Musical Gifts. Dedications in Silesian Music Manuscripts of Monastic Provenance

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Music manuscripts of monastic provenance kept at the University of Warsaw Library¹ include a relatively large group of (85) sources that bear a dedication or contain a brief entry confirming that the given copy was presented to a specific person or to the monastic ensemble.² The manuscripts come from six different monasteries, convents and friaries: four in Wrocław (Germ. Breslau: of the Canons and Canonesses Regular of the Lateran on Piasek Isle, Germ. Sandinsel; of the Poor Clares and Knights of the Cross with the Red Star) as well as those of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica (Germ. Trebnitz), and of the Franciscans in Głogów (Germ. Glogau). Most of the manuscripts date back to the 18th century, only a few—to the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The habit of presenting and dedicating music to monastic communities is related to the phenomenon of artistic patronage, characteristic of aristocratic centres, secular and episcopal courts. This article is an attempt to explain the relation between patronage and the practice of offering musical gifts to religious houses.

¹ Music Department, University of Warsaw Library. The abbreviation BUW (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie) that usually precedes the shelfmarks of that library's manuscripts is omitted from the remaining part of the paper.

² The manuscripts that contain dedications have been identified and listed during a survey of the Library's holdings financed by a grant entitled "The Cultural Legacy of Monasteries and Priories Dissolved in the Territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in Silesia in the 18th-19th Centuries: Its Fate, Significance and Inventorying" (11H 11 021280), awarded as part of the Minister of Science and Higher Education's "National Programme for the Development of Humanities," implemented in the years 2012-2016.

I will examine the reasons for, and circumstances of, music manuscript dedication: By whom and to whom were they presented? Was the donation part of "official" duties or did the donor expect something in return? Did the practice of dedicating and donating manuscripts facilitate the creation of new musical works? Was the dedicated music actually performed?

Artistic patronage depends on cooperation between a patron of art (a secular or ecclesiastical dignitary) and an artist (composer or performer). The mechanism of patronage involves not only protection of the artist, but also—commissioning new works and financing music performances.³ Patronage therefore entails funding, and one of its products can be a music manuscript or print dedicated to the patron (a neat, frequently very decorative copy). Patronage may also result in performances of previously existing repertoire. Music patronage did not always lead to the composition of new works.⁴ On the other hand, the commissioned music did not always get performed. Some of the music only served the purpose of enriching the patron's collection.⁵ The dedications reflect tendencies present in the monastic communities, which corresponded to the phenomenon of music patronage in some respects, but were quite different in others.

The manuscripts with dedications will be presented here in different contexts:

- in the context of history: the dedications contribute to our knowledge about the history of the monasteries and priories, and their inhabitants;
- in the context of musical practice and phenomena connected directly with music;

³ Ryszard J. Wieczorek, *Patronat muzyczny w renesansowych Włoszech (1470–1572)*. *Mediolan, Ferrara, Mantua, Florencja, Rzym* [Music Patronage in Renaissance Italy (1470–1572). Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Florence and Rome] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2013), 27. In the extensive "Introduction" (pp. 15–36) the author discusses the various definitions of artistic and music patronage, as well as the relations between patron and musician (composer). The former offered funds, the latter—the talent necessary to create a work of art valuable for the patron. Wieczorek also points to the various motivations behind the activity of art patrons. Some of their key motives—though not the only ones—were: to advertise their social status, as well as the prestige and position of their courts.

⁴ Wieczorek, Patronat muzyczny, 27.

⁵ Wieczorek, Patronat muzyczny, 27.

• in the context of social life: the dedications document a number of relations between individual members of religious orders and between secular monastic personnel, as well as illustrating monastic habits.

The latter two contexts will be represented in relation to the phenomenon of music patronage.

The Historical Context: Dedications "with History in the Background"

The monastic manuscripts with dedications are historical sources *sensu stricto*. They provide us with numerous personal data, names of priors at the head of the given religious house, as well as of its *regentes chori*. The dedicatees are often mentioned along with the function that they held. The date of the dedication is also frequently provided. Most interesting in this respect are the dedications from the female Convent of the Canonesses Regular of the Lateran on Piasek Isle in Wrocław, whose history, including musical culture, has not yet become the subject of a comprehensive study. ⁶ The dedications contain the names of prioresses: Ursula [Birckholtz]; ⁷ Anna Maria [Joseph], ⁸ to whom one of the manuscripts was dedicated by Maria Theresia Banner, her successor; ⁹ Maria Victoria ab Helwig ¹⁰ and Maria Anna [Meisner]. ¹¹

⁶ The most comprehensive study of the history of this convent can be found in: Hermann Hoffmann, *Sandstift und Pfarrkirche St. Maria in Breslau* (Stuttgart und Aalen: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1971), 57–72 (the chapter "Kloster und Kirche der Augustinerinnen").

⁷ Ursula Birckholtzin (1626–1696), prioress in 1659–1696, a dedication of 1684, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 62.

⁸ Anna Maria Joseph (1651–1720), prioress in 1696–1720, dedications of 1700 and 1715, cf. Hoffmann, *Sandstift und Pfarrkirche*, 63.

⁹ Maria Theresia Banner (1664-1736), prioress in 1720-1736, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 63.

¹⁰ Maria Victoria Helweg (1693-1754), prioress in 1736-1754, dedications of 1743, 1746, 1747 and 1751, cf. Hoffmann, *Sandstift und Pfarrkirche*, 63.

¹¹ Maria Anna Meisner (1716-1789), prioress in 1754-1789, dedications of 1754, 1764, 1773 and 1774, cf. Hoffmann, *Sandstift und Pfarrkirche*, 64. A document of 26th May 1754 by

The surviving music manuscripts are documents of the prioresses' activity. Apart from their other duties, they also took decisions concerning the monastic music. In 1674, on the initiative of Prioress Ursula Birckholtz, a death index was initiated, which today remains one of the few available sources for the history of that convent. ¹² Also during her term of office the new baroque-style Church of St. James was erected. The *Lebendes Todtenbuch* documents the considerable effort expended by this prioress to introduce music at her convent, in the form of a vocal-instrumental ensemble that inaugurated its activity at that time. ¹³ The earliest music manuscripts from the Convent of the Canonesses Regular have been dated to 1679, which means that baroque music was present at the convent still before the consecration of St. James Church. The ownership notes on those oldest manuscript say "Chori St. Annae", and indeed it was the Chapel of St. Anna that the Canonesses Regular used for their services from 1652 until their own church was erected ¹⁴ (their previous church and convent

Frederick II, King of Prussia, confirming the choice of Maria Anna Meisnerin as prioress, has been preserved: cf. Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archive in Wrocław], Rep. 56 No. 86 (84), see also Roman Stelmach, "Źródła archiwalne do dziejów klasztorów kanoniczych na Wyspie Piaskowej we Wrocławiu zachowane w Archiwum Państwowym we Wrocławiu" [Archival Sources to the History of the Priories of the Canons and Canonesses Regular on Wrocław's Piasek Isle, Preserved in the State Archive in Wrocław], 9, available online: http://archiwalna.archiwa.gov.pl/images/stories/StrefaEdukacyjna/Wroc%C5%82aw/Referaty/AP%20Wroc%C5%82aw%20-%20dr%20Roman%20Stelmach.pdf (last accessed 14 December 2016).

¹² Lebendes Todtenbuch, currently at Wrocław Chapter Library, after: Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 62.

¹³ And not exclusively singing, as the author of the monograph claimed, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 62.

¹⁴ Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 62. The Chapel of St. Anna was erected on the initiative of John of Prague, the abbot of the Canons Regulars, and also functioned as a grave-yard chapel. The building has survived to our time. It is situated opposite the friary of the Canons Regulars on Piasek Isle. Cf. Rafał Eysymontt, "Przedszkole Sióstr Salezjanek, d. kaplica pw. św. Anny" [The Kindergarten of the Salesian Sisters of Don Bosco – the Former Chapel of St. Anna] in Leksykon architektury Wrocławia [Lexicon of Wrocław Architecture], eds. Rafał Eysymontt, Jerzy Ilkosz, et al. (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Via Nova, 2011), 404; Zygmunt Antkowiak, Kościoły Wrocławia [The Churches of Wrocław] (Wrocław: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, 1991), 146.

had been completely destroyed by the Swedes in 1632). The construction of St. James Church began in 1686 under the supervision of Siegmund Lindtner. ¹⁵ The church was consecrated on 4th June 1690, but services began to be held there only on 29th March 1691, after the finishing work had been completed. ¹⁶

One of the most interesting dedications associated with the history of the convent can be found on the title page of an undated manuscript presented to Prioress Anna Maria [Joseph], containing the litany to all saints¹⁷ (cf. Fig. 1). It was a gift from the composer Johann Georg Brotz, ¹⁸ a canon regular from the neighbouring Friary of St. Mary on Piasek (Augustiner-kloster St. Maria auf dem Sande), for the erection of the new Convent of St. Anna. The cloister was built in 1711–1715 and consecrated on 12th March 1715 by the abbot of the Canons Regular. Then the nuns could move into the new building. The dedicated composition may have been performed on that occasion. ¹⁹

¹⁵ Maria Czyszczoń, "Cerkiew pw. św. św. Cyryla, Metodego i Anny, siedziba Biblijnego Seminarium Teologicznego, d. kościół i klasztor Augustianek pw. św. Jakuba" [ss. Cyril and Methodius and St. Anna Orthodox Church, Seat of the Biblical Theological Seminary of Wrocław, the Former St. James Church and Convent of the Canonesses Regular] in Leksykon architektury Wrocławia, 405. The name of the Italian architect who designed the church is unknown.

¹⁶ Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 60.

¹⁷ RM 4226.

¹⁸ Johann Georg Brotz (1666–1753), the regens chori at Wrocław's friary of Canons Regular, a composer, cf. Rudolf Walter, "Kirchenmusikpflege in der Stiftskirche St. Maria auf dem Sande, Breslau, während des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Schlesiens. Musikkultur – Orgellandschaft. Tagungsbericht Liegnitz 1991, eds. Jarosław Stępkowski, Helmut Loos (Bonn: G. Schröder, 1994), 25, 28.

¹⁹ Antkowiak, Kościoły Wrocławia, 155.

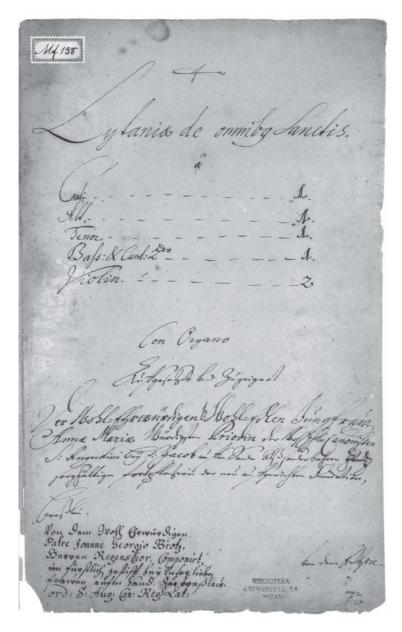


Figure 1: RM 4226 (photo: BUW 2015). The manuscript dedicated to Anna Maria Joseph

The Dedications as Evidence of Historical Music Practice

The surviving music-related sources testify to music practice in the monasteries and priories. They inform us not only of the performed repertoire and ways of acquiring music, but also – of the line-up of the ensemble, the available instruments, the circumstances of performance and the occasions when music was present in monastic life. The participation of the nuns themselves in performances of music is a separate, intriguing issue: Did the Silesian nuns play in the convent's ensemble, as they did in Italy?²⁰ So far we have found no direct confirmation in the available music sources of nuns in Silesia acting as music performers. The sources testify to the existence of extremely rich music life in the convents.²¹ For instance, the manuscripts from the Convent of Canonesses Regular in Wrocław contain excellent repertoire frequently calling for considerable performance skills.²² But it is the dedications that reveal the presence of professional musicians among the nuns—singers and instrumentalists described as the

²⁰ A survey of the available literature concerning the music practice of nuns in Italy, Spain and German-speaking countries in the context of the post-Tridentine reform of monastic life was included by Magdalena Walter-Mazur, in her Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku [Cantus figuralis et cantus fractus. The Music Culture of Polish Benedictine Nuns in the 17th and 18th Centuries] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 2014), in the chapter "Praktyka muzyczna zakonnic" [The Nuns' Music Practice], 30–43. Her list ought to be supplemented by the following publications: Craig A. Monson, Nuns Behaving Badly. Tales of Music, Magic, Art and Arson in the Convent of Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), idem, Divas in the Convent: Nuns, Music, and Defiance in Seventeenth-Century Italy (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012) and Janet K. Page, Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

²¹ The University of Warsaw Library Music Collection includes music-related sources from the following convents: the Poor Clares and Canonesses Regular of Wrocław, as well as the Cistercian Nuns from Trzebnica.

²² One of the earliest manuscripts is a 1686 copy of sonatas from Karl Heinrich Biber's collection *Fidicinium sacro-profanum* published just three years before in Nuremberg (1683). Another manuscript, RM 6577 (of 1679), requires scordaturas (re-tuning of strings). The musical culture of that convent has not yet been studied in detail.

virtuosae. In 1743 and again in 1747 seven nuns performing in the convent ensemble received music manuscripts as their name day gifts. They were presented by their confessor, friar from the male friary—Johann Ignatz Winkler. ²³ The dedicatees were:

- 1 Sister Anna Catharina canoness at St. James Convent, mistress of novices and *clarinista primarista*²⁴
- 2 Sister Maria Hedwiga canoness at St. James Convent, clarinista virtuosissima²⁵
- 3 Sister Joanna Nepomucena canoness at St. James Convent, *clarinista diligentissima*²⁶
- 4 Sister Maria Jacoba canoness at St. James Convent, *violinista secunda-ria*²⁷
- 5 Sister Maria Bernarda canoness at St. James Convent, tenorista virtuosissima²⁸
- 6 Sister Maria Francisca canoness at St. James Convent, *bassista virtuo*sissima²⁹
- 7 Sister Maria Victoria Kuntzin canoness at St. James Convent, altista virtuosissima.³⁰

At least from the mid-18th century, the canonesses themselves were performers of the preserved repertoire. This is certainly true of such instruments as the violin and the clarino trumpet. The nuns also sang the

²³ RM 4244/3, RM 4244/4, RM 4385, RM 4437, RM 4448/1, RM 4902, RM 5073. Johann Ignatz Winkler (1704-1758) was a canon regular at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek, where he held the function of religious instruction teacher, preached sermons on the cult of Mary, acted as the canonesses' confessor, master of the novices and prior, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 80.

²⁴ RM 4385.

²⁵ RM 4437.

²⁶ RM 5073.

²⁷ RM 4244/3.

²⁸ RM 4448/1. The most likely dedicatee was Maria Bernarda von Mentzelsberg (1708–1758), sister of the canoness Maria Antonia von Mentzelsberg (1703–1754) who later became a prioress (and held this office from 15th May 1754 until her death on 28th July 1754).

²⁹ RM 4244/4.

³⁰ RM 4902. Maria Victoria Kuntzin later (ca. 1780) held the functions of mistress of the novices and the *Chorregentin*, cf. *Schlesische Instantien-Notitz* (Breslau: Korn, 1780), 137.

A St. M. D Se.
MISSA OC.
Sapientisimaet Invidisimae. Divervir ginis amartyris
CATHARINE
a Ocem - Vocibus
Canto 1 Atto 1
Tenore 1 Basso 1
Violinis II Clarinis II
Tympanis Il Violone I
Con Organo,
a to est pol = 1 or 1
Ruthou Halm Roo Dio Gerlaco Sottwalt S.O. Pramon:
Oblata pro die Onomastico solatiosifsimo prosperima Religiosa, ac Venerabili Virgini Anna CATHARI
Religiosa, ac Venerabili Vingini Ama CAIHALI
NA Canonissa Regulari Lateranensi Odi
nis S: Lugustini ad Divum Jacobum in
Riena Wratislavia Professa dignissima
Magistra Novitiarum meriti sima,
et ejusdem Chori Clarinista prima,
rice victuosissima, à Sacerdole d'On
inevictions is that a saceroote atom
Indigno Wratislavia
7 4 3, UNIVERSITECTA WARSZAWA

Figure 2: RM 4385 (photo: BUW 2015). The manuscript dedicated to Sister Anna Catharina, mistress of novices and clarino trumpet player

low, tenor and bass parts in multi-part compositions, ³¹ which suggests that there was no need to employ men in the monastic ensemble. Another source that adds to our knowledge about the musical activity of the canonesses from Wrocław bears the following inscription: "Procuravit pro Choro ad St: Jacobum V: Virgo Francisca Regens Chori 1796." ³² This proves that music in the convent, and the nuns' ensemble, were directed by one of the nuns. The list of nuns who left the convent at the time of its dissolution includes, apart from Sister Franziska Alt—*Chorregentin*—also another sister, Maria Hedwig Mücke, ³³ who acted as second *Kapellmeister*. The manuscripts with dedications discussed here thus answer one of the key questions concerning the musical life of the convent and provide an excellent point of departure for further research into the professional musical abilities of Silesian nuns.

The Repertoire of the Manuscripts with Dedications

All the manuscripts dedicated and presented to the friars and nuns contain liturgical music: masses and their parts, offertories, litanies — music for everyday as well as festive monastic use. The musical gifts were therefore of strictly pragmatic nature. The music dedicated to patrons of court composers also in most cases received performances, but it needs to be remembered that many works were commissioned "for the very satisfaction of owning sheet music," 34 while others, not commissioned, but dedicated to dignitaries in the hope that the latter would reward the composer's work—might in fact never get performed. In the monastic environment,

³¹ More on the practice of entrusting low vocal parts to nuns, see Page, Convent Music and Politics, 67, 80–81; Robert L. Kendrick, Celestial Sirens. Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 188–196; Michael Talbot, "Tenors and Basses at the Venetian Ospedali," Acta Musicologica 66/2 (1994), 123–138.

³² RM 4709. Sister Franzisca Alt (1753–26.8.1811), cf. Hoffmann, *Sandstift und Pfarrkirche*, 66, 68. The canoness made a gift of one of the manuscripts (RM 5206) to the monastic ensemble: "Pro Ecclesia Sti Jacobi in Arena. Ex rebus Francisca Altin."

³³ Maria Hedwig Mücke (b. 1747), cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 66.

³⁴ Wieczorek, Patronat muzyczny, 27.

on the other hand, the dedicated works became part of regular musical practice and were most likely performed many times in the course of their monastic "lifetime".

Another aspect of the problem is the question of novelty. The mechanisms of artistic patronage need not have led to the composition of a new piece, but if the patron received a dedicated copy, it usually contained a new work composed specially for him or her. Of the monastic sources that are the subject of my study, one third are manuscripts dedicated and presented by the composers themselves (cf. Table 1), which contain their original works. Arguably, these compositions may have been written specially with their dedicatees in mind; still, this cannot be confirmed with any certainty, as none of the dedications refers to this issue. What is more, a work presented in 1774 to the prioress of the Canonesses Regular, Maria Anna, by the composer Johann Georg Clement, 35 had in fact been composed nine years earlier, as evident from the date included at the end of the vl 1 part. The remaining two thirds of the manuscripts with dedications contain pieces by popular composers, either locally active in Silesia in that period or widely recognised and highly regarded, such as Johann Adolf Hasse, Valentin Rathgeber, Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and František Xaver Brixi. The contents of the surviving manuscripts show that the dedicated music may, but need not have been new. The manuscripts presented to Silesian priories and monasteries contained, more often than not, previously existing repertoire.³⁶ It would be a false conclusion, however, to pass

³⁵ RM 4243/3. Around 1731 Johann Georg Clement (1710–1794) was the school rector and musician at the Friary of Canons Regular in Wrocław, from 1735 — the *Kapellmeister* of Wrocław Cathedral, cf. Rudolf Walter, "Clement, Johann Georg," in *Schlesisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Augsburg: Wißner, 2001), 113.

³⁶ This finding is of much consequence for present-day research, which often wrongly identifies the donors-dedicators of all the manuscripts with the composers of the music they contain. For instance, the *Mass in D Major* by František Xaver Brixi, preserved in the Warsaw collection (RM 4201/1; RISM A/II: 300514365), has three other concordances (RISM A/II: 450007537, 551002023, 550018759) which Czech scholars attributed to František Černý, the *Kapellmeister* of the Benedictine monastery in Broumov, most likely because Černý dedicated them to a monk of that monastery. We will find a similar erroneous identification of the donor with the composer in Ernst Kirsch's study of some

a negative judgment and call monastic culture derivative. In the religious houses, good music was in great demand, but those institutions did not have their own high-class composers. Therefore they made use of previously existing music, adapting it for their own needs. This is very clearly evident in the common practice (known not only in Silesia) of using *contrafacta* of operatic arias in monasteries. Religious texts sung during the liturgy were set to the music of popular arias. This can be seen as a positive phenomenon, as it allowed the religious orders to obtain high quality repertoire with minimum expenditure.

Table 1: List of composers dedicating their own works

No.	Composer - donor	Dedicatee	Number of dedicated manuscripts
1	Brotz, Johann Georg CRL, regens chori	Maria Anna CRL, prioress	1
2	Clement, Johann Georg rector chori at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek; Kapellmeister in Wrocław Cathedral	Maria Anna CRL, superiorissa Maria Anna CRL, superiorissa, priorissa Joannes CRL, abbot and prelate	3 1
3	Pohl, Johann Joseph rector chori at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek; cantor in Jelenia Góra	Passoni Sigismund CRL, abbot and prelate Baudisch Johann Karl CRL, regens chori	1

of the manuscripts discussed in this paper, dedicated to the prioress of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica by the monastery's rectores chori, cf. Ernst Kirsch, Die Bibliothek des Musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis von dem Anteil Schlesiens an den musikalischen Strömungen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts (Breslau: Hundsfelder Stadblatt, 1922), 64–68. Cf. e.g. RM 4153, RISM A/II: 300511709; a mass presented by Franz Bassner (whom Kirsch therefore considered as its composer), presently ascribed to František Xaver Brixi on the basis of concordances in the RISM database.

No.	Composer – donor	Dedicatee	Number of dedicated manuscripts
4	Thamm, Joannes [SJ]	Meißner Franz Xaver CRL, abbot and prelate	1
5	[Gross, Carl] musician at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek	Strobach Joannes CRL, abbot and prelate	1
6	Hellmich, Johann Caspar rector chori at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek	Urban Philippus CRL, regens chori Zimmermann Carolus CRL, regens chori Weiss Carolus CRL, regens chori Klose Albino CRL Rother Anton CRL	2 3 1 1
7	Beinlich, Franz musician at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek	Urban Philippus CRL, regens chori	2
8	Reiswitz, Joseph Hieronim musician at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek	The music ensemble of the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek	1
9	[Riedel, Gedeon] rector chori at the Cistercian Monastery in Trzebnica	Paczyńska Bernarda, prioress of the Cistercian nuns	1
10	Lachnith, Franz OCrucig. regens chori	Jenisch Carolus, OCrucig., prelate	1
11	Lange, Karl Joseph organist in Środa Śląska	Hellmann Christophorus, ocrucig., prelate	1

The Social Context

A religious order is a community with internal relations and dependencies resulting, among others, from its hierarchical structure. This is very clearly reflected in the manuscript dedications, which reveal a number of relations between members of the monastic communities, and sometimes—connections between different monasteries or priories. The dedications also provide evidence of monastic customs. The everyday life of the monastic community was regulated by the liturgy and by cyclically celebrated church feasts. The dedications commemorate important events in the life of a given congregation (convent). One of the most frequent occasions for presenting musical gifts were the superiors' name days. These were always ceremonially celebrated in religious houses, in connection with the liturgical remembrance of the patron saint. ³⁷ Other individual manuscripts were dedicated on the occasion of birthdays, ³⁸ the first mass of a newly ordained priest, ³⁹ the beginning of a new year, ⁴⁰ or the completion of a new

³⁷ Manuscripts from the Convent of Canonesses Regular in Wrocław: RM 4150, RM 4151, RM 4154/1, RM 4154/2, RM 4155, RM 4243/3, RM 4244/3, RM 4244/4, RM 4328, RM 4385, RM 4437, RM 4448/1, RM 4902, RM 4906, RM 5073, RM 5094; from the monastery of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica: RM 4153, RM 4294/5, RM 4855, RM 4856, RM 4857, RM 4923; from the Friary of Canons Regular in Wrocław: RM 4499, RM 5730, RM [no shelf number, RISM A/II: 300512909], RM [no shelf number, RISM A/II: 300512909], RM [no shelf number, RISM A/II: 300512910]; from the monastery of Knights of the Cross with the Red Star: RM 4571, RM 5367. That name days could be an occasion for dedicating manuscripts we can also assume on the basis of the saint's remembrance service listed in the manuscript. E.g. Missa S. Sigismundi (RM 4769), dedicated to Abbot Sigismund Passoni, was most certainly performed on the day of the liturgical remembrance of St. Sigismund.

³⁸ RM 4250/3. In 1773 the manuscript was dedicated to Sister Maria Anna Meisnerin, the prioress of Canonesses Regular in Wrocław, by the composer Johann Georg Clement, then the *Kapellmeister* of St. John Cathedral and *regens chori* at the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross.

³⁹ RM 5767. The manuscript, bearing the date of 29th June 1783, was dedicated to Albin Klose, a canon regular from Wrocław, by the composer Johann Caspar Hellmich, the friary's *rector chori*.

⁴⁰ RM 6603. The manuscript, bearing the date of 5th January 1684, was dedicated to Sister Ursula, the prioress of Canonesses Regular in Wrocław, by an unidentified person signed with the monogram I.C.S.

nunnery. ⁴¹ The dedications also reflect local customs, such as the habit of dedicating music manuscripts to the successive *regentes chori* by members of the monastic music ensemble in the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek. In thirteen sources the context of dedication was not mentioned, ⁴² and we can only guess that they were gifts on the occasion of name days.

The Dedicatees

The main group of dedicatees consists of monastic superiors, followed by monks and nuns responsible for music-making, as well as a few ordinary members of the monastic community. We also find musical gifts presented directly to the music ensembles existing in the given monastery or friary. All the dedications (in those cases when both dedicatee and dedicator live in the same religious house) reflect the dedicatee's superior position in relation to the dedicator. In only one exceptional case, the previous hierarchical relation between these two persons had expired. This is the case of a manuscript dedicated in 1739 to Carl Baudisch, canon regular and regens chori, by the composer Johann Joseph Pohl, who had until 1731 acted as rector chori at the friary's school (the dedicatee having then been his direct superior), but at the moment of presenting the manuscript (containing two offertories) already worked as a cantor in Jelenia Góra (Germ. Hirschberg im Riesengebirge). 43 All the other gifts are invariably presented to the donor's current superior. The monastic dedications therefore reflect the dependence of the artist (donor) on the patron, which is typical of artistic patronage. What is different in the case of religious houses

⁴¹ RM 4226.

⁴² RM 4158/5, RM 4248/3, RM 4432/1, RM 4528, RM 4751, RM 4936, RM 5042, RM 5087, RM 5130, RM 5741, RM 5850, RM 5851, RM 5857.

⁴³ RM 4775. Johann Carl Baudisch (1701–1746), friar and regens chori in 1730–1745, cf. Walter, "Kirchenmusikpflege in der Stiftskirche St. Maria," 25; Johann Joseph Pohl (ca. 1696–1775), in 1724–1731 musician and rector of the school at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek, in 1732–1775 cantor and teacher in the parish church in Jelenia Góra, cf. Remigiusz Pośpiech, Muzyka wielogłosowa w celebracji eucharystycznej na Śląsku w XVII i XVIII wieku [Polyphonic Music in the Liturgy of the Eucharist in 17th–18th-Century Silesia] (Opole: Redakcja Wydawnictw Wydziału Teologicznego Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2004), 346.

is the lack of financial reward from the dedicatee (this is most certain in the case of the monk-abbot or friar-prior relation). Most likely, other non-material rewards (such as recognition in the eyes of the superior, obtaining the post of cantor rather than cook) were possible in the monastery. The account books and other documents of the Silesian monasteries may also prove that the abbot offered remuneration or other material rewards to the donor-composers not employed in the monasteries, but no archival research has been carried out to date to confirm such a possibility.

The Dedicators

The manuscripts with dedications were all presented by members of the monastic community. Starting with those lowest in rank, these were:

- [probably] a student at the friary's school: Carl Klein;44
- musicians of the ensemble of the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek as a collective donor (ensemble);⁴⁵
- individual musicians connected with the orchestra of the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek: Carl Gross dedicated his piece to the abbot;⁴⁶ Antonius Rus⁴⁷ and Franz Beinlich⁴⁸ presented their manuscripts to the *regens chori*; two

⁴⁴ RM 5780. He studied at the school under rector Ignatius Lucas, cf. Walter, "Lukas Ignatz," in Schlesisches Musiklexicon, 440.

⁴⁵ Cf. footnote 42.

⁴⁶ RM 6164.

⁴⁷ RM 4834. Antonius Rus, musician, singer (alto) and copyist at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek, cf. Ewa Hauptman-Fischer and Katarzyna Spurgjasz, "Sprawozdanie z inwentaryzacji muzykaliów poklasztornych w Gabinecie Zbiorów Muzycznych BUW w okresie 1 V 2013–30 X 2013" [Report on the Inventory of Monastic Music-Related Sources in the University of Warsaw Library Music Collection, Carried Out from 1st May to 30th October 2013], Hereditas Monasteriorum, vol. 3 (2014), 486. As a singer, Rus took part in the theatrical spectacles of the Jesuit college in Wrocław in 1735–1736, cf. Tomasz Jeż, Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej (1581–1776) [The Music Culture of the Jesuits in Silesia and Glatzer Land (1581–1776)] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2013), 368.

⁴⁸ RM [no shelf mark, RISM A/II: 300512909]. Franz Beinlich (1731-1777) was a musician at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek, cf. Rudolf Walter, "Kirchenkomponisten der Diözese Breslau im 18. Jh.," Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch 7 (1991), 135.

- other musicians made a gift of music manuscripts to the ensemble, for its regular use: these were Joseph Hieronim Reiswitz, who presented his own composition, ⁴⁹ as well as the otherwise unknown Franc[iscus] Wiesner; ⁵⁰
- monks / friars and nuns; the previously mentioned canons regular: Johann Georg Brotz⁵¹ and Johann Ignatz Winkler;⁵² the canoness Maria Teresa Bannerin,⁵³ who presented a manuscript to her superior on her name day; Knights of the Cross with the Red Star from St. Matthias Monastery in Wrocław: Franz Lachnith⁵⁴ and Johann Dittert;⁵⁵ Franciscans from Głogów: Jacob Altman⁵⁶ and Severin Schildner;⁵⁷ we could also place in this group the former Jesuit Joannes Thamm;⁵⁸
- secular monastic staff, such as the already mentioned rectors of the school at the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek: Johann Joseph Pohl, ⁵⁹ Johann Georg Clement, ⁶⁰ Johann Caspar Hellmich ⁶¹ and Ignaz Lucas; ⁶² rectors of the choir in Trzebnica: Franz Bassner ⁶³ and Gedeon Riedel; ⁶⁴ [Gottfried]

⁴⁹ RM 4842. Joseph Hieronymus Reiswitz (life dates unknown), musician and composer, active in the Friary of St. Mary on Piasek in 1713–1720, cf. Walter, "Kirchenmusikpflege in der Stiftskirche St. Maria," 28.

⁵⁰ RM 4189/2.

⁵¹ RM 4226, cf. footnote 18.

⁵² RM 4244/3, RM 4244/4, RM 4385, RM 4437, RM 4448/1, RM 4902, RM 5073, cf. footnote 23. Winkler also made a gift of another manuscript to the music ensemble in his own friary (RM 4817).

⁵³ RM 4150, cf. Annex.

⁵⁴ RM 4578.

⁵⁵ RM 5367.

⁵⁶ RM 6073, RM 6074. For more information on manuscript RM 6073, see Marc Niubo, "Bernard Artophaeus and Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský," in *The Musical Culture of Silesia before* 1742. New Contexts - New Perspectives, eds. Paweł Gancarczyk, Lenka Hlávková-Mráčková, Remigiusz Pośpiech (Frankfurt am Main: PL Academic Research, 2013), 293-294.

⁵⁷ RM 6425, RM 6562.

⁵⁸ RM 5032. For more information on this manuscript, see Jeż, Kultura muzyczna jezuitów, 422.

⁵⁹ RM 4769, RM 4775, cf. footnote 43.

⁶⁰ RM 4243/1, RM 4243/3, RM 4250/1, RM 4250/3.

⁶¹ RM 4499, RM 4500, RM 4501, RM 4502, RM 4503, RM 4505, RM 4508, RM 5767.

⁶² RM 5730, cf. footnote 44.

⁶³ RM 4153.

⁶⁴ RM 4294/5, RM 4855, RM 4856, RM 4857, RM 4923.

Gromann, organist at the Premonstratensian Abbey in Wrocław; ⁶⁵ Karl Joseph Lange, organist in Środa Śląska (Germ. Neumarkt in Schlesien) ⁶⁶ and Joseph Debisch, organist at the Monastery of the Poor Clares in Wrocław; ⁶⁷ other persons, such as Georg Bernhard Thiele, ⁶⁸ composer and *juratus Grottgoviae* [town councillor or juror]; Maria Rosalia Veronica Krahlin, daughter of the composer Joseph Leopold Krahl, rector of the village school in Przyłęk near Wałbrzych (Germ. Franckenberg); ⁶⁹ and the unidentified I.C.S. ⁷⁰

Relations Between Religious Houses and Other Institutions

The dedications provide information not only about the relations between members of the monastic community, but also-between the monastery (friary) and other institutions. The close contacts between the two neighbouring houses: the convent and the friary on Wrocław's Piasek Isle—come as no surprise, considering the fact that they shared the same Rule of St. Augustine and that the friars were responsible for pastoral care in the canonesses' convent. The dedications only confirm the flow of music manuscripts in only one direction, as only the canons' musical gifts to the canonesses have been preserved. The donors include regentes chori, a friar, and a secular rector chori, who was at the same time a composer. We do not know whether this state of affairs results from incomplete preservation of sources or from any other circumstances. The canonesses also received manuscripts from the cathedral and the village school in Przyłęk. The presented manuscripts, including those with dedications, also demonstrate the canons' contacts with the nearby Premonstratensian Abbey, 71 with the Jesuits 72 and the parish church

⁶⁵ RM 4294/4, cf. Pośpiech, Muzyka wielogłosowa w celebracji eucharystycznej, 323.

⁶⁶ RM 4578.

⁶⁷ RM 4213, RM 4715, RM 5050.

⁶⁸ RM 4369.

⁶⁹ RM 6225, cf. Pośpiech, Muzyka wielogłosowa w celebracji eucharystycznej, 334.

⁷⁰ RM 6603.

⁷¹ RM 4294/4.

⁷² RM 5032, cf. footnote 58.

in Jelenia Góra.⁷³ The Knights of the Cross with the Red Star were presented with a manuscript by the organist of the church in Środa Śląska.⁷⁴

A Manuscript Donation, or a Dedication of Music?

The analysed group of sources includes both very carefully copied, decorative manuscripts and others compiled in illegible handwriting, by modern standards—even shoddy (cf. Fig. 1 and 3). It is those latter that cast doubt on the nature of the dedication practice. Were they really gifts to the superior? They are a far cry from the beautiful neat copies that are typical products of artistic patronage. All the sources bear rather short conventional dedications, which include the first name (for nuns) or name and surname (for friars and monks). These monastic dedications are different from those addressed to secular patrons. Though the dedicatee is mentioned with his or her proper title and function, in the monastic sources we find none of the metaphorical formulae extolling the patron's magnificence and erudition that are the characteristic convention of gifts to artistic patrons. In more than a dozen cases the dedicatee is referred to directly as *patronus*, a word always coupled with such conventional epithets as honorandissimus, 75 colendissimus, 76 dignissimus, 77 or venerandissimus. 78 The donors signed their full names and surnames, sometimes also quoting their functions. We also frequently encounter such polite terms as *clientum* infimus, indignissimus servus, etc.

The most decorative manuscripts include those dedicated to nuns, especially to the prioress of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica—written in ink of three colours, and with a triple frame on the title page.

In the context of other surviving music sources, of special interest is the manuscript dedicated to Joannes Strobach, prior of St. Mary on Piasek.

⁷³ RM 4775, cf. footnote 43.

⁷⁴ RM 4578.

⁷⁵ RM 4499, RM 4751, RM 4834, RM 6073.

⁷⁶ RM 4158/5, RM 4775, RM 6074.

⁷⁷ RM 4528, RM 4936, RM 5042, RM 5087.

⁷⁸ RM 4503.



Figure 3: RM 4923 (photo: BUW 2015). The manuscript dedicated to Bernarda Paczyńska, Prioress of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica

It consists of partbooks and the score; the dedication was entered in the latter. Bound in brown marbled calfskin stretched on cardboard, with gilded embossments and fleurons in the corners, it has red-tinged card edges. We do not know if it was bound this way before the donation or by the abbot himself—this type of binding might be characteristic of his library. The monastic manuscripts with dedications were copied and bound with varying care, and have relatively few decorative elements. This leads to a number of questions. Were all the manuscripts that contain dedications real donations personally presented by the donors to their superiors? Name days were usually celebrated in monasteries with much grandeur, and the key element of the feast was the liturgy with the accompanying music, prepared specially for the occasion. Was the music passed on to the person whose name day was being celebrated—in the form of a manuscript? If it was, then at what point during the celebration was the manuscript presented? What was the main part of the gift? It seems that in the monastic society the most important gift was the music itself, not its notation in a particular manuscript. The ceremonial performance of the music during liturgy was more important than the manuscript, however carefully it may have been prepared.

We should now return to the question posed in the opening sections of this paper: Was the donation and dedication of music manuscripts in Silesian monasteries part of the phenomenon of artistic patronage? We have noted the problem of financial rewards offered in return for the dedicated music. Whether the composers not formally employed by the monasteries received any remuneration, and whether the Silesian monastic superiors commissioned music from local composers—is uncertain at the current stage of study. Further archival research should answer these questions. Another problem is the specific relation between musician (composer or performer) and patron (abbot, prioress, *regens chori*) in the monastic context. Silesian monasteries did not employ eminent composers whose talent and work could add splendour to the monastic authority and to the religious establishment that it represented. The role of the musician in religious houses was definitely inferior to that known from aristocratic or episcopal courts. The musicians were frequently part of the monastic

community; for instance, they could be students in the monastic school. In religious houses we do not observe the individual artist-patron relation in the form of the patron employing and rewarding a protégé. Still, the phenomena presented in this paper can certainly be classified as belonging to the world of artistic patronage. In the case of religious houses (as well as other wealthy and well-organised institutions), some authors propose the term "collective patronage." Religious houses maintained orchestras and financed music performances. Their main objective was to hold services *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* and to support religious teaching, but the music also helped increase their prestige.

Monasteries and priories also played an important role in the dissemination of music composed by monastic musicians and in the redistribution of works copied for their own needs. The dedications preserved in monastic manuscripts testify to the fact that abbots, *regentes chori*, teachers in monastic schools and performers all had their part in the creation of monastic music, employing for that purpose the available means—some financial, others non-material. The entirety of these activities and their interrelations place the dedications unambiguously in the sphere of phenomena associated with music patronage, defined as follows:

Cultural patronage comprises the entirety of personal and material relations between participants in the given culture. Those relations appear at different stages of the communication processes and relate to many aspects of those processes (incl. initiation, production, dissemination and control). The common feature of all those activities is a particular type of behaviour of persons and institutions, depending on direct or indirect employment of their resources (symbolic and material) in the processes of creation or circulation. 80

⁷⁹ Wieczorek, Patronat muzyczny, 24.

⁸⁰ Krzysztof M. Dmitruk, "Wokół teorii i historii mecenatu" [Around the Theory and History of Patronage] in *Z dziejów mecenatu kulturalnego w Polsce. Studia* [Studies in the History of Cultural Patronage in Poland], ed. Janusz Kostecki (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1999), 12.

Annex

List of nuns from the Convent of Canonesses Regular on Piasek Isle in Wrocław (Marien-Closter auf dem Sande), compiled on the basis of sources kept in the University of Warsaw Library Music Collection:

- 1 S. Ursula Birckholtz, prioress
- 2 S. Anna Maria Joseph, prioress
- 3 S. Maria Teresa Banner, prioress, music copyist
- 4 S. Maria Victoria Helweg, prioress
- 5 S. Maria Anna Meissner, prioress
- 6 S. Anna Catharina, mistress of the novices and clarinista (1743)
- 7 S. Maria Victoria Kuntzin, altista (1747), Chorregentin (ca. 1780)
- 8 S. Francisca Alt, Chorregentin (1796)
- 9 S. Maria Hedwiga, clarinista (1743)
- 10 S. Joanna Nepomucena, clarinista (1743)
- 11 S. Maria Jacoba, violinista secundaria (1743)
- 12 S. Maria Bernarda [Mentzelsberg], tenorista (1743)
- 13 S. Maria Francisca, bassista (1743)
- 14 S. Juliana Ragotzin, 81 novice (1801)
- 15 S. Ottilia Lange, 82 novice (1801)

The names of 14 sisters who lived in the convent at the time of its dissolution have been listed by H. Hoffmann. 83

trans. Tomasz Zymer

⁸¹ Manuscript RM 6640 contains a piece for the investiture of two novices: "Zur Einkleidung der beiden Jungfräulichen Novitzen Juliana und Ottilia bei S. Anna auf dem Sande d. 23. Novbr. 1801." H. Hoffmann dates the investiture of S. Juliana Ragotzin (b. 1778) to 1802, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 66.

⁸² H. Hoffmann dates the investiture of S. Ottilia Lange (b. 1782) to 1805, cf. Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 66. Cf. footnote. 81.

⁸³ Hoffmann, Sandstift und Pfarrkirche, 66.

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ABSTRACT

Musical Gifts. Dedications in Silesian Music Manuscripts of Monastic Provenance

The University of Warsaw Library Music Collection includes music manuscripts from Silesian monasteries. Of particular interest among these sources are manuscripts with dedications from the following monasteries, convents and friaries: of Canons and Canonesses Regular of

STRESZCZENIE

Muzyczne podarunki. Dedykacje w śląskich rękopisach muzycznych o klasztornej proweniencji

W Gabinecie Zbiorów Muzycznych BUW znajdują się rękopisy muzyczne, pochodzące ze śląskich klasztorów. Wśród nich szczególnie interesujące są rękopisy dedykacyjne, pochodzące z następujących klasztorów: kanoników i kanoniczek regularnych św. Augustyna na Wyspie

St. Augustine on Piasek Isle (Sandinsel) in Wrocław (Breslau); of the Poor Clares and Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Wrocław; of the Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica (Trebnitz), and of the Franciscans in Głogów (Glogau). These dedications provide otherwise unknown types of information, such as the names of prioresses and nuns at the Convent of Canonesses Regular (Marien-Closter auf dem Sande), as well as facts of special importance to an understanding of the musical culture of this convent, such as the participation of nuns in the convent ensemble as instrumentalists and singers. An analysis of music sources demonstrates that the dedications have many features in common with the phenomenon of music patronage. The manuscripts are addressed to superiors; they testify to the habit of composers themselves offering their music; they reveal the circumstances of the dedication, as well as characteristic customs. The manuscripts also shed light on the network of interrelations between the religious houses and other centres of sacred music.

KEYWORDS dedications, Silesia, monasteries, eighteenth-century music, musical practice

Piaskowej we Wrocławiu, klarysek oraz krzyżowców z czerwoną gwiazdą we Wrocławiu, cysterek w Trzebnicy i franciszkanów w Głogowie. Ujawniają one istotne, nieznane bliżej wiadomości, np. imiona przeorysz i zakonnic z klasztoru kanoniczek regularnych, a także fakty szczególnie ważne dla poznania kultury muzycznej tego klasztoru, takie jak udział zakonnic w grze instrumentalnej i śpiewie w klasztornej kapeli. Analiza źródeł muzycznych ujawnia także zbieżność dedykacji ze zjawiskiem patronatu muzycznego: dedykowanie rękopisów przełożonym, zwyczaj ofiarowywania muzyki przez kompozytorów; odsłania okoliczności dedykacji i charakterystyczne zwyczaje. Dedykacje ukazują także klasztory w sieci powiązań z innymi ośrodkami muzyki religijnej.

słowa kluczowe dedykacje, Śląsk, klasztory, muzyka XVIII wieku, praktyka muzyczna