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EMOLUMENT OF ORGANISTS IN ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISHES OF THE DIOCESE OF PRZEMYŚL IN THE MID-1800S

Abstract

The article discusses the emolument of organists in the Roman Catholic parishes of the Diocese of Przemyśl in the middle of the eighteenth century. The main sources for learning more about this parish community include bishop's visitations. In the paper, we focus primarily on two of them, i.e. the ones from 1743–1745 and 1753–1757, carried out by the Ordinary of Przemyśl, Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski (1742–1760).

In some sources organists were equated with teachers and vice versa. Their teaching was made possible by their ability to write and read.

However, this article deals primarily with the material bases of organists. These were divided into real estate, remuneration in cash, and benefits from the parish population. The former included residential and farm buildings as well as fields, gardens, orchards and meadows. While it was rare for organists not to have their own cottages, the issue of the more broadly defined farmland is not so obvious. Home-adjacent and small gardens and orchards were often among their possessions, but larger agricultural complexes were rare. They sowed these small patches of land with crops or vegetables nevertheless. They also practised animal husbandry. The technical condition of the buildings standing there also raised many concerns.

It was important for organists to receive money in the form of fixed annual salaries paid by parish governors either as a lump sum or in instalments. In addition to this emolument, the lay ministers received money for their services from city guilds, religious brotherhoods, magistrates, and parish residents. In addition, they received gratuities from the clergy who assisted the parish priests in singing or playing during various services, etc.

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The benefits also involved stipends paid by the faithful. These included, among others, *akcydensy* and *petyty*, consisting in sheaves of grain, as well as other grain tributes of various amounts. Some unspecified benefits were also provided in the forms of *kolędy*, *kartkowe*, *klerykatury*, *stołowe* and *quaestus*. Despite the difficulties in interpreting some of the terms related to organists' emoluments in this type of sources, they remain the best described group among all church ministers.

Keywords: emolument; organists; Diocese of Przemyśl; Bishop Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski; visitation

Introduction

The affairs of lay parson assistants in the Diocese of Przemyśl, known in the sources as lay ministers, have long been on the sidelines of researchers' interests. Of all the bachelors (teachers), bellringers, gravediggers, organ-blowers, cantors, ecclesiastics, musicians, organists and sextons, only the first group has been described many times by historians.¹ Virtually no extensive studies have been devoted to the other functions.² This seems unjust, as they were essential personnel in almost every parish, and to overlook their role in the social and economic life of pastoral establishments is incomprehensible.³

This article will take a closer look at the property status of organists, since among of all the ministers residing in the parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese, it is they who are recorded most often on the pages of the visitation books

¹ The main contributions to the knowledge of this community in the area of the Przemyśl Diocese, also in terms of emoluments, were made by J. Chachaj, *Lacińskie szkoły parafialne na terenie metropolii lwowskiej w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin 2005, pp. 135–171, and R. Pelczar, e.g. in *Szkolnictwo w miastach zachodnich ziem województwa ruskiego (XVI–XVIII w.)*, Rzeszów 1998; *Stan badań nad szkolnictwem ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej w okresie staropolskim*, *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne*, 6–7 (1988–1989) pp. 251–256; *Sieć lacińskich szkół parafialnych w ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej od XIV w. do 1772 r.*, *Rocznik Przemyski*, 28 (1991–1992) pp. 59–76; *Instrukcja dla nauczyciela szkoły parafialnej w Dobromilu z 1763 r. Przyczynek do dziejów oświaty staropolskiej*, *Nasza Przeszłość*, 104 (2005) pp. 259–266.

² The picture looks a little better for other dioceses. For example, the office of organist in the Diocese of Włocławek is discussed in detail by T. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae. Służba kościelna i witraży w diecezji włocławskiej w XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2011. Cf. F. Kiryk, *Ministri ecclesiae i rectores scholae w wypisach źródłowych z akt konsystorza sandomierskiego z lat 1522–1619*, in: *Religie – Edukacja – Kultura. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Litakowi*, ed. M. Surdacki, Lublin 2002, pp. 337–348; M. Konopka, *Organiści w archidiaconacie sandomierskim w XVIII wieku*, *Studia Organologica*, 2 (1998) pp. 49–58; G. Poźniak, *Organiści w archidiaconacie opolskim w drugiej połowie XVII wieku na podstawie akt wizytacyjnych Jungnitza*, *Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne Śląska Opolskiego*, 23 (2003) pp. 331–349; A. Wiśniowska-Kirch, *Organy i organiści w okręgu wiślickim w XVIII wieku na podstawie akt wizytacyjnych*, *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 48 (2000) pp. 169–224.

³ Cf. S. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne*, Lublin 2004, p. 168.

of the mid-18th century. While our knowledge about their functions in and outside the Church is extensive,⁴ we still have very little information about their emoluments.⁵

The above study, as just noted, was based on church sources.⁶ It is based on documents relating to two general visitations of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Przemyśl, conducted by Bishop Waław Hieronim Sierakowski in 1743–1745, and once again in 1753–1757.⁷ Scarce information about organists from the area of this diocese can also be found in monographs of individual parishes and towns. For historians, however, this information is highly inadequate. The references there are only of auxiliary and supplementary nature.⁸

⁴ Cf. e.g. T. Nowicki, *Organista – funkcja*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. XIV, ed. E. Gigilewicz, Lublin 2010, col. 756–758; W. Głowa, *Niedzielna służba boża w kościołach parafialnych diecezji przemyskiej w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku w świetle wizytacji biskupich*, Przemyśl 1993, pp. 105–107, 339, 347, 352, 356, 366, 380; M. Wańkiewicz, *Organy w kościołach parafialnych w miejscowościach Medyka, Miżyniec, Mościska oraz Pnikut w XVII–XX w.*, „Kresy Południowo-Wschodnie. Rocznik Regionalnego Ośrodka Kultury, Edukacji i Nauki w Przemyślu”, 2 (2004), issue 1: *Historia i tradycja*, pp. 161–176. And also: J. Mizgalski, *Organisci i organmistrze polscy jako źródła rozprzestrzeniania się muzyki profesjonalnej na terenie Polski do końca XVIII w.*, „Prace Naukowe Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego”, 1 (1961) pp. 50–118; L. Gawroński, *Muzyka religijna w Lublinie w latach 1574–1794*, Lublin 1996, pp. 31–36 et seq.; J. Prosnak, *Z dziejów staropolskiego szkolnictwa muzycznego*, „Muzyka”, 6 (1955) issue 9–10, pp. 11–23; J. Rajman, *Organy, organmistrzowie i organisci w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, in: *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. W. Bukowski, Kraków 1995, pp. 147–157; *Służba ołtarza. Organista i organy*, ed. R. Rak, Katowice 1985, pp. 9–14; S. Chodyński, *Organy, śpiew i muzyka w kościele katedralnym wrocławskim. Szkic historyczny*, Włocławek 1902.

⁵ One of the few separate articles touching on this subject in relation to the area of the Przemyśl Diocese is the text by F. Leśniak, *Organisci i kantorzy w Krośnie (1518–1630)*, in: *Człowiek w teatrze świata. Studia o historii i kulturze dedykowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu z okazji osiemdziesiątych urodzin*, ed. B. Popiołek, Kraków 2010, pp. 132–141.

⁶ Its extraordinary value for various researches was emphasized by, among others, D. Główna, *Akta wizytacji kościelnych z wieków XVI–XVIII jako źródło do historii kultury materialnej: gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach parafialnych w archidiakonacie warszawskim*, in: *Szkice z dziejów materialnego bytowania społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. M. Dembińska, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź 1989, pp. 233–254, and S. Litak, *Akta wizytacyjne parafii z XVI–XVIII wieku jako źródło historyczne*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego”, 5 (1962), issue 3, pp. 41–58.

⁷ Documentation of two visitations of Nowe Miasto deanery and one of the Pruchnik deanery has not survived to our time.

⁸ The most important of these works include: M. Boratyn, *Dzieje parafii husowskiej do 1918 roku*, in: *Husów. Wieś na Pogórzu Dynowskim w ujęciu monograficznym*, ed. A. Uchman, Husów 2010, p. 225; H. Borcz, *Parafia Markowa w okresie staropolskim i do schyłku XIX stulecia*, in: *Markowa – sześć wieków tradycji. Z dziejów społeczeństwa i kultury. Materiały z Międzynarodowej Konferencji zorganizowanej z okazji XX-lecia Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Markowej w dniach 22–23 maja 1999 roku*, eds. W. Blajer, J. Tejchman, Markowa 2005, pp. 110–111, 132–133; J. Makara, *Dzieje parafii jarosławskiej. Odbitka z czasopisma „Jarosławskie Wiadomości Parafjalne”*, Jarosław 1936, pp. 160–162, 507; S. Tymosz, *Recepcja reformy trydeńskiej w działalności kanoniczno-pas-*

Organists (from Latin *organarius*) in the Old Polish period were, by the standards of the time, fairly well-educated people. One must agree with the words of Henryk Borcz, who claimed that '[...] cantors and organists, in addition to their musical training, were as a rule proficient in the art of reading and writing, and for this reason played an important role in the communities in which they were active [...] and they undoubtedly counted among the social elite of the time.'⁹ The ability to read and write allowed organists to actively participate in the deliberations of the aldermen's courts. In Husów in the eighteenth century, the function of court scribe (Latin *scriba*) was held for nearly 20 years by a certain Wojciech Kontecki,¹⁰ and in nearby Markowa in the second half of the seventeenth century, this office was held by Wojciech Piwecki, who, in addition, was also a teacher in this parish.¹¹

The canonical visitations of the Przemyśl Diocese carried out in the mid-18th century by Bishop W. H. Sierakowski were characterized by exceptional detail on many issues. Unfortunately, organists were rarely recorded by their names in those documents. According to records, in Dydnia the office was held by Izidor Kawalerski,¹² in Haczów, Klimkówka and Targowisko: Michał Niczowski (Nyczowski), Stanisław Maszyński and Marcin Dąbski, respectively;¹³ in Żołyńa – Antoni Guskowski¹⁴, in Medyka – Grzegorz Bzowski¹⁵, and in Lubenia and Tyczyn – Józef Rępański and Stanisław Barwiński.¹⁶

In a great many cases, proficiency in reading and writing made organists parish teachers. Moreover, sometimes in the sources the organist was even equated with the teacher.¹⁷ For example, in Strzałkowice (a branch of the Nowy Sambor parish) the visitor recorded the function held by the organist as 'rector scholae alias organario', and in Korczyna – 'organarius qui simul est et baccalaureus.'¹⁸ In addition, their

toralnej arcybiskupa Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego w latach 1740–1780. Studium historyczno-prawne, Lublin 2002, pp. 337–339; T. Wojciechowski, *Polana – wieś bieszczadzka. Dzieje cywilne i kościelne*, Polana 2009, pp. 272–274.

⁹ Borcz, *Parafia Markowa*, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Księga Sądu Ławniczego wsi Husów (1625–1870)*, eds. J. Bar, A. Kisała, E. Szal, T. Wrona, Husów 2008, issue 131, p. 58 (1743), issue 164, p. 80 (1759).

¹¹ J. Półwiartek, *Wieś Markowa w okresie systemu pańszczyźnianego*, in: *Z dziejów wsi Markowa*, ed. J. Półwiartek, Rzeszów 1993, pp. 36, 53.

¹² Archives of the Archdiocese of Przemyśl (hereinafter: AAPrz), ref. 175, *Acta visitationis decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1745*, p. 355.

¹³ Ibidem, ref. 171, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Crosnensis... 1745*, k. 107 (Haczów), k. 120 (Targowiska), k. 166 (Klimkówka).

¹⁴ Ibidem, ref. 73, *Acta causarum curiae episcopalis Premisliensis... 1742–1750*, k. 329v.

¹⁵ Ibidem, ref. 178, *Acta visitationis decanatus Moscicensis... 1753*, k. 52.

¹⁶ Ibidem, ref. 174, *Acta visitationis decanatus Ressoviensis... 1745*, k. 64 (Tyczyn), k. 126 (Lubenia).

¹⁷ Cf. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 169.

¹⁸ As cited in: AAPrz, ref. 164, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis... 1744*, k. 227 (Strzałkowice); ref. 171, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Crosnensis... 1745*, k. 83v (Korczyna). Cf. ibidem, ref. 167, *Status et acta visitationis ecclesiarum decanatus Jaroslaviensis... 1744*, k. 115v (Markowa); ref. 170, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Tarnogrodensis... 1744*, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów), k. 136v (Iwonicz), k. 197v (Jasionka); ref. 172, *Acta visi-*

apartments were also often used for teaching activities.¹⁹ Despite this, documents from both visitations of Bishop W.H. Sierakowski list only 12 organist-teachers.²⁰ As for the organists of other 19 parishes, it is not possible, for various reasons, to be absolutely certain whether such teaching was conducted by them.²¹

The organists' emolument consisted of many elements. The most important of these were real estate in the form of land and buildings, and salaries paid in money by parish administrators. The other mentioned elements were known under the names of *akcydensy* and *petyty*. Natural products (*naturalia*) and other supplemental income were further down the list.

Real estate: land – gardens and orchards

The organist's land consisted primarily of arable fields, meadows, gardens and orchards. The latter components definitely dominated the parish landscape and, according to sources, were the most common emoluments of these parsonage assistants.²² As an aside, it should be said that, because of their similar nature, gardens and orchards were often reduced to a single name. For this reason, these terms were sometimes used interchangeably in visitation terminology. 'Garden, or orchard' was recorded, for example, in Grodzisko.²³

These lands were varying in their acreage. Organists from Grabownica and Klimkówka had gardens as large as forty *zagon*s (*zagon* – an Old Polish unit of area).²⁴

tationis decanatus Sanocensis... 1745, k. 156v (Zarszyn); ref. 173, *Acta visitationis decanatus Denoviensis... 1745*, k. 84 (Harta), k. 95 (Futoma). Furthermore: J. Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkolnictwo parafialne na Rusi Koronnej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2003, pp. 53–56; H. Błażkiewicz, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w diecezji przemyskiej w latach 1636–1757 w świetle wizytacji biskupich*, „Nasza Przeszłość”, 46 (1976) pp. 163–164, 170; S. Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w Małopolsce XVI–XVIII w.*, Lwów 1912, pp. 11–19; J. Kowalik, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w archidiecezji sandomierskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1983, pp. 52–53; S.K. Olczak, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w Wielkopolsce w XVII i XVIII wieku (w świetle wizytacji kościelnych)*, Lublin 1978, pp. 101–102; A. Zapart, *Szkolnictwo parafialne w archidiecezji krakowskiej od XVI do XVIII wieku*, Lublin 1983, pp. 166–171.

¹⁹ In many cases, schools as separate buildings served organists as residential buildings, in addition to teaching function. It is also not uncommon to see terms like 'school alias organist's house', 'organist's house, i.e. school' or 'school meaning organist's house'. Cf. AAPrz, ref. 175, *Acta visitationis decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1745*, p. 374 (Domaradz); ref. 189, *Visitatio decanatus Crosnensis... 1756*, k. 59v60 (Iwonicz), k. 150v (Kombornia). A fundamental, perhaps unresolvable, problem is the distinction between typical schools and organists' premises.

²⁰ In Brzozów, Futoma, Haczów, Harta, Iwonicz, Jasionka, Kombornia, Korczyn, Lubaczów, Markowa, Strzałkowie (a branch of the Nowy Sambor parish) and Zarszyn.

²¹ In Bachórzec, Besko, Domaradz, Hyżne, Izdebki, Jasionka, Jawornik, Klimkówka, Lubenia, Miejsce Piastowe, Nowosielce, Nozdrzec, Odrzykoń, Przysietnica, Rogi, Targowiska, Trześniów (a branch of the Jasionów parish), Wrocanka and Zabierzów.

²² This was also the case in the Diocese of Włocławek, cf. T. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 390–395, 400.

²³ AAPrz, ref. 169, *Status et visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Leżajscensis... 1744*, p. 140.

²⁴ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 171v (Klimkówka); ref. 175, pp. 176–177 (Grabownica); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4918/II, *Villa Grabownica haereditaria gen. Górskich visitata die 5 Junii A.D. 1745*, k. 4v–5.

Several others owned 10–20 *zagon*s (e.g. in Ostrów).²⁵ Others, in turn, had only small lands equal to several *zagon*s or several patches assigned to them (e.g. in Dylągowa).²⁶ In many situations, the visitation documents are limited to only a laconic statement that the land was small.²⁷ The most accurately measured area of the garden was in Potok (Kulińska Wola) in the Tarnogród deanery. The scribe noted that it had a dimension of half a *stajanie* (an Old Polish measurement unit) by 5 *zagon*s.²⁸

Some of these landholdings were part of the broader parsonage property in the past. However, over time, parish priests, wishing to equip their helpers in some way, separated pieces of land from their own property, which the latter then developed according to their own needs. This is evidenced, for example, by the two fenced gardens located in the parsonage meadow in Dydnia, the garden excluded from the parsonage area in Grabownica or parts of plots separated in the same way in Krzemienica, Hoczew and Mrzygłód.²⁹ It was not only the clergy managing the parish that turned out to be benefactors of the organists. In Sanok, some unspecified garden was donated to the minister by the local magistrate, in Wysoka by the village council, and in Lesko by an unknown foundation.³⁰ It is also interesting to note that from the garden donated by the parson of Pnikut, the organist performed feudal service, becoming, so to speak, a serf peasant.³¹

Incidentally, such properties have become the subject of disagreements. One such occurred in Ostrów, where a garden belonging to an organist was illegally planted by his employer. Because of this, a dispute arose between the two, which was settled in favour of the organist by Bishop W.H. Sierakowski.³² The sowing of the organist's garden by the pastor also took place in Poraż. Unfortunately, the details of this case are unknown.³³

The usefulness of gardens and orchards for organists is undisputed, as even small ones provided vegetables and fruits for the table of their owners. Given that the most common vegetable on parsonage farms was cabbage, it is probably fair to venture the thesis that it was indeed cabbage that accounted for the largest percentage of the crop among the other vegetables.³⁴ As for fruits, plums were certainly popular. Of the fruit trees, it was plum trees that were most often mentioned on the

²⁵ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 142v.

²⁶ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 39v.

²⁷ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 396.

²⁸ AAPrz, ref. 170, k. 23v. Cf. M. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii w rzymskokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej w XVIII wieku*, doctoral dissertation, Archives of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin 2017 [typescript], p. 97.

²⁹ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 66 (Krzemienica); ref. 172, k. 105, 113 (Hoczew), k. 186v–187, 189 (Mrzygłód); ref. 175, p. 166 (Grabownica), pp. 355–356, 364 (Dydnia).

³⁰ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 13 (Sanok), k. 46 (Lesko); ref. 174, k. 105v (Wysoka).

³¹ Ibidem, ref. 165, *Acta visitationis decanatus Moscicensis... 1743–1744*, k. 26, 32.

³² Ibidem, ref. 182, *Visitatio et status ecclesiarum in decanatu Jaroslaviensis... 1755*, k. 105v, 108.

³³ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 95, 99.

³⁴ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 133.

pages of visitation records. The apple tree was mentioned in Stary Sambor, among others, with the record stating that '[...] by this organist's house [there is] a small garden fenced with brushwood, [and] in it a small apple tree'.³⁵ Other references to fruit trees are limited to the term 'fertile trees', numerous in some cases. About 40 were counted in Piotraszowka and Świlcza, and dozens in Haczów.³⁶

Gardens or orchards served not only to grow the crops described above. The land was also used to plant various crops. While there are scarce mentions of this in the visitation records, it nevertheless seems to have been practised quite often, for example, by an organist from Łowce, who in his approx. fifteen-acre garden grew grain, in addition to vegetables.³⁷ It is likely that oats or rye were involved in this case, as these two cereal species are most often reported by Church sources. Indirectly, the sowing of gardens may also be evidenced by barns within the lands belonging to organists, which had separate partitions for storing grain, i.e. grain bins.

Real estate: land – arable land

It was much less common for organists to have strictly arable land.³⁸ Such estates were spotted with only 26 individuals and, as with gardens and orchards, their areas varied. In Jaćmierz, the organist owned a quarter of a field and approx. 2 acres of land.³⁹ Almost identical acreage was in the hands of ministers from Bachórzec, Jawornik and Leszczyna.⁴⁰ Half of these fields (one-eighth) were enjoyed by parson's helpers from Dynów and Winniki.⁴¹ The latter village deserves special attention. The organist there was given land as early as 1729 under the will of Franciszek Nahujowski, although the parish was not formally established until 1747.⁴²

Organists in other parishes held estates of various sizes: in Mrzygłód (6 *zagon*s), Medyka (2 *zagon*s) and Dublany (an eighth of a field).⁴³ In Przysietnica, the local peasants donated 7 *stajania* of fields to the organist, and in Dydnia, after Bishop Sierakowski had sorted out the matters, the organist received 3 new parts of fields located in 2 new locations.⁴⁴ Visitations mention of pieces of land of unspecified area in Dubiecko, Siennów, Rudołowice and Rychcice.⁴⁵

³⁵ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 44.

³⁶ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 113 (Haczów); ref. 174, k. 138v (Piotraszówka), k. 150 (Świlcza).

³⁷ Ibidem, ref. 166, *Acta visitationis decanatus Pruchnicensis... 1744*, k. 208, 212v.

³⁸ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 390–395.

³⁹ AAPrz, ref. 175, pp. 117–118, 120.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, ref. 158, *Iura praecipua et principaliora ecclesiarum parochialium decanatus Moticensis et Leżajscensis... in visitatione generali... a. D. 1721*, p. 1839 (Leszczawa); ref. 173, k. 20, 21v (Bachórzec), 100–100v (Jawornik).

⁴¹ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 90v, 92v (Winniki); ref. 173, k. 5v (Dynów).

⁴² Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 41–44.

⁴³ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 205 (Dublany); ref. 172, k. 186v–187 (Mrzygłód); ref. 178, k. 50 (Medyka).

⁴⁴ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 305 (Przysietnica); ref. 187, *Visitatio decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1756*, k. 27v (Dydnia).

⁴⁵ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 192 (Rychcice); ref. 167, k. 4v (Rudołowice), k. 28 (Siennów); ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko).

Unlike the gardens and orchards already discussed, arable land was not readily excluded from parsonage land. The explanation, it seems, lies in the humble dimensions of the parsonage (parish) property. However, this phenomenon may not have affected wealthier parishes. In Stara Sól, it was the prebendary Rev. Sebastian Majerski who funded the organist with arable lands of unknown area in return for his active participation in various services.⁴⁶ More often, however, it was the nobility that secured the organists' livelihoods by giving them some of their own, not insignificant, piece of land. This was the case in Radochońce, where a piece of the field was ceded to the minister by the owners of the local manor.⁴⁷ In Przybyszówka, for a quarter of arable land, the organist was obliged to sing devotional songs, presumably for the souls of the founders, and in Husów, a donation by a certain Uleniecki provided the *dławiduda* – as the organist was sometimes referred to in Old Polish – with a field of unspecified size.⁴⁸ The issue of land ownership in Iwonicz was also interesting. Immediately at the beginning of the 17th century, Crown Chamberlain Andrzej Bobola⁴⁹ offered the local parson's helper an arable land of seven *pręt* (an Old Polish measurement unit). More than 100 years later, another heir to Iwonicz, Voivode of Volhynia Jan Franciszek Stadnicki,⁵⁰ illegally seized the land. The situation remained unchanged until the visitation of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski in the 1840s.⁵¹

Land ownership was sometimes associated with other problems. An organist in Bachórzec got into trouble for lending the land he used. He had previously agreed with the parish priest to whom ceded his arable land in exchange for 76 zlotys⁵² for an annual lease. Although initially everything went his way, the records of the parish visitation drawn up in 1745 unequivocally state that the adjudicated sum was not paid by the clergyman for years, although he continued to regularly sow the leased field.⁵³ Natural disasters and random events have also caused serious concern among ministers. For example, in Przeworsk and Krościenko, gardens and orchards were adjacent to nearby rivers, so the water that rose from time to time often destroyed crops and washed away the roots of the trees.⁵⁴ For unknown reasons,

⁴⁶ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 3v, 11v. Sebastian Majerski – prebendary of St Trinity parish in Stara Sól, cf. M. Kociubiński, *Księga diecezji przemyskiej do roku 1772*, vol. I: *Biogramy*, part 2: *M-Ż*, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu, Jarosław-Przemyśl 1989, p. 387 [typescript].

⁴⁷ AAPrz, ref. 178, k. 15.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 83v (Husów); ref. 174, k. 153v (Przybyszówka).

⁴⁹ Andrzej Bobola – crown chamberlain (1607–1616), cf. *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. X: *Urzednicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. K. Chłapowski, S. Ciara, Ł. Kądziała, T. Nowakowski, E. Opaliński, G. Rutkowska, T. Zielińska, Kórnik 1992, issue 704, p. 117.

⁵⁰ Jan Franciszek Stadnicki – Voivode of Volhynia (1697–1713), cf. *Urzednicy*, t. III: *Ziemie ruskie*, issue 5: *Urzednicy wołyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. M. Wolski, Kórnik 2007, issue 776, p. 153.

⁵¹ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 136v.

⁵² 1 Polish złoty = 1 florin = 30 grosz.

⁵³ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 20.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, ref. 182, k. 34–34v (Przeworsk); ref. 189, k. 43 (Krościenko).

the orchard (garden) of the organist in Stubno was also ravaged.⁵⁵ Furthermore, it remains a mystery as to why the organist from Dynów, in possession of an eighth of the land, did not use the land at all, thus limiting his already small income.⁵⁶

Real estate: land – meadows and ponds

The organists' emoluments also included meadows and ponds. However, they did not contribute in any significant way to increasing their income. Their insignificance was attested to in the sources. The scarcity of information on these estates is explained by the fact that they very rarely appeared in the hands of organists.⁵⁷ Only three such references were documented from the area of the Przemyśl Diocese in the mid-18th century. The meadows were at the disposal of organists from Blizne, Dubiecko and Besko. Slightly more data on the productivity of such land is included only regarding the latter parish. As noted in the records of the 1745 visitation, 2 carts of hay (*currus faena*) were brought from this meadow.⁵⁸ Virtually nothing is known about the surface area of these lands. In Blizne it was described as small, and in Dubiecko – as not large.⁵⁹ The role of a meadow, it seems, was played by one of the gardens in the aforementioned parish of Dydnia. This is evidenced by an interesting note reporting that the organist 'habet ab antiquo in laneo plebanali hortos duos, unum pro oleribus, alterum pro faenificiis.'⁶⁰

Information about organists does not include the pastures they leased. This can be explained by their lack of sufficiently large or numerous livestock. For this reason, separate pastures were simply not necessary for them. If they did own such animals, they certainly exercised their right to free grazing on manorial or communal grazing lands ('libertatem pellendi pecus ad pascua communitatis'); this was the case in Wrocanka.⁶¹

Smaller ponds served mainly as a watering hole for domestic poultry, while the larger ones were used to raise fish.⁶² Information about the organist's pond was noted only once, namely in Gniewczyna. It did not represent much value being 'mud-infested and overgrown.'⁶³

Real estate: buildings – residential buildings

In addition to land, the organists' estates consisted of residential buildings. They were ordinary wooden peasant cottages, divided inside into different sections. They usually contained a larger or smaller vestibule with doors diverging from

⁵⁵ Ibidem, ref. 178, k. 61v.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 5v.

⁵⁷ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 392–393.

⁵⁸ A second, larger measure of hay rolls was still in use. It was referred to by the Latin term *aservus faenus* or *aservus magna faenus*, meaning hay heap or haystack, cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 137.

⁵⁹ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko); ref. 175, p. 257 (Blizne).

⁶⁰ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 355.

⁶¹ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 182v.

⁶² Cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 140–141.

⁶³ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 195.

it to other rooms, i.e. one or more chambers, sometimes to alcoves (small rooms usually used for sleeping), bakeries and various chambers. The sight of homemade pigsties, cowsheds and stables was also not uncommon.

It is correct to assume that these facilities were part of the organists' emoluments.⁶⁴ However, after a careful analysis of the contents of the visitation protocols in terms of the usefulness of these buildings, it can be concluded that in the mid-18th century their usability and functionality left much to be desired. This has already been noted by Tomasz Nowicki, who researched the parishes of the Diocese of Włocławek.⁶⁵ In the Diocese of Przemyśl, out of 118 organists' houses listed in Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's first visitation, as many as 62 buildings (52%) could be described, due to their state of preservation, as at least average, bad, and in many cases even very bad. It is worth noting that even in these usable houses, the visitors noted some deficiencies, and ordered their immediate repair. This is also illustrated by the considerable number of negative words describing the technical condition of these properties. Words like 'bad', 'scarred', 'rotten', 'mouldy', 'banged up', 'decayed', 'leaky', 'crumbling', 'ruin', as well as 'reparation' and 'need' in both visitations counted nearly 300 and involved as many as 89 pastoral establishments.⁶⁶ The worst sight the visitors found probably in Humniska in 1743, where half of the cottage was 'fundamentally bad, rotten in the foundations, and scarred and bad inside in the walls', and the bakery in it was described as 'old in the walls, crumbling, propped up and without a floor.'⁶⁷ Almost identically portrayed in the visitation protocol in the same year was the organist's house in Dublany, which 'has sunk considerably into the ground and both the walls and the roof are in bad condition.'⁶⁸ The appearance was no better for the house in Kosina (with 'scarred walls, and rotten and crumbling roof').⁶⁹ In the case of Sarzyna, the remark was very straightforward: 'in a word, everything [there] needs to be repaired in its entirety.'⁷⁰

The situation was even worse during the second (the so-called 'checking') visitation conducted by Bishop W. H. Sierakowski in the mid-1850s. It records only 99 abbreviated descriptions of organists' houses. Significantly, however, as many as one-third of them were practically useless by then. This leads us to two conclusions. First, the reforming decrees of the previous visitation were not implemented with due diligence. For example, in Dobropol (Majdan Sieniawski) in 1744, the minister's cottage was described as 'bad in the roof' and 'with a bad

⁶⁴ Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 402.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, pp. 407–411.

⁶⁶ By the time W. H. Sierakowski became bishop, there had been 158 parishes (excluding branches) within the Diocese of Przemyśl. During the reign of this illustrious ordinary (1742–1760), 15 new pastoral posts were established, followed by two more in the following 12 years, that is, until the first partition of Poland. In total, there were 175 parishes (excluding branches) in 1772. Cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 33, 58.

⁶⁷ AAPrz, ref. 175, pp. 199–200.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 211.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 21.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, k. 205v.

and rotten ceiling.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the walls, foundations, windows, as well as its furnishings were recorded as being in good condition. Ten years later it was reported: ‘that which is described *in antiquo statu*, is crumbling thoroughly *ad praesens*’.⁷² This was by no means an isolated incident. Similarly, the bishop’s recommendations were not implemented at least in Grodzisko, Izdebki and Kombornia.⁷³ The organist’s house in Krasne suffered a peculiar fate. In early September 1755, when Bishop W. H. Sierakowski visited this parish for the second time, he saw that the out of organist’s house ‘made of wood embedded in the quoin [...],’ which was ‘in the walls frothed, old, bad’⁷⁴ ‘only its yard’ remained.⁷⁵ Secondly, it seems that the owners-organists themselves did not particularly care for their homes. This should probably explain the fact that in a fairly short period of time reasonably prosperous buildings turned into complete ruins. This happened, among other things, to the organist’s house in Wołkowyja, which ‘collapsed’ within ten years.⁷⁶ Such a fate also befell the cottages of organists in Bachórzec, Jasionka, Manasterz, Ostrów, Potok, Sietesz or the royal Stryj.⁷⁷ The house in Medynia was, probably also due to neglect, only suitable for ‘rapid collapse’, and in Miejsce (Piastowe) – to ‘collapse and burning.’⁷⁸

To some extent, the organists’ excuse for their houses not being in the best condition is the fact that they used wood for their construction, a material that is not very resistant to weather conditions, especially to humidity. One should also not forget about pests (e.g. bark beetles) destroying unprotected building material. And indeed, if one takes into account that at that time wood was generally not impregnated (especially in small, rural parishes), the condition of buildings made of it worsened year by year. It is no coincidence that the records note that the walls in the organist’s house in Makowa were ‘badly deteriorated from the worms.’⁷⁹

In some cases, the opposite happened. Visitors were undoubtedly pleased with the rebuilt and well-maintained buildings. Everything, of course, depended on the ministers themselves, but also on the parish administration. In the aforementioned Humniska, on the site of the ruined organist’s property, a new building was erected by the local parson, Rev. Jan Wiszniowski, Canon of Płock, at his own expense.⁸⁰ The reforming decree was also received with utmost care by the parson from Przy-

⁷¹ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 75.

⁷² Ibidem, ref. 179, *Acta visitationis decanatus Tarnogrodensis... 1753*, k. 76v.

⁷³ Ibidem, ref. 180, *Visitatio et status ecclesiarum in decanatu Leżajscensis... 1754*, k. 30 (Grodzisko); ref. 185, *Visitatio ecclesiarum decanatus Denoviensis... 1755*, k. 98v, 100v (Izdebki); ref. 189, k. 147, 150v (Kombornia).

⁷⁴ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 88v.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, ref. 181, *Acta visitationis decanatus Rzeszoviensis... 1754*, k. 103.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, ref. 186, *Acta visitationis decanatus Sanocensis... 1755*, k. 77.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, ref. 176, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis... 1753*, k. 49v, 50v (Stryj); ref. 179, k. 134 (Potok); ref. 182, k. 63v, 64–64v (Manasterz), k. 99v (Ostrów), k. 105v, 108 (Sietesz); ref. 185, k. 61v, 63 (Bachórzec); ref. 189, k. 95v–96 (Jasionka).

⁷⁸ Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 97 (Medynia), ref. 189, k. 121v (Miejsce Piastowe).

⁷⁹ Ibidem, ref. 182, k. 113–113v.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, ref. 187, *Visitatio decanatus Brzozoviensis... 1756*, k. 52v. Jan Wiszniowski – parson in Humniska (1747–1764), cf. Kociubiński, *Księża*, vol. I, part 2, p. 755.

byszówka, who demolished the old, decayed house and erected a new one on the same site.⁸¹ Of particular interest was the situation in Nienadówka. Although the clergyman demolished the building, which had deteriorated over time, he used the building blocks from the previous structure to construct the new one. The problem was that the wooden structural elements unfortunately bore signs of partial decay.⁸² At the expense of the parish priests, organist's houses were also erected in Blizne, Gniewczyn, Golcowa and Lubenia.⁸³ Unconventional was the erection of the cottage in Wysoka, where it was partly paid for by the parson and partly by the parishioners ('partim communitatis villae alias parochianorum').⁸⁴ Also worth mentioning are the activities of the Canon of Kamieniec, Rev. Józef Krzysztof Krzyżanowski, parson in Nowosielce.⁸⁵ He dismantled his helper's existing house, but, as stated in the protocol of the visitation, 'he is thinking of erecting a different one, and has already bought a cottage for 54 zlotys from a peasant for this purpose.'⁸⁶ Whether the whole affair was successfully brought to a conclusion is unknown.

The organists themselves have also revitalized their homes to a greater or lesser extent. The most outstanding renovation works were undertaken in that matter in Targowiska ('reperitur et conservatur')⁸⁷ and Zaczernie. In the latter village, the minister, using his own money, erected a residence for himself within the boundaries of the former school.⁸⁸ In Haczów, on the other hand, the organist began 'to brick the cellar for his convenience [...] considerably *in parte*', and also installed a new stove in one of the rooms of the occupied cottage.⁸⁹

Rural communities also assisted in rebuilding homes, with varying degrees of success. In the aforementioned Haczów, 'out of the duty of the community, the new [roof] is given in three parts for two years,' even though the fourth part of it still needed completion.⁹⁰ Also in Jasionka, the faithful were expected to provide housing for their organist-teacher ('per communitatem eiusdem villae Jasionka indiget uti ad hac obligatam').⁹¹ The same duty fell on the townspeople of Krosno, where a completely new house had to be erected, for the existing organist's property was threatened by... the collapse of the city wall.⁹² A different course of action was

⁸¹ AAPrz, ref. 181, k. 27.

⁸² Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 104.

⁸³ Ibidem. 167, k. 195 (Gniewczyna); ref. 175, p. 257 (Blizne), p. 326 (Golcowa); ref. 181, k. 156v, 160v (Lubenia).

⁸⁴ Ibidem, ref. 181, k. 88v.

⁸⁵ Józef Krzysztof Krzyżanowski – parson in Nowosielce (1745–1763), cf. M. Kociubiński, *Księga diecezji przemyskiej do roku 1772*, vol. I: *Biogramy*, part 1: *A-L*, Biblioteka Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego w Przemyślu, Jarosław-Przemyśl 1989, p. 326 [typescript].

⁸⁶ AAPrz, ref. 180, k. 53v.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 51.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 185.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 36–36v.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ Ibidem, k. 95v–96.

⁹² Ibidem, k. 19.

taken in distant Iwonicz, where, although the wood was delivered and even the first works began, the parishioners abandoned further work for unknown reasons.⁹³

It turns out that not all organists had their own roof over their heads. In Krzemienica, the apartment of the parson's assistant was consumed by fire, incidentally also destroying the church, the prebendary and the hospital. Except for the organist's property, all were soon rebuilt.⁹⁴ The same fate befell the house of the church servant in royal Lubaczów, which was razed to the ground by fire in 1743. Despite the rapid and partial erection of the cottage anew, the organist did not move in, but the vicar did.⁹⁵ In Stary Sambor, the 'familia' of the parish priest resided in the organist's house.⁹⁶ The fire also became a source of misfortune for the organist in Lubatowa, who received assistance from the villagers led by the parish; they managed to rebuild his house.⁹⁷ The organist's property in Łonowice was also burned. It seems that there the organists themselves were at fault in this case, since the visitation of 1776 mentions that 'the organist's house, which was not far from the church [was] set on fire through the carelessness of the organists' but, as in Lubatowa, the parish priest quickly erected a new building.⁹⁸ It is difficult to judge where the said organists found refuge. Perhaps, as in Nowotaniec, they were taken in by parishioners.⁹⁹

Not infrequently, deprived of housing, they found a place for themselves in hospital chambers. One of them lived with the poor in Łąka,¹⁰⁰ and the other 'for the better comfort of his own' stayed among the poor in Malawa, because a parson's serviceman had taken up residence in his former cottage for a longer period of time.¹⁰¹ Another, from the wealthy Lesko provostry in 1745, rented part of the hospital for little money. Exactly 10 years later, he has already settled into 'his own home in the city.'¹⁰² A city inventory compiled in 1769 was helpful in locating this building. It says that on Krakowska Street '[...] an organist had lived beforehand on the empty hospital square, who gave every year 3 zlotys to the hospital, [but] now this household has fallen.'¹⁰³ Nevertheless, this lay minister was, in some way, dependent on the Lesko shelter for more than 20 years.

⁹³ Ibidem, k. 59v–60.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, ref. 180, k. 84, 85v, 90v, 91v.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 130.

⁹⁶ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 43v–44, 45. The term 'familia' was used to refer to the parson's assistants, consisting of farmhands, wenchers, shepherds, sheepherders, cowhands, miners, watchmen and gamekeepers, cf. Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 179.

⁹⁷ AAprz, ref. 189, k. 87v.

⁹⁸ Stefanyk National Science Library, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4844/II, *Status ecclesiae et beneficij in Łonowice sive Łanowice descriptus in visitationibus A.D. 1743 et 1776*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ AAprz, ref. 172, k. 128.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 175v.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, ref. 181, k. 111v–112.

¹⁰² Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 60; ref. 186, k. 103.

¹⁰³ The State Archive in Przemyśl, inventory 158, Archives of the Lesko Castle of the Krasicki family, ref. 14, *Inwentarze dóbr podgórskich liskich na skarb trzymanyh pro anno 1769*, pp. 134–135.

Organists from Starmieście, Strachocina and Żołyńia also had to change their places of residence. The first, due to the demolition of his house, has re-located to the vicarage¹⁰⁴, while the second has temporarily moved to the old rectory, and was later promised a new cottage, since a parson's assistant resided in the old one.¹⁰⁵ The old chaplaincy, on the other hand, became a quiet haven for an organist from Żołyńia for a long time.¹⁰⁶

Concluding the subject of residential buildings, it should also be added that sometimes these ministers did not stay in them alone. The organist in Dylągowa shared a house with a sexton, and the one in Łańcut lived in a cottage in a cemetery, with a bellringer as his housemate.¹⁰⁷

Real estate: buildings – farm buildings

The organist's yards also included facilities designed solely for farming purposes. These included stables, barns, cowsheds, pigsties, sheds, as well as those structures that served as larders – cellars and root cellars.

In total, we can note this category of construction in 73 pastoral facilities, almost half of all parishes. Stables were the most numerous, mentioned 34 times by the sources. They were followed by pigsties (24), sheds (19), barns (15) and cowsheds (2). Pantries, cellars and root cellars counted a total of only 7.

Only some of the buildings are marked for their purpose. And so in the farms of the organists in Haczów, Klimkówka and Równe there were stables 'for cattle.'¹⁰⁸ Pigsties in Medenice, Rokietnica and Świlcza and a shed in Grodzisk were also intended for these animals.¹⁰⁹ In Klimkówka, pigs were raised in a pigsty.¹¹⁰ Grain was kept in sheds in Kosina and Myślaticze and in a barn in Haczów.¹¹¹ The examples given present the nature of these buildings, but fail to provide answer to two basic questions. First, whether the ministers actually owned livestock, and second, if they did, what number of these animals they had. The visitations unfortunately fails to report on this matter. However, it can be assumed that organists were usually engaged in some kind of animal breeding to an unspecified extent. An argument supporting this thesis can be found in the privilege stating the right of the organist from Wrocanka to freely graze his animals on the manor meadows.¹¹² Yet another evidence is the occurrence of mangers and ladders for large and smaller game in the buildings. Although only in Klimkówka did the visitor indicate that they were

¹⁰⁴ AAPrz, ref. 181, k. 21v.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem, ref. 187, k. 59, 60v.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 124.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 50v (Łańcut); ref. 173, k. 37 (Dylągowa).

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem ref. 171, k. 115 (Haczów), k. 171v (Klimkówka), k. 179 (Równe).

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem ref. 164, k. 174v–175 (Medenice); ref. 166, k. 186v–187 (Rokietnica); ref. 169, k. 140 (Grodzisko); ref. 181, k. 32 (Świlcza).

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 171v.

¹¹¹ Ibidem ref. 165, k. 22v (Myślaticze); ref. 169, k. 21 (Kosina); ref. 171, k. 115 (Haczów).

¹¹² Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 182v.

used to feed cattle,¹¹³ but it is hard to imagine that in the other 9 farmyards they were used for other purposes.

On many occasions, stables, pigsties or barns were located in the cottages next to the rooms, kitchens and hallways. Housing animals and people together was of great importance, especially in winter, when an often decrepit stable or pigsty could not guarantee livestock surviving harsh weather conditions.

The technical condition of these buildings, according to the protocols of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's first visit, was not very bad, in contrast to the housing units. Only some of them required urgent repairs. And thus the organists' sheds in Haczów and Manasterz required renewal in the roof,¹¹⁴ and in Sietesz – repairs to the walls.¹¹⁵ However, a completely different picture emerges from the descriptions of the second visitation, whereby farm buildings were also mentioned among the devastated houses. In the case of Czukiew 'there is no barn *ad praesens*,'¹¹⁶ the shed in Grabownica, 'which is described *in antiquo statu*, [has been] abandoned,'¹¹⁷ and 2 pigsties in Nienadówka were assessed as 'old and bad.'¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, there were many positive remarks in this visit as well. Among others, in Haczów, which has already been mentioned many times, the local organist erected a stable at his own expense.¹¹⁹

Brogi (hay barracks) were yet another interesting element in the parish landscape.¹²⁰ Eight such components were counted at the disposal of parson assistants. It is difficult to tell from the source records what they were actually used by organists for. In Futoma, Harta or Siennów, they were probably related to the 'sheaf' *petyty* paid to the church servants,¹²¹ which will be discussed further below. In Jaćmierz and Siennów, the organists owned more than just their share of arable land, so it is inevitable that the straw or hay stored in the hay barracks could have come from there.¹²² Interestingly enough, hay barracks also appeared on the farms of organists without land or *petyty*. The reverse was true for those who received land allotments – in their case, these wooden structures could not be found.

The last part of the organists' outbuildings were cellars and root cellars. They guaranteed the freshness of the harvest stored in them for their owners. Naturally, cellars with separate massive doors, stairs and of large cubic capacity turned out to

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, k. 171v.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, k. 115 (Haczów); ref. 167, k. 79v (Manasterz).

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, ref. 167, k. 136v.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, ref. 176, *Acta visitationis decanatus Samboriensis... 1753*, k. 102v.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, ref. 187, k. 57.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, ref. 180, k. 104.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, ref. 189, k. 36v.

¹²⁰ *Bróg* – 'a straw canopy on four poles [...] to be raised and lowered [...]. *Bróg*, as a building, or rather a roof for hay and grain [...]. It [also] means a heap of grain placed without a roof under the open sky', Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. I: *A-D*, Warsaw 1972, p. 208.

¹²¹ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 32–32v (Siennów); ref. 173, k. 97 (Futoma); ref. 185, k. 34 (Harta); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4900/II, *Harta villa haereditatis mgci Domini Joannis de Kozielsko Ogiński capitanei Msciboviensis visitata die 21 mensis Augusti anno 1745*, k. 7.

¹²² AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 32–32v (Siennów); ref. 175, p. 134 (Jaćmierz).

be better in this regard. In the more primitive of the two, i.e. root cellars or small pits dug into the ground, freshly harvested crops were placed and then covered with a relatively thin layer of dirt. During the major winter frosts, additional straw was laid down and also covered with dirt.¹²³ Only 7 such cavities near the homes of parsons' assistants were rerecorded in the documents of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's visitation.

Emolument in money: fixed salary

In addition to real estate, organists were also entitled to certain monetary gratuities in the form of fixed salaries, paid quarterly or annually by the parish priests. Upon agreement on the specific terms between the parish priest and the future minister, a contract was written that specified the rate of such remuneration. In exchange for a salary, the organist was obligated to do certain work in the parish area.¹²⁴ In the mid-18th century, the related revenue was relatively diverse. The prebendary in Krosno paid the least, only 12 zlotys, but the organist there still collected more than 150 zlotys from other sources.¹²⁵ Organists from Jasionka and Niebieszczany also had identical profits of 12 florins. The difference between them and the aforementioned servant from Krosno was that in addition to this salary, they did not receive any other money.¹²⁶ 17 other organists in the Przemyśl Diocese charged slightly more, i.e. 16 florins. Most often, the visitation records show dues as high as 24 and 40 zlotys. Such amounts were accounted for in 21 and 24 pastoral facilities, respectively. In total, fees in the range of 16–40 zlotys were applied in as many as 87 parishes. There were also higher amounts. Fifty florins were paid by the parson in Milczyce to his assistant, and the organists in Łowce, Wojutyce and Łukowa received 10 zlotys more.¹²⁷ It is also worth mentioning the annual 72 florins transferred by the parish priests of Nowe Miasto and Sieniawa and 80 zlotys by the provost of Krasiczyn and the provost of Sanok.¹²⁸ Three-digit sums were also paid, albeit very rarely. Such sizeable amounts were received by organists in Leżajsk (100 zlotys), Krzywca (120 zlotys) and Wojutyce (120 zlotys)¹²⁹.

As signalled, payments were regulated in two ways. They were either spread over four instalments (quarterly) or paid in full at the end of the year. It is possible that the latter solution was implemented on St Martin's Day, i.e. on 11 November.

In principle, the rates discussed above had fixed values; nevertheless, as Bishop W. H. Sierakowski's second visitation shows, in several cases they changed over

¹²³ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, p. 134.

¹²⁴ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 335–337.

¹²⁵ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 27.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, k. 197v (Jasionka); ref. 172, k. 144–144v (Niebieszczany).

¹²⁷ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 166, k. 208 (Łowce); ref. 170, k. 56v (Łukowa); ref. 176, k. 143 (Wojutyce).

¹²⁸ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 76v (Krasiczyn); ref. 170, k. 81 (Sieniawa); ref. 172, k. 13 (Sanok); LNB, fond 141, Zbiór Aleksandra Czołowskiego, opys 1, sprawa 2085, *Akta i przywileje kościoła Nowego Miasta Bybła 1721*, p. 308.

¹²⁹ AAPrz, ref. 164, k. 251v (Wojutyce); ref. 166, k. 98v (Krzywca); ref. 169, k. 166v, 170 (Leżajsk). Cf. Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 170.

time. This was the case with the amount received by organists in Pantalowice, which decreased from 60 zlotys in 1744 to 40 zlotys in 1755.¹³⁰ A twenty-florin difference was also recorded in Husaków (from 80 zlotys to 60 zlotys).¹³¹ Decrease in salaries was also noted for Medynia, Mościska and Radochońce.¹³² On the other hand, if sources are to be believed, ministers from Radenice (an increase from 40 zlotys to 60 zlotys) and Staromieś (from 16 zlotys to 40 zlotys) had their salaries increased.¹³³ The highest increase in salary took place in the case of an organist from Oleszyce – from 40 florins to 70 zlotys.¹³⁴

Parsons were not the only ones funding the organists' work. In Haczów and Łańcut they were contributed by mansioners, with the difference that in the latter parish they shirked this duty.¹³⁵ In the capital of the land of Sanok, the minister received a salary from the magistrate in the amount of 12 zlotys in addition to the benefits already collected from the provost.¹³⁶

Helpers in Drohobycz (from the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi), Medyka and Urzejowice were paid in unusual currency. These lay ministers received their emoluments not in florins, but in thalers (*imperialem talerum*).¹³⁷

Emolument in money: other income

In addition to fixed salaries, organists, especially those in cities and towns, had additional opportunities to earn money. Aside from the fact of receiving funds resulting from the obligations of the contract with parish administrators, these ministers also collected income from the performance of other work. Given that they performed a very important function at numerous church ceremonies, it should come as no surprise that it was for these ministries that they received the greatest gratuities. The authors of these foundations were the wider parish communities, in other words, peasants, the bourgeoisie, the nobles, bishops and even the king himself. The royal privilege could be enjoyed, for example, by the organist from Krosno. In 1533, Sigismund I the Old ordered the authorities of that city to pay the minister 48 zlotys from the income flowing from the city's propination. Later, for various reasons, the magistrate paid only 10 zlotys.¹³⁸ The Bishop of Przemyśl, Jerzy Albrecht Doenhoff ordered several Brześć subjects to give 60 florins to

¹³⁰ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 35v; ref. 182, k. 54v.

¹³¹ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 6; ref. 178, k. 4v.

¹³² Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 35 (Radochońce), k. 72 (Mościska); ref. 178, k. 15 (Radochońce), k. 69v (Mościska).

¹³³ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 55v (Radenice); ref. 174, k. 51v (Staromieście); ref. 178, k. 41 (Radenice); ref. 181, k. 18v (Staromieście).

¹³⁴ Ibidem, ref. 170, k. 100v; ref. 179, k. 6v.

¹³⁵ Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów); ref. 180, k. 66v–67 (Łańcut).

¹³⁶ Ibidem, ref. 172, k. 13.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 86 (Drohobycz); ref. 165, k. 194v (Medyka); ref. 167, k. 155 (Urzejowice). 1 thaler = 8 zlotys. Cf. A. Dylewski, *Historia pieniądza na ziemiach polskich*, Warsaw 2011, pp. 208–210.

¹³⁸ AAPrz, ref. 171, k. 27.

the organist at the end of the 17th century. This custom survived until the time of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski.¹³⁹

Correspondingly, organists were also rewarded by brotherhoods operating at parishes, and individual priests. As for confraternities, the Drohobycz brotherhoods are a great example. The Society of Corpus Christi annually set aside 8 zlotys from its treasury, the same amount was paid by the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, and half of this amount by the Brotherhood of St Anne.¹⁴⁰ It was also not uncommon for city guilds to pay money to organists. In Jarosław, the organist and cantor were paid a total of 14 florins each year by 9 guilds for attending fraternal services, and in Radymno, the organist and bellringer were paid 2 zlotys by 5 guilds.¹⁴¹ These might not have been dizzying amounts, but they make it clear that these assistants were highly respected by the parish community. In Krosno, the minister's work was also appreciated by choir members, who rewarded him once a year with 40 zlotys.¹⁴²

On more than one occasion, the organists' skills were also used by other lay clergy. The altarist of Eleven Thousand Virgins of Krosno gave 8 zlotys, the vicar in Nowosielce gave 2 zlotys and 16 grosz for singing and playing the organ, and the prebendary in Husaków gave 12 florins.¹⁴³ In Brzozów, for singing about the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the choir together with the boys, a certain Jakub Nowakowski paid the organist a quarterly rate of 3 zlotys.¹⁴⁴ For similar work in Przysietnica, the lay minister received a fee of 10 zlotys and 15 grosz. In Dynów, for active participation in liturgies, the organist received 2 zlotys from the city guilds and 10 florins from the residents of the nearby village of Kramarzędka.¹⁴⁵

An interesting case concerns fees from the so-called 'Church cows,'¹⁴⁶ which were an important element in the broader parish economy. While there are not many mentions of organists directly, two of them were noted in pastoral establishments. In Pantalowice, the organist charged 30 zlotys (2 zlotys per head) from 15 cows leased by local peasants. He also received 2 additional more capons from each of them.¹⁴⁷ It is also known that he had one cow in Golcowa at his disposal, but it is difficult to determine the amount for which it was charged. It was probably

¹³⁹ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, ref. 164, k. 85v, 86; LNB, fond 45, Archiwum Dzieduszyckich, opys 1, Rękopisy Biblioteki Poturzyckich Dzieduszyckich, sprawa 113, *akta kościoła parafialnego w Drohobyczu z lat 1637–1783*, k. 81v.

¹⁴¹ AAPrz, ref. 168, *Acta visitationis Ecclesiae Collegiatae Jaroslaviensis... 1743*, pp. 27, 36, 84–85.

¹⁴² Ibidem, ref. 171, k. 27.

¹⁴³ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 6 (Husaków); ref. 171, k. 27v (Krosno); ref. 180, k. 50 (Nowosielce).

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 35.

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 5v (Dynów); ref. 175, p. 305 (Przysietnica).

¹⁴⁶ J. Półwiartek, *Tak zwane „krowy kościelne” – problemem badawczym dziejów wsi*, in: *Celem nauki jest człowiek... Studia z historii społecznej i gospodarczej ofiarowane Helenie Madurowicz-Urbańskiej*, red. P. Franaszek, Kraków 2000, pp. 296–297.

¹⁴⁷ AAPrz, ref. 167, k. 35v; ref. 182, k. 54v.

valued at 1 florin, since this is the amount at which a lease of 120 ‘parish’ animals was estimated there.¹⁴⁸

Organists worked not only as operators or musical equipment or lending their voices. They also performed other roles. For example, in Błazowa the organist received additional pay for ringing at funerals.¹⁴⁹ Some kind of payment for these ministries was also paid to the ministers in Lubenia, Borek (a branch of Tyczyn parish) and probably in Nowotaniec.¹⁵⁰

Benefits from the parish population: *akcydensy*

Danuta Quirini-Popławska defines *akcydensy* as ‘occasional payments received by the parish priest from donations for church purposes given by parishioners.’¹⁵¹ However, it is not clear from this description what exactly this type of income consisted in. A similar conclusion can be drawn from T. Nowicki that these were ‘occasional fees paid by the faithful in return for the above-standard service of church ministers,’ although in another passage of his book he also includes among *akcydensy* ‘fees paid on the occasion of, for example, baptisms, inquisitions, weddings or funerals.’¹⁵² Jan Ryś, who studied schools in Lesser Poland, put the matter quite clearly, writing that these ‘[...] occasional incomes are impossible to determine and they depended on the size of the parish, which determined the frequency of particular ceremonies, and the amount of fees paid on these occasions depended on the wealth of the organizer and local customs.’¹⁵³ In an attempt to explain this issue, Henryk Błażkiewicz claimed that they included the third parts of ‘non-fixed church incomes [...] from baptisms, funerals, weddings, from Christmas calls or for distributing Christmas wafers.’¹⁵⁴

Information on *akcydensy* collected by organists from the Diocese of Przemyśl is poor, despite being mentioned as many as 104 times. In the sources, these benefits were referred to by the Latin expressions: *accidentium*, *accidentia* i *accidentibus*

¹⁴⁸ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 315.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v.

¹⁵⁰ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 81 (Borek), 126 (Lubenia); ref. 186, k. 141v (Nowotaniec); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4904/II, *Borek, villa ill. Domini Joannis Branicki [...] visitata A.D. 1745 circa visitationem ecclesia in opiddo Tyczyn, uti principalis et matris*, k. 4v. Cf. Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 383.

¹⁵¹ D. Quirini-Popławska, *Szkolnictwo krośnieńskie od XVII w. do 1914 r.*, in: *Krosno. Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, ed. J. Garbacik, vol. II: (1918–1970), Kraków 1973, p. 340.

¹⁵² Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 379.

¹⁵³ J. Ryś, *Sytuacja materialna nauczycieli miejskich szkół parafialnych w Małopolsce w średniowieczu*, in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza. Studia historyczne ofiarowane Feliksowi Kirykowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa, Kraków 1993, pp. 527–534; Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 86. Cf. Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkolnictwo*, p. 232.

¹⁵⁴ Błażkiewicz, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 189. Cf. Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Kowalik, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 80; S. Litak, *Edukacja początkowa w polskich szkołach w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2010, p. 177; Chachaj, *Łacińskie szkolnictwo*, p. 233; Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 170.

parochialibus.¹⁵⁵ Such vague terms occur with all organists, but unfortunately make it difficult to understand them accurately. All that is certain is that organists accounted for a third or fourth of all *akcydensy* and that they sometimes shared them with other parson's helpers. The sources did not include their types or the monetary amounts paid. Therefore, the 1755 records of the organist in Błażowa seem particularly important in this context. Namely, it listed the rates for certain ministries: he charged 'groszowe plus vel minus' for baptisms and divinations, 6 gr for announcements, and 1 florin for ringing bells at funerals. He also received a fourth from funeral *akcydensy* and some *akcydensy* from Christmas wafers.¹⁵⁶ One should also mention here three lay ministers from the parishes of Haczów, Milczyce and Wyszatyce, who, according to the records, were paid 3 groszy each for unidentified *akcydensy*.¹⁵⁷ The organist from Jasienica also received some income for ringing and for the so-called *spisne*.¹⁵⁸

It was not only parish priests who allocated portions of *akcydensy* to their helpers. In Markowa this was practised by the vicar, and in Łańcut by the mansioners. The latter, as in the case of salaries, evaded this obligation.¹⁵⁹

There is no doubt that very little is yet known about these revenues. One has to agree, therefore, with T. Nowicki, arguing that 'the incidentality and diversity of these fees was therefore a significant obstacle to their estimation' and that 'the sum of fees from *akcydensy* and, therefore, the coefficients presented could and must have been characterized by quite significant variability on a year-to-year basis.'¹⁶⁰ What might have been a matter of course for the visitors in their time is now a mystery to today's expert on the subject.

Benefits from the parish population: *peyty*

Less common than *akcydensy* were the so-called *peyty* (*petycje*). Stanisław Kot argues that they were 'the subject of dreams' for the teacher, as they allowed '[to] be gifted with sheaves of grain immediately after the harvest.'¹⁶¹ Explaining this concept, Andrzej Zapart argues that it consisted of 'probably voluntary tributes paid to the rector of the school in sheaves of grain.'¹⁶² Perhaps they once had the form of a tithe, converted at a later time to an unspecified value, which was became known as *peytya*.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ In the printed visitation of the parish of Żurawica from 1744, the passage 'et praeterea de accidentibus Parochialibus participat' was translated, perhaps not very well, as 'and in addition, he receives a part of the coming parish income', *Wizytacja biskupa Sierakowskiego parafii Żurawica z roku 1744*, in: *Dzieje Żurawicy. Studia i materiały*, vol. 3, ed. M. Hofman, Żurawica 2014, p. 76.

¹⁵⁶ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 166, k. 30 (Wyszatyce); ref. 171, k. 107 (Haczów).

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 211.

¹⁵⁹ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 115v (Markowa); ref. 169, k. 31v (Łańcut).

¹⁶⁰ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 385, 386.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁶² Zapart, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 226. Cf. Litak, *Edukacja początkowa*, p. 180.

¹⁶³ Cf. Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 358–360.

As in the case of *akcydensy*, here, too, the sources constitute only a limited aid in explaining the essence of *petyty*. They were reflected in the terms: *manipulos petitionales*, *petitae*, *accidens petita*, *quaestum petitionarium manipulorum*, *quaestum petitionalem*, and with the parish of Kombornia the compound expression *manipulos petitionales vulgo z petycji*.¹⁶⁴ *Liberum petitae* was the term applied in the case of Żurawica.¹⁶⁵ The frequency of their occurrence is lower than the above-mentioned non-fixed church income. They were mentioned only 34 times.

Aside from the knowledge that *petyty* were handed over in sheaves of grain, we do not have accurate descriptions of their volumes. The exception is the parish in Lubatowa. The visitation report of 1745 records that the local parson's assistant received 15 sheaves of rye and oats each from peasants, 8 sheaves of the same grain from homesteaders, and 6 sheaves each from bailiffs.¹⁶⁶ 11 years later (1756), it confirmed the collection of tributes in the form of 1 sheaf of rye and 1 sheaf of oats from each *pręt* of arable land.¹⁶⁷ In Błażowa, the organist also received *petyty* in hay, as well as wheat and butter.¹⁶⁸ Small *petyty* were also collected by the ministers from peasants in Siennów, Kombornia and Poraż.¹⁶⁹ In Staromieście and Hyżne, they earned *petyty* by ringing church bells. In the latter parish, the organist performed these activities to... ward off storms ('*ex gratia incolarum pro pulsu campanarum contra aereas tempestates*').¹⁷⁰

Benefits from the parish population: other grain tributes

A considerable number of organists, instead of *petyty* from parishioners, received, quarterly or annually, grain from parish rulers, and stored it in their own small granaries. It is difficult to estimate its real value today. This state of affairs was caused by the use of different bulk measures at the time, and the lack of detailed studies on the subject prevents any comparisons in this regard.¹⁷¹ To highlight this problem more, we should look at a few examples. In Milczyce, the church servant received wheat, barley and peas from the parson in *pólmiarki*, in Humniska and Nowotaniec in *mace* – barley, wheat and rye, in Jasionowo in *korce* – wheat, and

¹⁶⁴ AAPrz, ref. 175, p. 265.

¹⁶⁵ Apparently, *Wizytacja biskupa Sierakowskiego parafii Żurawica z roku 1744*, p. 76 erroneously translates this phrase as 'permission to conduct a collection.' In this case, it certainly means a payment in sheaves. Cf. AAPrz, ref. 168, *Acta visitationis Ecclesiae Collegatae Jaroslaviensis...* 1743, p. 93.

¹⁶⁶ AAPrz, ref. 174, k. 158.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem, ref. 189, k. 73v.

¹⁶⁸ Ibidem, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 28 (Siennów); ref. 172, k. 95 (Poraż); ref. 175, p. 265 (Kombornia).

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 72v (Hyżne); ref. 174, k. 51v (Staromieście). It was widely believed that ringing church bells was supposed to chase away storm clouds. This activity was banned by the Austrian authorities, who considered it completely ineffective and, because of the lightning, very dangerous for the callers. Cf. *Continuatio edictorum mandatorum et universalium in Regnis Galiciae et Lodomeriae a die Januarii ad ultimam decembris anno 1783 emanatorum*, Leopoli 1783, pp. 131–132.

¹⁷¹ Kowalski, *Uposażenie parafii*, pp. 147–155.

in Lubaczowo in *korczyki* – unknown grain.¹⁷² With the remaining parishes, the visitations sparingly provide unfamiliar measures (*mensuras*). The largest number of such measures (4) was assigned to organists in Zarzeczce, Mościska, Tuligłowy and Krościenko, among others. At the latter facility, in addition to wheat and barley, the minister also stored 2 measures of green buckwheat at his place.¹⁷³ The organist in Kusienice had the choice that, so to speak, depended in large part on the harvest in the field. Every quarter he was provided with 1 measure of wheat or barley and buckwheat.¹⁷⁴ More interestingly, in Jasienica before Christmas, wheat was delivered to the organist, for... baking wafers.¹⁷⁵

Sometimes the transfer of these tributes posed a lot of problems. The parson's assistant in Pnikut complained about it. Initially, he had been contracted for 4 *półmiarki* of various grains, but due to the fault of his superior, they were not given to him on time. In 1743, the parson's debt in this regard amounted to as much as 36 *półmiarki*.¹⁷⁶ Similar problems also affected the organist in Husów.¹⁷⁷

The tributes in Dylągowa were paid in a peculiar way. The servants, i.e. an organist and a sexton, were not given the grain from the parson, but rather the farmers and homesteaders of Dylągowa and the nearby village of Silnica. Moreover, the local peasants (*ab incolis*) also funded 1/3 of *akcydensy* on their part.¹⁷⁸

Benefits from the parish population: *stołowe*

Yet another organist's emolument was called *stołowe*. Explaining its essence, T. Nowicki writes that this tribute was provided by parishioners to church servants at Easter, and 'as an emolument for the church administrator it was known under the name of *mensalia* – *stołowe*.'¹⁷⁹ The formula probably worked somewhat differently in relation to several of the parson assistants described here. Basically, it meant perhaps not so much paying out money during the Easter season as hosting

¹⁷² AAPrz, ref. 165, k. 148v (Milczyce); ref. 170, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 172, k. 128 (Nowosielce); ref. 175, pp. 188–189 (Humniska), p. 284 (Jasionów); LNB, fond 5, Rękopisy Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, sprawa 4943/II, *Visitatio villae Jasionów 1745*, k. 4.

¹⁷³ AAPrz, ref. 165, k. 72 (Mościska); ref. 166, k. 147 (Tuligłowy); ref. 167, k. 16v (Zarzeczce); ref. 171, k. 74v (Krościenko).

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 182v.

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, ref. 175, p. 211.

¹⁷⁶ Ibidem, ref. 165, k. 26.

¹⁷⁷ Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 83v.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 37.

¹⁷⁹ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, pp. 371–372. As far as the parishes of the Przemyśl Diocese are concerned, for example, in Chmielnik the parson received 1 grosz from each peasant and 3 grosz from the bailiffs, while in nearby Wola Rafałowska and Lubenia: from the peasants – 1 grosz each, from the homesteaders – 3 grosz each and 2 grosz, respectively, and from the bailiffs – 6 grosz and 1.5 grosz each, respectively, cf. AAPrz, ref. 174, pp. 112, 118v, 126. Cf. E. Wiśniowski, *Kolęda – meszne – stołowe na ziemiach polskich. Próba rejonizacji*, in: *Kultura średniowiecza i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. D. Gawinowa, Warsaw 1991, pp. 625–626; J. Matuszewski, *Missalia – mensalia*, in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, eds. S.K. Kulczyński et al., Warsaw 1976, pp. 380, 387–388.

ministers in the homes of parsons.¹⁸⁰ This was usually practised on Sundays and holidays and was commonly referred to as *obiady* (dinners). This is evidenced by the use of the Latin word *prandium* in the case of Giedlarowa and Leżajsk.¹⁸¹ Naturally, we cannot completely rule out that it only meant meals served by parish priests. The laconic nature of the information about *stołowe* does not allow us to draw far-reaching conclusions on the matter. Nevertheless, where the record of Sundays and holidays appears, it most certainly referred to the free weekly meals eaten by organists in the company of their superiors or in the parsonage in general. In addition to Giedlarowa and Leżajsk, this could also be the case in Manasterz, Pantalowice and Malawa.¹⁸²

Traditional *stołowe*, as it seems, was practised in several other parishes. In the above-mentioned Błażowa, all this duty (in money?) was regulated ‘around Easter’ – the same as in Zaczernie (‘mensales quas circa festum Pascha in toto ab omnibus percipit’¹⁸³). In other pastoral facilities, there is uncertainty about the applied rules. ‘Auxiliary’ vocabulary also does not make it easy to determine the exact nature of this tribute. The statements used in this context, such as *mensam et victum*, *mensam alias victum*, *ius ad mensam* or *victus*, are not very helpful. In addition, in Wola Rafałowska, the existing *mensam et victum* was accompanied by *et de amictus ipse*, which would mean that the parson provided the organist with an unspecified clothing.¹⁸⁴ In Leżajsk, on the other hand, *ius ad mensam* turned into an annual 10 zlotys paid by the provost.¹⁸⁵

Benefits from the parish population: other

The forms of organists’ emoluments already discussed also included *kołęda*, *kartkowe*, *klerykatura*, *dziesięcina*, *meszne* and *naturalia*. Disappointingly, the sources do not contain much information on the subject, therefore it is difficult to determine the actual scale of their occurrence in the parishes of the Przemyśl diocese from isolated mentions.

Kołęda was, according to T. Nowicki, ‘a particularly important parish benefit, bringing in no small amount of income,’ and was mainly enjoyed by parish priests, but ‘numerous source examples indicate that parish workers also had a share in this benefit.’¹⁸⁶ While this may indeed have been the case in the Diocese of Włocławek, it was not necessarily the case in the diocese of interest to us. In the visitation protocols, *kołęda* contributing to organists’ benefits is mentioned only 6 times. In

¹⁸⁰ In *Ministri ecclesiae* (pp. 389–390), Nowicki draws a clear boundary between the Easter *stołowe* and *stołowe* in the sense of dinners. He calls the latter the right to free board and includes among the substantive rights of parson’s helpers.

¹⁸¹ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 149v (Giedlarowa), k. 166v, 170 (Leżajsk).

¹⁸² Ibidem, ref. 167, k. 35v (Pantalowice), k. 74v-75 (Manasterz); ref. 174, k. 91v (Malawa).

¹⁸³ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v (Błażowa); ref. 174, k. 185 (Zaczernie).

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 119.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 166v.

¹⁸⁶ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 367.

each case it is referred to by the Latin term *strena*.¹⁸⁷ As the name implies, this income was received during the Christmas season. Slightly more details about the organist's *kolęda* can be found in a document from the 1755 visitation of the parish of Błażowa, which states that the organist '[...] participating in Christmas calls *cum R.R. Vicariis quartam partem* gladly receives his share, and in many places a separate benefit' *a parte* for himself.¹⁸⁸

A particular type of organist's emolument called *quaestus* appears twice in the visitations of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski. The author of a monograph on the Jarosław parish, Jakub Makara, states unequivocally that it simply meant a fundraiser. A local teacher led it twice a year – on St Catherine the Virgin and Martyr (November 25) and on St Gregory the Great (March 12).¹⁸⁹ However, we do not know how it was carried out and what it consisted of. As for the organists' *quaestus*, in Jawornik they took the form of cannabis and eggs (*cannabis et ovonia seu quaestus*), while in Lubenia they were granted in the form of butter (*butyri*). Presumably, they were donated by peasants from these parishes. In the former parish *naturalia* were paid during Lent, and in the second – in summer (*in aestate*). The principles behind this remain unknown.¹⁹⁰

Very rarely did organists received *dziesięciny* or *meszne*. Church sources from the mid-18th century record only 3 such cases. In Błażowa, even before the modification of emoluments, the organist, instead of money, received a part of the *meszne* from the parish priest at Easter.¹⁹¹ Finished grain, this time as *dziesięcina* from the mill (*decimam mensuram*), was also received by the organist in Przybyszówka. However, during the time of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski, this activity was already discontinued for unknown reasons.¹⁹² *Dziesięcina* was also granted in the parish of Krzywca, and the Jewish brewery leaseholder was obliged perform that duty, by order of the local manor.¹⁹³

Klerykatura and *kartkowe* also deserve a few words of mention. *Klerykatura* is defined as the primary form of teacher's remuneration, paid 'by parishioners both in the countryside and in the city in the form of natural products, money or services.'¹⁹⁴ These benefits, as S. Kot specifies, were made by peasants, mainly farmers who owned arable lands.¹⁹⁵ The only organist (notably, not the teacher)

¹⁸⁷ Cf. P. Kałwa, *Powstanie i rozwój polskiej kolędy jako daniny kościelnej. Studium prawno-historyczne*, Lviv 1933, pp. 24–26.

¹⁸⁸ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibidem, ref. 168, pp. 92–93; Makara, *Dzieje parafii*, pp. 180–181.

¹⁹⁰ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 100–100v (Jawornik); ref. 174, k. 126 (Lubenia).

¹⁹¹ Ibidem, ref. 173, k. 61v.

¹⁹² Ibidem, ref. 174, k. 153v.

¹⁹³ Ibidem, ref. 166, k. 98v.

¹⁹⁴ Zapart, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 228. Cf. Błażkiewicz, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, p. 188; Pelczar, *Szkolnictwo*, p. 49; Kowalik, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, pp. 80–81; Litak, *Edukacja początkowa*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁵ Kot, *Szkolnictwo parafialne*, pp. 82–83. In the parish of Świlcza, farmers paid 1 grosz each, and 2 homesteaders and bailiffs paid 0.5 grosz each, cf. AAPrz, ref. 174, k. 146.

who derived any profits from it was based in Nienadówka.¹⁹⁶ The second income of church servants signalled here was known as *kartkowe*. According to T. Nowicki, this benefit was counted among the offerings paid around Easter and was then 'paid to parish priests and church servants for issuing Easter confession cards.'¹⁹⁷ The word *kartkowe* was used only once in the visitations of Bishop W. H. Sierakowski for Błażowa in 1755.¹⁹⁸ If T. Nowicki is right about some connections between *kartkowe* and the census of confessors during Lent, the so-called *spisne*,¹⁹⁹ then, this kind of emolument also applied to organists from Dubiecko and Jawornik, in addition to Błażowa.²⁰⁰

The last type of emolument mentioned in the visitations were *naturalia* (natural products) of various kinds. In Giedlarowa, the minister received 1 *zagon* of cabbage and turnips from the parson's garden, in Kombornia – 1 bread from the peasants of the village of Budzin, and in Lubaczów the organist enjoyed some portion of the parson's vegetables.²⁰¹

Conclusion

Among the lay parson's helpers, visitation sources from the mid-18th century most often mention organists, who enjoyed personal property of various volumes. Their emoluments included real estate in the form of land, residential and farm buildings. They also included salaries in money and certain benefits received from the population living in the parish.

Almost all organists in the parishes of the Diocese of Przemyśl had their own homes, received a fixed salary and obtained a third of the so-called *akcydensy*. Other components of their wealth were sporadic and irregular in nature.

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¹⁹⁶ AAPrz, ref. 169, k. 78.

¹⁹⁷ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 373.

¹⁹⁸ AAPrz, ref. 185, k. 6v–7.

¹⁹⁹ Nowicki, *Ministri ecclesiae*, p. 373.

²⁰⁰ AAPrz, ref. 173, k. 27v (Dubiecko), k. 100–100v (Jawornik).

²⁰¹ Ibidem, ref. 169, k. 149v (Giedlarowa); ref. 170, k. 117 (Lubaczów); ref. 175, p. 265 (Kombornia).

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UPOSAŻENIE ORGANISTÓW W PARAFIACH RZYMSKOKATOLICKIEJ DIECEZJI PRZEMYSKIEJ W POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU

Abstrakt

W artykule omówiono uposażenie organistów, którym dysponowali oni w połowie XVIII stulecia w parafiach rzymskokatolickiej diecezji przemyskiej. Głównymi źródłami pozwalającymi bliżej poznać tę społeczność parafialną są wizytacje biskupie. Tutaj skupiono się przede wszystkim na dwóch, tj. z lat 1743–1745 i 1753–1757, przeprowadzonych przez ordynariusza przemyskiego Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego (1742–1760). Niekiedy organistów utożsamiano z nauczycielami i na odwrót. Prowadzenie przez nich zajęć dydaktycznych możliwe było dzięki ich umiejętności pisania i czytania. Artykuł ten traktuje jednak przede wszystkim o materialnych podstawach funkcjonowania organistów. Dzieliły się one na nieruchomości, wynagrodzenia w pieniądzu oraz świadczenia ludności parafialnej. Do tych pierwszych należały domy mieszkalne, budynki gospodarcze, pola, ogrody, sady i łąki. O ile rzadko się zdarzało, żeby organisci nie mieli swoich chałup, o tyle kwestia szerszej pojętego gospodarstwa nie jest już tak oczywista. Przydomowe i niewielkie ogrody oraz sady

często bywały w ich rękach, ale większe kompleksy rolne stanowiły rzadkość. Mimo tego zasiewali oni te niewielkie skrawki gruntów zbożami lub warzywami. Parali się także hodowlą zwierząt. Stan techniczny stojących tam budynków również budził wiele zastrzeżeń. Ważne dla organistów okazywały się wpływy pieniężne w postaci stałych rocznych pensji wypłacanych przez rządców parafialnych jednorazowo lub w ratach. Obok tego wynagrodzenia za swoje posługi ministrowie otrzymywali pieniądze od cechów miejskich, bractw religijnych, magistratów oraz mieszkańców parafii. Dodatkowo za np. śpiewanie lub granie w czasie różnych nabożeństw dostawali gratyfikacje od duchownych będących personelem pomocniczym dla plebanów. Ostatnimi były świadczenia uiszczane przez samych wiernych. Zaliczano do nich m.in. akcydensy oraz petyty, tj. snopki zbóż, a także w różnym wymiarze inne daniny zbożowe. Pewne bliżej niesprecyzowane korzyści przynosiły także kolędy, kartkowe, klerykatyry oraz tzw. stołowe i *quaestus*. Pomimo trudności w interpretacji niektórych pojęć związanych z uposażeniem organistów w tego typu źródłach pozostają oni wciąż najlepiej opisaną grupą wśród wszystkich ministrów kościelnych.

Słowa kluczowe: uposażenie; organiści; diecezja przemyska; bp Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski; wizytacja