

The Use of Extracts of Mozart's Operas in Polish Sacred Music

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Introduction

In the archives and libraries located within the borders of the Republic of Poland various manuscripts of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's music have been preserved.¹ This situation is an indication that the music of the Viennese composer reached the vocal-instrumental ensembles active in the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland in the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th. However, these ensembles were not court ensembles, but mostly church ones. The church, therefore, became the main stage for a wide range of Mozart's works. I believe that exploring the phenomenon of Mozart's music in the church ensembles of the then Commonwealth is very important for further research on the repertoire preserved in Poland for these ensembles and the connections of that repertoire with music created in Europe. This is essential for determining the transmission routes and ways of presenting these works. The compositions signed with Mozart's name were often, in some way, changed by arrangers who are unknown to us today. It is possible that they were local Polish composers or that the works had already been changed when they reached the musical ensembles active in the Commonwealth of Poland. Sometimes these modifications were quite surprising, but it should be remembered that they were to be used for the setting of religious services that took place in the church. Mozart's music was remembered in the Commonwealth of Poland for quite a long time, yet in a specific way. Hence the need for research that would investigate those modifications, which have been present for over ten years in my work on the sources of Polish religious music of the 18th century.² The analysis of a few cases will show how

1 They are included in the collections of musical manuscripts which formed the repertoire of music ensembles operating in the former Commonwealth. Partly they have already been entered in the RISM database (354 results); see: opac.rism.info. In part, they are available in published catalogues, among others: IDASZAK, 2004, pp. 76-202; IDASZAK, 2001.

2 MAŁDZY, 2015.

surprising the changes presumably made by the Polish musicians-arrangers sometimes were. There is also the possibility that the works of Mozart had already been modified when they reached Poland. However, in order to prove this hypothesis, we need comparative studies which can give a wider perspective than the one we currently have.

Musical life in the Commonwealth of Poland did not diverge from what was happening all over Europe. The 18th century saw the consolidation of new trends that arose in the previous century. It was the time of instrumental stabilization and an intensive development of instrumental and vocal-instrumental music. In the Commonwealth of Poland, however, this was historically a very turbulent time, which led to the Third Partition of the country in 1795. Despite all the historical and political turmoil and almost constant presence of foreign troops on Polish territory, who repeatedly plundered the country and engaged in violent acts, musical life was constantly evolving. This is proven by the activities of hundreds of musical ensembles in churches and monasteries of the 18th century Commonwealth of Poland. In the era of the political and economic crisis that swept Poland of that time, the structures of the Catholic Church played a special role. Indeed, it can be suggested that the churches were not limited to their role as places of worship and that because of their territorial, legal and administrative roles, they largely fulfilled state and social functions as well. Great importance was then attached to the expansion of the network of parish churches and monasteries, which is visible in Poland even today. This had a direct impact on both the musical activities of the ensembles that functioned in such places, and on the shaping of musical tastes and needs, even in small religious centers. Pastoral care and education complemented each other, also creating a huge field in the area of music because at that time music belonged to the primary areas essential for the life of the parish or monastery. Considering the huge number of over 6,000 parish and monastic churches, we see that it created incredible opportunities for the development and presentation of music.³ Did the Third Partition stop this development? How did the repertoires of ensembles develop after the partitions when Poland disappeared from the map of Europe in 1795? Did the works of major foreign composers of Europe find their place in those repertoires? What was the function of the pieces presented in the church during the services? These and other questions arise in the context of performance practice. The attempt to answer these questions will be made through the prism of the music of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart preserved to this day in Polish archives and libraries, mainly those originating in churches.

In the last decade of the 18th century and in the first decades of the 19th, Mozart's name appeared surprisingly often on manuscript title pages of pieces present in the repertoire of Polish church ensembles. Closer study of these works, whose authorship was sometimes only attributed to Mozart, often leads to rather unexpected results. These point to a rather surprising reception of his works – the pieces were composed by Wolfgang Amadeus indeed, but their form and purpose were completely different to the composer's original intentions. Namely, opera music for which the typical place of presentation was the theater was performed in the church. This is an unusual phenomenon but

3 See more: MĄDRY, 2015, pp. 19-33, 85-338.

it cannot be assumed that it existed only in Poland. A study of selected cases will allow us to show how interesting the outcomes of these modifications were and of how great a sense of invention the Polish arrangers of Mozart's opera music had. Below are three examples of pasticcio practice. The first two cases show arrangement practices, the third is an example of a compilation in a pasticcio-like manner with numerous borrowings. All cases also point to the mobility and transfer of sources which is important for musical and stylistic developments.

Case 1: How did Figaro's aria from *Le nozze di Figaro* become a symphony in Grodzisk Wielkopolski?

In the 18th century in Grodzisk Wielkopolski/Grätz,⁴ there was a vocal and instrumental ensemble which was active in the parish church of Saint Jadwiga. A collection of musical manuscripts of this ensemble survived and is now stored in the Archdiocesan Archive in Poznań/Posen (PL-Pa). It was catalogued by Danuta Idaszak and published in the form of a thematic catalogue.⁵ In total, the collection contains 615 inventory items, in which we can find masses, requiems, vespers and vesper psalms, litanies, arias, motets, passions and instrumental works – symphonies. The Grodzisk collection is very interesting in many respects. It covers works from the beginning of the 18th until the first half of the 19th century. The oldest piece is dated 1711. It is Giovanni Battista Bassani's *Concerto de Deo* (shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz GR III/78). In Grodzisk Wielkopolski, in the 18th and 19th centuries, musicians performed not only pieces of Polish composers, but also of the most recognized composers in contemporary Europe, including Jan Dismas Zelenka, Johann Adolf Hasse, František Xaver Brixl, Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.

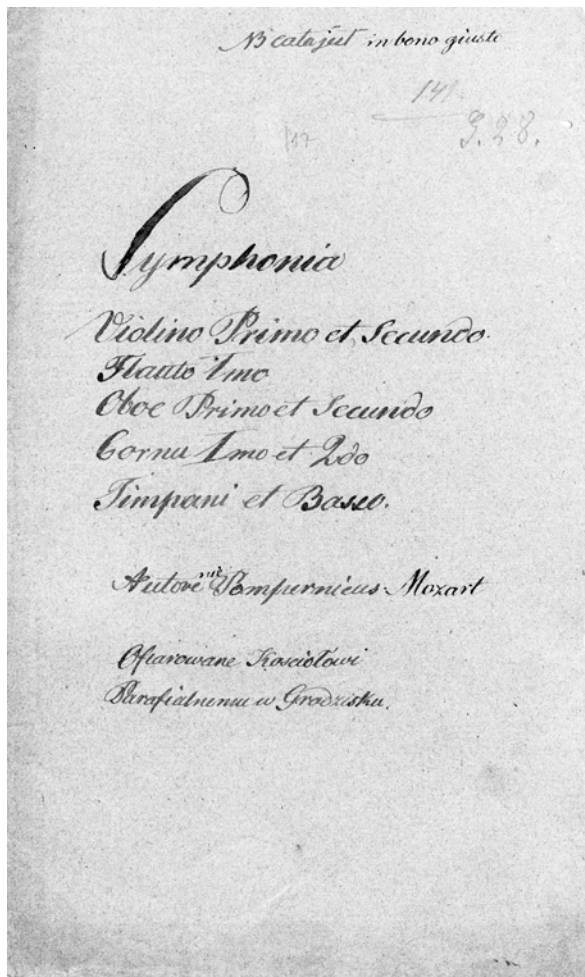
Now, we will have a closer look at Mozart's *Symphonia* (shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz GR V/17; RISM ID no.: 300234338). In the thematic catalogue of this collection Danuta Idaszak qualified the *Symphonia* as a composition by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. This is partly true as the original music of this piece comes from Mozart (Figure 1).⁶

4 Grodzisk Wielkopolski – a town in the south-western part of Greater Poland Voivodeship, with a population of nearly 15,000. It received a town charter at the beginning of the 14th century and was an important place on the historical map of Poland for many years. See more: POLAK, 1990.

5 IDASZAK, 1993.

6 IBID., pp. 129f.

Figure 1: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Symphonia,
shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz GR V/17, title page.



Specifically, it is Figaro's aria "Non più andrai farfallone amoroso" from Act I of *Le nozze di Figaro* KV 492 (1786). However, the opera aria turned into a symphony in Grodzisk Wielkopolski. The vocal and instrumental piece became purely instrumental. This manuscript contains a lot of information, thanks to which it was possible to obtain many interesting leads. Originally, the title page mentioned "Autore Pompernicus" as the author, but later "no" and "Mozart" was added by another hand. Danuta Idaszak suggested that this Rochus Pompernicus, who appears again inside the manuscript on the sheet of an unnamed part containing Figaro's part (Figure 2), was a musician of the Jasna Góra (Częstochowa) ensemble.

Figure 2: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Symphonia*, shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz GR V/17, page of the unnamed part.



The author of the catalogue, unfortunately, did not provide the source on the basis of which she made such a hypothesis. It is worth noting that the vocal and instrumental ensemble active at the Pauline monastery in Jasna Góra in the 18th century was an excellent ensemble and was in possession of very good instruments and a large modern repertoire, of which of 3,000 manuscripts and prints remains to this day in the Jasna Góra archive together with other important archives related to the ensemble. Unfortunately, exploring them did not bring any findings on Rochus Pompernicus. Lengthy attempts to find him in the pieces for the ensemble in the 18th and early 19th centuries did not bring any results. Therefore, I gave up on this lead. There is one more, quite surprising lead related to this manuscript sheet. On the vocal part of Figaro/Rochus Pompernicus, Danuta Idaszak wrote an additional specification, “timpani”. It probably resulted from her simple listing of all the sheets and matching them to the instrumentation written on the title page because the *Symphonia* was composed for two violins, flute, two oboes, two horns, kettledrums and bass. Accordingly, the “timpani” part was missing. On closer inspection, it turns out that the part of Figaro, which Idaszak referred to as “timpani”, is notated in the bass clef and indeed accurately reflects Figaro’s aria from Mozart’s opera. It is not possible that kettledrums could perform it as 16 of them would be needed, which would be an unfeasible and quite strange idea even today. However, the manuscript contains no specified instrumental part of the bass and everything indicates that this is the abovementioned part. Nevertheless, it is still unclear why the mysterious person of Rochus Pompernicus was placed in this part. At first, I concluded that it was a kind of ‘joke’ of the person who remade the aria into a symphony. Fortunately, my efforts

together with those of my students yielded interesting information about this mystery. It turned out that in 1809 a three-act *quodlibet* entitled *Rochus Pompernickel* was created for the Viennese theater. It was a type of ironic song that, at that time, was supposed to reflect the entire spectrum of musical and social life in Vienna. It was enhanced by selected fragments from Mozart's, Salieri's, Haydn's, Weigl's and Wenzel Müller's music, i.e. all those who at that time were very popular composers with operatic triumphs in Vienna. In addition, *Rochus Pompernickel* derived from popular folk melodies and included waltzes, which were very important from the Viennese perspective. There are 32 sources referring to this *quodlibet* in the RISM database.⁷ Having examined them, we can see that the figure of Rochus Pompernicus enjoyed great interest and new musical arrangements were made. The text was also translated into Polish: *Roszek Cymbalek* (or *Tobiaszek Fatalaszek*), a musical *quodlibet* in three acts translated into Polish by Dominik Jakubowicz (1813).⁸ The only version of this work is currently stored in the Library of the Lviv/Lemberg Theater. Certainly, the figure of the above-mentioned Polish Roszek Cymbalek was a mocking type and maybe in the *quodlibet* he was assigned the melody of Figaro's aria, probably one of the most recognizable to this day and extremely popular then. Perhaps then, the Grodzisk musicians or the creator of this modification associated this melody more with Rochus Pompernicus, and only a more knowledgeable musician recognized Mozart's music and wrote his name on the title page by putting the word "no" at Pompernicus. We need to remember that Figaro in Mozart's opera is a bass. Therefore, the assignment of this part to Rochus, whose part is in the bass clef on the part from Grodzisk collection, complies with the opera and confirms the consistency between the two characters. The struggle with the mysterious figure of Rochus was a very interesting source-exploration adventure.

Coming back to the aria, which in the Grodzisk ensemble became a symphony, we firstly need to pay attention to the changes in the instrumental composition compared to the original aria. The original included quite an extensive set of instruments: bass (Figaro's part), two violins, viola, cello, basso, two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets and kettledrums. *Symphony in C* from Grodzisk Wielkopolski was composed for two violins, flute, two oboes, two horns, kettledrums and bass, however, there is no kettledrum part in the set of parts. It is clearly visible that the reduction of the orchestration was the result of the limited possibilities of the Grodzisk ensemble. It also resulted in the necessary modifications of the original music, which mostly involved the simplification of the wind instruments' parts. The lack of text in the bass part, despite the suggestion pointing to the figure of Rochus Pompernicus, indicates that it could not be intended for vocal performance, especially since the aria was labelled a symphony. It was most likely performed by an instrument with a low register.

7 On *Rochus Pompernickel* and the Viennese *quodlibet* see also the article by KLAUS PIETSMANN in the present volume, pp. 541-552.

8 See: <https://www.sbc.org.pl/dlibra/publication/37943/edition/34581>, 19.12.2019.

Example 1: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Figaro's aria "Non più andrai farfallone amoroso" from Act I of *Le nozze di Figaro* KV 492 (1786), bars 1-9:

a) original version

b) arrangement, Symphonia in C from *Grodzisk Wielkopolski*

The image displays two musical scores side-by-side. The top score, labeled 'a) original version', is for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Figaro's aria 'Non più andrai farfallone amoroso' from Act I of *Le nozze di Figaro* KV 492 (1786), bars 1-9. It is marked 'Allegro vivace'. The score includes parts for Flauti, Oboi, Fagotti (a 2.), Corni in C, Trombe in C, Timpani in C.G., Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Figaro (soprano), and Violoncello e Basso. The bottom score, labeled 'b) arrangement', is for the Symphonia in C from *Grodzisk Wielkopolski*. It is marked 'Allegro'. The score includes parts for Flute, Oboe I, Oboe II, Corno I in C, Corno II in C, Violino I, Violino II, and Violoncello. Both scores are in C major, 4/4 time. The original version includes the lyrics: 'Non più an-drai far-fal-lo-ne a-mo-ro-so, not-te e gior-no d'in-ter-no gi-ran-do, del-le bel-le tur-ban-do il ri-po-so, Nar-ci-set-to, A-don-ci-no d'a-mor.'

Danuta Idaszak dates the manuscript to around 1790. When we take into account the fact that the opera's premiere took place in Vienna in 1786, it is really surprising that it appeared so quickly in the parish church in Grodzisk Wielkopolski in the form of an

instrumental piece. This confirms once again that the repertoire of the largest European music centers reached the local church ensembles of the 18th-century Commonwealth of Poland very quickly. Most probably, the aria-symphony fulfilled the function then typical for symphonies, i.e. it was played at the entrance or exit of the procession during the church service.⁹ It is even more astonishing how such a popular aria with a rather frivolous melody could accompany a religious ceremony. We can regard the Grodzisk transformation of Figaro's aria into an instrumental piece, i.e. a symphony, as either an arrangement, which by definition was mainly the transcription of an existing work for another instrument/instruments or voice, or as a modification or simplification of the work's texture to adapt it to other performance conditions. This way a new arrangement of this work was created and it may differ so much from the original that it becomes more the work of an arranger than of the original composer. Furthermore, we can certainly claim that in the case of the Grodzisk symphony there is also an element of re-composition.¹⁰ One thing does not cease to amaze: Figaro's aria added splendor to the services in the parish church in Grodzisk Wielkopolski in a purely instrumental form just a few years after the premiere of *Le nozze di Figaro* in Vienna.

Case 2: How was Donna Elvira's aria from *Don Giovanni* transformed into a church aria?

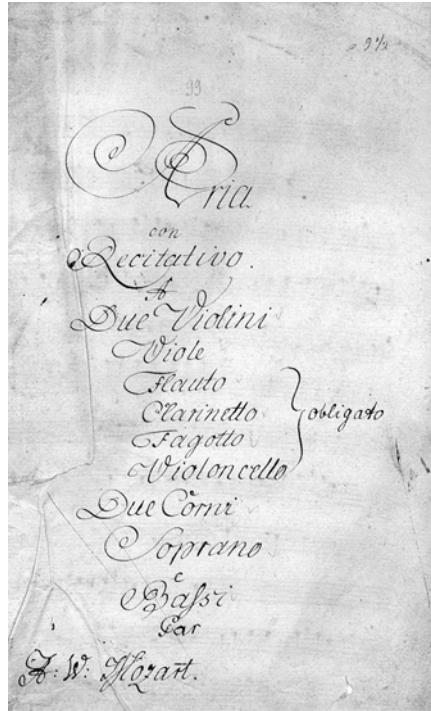
In the Archdiocesan Archive in Poznań, there is another collection of music from a parish ensemble which was active from the late 1660s to the 1870s in Poznań. The Poznań ensemble was resident in the collegiate church of St. Mary Magdalene until 1774. Then the destruction of the church by fire and the dissolution of the Jesuit Order caused that the post-Jesuit church became the main church of the city. In total, 375 works have been preserved and in its character the collection is similar to the aforementioned one from Grodzisk Wielkopolski. The Poznań music collection covers the second half of the 18th century and the entire 19th century. The compositions which survive from the 18th century constitute about one third of the collection. The preserved repertoire contains compositions by both Polish composers (e.g. Wojciech Dankowski, Józef Zeidler, Karol Petrowski or J.[?] Paszkiewicz) as well as foreign ones (including František Xaver Brixl, Franz Bühler, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Joseph Haydn, Václav Pichl, Ignaz Pleyel or Carl Stamitz).

The works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, including fragments from his operas, can also be found in this collection. One of them is the *contrafactum* of Donna Elvira's aria "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" from Act II of *Don Giovanni* KV 527 (shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz MM V/59, ZNF 99; Figure 3).

9 STRÓŻYŃSKA, 2015, pp. 319-341.

10 Recomposition is a modification of the piece changing its status, most often it concerns the change of genre affiliation and original function, but the connecting element remains the musical layer. See more: FEDER, 2011, pp. 41-84.

Figure 3: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the contrafactum of Donna Elvira's aria "Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata" from Act II of Don Giovanni, KV 527, shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz MM V/59 (ZNF 99), title page.



The premiere of Mozart's opera took place in Prague in 1787. A year later it was revived in a slightly changed version in Vienna, and in 1789 the Polish premiere took place in Warsaw. The Poznań manuscript dates from the late 18th century, so the aria from this opera appeared there very quickly. Inside the manuscript there is a recitative as well as the aria which is quite unusual. Only arias were used for religious music and recitatives were left aside. This is indicated by examples preserved in collections across Poland. Two texts were written in the Poznań manuscript of Donna Elvira's aria (Figure 4).

The Latin text "Festum diem recolentes" was added under the original text and this was undoubtedly made by another copyist because the handwriting of the two texts is significantly different. What is more, two additional sheets with the tenor voice part were added to the manuscript, but only containing the aria with the Latin text.

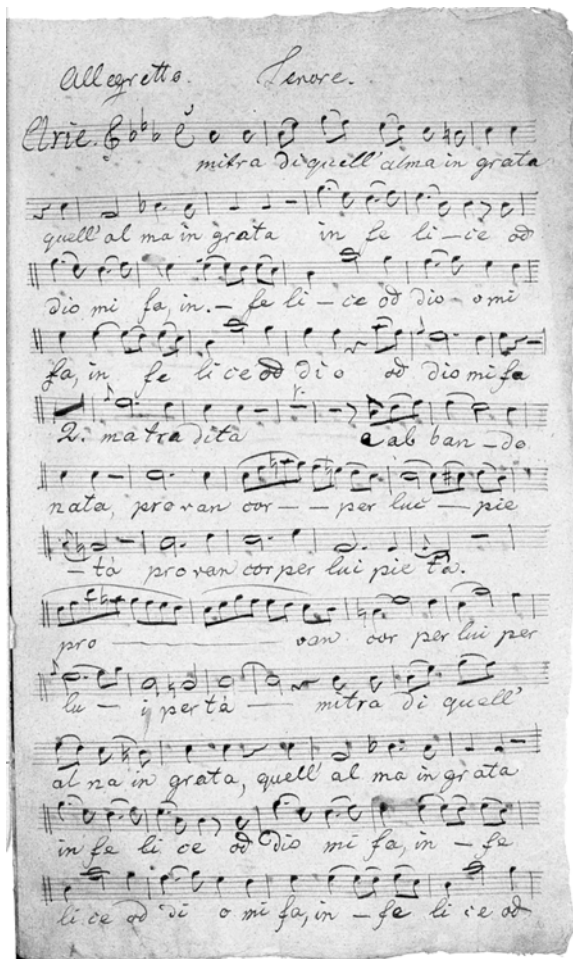
This way, the original disposition of the vocal part was changed. The name of Mozart was placed on the title page. The only change that was made was the insertion of the Latin text but only in the aria, omitting the recitative, and adding the tenor version with the original text (Figure 5). This addition may indicate that only the aria was used during the liturgy in the church.

Figure 4: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the contrafactum of Donna Elvira's aria "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" from Act II of *Don Giovanni* KV 527, shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz MM V/59 (ZNF 99), two texts in Donna Elvira's aria.



Due to the inclusion of a new text in the main part of the manuscript, it was necessary to fragment the values in two bars – in the third, the quarter note was changed into two eighth notes, and in the fourth the original half-note was surrounded on both sides with quarter notes. These are indeed very small and the only changes that could have been made without rewriting the whole part. In spite of this, a separate tenor version was made, apparently for a specific performance that could have taken place in the church in Poznań. The original instrumentation was preserved and no changes to the musical composition were made in the other parts. The added Latin text does not match the affect of the original aria. Donna Elvira sings about how the ungrateful Don Giovanni cheated on her and made her unhappy as well as about her own eternal love for him. The text of "Festum diem recolentes" is, in turn, ceremonial and speaks of the joy of the holiday. Therefore, the choice of the Latin text seems quite accidental. This is an example of a typical *contrafactum* – only the text was changed, leaving the original music intact. Donna Elvira's aria "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" from Act II of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* could have been performed at the end of the 18th century in a church in Poznań during the service in the following form: tenor or soprano, with a changed text. This proves how quickly Mozart's music reached the Commonwealth of Poland and was modified for local needs.

Figure 5. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, the contrafactum of Donna Elvira's aria "Mi tradi quell'alma ingrata" from Act II of Don Giovanni KV 527, shelfmark: PL-Pa, Muz MM V/59 (ZNF 99), page of the tenor part.



Case 3: Why was *Don Giovanni* performed during the Holy Mass?

On the Święta Góra near Gostyń/Gostyn, in the Archives of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri (PL-GOkf) there is a collection of musical manuscripts which is the legacy of a vocal and instrumental ensemble active there. The once rich collection of about 1,000 compositions was dispersed after the dissolution of the monastery by the Prussians in 1876. Only a fifth of the entire collection, i.e. 211 compositions, has survived until today. The collection was catalogued by Danuta Idaszak and published

in 2004 in the form of a thematic catalogue in the book *Muzyka u Księża Filipinów na Świętej Górze w Gostyniu* (Music of the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri on the Święta Góra in Gostyń).¹¹ The character of the preserved collection does not differ from the two mentioned above. The collection includes both manuscripts and music prints from the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. A characteristic feature of the Gostyń collection is a relatively large number of preserved litanies (52) in relation to the whole collection. It certainly resulted from the function of the Oratorian church, which was and still is the sanctuary of Our Lady of Gostyń. The Polish composers whose works we find in the collection include, for example, Józef Zeidler, Jan Wański, Wojciech Dankowski or Adam Jędrowski. 18th-century foreign composers in the collection include among others: Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Alexius Gulitz, Joseph Haydn, Karel Loos, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Václav Pichl, Ignaz Pleyel, František Pokorný, Augustin Senkyř and Johann Baptist Vanhal. Not surprisingly, we are most interested in the legacy related to Mozart.

The collection includes, among others, two Mozart masses (shelfmarks: PL-GOkf, I/12 and I/13) preserved as separate parts which most probably come from the late 18th or early 19th centuries (Figures 6 and 7).

After an initial analysis, it turned out that the *ordinarium missae* text was adapted to fragments from the *Don Giovanni* opera. At the moment, we do not know the authors of these compilations. Nevertheless, it is an amazing example of the use of Mozart's operatic music for a strictly liturgical text. The masses in such an arrangement were performed in the church during the liturgy! This material still requires an in-depth analysis – it should be precisely indicated which musical fragments come directly from *Don Giovanni* and which were composed by the probable arranger of the whole piece.

Both masses offer so extensive research material that they should deserve a separate study. The acquisition of all sources and setting it with a music notation program in order to create a score, necessary for detailed analysis, requires a large undertaking, which is certainly worth performing. This will allow for the undertaking of a separate study combined with an edition of the source. However, it is worth looking at three examples found in one of the Gostyń masses (with the signature I/13) which come straight from Mozart's music in order to show the scale of borrowing. The identification was made mainly on the basis of a manuscript comparison of the first violin part with its counterpart in the original version.¹² A comparative analysis related to the difference, for example, in the instrumentation between the original and the mass has not yet been carried out. Below are mentioned the borrowings found in the manuscript of the *Don Giovanni* mass from the musical collection of the monastery ensemble of the Oratorians on Święta Góra near Gostyń and their original counterparts:

11 IDASZAK, 2004, pp. 76-202.

12 The score edition used here is: http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/nmapub_srch.php?l=1, 20.01.2020; Public Domain. Musical examples in this article were taken from this edition.

Figure 6: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Missa in D, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/12, title page.

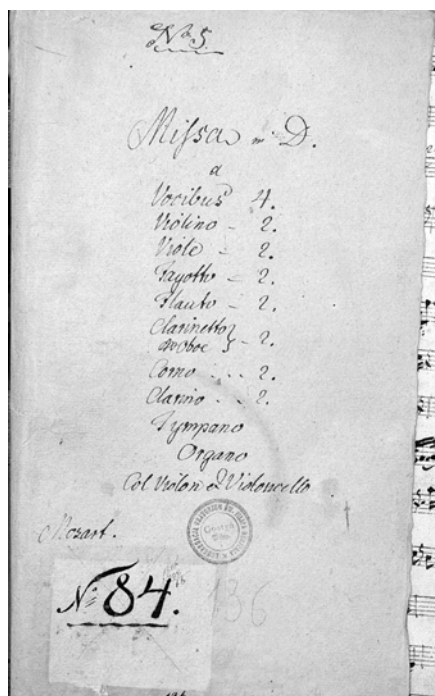
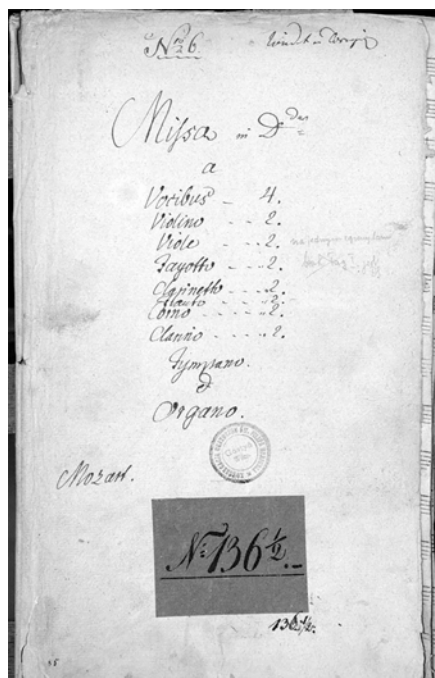


Figure 7: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Missa in D, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/13, title page.



1. The beginning of the *Gloria* part is identical to the Act II finale, no. 26 Terzetto “Già la mensa è preparata” (Don Giovanni, Leporello, Donna Elvira).

Figure 8: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Missa in D*, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/13, the beginning of the *Gloria*, page of violino I.



Example 2: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, the Act II finale, no. 26 Terzetto “Già la mensa è preparata”.

Allegro vivace

Violino I

A printed musical score for Violino I, marked 'Allegro vivace'. The score is in G major and common time. It consists of four staves. The first staff begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The second staff has alternating piano (p) and forte (f) dynamics, ending with a 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking. The third staff starts with a forte (f) dynamic. The fourth staff begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The notation includes various rhythmic values and articulation marks.

2. The continuation of *Gloria*, fragment “Gratias”, corresponds to the Act II terzet, no. 16 “Ah taci, ingiusto core” (Donna Elvira, Don Giovanni, Leporello).

Figure 9: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Missa in D*, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/13, fragment “Gratias”, page of violino I.

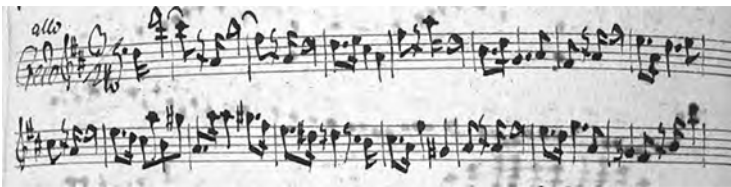


Example 3: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, the Act II terzet, no. 16 “Ah taci, ingiusto core”.



3. The *Credo* part from the mass I/13 is musically identical to Donna Elvira's aria from Act I, no. 8 “Ah, fuggi il traditor!”.

Figure 10: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Missa in D*, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/13, the beginning of the *Credo*, page of violino I.



Example 4: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, Donna Elvira's aria from Act I, no. 8 “Ah, fuggi il traditor!”

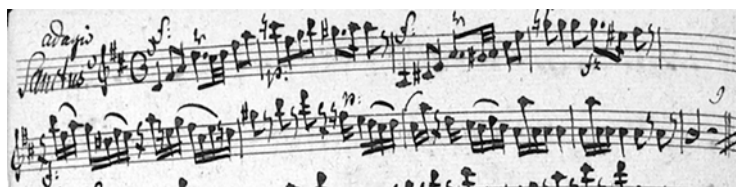


The examples above indicate that the various *ordinarium missae* parts are musically based on specific excerpts from *Don Giovanni*. It is not a hidden borrowing, taken from the middle of a certain fragment, but a transparent one, deriving the musical material straight from the exact movement from the very first bar. Further research on this mate-

rial will certainly allow us to answer whether the material undergoes different transformations in the course of the piece.

When identifying fragments of the mass, another source of borrowings from Mozart's music, different from *Don Giovanni*, became evident. The beginning of the *Sanctus* in the same mass I/13 points to a borrowing from the *Fantasy and Fugue in C major* KV 394 (383a). The key of the original is changed from C major to D major, in which the mass is written. Finding this kind of borrowing in distant Poland, in the repertoire of a monastery ensemble, is very interesting. How did the person who created this compilation of opera music used for a mass setting and performed during the liturgy in the church, know Mozart's keyboard music and so skillfully use it in the *Sanctus*? We have no evidence so far that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's keyboard compositions were present in the preserved music collections of church ensembles operating in the former Commonwealth. Of course, this state of knowledge can change at any time. But it is probably worth thinking about other ways to solve this mystery. After all, this mass could have traveled as a complete piece to the Oratorians on Święta Góra near Gostyń and it was not created by any Polish arranger-composer operating in this place. It is worth looking for this type of mass in the preserved collections of church ensembles in Europe. Certainly, the RISM database is very helpful for this type of activity, which also proved to be a basic tool during the identification of the examples presented here. The masses, which are extant in the preserved music collections of the monastery ensemble operating on Święta Góra, are certainly not an isolated case. This kind of practice of creating re-compositions or compilations was a common phenomenon in the musical culture of all Europe of that time.¹³ However, there is still a huge necessity for research of this phenomenon. And let the following example be an inspiration for this:

Figure 11: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Missa in D, shelfmark: PL-GOkf, I/13, the beginning of Sanctus, page of violino I part.



13 There are already many studies on this subject, of which only the most important ones shall be mentioned here: BURKHOLDER, 1994; BURKHOLDER, 2001; FALCK, 1979; WINEMILLER, 1997.

Example 5: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Fantasy and Fugue in C major KV 394 (383a), the beginning of the Adagio.



Conclusion

Both *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro* were the most popular operas of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in the Commonwealth of Poland at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th.¹⁴ The examples above clearly show this. Music from Mozart's operas was adapted to the liturgy in the church, both to strictly liturgical texts, such as the *ordinarium missae*, as well as to more casual ones, as indicated by *contrafacta* of arias. It is also extremely surprising that an aria, a vocal-instrumental work, was arranged as a purely instrumental symphony. Importantly, not understood as a cyclical, but a one-piece type that was used for the entering or leaving during the service. Thus, a specific type of ecclesiastical symphony was created, which was at the service of the liturgy and used in its framing. Ways of using Mozart's operatic music and presenting it in churches in the Commonwealth of Poland at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries were, as we can see from these few examples, very diverse and imaginative. Churches became the stage for their presentation. Churches were very important for the dissemination of the latest music, of styles, composers and so on. In contrast to exclusive opera church music was accessible for everyone – from the pauper attending a church service until the aristocrat sitting on the favored places in the front rows. Thus, music for the higher ranks of society (as represented by opera music) is transferred to the people. Mozart's operatic music reached the country on a regular basis and was adapted according to the needs of a given place. Undoubtedly, this matter requires further research, which I hope will result in a list of Mozart's opera music preserved in the archives and libraries that possess collections of musical ensembles active at the time in the Commonwealth of Poland. It will allow this heritage to be placed in a wider international context. An interesting example is the use of Mozart's keyboard music in the mass, as evidenced by the example presented above. Placing an initial fragment from the *Fantasy and Fugue in C major* KV 394 (383a) in the *Sanctus* can testify to familiarity not only with Mozart's

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operas, but also with his keyboard music. Of course, this hypothesis can turn out to be completely erroneous. Maybe the mass was brought to Święta Góra near Gostyń in such a form? This can only be resolved by further research, which is certainly worth continuing. Let this article become a good start for this process.

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