CONTRAFACTA OF OPERATIC ARIAS AMONG
THE DOMINICANS OF BAROQUE SILESIA

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Abstract: The paper discusses contrafactum practice in the manuscripts of Pius Hancke, a Dominican monk from Silesia. His scores point to pathways for the dissemination of the operatic repertory and document the process of change in its social function associated with the adaptation of secular music to a liturgical context.

Keywords: Dominicans, contrafactum, operatic arias, Silesia, Baroque music.

The historical process of the dissemination of repertoire can be traced in a variety of ways. An analysis of the extant collections of musical prints brings out the potential, passive aspect of reception, the practical profile and active shape of which is more clearly revealed by manuscript sources. An even more successful reconstruction of the itineraries of musical repertoire can be made from music collections that are homogeneous in provenance. A given centre’s own stockpile of music offers a glimpse into this collection’s specificity and allows one to posit certain research hypotheses. Especially valuable in this regard are collections formed by an individual musician actively involved in local musical life. This musician’s activity normally comprises a unique, personal selection of elements from the universal tradition, but with the possibility (to a greater or lesser degree) of their creative adaptation to local needs and conditions.

If we accept that the process of adaptation is the essence of musical tradition, a certain relativization has to be imposed on the idealistic conception of a creativity that is fully original and completely independent of its context, genesis and material. In turn, this revaluation becomes welcoming towards artistic adaptation, recomposition and transfiguration: after all, we consider these techniques to be immanent elements in every living culture. It is true that these elements are often pushed into the background as being phenomena of lesser importance. However, they were of key importance for the musical traditions...
of modern Europe, and they significantly influenced how culture was practised, shaping not only the style of the musical performance but also its techniques, genres and forms.

Among the most symptomatic techniques of adapting musical repertoire was that of *contrafactum*, which was present in European culture from the earliest times but achieved particular prominence in the sixteenth century.¹ It enjoyed great popularity in religious communities actively engaged in the Reforms of Catholicism around the time of the Council of Trent. Descending into paradoxical oxymoron in the face of the Council’s postulate of *nihil lascivium aut impurum*,² they promoted the popular repertoire of secular music in a new, religious attire. Although this mostly affected the vernacular repertoire, the latter was able also to enjoy a parallel liturgical function.³ The justification for its admittance was expressed as a need to compete with the repertoires of other confessions – a need that quickly gained a crushing dominance in the confessional confrontations of that period.⁴

The practice of *travestimento spirituale* did not arouse any immoderate dissent on the Catholic side, the representatives of which even found for it a theological justification that attributed the sacred character of music solely to the verbal text attached to it.⁵ So open-minded an approach to the secular repertoire set out the directions of musical development within many Catholic communities and conferred a markedly adaptive profile on the traditions they shaped. The consequence of such a stance was a pressure to make the music performed in churches approach the style of theatrical music, and to encourage the use of actual operatic repertoire in *contrafactum* guise.

Numerous testimonies to this development may be found in musical manuscripts of Silesian provenance copied in the Dominican monasteries of the region. Contrary to the intermittently renewed rules prohibiting the performance of secular repertoire in the liturgy,⁶ this music is indeed dominated by *contrafacta* of popular operatic arias. This same profile is revealed by a collection of music manuscripts collected by a certain Pius Hancke (1711 or 1715–1798), who 1734 entered a Dominican monastery and 1737 took religious vows and holy orders. He was active in several cities of Silesia: in Breslau (Wrocław), Oppeln (Opole) and especially Neisse (Nysa), where he lived during the years 1764–1789 as superior and leader of the ten-strong music ensemble active at the local church of St Dominic.⁷ This monk was undoubtedly well trained in music, and his cultivation of the harp is suggested by the parts for this instrument added to many of his transcriptions. His inclinations toward secular music are perhaps to be explained by his earlier employment at the Larisch Palace in Groß Stein (Kamięń Śląski), where he served as chaplain in the years 1756–1757.⁸

Among the manuscripts bearing the inscription *Rerum Fratris Pij Hancke*, the most intriguing are thirteen that transmit fifteen operatic arias by such composers as Giovanni

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² *Canones et decreta Concilii Tridentini*, 128.
³ *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali*.
⁴ Bertolini, *Censurare la musica*.
⁵ Galiano, *Bellarmino, i Gesuiti e la Musica*, 378.
(or Antonio Maria) Bononcini (1), Francesco Antonio Feo (1), Baldassarre Galuppi (1), Geminiano Giacomelli (3), Carl Heinrich Graun (4) and Johann Adolf Hasse (5). The multifarious ways in which they are written down allows closer examination of the *travestimento spirituale* technique as applied in practice, documents the phenomenon of the proliferation of the operatic repertoire characteristic of the time, attests to the gradual transformation of its social function and symbolic meaning and, finally, enables a reconstruction of the consecutive stages of the assimilation of secular repertoire within the tradition of church performance. A hypothetical reconstruction of this process is the main aim of the present contribution.  

The first stage was most likely represented by faithful copies of the originals: arias copied *in extenso* and retaining the original underlaid text and instrumental setting. An example is furnished by “Che posso dir? Consolati,” identifiable as a fragment of the opera *Nitocri, regina d’Egitto* (1736) by Geminiano Giacomelli. The words of the aria, by Apostolo Zeno, offer solace to the hero in difficult times with an assurance that his virtù will triumph:

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Che posso dir? Consolati:
Sorte miglior t’attende.
E non cercar di piú.
Sa il ciel ... sa amor ... so anch’io ...
Ma taccia l’amor mio.
Vinca la tua virtù.
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This text probably caught Hancke’s eye because of its subject and amenability to a religiously apposite interpretation – which, in the event, was for some reason never realized. Diametrically opposite affects are expressed by another aria written down by the Dominican, which likewise retains its original form. This is taken from the opera *Siface, re di Numidia* by Francesco Antonio Feo (1723) and furnishes an example of the so-called *aria di furore*, which here gives expression to particularly tumultuous emotions:

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Almen la parca irata
Non mi serbasse in vita;
Perfida figlia ingrata!
Donna real tradita!
Misero genitor!
Ho perso i miei sudori,
Se basta un sol momento
Di cento allori e cento
A togliermi l'onor.
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9 The present paper is not concerned with an examination of the sources’ provenance and transmission (interesting though these are in their own right), but instead investigates the textual and semantic relationships arising from the *contrafactum* techniques employed.


It is difficult to imagine a semantically appropriate religious counterpart to this text that would fit the original music equally well; perhaps this was the reason why it never moved beyond this state. However, the same manuscript includes an aria supplied with the original text, of unknown provenance, and a religious *contrafactum* in parallel (see Fig. 1) – a form of notation that exemplifies the hypothetical second stage in the process of reconstruction:\(^1\)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Chi legge dà al mio cor} & \text{Mater amabilis et admirabilis,} \\
\text{A legge si crudel} & \text{O Mater Virgo pia.} \\
\text{Non è soggetto.} & \text{Solamen pauperum,} \\
\text{È lungi dal rigor} & \text{Juvamen miserum in agonia.} \\
\text{Di cruda deità} & \text{Divino oggetto.} \\
\end{array}
\]

The original words of this aria take up the frequent operatic theme of the conflict between freedom and feelings; the words added below the same melody do not, however, refer directly to such dilemmas, replacing their secular content with litany-like invocations to the Mother of Jesus. Traces of motivic correspondence are found only at the level of the two texts’ general topicality, juxtaposing awe before the power of love with a description of the persona’s unfortunate state. At all events, a Marian theme often justified the drawing of semantic parallels, in *contrafacta*, between *amor divinus* and *amor terrenus*.

To represent the next stage of the *travestimento*, we may consider a notational form setting down the original and its *contrafacta* on two separate fascicles belonging to a single set of manuscripts. An example of this is supplied by the notation of Johann Adolf Hasse’s popular aria “Chi non sente al mio dolore” from the opera *Cajo Fabricio* in its 1735 version for Venice.\(^1\)

On one of the fascicles the original version of the aria (see Fig. 2a) has been copied with its text by Domenico Lalli (an interpolation in Apostolo Zeno’s original text); on the other (see Fig. 2b), we find the same composition with the *contrafactum* text, which is revealed to be the first two stanzas of the sequence “Lauda Sion Salvatorem,” ascribed to St Thomas Aquinas:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Chi non sente al mio dolore} & \text{Lauda Sion Salvatorem} \\
\text{Qualche affanno dentro al core} & \text{Lauda ducem et pastorem} \\
\text{Vada pur nei foschi orrori} & \text{In hymnis et canticis.} \\
\text{Fra le fiere ad abitar.} & \text{Fra le fiere ad abitar.} \\
\text{Il mio bene, il padre, il regno} & \text{Quantum potes, tantum aude:} \\
\text{M’ha rapiti fato indegno.} & \text{Quia major omni laude,} \\
\text{Sommi Dei, se giusti siete,} & \text{Nec laudare sufficis.} \\
\text{Fin ponete al mio penar.} & \text{Fin ponete al mio penar.} \\
\end{array}
\]


\(^1\) PL-Wu, RM 4453/8 [Mf 488]. Diplomatic title: “MRA No 89 | Aria de Festo | Soprano Solo | Violino I\textsuperscript{ma} | Violino II\textsuperscript{do} | Viola | & | Basso | Del Sig: | Hasse | Rerum | Fratris Pij Hancke | S. Ord: Praed.\textsuperscript{m}.”
Figure 1  “Chi legge dà al mio cor” / “Mater amabilis et admirabilis” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4177; reproduced with kind permission).
Figure 2a  “Chi non sente al mio dolore” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4453/8; reproduced with kind permission).

Figure 2b  “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4453/8; reproduced with kind permission).
The texts are completely foreign to one another in terms of both content and poetic architecture; the only similarity is found in the correspondence between the metre used and the opening with a rhyming couplet, which perhaps served as the pretext for the employment of this particular liturgical text.

A structural relationship is discernible also in the contrafactum of the aria “A trionfar mi chiama” from Hasse’s opera Didone abbandonata (1742). Its notation represents the next stage in the process of travestimento spirituale: one that consists of setting down the original operatic melody with only the contrafactum text. Comparing it with the original, we observe a similarity on the level of textual structure; however, the symmetry is disrupted by the different accentuation pattern and disposition of rhymes. Notwithstanding this, the poems are associated by the character of their content, which makes reference to the notions of triumph and glory, illustrated – as also in the case of the Marian hymn – by the use of an obbligato trumpet:

A trionfar mi chiama Omni die dic Mariae
Un bel desio d’onore Meae laudes, anima;
E già sopra il mio core Ejus festa, ejus gesta
Comincio a trionfar. Cole devotissima.

Con generaosa brama, Ejus dona semper sona,
Fra i rischi e le ruine Semper illa predica;
Di nuovi allori il crine Omnes mei sensus, ei
Io volo a circondar. Personate gloriam.

In the sole form of a contrafactum Hancke wrote down also a further aria by Hasse, taken from the opera Semiramide riconosciuta (1744). Here, too, the amor terrenus was made to change into religious garb, as a result of which the profession of self-sacrificing love by Ircano in Pietro Metastasio’s libretto loses none of its power within the new context of prayer:

Tu sei lieto, io vivo in pene, Magne Deus, O! Amor meus;
Ma se nacqui sventurato Te adoro Redemptorem,
Che farò? Soffrir conviene Te honoro, amor mi.
Del destin la crudeltà.

Voi godete; io del mio fato Ut plus amem
Vado a piangere il rigore. Unam da scintillam,
Così tutta al vostro amore cordi meo favillam
Lascerò la libertà. Tui amoris.

That practical use was made of the discussed compositions is proven by certain contrafacta of arias with an added comment about their liturgical function: for instance,


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the arrangement of the aria “Se parla l’onore” from Carl Heinrich Graun’s opera *Ifigenia in Aulide* (1748), intended for a not more closely specified *de Festo* occasion.16

Ad plausus canoros,  
Ad ausus sonoros  
Venite, o chori.  
Aulae cives, supernae aulae,  
In voces veloces  
Guttur distendite.  
En splendet serena  
Dies tam amoena  
Lucem spargens per orbem  
Lucem spargit per orbem et aethera.

Two other arias intended for *de Tempore* liturgical use appear in another manuscript:17 the first, “La fronda che circonda,” from Graun’s opera *Catone in Utica* (1744), is provided with a Eucharistic text:18

Hic Deum adorate, devoti clientes,  
Et corda dicate, estote ferventes,  
Deo vero Eucharistico.

Estote ferventes, devoti clientes,  
Huc pia mentes convolate,  
Deum vestrum adorate.

The optional final stage of the *travestimento* technique entailed the making of multiple *contrafacta* of operatic arias. This is what occurs for the aria “In te spero o sposo amato” from Graun’s opera *Demofoonte* (1746), which in the discussed manuscript received two different *contrafacta* texts, notated in parallel fashion in a single musical document (see Fig. 3). The texts are linked by virtue of their similar character as a declaration of a love full of sweetness – the first addressed to the Holy Spirit, and the second to His earthly Bride – and also by the fact that both are standard liturgical prose texts rather than newly written ones in verse after the manner of motets: the first belongs to an antiphon employed at First Vespers at the feast of Corpus Christi; the second, to one of the four familiar, so-called “great” antiphons sung at Compline. In both instances, the use of a pre-existing melody taken from the operatic original necessitated significant changes in order to accommodate the new texts; the length of the latter induced the author of the *contrafacta* to do away with the frequent repetitions, no longer needed in the composition’s new, religious attire:

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18 Hauptman-Fischer, *Mysterious provenance*, 166.
Figure 3  “O quam suavis est, Domine” / “Salve Regina” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 4457/22; reproduced with kind permission).

As proof that the observed travestimento spirituale process was not accidental, we have a specific group of manuscripts from Hancke’s collections in which the arrangements contain a harp part not present in the original, and which exhibit exactly the same stages of the phenomenon reconstructed above.
Two arias by Giacomelli from the opera *Nitocri, regina d’Egitto* ("Non accusarmi, ingrato" and "Qual sconsolata afflitta tortorella"), notated with original texts in simple arrangements for soprano, violin, viola and harp, may well have been performed in secular surroundings, on the other hand. However, it is possible that written specimens of this type served only as a point of departure for *contrafactum* arrangements, a supposition supported by the aria "Piace la vita umile" from the same opera, which has been notated with two parallel texts: the original in Apostolo Zeno’s version, and a new one appropriate for performance within the *Proprium de Sanctis* (see Fig. 4). Note that both texts are linked – in a rather free manner – by their assonant alliterations, discernible at least in the opening verses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Piace la vita umile} & \quad \text{Plausus hic date}, \\
\text{Al saggio agricoltor} & \quad \text{huc properate}, \\
\text{Più del cipresso altier} & \quad \text{Deum laudate} \\
\text{Che l’aria ingombra.} & \quad \text{In Sanctis suis honorate}, \\
\text{Da quella il frutto ei coglie} & \quad \text{Deum invocate.} \\
\text{Del grave suo sudor;} & \quad \text{Da, quaeo, nobis hic veniam;} \\
\text{Ma da questo non ha} & \quad \text{Che gratiam ut perveniamus} \\
\text{Che onor di vane foglie} & \quad \text{Ad tuam gloriam.} \\
\text{E inutil ombra.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

In instances where the notation includes the harp we also encounter arias set down in two versions: separately with an Italian text (see Fig. 5a) – “La dolcissima saëtta” from Hasse’s opera *Alfonso* (1738) – and in a *contrafactum* version (see Fig. 5b) presenting the first three stanzas of the already encountered sequence “Lauda Sion Salvatorem.” In this instance, however, only certain vowel alliterations associate it with Stefano Benedetto Pallavicino’s original – for evident reasons, with little consistency:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{La dolcissima saëtta} & \quad \text{Lauda Sion Salvatorem}, \\
\text{Nel mio sen quando vibraste} & \quad \text{Lauda ducem et pastorem}, \\
\text{Voi di vincere m’insegnaste:} & \quad \text{In hymnis et canticis.} \\
\text{Si, begl occhi, io vincero.} & \quad \text{Quantum potes, tantum aude:} \\
& \quad \text{Quia major omni laude,} \\
& \quad \text{Nec laudare sufficis.} \\
\text{Ed il pianto da voi spanto} & \quad \text{Laudis thema specialis,} \\
\text{Sul rival vendicherò.} & \quad \text{Panis vivus et vitalis} \\
\text{Si, begl occhi, io vincero.} & \quad \text{Hodie proponitur.}
\end{align*}
\]


In the discussed group of sources, we also find an example of a further stage in the *travestimento spirituale*: a composition written down only in the form of a *contrafactum*: to Baldassarre Galuppi’s aria “Se perde il caro bene,” from the opera *L’Arminio* (1747), another Eucharistic text has been added:\(^\text{22}\)

\begin{verbatim}
Te Jesu mi praesentem,
Te Deum vere hic latentem,
Te, Jesu, adoro sub paris specie.
Nunc Tuam, Jesu, oro immensam bonitatem
ut Tua in aeternum fruer facie.
\end{verbatim}

*Contrafactum* practice was obviously not limited to the Dominican order. It provided a universal *modus procedendi* for the period’s many religious groups that conducted a dialogue with the secular culture of their time by musical means.\(^\text{23}\) However, the Silesian Dominicans participating in this process contributed to the dissemination of operatic


\(^{23}\) Burchard, *Johann Adolf Hasse’s Compositions*; Byczkowska-Sztaba, *Arie w zbiorze pocysterskim; Jeż, Reception of Neapolitan Music*.
Figure 5a “La dolcissima saëtta” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5661; reproduced with kind permission).
Figure 5b  “Lauda Sion Salvatorem” (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, RM 5661; reproduced with kind permission).
repertoire in their centres. The arias they transported to the church, even after their clothing in new, religious texts, introduced qualities into the liturgy that were evidently secular. Was this process really a manifestation of concessions made to the fashion of the period and a testimony to spiritual weakness in the religious orders of that time? Or did the post-Trent policy of adaptation produce effective results in practice even as late as the end of the eighteenth century and come to constitute a significant itinerary of the historical culture we are presently attempting to understand? If the language of religious and secular music was held in common at the time, it must consequently have moved listeners’ emotions in the same manner, symbolically expressing the universal content of a culture extending from the *sacrum* to the *profanum*.

### Bibliography


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KONTRAFAKTURE OPERNIH ARIJ V BAROČNI GLASBI
PRI DOMINIKANCIH V ŠLEZIJI

Povzetek

Za ugotavljanje postopkov širjenja določenega repertoarja so še posebno dragocene zbirke, ki so jih ustvarjali oblikovalci tedanjega lokalnega glasbenega življenja. Ti so namreč po lastnem okusu in nagibih izbirali specifične elemente iz tedanje splošne glasbene ponudbe in jih nato ustvarjalno prilagajali lokalnim potrebam in zahtevam. Tak postopek tudi sicer predstavlja srž vsake žive glasbene kulture, obsega pa priredbe glasbenih del, prekomponirana dela in preobrazbe. Za razvejanost novoveških evropskih glasbenih tradicij so ti postopki ključnega pomena; pomembno so vplivali na kulturne prakse in oblikovanje ne le izvajalnega sloga, temveč tudi izvajalnih tehnik, glasbenih zvrst in oblik.

Ena od oblik takih praks je bila tudi travestimento spirituale (duhovna preobleka), skozi katero je v liturgično glasbo prodrl tedaj priljubljeni operni repertoar. Ta način je bil izjemno priljubljen in razširjen v okviru glasbenih aktivnosti posameznih cerkvenih redov, še posebno tistih, ki so aktivno sodelovali v rekatolizacijskih reformah. Opravičevali so ga s potrebo po repertoarju, ki je po svoji privlačnosti enakovreden tistemu drugih veroizpovedi in ki je dobival vse večji pomen v medreligijskih soočanjih svojega časa.

Ta praksa je bila tudi ena najzanimivejših značilnosti redovnih krogov v Šleziji, deželi, kjer so bila verska nesoglasja še posebno izražena. Proces postopnih predelav repertoarja je jasno razviden iz glasbenih rokopisov zgodnjega osemnajstega stoletja, ki so nekoč pripadali dominikanskemu menihu Piusu Hanckeju. Deloval je v krajih, nemško imenovanih Breslau, Oppeln, Groß Stein in Neisse v Šleziji. Med njegovo bogato zbirko je tudi kontrafakturna petnajstih opernih arij Bononcinija, Fea, Galuppija, Giacomellija, Grauneja in Hasseja. Pojavlja se v različnih oblikah, ki dokumentirajo zaporedne faze predelav posvetne glasbe v novem liturgičnem kontekstu. Ti viri pričajo o pomembni poti širjenja opernega repertoarja v tem obdobju ter o zelo zanimivem procesu radikalnih sprememb njegove družbene vloge, ki se v glasbenih zapisih kaže na različne načine.

Na podlagi teh bogatih in raznolikih virov lahko rekonstruiramo načine asimilacijskih procesov in nekatere vidike njihovega simboličnega pomena, ki so razvidni iz razmerja med izvirnim in novim besedilom. Hanckejeva prizadevanja za interpretatio Christiana delno osvetljujejo tudi duhovnost njegovega reda in njegovo kulturno identiteto, ki je temeljila na odprtem dialogu s posvetnimi tradicijami novoveške Evrope. Ta modus operandi je pomenil vseslošno in temeljito sekularizacijo obravnavanega miljeja, ki je bila v svojem času pomembna sestavina lokalne in kontinentalne zvočne pokrajine.