

Religious Confraternities in a Polish Town. The Case in Sandomierz from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries.

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Introduction

Issues touching on religious confraternities are attracting greater attention in Polish historical studies. Yet, they seem to be more of a lateral interest as something that complements the activities of various institutions or units of church administration (parishes, dioceses, convents, monastic provinces, etc.), or those of their lay administrations. As a result, religious confraternities are rarely a topic for independent studies in Polish history.¹ A case in point is the role of religious confraternities in Sandomierz. Their activities have usually been discussed only in the margins of studies devoted to other fields of interest touching on this town. Because of this scarcity of scholarly work on the confraternities of Sandomierz, this article is based, for the most part, on primary source materials, confraternity registers, city records, consistory deeds, financial documents from convents, church chronicles, and confraternity prayer books. To support these primary materials further, early printed books have also been used, especially when they were relevant either to individual confraternities or to confraternal topics in general. Closer attention to confraternal issues in pre-partition Poland (pre-1772) not only provides us with a more detailed and fuller picture of confraternal life in Sandomierz, but also illustrates, on the basis of the activities

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- 1 See especially: Bolesław Kumor, 'Kościelne stowarzyszenia świeckich na ziemiach polskich w okresie przedrozbiorowym,' in Marian Rechowicz, Zbigniew Sułowski, ed., *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce*, vol. 1 (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1969); Hanna Zaremska, 'Bractwa w średniowiecznym Krakowie. Studium form społecznych życia religijnego,' (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1977); Władysław Bochnak, 'Religijne stowarzyszenia i bractwa katolików świeckich w diecezji wrocławskiej od XVI wieku do 1810 r.,' (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1983); Jerzy Kłoczowski, 'Wspólnoty chrześcijańskie. Grupy życia wspólnego w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim od starożytności do XV wieku,' (Kraków, 1964); Krystyna Kuźmak, 'Bractwa Matki Boskiej Wspomożycielki Chrześcijan na ziemiach polskich w XVIII stuleciu. Studium z dziejów kultu maryjnego i wspólnot chrześcijańskich w dawnej Polsce,' (Rzym: Papieski Instytut Studiów Kościelnych, 1973); Stanisław Litak, 'Bractwa religijne w Polsce przedrozbiorowej XIII–XVIII w. Rozwój i problematyka,' *Przegląd Historyczny* 88 (1997), pp. 499–523.

of the town's confraternities, certain phenomena and processes present in the entire confraternal movement of premodern Poland.

From the turn of the fifteenth century, Sandomierz was a place where a variety of religious brotherhoods and associations appeared, developed, and functioned. Their life-cycles show that the town responded with enthusiasm to new trends and processes evident not only in the structures of the Polish Church, but also in those of the universal Church. This study thus begins in the early fifteenth century and ends with the eighteenth century when Poland's political situation changed and new Enlightenment tendencies affected the Church, thus resulting in a reduction in the number of confraternities and in a general crisis for fraternal institutions. The terminus ad quem of this study coincides with the dissolution of the Jesuit order, an active proponent and propagator of confraternities and sodalities in Poland. The town's status as an ecclesiastical centre in the diocese, second only to Krakow, was of considerable importance. Sandomierz was also the capital of its own archdeaconry, which it shared with Zawichost. Its collegiate church and chapter, again second only to those of the Krakow cathedral, played an important role in the town's status. Moreover, several religious orders were present in Sandomierz and actively promoted various confraternities, associations, and third orders. Under these circumstances, an analysis of the activities of the confraternities of Sandomierz allows us to examine the town's devotional forms, which were unique in Poland, and illustrates the levels of cooperation among confraternities and between confraternities and clergy, especially in the course of jointly organized religious ceremonies.

Another important question to be considered hinges on the existence of so many confraternities in this mid-sized Polish town, which – in the seventeenth century – numbered only about 3,000 inhabitants. At the turn of the eighteenth century, the town's population fell to just over 2,000, and at the end of the Old Polish Period it rose again to about 3,000.

Situated on several hills on the left bank of the Vistula river, Sandomierz was founded in 1286 as a royal town on the basis of the Magdeburg law. In the period that interests us, it was the capital of the Sandomierz Voivodship. It had a royal castle and was a royal seat for the monarch during his travels around the country. The town was an important economic centre and port. Its inhabitants actively participated in inter-regional trade, acting as middlemen in the exchange of goods between Gdansk and the south-eastern parts of the Crown. An examination of the town's confraternities thus provides an important contribution towards a fuller understanding of the cultural-religious and social-economic life of Sandomierz.

The Religious Confraternities of Sandomierz

Between the fifteenth and eighteenth century, there were twenty confraternities and one Third Order (Franciscan) in Sandomierz. Prior to the Polish acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, there were six confraternities in the city:

the Archconfraternity of the Literati, the Confraternity of St. Anne, and the Confraternity of the Poor (all three at the church of St. Peter), the Curates confraternity (at the collegiate church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary), the Confraternity of the Poor (at the church of St. Paul) and the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit (at the Church of the Holy Spirit). They represented the most popular types of confraternities in Poland at this time. In the late sixteenth century, the Dominicans became more active in town and started a Confraternity of the Rosary (1597) at the church of St. James (at this time the Rosary confraternity was the most common confraternal association not only in Poland but also in Catholic Europe in general). In the seventeenth century, a confraternity of the Rosary was also present at the other Dominican convent in town, St. Mary Magdalene's. An important role was also played by the Jesuit order, introduced into the city early in the seventeenth century, for whom confraternities constituted a tool of counter-reformational renewal. Whether in all of Poland or just in Sandomierz, no order or diocesan church could equal the Jesuits in terms of the number of confraternities and influence on the various communities in town or in the region.² Marian sodalities, as popularised by the Jesuits among various social groups, as well as the eighteenth-century brotherhoods of the Good Death, the Sweetest Heart of Jesus, and Divine Providence, were most numerous in the two Polish provinces of the Jesuit Order.³ In the early eighteenth century, the confraternity of St. Barbara was founded at the parish church of St. Paul; it closely resembled the Jesuit brotherhood of the Good Death. The emergence of this type of confraternity, whose objective was to promote the piety of members and prepare them for a Christian death, was influenced by wars, natural disasters, and the demographic regression that overtook Poland. Because of these events, scapular confraternities appeared (like that of Our Lady of the Scapular at the Church of the Holy Spirit founded at the close of the seventeenth century), that promised Mary's protection in life and special graces after death.

Among Sandomierz churches, the collegiate church of the Blessed Virgin Mary was most important, for it gathered in its chapter the elite of the local clergy. The church was probably erected in the early eleventh century; sources mention that construction was authorized in a bull of Pope Eugenius II (1148). The Romanesque building was consecrated by Archbishop Piotr II of Gniezno in 1191. Soon afterwards King Casimir II the Just raised the church to collegiate status

2 Christopher F. Black, 'Confraternities,' in H. J. Hillerbrand, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 407; Ludwik Grzebien, ed., *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564–1995*, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1996), p.62.

3 Jerzy Flaga, 'Bractwa religijne w archidiecezji lubelskiej do końca XVIII w. Chronologia i terytorialne rozmieszczenie,' *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 42 (1981), p. 340.

and appointed five prelates and eight canons to it. During the reign of Casimir the Great, the Romanesque basilica was demolished and replaced with a Gothic church. Work on the new edifice was completed around 1360, and the church was consecrated by Jan Radlica, bishop of Krakow, in 1382. Thanks to the protection of successive rulers and church dignitaries, the collegiate church reached its highest level of importance and influence. For example, in the first third of the fifteenth century, King Ladislaus Jagiełło commissioned a number of Byzantine paintings for the presbytery depicting scenes from the lives of Mary and Jesus. Aside from Sandomierz, this type of painting can be found in Poland only in Krakow, Lublin and Wislica.⁴

In the sixteenth century, the chapter had six prelates and twelve canons. From its beginning, it participated in many ways in the town's life. The collegiate church contributed to education by means of a school led by a teacher and provided with a well-stocked library. Its community of beguines and its confraternities enabled the collegiate church to influence a wider group of townspeople. A significant manifestation of the collegiate's link with the life of the entire community of Sandomierz was the splendour of the liturgical ceremonies performed in the church. Evidently, the chapter put considerable effort into ensuring the high quality of paraments, the magnificence of religious services, and the beauty of the church itself.

One of the ways in which the chapter organised the congregation was through religious confraternities. The oldest of these (dating back to the fifteenth century) was the Curates confraternity, approved by Piotr Wysz, bishop of Krakow. By the sixteenth century this confraternity had suffered a demise, but in 1595 Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł,³³ in the course of his visitation of the Sandomierz churches, issued an order for it to be revived. From the visitation records, it appears that the Curates confraternity was of a devotional character.⁵ Confraternities of this type assisted in the integration of the clerical community and the permanent formation of their members, but they also provided spiritual and material assistance. After the death of a member, they offered prayers for the

4 Andrzej Buko, 'U źródeł osadnictwa wczesnośredniowiecznego,' in Stanisław Trawkowski, ed., *Dzieje Sandomierza*, vol. 1 (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1993), p. 53; Józef Szymański, 'Wczesnośredniowieczne kanonickie środowisko zawichojsko-sandomierskie,' *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 12 (1964), pp. 215–229; Stanisław Makarewicz, 'Bazylika katedralna w Sandomierzu,' (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1976), p. 12.

5 Jan Wisniewski, 'Katalog prałatów i kanoników sandomierskich od 1186–1926 r. tudzież sesje kapituły sandomierskiej od 1581 do 1866,' [hereafter *Acta actorum*], (Radom: Druk S. Nowakowski, 1926), p. 30; Feliks Kiryk, 'Stosunki kościelne, oświata i opieka społeczna,' in Feliks Kiryk, ed., *Dzieje Sandomierza*, vol. 2, part 2 (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1993), p. 123.

deceased on behalf of the entire community. It seems that the Curates confraternity was also open to lay persons.⁶ A record from a subsequent visitation in 1604 by Bishop Bernard Maciejowski suggests that the confraternity was dedicated to Corpus Christi and its aim was to popularise the cult of the Eucharist. Unfortunately, there is no information available to document or confirm the confraternity's existence after this date.

The charitable activities of the Rev. Piotr Skarga in Krakow were likely echoed in Sandomierz in 1595 when the so-called Mount of Piety made its appearance in town.⁷ During a chapter meeting in that year, it was recorded that a Sandomierz physician, Stanisław Bartolon, had set up a pawnshop (*mons pietatis*) in Sandomierz. The town council was to look after the institution and ensure its growth, but most of all guard it against abuse. This *mons pietatis*, described by the Rev. Skarga as "the Chamber of the Needy," granted interest-free or inexpensive loans to the poor. Bartolon allocated 200 Polish zlotys to that purpose. By about 1620, however, this fund was used to provide loans at regular interest rates.⁸

In the early eighteenth century a second confraternity appeared at the collegiate church in Sandomierz when the Confraternity of St. Anne, which had been founded in the fifteenth century at the church of St. Peter, moved from the parish to the collegiate church (1718).

This does not mean that the collegiate church was a locus for confraternities or other such institutions. More often than not, canons tended to enter confraternities organised by other churches – the confraternity of the Rosary established by the Dominicans, or the confraternity of St. Barbara at St. Paul's. In the eighteenth century, the Sandomierz collegiate chapter had representatives in the Lublin confraternity of Our Lady of Succour, the first confraternity of this type in Poland (founded in 1722). The development of the cult of Mary "Auxilium Christianorum" is organically linked to the victory of John III Sobieski at Vienna in 1683. The Sandomierz chapter belonged to this type of confraternity, as did representatives of other chapters – both those at cathedral churches (e.g. Gniezno, Poznań, Krakow, Przemyśl, Lvov, Chełm, Kiev) as well as those at collegiate churches (e.g. Kruszwica, Warsaw, Płock, Kalisz, Zamość, Opatów).⁹

6 Krystyna Kuźmak, 'Kapłańskie bractwa i stowarzyszenia,' in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 8 (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2000), col. 704.

7 'Bractwo miłosierdzia w Krakowie u św. Barbary zaczęte r. P. 1584 oraz powinności bractwa miłosierdzia z czytaniem,' (Cracoviae: In Officina Lazari, 1598), p. 25.

8 *Acta actorum*, p. 22; Walenty Wójcik, 'Miasto i kościół w Sandomierzu w XVI – XVIII w.,' *Czasopismo Prawno – Historyczne* 14 (1962), p. 118.

9 Kuźmak, 'Bractwa Matki Boskiej,' p. 143.

The town's territory at this time was divided between two parish districts: St. Peter's and The Conversion of St Paul. St. Peter's parish church had a strictly urban character and covered the area within the town walls plus some suburbs. The town council considered themselves to be the curator of that church and in 1567 passed a resolution whereby they would annually elect from among their number the so-called *vitricus* to manage the property and maintain a preacher. Town councillors and guilds cared for the altars assigned to them and provided the lighting and the ceremonial side of religious services. The parish was connected with the everyday life of the citizens of Sandomierz through a variety of institutions, such as a school, a hospital for the poor and homeless, and three religious confraternities: the Literati, St. Anne's, and the Poor.

The confraternity of the Literati originated at St Peter's in the late fourteenth century. It was founded by Sandomierz townspeople and received its charter in 1402 from Bishop Piotr Wysz of Radolin.¹⁰ Like the majority of confraternities of this kind, it had an elitist character, since it recruited mostly educated people who knew Latin (Lat. *litterati*) and could thus improve the quality of the services by singing Gregorian chants, hymns and songs in Latin.¹¹ Among its religious devotions, the most significant were the morning masses, the so-called *maturae*, celebrated on Sundays and feast days of the Blessed Virgin, as well as Advent morning services and Ember masses for dead brethren. The confraternity's existence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is testified only by records of indulgences and privileges received from the Krakow bishops: Zbigniew Olesnicki in 1441 and 1455, and Jerzy Radziwiłł in 1595. In the seventeenth century, the confraternity also received indulgences from bishops Piotr Tylicki and Marcin Szyszkowski (1627), as well as a privilege from Pope Paul V (7 December 1615).¹² The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed a revival of confraternal activities in religious-cultural and social-economic areas. At that time, the Literati was the richest confraternity in Sandomierz, gathering mostly patricians

10 Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Sandomierzu (hereafter BSDS), sign. G 1238, *Registrum Fraternitatis Magnae Literatorum in ecclesia parochiali tituli S. Petri*, fol. 24; Kumor, 'Kościelne stowarzyszenia,' p. 525; Dominika Burdzy, 'Bractwo literackie przy kościele parafialnym św. Piotra w Sandomierzu w XVII wieku,' *Studia Sandomierskie* 10 (2003), pp. 15–38.

11 Hana Pátkova, 'Bratrstvie ke cti Božie. Poznámky ke kultovní činnosti bratrstev a cechů ve středověkých Čechách,' (Praha: Koniasch Latin Press, 2000), pp. 36–42; Hana Pátkova, 'Die sogenannten Literatenbruderschaften in spätmittelalterlichen Bochmen,' *Almanach Historyczny* 3 (2001), pp. 11–18; Kumor, 'Kościelne stowarzyszenia,' p. 525; Ireneusz Czarciński, 'Bractwa religijne w wielkich miastach państwa krzyżackiego w średniowieczu,' (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1995), pp. 23–24.

12 BSDS sign. G 1238, fol. 24; Archiwum Kapituły Katedralnej Sandomierskiej (hereafter AKKS), sign. 111, fol. 689.

and common folk connected with the town authorities and its elite.¹³ Enjoying a solid economic base and the respect of the town's community, it aimed at independence from the priests of their local parish church. It was on this basis that a conflict and a long-lasting trial in front of the official principal took place in the years 1612–1628. The bone of contention was the question of parish priests exercising control over the confraternity's finances, and the issue of appointing auditors for the confraternity. Despite the fact that the councillors, who were the Literati elders, quoted the town's 1286 foundation charter, claiming that the Literati confraternity was under the supervision of the municipality, and not the parish priest, the case was lost. Under the threat of ecclesiastical chastisement, they had no choice but to agree that the confraternity's property matters would be supervised by the official principal. The parish priest was to check the management's activities and report to the bishop.¹⁴ This conflict between the church authorities and the lay management of the confraternity was symptomatic of the post-Tridentine period, both in Poland and in Western Europe. The clergy, bearing in mind the Protestant critique of fraternal practices, were aiming at strict regulation and control of fraternal activities. This aim was in keeping with the stipulations of the Council of Trent, as approved during Session 22 in 1562, in Articles 8 and 9, which were recalled several times by the official principal during the lawsuit launched by the Literati confraternity.¹⁵ Their operations are recorded in the source texts until 1696, but the Swedish wars and a fire in their mother church in 1656 weakened their activity in the second half of the seventeenth century, and consequently led to the confraternity's demise.

The Confraternity of St. Anne was founded in 1466 for devotional purposes. In 1551, it was known as the Brewers' Brotherhood. Its history in the second half of the sixteenth century is not known. the confraternity may well have suffered a closure or a significant collapse, for its own book begins only in 1593 and gives this very year as the moment of the community's beginnings.¹⁶ According to a

13 BSDS sign. G 1238, fol. 2v; Akta miasta Sandomierza w Archiwum Państwowym w Sandomierzu (hereafter AmS), księgi radzieckie Sandomierza sign. 2–5, księgi wójtowski-lawnicze sign. 9–11.

14 AKKS sign. 111, fol. 686; Wójcik, 'Miasto,' p. 122; Henryk Rutkowski, 'Stosunki kościelne i życie religijne,' in Feliks Kirk, ed., *Dzieje Sandomierza*, vol. 2. part 1 (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 1993), p. 289.

15 AKKS sign. 111, fol. 685–689; Conc. Trid. sess. 22, c. 8, 9 de ref.: *Administratores tam ecclesiastici quam laici fabricae cuiusvis ecclesiae, etiam cathedralis, hospitalis, confraternitatis, eleemosynae montis pietatis et quorumcunque piorum locorum, singulis annis teneantur reddere rationem administrationis ordinario.*

16 AKKS sign. 34, *Księga Bractwa św. Anny 1593–1875*; Bolesław Kumor, 'Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795,' vol. 3, (Kraków: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława Biskupa Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 2000), p. 78; Waldemar Kowalski, 'Uposażenie parafii archidiaconatu sandomierskiego w XV – XVIII wieku,' (Kielce: Wyższa Szkoła Peda-

1604 visitation, the confraternity was linked with the altar of Our Lady's Visitation in St. Anne's chapel. This type of brotherhood, with its slogan *Fructus charitatis salus*, sought to defend the Catholic doctrine in the post-Tridentine period through educational and catechising activity among heretics. After the banishment of Arians from Poland, the confraternity's goals were refocused exclusively on devotions. A service that was typical of these fraternities was the Tuesday mass which carried with it an indulgence of 300 days. During the mass, one was expected to meditate on "the life of St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and the nativity of Jesus Christ."¹⁷ The patron saint's feast day on June 26 was a day of festive celebrations. At the turn of the seventeenth century, this Sandomierz confraternity comprised educated people, both clergy and laity, as well as the rich and influential. From the second half of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, it brought together the Sandomierz patriciate and municipal authorities. Through the entire period of its operations, many women entered the confraternity, which was typical of this kind of confraternity not only in Poland, but also in Western Europe. Their presence was related to the corporation's dedication since St. Anne, the Virgin's mother and the grandmother of Jesus, was considered to be the patron saint of mothers, widows and married couples. The Czech Utraquists made her a model of the Christian wife.¹⁸ When, in 1718, the confraternity and the parish were moved to the collegiate church, the sodality was placed in the mansioners' chapel. That same year, the mansioners were ordered to celebrate a votive mass to St. Anne every Tuesday and every four months – a mass including the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and a procession.¹⁹ The confraternity operated and thrived at the collegiate church until the end of the nineteenth century.

There was also a confraternity of the Poor through which the parish incorporated the destitute who lived in its area (but excluded them from management roles within the sodality). It should be noted that these *fraternitates pauperum* were not restricted only to the poor, but were open to all citizens. By focussing on the city's poorest inhabitants, these fraternities undertook to meet their material and spiritual needs as well provide them with decent funerals.²⁰ We find

gogiczna im. Jana Kochanowskiego, 1998), p. 333.

17 AKKS sign. 34, p. 11–12, 18; 'Bractwo [więtej] Anny Samotrzeciej to iest artykuły, porządki, nauki i nabożeństwa Bractwa tego za wolą i wiadomością kardynała Radziwiłła biskupa krakowskiego (...) spisane i w druk podane,' (Kraków: Drukarnia A. Piotrowczyka, 1630), p. 3.

18 AKKS sign. 34; Black, 'Confraternities,' p. 407; Pátkova, 'Bratrstvie,' p. 29.

19 AKKS sign. 35, *Copia Erectionis Confraternitatis Sanctae Annae Mettertiae Anno Domini 1718 factae et ad Capellam R[everen]dorum Mansionarioru[m] Sandomirien[sium] Introductae*, k. 1–3 v., 11–11 v.; *Acta actorum*, p. 133; Kumor, 'Dzieje diecezji,' p. 78.

information on the Sandomierz confraternity of the Poor in the visitation made by Bishop Maciejowski in 1604. The issue concerned the baths: "In 1508, Piotr of Sandomierz, canon and parish priest, allocated twenty-five *marcas* [an ancient currency, equivalent to 210g silver] for the free use of the baths by students and the poor whose confraternity is at St. Peter's."²¹ The bishop then forbade the bath attendant to charge the students and the poor. It is not known when this confraternity was closed down; the 1651 visitation fails to mention its existence.

The other parish in town, dedicated to St. Paul's Conversion, had a suburban and rural character. It comprised the so-called Old Town, some suburbs and villages. Its church was built in 1226 on the initiative of the bishop of Krakow, Iwon Odrowaz. As was the case with St. Peter's parish, the spiritual and intellectual shaping of the congregation was in the hands of religious guilds and the parish school, while the poor and homeless found material assistance at the hospital.

The first sodality to emerge at the Conversion of St Paul was the confraternity of the Poor. In 1595, Bishop Jerzy Radziwiłł approved the rights previously obtained by the friars in a 1483 document. It is not clear whether the latter is the foundation date. The sources refer to it as the confraternity of Poor Farmers, which suggests that it was peopled with suburban and local village farmers. According to a 1604 visitation, they kept their documents and privileges in the confraternity box.²²

The 1651 visitation of Bishop Piotr Gembicki indicates that in the seventeenth century there was also a Literati confraternity at the Conversion of St Paul. The parishioners actually asked the bishop to preserve this confraternity which, they claimed, was being neglected by the parish priest.²³ In the reformation decree, the visiting bishop was well-disposed towards this request, but there are no records to confirm whether or not the activities of St. Paul's Literati increased as a result. At the same time, a millers' guild was in operation at St Paul's, probably as an organization which was both a religious brotherhood and an artisan guild. It could boast a privilege received prior to the guild's institution, issued in Warsaw by King Ladislaus IV on September 12, 1642. The guild was, it seems, identical with the bakers' guild, recorded in the years 1736–1765.²⁴

In the early eighteenth century, the Confraternity of St. Barbara appeared, approved in a bull by Clement XI in 1718, and established on 4 December 1719.²⁵

20 Kumor, 'Kościelne stowarzyszenia,' p. 519; Zaremska, 'Bractwa,' pp. 106–111.

21 *Acta actorum*, p. 30.

22 Kumor, 'Dzieje diecezji,' p. 78; Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie, *Acta Episcopalia* sign. 32, fols. 426v–427v, 1595 r.: *Ingrossatio Fraternitatis S. Pauli Sandomiriae extra muros*; sign. 18, p. 557.

23 AKKS sign. 118, fol. 273v.

24 Rutkowski, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 289; Kowalski, 'Uposażenie,' p. 333; Andrzej Zapart, 'Kościół i parafia św. Pawła w Sandomierzu,' *Studia Sandomierskie* 2 (1981), p. 279.

The emergence of this type of confraternity can be linked, just like the foundation of the Good Death confraternity by the Jesuits in 1709, with the ongoing Northern War, which claimed many lives, and with the plague which broke out in Sandomierz in 1708. By offering its members a spiritual program with a focus on the need for prayer and a concentration on the last things, the confraternity of St. Barbara was devotional in character. Yet, it also ran charitable activities. It gathered people of various social levels, including the nobility, gentry, townsfolk, and diocesan and monastic clergy. It enjoyed good funding: in the years 1727–1766 it had over ten *stadia* (an ancient square measure, equivalent to 1.2–1.5 hectares) of fields at four locations, donated by townspeople and collegiate curates; in 1724, it received a bequest of 3,000 zlotys on the Opatów synagogue.²⁶ Clearly, then, St. Paul's parish organized the lives of its congregation through the school and hospital, and thanks to its fraternities – mainly St. Barbara's, which also gathered people from outside the town – it transcended its borders.

Male orders were particularly active in the organization and operation of religious guilds in the Sandomierz region. To them, religious fraternities constituted both a branch of ministry and a way of attracting believers to their monastic churches. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, Dominicans were well established in the town, and so were the Order of the Holy Ghost, Jesuits and Reformed Franciscan.

The Dominicans were the first to arrive in Sandomierz (1226) and installed themselves at the church of St. James. Their convent, chronologically the second one in Poland (after Krakow), was to provide a convenient base for missionary activity in Russia. The events of 1259/60, when Prior Sadok and all his friars were murdered by the Tartars, triggered the development of the cult of these martyrs. From 1296, attempts were made to have this cult approved officially. Throughout the fourteenth century, the Indulgence of the Sandomierz Martyrs was known in Poland as a *magna indulgentia*. In 1360 Pope Innocent VI ordered their feast to be celebrated on 2 June. Up to the early seventeenth century, the convent of St. James was one of the major and richest Dominican posts in Poland. In the sixteenth century, it hosted three provincial chapter meetings (1507, 1552, 1583). In 1605, with 36 friars within its walls, it ranked fifth in size in all of Poland.

25 Archiwum Kościoła św. Pawła (hereafter AkŚP), *Volumen Iurium et Privilegiorum Ecclesiae S. Pauli Antiquae Civitatis Sandomiriensis] Parochialis una cum Confraternitate S. Barbarae ibidem erecta*, 1719 [missing sign.], fols. 213–218; AkŚP, *Księga żywota, wszystkim prawowiernym żyć wiecznie pragnącym w bractwie świętej Barbary panny i męczenniczki Chrystusowej, patronki umierających, otworzona w kościele farnym świętego Pawła apostoła, na starym Sandomierzu w roku 1719* [missing sign].

26 AkŚP, *Volumen Iurium*, fols. 232–244; Kowalski, 'Uposażenie,' p. 308.

From 1399, the Sandomierz Dominicans could boast of a second convent within the town walls: St. Mary Magdalene's, constructed to serve as a shelter in case of another Tartar attack. In practice, it was more or less dependent on St. James's, a situation that was formally confirmed by the province's chapter in 1543. It did not regain its independence until at least 1645. The complex functioned until 1807, when an order from the Austrian authorities removed its remaining to St. James's.²⁷

The Dominicans conducted large-scale pastoral activities in Sandomierz, also involving the Rosary arch-fraternity of the Virgin, founded at the church of St. James in 1597.²⁸ The aim of this type of confraternity was to recite the Rosary as a way of paying special attention to Our Lady. The beginnings of the *Confraternitatis SS. Rosarii* in the universal Church date back to 1470 (Douai), and to 1481 in Poland (Wrocław). On 6 January 1577, Serafin Cavalli, Master General of the Order, thanks to the support of Queen Anna Jagiellonka, allowed the Provincial of Polish Dominicans to found fraternities in the Kingdom of Poland, as a result of which they became popular in all dioceses.²⁹

A Rosary confraternity dedicated to the Sweetest Name of Jesus operated at the convent of St. Mary Magdalene, but the sources say nothing about the exact date of its origin. The first record comes from 1636. Its book is bound together with the book of the Rosary arch-fraternity of St. James,³⁰ which combined various social strata: among the 119 persons entered on the list in the first year of its operation were the representatives of gentry and townsfolk, members of the Sandomierz chapter, mansioners, convent elders and brethren, beguines and visitors. In the following years, people from all over the Sandomierz region enrolled.³¹ The lack of such a membership list for the confraternity of St. Mary Magdalene makes it impossible to analyse its composition and territorial range. Both of these fraternities performed an important role in the festivities organised by preachers over the course of the liturgical year. The confraternity's participation was noticeable both during the general church holidays and the celebrations

27 Kiryk, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 129.

28 Archiwum Kościoła św. Jakuba w Sandomierzu (hereafter AkSJ) *Liber Archiconfraternitatum utriusque Ssmi Rosarii pro Conventu Sandomiriensi ad S. Jacobum Comparatus Anno Dni 1774*, [missing sign.]

29 Kumor, 'Kościelne stowarzyszenia,' p. 538.

30 AKSJ, *Księga Arcybractwa Różańca [świętego Najśłodszego Imienia Jezus i Najświętszej Maryi Panny w którą się wpisują imiona Braci i Siostr tego Arcybractwa w kościele S. Maryi Magdaleny Księży Dominikanów Sandomierskich zaczęta Roku Pańskiego 1781]*, [missing sign.]

31 AkSJ, *Liber*, pp. 21–31; Makarewicz, 'Podominikański kościół i klasztor św. Jakuba Apostoła w Sandomierzu,' (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1979), p. 28; Rutkowski, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 294.

of the feast days of patron saints.³² The unusual spread of these fraternities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had considerable significance for the popularity of the Friars Preachers amongst all social levels. The symbiosis of the Sandomierz orders with their fraternities brought mutual benefit. The confraternities received not only places for their activities in conventual churches, but also spiritual and practical guidance through the promoter-friar, participation in the order's graces, and social prestige. To the Dominicans, in turn, confraternities offered a certain amount of financial support, as is documented in the documents of the convent of St. James. In 1599–1605, the “Rosarians” donated the *eleemosinam* from the confraternity box, sometimes as often as twice or three times a year.³³ It may be concluded that the *Archiconfraternitas SS. Rosarii* was rather prosperous; in the following years it had its own rent bequests on the town's grounds. It also had income from a farm, which belonged to convent of St. James, where it had a separate fund.³⁴ The town books of Sandomierz document monetary bequests to the benefit of the *Confraternitatis SS. Rosarii* at the church of St. Mary Magdalene. In 1636, there was a bequest of 50 zlotys, and in 1659, 11 zlotys.³⁵ Yet it is difficult to draw any comparison between the income of the two fraternities, simply because of the scarcity of data or the varying chronology of the records. Still, it appears that the arch-confraternity at St. James's had larger financial resources at its disposal than that at St. Mary Magdalene's.

Both of these fraternities played a very important part in the popularisation of the Marian cult and the Rosary. It is not known what happened to the confraternity of St. Mary Magdalene after 1807, which is when the order was liquidated – it may have moved to St. James's since its picture of the Virgin of the Rosary was found there. The confraternity of St. James, instead, survived the order's 1864 dissolution, obtained the government's verification, and took over from the departed friars the Martyrs' cult and the picture of Our Lady of the Rosary.³⁶

The Order of the Holy Ghost, introduced into Poland in 1292 by the Krakow castellan, Zegota, was also deeply involved with confraternities. Yet, in accordance with their rule, they attached greater significance to matters related to hospital services. Their objective was charity in a broad sense.³⁷ Their church,

32 AkSJ, *Liber*, pp. 82–88; BSDS sign. 1188, *Registrum expensarum C[onventus]Sandomiriensis S. M. Magdalenae ab Anno 1725 ad Annum 1739*, fol. 15.

33 BSDS sign. 817, fol. 22 *Regestrum perceptorum ex elemosinis Conventus S. Jacobi 1571–1608*, fols. 22v–23, 33, 24v.

34 BSDS sign. 1168 *Consignatio Realitatum ad Conventum Sancti Jacobi Ordinis Praedicatorum in Sandomiriensi circulo extra civitate Sandomiriensi*, fol. 12.

35 AKKS sign. 97, fol. 281v; AmS sign. 4, fol. 363v.

36 AkSJ, *Liber*, p. 233.

37 Klara Antosiewicz, ‘Klasztor |więtego Ducha de Saxia w Sandomierzu (1292–1814),’

convent and hospital were located near the town walls, close to the Opatów Gate. This was undoubtedly the richest hospital in town. In the operations of the *Ordinis Fratrum Canonorum Regularium Sancti Spiritus de Saxia*, special attention was paid to abandoned and orphaned children. Brethren provided not only for their upbringing, but also for their education – they employed teachers or taught them by themselves.³⁸

Members of the Order of the Holy Ghost performed their pastoral duties in two ways: among hospital patients and among the congregation of their church, though they also preached in other churches in town, mainly at the collegiate. In its five-hundred-year-long history, this Sandomierz order had two confraternities under its patronage: the confraternity of the Holy Ghost, and that of Our Lady of the Scapular. The existence of the former is recorded in the Sandomierz official principal's books of 1524, when two elders of the *fraternitatis S[an]cti Sp[irit]us* were mentioned.³⁹ A confraternity of this type was organically connected with this order because in the second half of the twelfth century Guido of Montpellier, the founder of the Order of the Holy Ghost, established a lay brotherhood of the Holy Ghost to support the order's activities. The scope of the charitable-devotional influence of the Sandomierz confraternity must thus have been limited to those social groups who came under the friars' protection. The dates or the circumstances of its establishment and disappearance are not known. In the seventeenth century, the Order of the Holy Ghost took care of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Scapular. Although the Carmelite Order had the lead in the propagation of the Holy Scapular, these confraternities developed at other orders and churches as well. This situation can be explained by the enormous popularity these brotherhoods enjoyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰ In 1692, when the *Confraternitas Sanctissimi Scapularis Sandomiriensis* received some monetary bequests, its authorities included lay persons: an elder, a prosecutor, a rector, and a friar in the capacity of a promoter. Accepting alms to meet the needs of the brotherhood in front of the church door was the duty of the almoners (*confratrum elemosinum expetentium*). This confraternity was assigned the altar of Our Lady of the Scapular in the church of the Holy Ghost, which still functioned in the eighteenth century (as recorded during the 1745 visitation).⁴¹

Kronika Diecezji Sandomierskiej 65 (1972), p. 33; Zenon Guldon, Waldemar Kowalski, 'Szpitale w województwie sandomierskim w drugiej połowie XVII w.,' *Nasza Przyszłość* 84 (1995), pp. 93–94.

38 *Acta actorum*, p. 32.

39 AKKS sygn. 101, fol. 131v.

40 Bronisław Panek, 'Dzieje Bractwa Szkaplerza [świętego przy kościele OO. Karmelitów w Krakowie na Piasku do końca XVII wieku,' *Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne* 10 (1963), p. 51.

41 AmS sign. 5, fols. 146, 170.

The Jesuits, who arrived in Sandomierz in 1602 on the initiative of the parish priest, Kasper Cichocki, fostered a considerable revival of religious life in town. On the strength of a 1603 privilege, the Society of Jesus was granted the right of patronage over the parish church of St. Peter, which gave them the opportunity to appoint the parson. In 1605–1615, the *Collegium Gostomianum* was erected to house a complex of schools and educational institutions for students not only from Sandomierz, but from the entire region, as well as the regions of Pilzno and Radom.

The Jesuits influenced their pupils through a variety of fraternities, congregations and sodalities. The latter constituted a major form of the order's apostolic activity. Already in 1609, that is, before the opening of public schools, the Jesuits grouped children into two associations (for boys and girls) based on the sodality model. Members elected their officers (*decurions*, *consultors*, and *notaries*), and had their own band.⁴² After the opening of public schools in 1612, the *Sodalitas Mariana* acquired an elitist character as it included the most gifted and diligent students of the *Collegium*. After several years of operation, the congregation grew to such an extent that it was split into two groups – one for elder pupils, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin, the other for younger students, dedicated to the Purification of the Virgin.⁴³ According to the books of the Purification, the sodality enjoyed a great degree of self-government, with 17–20 different offices and positions. The sodality's devotional activity was mainly centred around the Marian and Saints' feast days related to the Jesuit order. Among the goals and tasks, special attention was focussed on reciting the Rosary, attending mass, Bible reading, singing devotional songs and pious writings. Alms giving was a manifestation of charitable activity, as well as supporting the sick and the crippled in poorhouses.⁴⁴ The sodality's purpose was to maintain its members' moral integrity, to develop their knowledge, and – primarily – to encourage profound piety, closely connected with the Marian cult.⁴⁵ In addition, however, the congregation influenced the spiritual formation of the future priests and friars, as many members opted for an ecclesiastical career. According to the Purification confraternity book, 104 of its members from the years 1684–1758 took holy orders, including: 67 who joined the Society of Jesus, 7 the Benedictines; 7 the Reformed Franciscans; 3 the Bernardine Franciscans; 3 the Cistercians; 2 the Order of the

42 Rutkowski, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 294; Jerzy Kochanowicz, 'Słownik geograficzny jezuickich burs muzycznych,' (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2002), p. 208.

43 Waldemar Białousz, 'Dzieje szkoły jezuickiej w latach 1602–1773' in *Collegium Gostomianum* vol. 1, (Sandomierz: Drukarnia Diecezjalna, 2002), p. 62.

44 AKKS sign. 142, fols. 19–47 [this manuscript is damaged, missing 18 first cards and the title card, too]; Kiryk, 'Stosunki kościelne,' pp. 97–98.

45 Jerzy Józef Kopeć, 'Bogarodzica w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku,' (Lublin: Redakcja Wydaw. Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1997), pp. 362–364.

Holy Ghost; 1 the Dominicans; and 14 who became diocesan priests.⁴⁶ On completing their education, sodality members could transfer their activity to the sodality of townsfolk dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁷

The *congregatio civium* was founded on the initiative of the town authorities after the great fire of 1623. Initially, it was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin. However, because its patron saint's day (August 15) fell at an awkward time – with schools closed for the summer holiday and townsfolk busy harvesting grain and shipping it to Gdansk – the dedication was changed to that of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, whose feast on 8 December gave the Jesuits an opportunity to organise more magnificent and impressive celebrations.⁴⁸ The congregation's structure and goals resembled those of the student sodality, the difference being the social make-up and scope of influence. The youth sodality gathered mostly the gentry pupils of the Jesuit school, while the *congregatio civium* conducted its activity among the Sandomierz townspeople, and also the local gentry. The Dominican nuns from the Lvov convent were also members, and so were the Sandomierz Benedictine nuns, as well as many clergymen from Sandomierz churches.⁴⁹ The congregation suffered a crisis caused by the Swedish deluge, but experienced a revival as late as 1675, after which it operated smoothly. It survived the dissolution of the Jesuits, and in 1803 it was moved to the collegiate, where its presence was documented until 1863.⁵⁰

Both congregations functioned under Marian patronage, as is frequently stressed in the sodality books.⁵¹ A slightly different type of devotion was propagated by three religious guilds established by the Jesuits in the eighteenth century. In 1709, Rector Gengel founded the confraternity of the Good Death in connection with the plague that ravished the region, and the military operations of the Northern War. Its funds amounted to 2,000 Polish zlotys, received from unspecified benefactors.⁵² Fraternities of that kind aimed at reinforcing their members' pious lifestyles and preparing them for Christian death, as well as running social and charitable operations.

46 AKKS sign. 142, fols. 19–338.

47 AKKS sign. 143, *Księga Elekcyi i Posiedzen Bractwa Sodalistów Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Sandomierzu 1717–1797, 1855–1863/64*, fol. 99.

48 Białousz, 'Dzieje,' p. 148.

49 AKKS sign. 143, fols. 86v–87, 99–104; AmS sign. 5, fols. 104–105; Kiryk, 'Stosunki kościelne,' pp. 99–102.

50 *Acta actorum*, pp. 196, 197, 211.

51 AKKS sign. 143, fol. 96v.

52 Stanisław Załęski, 'Jezuici w Polsce,' vol. 4, part 2, (Kraków: Drukarnia L. Anczyca, 1905), p. 894; Stanisław Bednarski, 'Kulturalne dzieje jezuickiego kolegium w Sandomierzu,' in *Pamiętnik Koła Sandomierzan 1925–1935*, (Warszawa-Sandomierz: Nakładem Koła Sandomierzan, 1936), p. 58.

In 1732, the confraternity of Divine Providence was founded by the Braclaw cup-bearer, Aleksander Zaklik Czyzowski, and his wife Aleksandra.⁵³ Confraternities of this type were established for “the performance of acts of charity, piety and love,” and their establishment remained closely linked to the defence of religious truth against the deists. A trace of the Sandomierz confraternity’s activity is to be found in its book, published by a Sandomierz printing house, in which there are a variety of prayers and services concerning Divine Providence.⁵⁴

On 9 April 1738, the confraternity of the Sweetest Heart of Jesus was started. It was founded by a Sandomierz town clerk, Stanisław Moszynski, and his sister Marianna Czerwinska, who sponsored a picture of the Heart of Jesus placed in one of the altars at church of St. Peter.⁵⁵ Its main devotion was the on-going veneration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Eucharist as a form of reparation for the sacrilege and outrages committed against the Blessed Sacrament.⁵⁶ The most important feast of the confraternity was the Friday following the Corpus Christi octave, as well as four March Fridays. Fraternities of this kind fostered the public cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the eighteenth century. The Jesuit printing house in Sandomierz published works on the subject of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which demonstrates that this institution was an active participant in the propagation of the cult.⁵⁷

Marian sodalities and various religious brotherhoods enabled the Jesuits to shape the attitudes of adults who were conscious of their calling in the Church. Preaching, retreats, catechising, missionary activities and solemn religious services were all manifestations of the order’s active pastoral operation. At this point, it must be stressed that this activity was paralleled by the parish, which – due to the order’s conflicts with parish priests – was moved to the collegiate church in 1718. The dissolution of the order in 1773 began the slow decline of the church of St. Peter. Despite that, a confraternity of the Immaculate Conception continued to function there until 1803, which shows that at that time that church was the site of propagation of that dogma, whose popularity was on the increase. In 1802 the

53 Bednarski, ‘Kulturalne dzieje,’ p. 58; Załęski, ‘Jezuici,’ p. 903; *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 345.

54 ‘Boskiej Opatrzności Bractwo Nowe Od Stolicy Apostolskiej Potwierdzone w Kościele SS. Apostołów Piotra i Pawła Collegium Sandomierskiego Soc[ietatis] Jesu,’ (Sandomierz: Collegium Societatis Jesu, 1732).

55 Bednarski, ‘Kulturalne dzieje,’ p. 58; Czesław Drażek, ‘Bractwo Serca Jezusowego w dawnej Polsce,’ *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 34 (1981), p. 177; Załęski, ‘Jezuici,’ p. 898.

56 ‘Bractwo Najśłodszego Serca Jezusowego Z Odpustami, od Stolicy Apostolskiej, na zawsze nadanemi w Kościele Kaliskim Soc[ietatis] Jesu na powszechny chrześcijańskiego ludu pożytek założone w Kaliszu,’ (Kalisz: Drukarnia Societatis Jesu, 1750).

57 Stanisław Szymański, ‘Dzieje kultu Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Polsce,’ *Homo Dei. Przegląd Ascetyczno-Duszpasterski* 30 (1961) nr 1 (103) p. 352; Kumor, ‘Kościelne stowarzyszenia,’ p. 537.

Austrians turned the church into a granary, which then suffered a fire in 1813, and was eventually demolished in 1823.

It is worth noting that the townsfolk sodality was used as a way of influencing the Benedictine nuns at the church and convent of St. Michael, situated outside the town walls.⁵⁸ The Benedictine nuns' main goal was contemplative prayer, not only liturgical but also individual, methodised according to the Jesuit model – the Jesuits had become the nuns' spiritual guides and confessors from the moment they arrived in town in 1615. The Sandomierz Benedictine nuns also participated, like sisters of that order in other towns, in the confraternal movement, but they never established their own sodality during the entire period they were active. Instead, they joined confraternities that were in existence at other churches in the town. On 19 December 1763, at the beginning of Prioress Marianna Siemianowska's rule, they joined the Marian sodality of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, run by the Society of Jesus.⁵⁹ Admission to that confraternity entailed a solemn ceremony, with an oath to be taken in the presence of the sodality's prefect. On 5 December 1766, booklets entitled "The Thornless Rose" were circulated amongst the congregation, containing information on the Immaculate Conception sodality. In the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Benedictine nuns were members also of other Sandomierz fraternities (St. Barbara's, the Rosarians, St. Anne's).

A somewhat different type of devotion was represented by the Reformed Franciscans, who followed the original Rule, as specified by St. Francis, which stressed asceticism and poverty. This, in turn, determined the devotional profile of lay communities, which functioned under their patronage. The *Ordo Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Strictoris Observantiae Reformatorum* appeared in Sandomierz in 1672 and obtained the bishop's approval the following year. In 1685, Suffragan Bishop Mikołaj Oborski consecrated the newly built convent and church of St. Joseph.⁶⁰ The basic form of the Reformed Franciscans' activity was pastoral. In that capacity, they propagated the cult of the Passion of Christ and the devotion of the Stations of the Cross. The friars enjoyed prestige as preachers and penitents. The Sandomierz Reformed Franciscans also led group ministries, a manifestation of which was the existence, at the convent, of the Third Order of

58 Rutkowski, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 285; Anna Szylar, 'Kościół św. Michała w Sandomierzu. Fundacja i dzieje świątyni do kasaty klasztoru benedyktynek w 1903 r.,' *Nasza Przyszłość* 99 (2003), pp. 215–257; Buliński, 'Monografia miasta Sandomierza,' (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne 1879), p. 329; Jan Wiśniewski, 'Dekanat sandomierski,' (Radom: Druk S. Nowakowski, 1915) p. 187.

59 AKKS sign. 143, fols. 86v–87; Małgorzata Borkowska, 'Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich,' (Tyniec: Nakładem Opactwa Benedyktynów, 1989), pp. 156–157.

60 Zdzisław Kalinowski, 'Kościół św. Józefa. Fundacja i dzieje świątyni do kasaty klasztoru w 1864 roku,' *Studia Sandomierskie* 2 (1981), p. 284; Kiryk, 'Stosunki kościelne,' p. 133.

St. Francis. The Third Order was the only congregation of Catholics that could exist with this group of Franciscans, since the oldest code of Polish Reformed Franciscan legislation, proclaimed at the chapter meeting at Zakliczyn in 1623, forbade them to establish fraternities at churches.⁶¹ The managing of fraternities entailed the use of money, and that stood in opposition to the vow of poverty made by the friars. Members of the Third Order had no property, and gathered only for devotional purposes, with special focus on penitential practices.⁶² As a result, the Reformed Franciscans could take care of them in their convents. Entries in the Sandomierz convent chronicle from the years 1725–1758 and 1782 offer an understanding of the Third Order's development.⁶³ Its revival is related to the 1725 publication of the Apostolic Constitution by Pope Benedict XIII, *Aeterna Sedis*, which confirmed all the Third Order's existing privileges and placed it under the full jurisdiction of the General of the Friars Minor.⁶⁴ The theoretical basis, thus prepared, found its practical application with the Sandomierz Reformed Franciscans, since the first members joined the Third Order in the year of the publication of this constitution.

Admission to such a group happened through the taking-of-the-veil ceremony. During this observance, a candidate donned a belt and scapular, the latter intended to substitute for the habit. This act started a year-long trial period, after which a profession was made. In 1725–1758, the Sandomierz congregation welcomed a total of 244 persons, at an average of seven people a year. In the entrant group, there was a preponderance of local gentry; second came local townsfolk, then clergy, and finally the lowest social strata.⁶⁵ The Third Order expanded beyond the town, as its members were recruited from the entire Sandomierz region. Yet the rather high requirements concerning asceticism, strict morality and the spirit of prayer were the main reason why the Third Order was an elitist association. Apart from running the Third Order, the Sandomierz Reformed Franciscans were involved in the activity of other religious brother-

61 "Non potent fratres reformati habere in suis ecclesiis Confraternitatem aliquam sub poena privationis, officii, vocis etc" in Anzelm Janusz Szteinke, 'Kościół św. Antoniego i klasztor franciszkanów-reformatów w Warszawie 1623–1987,' (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Prowincji Franciszkanów-Reformatów, 1990), p. 226.

62 Paweł Stein, 'Trzeci Zakon Franciszkański. Rozprawa prawniczko-kanoniczna' (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 1933), p. 16.

63 BSDS sign. G 878 *Archivum Conventus Sandomiriensis Fratrum Minorum S. Patris Francisci Minoris Poloniae ad Sanctum Josephum Sponsum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae an. 1672–1758*, fols. 268v–271v; *Series Tertariorum susceptorum ad Ordinem tertium S. P. Francisci in hoc Conventu Sandomiriensi ab Anno 1725*.

64 Jan Pasiecznik, 'Tercjarstwo franciszkańskie w Sandomierzu w XVIII w.,' *Studia Sandomierskie* 4 (1983–84), p. 330.

65 BSDS sign. G 878, fols. 268, 268v, 270–271v; Pasiecznik, 'Tercjarstwo,' p. 331.

hoods functioning in the town's churches – in 1719 ten friars joined the confraternity of St. Barbara at the parish church of St. Paul.

The Coexistence of Confraternities in Sandomierz

The issues of cooperation and competition are very important to a discussion of the activities of all of these associations and religious corporations, as this – on the one hand – determined their position and prestige, and – on the other – bred conflicts and animosities, which often ended in court.⁶⁶ It is worth stressing that the dovetailing of the activities of the communities brought the benefit of creating a common ground for understanding and cooperation either among the fraternities themselves, or between the fraternities and other ecclesiastical institutions. It could also boost the cooperation between mother churches of a confraternity and other churches.

Both the positive and the negative aspects of the coexistence of religious brotherhoods in Sandomierz are best seen in the example of the Rosary confraternities, in the sphere of devotion. Their processions and services provided an opportunity for cooperation with other confraternities (e.g. St. Barbara's) or orders, since members of the Order of the Holy Ghost, Jesuits or Reformed Franciscans were frequently invited to preach at confraternity celebrations. The clergy from the diocesan churches also participated in the services (including those from the collegiate or of the parish church of St. Paul).⁶⁷ When considering the organisation of these services, the role of the fraternities in the development of paraliturgical forms of worship is to be noted, as it enabled the congregation's more active and personal participation in the religious experience. Confraternities provided additional splendour and solemnity by conducting processions between the two churches, singing, praying, and carrying the feretories with the image of the Virgin of the Rosary.⁶⁸

On the feast day of Our Lady of the Rosary (first Sunday in October), the friars of both communities organised a ceremonial procession around the town. For this occasion, five altars were raised at different places in Sandomierz to parallel the five mysteries of the Rosary. During that procession, the Dominicans sang appropriate Gospel passages to illustrate individual mysteries from the jubilant chaplet of the Rosary, i.e. the Annunciation and Visitation of the Virgin, Nativity of Jesus, the Presentation and the Finding in the Temple. While covering the distances between the altars, the brethren and sisters were to sing the Rosary.

66 Adam Chmiel, 'Szkice krakowskie,' (Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1947), pp. 97–101.

67 AkśJ, *Liber*, p. 87; Stanisław Makarewicz, 'Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów kultury artystycznej dominikanów sandomierskich w XVIII w.,' *Studia Sandomierskie* 3 (1982), pp. 495, 499.

68 AkśJ, *Liber*, pp. 85–86.

In the entourage of friars, town councillors and confraternity elders, the appropriately decorated feretories of the Virgin of the Rosary were carried, together with confraternity banners. Songs were sung in Polish.

On Good Friday, the traditional Polish custom of visiting the Tombs of Christ was observed. In the afternoon, the Rosary fraternities in a joint procession visited all the Sandomierz churches in which symbolic tombs of Christ had been prepared with the effigy of the dead Christ inside. The Dominicans delivered appropriate sermons (the so-called *exhortations*), which were followed by public flagellation of Rosarian brethren wearing penitential gowns. Finally, a Passion song was sung, and they moved on to another church.

The Dominicans were clever and original in the incorporation of both of the *Archiconfraternitates Ss.mi Rosarii* into the course of the so-called Emaus celebration.⁶⁹ This was organised on the afternoon of Easter Monday. First a procession called the Company (*Kompania*), led by the Rosary confraternity of the Name of Jesus, left from the church of St. Mary Magdalene and headed for St. James. There, in front of the church, they were welcomed by the other Rosary confraternity of the Virgin and solemnly ushered inside. Next, a ceremonial mass with the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was celebrated, followed by a procession around the church with feretories and banners. That done, the confraternity of St. James led the other confraternity out of their church. The latter took their leave with due respect. It is possible to discern the influence of the Krakow festivities (which were organised three times during the Easter period) on the Sandomierz celebrations of the Easter Monday performed by the Dominicans and their Rosarians. The most popular of the Krakow festivities, which shared certain elements with the Sandomierz observances, was the Emaus, performed at the church of St. Salvator at Zwierzyniec on the Monday following Palm Sunday. From 1696, more splendour was added to this celebration by conducting a morning procession of the archconfraternity of the Passion of Christ.⁷⁰

69 Emaus, apart from being the name of a biblical town, has several other meanings: 1) name of indulgence instituted in the Middle Ages to commemorate the Apostles walking to the town of Emaus; 2) Baroque custom, referred to as “seeking the Resurrected Christ” or “Christ risen from the dead” (Poland), “following God” (Czech Bohemia), or “Emmausgehen” (Germany); 3) Easter-period procession which symbolised the Disciples’ way to the said town; 4) colloquial name for St. Salvator’s Zwierzyniec church in Krakow, where the most popular procession of this type was organised, together with a folk feast of the Krakow townspeople. The Sandomierz Dominican Emaus is that listed under 3). For an extensive discussion, see Helmut Sobeczko, ‘Emaus w folklorze religijnym,’ *Encyklopedia Katolicka* vol. 4 (Lublin, 1985), col. 925–926.

70 Józef Pachowski, ‘Zmierch sławetnych. Z życia mieszczan w Krakowie w XVII XVIII wieku,’ (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1956), pp. 361–362.

The procession, which took place on the Corpus Christi octave Sunday, was also a large-scale event. After the afternoon service, both confraternities met at the church of St. Mary Magdalene and headed together toward the four altars built in the streets and squares of the town. Feretories and banners were carried, and the friars sang songs and recited prayers.

In the eighteenth century, these celebrations were not always peaceful because of competition between the women Rosarians of both brotherhoods over priority in the procession, and the placement of the confraternity's feretory in the church. In 1732, the order's provincial had no choice but to intervene and rule that both confraternities show mutual respect. In 1733, in turn, promoters of both fraternities were ordered to meet first and discuss the details of the ceremony so that no unseemly scandals, quarrels and trouble should be caused by the Rosarian women.⁷¹

The Rosary confraternity of St. James allowed the Dominicans to begin cooperation with the parish church of St. Paul and its confraternity of St. Barbara in the eighteenth century. The primary aspect of this cooperation was likewise the processions organised by these fraternities between their mother churches.⁷²

The interrelationships between the confraternities can also be seen among the religious guilds and sodalities at St. Peter's. Three kinds of fraternal interaction can be distinguished here: the first concerns the relationships between just the parish confraternities (the Literati and St. Anne's); the second, the relationship between just the sodalities (the students' and the townsfolk's); the third, the dovetailing of the activities of the parish church brotherhoods and the Jesuit congregations.

The strong economic standing of the Literati confraternity in the first half of the seventeenth century enabled it to control the confraternity of St. Anne. This control was manifested through the performance of the elders' functions in the confraternity by persons who were simultaneously the elders of the Literati confraternity. Sometimes, after several years of managing the Literati, a person moved to St. Anne's in order to assume the position of elder.⁷³ Moreover, many people were members of both fraternities at the same time, even though they performed no managerial functions in either.⁷⁴ In the second half of the seventeenth century, the activities of both brotherhoods weakened markedly. For the Literati confraternity, this was a period of decline, after which its operations ceased. After a period of inertia in 1650–1682, the *Societas S. Annae* was revived

71 Makarewicz, 'Wypisy,' p. 497.

72 AksJ, *Liber*, p. 87; S. Makarewicz, 'Wypisy,' p. 499.

73 BSDS sign. G 1238, fol. 15; AKKS sign. 97, fol. 281v; AKKS sign. 116, fols. 108v–110, 113.

74 AKKS sign. 34, fols. 1v, 7–11, 24v.

and the representatives of town authorities came to lead it. It must be stressed that in the first half of the century the town authorities were connected with the *Literati*, but the decline in the confraternity's activity clearly caused the authorities to shift their attention to St. Anne's. The transfer of this corporation to the collegiate church caused the municipal authorities to become active in the Jesuit townsfolk congregation, even after the order's dissolution in 1773.

The cooperation between the sodalities themselves, noticeable in the Sandomierz sources, was a conscious result of the Jesuits' operations. They used all of their subordinate institutions (congregations, the boarding house, the band, the theatre, individual forms of the monastic school students) together in order to add extra momentum and splendour to the festivities and celebrations which they organised.⁷⁵

From 1683, the Jesuit sodalities exercised a marked influence on the character and structure of the confraternity of St. Anne. It was in that year that – for the first time – the management, extended in number and hierarchized according to sodality models, was elected. The only difference from the sodality model was that at St. Anne's some positions were held by women and diocesan clergy. Despite the fact that in 1718 the confraternity was moved, together with its parish, to the collegiate church, it still retained the management structure for another two years because the confraternity was headed mostly by the same people who had been appointed to their posts while still at the Jesuit church.⁷⁶ What is important is that they simultaneously held managerial posts in the townsfolk sodality of the Immaculate Conception, sometimes the same posts as they held at St. Anne's.⁷⁷ It must be stressed that the students of the Sandomierz Jesuit school often joined the confraternity, a practice documented for the years 1683–1767. In that period, there are 196 young members on St. Anne's confraternity list (with the note "*Studiosus*" next to their names) and two clerical students from the seminary run by the Jesuits. Many of these young people held managerial posts in their student sodality of the Purification of the Virgin.⁷⁸ This may testify to the popularity of St. Anne's, as well as the involvement and dedication of the young sodalists, who

75 AKKS sign. 142, fols. 44–45; AKKS sign. 143, fols. 92v, 94–95; Białousz, 'Dzieje,' p. 148; Kochanowicz, 'Słownik,' p. 209.

76 AKKS sign. 34. In the years 1683–1720, the book lists ten meetings, during which the numerous and extended management was elected.

77 AKKS sign. 34 (1719, 1720); AKKS sign. 143, fols. 23–24v. From the comparison of entries in the books of both fraternities, it follows that in 1719 there were nineteen people who were simultaneously members of the confraternity and the congregation management. In 1720, there were fifteen.

78 AKKS sign. 34 (1683–1767); AKKS sign. 142, fols. 29–111. From among twenty students entered on the St. Anne's list in 1683, twelve led the sodality of BVM's Purification in 1684–1693.

pursued their devotional practices outside their own organisation as well. These interactions at the level of the organisational structure of the Jesuit sodalities and parish confraternities, as well as their devotions, illustrate a process characteristic of most fraternities in the post-Trent period, when they became open communities, and their members belonged simultaneously to other confraternities.

In conclusion, the religious confraternities, sodalities and the Third Order of St. Francis, through their presence and operation, demonstrate that the Sandomierz Church and the local community responded keenly to what was happening in the ecclesiastical structures in Poland and abroad. It is through the perspective of the functioning of individual fraternities that the marked influence of Cracow and its brotherhoods on the devotional life in Sandomierz can be observed. The extended scope of some Sandomierz brotherhoods, which brought together people from outside the town or even the region, makes it possible to see the connections of Sandomierz with other centres in the south of Poland. Fraternal festivities and services not only enlivened and deepened the religious life of the townsfolk, but also added local colour to the town and complemented its social-economic and cultural relationships.

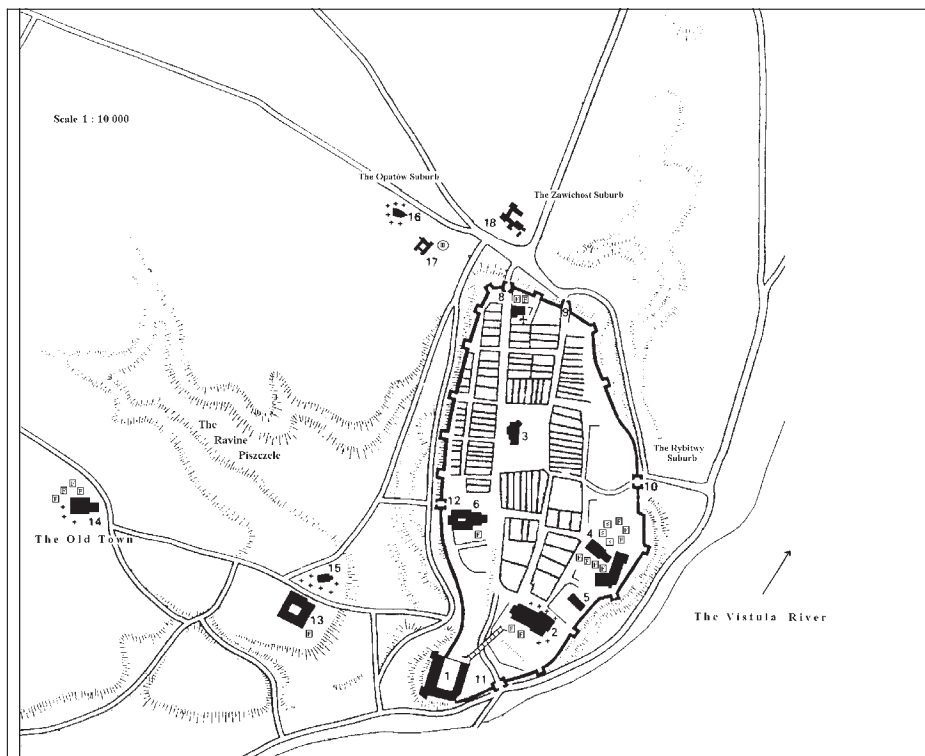
Kielce, Poland

Table: Religious Confraternities, Sodalities and Third Order in Sandomierz in the 14th-18th centuries

Church Dedication and Type	Confraternity Name	Source Documentation		Confraternity Type
		Starting Date	First Record	
St. Peter's (parish)	Grand Confraternity of the Literati of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Literati)	end of 14th cent.	1402	educational-devotional
	St. Anne's	1466		devotional
	The Poor		1508	charitable
	Religious Guild of Sandomierz Tailors		1563	devotional-charitable
Society of Jesus	Townfolk Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception	1623		devotional-charitable-educational
	Marian Sodality (major) of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Annunciation	1612 – one congregation, split into two some years later		devotional-charitable-educational
	Marian Sodality (minor) of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Purification			
	Good Death	1705		devotional
	Divine Providence	1732		devotional
	Sweetest Heart of Jesus	1738		devotional
St. Paul the Apostle's church (parish)	The Poor	[1483]	1604	devotional-charitable
	The Literati		1651	devotional
	The Millers' Religious Guild	1642		devotional-charitable
	St. Barbara's	1718		devotional
St. James the Apostle's (Dominican monastic church)	Rosarian Arch-Fraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	1597		devotional
St. Mary Magdalene's (Dominican monastic church)	Rosarian Arch-Fraternity of Sweetest Name of Jesus		1636	devotional

Holy Ghost's (hospital church, Order of the Holy Ghost)	Holy Ghost's		1524	devotional- charitable
	Scapular Fraternity of Our Lady		1692	devotional
St. Joseph's (Franciscan Reformatis' monastic church)	Third Order of St. Francis		1725	devotional
Collegiate of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Nativity	Curates	15th cent.	1604	devotional
	Pawnshop (<i>Mons Pietatis</i>)	1595		charitable
	St. Anne's, moved from St. Peter's in 1718*			

* See St. Peter's.



Legend

Buildings
Streets, roads
City walls

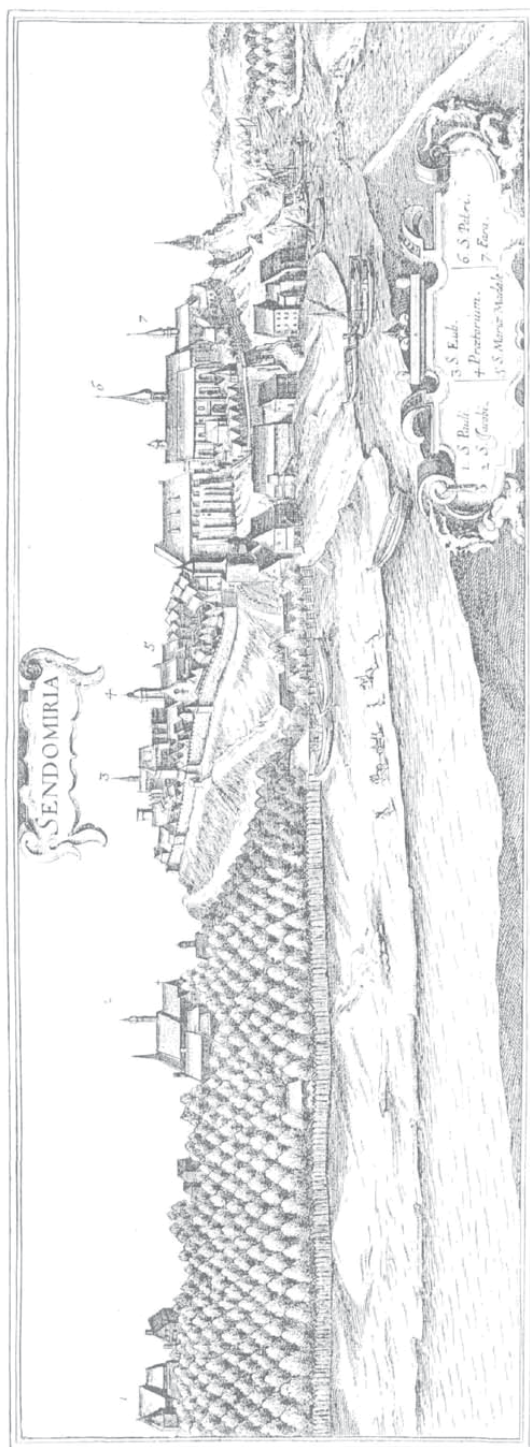
1. The castle
2. The Collegiate Church of Our Lady
3. The town hall
4. Church of St Peter and *Collegium Gostonianum*
5. The Jan Długosz building
6. Dominican Church of St Mary Magdalene
7. Hospital Church of the Holy Spirit
8. Opatów Gate
9. Zawichost Gate

10. City gate in the Rybitwy suburb
11. Cracow Gate
12. The Dominican Gate, or “The Eye of the Needle”
13. Dominican Church of St James
14. St Paul’s Church
15. St John’s Church
16. Church of St Adalbert
17. Reformed Franciscan Church of St Joseph
18. Benedictine nuns’ Church of St Michael

F Fraternity

S Sodality

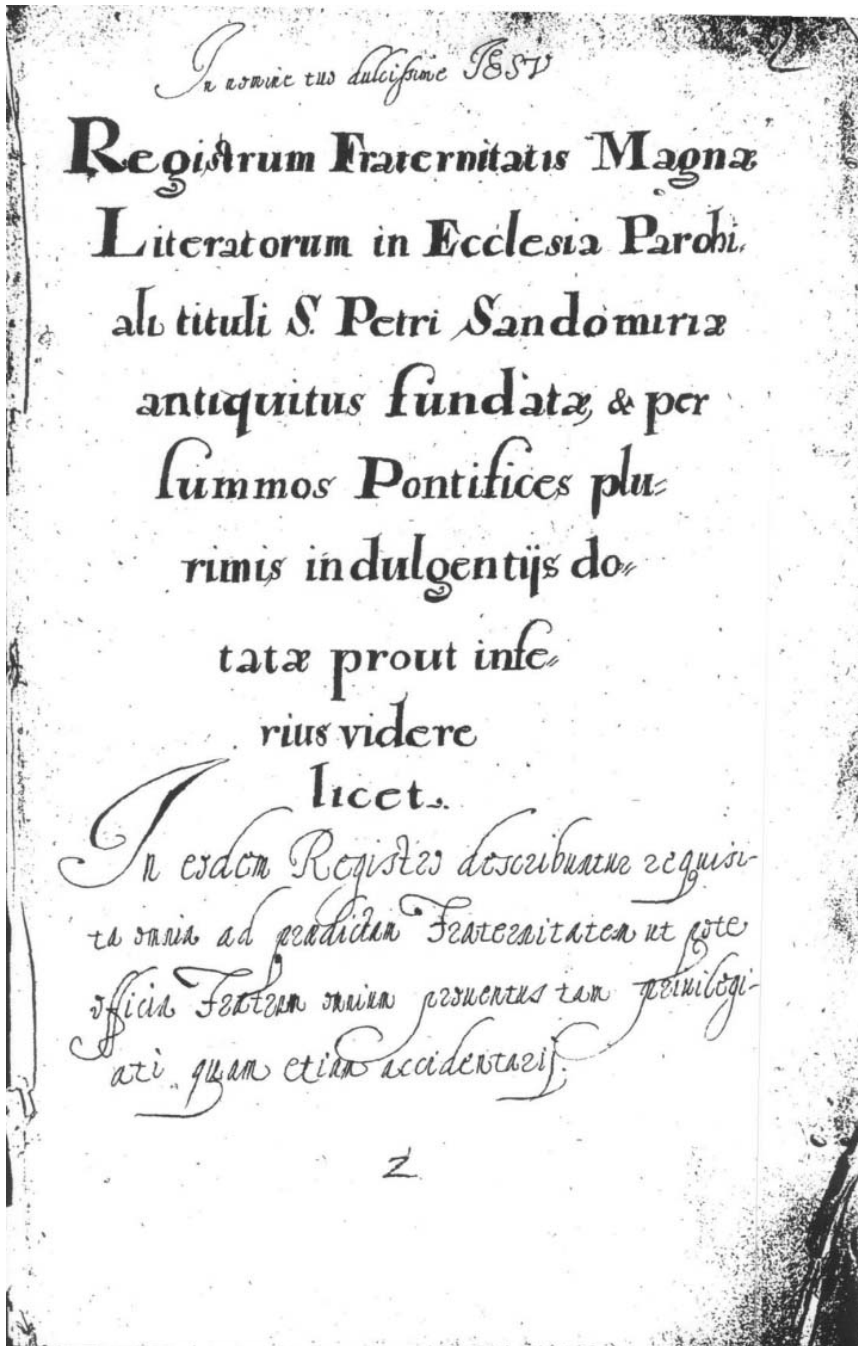
III Third Order of St Francis



View of Sandomierz (Jerzy Braun, *Theatrum urbium*, 1593–1613)



Title page from a codex of the Rosarian Arch-confraternity in the Church of St James, Sandomierz, 1774.



Title page from a codex of the Literati confraternity in the Church of St Peter,
17th century

SOCIETAS

Sanctę Anne.

PER POLONIAM, LITHVANIAM,
Rusiam, & alias S. Regis Po-
loniæ ditiones instituta.

FRVCTVS. CHARITATIS. SALVS.



Pfalmo 61.

SPERATE IN DOMINO OMNIS CONGREGATIO
POPVLI. EFFVNDITE CORAM ILLO CORDA VE-
STRA : DEVS ADIVTOR NOSTER IN AETERNVM.



CRACOVIAE,

In Officina Lazari Anno Domini,

1590.