczulska, Anna Szembek and Zofia Kumanowska. The latter also had a literary talent; a surviving collection of her speeches and poems had been copied by Szklińska⁵⁶⁴. Marianna Moczulska, whose convent name was Bogumiła, was a particularly talented singer; one of the convent carols pokes gentle fun at her, saying “Bogumiła lets her trills out boldly, stretches her long tones until she drowns the bells”⁵⁶⁵. In the convent of the Armenian Benedictine Sisters in Lvov, we find information about four nun musicians: three cantoresses-singers and the organist Zofia Kopczykówna.

563 Unless indicated otherwise, the nuns mentioned were active in the eighteenth century.

564 Archive of Lvov Benedictine nuns in Krzeszów, ms. E17.

565 Ibid. ms. E 16.

The singers are Magdalena Manczukiewiczówna, who died in an atmosphere of sanctity; Marianna Stefanowiczówna, who “used Italian arts in singing”; and Marianna Faruchowiczówna, who according to the chronicler “sang herself to death”. In Łomża we only know of Rozalia Zbięszowska/ Zbierzchowska, cantress, and N. Morawska/Murawska, singer and organist. In Minsk, we can confirm the activities of five nuns, singers and cantresses, among whom three were accepted without a dowry: Katarzyna Korsakówna and Rozalia and Joanna Janutowiczówna. The two latter may have been of peasant origin or daughters of a country organist, since the parish is given as their place of origin. The other ones are Anna Wołodkowiczówna and Brygida Pacewiczówna. From Nieśwież, where there most probably was a nuns’ ensemble, we only have extant information about eight nuns⁵⁶⁶; seven cantresses and an organist. The obituary of the particularly praised Aleksandra Wolska tells us that “she played the choir instruments, she sang and she taught other sisters”.

As many as nineteen musically talented sisters are recorded in the chronicle of the Poznań convent, but only three cantresses active in the eighteenth century: Weronika Struplówna, Teresa Pińska and Karolina Drzewiecka. In Przemyśl there is information about five of them: Katarzyna Ziańska/Ziecińska, Anna Michałkiewiczówna – the organist – Teresa Wielowieyska, Teresa Markiewiczówna and Tekla Karniewska. The two first were accepted without dowries. On the other hand, the poor and small convent of Radom, averagely inhabited by only twenty nuns during the eighteenth century, had quite a few musical talents, as is evidenced by the convent’s menologium:

In 1719 died Mistress Zofija Sokołowska. She lived in the holy orders with great piety and ability for the glory of God and for work, and she played in the choir. And by nature she was a spectre ... Wiktoryja Kożuchowska ... She was talented for singing and playing, for the glory of God and whatever she turned to (d. 1740) ...

Teresa Podkańska. She was very able in every way, both for the glory of God and for convent work (1743) ...

Mistress Franciszka Sosnowska ... Who had an excellent voice, could sing figurally and plainsong, and played plainsong (d. 1768) ...

In 1794 God took the beloved Sister Kunegunda Andrecka at the age of 58. ... She had a talent, a very beautiful voice for singing and ability both for plainsong and figural singing. She did not stint her voice in praising God ... She died while she was cantress. ...

In 1795 Benedykta Chlewnicka could sing beautifully and play plainsong ... she could be used for anything, so many talents did the Lord God give her. ...

566 N. Obuchowiczówna, Helena Zabłocka, Regina Szehellówna/Szellówna, Aleksandra Wolska, Helena Izdebska, Anna Wołkówna, Felicjana Zahakówna, Barbara Ożegalska.

Year 1798 ... Justyna Gzowska. She had a talent for playing violin, which she willingly turned to the glory of God. ...

Magdalena Kochnowska, talent in singing and playing (1808)⁵⁶⁷.

Cecylia Zygmuntowska, the nun from Sandomierz with a comprehensive musical education, stayed in Radom during the years 1766–1784. Presumably, she was also musically active there, but we do not have any information on that score, since she did not die in Radom but in Sandomierz. In the convent in Sandomierz, the musical culture of which is undoubtedly the best documented, twenty-five nuns were involved in musical activities, all of them in the eighteenth century. Nearly all of them have been referred to earlier, and therefore I do not list them here. In Sierpc, we know about the activities of three nuns: Felicjanna Niedziałkowska, accepted without a dowry, Małgorzata Rzeszotarska, Estera Ciołkowska – a singer, although more in the area of non-professional repertory. In Słonim we know the names of nine sisters, among them cantores, singers and violinists⁵⁶⁸. In Toruń there are eleven, but only three from the eighteenth century: Apolinaria Girzyńska, Antonina Łaczyńska and Marianna Rybińska. The last two were cantores, and the name of the first had been written next to one of the compositions from partbook No. 127 held at the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Six musically active nuns were to be found in Vilnius: Scholastyka Michałowska, a violinist, an orphan, most likely accepted without a dowry; Anna Gembiczówna, probably a daughter of a musician who used to be hired on feast days during the years preceding her entry into the convent; Anna Czyżewska, singer and instrumentalist who was a cantress there for more than a dozen years, and Antonina Żegłowiczówna and Felicjanna Zabłocka⁵⁶⁹, both cantores. From the convent in Żarnowiec we know of six cantores: Zuzanna Glinczanka, Konstancja Preczówna, Katarzyna Kalkszteinówna, Elżbieta Tempska, N. Uszyńska and Placyda Perkowska. We only have a comment about the last of these, that “she sang very beautifully fractus and plainchant”, which tells us that in the second half of the eighteenth-century vocal-instrumental music was being practised in that convent.

567 “Kroniki benedyktynek radomskich”, K. Górski, M. Borkowska, *Historiografia zakonna...*, pp. 304–309.

568 Helena Brzoskówna, Anna Matuszewiczówna, Zofia Wińska, Bogumiła Czaplicówna, Katarzyna Szwejkowska, Krystyna Rubowiczówna, Petronela Pogorzelska, Anastazja Janiszewska, Anna Szemiotówna.

569 Felicjanna Zabłocka had a sister, Gertruda, also a cantress, but not until the nineteenth century.

In this context, it is worth asking whether we might be talking about professional musical activities in relation to some nuns, and whether we might regard them as professional musicians?⁵⁷⁰ As a marker of professionalism in music we take previous education in this area and earning a living by working as a musician. In convents, these conditions were met when a nun was accepted without a dowry “for fractus” or “veiled for playing” – as was the Radom organist Elżbieta Jeżówna – or “for singing and with the ability to play the organ” – as was Barbara Duszakiewiczówna – a nun from Jarosław. Such persons would be provided with their keep by the convent, in return for their work “in the choir”⁵⁷¹. Another argument for regarding the musical activities of some nuns as having features of professional work is the fact that some of them were excused from the everyday duties of a nun⁵⁷² and were perceived by the community as “singers and players” or “belonging to fractus”. Evidence of the ongoing professionalisation of nun

570 Professionalisation among musicians was the result of the appearance of the virtuoso musical style towards the end of the Renaissance and during the Baroque periods. This contributed towards a polarisation between musicians, composers and performers, and their listeners. Musicians, usually skilled in a specific area: singers, organists or violinists, were often at the same time active as composers or teachers; in any case, they made a living out of their musical activities. The problem of full professionalisation of musicians naturally looked different in different centres; in Protestant Germany, even as late as the eighteenth century the cantor was expected to teach a number of subjects in the parish school, while in Italy as early as towards the end of the sixteenth century we find in the leading centres persons who make their living purely out of their musical activity. The beginnings of professionalisation among women musicians are associated with the popularity of *comedia dell'arte*, and then the opera. Cf. on this subject M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnic śpiewaczek I instrumentalistek*, passim; cf. also S. Rose, *Musician the market-place...*, p.76.

571 The activities of nun musicians in Spanish convents bore all the marks of professional status as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century; this includes special preparation for the profession, efforts to secure “employment” and drawing up a contract which defines the mutual obligations of the convent and the nun-musician; sometimes there would also be an exam to test the skills, and the exchange would involve the keep – housing, feeding, clothing and small sums of money in return for musical services. However, it should be noted that within the convent the status of nun-musicians was much lower in relation to the other nuns belonging to the choir, closer to the status of lay sisters (see C. Baade, *Music and Music-making...*, pp.120–125).

572 Cecylia Zygmuntowska's obituary says that “she was excused from hard tasks because of her great skill in singing and playing instruments, with which talents she strongly supported the choir”. BDSand ms. 1392, p. 116

singers and instrumentalists is most clearly seen in sources from Sandomierz. In about 1720, Abbess Trzecieška accepted as many as four young women without dowries but possessing musical talent: “Mistress Strzemianowska for her voice, Mistress Sroczyńska for fractus, Mistress Krzewska for fractus, Mistress Balicka to play the positive”⁵⁷³.

If the differentiation introduced by the chronicler between the girls being accepted “for the voice” and “for the fractus” is not accidental, it may suggest that Ms Strzemianowska had clear musical predispositions – a nice voice and a good ear – while Ms Sroczyńska and Ms Krzewska already had a musical education, the ability to sight-read music and some technical fluency which would allow them to perform the repertory of that time.

In Sandomierz, at the time of the chronicle there was a custom of excusing nun singers from a part of daily prayers in the choir, presumably in order to intensify rehearsals before a performance celebrating some feast day. Moreover, the chronicler mentions on three occasions (in 1771, 1772 and 1773) the fact that the “singers” or, elsewhere, “those that keep the choir” or “those that observe the choir”, would have their mass earlier than the rest of the congregation. Clearly, during the “main” mass they would be too busy playing and singing, also during communion, and for this reason they would receive it earlier⁵⁷⁴: “all the congregation was at the Holy Communion, and those who perform in the choir preceded it, hearing the mass and Communion earlier in order to play and sing fractus”. Evidence of the professionalisation of nun musicians comes from the following facts in their biographies: entering the convent with a musical education, skills of playing instruments and singing as equivalent to a dowry, different daily routine from the rest of the community, holding the post of cantress without rotation, and the chronicler’s awareness of the existence within the community of a separate group of singers and players⁵⁷⁵. This phenomenon of professionalisation did

573 Kbs, p. 32.

574 “Masses in the morning were celebrated by His Excellency the Bishop, during which the congregation received communion with the exception of the singers and some of the sisters for whom His Excellency Meks, canon of Lublin, celebrated a mass in the choir” (Kbs, p. 144). “There was communion for the whole congregation, only preceded by the Holy Mass and Communion for those that perform in the choir” (Kbs, p. 156).

575 Although Agnieszka Sosnowska and Elżbieta Dudkiewiczówna are also recorded as secretary and infirmary sisters, this probably happened for specific reasons: Sosnowska spent a very long time at the convent, all of 57 years, which means it would have been difficult for her to sing arias and concertos at the age of 60 or 70, while in the case of Dudkiewiczówna we know that she lost her voice because of illness.

not basically involve the other posts in the convent, with the exception of the mistress of the secular maidens, who with time came to be simply described as teacher at the convent school. It should also be emphasised that there is no indication of nun-musicians having a lower status within the community than other nuns in the choir. In order to better understand the Polish musical culture during the eighteenth century, we should thus be aware of the existence of a group of women with musical education in the Polish Commonwealth of that time, who provided for themselves through musical skills.

5 Eighteenth-century musical sources from the convents of Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz, Przemyśl, Jarosław and Lvov

5.1 Cantionals

The only typical eighteenth-century cantionals⁵⁷⁶ preserved in the legacy of the Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation are L1642 and L1644⁵⁷⁷. The second of these manuscripts, copied by Marianna Moszyńska in 1750, includes a liturgical part (plainchants) and a cantional part, the latter part being a copy of L 1642 and containing exactly the same repertory. Earlier researchers, Wendelin Świerczek⁵⁷⁸ and Henryk Ćwiek⁵⁷⁹, erroneously categorised as cantionals the collection L 1643 discussed in Chapter 3, and Dygulska's organist's books described later in this chapter.

Manuscript L 1642 comprises eight partbooks in oblong format, 17 x 22 cm, bound in brown leather. There are no title pages; on the first pages, there are only the names of parts with the exception of the first *Canto*, in which – alongside the

576 We understand the term cantional to refer to a collection of religious songs. Cf. S. Nieznanowski, *Kancjonał*, in: *Słownik literatury staropolskiej. Średniowiecze - Renesans - Barok (Dictionary of Old Polish Literature. Middle Ages - Renaissance - Baroque)*, ed. T. Michałowska, Wrocław 1990, pp.315–317.

577 There also is the nineteenth-century manuscript *Hymny kościelne napisane dla Panny Mayewskiej przez Jana Boguńskiego ... 1829* (Church hymns written for Mistress Mayewska by Jan Boguński ... 1829), with monophonic songs and piano accompaniment. Anna Majewska joined the Benedictine nuns in Sandomierz in 1825; she was abbess during the years 1853–1877. See A. Szylar, *zakonnice, skład osobowy i rotacja na urzędach w klasztorze benedyktynek w Sandomierzu w latach 1615–1903 (The number of nuns, personnel and rotation of posts at the Benedictine female convent in Sandomierz)*, *Nasza Przeszłość*, vol. 102, 2004, pp. 322, 349.

578 W. Świerczek, *Kancjonały Sandomierskich Panien Benedyktynek (Cantionals of Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz)*, *Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej* LI 1958/4, pp. 7–8, 10, passim.

579 H. Ćwiek, *Teologiczno-muzyczna spuścizna benedyktynek sandomierskich (1615–1903) (Theological-musical legacy of Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz)*, doctoral thesis, Uniwersytet im. Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, Warszawa 2002, p. 295 and idem, *Muzyka wspólnoty zakonnej...*, pp. 56–57.

name of the part – there is the inscription with the date: *Ad majorem Dei Gloriam et Honorem Scti Patri Benedicti et Omnium Sanctorum Anno Dni 1721*⁵⁸⁰.

A comparison of the ductus of the handwriting allows us to establish that the partbooks were written by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, scribe of twenty-four manuscripts of vocal-instrumental works in the collection BDSand. The cantional consists of two sections, each containing four partbooks. Altogether the repertory comprises sixty-five songs for four parts and fourteen for three⁵⁸¹, forty-three of them in Latin, thirty-five with Polish texts, and one macaronic. The first four books contain a repertory of Passion and Easter hymns, as well as a few dedicated to saints. The other four books contain Marian songs, carols and a hymn to Saint Benedict⁵⁸² (see Fig. 22).

The songs are for three sopranos: *Canto primo*, *Canto Secundo*, 3 *Vox*, all notated in C1 clef, and Bass notated in F4 clef. The melody in each of the partbooks is usually notated on one staff on facing pages, and all the strophes of the text are written under the staff. The songs mostly have a simple, four-part texture and cantilena melodic line with declamatory elements. Their beauty lies in the combination of the words of the prayers, the melodiousness of the line and the harmony of the four parts. Some songs contain melismas, e.g., *Omni die dic Marie* (pp. 2–3). An interesting setting is given to the hymn *Ave maris stella*. After each stanza consisting of a double repetition of the eight-bar melody in 4/4 time, there follows a refrain with 3/1 time: “Te deprecamur audi nos, tuo filio commenda nos”, and a return to 4/4 time on the words “o virgo Maria”.

580 H. Ćwiek gives the erroneous date 1791. *Muzyka wspólnoty zakonnej panien benedyktynek w Sandomierzu* (*The music of the community of Benedictine Sisters in the history and culture of Sandomierz*), *Klasztor Panien Benedyktynek w historii i kulturze Sandomierza* (*The Convent of Benedictine Sisters in the History and Culture of Sandomierz*), ed. K. Burek, Sandomierz 2003, p. 56).

581 Cantional L 1642 became an object of investigation by Marcin Konik. In his book *Monografia zespołu muzycznego oraz katalog muzykaliów klasztoru SS. Benedyktynek w Staniątkach* (*A monograph on the musical ensemble and catalogue of the music collection of Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki*; ed. Marcin Konik, Kraków 2016, pp. 59–61), Konik compared the repertory from the Sandomierz collection of songs and the Staniątki cantionals. He discovered as many as seventeen concordances of musical settings between cantional L 1642 from Sandomierz and cantional StE from Staniątki. He also brought to my attention the error in the Polish version of this book, where I described the whole repertory of L 1642 as being for four parts, for which I would like to express my gratitude to him.

582 Cantional L 1642 was edited as part of the project *Muzyka Benedyktynek Polskich* (<http://staniatki.studiokropka.pl/>).

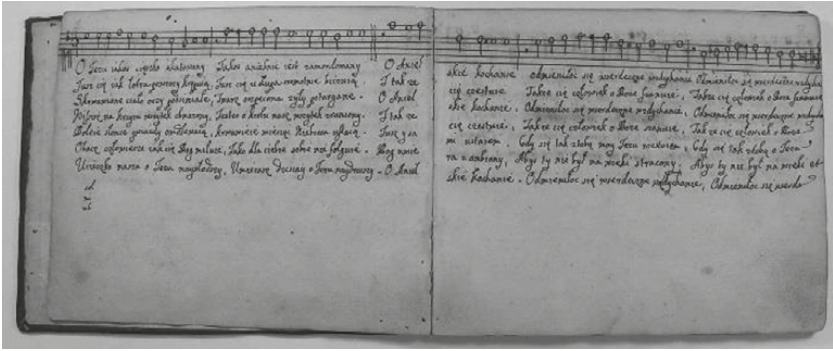


Fig. 22: *O Jezu, iakęs ciężko skatowany*, ms. L 1642 BDSand (four-part cantional), notated by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, Canto I partbook, pp. 2–3

As has been shown by the research of Grzegorz Trościński⁵⁸³, the majority of texts of songs from cantionals L1642 and L1644 belong to the popular repertory also present in songbooks from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the older songs, originating from the medieval period, only the Latin ones have been preserved here, while all the Polish songs represent the post-Tridentine period. In the cantional of Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński⁵⁸⁴ *Pieśni katolickie nowo reformowane z polskich na łacińskie a z łacińskich na polskie przełożone, niektóre też nowo złożone* (Catholic hymns newly reformed from Polish into Latin and Latin into Polish translated, some also newly composed) from 1638 (2nd ed. Kraków 1695), we find twenty-six texts of songs from the Benedictines' cantional, while six show concordances with the collection of poems and Marian songs included in Walenty Bartoszewski's songbook titled *Parthenomelica albo pienia nabożne o Pannie Naświętszej, które poważny senat miasta wileńskiego ... na roracich przystojnie co rok odprawuje* (Parthenomelica or pious singing about the Blessed Virgin which the solemn senate of the city of

583 G. Trościński, *Rękopiśmienne wierszowane litteraria od średniowiecza do końca XVIII wieku w zbiorach benedyktynek sandomierskich. Część pierwsza: pieśni z kancjonálu L 1642* (Manuscripts of rhyming litteraria from the Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century in the collection of Benedictine nuns from Sandomierz), *Tematy i Konteksty* 4(9)/2014, pp. 225–249.

584 Jagodyński's print contained songs without the music. It was located in the book collection of the Benedictine Sisters and is now held at BDSand ref. 8322 (I am very grateful to Grzegorz Trościński for this information).

Vilnius ... celebrates properly every year at the orate mass) published in Vilnius in 1613. We should also note that the texts of the songs in different transmitted versions retain a considerable degree of variantability⁵⁸⁵, which indicates that they partially functioned in the oral tradition. As many as thirty-one texts of songs from the Sandomierz manuscripts have their concordances in the rich repertory of manuscripts cantionals from Staniątki⁵⁸⁶, and twenty-one in the cantional of Bernardines from Radom⁵⁸⁷, while only one carol from L 1642 is also found in the so-called *Kantyczka Chybińskiego*, a collection of 357 carols from the convent of Carmelite sisters in Kraków⁵⁸⁸.

The links within the repertory revealed by Trościński's research concern only the verbal texts; neither the concordances nor the variantability of the melodies and their settings have been investigated by him. The seventeen concordances between L 1642 and cantional StE from Staniątki were identified by Marcin Konik⁵⁸⁹. Trościński points to the possibility of the repertory from Staniątki being transmitted by a nun, Anna Leśniewska, who arrived in Sandomierz in 1682 after spending twenty years at Staniątki, or by Kazimierz Michał Boczkowski. A very interesting discovery was made recently by Marek Bebak, who found in cantional L 1642 a complete transmission of the motet *Sacris solemnibus* by Franciscus Lilius, known in incomplete versions from the Wawel sources⁵⁹⁰.

585 "The differences concern the indicated number of strophes, their sequence, and their lexical and semantic arrangement. Sometimes the changes reach deeper. This happens when in the texts from the Sandomierz manuscript there are strophes which do not appear either in *Parthenomelica* or in *Pieśni katolickie nowo reformowane*, e.g., the composition *Głos wdzięczny z nieba wychodzi*" (see G. Trościński, *Rękopiśmienne...*, pp. 239–240).

586 On this subject see: W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonałów staniąteckich...*, pp. 127–191 and S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*

587 See G. Trościński, *Kancjonał radomskich bernardynów ze zbiorów Biblioteki Diecezjalnej w Sandomierzu (Cantional of Bernardine monks from Radom from the collection of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz)*, *Piśmiennictwo zakonne w dobie staropolskiej (Monastic Writing during the Old Poland Era)*, vol. III, Łódź 2014.

588 See B. Krzyżaniak, *Kantyczki z rękopisów karmelitańskich (XVII/XVIII w.) (Canticles from Carmelite Manuscripts (17th/18th c.))*, Kraków 1977.

589 See footnote 6.

590 Kk I.13 I Kk I.376. See M. Bebak, *Przekazy dzieł Franciszka Liliusa odnalezione w zbiorach polskich i obcych (Versions of the works of Franciszek Lilius discovered in Polish and foreign collections)*, *Muzyka* 2017/2, pp. 27–29. The Sandomierz version provided the basis for the edition of this composition in: Franciszek Lilius, *Opera omnia II: Motetti, Concerti, Aria e Toccata*, ed. Marek Bebak, Kraków 2016 (Sub Sole Sarmatiae 28).

Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, the cantional's scribe, or the scribe of an intermediate source, adapted Lilius's composition for high voices by transposing the tenor an octave higher and changing the sequence of the voices in relation to the notation in Kk I.13. Bebak notes that other songs from cantional L 1643 may also be found in Wawel's Kk I.13 from the second half of the seventeenth century⁵⁹¹.

5.2 Organ books

Four organ books from the eighteenth century are extant, and they provide evidence of the liturgical-musical practice of Polish Benedictine nuns. Two of them are held at the Archive of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, while two others are of Sandomierz provenance.

Manuscript 10 from the Przemyśl archive⁵⁹², dimensions 35 x 21.5 cm, has a cardboard cover. The title page is missing; Karol Mrowiec in his description of the ABMK microfilm refers to it as the "book of the organist". The manuscript consists of seventy folios, and the sequence of them in the part containing liturgical chants has been changed 15(13), 14 (15), 13 (14). The manuscript has no dates; on the basis of the watermark visible on 37 folios Marzena Kawczyńska dates the paper to years prior to 1764⁵⁹³, while the findings of Joanna Hertling discussed below allow us to add that the manuscript must have been written

591 Ibid., p. 29.

592 The manuscript was found by Father Karol Mrowiec and became the subject of research for three of his M.A. students in Lublin: Marzena Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe z rękopisu ms. 10 z klasztoru benedyktynek przemyskich. Problem faktury, formy i funkcji* (Organ fugues from manuscript ms.10 from the convent of Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl. Texture, form and function), 1989), Tadeusz Bartkowski, *Repertuar polskich śpiewów religijnych w rękopisach Panien benedyktynek w Przemyślu* (Repertory of Polish religious chants in the manuscripts of Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl), 1991) and Joanna Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe z XVIII-wiecznego rękopisu klasztoru Panien benedyktynek w Przemyślu* (Organ compositions from an 18th-century manuscript from the convent of Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl), 1992). It is also mentioned and briefly described by T. Maciejewski in his article "Notatki z przeszłości...", pp. 97–98. Organ manuscripts from the Archive of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl are now accessible online at Muzyka Benedyktynek Polskich (<http://staniatki.studiokropka.pl/mbp/#/search?collectionid=20>, accessed 15.06.2017).

593 The watermark represents the letter W with a crown. Maleszyńska's catalogue (K. Maleszyńska, *Dzieje starego papiernictwa śląskiego...*, p. 152) has a similar mark on paper from Wrocław from 1764. Since the watermark from Przemyśl does not have any decorative elements between the letter and the crown, unlike the one from Wrocław, it probably originates from an earlier period (M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe...*, p. 11).

after 1716⁵⁹⁴. The manuscript contains the bass lines accompanying the vocal plainchant part, exercises, organ compositions and didactic remarks concerning the realisation of figured bass and the improvisation of organ accompaniment. Traces of use are more apparent in the part containing accompaniment for liturgical chants than in the part encompassing instrumental works. The manuscript is the work of at least two scribes who notated the music; there were more, and partially different ones, involved in the copying of the verbal text. Kawczyńska notes that the provenance of the manuscript is hypothesised on the basis of the place where it was preserved⁵⁹⁵. This hypothesis is undoubtedly supported by the feminine verb endings which appear in the manuscript.

In the liturgical part of the manuscript we find settings of *ordinarium missae* for almost all the holy days of the liturgical year. From folio 30 the copyist notated hymns for vespers and a number of works belonging to *proprium missae*. From folio 52 to 64 there again appear a number of *Kyrie*, *Credo* and hymns. After the didactic remarks *Zrozumienie Consonancyi* (Understanding of Consonances) there are also added *Patrem sobotnie* and *Salve Regina*. The *Gloria* and *Credo* parts of the mass, as well as *Salve Regina*, have texts which are set in a fragmentary manner, confirming the Benedictines' use of *alternatim* practice.

Among the instrumental works included in the manuscript we can distinguish exercises, works without titles and works with titles. The number of compositions, ignoring the ten exercises, is sixty-seven, including twenty-one compositions without titles. The works with titles comprise twenty fugues, thirteen toccatas, six preludes, three *preambula*, a gavotte and a *Chromatica*⁵⁹⁶. Among the compositions without titles Maciejewski distinguished five further fugues and one theme with variations⁵⁹⁷. The works without titles are, judging by their character, preludes and toccatas⁵⁹⁸. The manuscript opens with four monophonic exercises with the notation of figured bass, of length from a few to dozens of bars. The other six are found in the later part of the manuscript; these are exercises for two parts from eleven to twenty bars in length, which make use of progression⁵⁹⁹. Compositions included in manuscript ms. 10 are intended for

594 J. Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe...*, p. 121.

595 M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe* p. 91

596 I follow the list made by T. Maciejewski of all the solo organ compositions from manuscript ms. 10, together with the incipits, which is to be found in "Musica Galiciana" 2000/V, pp. 39–44.

597 Ibid.

598 T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 98.

599 Ibid., p. 20.

an instrument without a pedal, and may have been performed on an organ or a positive, the instrument mentioned in the theoretical treatise. It would also have been possible to play these compositions on a harpsichord or a spinet, since they do not have pedal notes, and the chords are capable of being realised *arpeggio*⁶⁰⁰. To date it has been possible to identify eight of the compositions in the manuscript as works by Domenico Zipoli⁶⁰¹. They all come from the composer's print, published in Rome in 1716 under the title *Sonate d'intavolatura per organa e cimballo*. From the organ part, two *Versi* in E minor, part of *Canzona* in D minor and *All'Offertoria* found their way into ms. 10; from the harpsichord part the second, third and fourth movements of *Suite* in D minor and *Partita* in A minor. *Versi* were recorded in the manuscript as Fugues, the other works by Zipoli in ms. 10 do not have titles. By carefully comparing the notation of the works attributed to Zipoli with the versions published by the composer, Hertling reached the conclusion that the versions in the manuscript from Przemyśl at times differ very significantly from the original. The differences consist in simplifying difficult passages, and sometimes in omitting whole sections of the composition⁶⁰². However, Hertling emphasises that changes of this kind were carried out sufficiently skilfully for the works not to lose their charm, character, and transparency of form. Alongside the more significant changes, manuscript ms. 10 naturally also contains minor alterations, which sometimes are errors⁶⁰³. For another work recorded in the manuscript from Przemyśl Hertling found a concordance in a tablature held by the Warsaw Music Society from ca. 1680⁶⁰⁴. This is a figurative toccata, which shows significant differences from what is notated in Tablature WTM⁶⁰⁵. The twenty fugues notated in the manuscript in question

600 M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe...*, p. 87.

601 The first identification of a work by Zipoli in ms.10 was the achievement of K. Mrowiec, the second of T. Jasiński, the others were found by J. Hertling (*Kompozycje organowe...*, pp. 38, 39). Maciejewski probably identified three works by Zipoli independently of these researchers (see *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 98).

602 J. Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe...* p. 46.

603 *Ibid.*, p. 53. The author of the work on the subject of ms. 10 suggests on a number of occasions that Zipoli's works were arranged for the Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl on the basis of the Roman print. However, we should also take into consideration the possibility that the works reached the Przemyśl convent already in that form.

604 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

605 *Ibid.*, p. 86, 91. Marcin Szelest is of the opinion that the Toccata in the version from the Przemyśl manuscript is one of the most outstanding against the background of other keyboard works from the second half of the seventeenth century preserved in Polish sources (M. Szelest, *Źródłowe czy krytyczne? O wydaniach dawnej muzyki polskie*

are relatively short works, with dimensions close to the exposition of Bach's fugue, which today we would describe as *fughettas*. They were analysed in detail by Marzena Kawczyńska in her M.A. thesis. The author came to the conclusion that they represent the type present in the seventeenth-century European tradition⁶⁰⁶. She also points to the similarities to Italian organ music, apparent in the absence of a constant number of voices, sequences of parallel thirds, tenths and sixths, and the absence of references to the thematic material in counterpoints and bridges⁶⁰⁷. In the subject of one of the fugues the author discerned a similarity to the song *Gwiazdo śliczna, wspaniała*.

Kawczyńska also answers an interesting question concerning the function of the fugues in manuscript ms. 10, and it seems that this answer could also apply to other works for solo organ. As we know, during the baroque period independent organ compositions used to be performed instead of the introit or of the gradual, during the elevation and at the end of the mass⁶⁰⁸. Jerzy Gołos noted the similarity between fugues of this kind and the Spanish *versillo*, in which a short theme is led through the voices and ends with a cadential phrase. Works of this type were intended to be performed as preludes and interludes during the mass⁶⁰⁹. The fugues from Przemyśl may also have served a didactic purpose. Some of them have the character of studies (delaying notes, a dance motif penetrating the whole composition)⁶¹⁰. We know that an organist employed by some centres would usually be the teacher of young beginners in the profession.

The second of the organ manuscripts from Przemyśl, ms. 11, partially contains the same liturgical repertory with a few compositions with piano texture added later (e.g., *Mazur, Dumka, Lament*), and accompaniment for religious songs in Polish: *Zawitaj ranna Jutrzenko, Przybieżeli pasterze, Ojciec Boże, Narodził się Jezus, A cóż z ta Dzieciną bę(dzie)*.

(Source or critical? On editions of early Polish music), *Muzykolog wobec świadectw źródłowych dokumentów. Księga pamiątkowa prof. Piotra Poźniaka (The Musicologist and Source Documentary Evidence. Essays in Honour of Professor Piotr Poźniak)*, Kraków 2009, p. 312).

606 M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe ...*, p. 82.

607 Ibid., pp. 28, 30, 64.

608 Ibid., p. 95.

609 J. Gołos, *Nowe spojrzenie na polską muzykę organową XVIII do pocz. XX wieku (A new perspective on Polish organ music from the 18th to the beginning of the 20th centuries)*, PWSM Gdańsk, issue 16, spec. works, 1978, p. 174, quoted after: M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe ...*, p. 99.

610 M. Kawczyńska, *Fugi organowe...*, p. 101.

The organ books L 1668 and L 1669 from Sandomierz are the work of the same person, Jadwiga Dygulska, and were written in the second half of the eighteenth century⁶¹¹. The first of them, the carefully written book L 1668 has the dimensions 37.8 x 25 cm and a leather cover. It consists of 164 pages numbered by the scribe. There is no title page, just a sheet glued on the inside of the cover, written by the then Abbess Marianna Siemianowska⁶¹².

Dygulska's organ book L 1668, sometimes erroneously described in the literature as Dygulska's Cantional⁶¹³, contains the bass line (sometimes figured) and the soprano parts for various plainchant masses (pp. 1–18). We find here masses for various liturgical periods, as well as masses described as "farwanska" (furmanska?), "Kasyneńska", and Requiem. From page nineteen, we find bass accompaniment for polyphonic masses, the first of which is an Easter mass. On page forty-one is *Te Deum laudamus* with priests in *alternatim* practice, in which the alternating X and choir are indicated. Next, there are figured basses entered for plancti and various hymns, as well as for figural *Salve regina*. Pages 29–31 contain information about the kinds of time signatures, performance indicators and transposition. Dygulska's organ book, thus, also contains a didactic part, as does ms. 10 from Przemyśl. In the later part (pp. 51–164) we find solo compositions

611 They were introduced into musicological literature by Wendelin Świerczek in his article *Kancjonały Sandomierskich Panien Benedyktynek, Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej*, LI 1958/4, pp. 10, 78. The author categorised L 1668 as a cantional, and on the basis of the contents of the book was critical about the standard of organ practice of the Benedictine nuns. Świerczek's attitude probably resulted from referring the repertory of Dygulska's book to the tradition of organ music of German Baroque, since he mentions the fact that the manuscripts contain "only two fugues" (*ibid.*, p. 10).

612 Cf. p.192. The sheet was written and glued in a month after the death of Jadwiga Dygulska, on 3 March 1796. Perhaps the manuscript was previously the private property of Dygulska, and after her death the abbess intended it to be used by subsequent organists. The year 1796 is thus not the date when the manuscript was written, as was suggested by Świerczek (*Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków*, p. 277), followed in this by H. Ćwiek (*Teologiczno-muzyczna spuścizna...*, p. 302). The book, written in very careful and even handwriting, is unlikely to have been the work of the 74-year old nun in the year of her death.

613 Cf. T. Maciejewski, *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, p. 99. Originally the term 'cantional' referred to a collection of liturgical chants of the Catholic church. After the Reformation period the name "cantional" came to refer to collections of songs in a national language, intended for general use (S. Nieznanowski, *Kancjonał, Słownik Literatury Staropolskiej*, ed. T. Michałowska, Wrocław 1998, p. 315).

intended for a keyboard instrument⁶¹⁴, to be discussed in more detail in the later part of the subchapter.

The second of Dygulska's manuscripts, L 1669, was given the following title by the scribe⁶¹⁵: *A book for the Choir to play and to accompany Masses and various introductions to Vespers and Hymns for various feasts, which I give to Mistress Cantorress for the Choir so that she should know about them, and so that those who will use it should sigh a prayer for me, unworthy sinner, JDygulska ZRSPB.*

The liturgical repertory included in L1669 basically corresponds to the repertory of the previous book, but there are no didactic remarks here and no solo compositions.

Secular solo works for a keyboard instrument, numbering 138, were entered in manuscript L 1668 on pages 51–164, thus taking up nearly 70% of the book's contents. All the compositions are notated on two-staff systems⁶¹⁶. The right hand is notated in the soprano clef with one exception, *Sinfonia* from page ninety-two appears in the treble clef, while the left hand in the bass clef.

We do not find cyclical works here; all of them with the exception of one, notated on page 133⁶¹⁷, consist of one movement. 123 compositions have titles, while fifteen do not. Among the titles we have such descriptions as:

Aria (or Air), Adagio, Affectuosie (Affectuoso?), Allamanda, Allegro, Alternat., Adante, Arietta, Ariose, Ballet Marchi, Bouree, Cantabile, Concerto, Divertimento, Fuga, Kozak, Lectio Prima, Menuet (Menuetto), Partia, Pastorella Murki⁶¹⁸, Poco piano,

614 These works were published by Jerzy Gołos in 2012 in Warsaw with the title *Jadwiga Dygulska. Książka do chóru do grania (ukończona przed 1796) (Jadwiga Dygulska. A Book for the Choir to Play (Completed prior to 1796))*. This edition is difficult to obtain. It contains a short Introduction. In view of the changes and corrections introduced in the source text, and in the absence of a revision commentary, it may function as a visual aid. A few of the compositions had been published by Gołos even earlier, in the publication *Barokowe organy ze Swornigaci*.

615 In the edition of Jerzy Gołos this title was erroneously attributed to manuscript L 1668.

616 Apart from the last line on page 54, which includes both parts, of the right and the left hand.

617 *Alternat(ivo)* and *Poco piano*, which have their concordances at the Dresden University Library as *Contre Danse en Rondeau* and *Minore* (RISM:212003297), form a two-part cycle with the first part expected to be repeated after the second.

618 Murky (murki, murcki, *mourqui*), a manner of accompanying on keyboard instruments or a composition using the style in which the bass consists of broken octaves. Its popularity in Germany from ca. 1730 was probably related to the increasing numbers of dilettantes playing keyboard instruments. A work in this style, titled *La Boehmer*, had also been written by C. Ph. E. Bach, see D. A. Lee, *Murky*, in: NG, <http://www>.

*Poison*⁶¹⁹, *Prelidium*, *Presto*, *Sarabanda*, *Sinfonia Sonatina*, *Taniec* (Dance), *Trio*, *Variatio*.

In the case of some of them, such as *Prelidium* (*Preludium*), *Adante* (*Andante*) or *Allamanda* (*Allemande*) the untypical orthography is used consistently.

The content of the part of the manuscript devoted to secular works for keyboard instruments may be divided into four groups on the basis of their genres⁶²⁰. The first and most extensive group is constituted by pieces which do not have in their titles a description of their form or genre, i.e., arias (53), works without titles (15) and those which have in their titles only the agogic descriptions (25).

One should note here that the term “aria” functions in Dygulska’s collection as a synonym of “composition”, or “piece”, as was the practice during the baroque period⁶²¹. The majority of works in this group are pieces with the simple structure A:B, often extended by a reprise (Da Capo). Also, the B part does not always refer motivically to part A but, instead, is its evolving development. In many cases, the reprise is not simply a mechanical compositional device; very often part B ends with a bridge which leads to the beginning of part A. These works are differentiated in terms of size, from eight-bar miniatures (e.g., *Aria Lentissime*, p. 53, 4 bars + 4 bars), up to the extended quasi-sonatas (*Air Allegro*, p. 136). A sizeable group among works not fully defined in the title are the dances. Most often these are minuets with the form A:I:B, sometimes also with a *trio* (e.g., the composition without a title from p. 81). On the other hand, the *Aria* from p. 73 has the character of a polonaise.

oxfordmusiconline.com/subscribe/article/grove/music/193797q=murqui&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed:15.08.2013). As well as the composition titled *Pastorella Murki* Dygulska’s collection contains arias on pages 73 and 101 in the same style, the last identified as Graupner’s *Murky* (RISM: 150206117).

619 Title difficult to explain.

620 An analysis of the repertory of solo instruments from ms. L 1668 was presented in an article by J. Dmeński and M. Walter-Mazur, *A collection of music for keyboard instrument from Manuscript L 1668 (Book of Jadwiga Dygulska) of the Sandomierz Diocese Library, Musicology Today*, 2013, pp. 53–71.

621 Italians understood “aria” to refer to the melody or the melodic framework of a composition. Marco Scacchi wrote: “There is good reason for calling every composition an aria, since one cannot imagine any composed music in which there will be no musical aria” (*Canones nonnulli*, Regiomonti 1649, p. 1, quoted after: A. Patalas, *W kościole, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi życie, muzyka, teoria (At church, at home and at the theatre. Marco Schacchi: life, music, theory)*, Kraków 2010, p. 380).

The second group are works referred to in the title as “preludia”, i.e., preludes (5). Some of them give the impression of being compositional exercises. The prelude from p. 52 in C major is a series of mechanically repeated modulations, using textural changes based on progression and simple harmonic figurations. A similar technique is used in the prelude from p. 114 and the work without a title on p. 115⁶²². These compositions are more extended in their harmonic layer and differentiated in the selection of figurations. They are also somewhat more demanding technically for the performer.

It is surprising to find the title “prelidium” given to the composition on page sixty-six. The three earlier are one-movement works built mainly on harmonic figurations. On the other hand, this work has the structure AABB with a reprise (Da Capo), and in terms of texture, register and character resembles more closely a minuet.

In the *Book of Dygulska* there is a composition titled *Lectio Ima*, which in view of its character should be categorised as a prelude. It is constructed on the basis of simple progression (up and down), with the use of harmonic figurations (first in the right and then in the left hand). The work’s purpose is probably didactic. The added *Ima* (prima) suggests that there were more works of this kind, perhaps of increasing difficulty, in the source used by Dygulska.

In the third group, we may include the seven *concerti*. Two of them have concordances in European repertory. These are: *Concerto* (p. 76), i.e., part I of *Sonata (Partita)* for harpsichord by J.J. Agrell, and *Concerto Allegro* (p. 125), identical to *Partita* by an anonymous composer preserved in the collection of works for keyboard instruments at the City Library in Leipzig (RISM: 225003967). Two concertos similar to each other, *Concerti in F*, both on p. 127, are basically sonatas in a style close to the sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti. Works close to the concerto genre are the *Concerti* from pages ninety-seven, 102 and 111. Particularly the last one has a texture typical of a late baroque keyboard concerto – fast sequences and light figurations for the right hand and chord accompaniment in the part of the left hand. The clearest example of the concerto form in Dygulska’s collection is the transcription of a concerto by P.A. Locatelli included under the title *Sinfonia* (p. 92).

In the fourth group, we may include the dances. The first composition in the group of solo works in the manuscript in question is *Allamanda Amabilis* (p. 51), a two-movement composition with a reprise (Da Capo) in C major. Although the work refers to the preceding epoch in terms of its structure and the very choice

622 The edition by Gołos added the title *Preludium*.

of dance, it already demonstrates certain features of the new style: the introduction of triplet groups, at some points virtuoso scale passages, and the texture is mainly simplified to the melodic voice and simple chord accompaniment.

On page sixty-six we find *Bourrée* (original spelling), a dance which was already disappearing when *Dygulska's Book* was written. Here, we encounter *bourrée* in its pure form: the form A:I:B with the reprise of part A composed into the second part. On the other hand, the saraband (p. 130) is far removed from the character of that baroque dance. All that has been retained here is the triple metre and a calm character; the work is more like a minuet. The last four bars are a reprise with the markings of *pianissimo* dynamics.

The popularity of the minuet during the second half of the eighteenth century is clearly reflected in Dygulska's collection. Eight of the compositions are given appropriate titles (*menuet, minuetto, menueta*), but the number of dances of this kind is much larger; many arias or untitled works are minuets. For example, the composition in C major on p. 81 is a minuet with trio. Similarly, works on pages 139 and 140, identified as minuets by J.B.G. Neruda, are entered immediately after the two preceding ones, i.e., on pages 138 and 139, which are given the correct title. On the other hand, *Menuet* from page 81 is in fact a polonaise. Minuets usually have the structure A:I:B+trio (pp. 81, 85, 138, 139, 154), sometimes with an added reprise (e.g., p. 99).

In the *Book of Dygulska* we also find examples of regional dances, such as the *Kozak*⁶²³ (p. 100) and polonaise; alongside the one referred to above (*Menuet* from p. 81), there is another one, concealed under the title *Taniec* (Dance) (p. 130).

As well as the compositions discussed in the above groups, manuscript L1668 also contains two *Sonatinas*, one *Sonata*, a *Sinfonia* (which is a transcription of *Concerto* in A major by P.A. Locatelli), *Divertimento* and *Partia* (identified as the first part of *Quartet* by C.H. Graun for *obligato* harpsichord, flute, violin and *basso*, RISM: 452019455), as well as three compositions with the title "fugue". The works on pages fifty-eight (F major) and 121 (C major) do have certain features of a fugue: the distinctive theme that appears in various registers in the relationship of the fifth. The theme of the first work resembles Italian fugues as it is based on repeated adjacent notes. The theme of the second is figurative, based on spread chords. Neither work has clear counterpoint which would appear in consecutive voices. Their texture is basically homophonic, i.e., the exposition of the theme is accompanied by more or less expanded chordal (p. 58) or figurative

623 Gołos noted that the composition on page 93 (*Presto*) also has the character of a *kozak* (Cossack dance; J. Dygulska, *Książka do chóru...*, p. 23).

accompaniment (p. 121). It is difficult to distinguish clear presentations of the theme, and presentation in parallel keys was omitted. The situation of the Fugue on page seventy-one is very different. It is principally a virtuoso prelude or toccata, based on scale passages and semiquaver figurations. Perhaps the title points to the “rapid” character of this work⁶²⁴.

The book of Jadwiga Dygulska is clearly similar to another collection of keyboard compositions, which also comes from a female convent, namely, the manuscript *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane* (*Collected arias of various authors*) presented as a gift to a Poor Clare sister from Stary Sącz, Teresa Fabiańska⁶²⁵. Both show a strong influence of the *galant* style, which was fast gaining popularity in Europe. However, as has been noted by Maria Erdman⁶²⁶, Fabiańska’s collection is dominated by dance forms, both dances popular in the second half of the eighteenth century (e.g., minuet or contredance) and those which had their flourish of popularity in the preceding epoch (*bourrée*, *gavotte*, *rigaudon*,

624 Perhaps the work (of a prelude character) was accompanied by an actual fugue which was omitted in copying by mistake, while the title was ascribed to the part which preceded it.

625 Ms. 26 Library of the Poor Clares in Stary Sącz: *Arye z Roznych Autorow Zebrane I do Grania na pozytywie lub Szpincie I podczas nabożeństwa w Kościele. I Na Chwale Pana Boga na Honor I NP Maryi y Błogosławioney Kunegundy I do Uzywania z Roznych Tonow I dla Panny Teresy Ozanny Fabiańskiej I Zakonnicy Prześwietney reguły S.O. I Franciszka y S. Matki Klary. I Profesa Starosądeckiego Konwentu I Anno 1761* (“The Collected Airs of Various Authors/ to Be Played on the Positive or Spinet/ During the Mass in the Church./ To the Glory of God/ to the Honour/ of Holy Virgin Mary and Blessed Kunegunda/ to Be Performed in Various Keys / for Mistress Teresa Ozanna Fabiańska/ a Nun of the Order of Saint./ Francis and Saint. Clare / Professant at the Stary Sącz Convent / Anno 1761”) Edition published by Jan Chwałek with the title *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane anno 1768. Miniatury na organy lub klawesyn* (*The Collected Airs of Various Authors anno 1768. Miniatures for Organ or Harpsichord*), Lublin 1994 (the title of the edition has the wrong date of the writing of the manuscript).

626 M. Erdman, “Kancjonał Fabiańskiej” jako przykład wpływu stylu galant na muzykę klawiszową klasztoru Klarysek w Starym Sączu w połowie XVIII wieku (*“Fabiańska’s Cantional” as an example of influence of the galant style on keyboard music at the convent of Poor Clare Sisters in Stary Sącz in the mid-eighteenth century*), *Musica Varia*, Bydgoszcz 2008, pp. 22–23. Among the 103 works in Fabiańska’s collection, quite unjustifiably referred to as a cantional, there is one composition by Johann Adolph Hasse, one by Domenico Zipoli and three by Valentin Rathgeber (see *ibid*, p. 22 and M.F. Runowski, *Nowe spojrzenie na “Arie” ze Starego Sącza*, *Ruch Muzyczny* 2006, No.2, pp. 31–32).

passepied). However, in the case of the *Book of Dygulska*, the majority are pre-sonata forms and transcriptions of keyboard, chamber and opera music.

A comparison of the repertory of the two collections of compositions for keyboard instruments revealed eight concordances. However, after analysing analogous compositions, it turns out that the versions in the books of Dygulska and Fabiańska differ significantly, sometimes in a number of respects: in size, form, tonality, time signature (4/4 instead of 2/4), and their melodic, harmonic textural and rhythmic course⁶²⁷. Based on their example one might reach the conclusion that transmission of solo repertory for keyboard instruments in the second half of the eighteenth century allowed a great deal of freedom in the treatment of a “musical work of art”. This appears to be an interesting research subject.

Of the 138 compositions copied by Jadwiga Dygulska, so far it has been possible to find concordances for twenty-five works through the RISM database. In the case of twenty of them, these are identifications with attributed versions, the other five works have concordances with anonymous entries in other European sources⁶²⁸.

Attributions of twenty works from manuscript L 1668 confirm the observations concerning the style dominating the whole collection. The style of the collection gathered by Jadwiga Dygulska is typical of the second, third, and – to a lesser degree – the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. It combines some elements of late baroque with the *galant* style, the dominant at the time style of the Dresden ensemble and the achievements of the Mannheim school. In Dygulska’s collection, we can discern harbingers of the classical style, particularly apparent in *Sonata Allegro* (p. 104), *Adante* (p. 109) or *Allegro* (p. 161). All three are examples of early classical form of sonata allegro, with two sections and no development.

627 Research into concordances between the collections of Dygulska and Fabiańska was undertaken by students from the source research faculty of the Institute of Musicology of UAM in Poznań: Mateusz Janus, Karolina Majewska, Joanna Marcinkowska, Emilia Pycińska, Michał Wysocki and Stefania Zielonka, to all of whom I am very grateful.

628 See the table in Appendix 2. Three of them were found by Sonia Wronkowska, who prepared a paper on *Keyboard arrangements in “The Music Book of Jadwiga Dygulska”* for the conference *Arrangements, Performance and the Work Concept 1700–1900*, 15.06.2015, in London. Two of them are arias by Johann Adolf Hasse: a work entitled *Aria Allegro* in ms. L1668 (p.140, RISM no. 270000664) – *Non e d’un regno ildono* from the opera *Irene*; *Aria de opera* (p.141, RISM no. 270000734) – *Unite a lupi andranno* from the opera *Solimano*. The third concordance – the *Aria* from p. 156 (RISM no. 452000082) – points to a flute *Sonata* by Johann Adolf Quantz.

In the majority of the works the melody held in the upper register becomes dominant. The left hand is entrusted with the part of the accompaniment, very often in the form of *trommelbass* (repeated notes with the same pitch) or the already mentioned *murky*. At first glance, the manuscript strikes one by the large number of triplets and reversed syncopation, often used by Pergolesi. The compositions rarely move away from the basic tonality, but there is quite a lot of alteration, particularly in the case of the leading notes. A device often used is the simple repetition of a short phrase or motif. Sometimes this brings to mind associations with the style of Domenico Scarlatti (e.g., *Arioso*, p. 140; *Aria Allegro*, p. 140).

In many compositions, Dygulska gives detailed descriptions of the use of dynamics (e.g., *Allegro Moderato*, p. 82; *Sonata per il Cembalo, Adagio arioso*, p. 86, *Allegro*, p. 94, *Poco piano*, p. 133, Minuets by Neruda, pp. 138–140), but without any indications of smooth changes of the dynamics, i.e., *crescendo* or *diminuendo*. The works contain only symbols of ornamentation (notated above the music, concerning only the right hand) and articulation guidelines (e.g., *Sonatina per il Cembalo, Adagio arioso*, p. 86; Neruda's *Menuet*, p. 139, see Fig. 23).

The dynamics signs – which appear in the notation of a composition – lead one to ask about the kind of keyboard instrument on which it would be performed. At this point we need to remember that the Benedictines from Sandomierz had all kinds of keyboard instruments, including those which made dynamic shading possible: the clavichord and the tangent piano. Many of the works in the *Book of Dygulska* would sound well on a two-manual harpsichord, and some preludes might successfully be performed on a positive. However, a significant majority of the compositions in the manuscript would sound better on a stringed keyboard instrument because of their texture (the already mentioned *murky* and *trommelbass*).

Among the works for which concordances were found, thirteen are compositions for a keyboard instrument, while twelve are transcriptions: four arias by Hasse, a *Sinfonia* from his opera, a duet from a religious cantata by Spiegler and instrumental chamber works (contredance, quartet, duet, flute sonata and concerto). In the case of transcriptions of instrumental works the texture is reduced, even to just two parts, as in *Partia Cembalo Aetto* (p. 129, transcription of quartet by C.H. Graun) or *Allegro* (p. 134, second movement of *Sinfonia* for strings, oboe and *basso continuo*).

Worthy of attention is the detailed notation of dynamic signs in the two-part composition *Alternat: I Poco piano*. This is a transcription of the anonymous *Contre Danse en Rondeau*. The abbreviation “alternat” was treated as the title; in the original it was probably just an added note (frequently encountered) that

A page of handwritten musical notation for harpsichord, identified as Minuets by Johann Baptist Neruda. The page is numbered '139' in the top right corner. It features ten staves of music, each with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are several dynamic markings: 'p' (piano) appears on the second and eighth staves, 'f' (forte) appears on the sixth and seventh staves, and 'ff' (fortissimo) appears on the seventh staff. The handwriting is in a historical cursive style, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

Fig. 23: Untitled compositions identified as Minuets for harpsichord by Johann Baptist Neruda, from ms. L 1668 BDSand (The organ book of Dygulska), p. 139

suggests the performance of the first part *da capo* after playing the second. In the case of the transcription of Hasse's aria, the texture was reduced to the melodic line and the bass line (without figuring or realisation).

While transcribing vocal works for keyboard instruments has a tradition that goes a long way back, arranging instrumental music for them is characteristic only for the period at the end of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries⁶²⁹. The keyboard instrument acted here as a medium: it made it possible to "recreate" favourite music in the home circle, the music which was heard at court and in the opera theatre. This phenomenon is regarded as characteristic of the bourgeois culture, which will reach its apogee during the nineteenth century. In the case of manuscript L1668, we have a different situation: the desire to ornament liturgy with music, was regarded as worthy regardless of its earlier context, the lack or presence of awareness about it. Obviously, we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the works may also have had recreational purposes or been performed for guests of the convent.

The collection of works copied by the organist from Sandomierz contains compositions of a high standard but also unsuccessful ones. Assuming that Dygulska, as an experienced musician, would have been able to differentiate between high quality and clumsy pieces, we may conclude that some of them may have been used for teaching purposes as exercises, and the clumsy ones may have resulted from erroneous notation. On page 147, next to *Adante. Cantabile*, we find the small added note *Eleva* (pupil) above the bottom staff. This might have been a work with a didactic purpose, performed by the teacher (upper part) and pupil (lower part): groups of long notes and semiquavers appear here alternately, once in the part of the right and once in the part of the left hand. Moreover, it should be noted that the book underwent corrections after having been written, since we find self-corrections in many places. Above the erroneously entered text, we can see the correct version written in letters (e.g., *Allamanda Amicabilis*, p. 54; *Allegro*, p. 95, *Allegro*, p. 123; *Ballet, Marchi*, p. 124). The question as to why Dygulska entered clumsy work must remain without a definite answer for now.

As a rule, works from Dygulska's collection do not present problems in performance. The majority has a simple homophonic texture. However, occasionally we encounter compositions which present a degree of technical challenge. For example, a frequent device is the crossing of hands (incl. *Allamanda Amicabilis*, p. 54; *Aria Ex DM*, p. 58; *Aria*, p. 74; *Aria Allegro*, p. 87). In fact, some works bear

629 Cf. M. Boyd, *Arrangement*, in: NG, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332> (accessed: 17.08.2013).

the marks of virtuoso performance requirements, such as the *Arias* from pp. 112 and 142 or *Vivace* (p. 113) and an untitled work on page 143. In spite of the deficiencies in some of the compositions, we should emphasise that the whole book is *au courant* with the musical taste of the eighteenth-century Europe.

The extant organ books from Przemyśl and Sandomierz, which originate respectively from the first and second halves of the eighteenth century, are an important source of knowledge about the liturgical, instrumental and didactic practice of Polish Benedictine nuns. It seems that the problem of the functioning of the Gregorian chant in its eighteenth-century form with organ accompaniment deserves particular attention, as it received little previous research. Books of this type may have been written in places, in which the convent did not have the custom of employing an organist on a permanent basis, with his duties carried out by one of the nuns, either received into the convent or educated there for that purpose⁶³⁰.

5.3 The didactic remarks *Zrozumienie Consonancyi dobrych i złych* [The Understanding of Good and Bad Consonances] in the organ book from Przemyśl

The fragment titled *The Understanding of Good and Bad Consonances*⁶³¹ appears in the organ manuscript of the Przemyśl Benedictines ms. 10 on folios 64v–69r. It is written in the same hand as the titles of some of the works and some liturgical texts⁶³², as well as – probably – part of the music notation in ms. 10. The same writing ductus also appears at the very beginning of the manuscript, where we find musical exercises in figured bass⁶³³. The argument consists of thirty

630 Some convents employed a secular organist, e.g., in Chełmno, Poznań, and Nieśwież, in others his role was taken on by a nun organist. Perhaps this depended on the finances, and also on whether a suitably trained candidate was available at the given time and place.

631 These didactic remarks are only mentioned by the authors of the M.A. theses written at KUL (Catholic University of Lublin) and devoted to the repertory of ms. 10. A few sentences on the subject of the text of interest to us were included by Tadeusz Maciejewski in his article *Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej...*, (p. 98), announcing the preparation of a separate publication devoted to it. Cf. also on the same subject: M. Walter Mazur, *Partimento po polsku? Nauka realizacji basso continuo i improwizacji organowej w przemyskim klasztorze benedyktynek* (*Partimento in Polish? The teaching of the realisation of basso continuo and organ improvisation at the convent of Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl*), *Aspekty Muzyki* 2/2012, pp.99–118.

632 For example “Fuga”, “Preludium”, “Toccatà” on f. 48v, the text of *Credo* on f. 56v.

633 Ms. 10 kland lv.

unnumbered points, illustrated with music examples, and is devoted to the realisation of *basso continuo*, organ accompaniment and organ improvisation. It is the only known text of this type in Polish – the only one linked to Polish musical culture – and it probably originates from the first half of the eighteenth century.

From the seventeenth century, we have two extant textbooks devoted to the teaching of music published in the Polish Commonwealth. One is Szymon Starowolski's *Musices practicae erotemata* (Kraków 1650), which forty-five chapters present the basic themes that relate to learning music, and Jan Aleksander Górczyn's *Tabulatura muzyki abo zaprawa muzykalna* (Music tablature or music training; Kraków 1647), which in ten chapters provides the principles of music, as well as an explanation of the New German organ tablature notation, the teaching of the tuning of clavichord and the foundations of fingering⁶³⁴. However, the only known work of this type written in the Commonwealth in the first half of the eighteenth century is the manuscript of Louis Andre, discovered by Michał Bristiger in 1974. Andre was *maestro di cappella* and "composer of French music" at the court of Augustus II, and the manuscript was written in 1721. It is a collection of music principles for those learning to sing⁶³⁵. It is thus clear that the compact "treatise" in ms. 10 from Przemyśl is of special importance in spite of its small dimensions and unsophisticated form⁶³⁶ (see Fig. 24).

634 B. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok...*, pp. 490–491. On the subject of Starowolski, see M. Pamuła, "Musicas Practices Erotemata" Szymona Starowolskiego, typescript of M.A. thesis, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1972; on the subject of Górczyn, by the same author: "Tabulatura muzyki" Jana Aleksandra Górczyna, *Muzyka* 1977/2; M. Erdmann, "Tabulatura muzyki abo zaprawa muzykalna" Jana Aleksandra Górczyna jako źródło wiedzy o klawikordzie i praktyce wykonawczej w siedemnastowiecznej Polsce, *Muzyka* 2004/3.

635 M. Bristiger, "Zasady muzyki" Louisa Andre - nieznanne źródło do historii muzyki w Polsce w XVIII wieku ("Principles of music" by Louis Andre – unknown source for history of music in Poland in the eighteenth century), *Muzyka* 1974/4, pp. 77–79. The manuscript was written in Warsaw, and is now held at Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna.

636 The orthography of *Zrozumienie Consonancyi* is very careless, worse than that usually encountered in Benedictine Sisters' texts from the eighteenth century. The scribe uses *y* with one dot as *i* (meaning 'and') and does not show the softening signs on *ś*, *ć*. The nasals *Ą* and *ę* are sometimes used, and sometimes not. She omits punctuation signs, and uses various spellings of the same word close to each other, e.g., "dysonancie", "dysonantie".

The style of the statements in the didactic comments in the manuscript is inconsistent; in places, it has the character of a lecture, elsewhere it gives the impression of hastily noted remarks. The form of addressing the reader-pupil is puzzling. The author uses the personal “you” form, often in imperative mode, and uses alternately masculine and feminine forms of verbs, with dominant masculine personal forms. We thus know that the original treatise was not addressed to nuns. It was probably copied from an earlier source, with the masculine verb endings partially preserved. It is also possible that the “lecture” fragments with verbs in masculine forms were copied from another source, while those with feminine endings were added by a nun. In this case it is difficult to decide whether the person who wrote this fragment of the manuscript should be described as the author or the scribe. What is also puzzling is the absence of polite forms of address like *JMPanna Dobrodziejka* (Rev. Benevolent Mistress), which always appear in Polish when addressing a nun and which they usually used among themselves. Perhaps, the remarks were written by a nun-organist for her successors and were probably used during the “lessons” given to musically talented novices; hence the absence of polite forms.

The remarks in question, addressed to persons learning to play the organ, are thus very much integral to a manuscript of a liturgical-didactic character intended for an organist, such as ms.10. The text was probably copied by a nun-organist⁶³⁷ from another source and only a small part of it was formulated independently. Hence different versions of grammar in the narrative and the errors. They appear in the fragment concerning the size of the intervals, which suggests hasty, somewhat mechanical copying. The sequence of the discussed topics is also puzzling. At the beginning of the argument, the author seems to assume that the pupil is familiar with the foundations of music, and places the section about the size of the intervals in the middle.

A person who might be put forward as a potential author-scribe of the treatise is Anna Michałkiewiczówna (*Michalkiewiczówna*), accepted in 1728 without a dowry since “she could play the positive”, who died in 1768⁶³⁸. We do not know the name of any other nun-organist living at the convent during the period when the manuscript was written, neither do we have the names of *Michalkiewiczówna*’s successors, for whom the teaching of organ-playing was written. We also know about two Benedictine nuns from *Przemysł* who were musically active: *Katarzyna Ziecińska*, at the convent from 1722, who “taught

637 The convent in *Przemysł* was a poor foundation and did not employ a secular organist on a permanent basis.

638 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. III, p. 307.

other nuns to sing plainsong⁶³⁹; and Konstancja Wierzbowska, who lived at the convent during the years 1730–1782 and is described in 1748 as cantoress⁶⁴⁰. It may be that they also contributed to the writing of ms. 10, but the hand which wrote the treatise and organ exercises was most probably that of Sister Michałkiewiczówna.

The text of the original from which come the comments written in ms.10 may have been obtained by the nun-organist from one of the musicians in Przemyśl who played at the convent church on feast days and was offered meals in the parlour by the cantoress⁶⁴¹. In Przemyśl the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans all had their ensembles, and undoubtedly during the period in question there was no shortage of organists; for example, in 1732 there is a record of Wawrzyniec Piekarski, singer and organist, in the ensemble of the Jesuit collegiate church. Previously unknown information about the music of the Franciscans in Przemyśl was found by Mirosław Perz in *Liber Magistralis Conventue Praemisliensis*, ms. at the Ossolineum Library 9615/117⁶⁴². There we find, among others, a secular organist called Jan Sikorski, employed by the Franciscans, who died prior to the year 1736 after serving thirty years at the convent.⁶⁴³ Music was also cultivated by the Dominicans in Przemyśl; a note from 1730 tells us about admitting a trumpeter into the monastery “ad complendam capellam musicalem”⁶⁴⁴.

However, it also is possible that the basis of the remarks noted in ms. 10 was a text that already belonged to the scribe, who herself had come to the convent trained in the profession of a church organist at her family home.

639 *Pamiętnik klasztorny, czyli spis Panien zakonnych, rozporządzeń klasztoru się dotyczących, wiadomości i zdarzeń ważniejszych i obliǳów klasztornych* (Convent diary, or list of nuns, rules relating to the convent, news and important events and convent obligations), ms. without reference from the Archive of the Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, quoted after: J. Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe...*, p. 12. M. Borkowska in her *Leksykon zakonnic...* gives another reading of the nun's name: “Ziańska” (p. 306).

640 J. Hertling, *Kompozycje organowe...*, p. 17 mentions another name of a Benedictine from Przemyśl, Franciszka Jeżówna, who held the post of cantoress until she became abbess in 1729, but she does not give the source of this information.

641 We know about this from the post-visitation report of bishop Sierakowski from 1747, who demanded that this practice be stopped since, in his opinion, it interfered with the cantoress's ability to carry out her duties. Cf. J. Ataman, *W H Sierakowski...*, p. 260.

642 M. Perz, *Inwentarz Przemyński (1677)*, *Muzyka* 1974, No 4, pp. 46–47.

643 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

644 R. Świętochowski, *Uzupełnienie do artykułu ‘Tradycje muzyczne zakonukaznodziejskiego w Polsce (Supplement to the article ‘Musical traditions of the preaching order in Poland’)*, *Muzyka* 1964, No. 1–2, p. 152.

Accepting organists' daughters, usually without the obligation of bringing a dowry, was common practice in female convents throughout Europe from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century⁶⁴⁵. The chronicles and registers of the Benedictines of the Chełmno congregation from that period note the presence in the convents of a dozen or more nuns accepted "to play the organ".

The didactic comments titled *Zrozumienie Consonancyi dobrych i zlych* occupy, along with the music examples, cover ten pages of manuscript ms. 10. from the Archive of the Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl. They discuss themes concerning both the realisation of *basso continuo* as accompaniment, and producing independent improvisation or composition on the basis of the bass line. The first three points talk about intervals, with both consonances and dissonances referred to as consonantia – good and bad ones. A definition of *disonancia/disonantia* does not appear until the seventh point. Major and minor consonances, but also major and minor dissonances are referred to respectively as perfecta and imperfecta. Later passages forbid parallel fifths and octaves, and recommend contrary motion between bass and descant. Later, we have examples of cadences and "not shapely placed" but good consonances, as well as a ban on mi contra fa, or tritone in cross-relation. Then there is the remark that one should learn the principles of music from books before one starts playing: "Before you start anything, you must read books almost every day so that you know well and understand what is in it, namely both consonance and dissonance because without them no one can play the positive"⁶⁴⁶. We then have division into consonances and dissonances with the comment that "the dissonance not in the tones which do not agree by themselves but when you add a Consonance are good"⁶⁴⁷.

After the warning that one is not allowed to play a dissonance at the beginning, there follow examples of cadences, described as *clausule cadenstiule*, which form a fifth-fourth series to f, b, es, as, des, ges, ces, e, a, d, g, c, along with the

645 In Spain, this practice was so widespread, and the standards required of the girl organists so high, that Pablo Nasarre even devoted a chapter of his treatise *Escuela musica* (vol. II, Saragossa 1724) to the topic of teaching girls who were intended for the convent. Musical competence opened the route to it not only to daughters of musicians, but also well born but orphaned or impoverished young ladies. See C. Baade, *Music and Music-making...*, pp. 137–139, also M. Walter-Mazur, *Status zakonnic...*, pp. 57–77.

646 Ms. 10 f. 65r.

647 F.65v.

remark that one has to almost learn them by heart before one begins to play anything “from the score”⁶⁴⁸.

Next, there is talk of combining intervals in chords, which here are referred to, as in the case of Gorczyn, by the term “gryf”. The numbers under the bass notes indicate figurations for the left hand, with the remark that, nevertheless, one should not play figuration in the left hand when there is a solo or a duet, then it is better to have figuration in the right, in the middle register. It is forbidden to have a dissonance after dissonance, unless the tempo is fast.

Modulations are allowed if the chords which follow each other have a shared note; “one tone holds the other”:

So that you know when you play alone in your fantasy and you can start a major key and then through other key you will fall into another minor tone and one needs to know that there will not be an *extra tonum* when one tone holds the other as in here.... Observe here after the sixth, which is above e la mi and starts another tone, and yet there is no *extra tonum* because it will be left ... 10ma to a different tone. And when you will play there, start often with the large finger of the right hand for grace, and then try your best when you are playing to counterpoint that is syncope because that is a very beautiful thing, then mix tones chromatically, and when you will play these duriter and then bemol you will need to move to duriter, and when playing, pay attention mostly not to come out of the tone, because that is a disgusting thing. To make you understand better how to come out of the tone, I explain it with examples⁶⁴⁹.

The remark about parallel fifths and octaves appears again, with the latter being allowed in the lower voices in *tutti* scoring:

Beware that when you play alone or with a choir that you do not take fifth after fifth in the right hand, or octave after octave with the bass, because that is an ignorant thing. But bass may be played octave after octave everywhere⁶⁵⁰.

It is only after these, at times very detailed remarks, which probably often required demonstration during lessons, that the scribe moves on to write out all the intervals in sequence with their dimensions. Here, we find obvious errors, which could only arise from hasty copying: “Tertia minor has one tone in it and two semitones ... Such a fourth has two tones in it and two semitones”⁶⁵¹.

648 It seems that “playing from the score” was understood to refer to organ accompaniment created on the basis of the notation of the vocal part and the bass line without figuring.

649 F. 66v.

650 *Ibid.*, p. 66v. In this fragment, feminine endings of verbs are used.

651 F. 66v-67.

Then, in a number of points the teacher provides detailed remarks that concern the combining of intervals, illustrated with many examples, among which we find harmonisation of the chromatic course, then again elementary remarks on the ban on using a dissonance at the beginning, as well as empty consonance of the fifth and the octave “and even if it agrees it is old-fashioned, error and one must avoid it very much”⁶⁵². There also is instruction about the difference between using a chromatic sign above the note and next to the note. And the reader is once again reminded about the necessity of not leaving “the tone”:

When you will be playing something yourself and want to play with chords then you must make your chord so that you do not leave the tone but so take the first chord, and when you want to take the next one after it let one note be left from the previous tone [?] in the right hand in any finger that is very beautiful⁶⁵³.

The didactic fragment ends with the remark that the beginner must learn well to play “on flats” and “take dissonances” well. The course of the argument makes it apparent that the aim was to prepare the pupil both to accompany the choir “in figural and plainsong”, and to play improvisations; there also is talk here about teaching the others. It will be difficult to establish the actual source or sources used by the author of the remarks copied in ms. 10, addressed to the beginner who learns to play the organ. However, it is clearly the case that the teaching method refers to *partimento*, on which learned whole generations of musicians at the end of the seventeenth, the whole eighteenth and even the beginning of the nineteenth century⁶⁵⁴. The term *partimento* referred to the bass line, figured or not, which was the basis for improvisation or for creating an independent composition⁶⁵⁵. Realising given bass lines on the keyboard, the pupil would develop in a number of areas. At the beginning they would become familiar with intervals, with constructing chords and the manner of voice leading. When that was no longer a problem, they could realise the given bass as

652 F. 69

653 Ibid. p. 69.

654 R. Gjerdingen, *Partimenti in Their Historical Context (Monuments of Partimento)*, <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/urrt:imenti/aboutParti/histOverview.htm> (accessed: 14.12.2012) and M. Świątkiewicz, *Basso continuo-compositio extemporanea* http://mswiatkiewicz.pl/pliki/omuzyce/Basso_Continuo-Compositio_Extemporanea.pdf, p. 3. (accessed:14.12.2012).

655 The term *partimento* itself did not become popular until the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth. See P. Williams, R. Cafiero, *Partimento*, in: NG, p. 173.

accompaniment or a solo work⁶⁵⁶. This method was widely used in conservatories in Naples as early as the end of the seventeenth century, and its traces survive mainly in manuscripts⁶⁵⁷. Among the textbooks published later which based their method on bass realisation, the most important are Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice 1708), Fedele Fenaroli's *Partimenti ossia basso* (Rome 1800) and Giovanni Tritto's *Partimenti e regole generali* (Milan 1816). Johann David Heinichen also used a teaching method based on *partimenti* in his *Der Generalbass in der Composition* (Dresden 1728)⁶⁵⁸.

In the direct teaching method, traces of which are preserved in *partimenti* manuscripts, the realisations of bass patterns took place during lessons observed by the teacher who would provide guidelines. Published textbooks also often included two-, three- or four-part constructions, realised on the basis of a given bass line. In the didactic remarks from Przemyśl, there are only bass lines, mainly figured bass, and simple two-part constructions with the melodic line in the soprano clef and bass in the same rhythmic values. However, more complex realisations of bass patterns appear at another point, on folios 37r-40r. As has already been mentioned, they show progressions of the same bass motif using a variety of possible ways of its "realisation" in different kinds of keyboard texture, using motivic work and diminution (see Fig. 25). These exercises undoubtedly supplemented the instruction given by the convent organist to the pupil, who was to acquire the skill not only of accompanying the choir or the soloists, but also of creating "own fantasy", introductions, interludes and instrumental segments in alternatim performances.

Manuscript 10 provides evidence that the Italian method of teaching keyboard instruments and composition on the basis of realising bass patterns, i.e., *partimento*, also reached Przemyśl. The term *partimento* itself does not appear in the manuscript from Przemyśl, but we do unexpectedly find it on one of the title pages of a manuscript preserved in BDSand⁶⁵⁹. It appears in the score of the work

656 M. Świątkiewicz, *Basso continuo ...*, p.4.

657 Collections of *partimenti* are held among the manuscripts of the Library of the Conservatory in Naples. *Partimenti* including those by Rocco Greco (1650–1718) and Gaetano Greco (1657–1728) as well as Francesco Durante (1684–1755) (correspondingly MSS33.2.3 and MSS34.2.4) were published by Robert Gjerdingen on the page *Monuments of Partimenti*, <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/partimenti/index.htm>, (accessed: 14.12.2012).

658 See http://imslp.org/wiki/Der_General-Bass_in_der_Composition_%28Heinichen,_Johann_David%29 (accessed: 14.12.2012).

659 Ms. 459/A VIII 99 BDSand *Concerto Italiano Domine non sum dingus*. The owner's initials: K(rystyna) C(zeladzińska) are on the title page.



Fig. 25: Untitled work, fragment. An exercise (variations) showing various textural possibilities in arranging the same bass line. Ms. 10 Library of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, p. 38r

Canto solo / Violinis 2 / Partimento and constitutes a synonym of the terms *basso*, *organo* or *fundamento*, which appear on the title pages of other manuscripts from that period.

5.4 Vocal-instrumental and instrumental compositions

Vocal-instrumental works belonging to the legacy of Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation have been preserved only in the collection of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz. The extensive collection, numbering 686 catalogue items, includes 128 manuscripts for which it is possible to establish provenance as originating from Benedictine convents, primarily from Sandomierz. Moreover, there are fortunately also three manuscripts preserved from Benedictine convents in Lvov and one from Jarosław.

The current holdings of the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz – previously the Library of the Higher Clerical Seminary in Sandomierz – which occupy the buildings previously housing the Benedictine Sisters in Sandomierz, include the legacies of various centres, including many convents, parishes and collegiate churches in Sandomierz and Pilica. The collection which had always been kept at this location is the archive and library of the Benedictine Sisters; at the beginning of the twentieth century the collection of the Higher Clerical Seminary was added to it, and in 2007 the Library and Archive of the Cathedral Chapter of Sandomierz as well as the Diocesan Archive. The Clerical Seminary in Sandomierz was created in 1820, and the core of its library was formed as a result of the directive of Stanisław Potocki, minister of the Commission for Religious Faiths and Public Education, who ordered that files and book collections from the dissolved convents in the Sandomierz voivodship should be transferred to it⁶⁶⁰. Most of the dissolved convent collections found their way to the seminary library during the second wave of dissolutions after the January uprising in 1863. The music collection of interest to us was created as a result of combining the collections left by the Benedictine Sisters with the seminary's collection when the Clerical Seminary moved, in 1904, into the buildings vacated by the convent which was dissolved in 1903.

660 S. Bastrzyk, *Archiwum klasztoru Panien Benedyktyniek przechowywane w Bibliotece wyższego seminarium w Sandomierzu (Archive of the convent of the Benedictine Sisters held at the Library of the Higher Seminary in Sandomierz)*, in: *Klasztor Panien Benedyktyniek w historii i kulturze Sandomierza (The Convent of Benedictine Sisters in the History and Culture of Sandomierz)*, ed. K. Burek, Sandomierz, 2003, pp. 109–112.

All the partbook manuscripts are catalogued under the same ref. L 1678, while the individual manuscripts have the shelfmark beginning with the letter A. Shortly after the Second World War, they were put in order by Rev. Wendelin Świerczek⁶⁶¹. He placed the manuscripts in nine cardboard boxes, segregating them according to their format⁶⁶². Classifying the manuscripts according to format led to the mixing of the collection, which may previously have reflected the provenance.

The basis for establishing provenance are two kinds of inscription. The first kind is the information that a given manuscript is intended “for the choir of the Sandomierz Benedictine Sisters”, sometimes also giving the date of the donation and the name of the scribe/donor. The other kind are possessory and scribal notes with the names, abbreviations of names or the initials of the nuns. Some works were included in the legacy of the Benedictines because of their content, i.e., the subject of the texts. In this way, it was possible to include the works devoted to Saint Scholastica and convent carols which contain the name of the abbess. In some cases, the manuscripts were included in the Benedictine collection on the

661 The first scholar to become involved in putting the collection in order even before the war was the then librarian of the Seminary, Rev. Andrzej Wyrzykowski. He also began cataloguing the collection, but soon had to stop because of illness and passed this work on to his successor, Rev. Wendelin Świerczek. The latter first published information about the valuable Sandomierz collection in instalments in *Kronika Diecezji sandomierskiej*, 1959–1962 (Nos 52–55), and then published an article titled *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków muzycznych Biblioteki Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu (Catalogue of manuscript musical relics at the Library of the Clerical Seminary in Sandomierz)* (*Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*, 10, 1965, pp. 223–278). In that catalogue the author wanted to include all the musical items preserved in the Seminary’s Library, eighteenth-century vocal-instrumental works, songs notated in writing books, and liturgical and organ books. However, in view of the enormity of the task that this represented, Świerczek concentrated on those pieces in the partbooks which have attribution to a composer entered in them, omitting the anonymous ones, which constitute the majority of the collection. He also listed all the preserved Latin and Polish songs, giving a general treatment to the liturgical and organ books. Świerczek’s *Catalogue* does not include music incipits. The author treated the Sandomierz collection as a whole; as for the provenance of individual manuscripts, this was not a subject to which he paid particular attention, and where there was an appropriate inscription on the title page this was indicated in the catalogue. In spite of these shortcomings, Wendelin Świerczek’s catalogue is an invaluable aid in the initial assessment of the contents of the collection.

662 Boxes Nos I-VI contained manuscripts in “in quarto” format, VII - “in octavo”, VIII and IX - various formats (W Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków...*, p. 223).

basis of the recognition of the nun's handwriting. It is very likely that there were other manuscripts in BDSand which had belonged to the Benedictines, but many of them do not have title pages or any clues that would allow one to establish their provenance.

In their music library, the Benedictines had works representing various genres; above all liturgical music, as well as a number of instrumental works, also presumably used in liturgy⁶⁶³. Items that survived to this day include:

- seventeen masses, among them one Requiem;
- five vespers cycles, three fragments of vespers settings, seven vesper hymns and six psalms;
- five litanies;
- three passions;
- three motets;
- thirty-six arias in thirty-two manuscripts;
- fifty-two vocal-instrumental concertos in thirty-five manuscripts;
- six pastorellas;
- six symphonies;
- three instrumental chamber compositions.

663 One should regard as separate the collection of piano works from the nineteenth century, included by Świerczek with the partbooks; regarding the piano works, one might hypothesise as to the link between the school operated by the Benedictines in Sandomierz, where clavichord, and then piano, were taught. Only one of the piano manuscripts includes the name of a person linked to the convent in Sandomierz, a secular teacher, Julianna Majewska (Julianna Majewska is the author of the third out of the six short dance compositions for the piano from the beginning of the nineteenth century - *Mazur compose par J. Majewska*). A pupil at the Benedictine Sisters' school in Sandomierz, she entered the convent school in 1807. She was a disabled child, had problems walking, but she moved about with the aid of two crutches. Until she was 22 she was registered as a boarder pupil, but most probably even then she was helping the convent teachers in the school. In 1823 the government authorities reminded the nuns that in view of her age she could not be treated as a boarder, but she could have the status of "mistress's assistant". From 1826 she worked at the school as a "teacher of various subjects", and received a government salary. She taught French, German, calligraphy and piano. She was highly dedicated to her work in the school (A. Szylar, *Działalność oświatowa benedyktynek...*, pp. 133, 135, 136, 169). Since the piano compositions originate from the nineteenth century, they will not be discussed here. However, we include in our discussion manuscripts of vocal-instrumental, symphonic and chamber music from the early nineteenth century, as they represent a continuation of an earlier, eighteenth-century tradition.

Where motets, concertos and arias are concerned, the above list is not based on the descriptions given on title pages, since that would be misleading. The terms Concerto and Aria are used in the collection exchangeably; they usually refer to works for a solo part. Arias are usually intended for a solo Soprano; four for two Sopranos, one for Alto, although there is also an Aria for a vocal quartet accompanied by two violins, altviola, two oboes, horns and *basso continuo*⁶⁶⁴. Just like the solo concerti – and those are in the majority – they do not essentially differ from arias in style; two concerti with the vocal scoring 2 CATB and CAT could also be classified as motets. *Motetti* are concerting works, and in the vocal scoring we find CATB or 2 CATB. Among the instruments, apart from *basso continuo* (usually described as *organo* or *fundamento*) we find violins, trumpets, alt violas, oboes, horns, bassoons, flutes – usually double – and *viola d'amore*, *viola da gamba* and *tuba (tromba marina)*⁶⁶⁵. Among the few works exclusively intended for vocal parts and *basso continuo*, one is also described on the title page as a concerto, while the others do not have a genre description. The term *motetto* is also inconsistently used for compositions with proprial, liturgical texts, since they are also referred to as arias or concertos. In view of this state of affairs, in order to describe the collection from the point of view of the included genres, compositions for more than one vocal part and only accompanied by *basso continuo* are defined as motets, works for more than one vocal part accompanied by *obligato* and *fundamento* instruments are regarded as concertos, while vocal-instrumental works for solo voice accompanied by instruments are regarded as arias.

Among the composers present in the Benedictine Sisters' collection, we find Polish and foreign musicians. The names which appear here also usually appear in collections preserved in other parts of Poland. Polish composers or those associated with musical centres in the area of the Polish Commonwealth include⁶⁶⁶: Michał Kazimierz Boczkowski (2)⁶⁶⁷, Bazyli Bohdanowicz (1),

664 Victorini, *Eia, chori, exultate* (215/A VI 19).

665 The scoring of compositions was discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

666 The number in brackets which follows the name indicates the number of copies or autographs of which are preserved in the Benedictines' legacy.

667 BDSand contains only two vocal-instrumental works by this composer. We do not know the dates of his birth and death. We know that during the years 1671–1675 he was active in the ensemble of the Jesuit collegiate church in Bydgoszcz, where he probably had been a pupil; his name appears next in the account books of the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków during the years 1692–1693; he is still there in 1696, copying one of the motets preserved in manuscript BJ. He then probably spent time in Sandomierz until 1700, and for seven years from that date he fills the post of organist in the Benedictine

Wojciech Dankowski (1), Eliasz Karmelita (1), Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki (2), Jan Piotr Habermann (3), Georgius Luna⁶⁶⁸ (4), Andrzej Siewiński (1)⁶⁶⁹, Simon Ferdynand Lechleitner⁶⁷⁰(6), Krassowski (1), Tadeusz Mrozowski (1), Leopold Pych (1), Karol de Rhein a Boslarn⁶⁷¹ (1), Ruciński⁶⁷² (1), Christian Józef

convent in Staniątki. During the years 1713–1714 he is again active in the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków, where his name is recorded for the last time (cf. W. Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków ...*, pp. 225–226; Z. Surowiak, *Musicalia vetera. Katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce (Musicalia vetera. Thematic catalogue of manuscript relics of early music in Poland)*, vol. II: *Zbiory proveniencji podkrakowskiej*, iss.I, ed. Z. Surowiak, Kraków 1972, p. 51; W. Węgrzyn-Klisowska, *Przyczynek do biografii Kazimierza Boczkowskiego (A contribution to the biography of Kazimierz Boczkowski)*, *Muzyka* 1975/2, pp. 112–113). Boczkowski also composed seven songs with Polish and Latin texts recorded in cantionals from Staniątki Saint E and F from the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well, probably, as being the author of polyphonic arrangements of some of the songs from these cantionals (S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, pp. 57–58).

- 668 A composer associated with the Corpus Christi Dominican convent in Lvov (and not in Warsaw, as is given erroneously by Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków ...*, p. 258) during the years 1765–1766.
- 669 Barbara Wróbel devoted an article to his funeral mass from the BDSand collection (*Missa pro defunctis Andrzeja Siewińskiego na tle zbioru muzykaliów sandomierskich (Missa pro defunctis by Andrzej Siewiński against the background of the music collection from Sandomierz)*, www.muzykologia.uj.edu.pl/kwartalnik/numery/m9/wrobel.pdf (accessed: 30.04.2012).
- 670 The only information we have about this composer, found in the Piarist monastery in Podoliniec, indicates that he held the post of chapel master for the Lubomirski family (D. Grabiec, 'Offertoria' Szymona Ferdynanda Lechleitnera ze zbioru muzykaliów Biblioteki Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu ('Offertoria' by Szymon Ferdynand Lechleitner from the music collection of the Library of the Higher Clerical Seminary in Sandomierz), *Przegląd Muzykologiczny* 2006/6, pp. 17–18).
- 671 Karol de Rhein a Boslarn, as he signed himself on the manuscript of his composition given to the Benedictine Sisters for the celebration of the profession of Urszula Morska in 1766. In the same year, he married Róża Krasuska in the church of the Benedictines, an event recorded by the nuns in their chronicle. For three years he served the Benedictine Sisters as a doctor, and in 1767 he left to serve Princess Lubomirska in Rzeszów (*Dzieje klasztoru...*, p. 107. Perhaps he was the person who repaired two keyboard instruments for the Benedictines in 1765 (cf. p. 153).
- 672 Perhaps the same person as Christian Józef Ruth. Christian Ruciński is recorded in the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków as a bassoonist, violinist and composer during the years 1736–1737 (A. Chybiński, *Słownik muzyków polskich*, vol. 2, p. 253); the composition signed with the name "Ruciński", fragments of which are preserved in Sandomierz, is dated to the year 1742.

Ruth (6)⁶⁷³, Paweł Sieprawski (2)⁶⁷⁴, Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński (1), Andrzej Wołoszko (1), Roman Za jączkowski (2). Foreign composers: Christlieb Sigmund Binder (1)⁶⁷⁵, Breytner (1), Franciszek Ksawery Brix (1)⁶⁷⁶, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1)⁶⁷⁷, Caietano Hantuch (1), Johann Adolf Hasse (1), Józef Haydn (1), Victorini (1), Joseph Ignacius Zandtfelder (1). We thus have thirty-five attributed works by Polish composers and those with links to Polish musical culture, and ten works by foreign composers. The RISM database made it possible to identify further eight composers represented in the collection of the

673 Six works by this composer preserved in BDSand were recently published in: *K. J. Ruth, Arie, Motetti*, ed. M. Jochymczyk, Kraków 2012.

674 His works preserved in BDSand have been published: P. Sieprawski, *Justus germinavit, Plaudite sidera, Regina caeli*, ed. M. Jochymczyk, Kraków 2012.

675 Christlieb Siegmund Binder (1723–1789), composer associated with the Dresden court of Frederick Augustus III. Active as an organist and harpsichordist, author of chamber music and music for keyboard instruments. The Benedictine collection includes a manuscript from 1814 with his *Missa ex C*. See D. Hartwig, A. Rosenmiller, *Christlieb Siegmund Binder*, in: NG, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03096?q=Binder+Christlieb&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed: 22.08.2013).

676 Frantisek (Franz Xaver) Brix (1732–1771), member of a Czech family of musicians, organist and very prolific composer (ca. 500 known religious works, including masses and oratoria). He was active in Prague as an organist, then as chapel master at Saint Vitus cathedral. His works have features of Viennese and Neapolitan styles. See J. Smaczny, *Frantisek (Franz Xaver) Brix*, in: NG, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/tll4/e980?q=Brix+Frantisek&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed: 22.08.2013). Many transmissions of his works are to be found in Polish collections: in Sandomierz there is a version of his Mass in D (AII30), one of the four preserved in Poland (PL-Pa Muz GR I/45, PL-Pa Muz GR I/136, PL-Cz III/69). A licentiate thesis was written on the subject of this mass under the supervision of Dr Alina Mądry at the Institute of Musicology of Adam Mickiewicz University: O. Lisiecka, *Missa es D Frantiska Xaverego Brixiego. Analiza i edycja krytyczno-źródłowa (Missa es D by Frantisek Xaver Brix). Analysis and source-critical edition*, Poznań 2012.

677 Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739–1799), Austrian violinist and composer, representative of the classical Vienna school. See M. Grave, J. Lane, *Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf*, in: NG, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07861?q=Dittersdorf&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed: 22.08.2013). Transmissions of his works appear in many Polish music collections. Cf. licentiate thesis by Karolina Kaźmierczak supervised by Alina Mądry at the Chair of Musicology of the Adam Mickiewicz University: *Symfonia in A Karla Dittersa von Dittersdorfa. Analiza i edycja źródłowa (Symphony in A by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf. Analysis and source-critical edition)*, Poznań 2014, pp. 7–12.

Benedictines from Sandomierz. These are: Antonio Cesti, Anton Fils (Filz), Carl Heinrich Graun, F. Krzykowski, Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Vaclav Pilch, Carl Joseph Toeschi and Jan Wański; compositions from seventy-nine manuscripts remain unidentified.

Among the composers above, five are represented by more than one work. These are two musicians associated with the Lvov centre, Jan Piotr Habermann and Georg Luna, and three who might hypothetically be linked to nearby centres: Christian Józef Ruth, whose five works were preserved in Raków Opatowski and six in Sandomierz; Szymon Ferdynand Lechleitner, active perhaps in the residences of the Lubomirski family in Rzeszów and Łańcut; and Kazimierz Boczkowski, a musician from the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków and organist to the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki. After 1696 and until 1700, Boczkowski probably stayed in Sandomierz, where he had some kind of association with the Benedictine nuns. We do not know whether he was employed by them as an organist, since convent accounts for that period did not survive nor did any other kinds of sources that could confirm it. Perhaps, he was a member of the Jesuit ensemble in Sandomierz; certainly, he was not a musician at the Sandomierz collegiate church, since there is no trace of his presence in the documents from that centre⁶⁷⁸. His two works from 1700 preserved in Sandomierz⁶⁷⁹ are the composer's

678 Cf. M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 255, footnote 245.

679 A transcription and analysis of Boczkowski's concertos *Veni sancte spirytus et emitte* and *Christus resurgens ex mortuis* was carried out by Joanna Dąbek in her licentiate thesis *Koncerty kościelne K. Boczkowskiego na tle twórczości polskiej II połowy XVII wieku (Church concertos by K. Boczkowski against the background of Polish compositions of the second half of the seventeenth century)*, written under the supervision of Dr hab. Aleksandra Patalas at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University, Kraków 2012. When analysing and briefly describing the works, the author notes that "The work was originally arranged for C I, C II, B and 2 clno and bc. The parts mentioned were written by the composer himself, i.e., scribe A. The anonymous scribe B at an unknown period added a part which in the score is called «Clarino Tertio», but its melodic line indicates that it is intended for two timpani producing the notes d¹g. The scribe thus referred to the tradition which existed in the baroque period of performing works with the participation of trumpets in combination with timpani. At a later stage of this manuscript's use scribe C added another verbal text for the Feast of Ascension, *Christus ascendens*. The same copyist placed on the title page the information that the part of the trumpets should be performed on violins, which suggests that the musical ensemble at some stage was lacking wind instruments. The manuscript also contains another transmission of the part of the first trumpet written in the hand of scribe D". Today we may add that copyist B was Zofia Bratysiewiczówna. As for the *Clarino tertio* part, which according to Joanna Dąbek was intended for timpani, we

autographs, and their owner was the Benedictine Zofia Bratysiewiczówna. As for Lechleitner, Świerczek also put forward a hypothesis about him being active in Sandomierz itself but to date, apart from the twenty-four compositions preserved in BDSand, of which perhaps six are Lechleitner's autographs⁶⁸⁰, there is nothing that would confirm that suggestion. Versions of compositions by that musician appear in more than a dozen important centres throughout the country, which suggests that he was highly popular in the eighteenth century. Compositions by Ruth have been preserved only in Raków Opatowski⁶⁸¹ and Sandomierz, and the writing of four of them is clearly linked to these centres. The Raków manuscript from 1745 is titled *Concerto de Miraculoso Imagine BMV Rakovien(sis)*, while the three motets from Sandomierz are dedicated by the composer to the following nuns: Anna Stogniewówna, Krystyna Czeladzińska and Marianna Moszyńska.

A very important fact is the presence in the Sandomierz collection of vocal-instrumental works originating not from the Sandomierz convent, well known for its musical practice, but from the convents of Benedictine Sisters in Lvov and Jarosław, which we are only now discovering to have been centres of musical practice.

Only one eighteenth-century manuscript survives from the Benedictine convent in Jarosław⁶⁸², *Concerto Solo Canto et 2 violini pro defunctis Parendum est*. A sheet with a dedication is glued on the back of the title page: "For the Reverend in Christ Mistress Żaboklicka daughter of Voivod of Podole nun of the SOB rule ... of the Jarosław Ladies MWM from the heart to the Beloved Aunt and Benefactress". On the title page, the date 1709 is written in pencil, most probably by Świerczek, but we do not know on what grounds he based his dating.

must also take into account the possibility of it being performed on *tromba marina*. The author missed the inscription on the last page of the manuscript under the part of the organ: "Tubas to be tuned to Delasolre higher", indicating that the part of trumpets was played on that characteristic instrument. It was probably also played on the violin, in accordance with the instruction on the title page. We do not have any information indicating that Benedictine sisters had timpanis and played them.

680 D. Grabiec noted that the manuscripts of Lechleitner's works with the inscriptions m(anu) p(ro)p(rio) differ in the ductus of the letters and musical notes (D. Grabiec, 'Offertoria'..., p.19). In total, the legacy of this composer known today includes 39 extant works and more than 30 lost ones (ibid., s.24).

681 Ruth's manuscripts from Raków Opatowski: *Duo Seraphim ex G, Ad Mariam ex C, Haec est domus Domini ex C, Alma Redemptoris ex Fand Almae presul* are at present not accessible to researchers. During the 1960s they were borrowed by Jan Węcowski and have not as yet been returned. See K.J. Ruth, *Arie, Motetti...*, p. 6.

682 I write about the seventeenth-century collection L 1643 in Chapter 3.

Undoubtedly, this version was written before the year in which the addressee died, i.e., prior to 1734. It is probable that the manuscript was written elsewhere than in Jarosław, perhaps even in Sandomierz, and we cannot be certain that it actually reached Jarosław and the addressee. However, it is quite possible that it may have found its way to Sandomierz along with manuscript L 1643, after the dissolution of the Jarosław convent in 1782.

In the Dicoesan Library in Sandomierz, there are as many as three transmissions of works undoubtedly of Lvov provenance. We can also hypothetically link another three to the musical practice of the Benedictines in Lvov. These three are two motets by Jan Piotr Habermann, dedicated to the nuns from Lvov, and a passion by Leopold Pych⁶⁸³ “for Mistress Urszula Morski ... sent by her sisters from Lvov anno 1778”⁶⁸⁴. The BDSand collection contains two more works belonging to Karolina Morska from Lvov⁶⁸⁴, blood sister of Urszula Morska. These are two concerti for *Canto solo* accompanied by two violins and organ: *Dulcis amor Jesu* and *Lauda Sion*. The third work potentially of Lvov provenance is Jan Piotr Habermann’s motet about Saint Benedict *O felix et beata dies*, which, however, has no dedication nor a possessory note.

Three compositions by Habermann preserved in BDSand, together with the fourth from the collection of the Cistercians in Mogiła (ref. 1019), were edited by Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski⁶⁸⁵. The editor drew attention to the features of the *galant* style, clearly apparent in Habermann’s composition in his melodic and in not pursuing continuity in the *basso continuo* part. His *arie da capo* are characterised by formal discipline, something not often found among Polish composers of the first half of the eighteenth century⁶⁸⁶.

683 It is mentioned by A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *Klasycyzm 1750–1830 (Classicism 1750–1830)*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 236–237. It is described as a passion representing an earlier type of recomposed passion, in contrast to the passion by Kotowicz, also preserved in BDSand and also written in Lvov, which shows features of an early oratorio passion. Nowak-Romanowicz notes that the version of Passion by Pych is missing plancti, although probably originally there would have been at least one.

684 Karolina Morska, convent name *Urszula*, came to Sandomierz during the plague in 1770, and returned to Lvov in the spring of 1771. Borkowska supposes that after 1782 she found herself again in Sandomierz (M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. III, p. 277). She may have brought the manuscript with her and left it there, or it may have found its way to the Sandomierz collection together with Habermann’s works. The manuscript does not appear to have been a gift, since its title page is exceptionally carelessly written.

685 P. Habermann, *Utwory wokalnno-instrumentalne*.

686 *Ibid*, p. VIII.

Only about a third of the transmissions of works from the Benedictine Sisters' repertory have dates written on title pages; the others may be dated more or less precisely on the basis of dedications and possessory notes. The surviving repertory shows regular growth in terms of numbers during the consecutive decades from 1700 to 1742. These are the years when three musically active nuns were present: Katarzyna Muszyńska (d. 1717), Zofia Bratysiewiczówna (d. 1730) the most active scribe, and Anna Stogniewowna (d. 1770). It seems that during the 1740s and 1750s, a few more works were added, and then, again, a larger number from 1762; these are works dedicated or presented to Krystyna Czeladzińska (d. 1776), Teresa Nobiszowska (d. 1801), Marianna Mokronowska (d. 1802) and Urszula Morska (d. 1783). Quite a few manuscripts were written after 1800; they are dated 1815, 1816, and even 1830, but we do not exclude them from our discussion, since we regard the whole collection of vocal-instrumental compositions as an expression of the continuity of the baroque-classical tradition of music-making by Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno rule. It is all the more justified since these works are in a retrospective style, including organ *fundamento* in their scoring.

The name of the first nun in Sandomierz who held the post of *magistra cappellae*, Katarzyna Muszyńska, appears on only two manuscripts, one of them written in her hand. However, it was her successor, Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, who collected the greatest number of works, not only within the framework of the Benedictine Sisters' legacy, but within the whole Sandomierz collection. Her name or monogram appear on twenty-seven manuscripts and twenty-four are written by her. The owner of twelve manuscripts surviving to this day was Krystyna Czeladzińska, who probably received them all from other musicians (including a few inherited from Bratysiewiczówna) but did not write any herself. The name of Agnieszka Sosnowska appears on eleven manuscripts, and all of them apart from one were the work of her hand. Anna Stogniewowna, Marianna Mokronowska and Teresa Nubiszowska signed their names respectively on eight, six and five manuscripts; the first is the scribe of one of them, the second of none, the third of two. The other nuns whose names appear on partbook manuscripts in BDSand were probably not scribes, but just the owners: Urszula Morska of four manuscripts, her sister Karolina from the convent in Lvov of two, Ksaweria Niedźwiedzka – also of two, and the others, Marianna Moszyńska, Łucja Czeladzińska, Jadwiga Dygulska, Helena Żaboklicka from Jarosław and Katarzyna Kozłowska from Lvov – one each.

In the context of the whole music collection in Sandomierz, the impressive part was created by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna. Here belong both works by Boczkowski, preserved in Sandomierz, one composition by Górczycki (*In*

virtute tua), Szarzyński (*Veni Sancte Spiritus*), Lechleitner and Zandtfelder, and two by Roman Zajączkowski. Bratysiewiczówna was also the possessor of Siewiński's *Requiem* and two other works. Her scribal work ensured that the convent ensemble had an interesting repertory, both of arias and church concertos intended for a large ensemble, as well as cantional L 1642 for four voices in two parts.

As far as the liturgical purpose of the Benedictines' legacy of compositions is concerned, the greatest number of them have Marian texts (22) and eucharistic ones (12); eighteen are devoted to saints, four of them to Scholastica and three to Benedict, respectively eight and six are intended for Christmas and Easter, three for Pentecost, two for Holy Trinity and two for the deceased. A significant number, such as vespers psalms, have a universal application. An interesting group of compositions from the repertory of the Sandomierz Benedictines are works concerned with Christmas and the custom of carol-singing at the manger. On the title pages of these works, we find such descriptions as "kolenda", "prostrena", "pastorela", "pastorella" or "pro Nativitate". Four of them were published by Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski⁶⁸⁷; the anonymous *Ktoś o tej dobie* (258/A VII 18), *Gloria in excelsis. Kuba, Michał czyli śpicie* (359/A VII 119), *Huc, huc, pastorculi* (71/A II 11) and *Ey, ey, nostrates* by (Chrystian?) Ruciński (393/A VIII 33)⁶⁸⁸. Alongside these, the BDSand collection also includes two church concertos, which undoubtedly belong to the legacy of the Sandomierz Benedictines: Victorini's *Eia chori exultate* for S, A, T, B, two violins, viola, two clarino trumpets, two oboes and fundamento, and *A cóż to się dzieje*, an anonymous work entered in 1773, for a vocal quartet, two violins, "tuba pastoralis" and fundamento. In total, we have as many as fifteen vocal-instrumental pastorellas in the Sandomierz music collection⁶⁸⁹ and it is probable that all of them may have belonged to the Benedictines' Christmas repertory.

A separate group in this repertory consists of the so-called convent carols, or rhymed congratulations, usually directed to the abbess. Nine such carols are preserved in Sandomierz, eight of them dedicated to Marianna Siemianowska, who was in charge of the convent during the years 1762–1803. All of them have stanzaic form, sometimes with two melodic patterns of stanzas in one carol; they use the rhythms of polonaise and mazur⁶⁹⁰. They were intended for at least two vocal

687 *Pastorele staropolskie...*, pp. respectively 40–46, 151–175, 175–198, 198–200.

688 Only the *basso continuo* part survives.

689 They are discussed briefly by Wendelin Świerczek in his *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków...*, pp. 237–242.

690 See *ibid.*, pp. 243–246.

parts and some of them also for instruments, but none of the convent carols have been preserved in a complete form.

The stylistic distinctiveness of compositions associated with Christmas appears in Polish polyphonic music at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It manifests itself in the use of time signatures 6/8 and 12/8, characteristic of the *siciliana* and regarded as typically “pastoral” and “idyllic”⁶⁹¹ in their references to folk music⁶⁹². Among the Polish pastorellas we can distinguish the lyrical type (arias) and the dramatic type (vocal-instrumental concertos and cantatas). The latter in their verbal layer process the pattern of Christmas liturgical dramas established in the tradition⁶⁹³: the announcement by the angel, the waking of the shepherds and the mutual calling to make way to Bethlehem, the road to the manger, greeting the child and offering gifts to him. In the dialogues of the shepherds, we often find an element of rough grotesque⁶⁹⁴, as in the text of the pastorella *Gloria in Excelcis Deo. Kuba, Michał, czyli śpicie*, copied by Zofia Bratisiewiczówna in 1726⁶⁹⁵ (see Fig. 26):

Kuba, Michał, are you
Sleeping, don't you hear the uproar

691 *Pastorele staropolskie...*, pp. V–VI.

692 In the pastorella *Ktoś o tej dobie* Szweykowski noted an original *oberek* dance. On the other hand, in Ruciński's work we find the *siciliana* in 6/8 time and stylised, long-held notes in the bass (*ibid.*, p. XVII).

693 Cf. J. Lewański, *Dramaty staropolskie*, vol. II, Warszawa 1959, p. 371 and the following, p. 397 and the following, and vol. IV, Warszawa 1961, p. 269 and the following.

694 *Ibid.*, p. IX

695 Szweykowski describes the dramatic development of this work as follows: “The coloratura angelic Gloria (Canto) begins the work with a multiple repetition of the motif, followed by the recitative of a shepherd (Basso) and the parlando response of the group of shepherds (ATB): the woken shepherds hear the angel's (Canto) instruction, in the form of a modest lullaby melody; there follows again the parlando of the ensemble “Let us go quickly”, supported illustratively by passages of the violins and the viola. Before reaching the manger there is a solo arioso by the Bass who is organising the homage: “Stan, you give a measure of sausage, you Bartek, tune the bass, and you, Kuba, will play and sing to God on your horn”. The realism of the pastorella does not go so far as to actually introduce the horn in the music, it is replaced by clarini. Further on there is the repetition of the marching part “Let us go quickly, let us not delay”, followed by the ending with the phrase “Let us welcome, welcome, welcome”, logically closing the whole. There is no unison singing in the manger, which was probably added *ad lib* in performance from the carol repertory. We can thus describe this composition as having clear dramatic intentions, and making conscious, if somewhat clumsy, use of undoubtedly purposeful means.” (*ibid.*, s. XIV).

Fig. 26: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Kuba, Michał czyli śpicie, carol 2S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, bass vl, *fundamento*; copied by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna in 1726, ms. 359/AVII 119, parts Canto 2do and Basso

Loud?

We're not sleeping; and though we hear

We're not shouting at you from the throat.

The style of many works preserved in the collection of Benedictines from Sandomierz belongs to the idiom of religious music of the Neapolitan school, as well as assumes features of the Viennese style in works from the second half of the century. This is the virtuoso, ornamental style, primarily in the vocal parts, but also sometimes in the parts of the *obligato* instruments. Composers from the first part of the eighteenth century construct their works on the basis of the idea of concerting. These works are often situated between a church concerto and a small cantata, made up of sections or movements differentiated in terms of scoring and character⁶⁹⁶. Later compositions also show instrumental parts led *colla parte* alongside the use of elements of the score on the principle of concerting⁶⁹⁷. With the passing decades, during the eighteenth century, the

696 Examples of ensemble religious cantatas are provided by newly published works of Paweł Sieprawski: *Plaudite sidera* and *Justus germinavit* (P. Sieprawski, *Justus germinavit* ...).

697 Doubling the vocal parts.

harmonics undergo some simplification, and the melody comes to the fore as the main element of constructing a composition. This simplification of harmonics in compositions from the second half of the century is apparent in the *basso continuo* parts, which are sometimes deprived of figuring. In some compositions, such as those by Jan Piotr Habermann⁶⁹⁸ and Krystian Józef Ruth⁶⁹⁹, there is the influence of the *galant* style, apparent in the considerable rhythmic diversification of melodic courses, the use of syncopes, triplets and Lombardian rhythms as well as the so-called *Trommelbas*⁷⁰⁰.

A stylistic feature which links the repertory from Sandomierz to religious music in other European centres is the influence of opera, observable in all eighteenth-century church music, but in particular after 1740⁷⁰¹. In the Benedictine legacy, among numerous arias modelled on the style of the Neapolitan school, we also find contrafactures of operatic arias by Graun and Hasse⁷⁰². Generally, it seems that references to the Neapolitan style in the repertory in question much more often relate to the opera than to the church *stilus mixtus* which was produced by the Neapolitan school. A somewhat timid attempt at making use of the possibilities of this mixed style is *Missa in D* by Frantisek Brixí⁷⁰³, which one of the nuns received from her brother “from Vienna”, as is indicated on the title page. Papal admonishments, renewed in encyclicals, regarding the secular character

698 J. P. Habermann, *Utworthy wokאלno-instrumentalne...*, pp. VII–VIII.

699 K. J. Ruth, *Arie, Motetti*, p. 10.

700 Using a repeated note or broken octaves in the bass part in a particular section.

701 The problem of the “opera in the church” in Polish music of the late Baroque was already noted by Z.M. Szwejkowski, *Z zagadnień melodyki w polskiej muzyce wokאלno-instrumentalnej późnego baroku* (*On the question of melodic features in Polish vocal-instrumental music of late Baroque*), *Muzyka* 1961, No 2, p.55). Within more recent research one can mention as an example the studies concerning Silesian centres, see T. Jeź, *The reception of Neapolitan music in the monastic centres of baroque Silesia, Pergolesi Studies* 8/2012, pp.268, 341. The author noted some 200 manuscripts with repertory linked to the Neapolitan school. See also E. Hauptmann-Fischer, *Rerum patris Pii Hancke. O muzykaliach nyskiego dominikanina* (*Rerum patris Pii Hancke. On the musical collection of the Dominican from Nysa*), *Hereditas Monasteriorum* Vol. 2/2013, pp. 89–93; and A. Mądry, *Barok ...*, pp. 575–576.

702 Contrafactures of Hasse’s arias numbering 48 are also found in the music collection left by the Cistercians in Mogiła. See on this subject A. Mądry, *Barok...*, p. 659.

703 On the subject of this mass, which within the Polish territory survived in as many as four copies, there is a licentiate thesis written under the supervision of Alina Mądry, which includes its source-critical edition (O. Lisiecka, *Missa ex D Frantiska Xaverego Brixiego...*).

of church music, seem to have been ignored during that period⁷⁰⁴. Among the partbooks in the legacy of the Benedictine Sisters, only three could be regarded as belonging to *stile antico* and to testify to following the papal instructions: the anonymous *Ave verum corpus* only for vocal parts 2 SATB (441/A VIII 81), the incomplete anonymous *Salve Regina* from the first half of the eighteenth century (470/A VIII 110), in which the only extant parts 2S and B have the texture *nota contra notam*, and *Missa Rorate caeli* by Roman Zajączkowski, from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Generally speaking, in terms of genres, forms and styles represented in it, the repertory of the Benedictine Sisters does not differ from other collections in other centres in the Commonwealth of Poland⁷⁰⁵. However, it is to be hoped that, in the future, it will become a subject of detailed comparative research, the results of which will fully reveal its significance and character in the context of the legacies of other Polish and European centres. Compositions preserved in the Benedictine legacy are often unique, and composers such as Kazimierz Michał Boczkowski, Roman Zajączkowski, Andrzej Wołoszko, Krassowski, Andrzej Siewiński or Bazyli Bohdanowicz are represented only in their collection. The reception of foreign repertory includes works by Italian, Czech and German composers, which seems to be characteristic of music ensembles in Central Europe. Moreover, the contents of the musical collection left by the Benedictines in terms of chronology includes the whole of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth; it starts in 1697, to which the oldest item is dated, and continues until 1830⁷⁰⁶.

704 J. Dyer, *Roman Catholic Church Music*, in: NG, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/46758?q=Catholic+Church+music&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (accessed: 17.04.2014).

705 Cf. a discussion of the extant religious works by Polish composers and those working in Polish centres in the book by Alina Mądry, *Barok...*, pp. 439–640.

706 The collection lacks manuscripts dated to the 1750s, 1780s and 1790s, as well as the first decade of the nineteenth century, but we cannot exclude the possibility that some of the undated works come from those years

6 The musical life in the convents of Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno reform, Benedictine nuns from Staniątki and Poor Clares from Stary Sącz. A comparative perspective

6.1 The musical culture of Benedictine nuns from Staniątki in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The convent in Staniątki did not belong to the “Chełmno congregation”, did not accept the reform and the rule prepared by Abbess Mortęska, and its contacts with other Benedictine nunneries within the Polish and Lithuanian Commonwealth were quite limited⁷⁰⁷. For this reason, the musical culture of that centre has distinctive features which make it different from the culture of other Benedictine establishments. The convent in Staniątki was established in c.1228 or not much later by Klemens of Ruszcz Gryfita whose daughter Wizenna was its first abbess⁷⁰⁸. Prior to 1593⁷⁰⁹, the nunnery was supervised by the abbots of Tyniec, and later it was transferred to the bishop’s obediency. This is the only Benedictine nunnery in Poland which has existed continuously since the Middle Ages until the present day. During the modern era, the congregation usually numbered around fifty-five nuns. It did not conduct foundational activities. In 1648, the Staniątki Benedictines did establish a branch in Kraków, but it was only active for eleven years⁷¹⁰.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Staniątki was one of three Benedictine nunneries present in the territory of Poland, and the only one which was not depopulated after the Reformation period. The convent, near Kraków, under the supervision of Bishops Jerzy Radziwiłł, Bernard Maciejowski and Piotr Gembicki, joined the post-Tridentine reform movement independently of those which were under the influence of the abbess of Chełmno. It did not

707 B. Krasnowolski, *Historia klasztoru Benedyktyniek w Staniątkach (The History of the Benedictine Sisters Convent in Staniątki)*, Kraków 1999, p. 92.

708 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

709 Małgorzata Borkowska (*Zakony żeńskie...*, p. 301) gives the dates 1238 (date of the consecration of the church) and 1592.

710 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

receive its own rule until 1646, which was translated into Polish in the spirit of the times⁷¹¹. That document contained a chapter devoted to cultivating musical settings of the liturgy titled *O pilności w śpiewaniu* (On diligence in singing) (*Capitulum* XIX, f. 50–51).

The distinctiveness of the musical practice of Staniątki relative to the convents of the Chełmno congregation is already apparent in the singing of plainchant⁷¹². The Benedictine nuns from Staniątki retained the monastic breviary until as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, while the other houses adopted the Roman one immediately⁷¹³. Moreover, plainchant was sung here in equal rhythmic values (“words are not to be prolonged”⁷¹⁴, f. 50), while in the reformed rule of Chełmno we find the instruction “let words be pronounced well with prolongations”. The other instructions are shared by all the editions of the Rule; in the Rule from Staniątki we read: “so that the singing should be in a lofty voice, resounding and level ... let every line begin and end equally, with a good point or pause in the middle of each line. Let not the voices weaken, let them all sing with the veil to one side, they are not to engage in reading or talking, one and the other”⁷¹⁵. In the *Convent chronicle* from Staniątki, written towards the end of the nineteenth century, we find a passage relating to the general “decline” of plainchant singing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which also affected Staniątki. This consisted in performing plainchant not in accordance with the way it was written in the old books, but from memory, with various

711 *Reguła Ojca Świętego Benedykta ... W drukarni Franciszka Cezarego, w Krakowie 1646* (Rule of the Holy Father Benedict ... in the printing works of Franciszek Cezary in Kraków 1646). See S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna...*, p. 68.

712 The year 2016 saw the publication of *Monografia zespołu muzycznego oraz katalog muzykaliów klasztoru ss. Benedyktynek w Staniątkach* (*Monograph on the musical ensemble and catalogue of the musical collection of the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki*) edited by Marcin Konik (Kraków, 2016). This book contains the latest findings regarding the musical life, liturgical music and the repertory of the secular vocal-instrumental ensemble, as well as an analysis of 68 compositions from Cantional E, carried out using the computerised “Humdrum” toolkit. Moreover, part of this work consists of catalogues of musical items including the liturgy, cantionals and the legacy of the ensemble.

713 The contents of the preserved plainchant manuscripts are discussed by Roman Nir in his article *Rękopisy liturgiczne biblioteki PP Benedyktynek w Staniątkach* (*Liturgical manuscripts from the library of the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki*), *Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne* IV/1976) and *Monografia zespołu...*, pp. 18–49.

714 Quoted after: S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna...*, p. 70.

715 *Ibid.*, p.70.

changes and ornaments suited to the taste of the times. Pseudo-Gregorian chants were also notated in the books, and liturgical chants were generally accompanied on the organ. The situation improved with the arrival of Sister Wilibalda Kmietowicz, who entered the Staniątki nunnery in 1873 and, with the support of a Trappist from France who arrived later, replaced that “twirly singing” with true Gregorian chant⁷¹⁶.

The Staniątki Rule, as well as those of Chełmno and Toruń, imposed limitations on polyphonic (“figural”) singing and the playing of instruments. Polyphonic singing was allowed only on the Lord’s and Marian feast days, while a nun was allowed to play the organ only when “there would be such poverty that there was no money to pay an organist”⁷¹⁷. Moreover, the Rule contains a ban on learning “figural” singing and the playing of instruments from men. On the other hand, the Toruń and Chełmno Rules clearly formulate a ban on playing “any kind of” instrument. However, the musical practice of Benedictine nunneries followed a divergent path. In spite of the instructions of the reformed rule, strict in this respect, nuns in the convents belonging to the Chełmno congregations were playing the organ as early as in the seventeenth century, and by the eighteenth century were also playing various other instruments. However, it seems that for a long time the nuns at Staniątki did in fact play no other instruments apart from the organ, and for this reason, they established their own ensemble made of musicians who were employed on a permanent basis around the middle of the eighteenth century. This was probably the only secular ensemble permanently employed at a Benedictine nunnery in the whole of the Commonwealth, since

716 *Kronika klasztoru staniąteckiego za czasu przelożenia najprzew. D. P. Ksieni Genowefy Łazowskiej 1882–1906 (Chronicle of the Staniątki convent during the time of the most reverend Abbess Genowefa A. Łazowska)*, vol. III, pp. 127–128. The fragment quoted by Maciejewski (*Papiery muzyczne po kapeli panien benedyktynek w Staniątkach (Musical papers of the ensemble of Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki)*) Warszawa 1984, pp. 13–14) is so interesting that I will also quote it: “And in Staniątki also, at our convent, plainchant singing was for a long time mechanical, one needed a good memory to understand it. Singing was not with full rhythm according to the notes, but during the chant there would often be added twirlings, lowerings, raisings, not seen in the notated music. Hence there were constant changes of bending the main notes and becoming used to such a motif became a customary practice”.

717 S. Dąbek, *Problematyka muzyczna...*, p. 71. However, the records of the Radziwiłł visitation in 1597 show that there were two instruments at the church, one in the nuns’ gallery and another in the gallery which presumably functioned as the musical choir. See B. Krasnowolski, *Historia klasztoru...*, p. 78. There probably existed the practice of nuns playing the accompaniment on the organ.

even at the richest foundations of the Benedictines of the Chełmno congregation, such as Sandomierz and Lvov, it was the nuns themselves who formed a vocal-instrumental ensemble, and secular ensembles were engaged only for important feast days and ceremonies.

The chronicle written towards the end of the nineteenth century on the basis of the documents available at that time tells us that the Benedictine Sisters at Staniątki employed an organist and a cantor “since the old times”⁷¹⁸. The latter taught singing to the pupils at the convent school and probationers. The chronicle mentions a number of organists and cantors by name, those “who are still within our memory”; these are persons active at Staniątki during the nineteenth century⁷¹⁹. However, we do know the name of one of the organists employed at the convent at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the person in question is Kazimierz Boczkowski, who held the post of organist during the years 1700–1709⁷²⁰. Kazimierz Michał Boczkowski was an experienced musician, composer and copyist; he notated two of the twelve extant cantionals from Staniątki (St E and St F), including in them seven of his own compositions⁷²¹. Among these

718 T. Maciejewski, *Papiery muzyczne...*, p. 17.

719 *Kronika klasztoru staniąteckiego* (The chronicle of the convent at Staniątki), quoted afterwards as KBSt, vol. III, p. 162, quoted after: T. Maciejewski, *Papiery muzyczne...*, pp. 16–17.

720 To recapitulate, Kazimierz Michał Boczkowski, probably educated at the Jesuit school in Bydgoszcz, is recorded in 1673 as a musician at the collegium there; then, during the years 1692–1693 and in 1696, he is working at the Jesuit ensemble in Kraków. In 1700, he is in Sandomierz, where he leaves two of his compositions, which are some of the earliest vocal-instrumental works preserved in the collection of the present Diocesan Library in Sandomierz: *Concerto Christus resurgens* and *Prosa Veni Sancte Spiritus et emitte*. The cryptonyms with which he signed the two autographs suggest that Boczkowski was more likely to have been employed at the Sandomierz collegiate church, and not the Benedictine convent (the solution to the cryptonyms was proposed by Wendelin Świerczek: A Casimiri M.B.O.Sa.d as Authore Casimiri Michaeli Boczkowski Organarius Sandomirie, and the second: Authore Casimiri M.B.O.C.S.M.S. as AuthoreCasimiriMichaeli Boczkowski Organarius Collegiatae Sanctae Mariae Sandomiriae, see W. Świerczek, *Katalog rękopiśmiennych zabytków...*, p. 225). However, his name does not appear in the documents of the collegiate ensemble preserved and investigated by Maria Konopka (M. Konopka, *Kultura muzyczna...*). During the years 1713–1714 Boczkowski was again active in Kraków as a musician at the Jesuit ensemble (S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, p. 56).

721 Or nine, if we regard as his the compositions signed by him but without the description “Authore”. These are the songs: *Ave sponsa Creatoris*, *Dziękując święta Opatrzności*, *Dziś dzień wesoly*, *Lubo mnie zewsząd*, *Och drogie perły*, *Radości wielkie Bóg dziś odprawuje*,

two Marian *cantiones* deserve particular attention: *Lubo mnie zewsząd* and *Ave sponsa Creatoris*. They represent the type of baroque solo song with *basso continuo*. They provide evidence of the high quality of the composer's craft, since he uses in them the *arioso* shaping of the melodic features with virtuoso elements, the agogic contrasting of the form and elements of concerting texture, and also includes indications of tempo and dynamics in his notation⁷²².

The musical practice of the nuns in Staniątki during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, alongside the already discussed plainchant, included a rich repertory of hymns which have survived to our day in twelve cantionals (St A-N⁷²³). They have been known in the literature of the subject for a long time; their catalogue appeared in 1980⁷²⁴, but it was not until 1997 that a monographic study of them was published by Stanisław Dąbek⁷²⁵. The oldest hymnbook comes from 1586, the most recent one from the second half of the eighteenth century. The repertory recorded in it, almost exclusively anonymous, comes from the period between the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, with the most recent layer of polyphonic singing being represented by, among others, the hymns by Boczkowski described earlier, while the oldest hymn, identified by Dąbek, is *Alleluja chwalcie Pana Boga Wszchemogącego*, with music by Wacław of Szamotuły and the text of psalm 116 by Mikołaj Rej⁷²⁶. Among the cantionals we may distinguish a group originating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: St ABCDN⁷²⁷, and one from the eighteenth century: St EFGHILM. Dąbek distinguishes within the cantional repertory a layer of the gradual, which he divides into *Cantus Missae* and *Cantus Officii*, and a layer of hymns (*Cantiones et Hymni*)⁷²⁸. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cantionals are characterised by a larger gradual layer relative to the eighteenth-century ones, where the song repertory is definitely dominant. In total, in the twelve cantionals from Staniątki, we find 221 polyphonic hymns,

Sław języku tajemnicę, Cesarzewno królowno niebieska, Date plausus date (S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, pp. 56–57).

722 S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar ...*, pp. 257–259.

723 However, we do not take into account cantional K, which contains only texts of hymns without the melodies.

724 W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonałów...*, pp. 127–191.

725 The already quoted Dąbek's *Wielogłosowy repertuar...* Also, there a discussion of the history of research on the cantionals from Staniątki (pp. 18–20).

726 *Ibid.*, p. 54–55

727 Cantional N, from the seventeenth century, was discovered later than the others.

728 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

with the greatest number of them being linked to the Christmas period; there is also a significant number of works for Advent and those relating to the worship of Mary, Jesus and the Most Holy Sacrament. The total of polyphonic liturgical chants is 126, most of them introits and alleluia verses. Moreover, the cantionals contain numerous monophonic versions, both of the liturgical and hymnal repertory. Following Świerczek's calculations, the cantionals contain a total of 583 chants with music notation included⁷²⁹.

Individual cantionals contain partially the same repertory, and partially introduce their own. None of them is the work of one scribe; other scribes add consecutive works to the "original" layer⁷³⁰. Cantionals ABCD and N could in fact be regarded as partbooks. St ABC are soprano and alto partbooks, with the parts mixed up because of being given the wrong cover. At times St ABC cantionals contain the same part of a given composition. Cantionals D and N are bass partbooks for the compositions included in AB and C, but also introduce their own repertory. Świerczek is of the opinion that these cantionals must be what remains of a larger collection, which had been partially destroyed⁷³¹. Hymnbooks EF contain the scores of songs for two voices with *basso continuo*, notated mainly by Boczkowski. That scribe copied thirty-three Polish songs from the earlier repertory in St ABCD, omitted the remaining forty-nine, and introduced new, presumably more up-to-date repertory, including his own compositions. St F is in part a copy of St E. Songbooks GHLM which follow chronologically are copies of Boczkowski's cantionals⁷³².

The author of the monograph on the cantionals from Staniątki throws a very interesting light on the problem of the motivation for writing the cantionals, which indirectly tells us much about the functioning of music in the convent. Eight out of the twelve cantionals (StABCEFGIL) carry inscriptions which indicate that they were the property of particular nuns. Owing to these possessory notes we learn about seven Benedictine sisters for whom the cantionals were intended: Zofia Urszula Stradomska (1586?-1626)⁷³³, Zofia Teodora Tarnowska (1614-1685), Elżbieta Caritas Latosińska (Latoszyńska) (1600-1655), Joanna Mechtyla Rosnowska (Rosznowska) (1699-1738), Justyna Gertruda Scholastyka

729 W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonałów...*, pp. 155-156.

730 See the table listing the copyists in: S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, pp. 38-39.

731 W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonałów...*, p. 131. On this subject, cf. also S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar*, p. 84.

732 *Ibid.*, p. 132.

733 Years of life at the convent, from monastic profession until death, quoted after: M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnice...*, vol. II, pp. 402-422.

Srebrnicka (1698–1744), Barbara Jaworecka (Jaworeczka) (1723–1773), Anna Rozalia Benedykta Scholastyka Kiernicka (1752–1807)⁷³⁴, and another three who were their later owners: Regina Wolska (1667–1729), Agnieszka Zuzanna Salomea Niewiarowska (1667–1724) and Marianna Gertruda Pietruszyńska (Pietruszeńska) (1809–1859). A number of the original owners of the cantionals mentioned here were at the same time their scribes. Dąbek observed that the owner of the cantional would receive it, or copy it herself, shortly after profession⁷³⁵. On the basis of the co-incidence between the ownership of the cantional and holding the post of cantoress, observed in five cases, we might conclude that the songbook was received or prepared by a nun with musical abilities, an actual or future cantoress who would then teach other nuns with that songbook⁷³⁶. This may lead one to suppose that there were not many nuns at Staniątki with sufficient competence in music to allow them to use music notation, and for this reason the cantoress had to make them learn whole parts by heart⁷³⁷. The correctness of this conclusion may be confirmed by the form of notation in the eighteenth-century cantionals. These were scores, pseudo-scores, notation of the consecutive parts of the same composition one after the other in the same book or notation of individual parts on two consecutive staves, and even the “Chorbuch” kind of notation, with two parts on each side of the facing pages.

However, such a vision of the musical practice of Benedictine nuns in Staniątki is contradicted by the information about the deceased nuns, sent to the abbesses of the convent in Sandomierz from the 1780s until almost the end of the nineteenth century⁷³⁸. These obituaries provide a great deal of information about the musically talented nuns; primarily singers but also instrumentalists. Letters from 1781–1801 addressed to Abbess Siemianowska⁷³⁹ contain a total

734 One should also mention here the scribe and owner of cantional K, which contains only texts. This was Marcjanna Gąsiorowska, daughter of the organist Józef; she was also the scribe of the 2nd and 3rd parts of the gradual from 1763. In the *Register of sisters* (ABSt ref. no. 43) she is said to have “sung in the choir” (W. Świerczek, *Katalog kancjonałów...*, p. 151, fn. 46).

735 S. Dąbek, *Wielogłosowy repertuar...*, p. 36.

736 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

737 The convent chronicle tells us that “since the old times” probationers would learn to sing “with the cantor”. However, we do not know whether these lessons included only plainchant, or also the cantional repertory. (See *Monografia zespołu muzycznego...*, p. 87).

738 A. Szylar, *Pióro żadne...*, in press.

739 BDSand S 2164 file 45, quoted after: *ibid.*

of twenty-three obituaries; among them as many as nine mention the musical talents of the deceased sisters. Thus, Józefa Łojowska, who died in 1781, having lived fourteen years at the convent “was ardent in the Glory of God, having also in addition the talent of a beautiful voice”. Writing about Martyna Radwańska, Abbess Scholastyka Łojowska (abbess in 1772–1787) said: “The Holy Convent had great support in her with a beautiful voice, and she could also play some instruments”. Katarzyna Pachowska (date of death unknown, sixty years at the convent) “played the violin and the organ, sang *fractus* and chant, obedient, humble, for eight years she was portress, for sixteen cantoress, she copied music”. Franciszka Szachowiczówna, who died in 1791, having lived at the convent for fifty-four years, “was also favoured not only by the beauty of the flesh, but by the virtue of talents, a beautiful voice, and ability to play the violin, the organ and the flute”. Józefa Hubieńska died in 1795 after forty-seven years of living in the convent community; “as for her figure and height she was slight and poorly, and so unable to hold functions and posts, but alongside many natural attributes she had a very beautiful voice, which she used as an ornament of the choir, singing excellently”.

We have no information about any attempts to create a vocal-instrumental “ensemble” of nuns, as was the case in Sandomierz, Lvov and probably Nieśwież, even though the information we do have indicates that, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the sisters played the organ, the violin and the flute, as well as sang, including *fractus*; which means that a small ensemble could have been formed. During the first half of the century, as in the other Benedictine nunneries, for more important occasions, Staniątki engaged an ensemble from Kraków or from Niegowić⁷⁴⁰. However, it is known that during the governance of Abbess Małachowska (governance in 1729–1753), four musicians were permanently employed with an annual salary, who formed a secular conventual ensemble⁷⁴¹. Regular expenditure on the ensemble, the repair of instruments and the purchase of music appears in the registers kept during the time of Abbess

740 *Kronika klasztoru staniąteckiego* (Chronicle of the convent in Staniątki; quoted afterwards as KBSt), vol. I, p.130, quoted after: T. Maciejewski, *Papiery muzyczne...*, p. 18.

741 *Ibid.*, p. 18. *Inwentarz Kościoła i Klasztoru Staniąteckiego* (Inventory of the Church and Convent in Staniątki) from 1766 contains also an inventory of instruments in the choir gallery. There were “copper kettle drums with leather straps; two French horns, four trumpets, one viola”. The next inventory, by then conducted by the partitioning power in 1858, includes also “1 bassoon, 4 clarinets, 2 flutes, 2 piccolos, 1 trombone and 1 violin – all in poor condition” (*Inventar des Vermögens der Benediktiner Nonnen Conventus zu Staniątki...*, quoted after: *ibid.*, p. 19).

Helena Scholastyka Ogrodzka (governance in 1790–1799) and Abbess Apolonia Śmidowiczówna (governance in 1799–1806). During less ceremonial services the musical setting was provided by two or four musicians, sometimes eight, alongside the organist and cantor. On the basis of the extant repertory, we may conclude that during the most important ceremonies the choir gallery might hold more than a dozen persons⁷⁴².

We do not know whether the nuns participated in the performances of the secular ensemble, for example performing the vocal parts of soprano and alto. Such collaboration between the conventual choir and the musical choir would probably have been possible; a similar practice of performing vocal-instrumental works by nuns with the participation of secular musicians is familiar from Sandomierz⁷⁴³. At Staniątki the parts for high voices may have also been performed by boys who were taught by the members of the ensemble, and a secular female singer mentioned without surname, who was taught by the cantor. We learn about such a traditional, “guild” teaching practice from the *Rejestr wydatków* (Register of expenditures) written during the governance of Abbess Śmidowiczówna, i.e., towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries⁷⁴⁴.

The state of our knowledge about the musical life of the convent in Staniątki confirmed by sources is, thus, as follows: the last cantional that documents the non-professional and retrospective tradition of music-making was written in 1754–1758⁷⁴⁵; around the middle of the century the abbess of Staniątki established a secular ensemble; in the second half of the eighteenth century there also were nine nuns who lived at the convent and were skilled in singing and playing instruments. The conclusion seems obvious: in the middle of the eighteenth century, the nuns at Staniątki wanted to change and “modernise” their musical practice, and the inspiration for this was undoubtedly provided by the

742 Ibid., pp. 20–21.

743 Cf. chapter 4, pp. 146–147.

744 *Rejestr wydatków pieniężnych na potrzeby Klasztoru Staniąteckiego za przełożęstwa Najprzewielebniejszej w Bogu Imci Panny Apolonii Zuzanny Śmidowiczówny Xieni staniątecki obrany roku 1799 dnia 31 sierpnia, a konsekrowany 1 września* (Register of monetary expenditure on the needs of the Staniątki Convent during the governance of the Most Reverend Mistress Apolonia Zuzanna Śmidowiczówna Abbess of Staniątki elected on 31 August 1799 and consecrated on 1 September). Quoted after: T. Maciejewski, *Papiery muzyczne ...*, p. 21.

745 This is cantional St I, copied by Anna Kiernicka, currently held, as a unique copy, not at Staniątki but at the Archdiocesan Archive in Poznań (Ms. 1051).

permanent professional ensemble performing a current repertory. What we do not know is what their musical practice was like. Did they perform a few compositions preserved as a legacy of the secular ensemble at Staniątki or own music which has not survived? Did they perform together with the secular ensemble or themselves, when the ensemble was not playing? Did the musicians from the ensemble or the organist also teach the nuns or they entered the convent already possessing musical skills, as they did in Sandomierz?

Research conducted by the team directed by Marcin Konik did not uncover much in the way of new information. In light of what the sources tell us, it seems that the musical practice of the sisters from Staniątki was limited to the repertory recorded in the cantionals. Moreover, the notation of two songs from cantional E clearly suggests the participation of a violin (*Huc omnes qui pugnatis*) and unidentified instruments (*Ave sponsa creatoris* – a note saying “Symphonia Si placet Simili modo”)⁷⁴⁶. No instrumental part is notated in either case, which presumably means that the nuns improvised these short interludes. Konik draws attention to the fact that the sisters’ musical activity did not cease after the secular ensemble was established, although it may have become somewhat limited. Moreover, Konik points to the fact that the later cantionals show a tendency towards “modernising” the repertory by reducing the scoring to two parts and *basso continuo*⁷⁴⁷.

The archives at Staniątki contain an extensive and very valuable collection of sheet music left by the convent ensemble. It includes some 200 compositions from the second half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. The earliest date we find on the manuscripts from Staniątki is 1764, the latest 1870⁷⁴⁸. According to Maciejewski, the peak of the ensemble’s development was 1790–1850, i.e., towards the very end of the period which is the subject of this volume. Among the composers whose works were included in the ensemble’s repertory, the following deserve a mention: Carl Philip Emanuel Bach (*Trio ex B*), Frantisek Xaver Brixi (eight works, including seven masses), Wojciech Dankowski (ten works, including three unique copies: *Vespere de Confessoribus*, *Litania do Maryi Panny* and *Missa in D*), Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (five works), Jakub Gołabek, Joseph Haydn (*Missa solemnis in g*, Hob. XXII:6, *Sinfonia* from the opera *L’Isola disabitata*, Hob. XXVIII:9). Ferdinand Lechleitner (*Dialogus de Passione* and offertorium *Deus firmavit*), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (*Missa*

746 *Monografia zespołu muzycznego ...*, p. 53.

747 *Ibid.*, 61.

748 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4 *vocibus*, 2 *violinis*, 2 *cornibus et organa* – only the cover survives), Giovanni Paisiello (two soprano arias *Cartamen magna* and *Desidero te*), Karel Stamicek (six symphonies), Jan Krutitel Vanhal (offertorium *Astra coeli intonate*). Composers whose works are particularly numerous in the collection include the little-known Aleksander Rodowski (nine compositions) and Johann Baptist Schiedermayr (ten compositions: masses and litanies). The legacy of local composers in the collection is represented with three works by Kazimierz Nowakiewicz and two autographs by Józef Wygrzywański (Mass and *Rorate*). As for the origin of the Staniątka repertory, Maciejewski pointed to its links to the repertory of the Archive of the Cathedral Chapter at Wawel, and referred to possible contacts with Tarnów, Wieliczka, Bochnia and Vienna⁷⁴⁹.

6.2 The musical culture of Clarist nuns from Stary Sącz during the eighteenth century

The convent of Saint Clare Sisters in Stary Sącz is the oldest Clarist nunnery within the territory of Poland which is still in existence today. It was established ca 1280 by Saint Kinga and dissolved by the Austrian authorities in 1782, but the dissolution was revoked in 1811. In the eighteenth century, the congregation numbered sixty members⁷⁵⁰. During the Middle Ages, when the candidates entering the Clarist order at Stary Sącz came from ducal and magnate families, the convent cultivated a musical culture, as is evidenced by the medieval plainchant manuscripts, fourteen of which are extant today⁷⁵¹. Some of the sources of polyphony prior to 1500 – which are of the greatest importance for the history of Polish musical culture – also come from that centre⁷⁵².

749 Ibid., p. 24.

750 M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie...*, p. 345.

751 See B. Bohdanowicz, *Średniowieczne księgi liturgiczno-muzyczne polskich klarysek (Medieval liturgical-musical books of the Polish Clarist Sisters)* (doctoral thesis). Instytut Muzykologii UW, Warszawa 2003.

752 On this subject see: M. Perz, *Organum, conductus i średniowieczny motet w Polsce. Źródła i problemy (Organum, conductus and the medieval motet in Poland. Sources and problems)*, *Muzyka XVIII*, 1973, Nos. 4, pp. 3–11; M. Perz, *The Oldest Source of Polyphonic Music in Poland – Fragments from Stary Sącz*, *Polish Musicological Studies I*, 1977, pp. 9–57; R.M. Curry, *Fragments of Arsantiqua Music at Stary Sącz and the Evolution of the Clarist Order in Central Europe in the Thirteenth Century* (doctoral thesis), Monash University 2003; R. M. Curry, *Lost and Found in Stary Sącz: "Ave gloriosa"*, in: *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Mirosłao Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. T. Jeż. Kraków 2003, pp. 31–42. These manuscripts were published as

Information about the musical culture of the Clarist Sisters at Stary Sącz during the eighteenth century was collected and published in a monograph by Rev. Henryk Cempura, who was the Sisters' chaplain in 1972–1983⁷⁵³. When describing the eighteenth-century musical sources, which no musicologist investigated prior to Cempura⁷⁵⁴, the author concentrates on manuscripts containing mainly mono- and polyphonic masses and hymns that demonstrate the use of *alternatim* practice and contrafacture. However, he does mention that “the library holds other collections of sheet music preserved as single copies, and single folios of incomplete compositions”⁷⁵⁵. He then mentions a collection of compositions for the positive, presented to Teresa Fabiańska, and a manuscript

facsimiles and transcriptions in: M. Perz (ed.): *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*. Facsimiles, in the series: *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia* 13, Warszawa, Graz 1973; M. Perz (ed.): *Sources of Polyphony up to c. 1500*. Transcriptions, in the series: *Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia* 14, Warszawa, Graz 1976. Robert Michael Curry has shown that the manuscripts containing the repertory *Magnus Liber Organi*, preserved as fragments at Stary Sącz, were written in France during the 1240 (R. Curry, *Fragments of Ars antiqua...*, pp. 179–181, quoted after: P. Gancarczyk, *Waste paper as a music source: fragments preserved with the incunabula at the University Library in Wrocław, Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology* 11/2012, p. 51). Recently, the assumption adopted by Mirosław Perz regarding the use of the repertory which survives as polyphonic fragments of the Parisian organum owned by the Clare Sisters from Stary Sącz has been questioned by Paweł Gancarczyk (*ibid.*, p. 51): “we do not know whether the manuscript found its way to Stary Sącz already as wastepaper or was used by the local Clare sisters prior to being cut up in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. But would the pious sisters, who guarded their books over centuries with so much care and, at times, self-sacrifice, undertake the destruction of such a beautiful and valuable manuscript?”

753 H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna klasztoru pp. Klarysek w Starym Sączu w latach 1700–1782 (Musical Culture of the Convent of Clarist Sisters at Stary Sącz during the years 1700–1782)*, Tarnów 2009. Father Cempura's (1927–1988) book was his doctoral thesis, edited by Rev. Stanisław Ganczarski and published posthumously.

754 A publication which appeared after the death of Henryk Cempura was *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane anno 1768. Miniatury na organy lub klawesyn (Collected airs by various authors anno 1768. Miniatures for organ or harpsichord)*, ed. J. Chwałek, Lublin 1994. This edition is based on manuscript ref. no. 26 from the Clarist Sisters' Library at Stary Sącz, titled *Arye z różnych Autorów zebrane do grania na pozytywie lub szpincie podczas Nabożeństwa w kościele na Chwałę Pana Boga na honor N.P. Maryi y Błogosławioney Kunegundy do używania z różnych tonów dla Panny Teresy Osanny Fabiańskiej Zakonnicy Prześwietney Reguły S. O. Franciszka y S. Matki Klary, Profesce Starosądeckiegokonwentu, Anno 1761*.

755 *Ibid.*, p. 29

from 1768 that contained four *Patrem* for a solo instrument⁷⁵⁶. He also mentions incomplete compositions; according to him, the most interesting one was *Toast* in honour of the abbess (he does not provide the scoring); there were also Polish songs⁷⁵⁷.

The extant musical repertory of the convent from the eighteenth century includes plainchant singing, monophonic non-plainchant singing, polyphonic singing, a few vocal-instrumental pieces and instrumental ones for the positive and violin. Both the musical sources and other sources dealing with music at the convent in Stary Sącz use the by now familiar term “fractus”, to which Cempura devotes a separate sub-chapter⁷⁵⁸.

He notes that the sources from Stary Sącz lead to a double understanding of this term “fractus”. On the one hand, it refers to the *alternatim* technique in organ masses; on the other, to the practice of ornamenting the basic course of the melody. The eighteenth-century understanding of the term “fractus” at the Clarist convent in Stary Sącz would thus be completely different from what we encounter at the Benedictine nunneries of the Chełmno reform⁷⁵⁹, in which at that time it referred to professional vocal-instrumental music. Such use of the term “fractus” appeared in sources created by the Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation during the seventeenth century. Perhaps this use a century later might be linked to the retrospective character of the musical culture under discussion, since it appears to be such in the sources discussed by Cempura.

Cempura’s monograph characterises the musical practice of the nuns from Stary Sącz on the basis of manuscripts Muz. 17, 18 and 19. The first and third of these were the property of Kunegunda Ludwina Klimecka (b. c.1756, d. c.1826), the second carries the signatures of Teresa Fabiańska (1734–1814) and Cecylia Dorszowska (1761–1817)⁷⁶⁰. The first two are very similar in content. Manuscript Muz. 17 contains melodies in plainchant and mensural notation in soprano clef, with only text incipits provided: compline, vespers, masses, as well as Polish and Latin hymns for all the periods of the ecclesiastical year. The notation of these melodies indicates that they were to be performed on a positive and/or a violin.

756 “four *Patrem*, without text, in instrumental notation, with performance remarks (more lively, slowly), and text incipits”. The author does not say in what clef the part was notated (H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 29).

757 *Ibid.*, p.29.

758 *Ibid.*, pp. 106–123

759 We cannot be certain as to how the nuns at Staniątki understood the term.

760 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Above the notes in soprano clef appear digits which, according to Cempura, should be interpreted as indications of harmonic intervals counted downwards from the written note. Moreover, between the notes, there are small notes without tails, used to notate ornamentation⁷⁶¹. Alongside the contents of the previous books, manuscript Muz. 19 contains *alternatim*, chant and mensural masses, and bears the title *Frakty na pozytyw stare* (Old fractus for the positive).

However we might imagine the performance of singing notated in this manner – vocal part and violin using the alternation principle or heterophony – this practice gives the impression of semi-professionalism, which strikingly differs from the musical style actually used in church music.

This kind of practice is overlaid with yet another feature characteristic of that centre, namely, masses in mensural notation which are contrafactures of songs, mainly Polish, known to the Clare Sisters, the majority of which were copied in other convent manuscripts; hence the conclusion that the contrafactures may have been created in Stary Sącz. Cempura provides a list of twenty-six such masses together with the surnames of the scribes, perhaps the authors of the contrafactures: convent organist Paweł Tarczyński and the nun Barbara Scholastyka Oliwińska⁷⁶². These masses were being entered during the years 1722–1760, and gradually supplanting the chant masses in the musical practice of the convent⁷⁶³. They were also referred to as fractus – it is not known whether this was because they were in mensural notation, or whether because they were *alternatim* masses, or because they were contrafactures. Everything that has been said so far might be thought to lead to the conclusion that the anachronistic kind of musical practice at the Clarist nunnery in Stary Sącz resulted from what may be described as the “musical isolation”, in which the Saint Clare nuns spent their lives. However, it is not possible to support such a hypothesis. In 1599–1782, the Clarist convent in Stary Sącz permanently employed a secular

761 In 2015 during the Festival of Early Music at Stary Sącz a number of songs from the manuscripts in question were performed. Musicians from Ensemble Hildebrandt 1719 set themselves the task of reconstructing the practice of “fractus” from Stary Sącz. The recording of the concert can be seen at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-TK--a8WGig>. One of the results of this project is an article by Teresa Piech, ‘*Fraktem Panny śpiewały*’. *Powrót zapomnianych technik do życia koncertowego – doświadczenia wykonawcze* (“*The Sisters sang in Fractus*”. *A return of forgotten techniques to concert life – performance experience*), published in the series *Musica Sacra*, vol. 12 “*Muzyka sakralna. Piękno ocalone i ocalające*”, Gdańsk 2016, pp. 190–201.

762 *Ibid.*, p. 139–143.

763 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

organist⁷⁶⁴. Moreover, the secular ensemble established by Abbess Konstancja Jordanówna functioned at the convent from 1692 until dissolution⁷⁶⁵. In 1704, probably during a visitation, it was recorded that for seven years the convent had at the disposal of the ensemble the following instruments: bassoon, tuba, quart trombone, two trumpets, cornet, dulcian, a pair of kettle drums, and one or two “faifars” (flutes or oboes)⁷⁶⁶.

What is puzzling in this list is the total absence of string instruments, which were part of the basic equipment of any baroque ensemble. Earlier, Cempura writes that, beginning with 1673 and once or twice a year, the books of expenditure regularly record purchases of strings for the choir⁷⁶⁷. During the years 1673–1741, tenor violins were purchased on two occasions⁷⁶⁸ along with a “violin for the choir ensemble”⁷⁶⁹. Previously, the convent already possessed a descant violin and a “bass” violin; probably a cello⁷⁷⁰. If the role of string instruments in the nuns’ performance were to be limited to playing monophonic melodies with ornamentation, such as those notated in *Frakty na pozytyw stare*, how is one to explain the existence of such a range of instruments and such frequent purchase of strings?

It seems that the following hypothesis might be appropriate: the nuns at Stary Sącz played string instruments and collaborated in the performance of vocal-instrumental compositions, the manuscripts of which have not survived to our times, with the organist and the musicians of the convent ensemble. This is all the more likely as even before the ensemble was established, during the years 1672–1693, the mothers superior engaged “trumpeters with a pipe player”⁷⁷¹ on twenty-six occasions; i.e., only musicians who played wind instruments. This

764 Ibid., p.63.

765 Ibid., p. 69. However, the abbess did not employ professional musicians, but decided to educate suitable local boys for the purpose. She first engaged teachers for them, and then sent them to be taught at Kraków (perhaps to a Jesuit music school). The convent organist was also involved in teaching the members for the ensemble. Until the governance of Abbess Psurska (1767–1782) the ensemble consisted of men whose main source of income was their own professional employment, and whose musical activities were paid for only occasionally. They did not receive permanent salaries until these were awarded to them by Abbess Psurska (ibid., p. 69–71).

766 Cempura does not give a source reference. Ibid., p. 74.

767 The same frequency as in the registers at Sandomierz, Lvov and Nieśwież.

768 Ibid., p. 59

769 Rk/a-8, f. 2e. Ibid., p. 60

770 No source reference; ibid., p. 60.

771 Incl. Dw/94a, f. 4v, ibid. p. 69

hypothesis is also supported by the adjective which appears in the title of the manuscript quoted earlier, *Frakty na pozytyw stare*; if at the time of its writing, probably in 1745–1758, these fractus pieces were “old”, this means that some “new” fractus pieces must have been in use, perhaps close to those which we know from the Sandomierz collection, i.e., eighteenth-century vocal-instrumental compositions. Cempura also posed the question whether nuns could have taken part in the performances of the convent ensemble; he gave a negative answer to it, claiming that “this would be a precedent, since we do not encounter such practice anywhere else”⁷⁷². However, exactly that kind of practice is confirmed by the sources from Sandomierz.

The Sandomierz collection contains two manuscripts which have recently been identified by the author of this volume as a legacy of the Clarist convents. The first (454/A VIII 94) comes from a convent in nearby Chęciny; it was possible to establish this because of the surname of the nun whose manuscript was presented to Magdalena Trzemeska⁷⁷³. It is the anonymous aria *Plaude, exulta cor meum* for *Canto solo*, two violins, viola and organ. The second manuscript (135/A III 35) has no possessory note but contains five arias⁷⁷⁴ devoted to the saints: Francis, Andrew, Salomea (Kinga)⁷⁷⁵ (see Fig. 27), Anthony and Clara, with the same scoring as the previous manuscript.

Following the music of the first aria in the *Canto* part, there is the inscription “X. Christian, Piarist, asks for Ave Maria”. Perhaps it refers to Father Christian Fidelis a Sancto Laurentio, who was the scribe of four manuscripts preserved in the collection from Podoliniec⁷⁷⁶. The texts of compositions dedicated to Salomea, Kinga and Clara undoubtedly indicate that the manuscript was intended for a Clarist nunnery. On the basis of the above information one might link it to Stary Sącz, since it is known that Piarists from Podoliniec had contacts with the nunnery there⁷⁷⁷. The route from Hungary to Poland led through

772 H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 74.

773 M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic...*, vol. II, p. 169; abbess, d. 1779.

774 *Sancte Pater Francisce, Canite voce, Beata Salomea (Cunegundis), Antoni splendor, Ad teo Clara*.

775 In the text of the composition the name Salomea has Cunegundis written under it at every occurrence.

776 *Katalog tematyczny muzykaliów z klasztoru pijarów w Podoliniecu (Thematic Catalogue of the Music Collection from the Piarist Monastery in Podoliniec)*, ed. D. Smolarek, Lublin 2009, pp. 156, 159, 160.

777 M. Gotkiewicz, *Kolegium podolinieckie (Podoliniec Collegium), Nasza Przeszłość*, vol. XV (1962), p. 90, quoted after: H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 75.

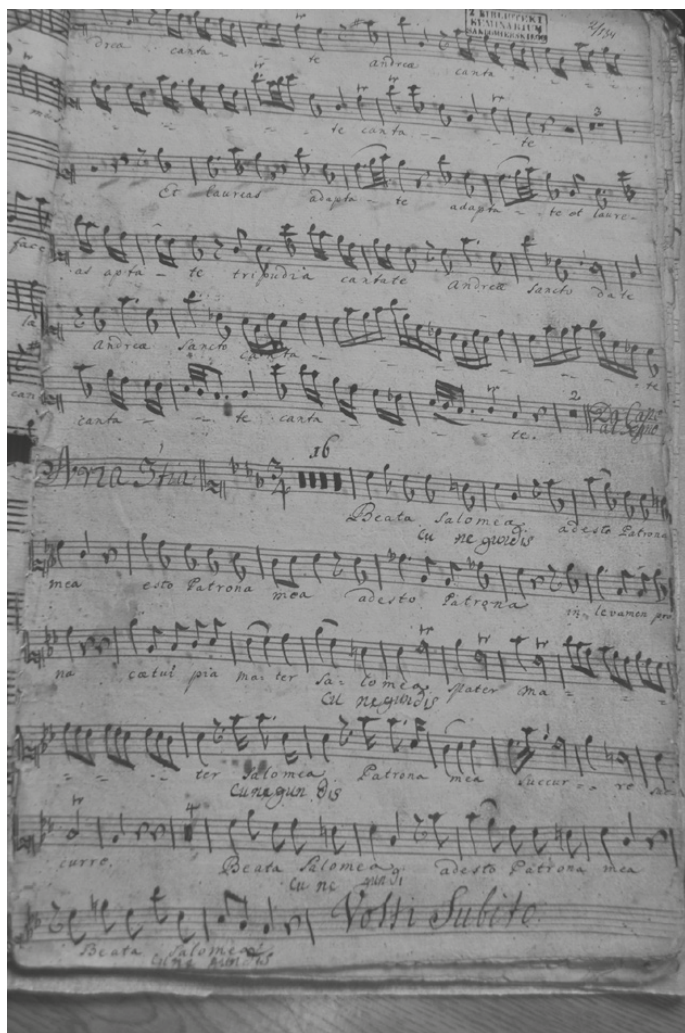


Fig. 27: *Beata Salomea (Cunegundis)*, beginning of the aria from ms. BDSand 134/A III 34, scribe Christian, Piarist

Stary Sącz; itinerant monks and students from the collegium would stop at the convent, sometimes receiving material support there. The nuns would order Gregorian masses from Piarist priests and bring in preachers from that order. In 1698, Father Gabriel, who came from Stary Sącz, was buying masses and litanies

for the nunnery in Hungary at the price of 20 zlotys⁷⁷⁸. However, the question still remains as to how the manuscript from Stary Sącz would have found its way to Sandomierz, and therefore it seems much more likely that it originated from the nearby Chęciny.

At present, we do not know of any manuscripts of professional vocal-instrumental music from Stary Sącz, yet the ensemble there, active for nearly a hundred years, must have presumably created a considerable collection. Wiktor Bazielić tells us that, during the dissolution, the starost of Wieliczka, H. von Baum found two wardrobes and four chests full of various documents, files, registers and papers at the nunnery. These archives were taken away and became scattered, with some of them finding their way to Vienna and some into the hands of private collectors⁷⁷⁹. We may suppose that a wardrobe or a chest with the music for the ensemble may have been among those mentioned by Bazielić. The books which survived at the convent would probably be those kept by the nuns in their cells⁷⁸⁰, such as the manuscript Muz. 26 *Arye z różnych autorów zebrane*, which was the property of Teresa Ozanna Fabiańska, and after her death of Marianna Dorszewska (Dorszowska). That manuscript documents for us the practice of playing solo compositions on a keyboard instrument during mass, then current and familiar from other centres, including Sandomierz.

The title *Arye z różnych Autorów zebrane do grania na pozytywie lub szpinecie pod czas Nabożeństwa w kościele* (The Collected Airs of Various Authors to Be Played on the Positive or Spinet during the Mass in the Church) does not mean that all the works were transcriptions of operatic arias. The term “aria” was at that time a synonym of a “piece” or “composition”, as is also evidenced by the *Book of Dygulska*. Among the pieces from the *Book of Fabiańska* there are two accompanied by the remarks “Auth(ore) Hasse” and “Auth(ore) Italiano”, the others are anonymous⁷⁸¹. This very interesting collection of pieces for a keyboard

778 Ibid., p. 75.

779 W. Bazielić, *Historie starosądeckie (Stories from Stary Sącz)*, Kraków 1965, p. 168, quoted after: H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna...*, pp. 20–21.

780 The nuns would pass to each other books and manuscripts, as well as inheriting them from deceased sisters, taking on the duty of remembering the previous owner in their prayers.

781 *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane...*, p. 5. Jan Chwałek identified one of the arias as the second movement from the suite in H minor by Domenic Zipoli (*Arie z różnych autorów...*, p. 5), and Michał F. Runowski identified arias no 30, 55, and 51 as arias no 1, 40 and 8 by Valentin Rathgeber from his *Musicalischer Zeit=Vertrieb auf dem Clavier*, Augsburg 1743 (M.F. Runowski, *Nowe spojrzenie na “Arie”...*, p. 31).

instrument has its own contemporary edition⁷⁸² and its own literature⁷⁸³, in which, however, it is erroneously described as a “cantional” and incorrectly dated to 1768, whereas the date on the title page should be read as the year 1761 or 1767. Both collections of solo works for a keyboard instrument, the *Book of Dygulska* and the *Book of Fabiańska* from Stary Sącz, show some similarities and concordances of repertory, which were discussed in Chapter V.2.

Evidence that the musical practice of the Clarist convent in Stary Sącz was richer than indicated by the music sources is also provided by account books and manuscripts, which have partly the character of a directorium and partly of a chronicle, titled *Regestry śpiewów i obrzędów* (Registers of chants and rites) from the years 1709, 1720 and 1737, as well as the incomplete *Register* from 1770⁷⁸⁴. There are also extant books of the taking of the veil and of the deceased sisters, as well as chronicles in which as many as twenty-three nuns who lived in the eighteenth century are mentioned in the context of the musical culture of the convent. Eleven of them were cantores, eight are described with the term “fraktarka” (fractus performer), five as “singers” and three as “musicians”; more than one of these descriptions might be used in relation to the same nun⁷⁸⁵. The sources describe the following as fractus performers: Katarzyna Gertruda Bielawska (1706–1769)⁷⁸⁶, Marianna Aleksandra Dąbrowska (d. 1782), Maria Cecylia Dorszewska vel Marianna Dorszowska (1779–1817), Osanna Teresa Fabiańska (1751–1814), Barbara Rozalia Kaniorska (a Hungarian, 1723–1769) and Kunegunda Ludwina Klimecka (d. 1726). Those described as musicians include the already mentioned Maria Cecylia Dorszewska, Agnieszka Aniela Sesterkiewiczówna (1706–1764) and Katarzyna Jolanta Wieczewska (1767–1789), while those remembered as singers were Barbara Apolinaria Krzeszówna (1706–1761), Salomea Klara Radońska (1724–1778), Konstancja Sędzimirówna (d. 1802), Anna Kornelia Sędzimirówna (1719–1769) and the already mentioned Agnieszka Sesterkiewiczówna. Agnieszka Sesterkiewiczówna “was a fractus performer and had a great talent for singing and playing. She served the Convent as

782 *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane...*, cf. fn. 30.

783 M. Erdmann, “*Kancjonał Fabiańskiej*” ..., p.17–28 and the work mentioned in fn. 59 by M.F. Runowski and F. Wesołowski, *Arie z różnych autorów zebrane anno 1768*, *uwagi krytyczne i wykonawcze* (“*Collected arias by various authors anno 1768*”, *critical and performance comments*), *Zeszyty naukowe Akademii Muzycznej w Gdańsku, Organy i muzyka organowa X*, Gdańsk 1997, p. 120.

784 Rk/a-1, Rk/ a-2, Rk/a-3. H. Cempura, *Kultura muzyczna...*, p. 21.

785 *Ibid.*, p. 51–54.

786 Years spent at the convent, from profession until death.

cantoress for a number of years⁷⁸⁷. Barbara Apolinaria Krzeszówna was a nun “with a voice so lovely and bright that when, she sang figurally, you could hear her beyond the convent gate”⁷⁸⁸. Cempura adds that the list of sisters who were musically active undoubtedly was not complete, since reminiscences about the nuns were often written some years after their deaths, and attention was primarily paid to their spiritual attributes and faithfulness to the rule.

The most interesting reminiscences relate to Barbara Scholastyka Oliwińska, who was the scribe of the majority of the extant music manuscripts and – probably – the author of monophonic contrafacture masses: “Talented in singing and playing “figurally” on various instruments. She arrived in the convent at the age of twelve, already perfectly learned in everything. She was ill for thirty years, and when she felt better she would teach the sisters to sing and play, she wrote books for church singing”⁷⁸⁹. One might ask here whether Sister Oliwińska should not be regarded as a professional musician⁷⁹⁰, since when she was accepted by the convent she already possessed musical skills⁷⁹¹. As in the convents in Sandomierz and Lvov, fractus performers at Stary Sącz were relieved of some of the choir duties on those days when they had to prepare to perform, for example, a mass in cantus fractus⁷⁹². In the context of the picture of musical practice presented by Cempura, the reference to Oliwińska teaching the sisters to sing and play is puzzling. Liturgical chanting and probably also hymn singing was taught to the sisters during their novitiate and at the “spiritual school” for young nuns⁷⁹³. That was the task of the cantoresses⁷⁹⁴ and the mistress of the novitiate, which means that Oliwińska must have been teaching something beyond that. Earlier, in 1691, immediately after Abbess Jordanówna (who established the secular ensemble) began her governance of the convent, a musician was engaged to teach the sisters to play “the tuba and the bass”⁷⁹⁵.

Thus, it seems very probable, in fact almost certain, that in the eighteenth century there was also another, stylistically more current musical practice at

787 Zk/f-3, f. 16v, Zk/f-5, p. 24, quoted after: *ibid.*, p. 52.

788 Zk/f-4, f. 8v, Zk/f-5, f. 1, Rk/a-3, f. 51, quoted after: *ibid.*, p. 53.

789 Zk/f-3, f. 20, Zk/f-5, f. 18.

790 Cempura also mentions in relation to fractus performers and musicians, the “seemingly professional employment of the nuns” (p. 47).

791 Cempura does not provide any information about the dowries or their absence.

792 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

793 The youngest nuns at Stary Sącz were referred to as “school sisters”.

794 The abbess always appointed two cantoresses; first and second. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

795 The instrument was probably *tromba marina*, and not a wind instrument hypothesised by Cempura. The “bass” may have been a cello, that “bass violin” needed to realise *basso continuo*.

the convent at Stary Sącz. Unfortunately, there is no extant musical repertory which would confirm this or indicate the standard of that conventual music-making. Let us also note that there is not a single surviving manuscript of the secular convent ensemble at Stary Sącz. Undoubtedly, Henryk Cempura's monograph notwithstanding, the musical culture of the Clarist Sisters at Stary Sącz in the eighteenth century still requires an investigation, and another attempt at analysing the available sources in order to verify the hypotheses presented here.

It might seem that a researcher into the musical culture of Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation would find it convenient to establish, on the basis of the available literature, that the musical culture of nuns from Staniątki and Stary Sącz was poorer, unprofessional and retrospective. This would allow one to present the subject of one's own research as something exceptional and outstanding. However, the experience of research into the musical sources, chronicles, as well as prosopographical and economic documentation of the Chełmno Benedictines, must influence one's view of the musical practice at Staniątki and Stary Sącz. This leads one to propose hypotheses which perhaps will find their confirmation in the work of future researchers.

When one compares the musical cultures of the Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno congregation with those of Staniątki and the Clarists of Stary Sącz, it is the differences which are the most apparent. When we look back to the first half of the seventeenth century, sources confirm the cultivation of professional polyphonic and polychoral repertory only by the Chełmno congregation. However, by the second half of the century, somewhat surprisingly, while for the reformed Benedictine Sisters "the muses are silent", the Clarist nuns at Stary Sącz buy instruments and – towards the end of the century – have nuns taught by secular musicians and establish a semi-professional conventual ensemble. A professional ensemble is also established by the abbess at Staniątki, but not until around the middle of the eighteenth century. Both centres employ secular organists and – judging by the extant cantionals and other kinds of musical sources – both attach much importance to cultivating mono- and polyphonic hymn repertory. Moreover, at Stary Sącz, they created a repertory of contrafacture masses based on native songs.

As far as we can tell on the basis of the sources, the convents of the Chełmno rule based their musical practice mainly on the skills of the nuns and did not establish conventual ensembles of secular musicians⁷⁹⁶. Some centres did not

796 The only exception may have been the convent at Jarosław around the middle of the seventeenth century, when Abbess Anna Kostczanka I "maintained 12 musicians". Cf. chapter 2, p. 87.

even employ organists, as one of the nuns would assume that role. Professional ensembles were only invited on the occasion of more important feast days and ceremonies. At Sandomierz, from the end of the seventeenth century we have confirmed knowledge of the existence of an ensemble made of nuns which cultivated the then current musical style. This state of affairs lasted throughout the eighteenth century there, until as late as the beginning of the nineteenth. Lvov, Jarosław and Nieśwież must have also had nuns performing vocal-instrumental works, but sources do not allow us to establish the extent of that practice.

However, when investigating the musical culture of the convents in question, we also see some similarities, although we may only guss some of them rather than prove. For example, at Stary Sącz, as in Sandomierz, the nuns probably performed vocal-instrumental compositions together with a secular ensemble, naturally located in a separate musical gallery. Clarist nuns played instruments from the violin family and sang, while members of the ensemble played wind instruments. Benedictine Sisters at Sandomierz relied on the support of trumpeters and singers on feast days, and since the church of Saint Michael had only one choir, it had to be divided by a grid. Moreover, at Sandomierz, Przemyśl and probably many other convents of the Chełmno congregation, there was the practice, as in Stary Sącz, of playing solo works on the organ during mass. The evidence confirming this state of affairs is provided by the extant organ books discussed in the previous chapter, and manuscript No. 26 from Stary Sącz, *Arye różnych autorów zebrane*, written for the Clarist nun Osanna Fabiańska. Obituaries of three Benedictine nuns from Staniątki who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century also tell us that they played the organ, but we know nothing about their practice as organists. The same nuns from Staniątki also played “some instruments”; two of them the violin, one the flute, but we do not know what use was made of their skills.

Above all, however, the available prosopographic data about all the convents under discussion confirms the nurture of talented singers among the nuns. At Stary Sącz, as among the Benedictine nuns of the Chełmno rule, some sisters are described as singers. Extant records show that this must have referred to virtuoso singing, and not chanting or singing hymns, which would have involved the whole community. Moreover, the Benedictine nuns from Staniątki along with Clarist nuns were also familiar with the concept of *fractus*. At Stary Sącz, they even distinguished among the nuns a group of “*fractus performers*”, which included “singers” and “musicians”, i.e., sisters who played instruments. The latter were called “*graczka*” (player) at Sandomierz.

While the professional musical practice of the nuns from Staniątki in the eighteenth century seems to be just an addition to the cantional and liturgical

repertory – in view of the presence at that centre of a professional ensemble – the Clarist Sisters at Stary Sącz seem to have attached to it a great deal of importance. Evidence for this comes from the way they identify “fractus performers” as a separate group, as well as the regular purchase of strings and actual instruments.

The musical culture of nunneries at Staniątki and Stary Sącz has been presented on the basis of the existing literature of the subject, and also partly “hypothesised” on the basis of research into extant sources relating to the Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno reform. A thorough and equitable comparison between this culture and that of the Benedictine nuns from, e.g., Sandomierz, would be possible if we had sources of similar nature for all the centres. However, this is not the case and the musical practice of the Benedictine Sisters from Sandomierz is much better documented in the sources, primarily owing to the extant repertory. Our current state of knowledge allows us to state that the musical culture of the Benedictine nunnery in Sandomierz – as well as that of some other convents of the Chełmno congregation – had a more stable character during the eighteenth century and tended more strongly towards professional practice and a stylistically current repertory.

Conclusion

The narrative picture of the musical culture of Polish Benedictine Sisters, which emerges as a composite of information from available sources and reasonable hypotheses – used to fill the gaps in that information – is a surprise also to me. When I started this project, I did not expect to find so much information about the musical practice of nuns or to encounter such interesting repertory as their legacy. Learning about the professional music-making of the Benedictine Sisters, and the importance of music in their liturgical and everyday life, significantly expands our image of the musical tradition of our past.

The historical and cultural context of the functioning of music at convents turns out to be of great interest. Much can be learned about it from the works of Benedictine Rev. Sister Małgorzata Borkowska but, above all, it is present in the original sources. That context is discussed in Chapter 1, but it also provides the point of reference for the chapters which follow – even for those devoted to the musical repertory – in a manner fully intended by the author. The quotations, marginal comments and footnotes give us glimpses of a bygone spiritual and mental world of nuns living in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, somewhat exotic for the modern reader, and they also provide information about the reality of their everyday life.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible here to maintain proportions between the scope of the chapters. This results from the nature of the research that relies on sources. Where sources lack, i.e., for the seventeenth century, it is not been possible to build a narrative as extensive as the part dealing with the Benedictine Sisters' musical culture in the eighteenth century. I decided to structure the volume in a way that clearly separates the discussions of analogous topics in different centuries. This is because both the picture of the musical culture emerging from non-musical sources, such as chronicles, registers, menologia, correspondence and account books, and the one based on an analysis of the preserved musical repertory, are very different in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The first part of the seventeenth century is dominated in convents by vocal polyphony and *alternatim* practice. In all of them, we find an organ or a positive, but we have no certainty as to the way they were used. We lack information about vocal-instrumental performances in the concerting style. It seems that the nuns encountered the kind of music typical of early Baroque only when they invited professional ensembles to add splendour to more important ceremonies. Information about music, as well as musical archives of any kind, are lacking for

the period from the middle of the seventeenth century until its end. This was a very unfortunate period in the history of the country and monastic orders, marked by wars, invasions and epidemics. After that period, when the muses fell silent and sources dried up, the musical culture of Benedictine Sisters was reborn in a different shape, in accordance with the musical style of its time. In the light of the sources documenting primarily the musical culture of the convents in Sandomierz and Lvov, we see a rich musical practice created by the nuns themselves. Often, those who entered the convent already possessed a musical education. Other keyboard instruments appear alongside the organ, together with their own solo repertory. We also learn about the presence of the violin, viola, *tromba marina*, and perhaps yet other used in the ensembles established by the sisters. We encounter persons described by their fellow-sisters as singers and “players”. We have less evidence of music cultivated in other convents of the Chełmno reform, but we have good grounds to assume that musically talented sisters could also spread their wings there.

Comparative research into the musical cultures of Benedictine Sisters belonging to the Chełmno reform, Benedictine nuns from Staniątki and Clarist Sisters from Stary Sącz came up with a somewhat unexpected result. The last two offered the only possible parallels at the time, because of the absence of published research concerning other female orders. The existing monographs present the musical life of the convents at Staniątki and Stary Sącz as being very different, less professional and more retrospective than that of the Chełmno-inspired convents. However, some of the source information quoted in them, viewed through the prism of what we know about the music performed at the Benedictine nunneries at Sandomierz and Lvov, forces us to propose new hypotheses. It is very likely that music in the then current style was also practised there, but the repertory which would confirm this has not survived. Bearing in mind their geographical location, the question of survival of the repertory of musical centres was always subject to random chance and, therefore, the absence of such repertory does not reflect the quality of the musical life of that time. As an example, we can quote the case of Jesuit music schools: while at the tiny school at Święta Lipka there are 1500 extant manuscripts, all that survives from the excellent centre at Kraków, which produced some of the best educated and most highly regarded eighteenth-century Polish musicians, are the catalogues.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources have preserved for us knowledge about 149 nuns who were musically active. Some of them undoubtedly came from musician families; we do know that already about a number of them, and we hope that future research into Polish musical culture will find further connections of this kind. Moreover, the phenomenon analogous to that found in

other countries – of providing musical education for women in musician families in order to place them in convents and thus ensure for them a livelihood for life – adds a new incentive to investigate the social functioning of professional musicians in the Commonwealth.

The musical repertory from the convents of Benedictine Sisters of the Chełmno congregation in Toruń, Jarosław, Przemyśl, Sandomierz and Lvov, which has fortunately survived until our times, comprises 858 items. Among them are 485 works of vocal polyphony, 224 solo compositions for keyboard instruments, 140 vocal-instrumental compositions and nine instrumental works for an ensemble. A part of that repertory, such as all of the polyphony from Toruń, survives in incomplete form, while the great majority of the repertory held at Sandomierz is complete and presents excellent material for further stylistic-critical and comparative research, undertaken here only to a limited extent. Many of the compositions preserved in the partbooks held by the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz have already been waiting too long to be restored to contemporary musical practice and become a familiar part of our history. Another postulate for further research relates to the fact that the great majority of the extant repertory remains anonymous. The author of this volume has succeeded in identifying some of the anonymous compositions through the RISM database and printed catalogues, as has also been done by previous researchers, acknowledged in the footnotes. However, the RISM database keeps expanding and, therefore, the problem of anonymous works should be revisited at least now and again, since new concordances will undoubtedly keep appearing for the extant repertory left to us by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Benedictine nuns.

Appendix I Convents belonging to the Chełmno reform in chronological order

Convent	Years when active ^a	Founding mother house	Endowment	Extant archives ^b
Chełmno	(1265–) 1578–1822		medium	Chronicle for the years 1556–1619, book of the brotherhood of the Divine Providence, musical manuscript
Toruń	(1311) 1579–1833	Chełmno	medium	Chronicles 1579–1623, 1631–1665, music collection
Żarnowiec	(1240–) 1589–1833 in 1946 resettled by Benedictine Sisters from Vilnius	Chełmno	medium	Property records
Lviv/Lvov – the “Latin” convent	1596–1946, in 1946 the nuns take over the post-Cistercian convent in Krzeszów	The foundation was established independently, and adopted the Chełmno Rule	rich	Much archive material preserved, including the <i>Chronicles</i> written in the nineteenth century, the directorium, registers of income and expenditure 1718–1785, convent carols, prayer books, music collection
Nieśwież	1591–1877, resettled during the years 1920–1946	Chełmno	rich	Register of nuns, registers of income and expenditure 1733–1811, Foundation documents
Byśląwek	1602–1836	Chełmno, branch convent	poor	None

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Convent	Years when active ^a	Founding mother house	Endowment	Extant archives ^b
Poznań	1608–1835	Chełmno	medium	Chronicle, menologium, register of church and convent possessions
Jarosław	1611–1782, reactivated in 1995 as dependent priory	Chełmno	rich	Register of nuns, administrative documents and report of the visitation by Bishop Sierakowski in ms. <i>Opisanie praw, funduszków y przywilejów w roku 1740 zaczęte</i> , music collection
Sandomierz	1615–1903	Chełmno	rich	Rich archive material, including a chronicle, register of nuns, register of income and expenditure, choir agenda, correspondence, music collection
Vilnius	ca. 1620–1946, in 1946 the nuns move to Żarnowiec	Nieśwież	rich	Mainly administrative files, including register of income and expenditure 1706–1777, visitation files from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries
Drohiczyn	1623–1856, convent re-established in 1956	Toruń	no data	Vestigial documents relating to the convent's foundation and visitation in 1636, later documents from early nineteenth century

Convent	Years when active ^a	Founding mother house	Endowment	Extant archives ^b
Kowno	1624, after World War II it survived "underground", now an active congregation	Nieśwież	no data	Register of nuns, menologium, book of income and expenditure, administrative files
Sierpc	1624–1892, resettled in 1946 by Benedictine Sisters from Nieśwież	Chełmno	no data	No chronicles, register or menologium, only visitation files from the end of the seventeenth century
Radom	1627–1810	Toruń	poor	Register of nuns, four little chronicles (one containing the menologium), a few administrative files
Przemysł	1629	Jarosław	poor	Register of nuns, menologium, visitations, administrative files, music collection
Łomża	1628	Toruń	poor	Register of nuns, correspondence
Grudziądz	1631–1836	Toruń	no data	Register of nuns with chronicle sections from the sixteenth century, accessible only in printed version, archives lost
Mińsk	1631–1871	Nieśwież	poor	Register of nuns, correspondence, loose files
Smoleńsk/ Słonim	1640–1850, from 1669 continued in Słonim	Nieśwież	no data	Profession cards, visitation files
Orsza	1640–1682	Nieśwież	no data	Correspondence
Kroże	1642–1892	Vilnius	no data	Register of nuns

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Convent	Years when active^a	Founding mother house	Endowment	Extant archives^b
Lvov/ Lviv – the Armenian convent	(1650) 1688-1946, the nuns moved to Lubiń, from 1958 the convent re-established in Wołów, now in Latin rite	Independent foundation, Armenian nuns adopt formation following the Chełmno Rule from the “Latin” nuns from Lvov	no data	archives lost, fragments of chronicle in <i>Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polsce</i> (Lives of famous Armenians in Poland), Lvov 1856

^a Dates in brackets give the year of the foundation of the cloister, if it operated before the Chełmno reform.

^b I only give the type of the sources. For bibliography, please see M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie...*, *passim* and *Leksykon zakonnic...*, *passim*.

**Appendix II List of compositions from
ms. L 1668 with concordances in the RISM
database and Fabiańska's collection from
Stary Sącz**

No ^a /p. in ms.	Title	Key	Attribution	Concordances in RISM	Concordances in Fabiańska's book <i>Arye z różnych autorów zebrane...dla Panny Ozanny Fabiańskiej</i> (No/p) ^b
10/57	Aria	C	J.A. Hasse, Allegro for harpsichord, RISM:451507494, 852034484	1. Wolfenbuettel, Herzog August Bibliothek, collection of 26 pieces for harpsichord, string and voices, RISM: 451507494; 2. Montecassino, Biblioteca di Monumento nazionale di montecassino, in a collection of 10 keyboard pieces, RISM: 852034484.	
12/58	Aria Ex D M[ajor]	D	Anonymous, Allegro for harpsichord	1: Lund, Sweden, University Library, <i>Collection of the Wenster Family</i> , harpsichord pieces, RISM:190001849; 2. Novo Mesto, Slovenia, Franciscan cloister, pieces for keyboard instruments, RISM: 540001893.	38/62 Aria
14/59	Allegro	C			26/46 no title
15/61	Aria	C	Antonio Lotti, <i>Dalle faville di due pupille</i> , for keyboard instrument (with text)	Trondheim, Norway, University Library, collection 75 of pieces for various line-ups belonging to M. Calmar, 1751, RISM:170000241	
29/73	Aria	F			59/90 no title

33/75	Aria		61/93 no title
34/76	Concerto	F	Johann Joachim Agrell ⁴ , Sonata (Partita) for harpisichord (1st of 3 movements: Allegro, Andante, Presto – Wolf, or 1st of 5 movements also with Minuet and Polonaise – Leipzig)
47a/92	Sinfonia ⁶	A	1: Wolfenbuettel, collection of 26 pieces for harpsichord, strings and voices, RISM 451507475; 2:Brussels, Royal Conservatory, collection of 6 sonatas from 1800, RISM 706000822; 3:Brussels, ditto, collection of 87 pieces for harpsichord, RISM 703003670; 4:Leipzig, City Library, collection of 5 pieces, including a minuet from a sonata by Haydn Hob. XVI:5/2, RISM 230006859
52/96	Aria Suavis	F	Harnosand S-HAE, Sweden, date 1747, RISM: 190004541
60/101	Aria	B	64/98 Aria
68/107	Aria Adagio	B	Copenhagen, Royal Library, collection of 8 Murkys RISM: 150206117
70/109	Adante	C	63/96 Aria
			Anonymous, a piece for harpisichord (no title, two movements, only the first one here)
			Monachium Bayerische Staatsbibl., Collection of harpsichord and liturgical (Latin) pieces for a keyboard instrument and voices, dated to the 1st half of the 18th ct. ⁷ All pieces anonymous, RISM: 450058414

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No ^o /p. in ms.	Title	Key	Attribution	Concordances in RISM	Concordances in Fabiańska's book <i>Arye z różnych autorów zebrane... dla Panny Ozanny Fabiańskiej</i> (No/p) ^b
82/122	Andante	F	Joseph Riepel ^s , Duet for harpsichord obligato and violin R1WV 40	Wrocław, BU, ms. <i>Duetto</i> ..., copy from the beginning of the 19th ct.	
84/124	Aria				61/93 no title
85/124	no title ^b	A	J.A. Hasse, <i>Tàcero se tu lo brami</i> from the opera <i>Didone abbandonata</i> for Soprano and orchestra	Hamburg, Museum of the History of Hamburg (previously Museum Bergedorf and Vierlande), ms. for Soprano and keyboard reduction, RISM 451514244	
87/125	Concerto Allegro	G	Anonymous, Partita	Leipzig, City Library, collection of 108 pieces for a keyboard instrument: fragments from operas + 18 plainchant, dated to the 2nd half of the 18th century, RISM: 225003967	
88/126	Aria	F	Spiegler ^r , duet from the cantata <i>Komm mein Jesus komm gegangen</i> [?] for SB, coro, orch, bc.	Berlin, Singakademie, previously 1. Academia Wittenbergensi, 2. Kiev Conservatory; cantata duet, ms. dated to 1752; RISM: 469300200.	

89/126	Presto	F	J.A. Hasse, minuet from a Sonata for harpsichord, HofHa A9	1. New Haven, Yale Univ., last of 9 movements, in: collection of 91 pieces for harpsichord or spinet; RISM: 900003120.; 2. Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library, ms. Concerto (2 movements, this one titled <i>Concerto-Barbarini</i>) copy from Hasse's print <i>Six concertos for violins, french horns or hoboys...opera quarta</i> (1741), RISM: 806550124.
93/129	Partia Cemballo Aetto [Allegretto?]	F	C.H. Graun', quartet for harpsichord oblig., fl, vl and basso, 1st out of 3 movements	Berlin Preuss. Kult., ms. dated 1830, RISM: 452019455
99/133	Alternat:	D	Anonymous, <i>Contre Danse en Rondeau</i> for strings, wind instruments and bc	Dresden, SLUB, in: collection of 34 instrumental pieces, RISM: 212003297.
99a/133	Poco piano	D	Mineur, ditto. (second part of the previous one)	Ditto
100/134	Allegro	B	J.A. Hasse, <i>Solimano</i> , 2nd movement [of a Sinfonia] for strings, ob and bc.	Dresden, ditto, RISM: 270000735;

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No ^s /p. in ms.	Title	Key	Attribution	Concordances in RISM	Concordances in Fabiańska's book <i>Arye z różnych autorów zebrane...dla Panny Ozanny Fabiańskiej</i> (No/p) ^b
101/135	Aria Largo	B	J.A. Hasse, soprano aria <i>Vedrai morir costante</i> from the opera <i>Cajo Fabricio</i> (or <i>Arminio</i>).	<p>I. London, The British Library, in: collection of fragments from 14 operas, mainly Hasse, Porpora, Veracini, Porta; ms; RISM: 800238540; 2. Muenster, Santini-Bibl., in: collection of fragments from 30 operas, ms., RISM:451016855;3. Berlin, Singakademie, in: a collection of 12 arias dated to 1762–64, RISM: 469157505; 4. Montecassino, Monumento nazionale di montecassino Biblioteca, in: collection of vocal pieces by Hasse, RISM:852022346; 5. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., in: complete opera <i>Cajo Fabricio</i> (held at: Koenigliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung), RISM: 270000644;</p>	

103/138	Menuet (with C Trio)	Johann Baptist Goerg Neruda ^k , Minuet for harpsichord.	Leipzig, Leipziger Stadtbibl. In: collection of 36 dances, minuets and polonaises, „ <i>Balli per l'anno. 1754</i> “, RISM:225003592.
104/138	Menuet (with G Trio)	Johann Baptist Goerg Neruda, Minuet for harpsichord (No. 23 in the collection).	Leipzig, Leipziger Stadtbibl. In: collection of 36 dances, minuets and polonaises, „ <i>Balli per l'anno. 1754</i> “, RISM:225003601.
105/139	no title	A/D Johann Baptist Goerg Neruda, Minuet for harpsichord (No. 7 in the collection).	Leipzig, Leipziger Stadtbibl. In: collection of 36 dances, minuets and polonaises, „ <i>Balli per l'anno. 1754</i> “, RISM:225003585.
109/140	Aria Allegro	G Johann Adolf Hasse, aria <i>Non e d'un regno il dono</i> from the opera <i>Irene</i> .	Dresden, Saechsische Ladnesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, RISM: 270000664
110/141	Aria de opera	C Johann Adolf Hasse, aria <i>Unite a lupi andrammo</i> from the opera <i>Soltmano</i> .	Dresden, Saechsische Ladnesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitaetsbibliothek, RISM:270000734
116/147	Andante cantabile	G Aria	84/127 Aria (A minor)
128/156	Aria	E Johann Joachim Quanz, Flute sonata in A minor QV 1:152, cz I.	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, in: six sonatas for flute and harpsichord, RISM: 452000082

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No ^a /p. in ms.	Title	Key	Attribution	Concordances in RISM	Concordances in Fabiańska's book <i>Arye z różnych autorów zebrane...dla Panny Ozanny Fabiańskiej</i> (No/p) ^b
138/164	no title	F	Christian Friedrich Schale ^c , Sonata for keyboard instruments, middle movement.	1. New Haven, Yale UL library, in: a set of two keyboard pieces, RISM: 900010006; 2. Weimar, Hochschule fuer Musik, as Anonymous, Andante for harpsichord, RISM: 250010213.	

^a Numbering by the author of this volume/pages given as numbered in the manuscript.

^b Number and page in the edition by Chwałek, cf. footnote...

^c The same collection includes a piece identical with *Concerto* from L 1668 (Agrell's *Sonata*, No 34/ p. 76).

^d Johann Joachim Agrell (1701–1765), of Swedish origin, composer, violinist and harpsichordist. He was active in Nurnberg, from 1746 as *director musices*. He composed vocal music, mainly occasional and commissioned, as well as symphonies and numerous harpsichord concertos. He was highly regarded during his life, and published many of his works in print. (Ingmar Bengtsson, Berti H. van Boer, Johann Joachim Agrell, in: NG <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00305?q=Agrell&search=quick&pos=1&start=1#firsthit>, accessed: 16.08.2013).

^e The next two works entered in the manuscript, Adagio and Allegro in A major, are probably consecutive movements of *Concerto* by Locatelli.

^f Perhaps this is also an "organ book" originating from a convent.

- ^s Joseph Riepel (1709–1782), Austrian theorist, composer and violinist, active mainly in Regensburg at the court of the Dukes Thurn und Taxis. Previously, during the years 1739–1745 he lived in Dresden, where he studied with Zelenka. Not having found employment at the Dresden ensemble, he probably spent two years in Poland, then returning to Vienna and from there making his way to Regensburg. See Leonard G. Ratner, Thomas Emmering, Joseph Riepel, in: NG http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23442?q=Riepel+Joseph&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, accessed: 17.08.2013.
- ^b Piece identified by Jerzy Gólos (J. Dygulska, *Księżka do chóru do grania*, ... p. 3).
- ⁱ In NG there is only Matthias Spiegler who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century; it is unlikely that this is the composer in question.
- ^j Carl Hainerich Graun (1703/4–1759), member of a family of musicians, brother of Johann Gottlieb. Educated in Dresden, he was active in Wolfenbützel and in Berlin at the court of Frederick the Great. Composer of operas in Italian style, oratorios, symphonies and chamber works. See Christoph Henzel, Carl Hainrich Graun, in: NG http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11653pg3?q=Graun&search=quick&pos=4&_start=1#firsthit, accessed: 17.08.2013.
- ^k Johann Baptist Georg Neruda (1711–1776), Czech composer active from 1741 until his death in Dresden, employed there as a violinist at the court orchestra. Also active as a composer, 68 of his works were published by Breitkopf during the years 1762–1771. See Zdenka Pílková, Johann Baptist Neruda, in: NG http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19741?q=Johann+Baptist+Neruda&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, accessed: 17.08.2013.
- ^l Christian Friedrich Schale (Shaale, Schall) (1713–1800), German composer, member of the royal ensemble of Frederick the Great in Berlin employed as a cellist and organist at Berlin cathedral. See Raymond A. Barr, Christian Friedrich Schale, in: NG http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24746?q=Schale&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit, accessed: 17.08.2013.

List of Figures

Fig. 1:	Juana Ines de la Cruz, portrait by Miguel Cabrera, ca. 1750. Source: creative commons wikimedia.org, no copyright	24
Fig. 2:	Abbess Magdalena Mortęska, portrait from the seventeenth century. Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz	45
Fig. 3:	Seventeenth-century votive picture from the church of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in Chełmno, depicting the Benedictine Sisters being led by the abbess. Property of the Sisters of Charity in Chełmno	47
Fig. 4:	A page from <i>Kronika benedyktynek chełmińskich</i> (Chronicle of the Chełmno Benedictine Sisters), held at the Archive of the Sisters of Charity in Chełmno	48
Fig. 5:	<i>Tones for teaching novices</i> , manuscript without reference number at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, from the convent in Chełmno, f. 1	67
Fig. 6:	<i>Tones for the teaching of novices</i> , manuscript without reference number from the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Chełmno, ff. 3v and 4r	70
Fig. 7:	“Tablica iako inceptę podawać.” Solmisation names of notes. <i>Notarum Anno Domini 1633</i> , [TorB], ms. With no reference, Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Alto partbook, f. 2v	71
Fig. 8:	The first notes of individual parts from some of the compositions notated in TorB, to be given before beginning the chant. <i>Notarum Anno Domini 1633</i> , [TorB], ms. With no reference, Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Alto book, f. 3r	72
Fig. 9:	Gradual from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Toruń (1637), ms. Without reference number, Diocesan Library in Pelplin [f. unnumbered]	74
Fig. 10:	Gradual from the convent of Benedictine Sisters in Toruń (1617), ms. 7021 Adam Mickiewicz University Library [f. unnumbered]	75

- Fig. 11:** *Ave maris stella*, setting using *alternatim* technique, and the title of the next composition. *Bassus sex vocum, Antifonarium*, TorA, ms. without reference number at the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, f. 120r 93
- Fig. 12:** *O magnum misterium* [G.P. da Palestrina]. *Notarum Anno Domini 1633*, TorB, ms. with no reference number from the Diocesan Library in Pelplin, originating from the convent in Toruń, Soprano partbook, f. 53r 95
- Fig. 13:** *Ave maris stella*, setting for four parts in *alternatim* technique, ms. akc. 127 from the Gdańsk Library of PAN, Alto partbook probably from the convent in Toruń, k. 136v 100
- Fig. 14:** *Canticis sanctam*, motet to the glory of St Anne, ms. L 1643 from the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, which probably came from the Benedictine convent in Jarosław, Soprano book of the first choir, pp. 58–59 107
- Fig. 15:** *Salve Regina* and *Regina coeli*, eight-voice settings in *alternatim* technique, ms. L 1643 held at the Diocesan Library in Sandomierz, probably from the Benedictine nuns convent in Jarosław, Alto I choir partbook, pp. 40–41 117
- Fig. 16:** *Et in terra* (fragment) and *Patrem* (fragm.) Canto voice and bass line serving as the basis of realising the organ accompaniment, „Księga organisty” (Organist’s book), ms 10 at the Library of the Benedictine Sisters Abbey in Przemyśl, k. 7v 137
- Fig. 17:** Boxed positive of the Sandomierz Benedictines. Property of the Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz. Photograph from the Museum collection 148
- Fig. 18:** Tangent piano belonging to the Sandomierz Benedictine nuns constructed by Ignacy Skurski in 1774. Property of the Diocesan Museum “Dom Długosza” in Sandomierz. Photograph from the Museum collection 149
- Fig. 19:** Kazimierz Boczkowski, *Christus resurgens ex mortuis*, title page, ms. 244/A VII 4 BDSand. At the top, the inscription “Klaryny na skrzypcach grać trzeba” (Clarini parts should be played on violins) 151
- Fig. 20:** Fragment of *Porządki chorowe* ms. D4. Archive of Lvov Benedictine Sisters in Krzeszów (quoted as PL), pp. 74–74 166

- Fig. 21:** *Missa pro defunctis* by Andrzej Siewiński, title page with the possessory note of the scribe, Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, ms. 79/A II 19 BDSand 187
- Fig. 22:** *O Jezu, iakeś ciężko skatowany*, ms. L 1642 BDSand (four-part cantional), notated by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna, Canto I partbook, pp. 2–3 207
- Fig. 23:** Untitled compositions identified as Minuets for harpsichord by Johann Baptist Neruda, from ms. L 1668 BDSand (The organ book of Dygulska), p. 139 221
- Fig. 24:** *Zrozumienie Consonancyi dobrych i złych*. Fragment of the didactic remarks from ms.10 from the Library of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl 225
- Fig. 25:** Untitled work, fragment. An exercise (variations) showing various textural possibilities in arranging the same bass line. Ms. 10 Library of the Abbey of Benedictine Sisters in Przemyśl, p. 38r 232
- Fig. 26:** *Gloria in excelsis Deo. Kuba, Michał czyli śpicie*, carol 2S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, bass vla, *fundamento*; copied by Zofia Bratysiewiczówna in 1726, ms. 359/AVII 119, parts Canto 2do and Basso 245
- Fig. 27:** *Beata Salomea (Cunegundis)*, beginning of the aria from ms. BDSand 134/A III 34, scribe Christian, Piarist 265

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Index of Names

A

Aaron Pietro 117
Agrell Johann Joachim 216, 283,
288, 301
Andermanówna (Andrecka)
N. *Kunegunda* 200
Andre Louis 224, 303
Andrzej, confessor of the Poznań
Benedictine Nuns 84, 87
Anerio Francesco 80, 123
Angela Serafina 29
Anna Jagiellonka, the Queen of
Poland 168
Anna św. 107
Apel Willi 301
Arco Livia d' 33
Artomiusz Piotr (Krzyszczak
Piotr) 79
Ataman Julian 160, 165, 180,
227, 301
August II, the King of Poland
191, 224
Augustynowicz–Ciecierska Halina
153, 301
Azzolini Isidoro 37

B

Baade Coleen 15, 16, 30–32, 35, 37,
38, 142, 188, 202, 228, 301
Bach Carl Philipp Emanuel 147, 212,
214, 258, 309
Badalla Rosa Giacinta 36
Bagien Anna 88
Baldoni Thomaso D. 116
Balicka Marianna 142, 188
Banchieri Adriano 116
Barr Raymond A. 289
Bartosz, organist from Poznań 84, 87

Bartoszewski Walenty 207
Barzycki Andrzej 16
Bastrzyk Stanisław 233, 301
Bazielich Wiktor 266
Bebak Marek 208, 209, 301
Benedict Saint 11, 28, 47, 58, 59, 63,
89, 100, 106, 114, 135, 154, 157,
158, 160, 161, 165, 188, 189, 195,
196, 206, 241, 295, 296, 302
Bengtsson Ingmar 288, 301
Berdux Silke 143, 301
Biber Anna Magdalena von 39
Biber Heinrich Ignaz Franz von 39
Biber Ludmilla Barbara von 39
Biechteler Regina 39
Bielawska Katarzyna Gertruda 267
Bieńkowska Irena 15, 131, 158, 297,
301, 302
Binder Christlieb
Sigmund 238, 306
Bittner Jan (Johann) 146, 295
Bobolanka (Bobola) Elżbieta 132
Bobrowska Jadwiga 77, 302
Boczkowski Kazimierz Michał 150,
151, 208, 236, 237, 239, 242, 247,
252–254, 292, 304, 315
Boer Berti H. van 288, 301
Bogucka Maria 19, 20, 302
Boguński Jan 205
Bohdanowicz Bazyle 236, 247
Bohdanowicz Bogna 259
Borkowska Małgorzata 11, 12, 14,
15, 18–20, 40–44, 46, 49–51, 53,
57, 63–66, 68, 76, 81, 84, 87–89,
96, 98, 101, 102, 109, 115, 132,
136, 142, 147, 153, 158, 162, 164,
165, 171, 173, 177, 178, 183–186,
189–197, 201, 226, 227, 241,

- 249, 254, 259, 264, 273, 280, 298,
302, 305
- Borromeo Carlo 29
- Borromeo Federigo 28
- Bottrigari Hercole 35, 36
- Bowers Jane 27, 34–36, 302, 309, 311
- Boyd Michael 222
- Braciszowicz Albert 186
- Brant Jan 71, 72, 80
- Braticewicz (Bratysiewicz), musician
186, 188
- Bratkowski Tadeusz 13, 159,
302, 303
- Bratysiewicówna Agnieszka 89, 182
- Bratysiewicówna Zofia 89, 138,
140, 141, 160, 182, 185, 186–188,
196, 206, 207, 209, 239, 240, 242,
243–245, 293
- Bristiger Michał 224, 303
- Brixi Frantisek Xavier 238, 246, 258,
308, 312
- Bronikowska Anna, Abbess 159
- Brzechffa Stefan 41, 295
- Brzezińska Barbara 303
- Brzoskówna Helena *Scholastyka* 201
- Burek Krzysztof 147, 206, 233,
301–303, 312
- Burmeister Joachim 77
- Butt John 34, 311
- C**
- Carey Frank 117, 303
- Carter Tim 34, 311
- Castiglione Baldassarre 27
- Cecilia Saint 34
- Cempura Henryk 260–264,
266–269, 303
- Cerone Pietro 117
- Cervantes Miguel de 37
- Cesti Antonio 239
- Ceu Violenta do 25
- Chaniecki Zbigniew 191, 303
- Chantal Jeanne de 19
- Chęcińska Marianna 141, 188
- Chęciński, trumpeter 141, 146, 188
- Chinelli Giovanni Battista 123
- Chlewicka (Chlewnicka)
N. *Benedykta* 200
- Chodyła Zbigniew 82, 303
- Chomiński Józef M. 184, 303
- Christian Fidelis a Sancto
Laurentio 264
- Christian Piarist 265
- Chwałek Jan 147, 218, 260, 266,
288, 297
- Chybiński Adolf 184, 190, 191, 208,
237, 303
- Cichończyk Andrzej 103
- Cięciłowicz (Dziędziłowicz), music
teacher 158, 182
- Ciołkowska Estera 201
- Clavius Christophorus 95, 96
- Cocciola Giovanni Battista 131,
297, 301
- Cozzolani Margaritta 36
- Cruz Juana Ines de la 23, 24, 291
- Curry Robert Michael 259, 260
- Ćwiek Henryk 205, 206, 213, 303
- Czaplicówna Bogumiła
Benedykta 201
- Czaplicówna Katarzyna 88
- Czarnkowska Anna 66
- Czeladzińska Krystyna 140, 196,
197, 240, 242
- Czeladzińska Łucja 140, 142, 143,
194, 196, 242
- Czyżewska Anna *Walburga* 201
- D**
- Dąbek Joanna 239, 304
- Dąbek Stanisław 12, 59, 65, 66, 92,
96, 138, 208, 237, 250–255, 304
- Dąbrowska Marianna
Aleksandra 267

Daniłowiczowa Zofia
 Daniłowicz Dorota, ksieni 66, 153
 Dankowski Wojciech 237, 258
 Dębołęcka Regina 88
 Dembowski Ireneusz 190, 191, 299
 Derwich Marek 15
 Dittersdorf Carl Ditters von 197,
 238, 258305, 307
 Długosz Józef 36, 45, 148, 149, 291,
 292, 299
 Dmeński Jakub 215, 304
 Domasłowski Jerzy 59, 60, 62,
 64, 304
 Dorszowska (Dorszewska) Cecylia
Marianna 261, 266, 267
 Douglas Lee 304
 Dressler Gallus 77
 Drzewiecka Karolina 200
 Dulcka Zofia 48, 49, 59, 81, 305
 Dulski Jan 80
 Durante Francesco 231
 Duszakiewiczówna Barbara 161, 202
 Dutkiewiczówna Elżbieta 142, 150,
 152, 188
 Dyer Joseph 247
 Dygulska Jadwiga 14, 141, 147, 182,
 188–190, 205, 213–222, 242, 266,
 267, 289, 293, 297, 298, 304
 Działowska Joanna 199
 Dzięgielewski Stanisław 81

E

Eliasz Karmelita 195, 237
 Emmering Thomas 289, 311
 Erdmann Maria 224, 267, 304
 Este Alfons d' 33, 36
 Evangelisti Silvia 19, 21, 23, 25, 304

F

Fabiańska Teresa Ozanna 218, 219,
 260, 261, 266, 267, 270, 281, 282,
 284, 286, 288, 304

Fabricius Melchior 119
 Fankidejski Jakub 81, 304
 Faruchowiczówna Marianna
Febronia 200
 Feicht Hieronim 119, 304
 Fenaroli Fedele 231
 Fergiss Bogumiła *Scholastyka* 199
 Fijałówna (Fijolówna, Tyjałówna)
 Anna 81, 97
 Fils (Filz) Anton 239
 Finscher Ludwig 301
 Fiorino Ippolito 33, 35
 Franciszek, organmeister 157

G

Gajkowski Jan 304
 Gancarczyk Paweł 260, 304, 315, 317
 Garzeński Mikołaj 186
 Gąsiorowska Marcjanna 255
 Gasparini Francesco 231
 Gembicki Piotr, Bishop 249
 Gembiczówna Anna *Klemencja*
 182, 201
 Girzyńska Apolinara 101, 201
 Gjerdingen Robert 230, 231
 Glemma Tadeusz 305
 Glinczanka (Glinka) *Zuzanna*
 109, 201
 Głuszkowski Marcin 177
 Gołąbek Jakub 258
 Gołoś Jerzy 14, 212, 214, 216, 217,
 289, 297, 298, 305
 Gonzales de Salazar Alfonsa 37
 Góra Barbara 102, 305
 Gorczycki Grzegorz Gerwazy 195,
 237, 242
 Gorczyn Aleksander 224, 229,
 304, 310
 Górska Zofia 89
 Górski Karol 14, 44, 48, 49, 55, 60–
 62, 66, 77, 87, 193, 201, 298, 305
 Grabiec Dominika 237, 240, 305

Graun Carl Heinrich 217, 220, 239,
246, 285, 289, 306
Graupner Christoph 215, 283
Grave Margaret 238, 305
Greco Gaetano 231
Greco Rocco 231
Grzebień Ludwik 71, 305
Guarini Anna 33
Guarini Giovanni Battista 33
Gumowska Apolonia 109
Gwioździk Jolanta 14, 15, 50, 66,
153, 167, 305, 306
Gzowska Justyna 201

H

Habermann Jan Piotr 154,
182, 197, 198, 237, 239, 241,
246, 298
Hackenberger Andreas
(Hakenberger Andrzej) 131
Handl (Gallus) Jacob 94
Hantuch Caietano 238
Hartwig Dieter 238, 306
Hasse Johann Adolf 218–220, 222,
238, 246, 266, 282, 284–287
Hauptmann–Fischer Ewa 246, 306
Hayburn Robert Francis 306
Haydn Józef 238, 258, 283
Heinichen Johann David 231
Henzel Christoph 289, 306
Hernowska (Hortowska/Harnowska)
Katarzyna 161
Hertling Joanna 13, 209, 210, 211,
227, 306
Higginbottom Edward 78, 306
Hildegard of Bingen 25
Hinz Edward 13, 60, 62, 64, 68, 69,
79, 91, 306
Hubieńska Józefa 256

I

Izdebska Helena *Elekta* 200

J

Jagodyński Serafin 207
Jakimowicz Teresa 306
Jakóbczak Andrzej 16
Janutowiczówna Joanna
Faustyna 200
Janutowiczówna Rozalia
Liberata 200
Jasiński Tomasz 77, 211, 306, 317
Jaskólska Joanna 79, 83, 85, 86
Jawaskówna Urszula 86
Jaworecka (Jaworeczka) Barbara 255
Jazdon Artur 74
Jeż Tomasz 15, 63, 94, 246, 259, 307,
316, 317
Jeżówna Elżbieta 87, 182, 202, 227
Jochymczyk Maciej 16, 103, 238, 299
Johnson Cleveland 307

K

Kačić Ladislav 15, 32, 315
Kalińska Jadwiga 96
Kaniorska Barbara Rozalia 267
Karkucińska Wanda 65, 298
Karniewska Anna 88
Karniewska Tekla 200
Karśnicki Józef 165
Kawczyńska Marzena 13,
209–212, 307
Każmierczak Karolina 238, 307
Kendrick Robert 14, 20, 28–30,
35, 307
Kieferling Krystyna 103, 107,
108, 307
Kiernicka Anna Rozalia Benedykta
Scholastyka 255, 257
Kinga, Saint 259, 264
Klemens Gryfita z Ruszczy 249
Klimecka Kunegunda Ludwina
261, 267
Kochanowicz Jerzy 63, 71, 72,
305, 307

Kochnowska N. *Magdalena* 201
 Koldau Linda Maria 15, 32, 33, 38,
 39, 143, 307
 Konarska Barbara 96, 97
 Konik Marcin 12, 16, 103, 138, 206,
 208, 250, 258, 309
 Konopka Maria 186–189, 196, 239,
 252, 307
 Konrad Paweł 96
 Constance Habsburg, the Queen of
 Poland 80, 88
 Kopczykówna Zofia *Salomea* 199
 Korsakówna Katarzyna (Aniela)
Urszula 200
 Koskoff Ellen 314
 Kossakowska Anna,
 Abbess 155
 Kostczanka Anna I, Abbess 89, 106,
 108, 120, 269
 Kostczanka Anna II, Abbess 86
 Kostka Jerzy 62, 307
 Kowańska Urszula 65
 Kozłowska Franciszka 141
 Kozłowska Katarzyna *Cecylia* 182,
 197, 199, 242
 Kozłowska, singer 141
 Kożuchowska Wiktoria 200
 Kraiński Szymon 298
 Krajewski, father 82
 Krasnowolski Bogusław 249,
 251, 307
 Krassowski, composer 247
 Krasuska Róża 148, 237
 Kawczyńska Marzena 209, 212
 Królikowski, convent
 servant 177
 Kruszelnicka Elżbieta Benigna,
 Abbess 167
 Krzesichleb Piotr (Artomiusz
 Piotr) 79
 Krzeszówna Barbara Apolinarą
 267, 268

Krzewdzieński (Krzewiński)
 Paweł 186
 Krzewska Katarzyna 141, 188, 196
 Krzykowski F., composer 239
 Krzyżaniak Barbara 208, 308
 Kucborska, Benedictine nun from
 Toruń 96
 Kucborski Jan, Bishop 81
 Kumanowska Zofia *Gertruda* 199
 Kupcewiczówna Marianna 89
 Kurdwanowska Anna, Abbess 155

L

Łącki, musician 196
 Łączyńska Antonina 201
 Lane Jay 238, 305
 Lasocki Łukasz 176
 Lasso Orlando di 64, 92, 94, 95
 Łaszewska Marianna 199
 Latosińska (Latoszyńska)
Caritas 254
 Łążeńska Dorota 56, 73
 Lechleitner Ferdynand 195, 237, 239,
 240, 243, 258, 305
 Łęcki Sebastian 196
 Leonard G. Ratner Leonard G. 289
 Leopolda Marcin 64, 118, 119, 304
 Leśniewska Anna 208
 Leszczyńska Agnieszka 15
 Lewański Julian 244, 308
 Leżeńska Marianna 88
 Lilius Franciszek 208, 301
 Linde Samuel 308
 Lisiecka Olga 120, 238, 246, 308
 Locatelli Pietro Antonio 216, 217,
 283, 288
 Łojowska Józefa 256
 Lotti Antonio 282
 Luna Georg 239
 Luzzasco 35, 36
 Łyjak Waldemar 13, 143, 188, 308
 Łyjak Wiktor 143, 189

M

- Maciejewski Tadeusz 13, 73, 163,
 179, 180, 209–211, 213, 223, 251,
 252, 256, 257–259, 308
 Maciejowski Bernard, Bishop 249
 Mądry Alina 13, 15, 82, 147, 168,
 238, 246, 247, 309
 Mailand Jacob 95
 Majewska Anna, Abbess 205
 Majewska Julianna 235
 Makarewicz Stanisław 146
 Małachowska Katarzyna Wizenna,
 Abbess 256
 Maleszyńska Krystyna 105, 209, 308
 Malinowski Władysław 129, 308
 Manczukiewiczówna
 (Mańczukowska) Magdalena
Benedykta 200
 Marcela de San Felix 23
 Marchwica Wojciech 168, 308
 Marcin, organist from Poznań 84
 Mary Magdalene, Saint 28, 82
 Markiewiczówna Teresa 200
 Marszał Tadeusz 308
 Marszałek Wiesław 106, 309
 Matuszewiczówna Anna *Aniela* 201
 McNamara Jo Ann Kay 19, 309
 Merici Angela 19
 Michalkiewiczówna
 (Michałkiewiczówna) Anna
 162, 226
 Michałowiczówna Anna 65, 86
 Michałowska Scholastyka *Tekla* 201
 Michałowska Teresa 205, 213, 309
 Michałowski Kornel 74
 Mielczewski Marcin 123, 311, 317
 Mioduszewski Michał Marcin 298
 Moczulska Marianna *Bogumiła* 199
 Mokronowska Marianna 140, 142,
 144, 147, 194, 197, 242
 Molza Tarquinia 33, 34
 Monson Craig 116
 Monterosso Raffaello 301
 Monteverdi Claudio 123, 301
 Morawska (Murawska)
 N. *Scholastyka* 200
 Morawska Katarzyna 118, 309
 Morley Thomas 117
 Morska Urszula 140, 142, 148, 179,
 195, 237, 241, 242
 Mortęska Magdalena 12, 41, 42, 44,
 45, 48, 49, 51, 54, 55, 57–63, 120,
 291, 295
 Moszyńska Marianna 140, 142, 143,
 144, 165, 190, 194, 195, 196, 205,
 240, 242
 Moszyńska Scholastyka 9, 142, 164,
 194, 296
 Mozart Wolfgang Amadeusz 190,
 191, 258, 299
 Mrowiec Karol 209
 Mrozowski, composer 237
 Muranyi Robert Arpad 94, 309
 Musiałowski Jan 197
 Muszyńska Katarzyna 89, 140, 143,
 184, 185, 242
- N**
- Nadolny Anastazy 16
 Nassarre Pablo 38
 Naumann Johann Gottlieb 144, 239
 Neruda Johann Baptist Goerg 217,
 220, 221, 287, 289, 293, 310
 Newcomb Andrew 27, 33, 34, 309
 Niedziałkowska Felicjanna 201
 Niewiarowska Agnieszka Zuzanna
 Salomea 255
 Nieznanowski Stefan 205
 Nir Roman 250, 310
 Nobiszowska (Nubiszowska/
 Nobiszewska) Teresa 140, 242
 Nowakiewicz Kazimierz 259
 Nowak–Romanowicz Alina 241, 310
 Nucius Johannes 77

O

O'Reagan Noel 16
 Obuchowiczówna N. *Aniela* 200
 Ogrodzka Helena Scholastyka 257
 Oleśnicka Anna, ksieni 106
 Oliwińska Scholastyka Barbara
 262, 268
 Opalińska Franciszka 85, 86
 Opaliński Andrzej, Bishop 83
 Opaliński Jan 86
 Opaliński Piotr 86
 Opowska (Oszowska/Hoszowska)
 Barbara 161, 199
 Ordynówna (Hordynówna)
 Magdalena 158
 Orsini Giovanni Battista 26
 Orzelska Barbara 83, 86
 Osostowicz–Sutkowska Alina
 94, 299
 Ostrogska Anna 89, 103, 106–108,
 120, 307
 Ożegalska Barbara *Placyda* 200

P

Pacelli Asprilio 131, 298
 Pacewiczówna Brygida
Walburga 200
 Pachowska Katarzyna 256
 Page Janet K. 15, 40
 Paisiello Giovanni 259
 Paleotti Gabriele 25
 Palestrina Giovanni Pierluigi da 25,
 71, 94–96, 292
 Pamuła Maria 224, 310
 Patalas Aleksandra 15, 215, 239, 310
 Patruus Jan 82
 Patruusówna Anna 82
 Paverara Laura 33
 Pelczar Roman 14, 108, 113, 119,
 120, 310
 Pergolesi Giovanni Battista 220,
 246, 307

Perkowska Placyda 199, 201
 Perz Mirosław 227, 259, 260, 310
 Piccolomini Francesco 26
 Piccolomini Maria Francesca 30, 36
 Pilch Vaclav 239
 Pietruszyńska Marianna
 Gertruda 255
 Pikulik Jerzy 194, 311
 Pilkova Zdenka 289, 310
 Pińska Teresa 200
 Piórecka Konstancja 100, 101
 Piotr, organist 81
 Piwnicka Elżbieta, Abbess 101
 Płaskowska Ewa 199
 Płoszyński, singing teacher 138,
 158, 182
 Podberska Delfina 199
 Podejko Paweł 13, 62, 310
 Pogorzelska Petronela *Gertruda*
 182, 201
 Popinigis Danuta 15, 75, 94,
 98, 310
 Pośpiech Remigiusz 317
 Potocki Stanisław 233
 Potulicka Katarzyna 41
 Preczówna (Preiczówna)
Konstancja 201
 Prokop Krzysztof 160, 310
 Prosnak Jan 194, 310
 Przybyszewska–Jarmińska Barbara
 14, 15, 80, 91, 96, 98, 123, 131,
 224, 298, 311, 317
 Psurska Katarzyna *Stanisława*,
 Abbess 263
 Pych Leopold 171, 237, 241

R

Radegonda, Saint 28, 36
 Radomska Salomea Klara 267
 Radwańska Martyna 256
 Radziwiłł Jerzy, Bishop 249
 Radziwiłł Krzysztof 57

- Radziwiłł Michał Kazimierz
 „Rybeńka” 158, 302
 Ramhaufski Anna Kunegunda 39
 Ramhaufski Maria Eleonora 39
 Rathgeber Valentin 218, 266
 Ratner Leonard G. 289, 311
 Reardon Coleen 14, 21, 28, 35,
 26, 311
 Reiss Józef 311
 Rej Mikołaj 253
 Rhein Karol de 148, 237
 Riedt Krzysztof 83
 Riepel Joseph 284, 289, 311
 Rodowski Aleksander 259
 Rogólska Konstancja 199
 Romana Francesca 19
 Rosand Ellen 34, 311
 Rose Stephen 34, 202, 311
 Różański Wojciech 161
 Rubowiczówna Krystyna *Helena* 201
 Ruciński Chrystian 237, 243, 244
 Runowski Michał F. 218, 266,
 267, 311
 Ruth Krystian Józef 142, 144, 152,
 194–196, 237–240, 246, 299
 Rybicka Irena 16, 103, 106, 114,
 118, 120
 Rybińska Marianna 201
 Rychlik Ignacy 113, 311
 Rzeszotarska Małgorzata 201
- S**
- Sadie Stanley 9, 78
 Salmonowicz Stanisław 311
 Sapięha Lew 131, 190, 199, 297
 Sapiężanka Marianna 199
 Schale Christian Friedrich 288,
 289, 301
 Schiedermayr Johann Baptist 259
 Scholastica, Saint 106, 111, 114,
 153, 234
 Schweiger Anna Maria 39
 Szczeniecki Paweł 153, 301
 Sędzimirówna Anna Kornelia 267
 Sędzimirówna Konstancja 267
 Senowna (Csenowna/Essenówna)
 Amelia 199
 Sessa Claudia 36
 Sesterkiewiczówna Agnieszka
 Aniela 267
 Siemianowska Marianna, Abbess
 144, 147, 179, 190, 192, 195, 213,
 243, 255
 Sieprawski Paweł 185, 238,
 245, 299
 Sierakowski Wacław Hieronim,
 Bishop 139, 160, 161, 163, 165,
 179, 180, 227, 278, 301, 310
 Siewiński Andrzej 187, 237, 243,
 247, 293, 316
 Siniarska–Czaplicka J. 98, 105, 312
 Skuratowicz Jan 312
 Skurski Ignacy 147, 149, 292
 Smaczny Jan 238, 312
 Śmidowiczówna Apolonia 257
 Smith Candance 116
 Smolarek Dariusz 264, 307
 Snopkowiecki Michał S. 108
 Sobieski Jakub 28, 36, 78, 299
 Sołtyk Kajetan, Bishop 146
 Sołtykówna Katarzyna, Abbess 161
 Sosnowska Agnieszka 140, 142, 188,
 197, 203, 242
 Sosnowska Franciszka 200
 Spaeth Franz Jacob 147
 Spiegler, kompozytor 220, 284, 289
 Srebrnicka Justyna Gertruda
 Scholastyka 255
 Sroczyńska Katarzyna 141, 142,
 188, 203
 Stadlmayr Barbara 39
 Stadlmayr Johann 39
 Stamic Karel 259
 Staniowski Stefan 177
 Stanislaus, Saint 92, 99, 156, 176,
 190, 191, 316

- Starowolski Szymon 224
 Stefanowiczówna Marianna
 Antonina 200
 Stelmachowska Bożena 76, 312
 Stępień Urszula 147, 312
 Stogniewówna Anna 140, 195, 240
 Stradomska Zofia Urszula 254
 Struplówna Weronika 200
 Strykowska (Strykowska)
 Katarzyna 83
 Strzemieszówna Zofia 141, 188
 Sucharzewska Dorota 85
 Sulgostowska Anna 88
 Surowiak Zofia 237, 312
 Sutkowski Adam 94, 299
 Świątkiewicz Marcin 230, 231, 313
 Świerczek Wendelin 13, 93, 102, 104,
 106, 118, 205, 208, 213, 234, 235,
 237, 240, 243, 252–255, 313
 Świetochowski Roman 313
 Szachowiczówna Franciszka 256
 Szadek Tomasz 308
 Szadurska Katarzyna 199
 Szadzionka (Szadzianka) Katarzyna
 65, 79, 86
 Szarzyński Stanisław Sylwester
 238, 243
 Szehelówna (Szellówna) Regina
 Katarzyna 200
 Szelest Marcin 211, 312
 Szeliga Jan 103
 Szembek Anna *Scholastyka* 199
 Szembek Krzysztof Hilary,
 Bishop 144
 Szemiotówna Anna *Joanna* 182, 201
 Szklińska Ludwika *Aldegunda* 9,
 153–155, 164, 166, 167, 169, 172,
 182, 199, 296
 Szlagowska Danuta 14, 15, 75, 94,
 98, 99, 102, 301, 310, 312, 314
 Szoldrski Jan, Bishop 82
 Szoldrski Władysław 56, 60, 298
 Szweykowska Anna 168, 298
 Szweykowska Katarzyna *Justyna* 201
 Szweykowski Zygmunt Marian 168,
 198, 241, 243, 244, 246, 298, 312
 Szylar Anna 14, 15, 52, 53, 139, 141,
 142, 146, 162, 182, 205, 235, 255,
 297, 312, 313
 Szymończyk Mateusz 103
- T**
- Tarczyński Paweł 262
 Tarłówna Franciszka, Abbess 146,
 179, 295
 Tarnowska Zofia Toedora 254
 Tempska Elżbieta 201
 Theodor, music teacher 158
 Tick Judith 27, 34, 35, 302, 309,
 311, 314
 Tinctoris Johannes 71
 Toeschi Carl Joseph 239
 Toledo Antonio Sebastian de 24, 31
 Torres Francisco de 30, 31
 Trąmpczyńska Teresa
 Treitler Leo 312
 Tremmel Erich 143, 301
 Tritto Giovanni 231
 Trościński Grzegorz 207, 208, 314
 Trzemeska Magdalena 264
 Tupalska Teresa 96
 Tworkowski Mikołaj 161
- U**
- Uszyńska N. *Agnieszka* 199, 201
- V**
- Vanhal Jan Krtitel 259
 Vannini Catarina 28, 30, 36
 Vega Lope de 23
 Velaz Maria 31
 Venturelli Cherubina 25
 Victoria Tomas Luis da 94
 Victorini, composer 236, 238, 243
 Vizzano Lucrezia 30
 Vogel Benjamin 147, 314

W

Waclaw z Szamotuł 160, 190, 253
 Wagner Arkadiusz 103
 Waliszewska Konsytancja 199
 Walter–Mazur Magdalena 33, 78, 85,
 91, 120, 122, 126, 128, 136, 138, 140,
 143, 144, 154, 188, 190, 194, 202,
 215, 228, 299, 304, 314, 315, 317
 Walterskirchen Gerhard 15, 32,
 39, 315
 Wański Jan 239, 244, 308
 Ward Mary 19
 Weaver Ellen 23
 Węgrzyn–Klisowska Walentyna
 237, 315
 Wichorska Dorota 56, 67, 73, 120
 Więckowska Marianna 199
 Wieczewska Katarzyna Jolanta 267
 Wieczorek Ryszard J. 15, 77, 316, 317
 Wiesiołowski Jacek 65, 298
 Winnicka Agnieszka 87, 182
 Wińska Zofia *Teresa* 201
 Witkowska Magdalena 142
 Witkowska–Zaremba Elżbieta 316
 Wizenna, abbess 249
 Wójcik Walenty 316
 Wojnowska Elżbieta 16, 94, 316
 Wołkówna Anna 200
 Wołodkowiczówna Anna *Teresa* 200
 Wołoszko Andrzej 238, 247
 Wolska Aleksandra *Charitas* 200
 Wolska Regina 255
 Woytanowicz Jan Ignacy 159, 302
 Wróbel Barbara 237, 316
 Wronkowska Sonia 120, 122, 126,
 128, 219
 Wronowicz Maciej 186
 Wybranowska Katarzyna 143, 176
 Wygrzywański Józef 259
 Wyhe Cordula van 15, 37, 301
 Wyrzykowski Andrzej 234

Z

Zabłocka Felicjana *Teresa* 201
 Zabłocka Gertruda *Kazimiera* 201
 Zabłocka Helena *Iluminata* 200
 Żaboklicka Helena 108, 109, 138,
 159, 198, 240, 242
 Zahakówna Felicjana 200
 Zajązkowski A., musician 196
 Zajązkowski Roman 143, 185,
 243, 247
 Zandtfelder Nicolas Joseph Ignatius
 238, 243
 Zarlino Gioseffo 117
 Zbięszkowska (Zbierzchowska)
 Rozalia *Helena* 200
 Zbyszewska Anna 86
 Żegłowiczówna (Żengałowiczówna)
 Antonina *Eufrozyna* 201
 Ziaińska (Ziecińska) Katarzyna 162,
 163, 227
 Ziegler Reinold 94, 298
 Zieleński Mikołaj 129, 131, 308
 Zipoli Domenico 211, 218, 266
 Żórawska–Witkowska Alina 190,
 191, 316
 Żukińska Katarzyna 100, 101
 Zygmunt August, the King of
 Poland 191
 Zygmuntowska Cecylia 140,
 141, 182, 188, 190, 192, 193,
 201, 202
 Zygmuntowska Julianna 191
 Zygmuntowska Kunegunda 192
 Zygmuntowska Salomea 191
 Zygmuntowski Michał 191
 Zygmuntowski Adam 191
 Zygmuntowski Adam, father of
 Cecylia 191
 Zygmuntowski Józef 190
 Zygmuntowski Mikołaj 191
 Zygmuntowski Teodor 190, 191

Index of Places

B

Berlin 191, 284, 285–287, 289
Bochnia 103, 259
Bologna 22, 25, 27, 35, 224
Borek Stary 191
Brussels 283
Bysławek 199, 277

C

Chęciny 264, 266
Chełmno 9, 12–15, 41, 42, 44–60,
62–68, 70–74, 76, 78–84, 86, 88,
89, 91, 96, 101, 113, 120, 132, 133,
135, 136, 138–140, 142, 144, 146,
148, 150, 152–154, 156, 158, 160,
162, 163, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172,
174, 176–178, 180–184, 186, 188,
190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 199, 200,
202, 204, 205, 223, 228, 233, 242,
249–252, 261, 269–271, 274, 275,
277–280, 291, 295, 296, 298, 304,
306, 314
Copenhagen 283
Częstochowa (Jasna Góra) 191,
309, 310

D

Dresden 144, 214, 219, 231, 238,
285–287, 289
Drohiczyn 199, 278

F

Ferrara 35, 36
Florence 21

G

Gdańsk 13, 14, 62, 75, 76, 80, 94,
98–102, 120, 131, 154, 201, 212,

262, 267, 292, 297, 301, 302, 305,
310, 312, 314, 315

Gidle 191

Grudziądz 164, 199, 279

Guadalajara 30

H

Hamburg 284
Harnosand 283

I

Ibramowice 183, 192

J

Jarosław 14, 51, 56, 67, 72, 73, 79, 86,
88, 89, 91, 102, 103, 105–109, 111,
113, 115, 117–121, 123, 125, 127,
129, 131–133, 135, 136, 138, 139,
159, 160, 161, 165, 179, 184, 198,
199, 202, 205, 233, 240–242, 269,
270, 275, 278, 279, 292, 269, 302,
307, 310, 311

K

Kraków 12, 18, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 59,
63, 71, 91, 103, 105, 129, 168, 184,
190, 192, 198, 206–208, 212, 215,
224, 236–239, 249, 250, 252, 256,
259, 263, 266, 274, 297, 298, 299,
302–305, 307–312, 314, 316

Kroże 279

Krzyszów 16, 66, 153, 164–167, 197,
199, 267, 268, 277, 292, 296

L

Lambach 39
Legnica 94, 316
Leipzig 191, 216, 283, 284, 287

Łomża 51, 162, 200, 279
 London 9, 78, 219, 286, 314
 Lublin 12, 13, 18, 42, 44, 46, 52, 58,
 93, 96, 103, 135, 159, 186, 203,
 209, 218, 223, 260, 264, 296, 297,
 302, 304, 307, 312

Lund 282

Lvov 66, 115, 119, 135, 137, 138,
 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151,
 153–155, 157–159, 161, 163–169,
 171–176, 179, 182–184, 195,
 197–199, 205, 233, 237, 239,
 240–242, 252, 256, 263, 268,
 270, 274, 275, 277, 280, 292, 296,
 305, 306

M

Madrid 31
 Mąkoszyn 195
 Manchester 285
 Milan 14, 20, 21, 27–30, 35, 36, 78,
 231, 307
 Minsk 200
 Mogiła 241, 246
 Montecassino 282, 286
 Munich 22, 95

N

New Haven 285, 288
 Nieśwież 57, 58, 115, 135,
 137–139, 141, 143, 145, 147,
 149, 151, 153, 155–159,
 161, 163, 165, 171, 178, 180,
 182, 200, 223, 256, 263, 270,
 277–279, 295, 296, 302
 Nonnberg 15, 32, 38, 39, 315
 Novo Mesto 282

O

Orsza 19, 20, 279, 302
 Orvieto 25

P

Pampeluna 38
 Pelplin 11, 13, 16, 56, 62, 66–74,
 79–81, 91, 93–95, 97–99, 101, 102,
 119, 131, 291, 292, 295–299, 301,
 304–306
 Pilica 233
 Podoliniec 237, 264, 307
 Poznań 9, 16, 41, 46, 64–66, 71,
 73–80, 82–88, 147, 164, 200, 219,
 223, 238, 257, 278, 295, 296, 298,
 306–309, 312, 316
 Przemyśl 13, 16, 57, 67, 73, 103,
 120, 135–137, 139, 159, 160, 162,
 163, 165, 179, 195, 200, 205, 209,
 211–213, 223–229, 231, 232, 270,
 275, 279, 292, 293, 296, 301, 303,
 306–308, 310, 314

R

Radom 9, 41, 65, 76, 87, 88, 164, 182,
 183, 192, 193, 194, 200, 201, 202,
 208, 245, 267, 279, 298, 314
 Raków Opatowski 195, 239, 240
 Regensburg 289
 Rome 22, 28, 29, 36, 66, 95, 116, 155,
 211, 231

S

Salzburg 15, 32, 38, 39, 191, 315
 Sandomierz 9, 13, 14, 16, 41, 45, 65,
 72, 79, 88, 89, 97, 102, 103, 105–109,
 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121–123,
 125–129, 131, 133, 135–155,
 157–166, 168–171, 173–176, 179,
 182, 184–198, 201, 203, 205–209,
 213, 215, 220, 222, 223, 233–243,
 245, 246, 252, 255–258, 263, 264,
 266, 268, 270, 271, 274, 275, 278,
 291, 292, 295–297, 299, 301–305,
 307–309, 311–316

Segovia 38

Siena 14, 21, 30, 35, 37, 311

Sierpc 41, 42, 101, 201, 279

Słonim 65, 182, 201, 279

Smoleńsk 279

Staniątki 9, 12, 15, 42, 59, 65, 73, 93,
97, 138, 206, 208, 237, 239, 249–259,
261, 263, 265, 267, 269–271, 274,
304, 307–310, 313

Stary Sącz 15, 154, 218, 249, 259,
260–271, 274, 281, 303, 304, 311

Strzelno 96, 101

T

Tarnów 168, 259, 260, 303, 308

Toledo 24, 31

Toruń 11–14, 41, 42, 46, 48–50, 54,
56–60, 62–66, 70–76, 79–81, 83,
88, 91, 93, 95–101, 103, 120, 132,
135, 136, 164, 177, 201, 251, 275,
277–279, 291, 292, 295, 296, 298,
305, 306, 311, 314, 315

Trondheim 282

V

Valladolid 31

Vilnius 51, 66, 78, 156, 165, 171, 178,
182, 183, 201, 208, 277, 278, 279,
295–297

W

Warsaw 16, 67, 94, 158, 190, 211,
214, 224, 237, 302

Weimar 288

Wieliczka 259, 266

Wolfenbüttel 289

Wrocław 36, 86, 99, 105, 107,
162, 205, 209, 213, 260,
284, 299, 304, 308, 309,
312, 313

Z

Zamość 102, 191

Żarnowiec 16, 55, 56, 58, 65,
66, 73, 76, 80, 101, 102, 135,
156, 165, 171, 201, 277, 278,
295, 296, 302

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