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The life and work of Father Damian Stachowicz¹

I.

1. The first years of the Piarists' presence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The Piarists' order, which Father Damian belonged to, was founded in Rome in 1621² by a Spanish priest Josê de Calasanz. Since its foundation the congregation's aim has been to teach, with the inclusion of musical education, following their motto "pietas et litterae". Instructing boys, regardless of their background and denomination, and competing in this way with the Jesuit schools, the Brothers lived in constant peril of persecution in the atmosphere of the

¹ This paper has been based on excerpts from my MA thesis on the life and work of Father Damian Stachowicz, supervised by Professor Zygmunt M. Szweykowski at the Institute of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. The thesis was defended in 2007 and later published in Polish under the title *Pietas & Musica. Damian Stachowicz SchP – życie i twórczość* (Kraków, 2009). The author wishes to express his gratitude to Aleksandra Patalas from the Institute of Musicology in Kraków, for her invaluable help with organising the research and preparing the text.

² Hanna SAMSONOWICZ "Pierwsze konwenty pijarów w Polsce (1633–1648). Warszawa, Klimontów, Podoliniec" ["The first Piarist Houses in Poland (1633–1648). Warszawa, Klimontów, Podoliniec"], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki [History of Art Journal*] 1–2, 1990: 89.

post-Tridentine Counter-Reformation movement.³ They were accused of defying the acts of papal congregation and in 1646 Pope Innocent X dissolved the religious order, only for the decision to be revoked two years later by Pope Alexander VIII.

It was Jerzy Ossoliński who as early as 1633 made the first efforts to bring the brotherhood to Poland. He was supported by king Władysław IV who proposed a location for their premises in Warsaw, where the first Brothers arrived in 1642.⁴ In the same year the provincial governor of Kraków, Stanisław Lubomirski, also succeeded in bringing the Piarists to Podolinec in the Spiš. It is worth remarking on the implicit political role the order played in the land of Poland, as they provided a safe counterbalance for the Jesuits who were disfavoured by the king and some nobles. Both the Protestant circles and the Catholics who opted for a more national form of church feared the Society of Jesus. The impact of Jesuits on the country affairs was not insignificant; during the reign of Sigismund III they maintained a close relationship with the royal court. In the coming years after establishing the Warsaw House other order quarters were open in Kraków (1654) and in Rzeszów (1655),⁵ where Stachowicz was schooled.

2. Biographical data

The research on the work of Father Damian allowed for studying many sources of material that have not been previously used by the Polish musicologists. The information included casts a new light on the life of the composer, currently viewed quite differently.

The Polish province of the Piarist order, established in the second half of

³ The universal access to education and the emphasis put on teaching music in the Piarist schools resembles the ideas previously promoted by Martin Luther. The Jesuits' stance on that was initially opposite, as they proscribed music in church and school. Compare: Eva BADURA-SKODA "On the History of Musical Instruction in the Austrian Baroque", in: *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice*. Stuyvesant 1994: 131–132, 137.

⁴ Hanna Samsonowicz (1990: 92).

⁵ Józef ŚwIEBODA "Pijarski ośrodek muzyczny w Rzeszowie XVII i XVIII wieku" ["The Piarist music centre in Rzeszów in the 17th and 18th century"], in: *Wkład pijarów do nauki i kultury w Polsce XVII-XIX w.* [*The Piarists' contribution to learning and culture in Poland of the* 17–19th centuries], Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA (ed.). Warszawa, 1993: 356.

the 17th century,⁶ had frequent contact with the authorities of the order in Italy. Their correspondence referred to issues connected with founding new congregation houses.⁷ Post-inspection documents, official personal records and small censuses were produced next to short obituaries, all of which were sent to Rome. They present a valuable source of information about the composer. Other copies of those documents, which should be filed in the Piarists' Archive in Kraków, were lost at the time of the partitions, thus the Polish authors did not have access to them.⁸ Numerous comments on Damian Stachowicz found in the Roman Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie (AGSP) provide a wider perspective on his life.⁹ Stachowicz's name can be found in the order censuses for the Polish Province of the years 1679–1698:

- Syllabus Religiosorum [...] Prov. Polonae [...] Anno Domini 1679 men. Aug.
- Anno Domini 1681 Familia Provinciae Polonae [...] Domo Varsaviensi [...]
- Familia Provinciae Nostrae [...] Anno Domini 1682 [...]
- Catalogus Generalis Scholarum Piarum. Provinciae Polonae. [1683]
- Religiosi della Provincia di Polonia [...] 1685
- Familia Provinciae Polonae. Familia Domus Varsaviensis. [1689]
- Familia Provinciae Polonae Scholarum Piarum [...]
- Familia Provinciae Polonae. [...] Domus Loviciensis. [1698]¹⁰

⁷ Famous is a dispute over the college in Rzeszów, which can be confirmed with a letter of a son of the founder of the house in Podolinec, Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, addressed to the pope. Not having had a positive reply, Hieronim Lubomirski went to a private audience with Clement IX. The meeting resulted in the bull (issued on 20 March 1668) allowing the Piarists to assume Zofia Pudencjanna Foundation, at first aimed to help nuns from the Franciscan 3rd order de Poenitentia (Bernardine Franciscan Sisters). At the same time the document became the foundation act of Rzeszów college; compare with Józef Świeboda "Collegium Lubomirscianum (1658–1786)", *Studia Pijarskie [Piarist Studies]* 1, 1985: 47–50.

⁸ Józef Świeboda is one of the Polish authors who quoted the collection of Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie, however, he focused mainly on the history of the congregation and the improvement of education in Poland, not on the biographical data concerning the musicians of the order.

 $^{9}\,$ I would like to thank Brother Michał Wilk SchP for his invaluable assistance and help with gaining access to the AGSP collection.

⁶ The Polish province became independent in 1662. Earlier on it belonged to the Polish-German and the Polish-Hungarian provinces; compare with Józef Świeboda (1993: 356).

¹⁰ AGSP, Reg. Prov. 56a/6.

The registers usually take the form of lists that include the friars who lived in a house and their functions. Some of them (from 1683, 1685 and 1698) had the tabular form. They contain more specific information, e.g. the secular name, date of birth, descent, the date of assuming the religious habit, as well as the date of ordination.

The second group of source materials covers the registers of the monastic houses in Łowicz and Podolinec, which are now kept in the Piarist Archives in Budapest and Kraków:

- Archivi Domus Nostrae Podolinensis Liber II¹¹
- Liber I Archivi Domus Nostrae Loviciensis 1691–1804¹²
- Liber suffragiorum Łovicensis 1680–1780¹³
- Album Studiosorum in Col. Lovic. 1680–1721¹⁴

A modern catalogue published by the archive of the Hungarian Piarists' Province in Budapest substantially supplements the source information.¹⁵ The catalogue is compiled from the notes taken in different monastic houses of the order, which we could not reach directly.

In Syllabus Religiosorum [...] Prov. Polonae [...] Anno Domini 1679 men. Aug. the composer is listed on the register as "cle.[ricus] pr.[ofessus]", under the rubric "officium", his position defined as the grammar teacher ("doc. gram."), while under the rubric specified as "talentum" it was written "human. et music. instr.". The document of 1679 does not indicate the place of stay of Brother Damian, whereas the next one, of 1681 enumerates Stachowicz among the residents of the Warsaw House, as a student of the class in Philosophy: "Fr. Damianus a Ssma Trinitate, Studiosus Philosophiae".

A short explanation on the system of Piarist education may prove indispensible now. It was initially modelled on the Jesuit system. The fundamental level comprised three classes of *legentium*, usually combined into one, called *parva*, aimed at teaching the tenets of faith, reading and writing, as well as

¹¹ Magyar Piarista Rendtartomány Központi Levéltára [Central Archives of the Hungarian Province of the Piarist Order], Budapest (MPRKL).

¹² Archiwum OO. Pijarów [The Piarist Archive], Kraków.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Catalogus religiosorum Provinciae Hungariae Ordinis Scholarum Piarum 1666-1997, Andreas KOLTAI (ed.), Budapest 1998.

rudimentary arithmetic.¹⁶ The second level of education, Gymnasium, consisted of several classes covering various subjects such as 1) *infima*, 2) *gramatica*, 3) *syntaxa*, 4) *poetica*, 5) *rhetorica*.¹⁷ The final stage came with the studying the field of philosophy and theology.¹⁸ Each class had one teacher referred to as *magister*, or *professor* in the case of rhetoric and philosophy. Therefore, "Studiosus Philosophiae", as Stachowicz was described, means that he was a student of the classes in philosophy, whereas "doc. gram." suggests that he acted as a teacher of the second class of the middle school.

The monastic census of 1682 adds the following information about Brother Damian's music duties: "Fr. Damianus a Ssma Trinitate, Mgr Chori et Musices; Aud. Philosophiae". This is also a source from which we find out about other residents of the Warsaw House. At that time seventeen Fathers and ten Brothers lived there, including seven clerics (among them Brother Damian), two lay brethren and one novice. Thus, it was the second biggest Piarists' house in Poland, after the Podolinec residence.

The most voluminous register, *Catalogus Generalis Scholarum Piarum Provinciae Polonae*, dates back to 1683.¹⁹ It contains (cf. Table 1) the following information:

no.	rubric	entry
1.	Nomen in Religione:	Damianus à SS. Trinitate
2.	Nomen et Cognomen in saeculo:	Joannes Stachowicz
3.	Natio:	Polonus
4.	Patria:	Sokołów

Table 1. Abstract of Catalogus Generalis Scholarum Piarum. Provinciae Polonae (1683)

¹⁶ Józef DŁUGOSZ "Uczniowie kolegium pijarskiego w Podolińcu w latach 1643–1670" ["Students of the Piarist College in Podolinec in the years 1643–1670"], *Rocznik Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich* [Yearbook of the national Ossolińscy printhouse] 7, 1972: 249–252.

¹⁹ The Roman documents often bear two or three dates — the original and later ones, most probably added in the 18th century when an attempt was made to put the materials in order. So far the document dating concerning the Polish province has not been verified. A similar procedure undertaken for the materials from the Italian province confirmed the authenticity of the original (earlier) entries. There are two dates in the catalogue under discussion: 1683 and 1686. Since the registered events end with the year 1682, and no mention is made of Stachowicz's ordination, which took place on 21 December 1685 (see below), we accept the previous date (1683) as the authentic one.

¹⁷ Józef Świeboda (1985: 56).

¹⁸ Ladislav KAČIC "Hudba a hudobníci piaristického kláštora v Podolínci v 17. a 18. storočí", *Musicologica Slovaca et Europaea*, vol. 19, Ladislav KAČIC (ed.). Bratislava 1994: 82.

5.	Dioecesi:	Przemyśl
6.	Annus, Dies, Mens. Nativitatis:	1658 23 Junii
7.	Induto habitu [] à Patre:	Augustino à S. Jo: Bapt.
8.	Ubi:	Ressoviae
9.	Anno, Die, Mense:	1675 9 Junii
10.	Vota emisit in manu Patris:	Joseph à Matre Dei
11.	Ubi, Anno, Die, Mense:	Podolinii 1676 9 Junii
12.	Stato:	Clericus
13.	Sacerdotio initiatio per Rndmum	-
14.	Ubi, Anno, die, Mense	-

The above data shows that before he entered the monastery, the composer had been called Jan Stachowicz. The monastic name he assumed was Damianus à SS. Trinitate. He received the religious habit at the age of seventeen in Rzeszów, and a year later he professed in Podolinec.²⁰ The last two rubrics referring to the ordination are left blank. The records concerning the stay of Father Damian in the Podolinec House are of vital importance. The lists of music from that monastery contain many of his compositions.²¹ Inventories that have been preserved from that period also instruct us about the kind of compositions he could have been acquainted with. The musical collection of the monastery in Podolinec contained a large number of works by Polish, Italian, Czech and German composers (such as S. Capricornus, M. Cazzati, C. Grossi, M. Mielczewski, A.V. Michna, C. Monteverdi, G. A. Rigatti, G. Rovetta, J. Różycki).²²

A catalogue of similar size was made in 1685 (*Religiosi della Provincia di Polonia* [...] *1685*). To a considerable degree, its content echoes the one of the previous register (see Table 2). It must have been concluded before the 21st of December of the same year, as the information about ordaining Stachowicz to the priesthood had not been recorded (read below). The rubric referring to the composer's health was left empty, which means that the symptoms of consumption, which proved deadly, had not developed yet.

²⁰ At that time Podolinec and Prievidza belonged to the Polish province.

²¹ Aleksandra PATALAS "Polonica w inwentarzach słowackich z lat 1581–1781" ["Records and documents relating to Poland in the Slovak inventories of 1581–1781"], *Muzyka* 2, 2002, pass.

²² Jana KALINAYOVÁ *Hudobné inventáre a repertoár viachlasnej hudby na Slovensku v 16–17. storoči.* Bratislava 1994, pass.

no.	rubric	entry
1.	Nomen et Cognomen in Religione:	Damianus à SS. Trinitate
2.	In saeculo:	Joannes Stachowicz
3.	Patria:	Sokołow.
4.	Dioecesis:	Praemysl.
5.	Annus et Dies Nativitatis:	1658, 23 Junii
6.	Ubi vestitus:	Ressoviae
7.	A quo:	Augustino à S. Jo: Bapt.
8.	Anno, die, mense:	1675, 9 Junii
9.	Cui professus:	Josephi à Matre Dei
10.	Ubi et quando:	Podolinii, 1676 9 Junii
11.	A quo ordinatus:	Clericus
12.	Ubi et quando:	-
13.	Scientia:	-
14.	Aptitudo:	-
15.	Valetudo:	-
16.	Mores:	-

Table 2. Abstract of Religiosi della Provincia di Polonia [...] 1685

The last entry that mentioned Stachowicz among the inhabitants of the Warsaw House comes from the monastic census of 1689 or 1690. We can read in it: "P. Damianus à SS^{ma} Trinitate, Professor Rhet: Confes. Praes.[?] Orat. Maj." It means that he taught rhetoric subjects (the fifth grade of the Gymnasium) and was a confessor. It was the first Roman source that counted the composer among the Fathers.

Since 1691 Stachowicz had been living in Łowicz. In *Liber I Archivi Domus Nostrae Loviciensis 1691–1804*²³ there is a note in the rubric "Adventus, & recessus Nostrorum, de Familia" which was made that year: "Die 19na [Augusti] venit in hanc Domum P. Damianus à SSma Trinitate." Browsing through the census of monks (*Familia Domus In annos Singulos Distributa*), which is a part of the same book, we may follow the functions that Father Damian performed. In 1692 he was called "Mgr Rhetorices, Conf:, Praefectus chori"; as the prefect of the choir he replaced Brother Kacper of St. Andrew, who was relocated to

²³ The Piarist Archive, Kraków.

Warsaw on 22 July 1691.²⁴ Later entries do not contain information about music duties. In the notes of 1696 and 1697 (lack of entries for the years 1694 and 1695) he was mentioned as the prefect of the school and a confessor in the collegiate church. In 1698 (25 August) the current deputy principal left Łowicz²⁵ and Father Damian replaced him. He held the position of deputy principal and prefect till he died. The above information can be supplemented with a list of teachers and students of the college in Łowicz (Album Studiosorum in Col. Lovic. 1680-1721). The document confirms that in the years 1691–94 Father Damian taught the class in rhetorics.²⁶ Interestingly, in the years 1694/95 and 1695/9627 we cannot trace the name of Stachowicz, whose responsibilities were assumed by Father Hiacynt of St. Dominic. It is not until 1696/1697 that the composer's name reappeared in the catalogue as "Prefectus Scholarum et Theologiae Moralis Professor". Only this source mentioned him as a theology teacher. What is intriguing is that both of the discussed books of Łowicz provenance had the entries for the years 1694-1695 distorted. It is unknown what the composer was doing at that time: he could have departed for another place; his health could have deteriorated.

The last document of the Roman archives that contains information about Stachowicz is the register entitled *Familia Provinciae Polonae Scholarum Pia-rum* [...]. It consists of two parts: the so-called general catalogue which lists facts about members of this religious community (see Table 3), and a record of houses.²⁸ This source solely mentions the date of ordaining Brother Damian

²⁷ Classes were run from the first day of September till the end of July.

²⁴ In *Liber I Archivi Domus Nostrae Loviciensis 1691–1804*, part "Recessus Nostrorum de Familia ab Anno 1691" we read: "Die 22 Augusti discesserunt ex hac Domo [...] F. Gaspar a Sto Andrea Varsaviam", The Piarist Archive, Kraków.

²⁵ Ibid.: "Die 25. Augusti Anni ejusdem [1698] P. Alexius à Visitatione B. V. Mariae Vice Rector discessit ex hac Domo."

²⁶ There is an inconsistent inscription in the catalogue. Namely, for the years 1691–1693 the names of teachers were first placed on the page initiating a year, and then at the beginning of the lists of students of each class. On the introductory page for the year 1691/92 we can observe some crossings-out and attempted corrections, whereas the name of the composer is ascribed to an incorrect subject ("Professor Rhetorices" crossed out and added "Philosophiae" in different handwriting), the right subject appears only on the list of students.

²⁸ The title of the catalogue contains a nearly imperceptible date 1695, whereas the second one, 1698, must have been added later. It is clear that the two documents were not prepared at one time since they contain contradictory information. According to the general catalogue Father Damian was a confessor, whereas the position of deputy principal was held by Alexius à Visitatione B.V.M. The register of houses, in turn, names Stachowicz as the deputy principal

to the priesthood by the bishop Mikołaj Popławski ("Nicolau Ep. Livoniae") in Warsaw on 21 December 1685. Interestingly, we find here different, most probably incorrect, dates for Stachowicz's birth and taking the habit. In the second part of the document the composer was named as the deputy principal and prefect of the school.

no.	rubric	entry	
1.	Nomen:	Damianus à SS. Trinitate	
2.	Patria:	Sokolow.	
3.	Dioecesis:	Praemisl.	
4.	Quando natus:	1659, 23 Jun.	
5.	Suscep. habit. de manu Patris:	August. à S. Jo: Bapt.	
6.	Ubi:	Resov.	
7.	Quando:	1675, 19 Mar.	
8.	Profess. in manu Patris:	Josephi à Mre. Dei	
9.	Ubi:	Podol.	
10.	Quando:	1676, 9 Jun.	
11.	Stati:	Cler.	
12.	Ordinatus in sacerdotem per:	Nicolau Ep. Livoniae	
13.	Ubi:	Varsav.	
14.	Quando:	1685, 21 Dec.	
15.	Officium:	Poenitent. Lovic.	
16.	Mores:	mediocr. [barely legible]	

 Table 3. Abstract of Familia Provinciae Polonae Scholarum Piarum [...]

In addition, the collection of Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie in Rome includes the act of the first religious profession signed *manu propria* by Sta-chowicz (see Example 1):

Ego Damianus a Ss: Trinitate, in saeculo Ioannes Stachowicz, Patria | Sokołoviensis, Dioecesis Praemiisliensis, Annorum 19. Facio meam Pro | feßionem solennem in Re-

and the prefect of the school. Therefore, it must have been created after 25 August 1698. As for the dating of the catalogue, we assume it was surely made when Father Alexius stayed in Łowicz between 7 October 1696 (in *Liber I Archivi Domus Nostrae Loviciensis 1691–1804* in the rubric "Adventus, & recessus Nostrorum, de Familia" we find the entry: "Die 7 Octobris [1696] venit P[ate]r Alexius à Visitatione B. V. M. [...] Cracovia, huic domus Vice Rector") and his departure on 25 August 1698 (see footnote no. 25). Thus, the earlier date (1695) should be dismissed.

ligione Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum, et | Voveo Omnipotenti Deo Patri, Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, ac Deiparae Virgini | Semper Mariae, et tibi Rndo Patri Josepho, à Matre Dei, locum Dei | tenenti, pro Adm Rndo Patre Nostro Generali Josepho, à Visitatione B.V.M. | et omnibus Succeßoribus eius legitime eligendis, Paupertatem, Castitatem | et Obedientiam, et iuxta eam peculiarem curam, circa Puerorum Erudi: | :tionem, secundum Formam Brevis Pauli Quinti in Nostris Constitutionibus | contentam. Quam Professionem et Vota, quibuscumque in contrarium exi: | :stentibus, quibus nunc libere, et integre renuncio non obstantibus, firma, | rata, et Valida semper fore, et eße Volo. In quorum fidem his per | me exaratis subscripsi. Podolinii hic die 9. Junii. Anno 1676. | In super promitto me numquam acturum, ne curaturum, ne indire: | :cte quidem, ut in aliquam Praelationem vel Dignitatem in | Religione eligar, seu promovear. | Promitto etiam, me numquam curaturum extra Religionem Dignita: | :tem, aliquam, seu Praelationem, nec consensurum nisi coactus | Sim obedientia eius, qui mihi praecipere potest sub ponea peccati. | Tum si quem sciam aliquid praedictorum duorum curare, vel prae: | tendere, promitto illum, remque totam manifestaturum Religioni, | Seu eius Generali Praeposito. | Vota mea Domino reddam coram omni Populo eius, | in atriis Domus Domini in medio tui Hierusalem. | Ego Damianus a Ss^{ma} Trinitate manu propria haec omnia suprascripta confirmo.²⁹

²⁹ "I, Damian of the Most Holy Trinity, of the secular name Jan Stachowicz, born in Sokołów in the diocese of Przemyśl, age 19, solemnly profess in the Order of Poor [Clerics Regular of the] Mother of God of the Pious Schools and make vows to the Almighty God, Son and Holy Spirit, as well as to the Mother of God, Virgin Mary and to you, honourable Father Joseph of Mother of God, representative of God's majesty, our Most Esteemed Father General, Joseph of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and all his rightful successors. I take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and on this basis I undertake to care for the upbringing of the youth under the Breve formula of Paul V as included in our Code. I hold this profession and vows, against any adversities which I now freely and entirely renounce, permanent, lawful and eternally binding, which is the manner in which I wish to [accomplish] them. So trusting, the document produced by myself I hereby sign. Podolinec, 9th June 1676.

Furthermore, I pledge to never seek or make efforts, even in indirect form, to be elected or promoted to any position or office within the order. I also vow not to seek any office beyond the order, nor accept it, unless urged by the observance of those who may impose it under threat of sin. Moreover, were I to know of anyone who seeks such office or makes effort to achieve it, I swear I would disclose the venture to the General Superior. I shall keep my vows to the Lord before all His people in the courts of the Lord, amidst Your Jerusalem.

I, Damian of the Most Holy Trinity guarantee all that has been aforementioned with my signature."

9 Juni 1656 Posting go Damianus a St. Ruinte in selato Grannes Stachown Volo Towiensis, Dideeses Interightensis Annorum 29. Pairo Fersionen John men in Religione Sa uperun Matiis Dor Scholar S et Jpinto por Maril es Ph Broo Jat Josephs à Make De "Enclub" por Min Rado Live Storte Cenenti Josepho a Michada et Ommines Successioner eins lightime chyendis, Saupertaken Ober inham et insta end peuliaren aran, Ena Suen tionen seundum Forman Brouis Lauli Suint, in Mosting Profitationity contentam, Quan Dooppionen & Pota quitusung in centranium eti : steatifue, quibus nune litere, er in segre Prenun io non obstantitus fima rate, it Valida semper fore, & efe Mole. In guor Frem he me exarchis subscript: Downing have die g. Juny. Amer abore. nouper pormits me nunger acheran, ne curcher ne radires Wen Ir in aliquan Portation en vel Dignitation in mitho cha me hunger turahorim carrieleligionen Signia: How aliquant sur Protosioneno, nec consensurus nier conches Vin Bodientia eus we poset sat plan peccat: i mibr on Quond aware wel po tender promito illa Pa eius Generali Gra m coram Omai Lopulo eius, in medio his Fienfalen. upratingota and one

Example 1. Religious Profession by Father Damian Stachowicz

The act of profession written by Stachowicz himself presents essential value as it helps to establish that the preserved compositions are merely copies, not the autographs. It also opens the way to search for Father Damian's manuscripts among the compositions that were granted anonymously.

The aforementioned catalogue issued by the archive of the Hungarian province of the Piarists in Budapest provides further data on Damian Stachowicz. Admittedly, it does not contain the name "Stachowicz"; instead of it a "Stadunicz" name was filed.³⁰ Having compared the remaining informa-

³⁰ Andreas Koltai (ed.) (1998: 350-351).

tion ("Damianus a S. Trinitate (Ioannes), n[atalis] 1658 ca. Sokolicensis [...] m[ors] 1699.11.27 Loviczi...") there is no doubt that the name of the composer put in the manuscript was erroneously decoded (both versions are much alike in handwriting). The catalogue compiled notes taken in various houses of the order. According to the authors Stachowicz (vel Stadunicz) was registered in the books made in Podolinec between 1674(?) and 1676 as "cler. prof." (additionally, in 1677 there was included a praising comment: "rhetoricam et poes. im egregie docuit, musicus perfectissimus"), as well as in those from Prievidza of 1678 as "stud. phil.". The most pertinent for this discussion is the last information as it shows that he also resided in the second monastery in the region of today's Slovakia where the inventories listing his compositions originate from.³¹ It proved impossible to establish why the authors quote the notes taken in 1674 (that is a year before Stachowicz entered the monastic order), even though earlier on they stated the correct date of taking the habit by Brother Damian (1675). It might be due to another mistake made while deciphering the source material. However, the obituary quoted below has it that the composer had spent twenty five years in the congregation. If the number is accurate, it also points to the year 1674 as the date of his entering the order. It seems that the puzzle can be solved with the notes in the book of arrivals and departures of the house in Podolinec. The first date Stachowicz's name appears there is 1675 ("Die 9. Augusti venit in hanc domum Ressoviâ, ibidem indutus pro Cler. Novitius Fr. Damianus à Sanctissima Trinitate"32). Thus, in view of the presented records it is the year 1675 that should be considered a definite date of his arrival in Podolinec.

To reiterate, Jan Stachowicz was born on the 23rd June 1658 in Sokołów, in the diocese of Przemyśl. At the age of seventeen he entered the monastic order of the Piarists in Rzeszów and took on the name Damian of the Most Holy Trinity. On 9 June 1675 he received the religious habit, and as early as 6 August of the same year he arrived at Podolinec, where he stayed until 1677 teaching the classes in poetry and rhetoric, as well as performing musical tasks. Since 1678 he had resided in the monastery in Prievidza, and studied philosophy and theology. Most probably he was still occupied with music (which we can surmise on the basis of a large number of compositions mentioned in the

³¹ Aleksandra PATALAS (2002, pass.).

³² Archivi Domus Nostrae Podolinensis Liber II, MPRKL, Budapest.

music inventory of that place). In the years 1681–1690 he worked in Warsaw where on 21 December 1685 he was ordained to the priesthood. He was counted among philosophy students (till 1682). We may also find more detailed information about his musical responsibilities ("mgr chori et Musices"), which included education of the youth.³³ Since 1691 until his death Stachowicz had dwelled in Łowicz and his duties were to conduct the choir, to teach rhetoric and theology, to head the school (at least since 1696) and finally to be the deputy rector of the college (since 1698).

The account of the funeral of the first rector of the college in Łowicz, Wojciech Siewierkiewicz (died on 14 September 1693) provides a short comment on the performance of Stachowicz's *Missa Requiem*:

[...] Addidit etiam huic funebri actui emphasim non postremam P. Damianus a SS^a Trinitate protunc Magister Capellae Lovicensis, qui composito funebrali sacro, Requiem dicto, tubis tremendum sonantibus ita distinxit, ut aliqua species Iudicii futuri videretur, maxime in Dies irrae, dies illa &c., quae omnia ad maiorem dolorem et lachrymas provocabant.³⁴

Father Damian Stachowicz died in Łowicz on 27 November 1699. *Liber suf-fragiorum Loviciensis* includes the following comment:

Absoluta sunt consueta Suffragia [...] pro anima Patris Damiani a SSma Trinitate Sacerdotis Professi Poloni Dioecesis Praemisliensis, Patria Sokołowiensis in hac Domo Defuncti, qui Rhetoricae et Poëseos facultatibus egregie instructus, easdem annis facile duodecim (praeter aliarum inferiorum scholarum ministeria graviter administrata) in Scholis professus: insuper in arte musica perfectissimus, et in toto hoc Regno Poloniae compositor gloriosissimus, et celebratissimus habitus, diuturna phtysi paulatim labefactus e vivis decerptus; morum comitatis, et Religiosae modestiae tenacissimus; actualis Collegii Łowiciensis Vice Rector [...] obdormivit in Domino hic

³³ In 'Hudba a hudobníci...', 1994: 83, Ladislav KAčic points out that in the Piarist sources the position of "praefectus musices", "praefectus chori", "director chori" etc. was distinct from the pedagogical function "magister musicae" or "institutor musicae" usually performed by the teachers of other subjects.

³⁴ "The funeral ceremony fairly grew in meaning as Father Damian of the Most Holy Trinity, then a conductor of the group of musicians in Łowicz, performed his mass of the dead, called *Requiem*. Engaging brass instruments he nearly brought the vision of the future judgement, especially in *Dies irae, dies illa*, which intensified the pain and weeping", *Liber suffragiorum Loviciensis*, The Piarists' Archive, Kraków. [If not marked otherwise, all the foreign texts were translated into Polish by the author of the paper and as such rendered into English by the translator.]

Łovicii 27. Novembris feria 6ta, hora nona demane. Anno Domini 1699, et suae aetatis annorum 41. Religionis 25.³⁵

The composer's high rank in the congregation can be verified with the data included in the monastic registers produced many years after his death. In the work *Vita et scripta quorundam e Congregatione Cler. Reg. Scholarum Piarum in Provincia Polona professorum* by Szymon Bielski (Warsaw 1812) we read that

Damianus Stachowicz a S. Fr.³⁶ patria Sokołów, Dioecesis Premisliensis, anno 1658 natus, praeter inferiores classes Poesim et Rhetoricam duodecim annis naviter docuit. In arte Musicae perfectus et celebris compositor, laudes Dei gravi et modulante sono in templo decabant; comitate morum ac modestia omnibus charus, vivere desiit Łovicii die 27 Novembris 1699. Vixit annis 41, in Congregatione 25. Edidit: »Orationes«, »Odas« et »Elegias in laudem Andreae Santacrotii«, Archiepiscopi Seleuciae, Nuntii Apostolici ad Regem Remquepublicam Polonam, in annuo Indigetis illius recursu, per studiosam Rhetorices Iuventutem recitatas, in fol. typis Varsav. 1690.³⁷

³⁶ Szymon BIELSKI in his book *Vita et scripta quorundam e Congregatione Cler. Reg. Scholarum Piarum in Provincia Polona professorum* (Warsaw 1812), calls Damian "Damianus Stachowicz a S. Fr.", which most probably resulted from a printing flaw: 'Fr.' instead of 'Tr.' (Trinitate). Compare the explanation in: Jan BUBA and Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI "Kultura muzyczna u pijarów w XVII i XVIII wieku" ["The Piarists' Music Culture in the 17th and 118th century"], *Muzyka* 2, 1965: 17.

³⁷ "Damian Stachowicz of the Holy Fr. [instead of Tr. – compare the previous footnote], homeland Sokołów, born in 1658, apart from junior classes taught poetics and rhetoric diligently for twelve years. Expert in the art of music, acclaimed composer, extolled the glory of God in church with dignified and melodious sound; dear to everyone due to his kind nature and modesty, deceased in Łowicz on the 27th November 1699. He had lived for forty-one years, out of which twenty-five in the congregation. Among his published works were orations, odes, and elegies in honour of Andrea Santa Corce, the archbishop of Seleucia, the Apostolic Nuncio before the king and the Commonwealth, performed during his yearly visit, recited by the young students of rhetoric; in folio, Warsaw print: 1690." The Latin quotation as in: Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI "Sylwetka kompozytorska: Damian Stachowicz (1658–1699)" ["A profile of a composer: Damian Stachowicz ..."], *Muzyka* 1, 1962: 15. A similar text, how-

³⁵ "Regular prayers [...] were offered for the soul of Father Damian of the Most Holy Trinity, a professed member of the brotherhood, Polish, born in Sokołów in the diocese of Przemśl, died in this house, excellently schooled in rhetoric and poetics. He had taught in schools (properly fulfilling his duty of a teacher in junior classes) for the full period of twelve years. Above that he was highly adept in the art of music, famous in the entire Kingdom of Poland, a composer given great recognition. The consumption he had suffered for many years degenerated and took him out from the living. The kindness of his manners and his monastic humbleness were impeccable. The current deputy principal of Łowicz college [...] passed away on Friday, the 27th November AD 1699 at nine in the morning, having lived for forty-one years, out of which twenty-five he had spent in the congregation."

3. The Piarist music culture and education in the days of Stachowicz

According to the research done by Józef Świeboda, Rzeszów was a significant centre of education of the Piarists, the only one with regular music teaching.38 It is worth pointing out that only after a two-month stay in Rzeszów, Stachowicz was sent to Podolinec, where he became responsible for teaching the senior classes of the Gymnasium. Thus, it can be inferred that he had attended the school in Rzeszów before he joined the congregation. It seems very plausible as those were mainly the graduates of the college who were admitted as novices to the order.³⁹ The hypothesis can be supported with the fact that Rzeszów had the only Piarist teachers' college (called Profesorium) in Poland of the 17th century.⁴⁰ If we assume that following the steps of the educational ladder leading to becoming a teacher would take a talented student about six years,⁴¹ we may suppose that Stachowicz had been studying at the Rzeszów college since around 1669. Most probably, the centre offered teaching at a very high level, as it was constituted by both the Warsaw Piarists (who took shelter in the demesne of Lubomirski after their seat had been burnt by the Swedes in 1655) and part of the staff of the college in Podolinec invited in 1658 with a group of students from Spiš.⁴² For some time the post of the head of the two schools in Rzeszów and Podolinec had been held by rector Giovanni Domenico Franchi from Podolinec, since 1662 the superior of the sovereign province

³⁹ Józef Świeboda (1993: 358).

ever, with an incorrect date of the composer's birthday, is included in *Index bio-bibliographicus* [...] *Scholarum Piarum* (Rome: 1908): "Damianus Stachowicz a SS. Trinitate Polonus, Natus Socoloviae anno 1657; Ingressus in Religionem 9 Iun. 1675; Mortuus Lovicii 27 Nov. 1699. Hic Vir Rhetorica, Poësi et Musica plurimum valuit, earumque magisterio celebris, morum religiositate, praesertim comitate ac modestia praecelluit. Edidit: »Orationes«, »Odas« et »Elegias in laudem Andreae Santacrotii«, Archi-Episc. Seleuciae, Nuntii Aplici. ad Regem Remque Publicam Polonam in annuo Indigetis illius recursu, per studiosam Rhetorices Iuventutem recitatas; in fol. typ. Varsav. 1690" ["Damian Stachowicz of the Most Holy Trinity, Polish, born in Sokołów in 1657, entered the order on the 9th June 1675; died in Łowicz on 27 November 1699. Most outstanding in rhetoric, poetry and music, he also excellently taught those subjects. Pious in manner, he stood out as kind and humble. His published works included orations, odes, and elegies in honour of Andrea Santa Croce, the archbishop of Seleucia, the Apostolic Nuncio before the king and the Republic of Poland, recited during his yearly visit by the young students of rhetoric; in folio, Warsaw print: 1690"].

³⁸ Józef Świeboda (1985: 55).

⁴⁰ Ibid.: 57.

⁴¹ See: Józef DŁugosz (1972: 251).

⁴² Józef Świeboda (1985: 47–49).

of Poland. The profile of the school was fashioned upon the Southern influence, which is indicated also by the multinational composition of the house in the 17th century (till 1661 Rzeszów belonged to the border Polish-German and then Polish-Hungarian province). We know the names of Fathers who taught music there in the 1660s and 1670s: Szymon Hasek from Podolinec (of the monastic name Szymon of St. Francis), Piotr Kasper (aka Gaspar), Niegoszowicz (Piotr of the Visitation) later to become rector of the Rzeszow House, Marcin Michał Bitner (Marcin of St. Gregory), Mateusz Woszczynowicz (Marcin of St. Chrysostom).⁴³ The local musical chapel was mentioned for the first time in 1682 and commented on as the long established one. Apart from adding splendour to services, the musicians adorned celebrations in the residence of Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski. It is known that there were stage performances held with accompanying music.⁴⁴ The musical and theatrical activities were a key element of education in schools ran by Piarists.

Judging from the preserved music inventories, the music culture in Podolinec and Prievidza was also of top quality. At the time of Stachowicz's stay at these monastic houses the prefect and later on the deputy head of the second one was Father Mikołaj Augustyn Hausenka of the Immaculate Conception, an outstanding Piarist of many talents, also musical.⁴⁵ In Prievidza he staged plays which he regularly wrote himself and created a form of musical-liturgical handbook *Cantionale rituale* published in print in Vienna in 1681.

The college in Podolinec was the most tenanted house in the Polish province, next to the Warsaw domicile (the monastic census of 1682 registered eight Brothers, three clerics and as many as nineteen novices). Located on the outskirts of the Commonwealth, in the period of political turmoil it became a safe haven for young people from Lviv, Jarosław, Przemyśl and other towns. Like in Rzeszów, the atmosphere of religious tolerance as well as the multinational community gathered there encouraged unrestrained exchange of ideas and contributed to increasing popularity of the school. Theatrical performances and passion plays were organised there too.⁴⁶ The collection of the National

⁴³ Józef Świeboda (1993: 362).

⁴⁴ Ibid.: 356-360.

⁴⁵ Ladislav KAČIC "Piaristi-hudobníci medzi Čechami, Moravou a Slovenskom v 17. a 18. storoči", *Slovenská hudba* 1, 2003: 7–8.

⁴⁶ Jan BUBA "Polskie misterium pasyjne na Spiszu w połowie XVII wieku" ["Polish passion plays in Spiš at the half of the 17th century"], *Pamiętnik Teatralny* [*Theatrical Memoire*], 1–2, 1976, pass.

Museum in Kraków contains a programme of an allegorical-laudatory play prepared by Father Francis of St. Wenceslaus and performed on 22 October 1668 in Podolinec, in honour of Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, the starost of Spiš, and his wife Zofia of the Opaliński family.⁴⁷ It consists of three acts preceded with a prologue, interspersed with intermedes and concluded with an epilogue. Each act contains four scenes and a final chorus. The role of music in the performance is not clear and thus requires further research. The subject seems captivating, since the Piarist college in Mikulov (Ger. Nikolsburg) in Moravia, where cardinal Dietrichstein started a foundation for musical purposes, organised musical-theatrical shows which took the form of operatic interludes.⁴⁸ Incidentally, a libretto of an operatic performance dedicated to the provincial superior was preserved from a slightly later period: Certamen inter Lucinam, Palladem, Mercurium & Jovem. Exortum Vocibus ac Instrumentis Institutum. Nomini & Honori Admodum Reverendi Patris Josephi a Jesu Maria [...], staged in Podolinec in 1738, written by Father Just Caspar à Desponsatione B.V.M.⁴⁹ It comprised *Symphonia*, choruses, recitatives, ariettas and arias.⁵⁰

The beginning of Stachowicz's stay in Warsaw coincides with the approximate date of the founding of the music chapel there. The dates can be established by looking at the time of the opening of the church owned by the congregation.⁵¹ The arrival of Father Damian could have been connected with organising the group of musicians. The first comments about it come from 1694: "Capellam Musicorum notabili sumptu foveant".⁵² The prime period of the ensemble came during the rule of the Saxons, when it was acclaimed as one of the top performing groups in the capital (in the second half of the 18th

⁴⁷ National Museum, Kraków, call number: Rkps 628/1.

⁴⁸ Jan Buba and Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (1965: 17).

⁴⁹ The work of Father Just Caspar merits a separate detailed discussion. This today unappreciated composer of Czech origin spent nearly his whole life in the Polish Piarist province, holding the function of prefect of music in Warsaw (compare with Jan BUBA and Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI, 1965: 22–23). One of the most acclaimed musicians of his time; a copious quantity of his compositions survived in many collections preserved in mideastern Europe. To name but a few, his works can be found in the Pauline Fathers' Archive in Częstochowa; in Diocesan Library in Sandomierz; in Štatny Oblastny Archív in Bratislava; in the collection of the Order of Cistercians in Mogiła; as well as the collection of the Jesuits from Święta Lipka.

⁵⁰ Ladislav Kačıc (1994: 94–95).

⁵¹ Jan Buba and Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (1965: 20).

⁵² Ibid.

century it was captured by Canaletto as one of the details in the painting *Plac Krasińskich* [Krasińscy Square]). Essential seems to be the fact that while in Warsaw the composer could listen to the royal musicians, which added splendour to services held in his presence in the collegiate church of St. John. He could also meet in person the royal chapel master Jacek Różycki.

Many years before the Piarists came to Łowicz, the driving force of the musical life there had been the primate's court. The patronage of archbishops from Gniezno allowed for the keeping of a top-grade ensemble, whereas vast external contacts provided the latest repertory from abroad. The work of Mikołaj Zieleński, the chapel master of primate Baranowski, presents irrefutable evidence for the high level of the ensemble and for the incorporation of the latest trends of the beginning of the 17th century. Thanks to plentiful primatial donations in the first half of the 17th century, mainly for the construction of the church's sepulchral chapel, as well as for singing the officium and memorial masses, music was also present in the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Among the sponsors were Jan Tarnowski, who formed a congregation of psalm-singing priests (about 1609) whose task was to sing the psalter in the hours free from service; Jan Weżyk (1635), Jan Lipski and Maciej Łubieński (1648). According to the data in the collegiate files, the last donation also covered the rendition of cantus figuralis with the accompaniment of organ. In 1467 the foundation of archbishop Jan Gruszczyński gave rise to collegium vicariorum, which usually comprised thirteen priests (the number altered according to the economic situation) called mansioners. Their main responsibility was to provide a musical service in the collegiate church, including singing daily Mass to the Virgin Mary, known as the "matutina" or "matura".⁵³ The accounts from the second half of the 17th century show that apart from singing Mass and officium some members of collegium performed other functions, for example, as instrumentalists they were part of the collegiate orchestra. In 1626 primate Henryk Firlej provided means for building the church of St. Leonard and a school for impoverished boys, where they were also taught to sing.⁵⁴ The foundation of Jerzy Rokicki supported collegium rorantistarum, started most probably in 1637 and modelled

⁵³ Delma BROUGH Polish Seventeenth-Century Church Music With Reference to the Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Conditions. New York, London, 1989: 110, 117.

⁵⁴ Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI "Notatki z przeszłości muzycznej Łowicza" ["Notes from the musical past of Łowicz"], *Muzyka* 3, 1973: 93.

on the Capella Rorantistarum, the Rorate Singers of the Wawel Cathedral. The singers began to regularly perform the Litany of Loreto. The collection of music preserved from the collegiate church in Łowicz includes compositions of Arcangelo Corelli, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, Giovanni Battista Bassani, and a substantial quantity of works by Polish composers (e.g. Mielczewski, Różycki, Szarzyński, Stachowicz).⁵⁵ According to Zygmunt M. Szweykowski this fact allows for considering the collegiate orchestra one of the focal spots of Polish musical activity.⁵⁶

The economic condition of Łowicz was impaired by disasters that happened in the 17th century: great fires in 1620, 1624 and 1635, a fierce storm in 1648, and worse still the Swedish invasion in 1655–1658. During this socalled Swedish Deluge the work of foundations was discontinued for technical and financial reasons. Those were primarily churches that fell prey to the Swedish attack, plundered and destroyed, with a substantial part of the town burnt to the ground. The population dropped to a tenth of the number from before 1655; as a result many houses stood empty in the second half of the 17th century. The donations in the post-Deluge times were limited, commensurate to the economic situation, but played a substantial role in restoring the musical life. In 1668 primate Prażamowski financed renovation of the organ and awarded the collegiate church another patron St. Nicholas.⁵⁷ The reference to multi-voice singing was also made in the records on the foundation of primate Jan Wydżga from 1681.

It is most likely that there were at least two regular vocal-instrumental groups based in Łowicz before the Piarists settled there: one at the service of the primate court, the other belonging the collegiate church. There are notes dating back to the end of the 17th century that refer to payments made to vocalists and instrumentalists other than those regularly playing with the collegiate ensemble. These were musicians engaged for rendering compositions requiring more performers. The following statement from the Account Books of the Chapter of the Collegiate Church in Łowicz illustrates the make-up of the ensemble:⁵⁸

⁵⁵ It is kept in the Library of the WTM (Warsaw Music Society).

⁵⁶ Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (1962: 15).

⁵⁷ Delma Brough (1989: 109).

⁵⁸ Ibid.: 126.

1685-86	to Koperski, a tenor per tempus Paschale	6 fl.
1689–90 1689–90	to Boszkiewicz, a violinist ^ˆ for repairing, i.e. renovating, the positive organ	20 fl. 150 fl.
1690–91	to Martino, an alto	50 fl.
1694–95	to Krasmowski , a violinist	37 fl. 15 gr.
1696-97	to Wikliński, an alto	45 fl.
1697–98 1697–98	for purchasing violin	30 fl. 45 fl.
1697-98	to Bojarowski, a trombone player and a vocalist to two civic trumpet players	43 fl. 30 fl.
1697–98	for two libras of paper for scores	1 fl. 18 gr.
1697–98	to Trawski, a violinist	30 fl.
1699–1700	to the peasants who carried the positive organ during the Corpus Christi procession	20 gr.
1699–1700	to the cantor and the cornett player	6 fl. 20 gr.

From the above notes we may conclude that music accompanied processions. Possibly they were also attended by brass instrument players. Additionally, it is worth noting the entry of remuneration for municipal trumpeters (Łowicz had been granted the privilege of hiring them since 1549)⁵⁹ who could have performed the parts of clarini in Stachowicz's works.

In 1668 the Piarists were brought to the town and twelve years later they consecrated their new church.⁶⁰ They also had their own vocal-instrumental ensemble, which at the beginning could have been less numerous than the collegiate chapel. Perhaps Stachowicz was sent to the college in Łowicz in an attempt to recreate the past musical splendour of the town which greatly suffered in the years of Swedish Deluge. Had that been true, the decision was correct, as the last decade of the 17th century saw a conspicuous revival, and Łowicz became a centre of culture competing with Warsaw and Kraków. At that time the Piarist musicians and the collegiate choir enhanced the services held at the collegiate church. The spending on maintenance of equipment for the Piarist orchestra was significant. According to an entry from the book of accounts of 1713, the musicians had their own chamber in the cloister buildings.⁶¹ It sounds highly plausible that the collegiate church and the Piarist college cooperated in education of talented youths. Liber Decretorum Capituli Loviciensis ab 1658 ad 1682 contains a wish for the Piarists to educate "in Cantu utriusque formae" both the clerics supported by the foundation of Jan Ługowski and

⁵⁹ Tadeusz Maciejewski (1973: 92).

⁶⁰ Jan Buba and Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (1965: 21).

⁶¹ Kazimierz ZAZULSKI "Życie muzyczne w pijarskiej szkole w Łowiczu" ["Music in the Piarist school in Łowicz"], *Muzyka* 3, 1973: 114.

other students who had passion for music.⁶² Close contact between the musicians at the service of the monastery and the collegiate church expanded their performing capacity.

The above information gives a picture of Stachowicz as a comprehensively educated person, a teacher of rhetoric and theology, a composer active in a large area of the Commonwealth and the regions under its influence (Rzeszów, Podolinec, Prievidza, Warsaw, Łowicz), whose travels enabled him to become familiar with a vast repertory of music both from the royal court in Warsaw and from the leading musical centres in Central Europe.⁶³ Stachowicz's acclaim, mentioned by the author of the obituary, can be confirmed by the fact that his works were part of the repertoire of many ensembles. Even if his preserved oeuvre is incomplete, we may state that the composer's works were known in the Piarist centres in Łowicz, Podolinec, and Prievidza as well as in the Jesuit house in Brześć, in the Cistercian monastery in Wąchock, and in the circles of the parish church in Raków. They were copied many years after the composer's death.⁶⁴

II.

1. Compositional Output

Stachowicz's work that has survived comprises the genres of church music for both liturgical and non-liturgical texts. Out of the body of thirteen compositions that have been preserved, five are incomplete and two come only in fragments:⁶⁵

⁶⁵ See the source critical edition of all preserved works by Stachowicz: *Damian Stachowicz, Veni Consolator*, Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI (ed.), «Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej» 13, Kraków, ⁴1978; Damian Stachowicz, *Requiem*, Maciej JOCHYMCZYK (ed.), «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 11, Kraków, 2007; Damian Stachowicz, *Litaniae de BMV*, Marcin KONIK (ed.), «Sub Sole

⁶² Ibid.: 113.

⁶³ The inventories of music in the monasteries in Podolinec and Prievidza, where Stachowicz resided, contain works of composers from such centres as Kroměříž, Salzburg, Venice, or Vienna; compare with Jana KALINAYOVÁ (1994: 73–137).

⁶⁴ The manuscript of *Beata nobis gaudia* has the inscribed year 1707, whereas the missing copy of *Veni Consolator* dates back to 1703. The compositions of Father Damian copied for the parish church in Raków have no dates, however, the music ensemble was founded in 1740, and Stachowicz was the oldest among the listed composers whose names were deciphered.

- 1. Ave Virgo, for CA, 2 vn, b.c.; the manuscript most probably burnt with the collection of the National Library in the Second World War; a copy (a score⁶⁶) made for Adolf Chybiński is kept in Poznań University Library.⁶⁷
- 2. *Veni Consolator*, for C, clno, b.c.; the manuscript and copy (two scores, parts, piano reduction), as above.
- 3. *Assumpta est*, for ATTB, b.c.; the manuscript (without alto and bass parts) and a copy (fragments of full score without text), as above.
- 4. *Beata nobis gaudia*, for CATB, 2 vni, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript (without clarini parts) in Dioecesan Library in Sandomierz.
- 5. *Beatus vir*, for CATB, 2 vn, b.c.; the manuscript most probably burnt with the collection of the National Library in the Second World War; a copy (two scores, parts, piano reduction) made for Adolf Chybiński is kept in Poznań University Library.
- 6. *Confitebor*, for CATB, 2 vn, b.c.; the manuscript and copy (two scores, parts, piano reduction), as above.
- 7. *Confitebor*, for CCATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript (only b.c. part and fragments of clno II part) and copy (fragments of score and parts), as above.
- 8. *Dixit Dominus*, for CCATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript and a copy (full score), as above.
- 9. *Laudate pueri*, for CCATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript (cover and fragment of b.c. part) and copy, as above. Remaining parts of the above mentioned manuscript (except Canto primo) were identified in 1961; this manuscript is held by the Library of the Warsaw Music Society.
- 10. *Laetatus sum*, for CATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript (missing fragments of b.c. and fragments of vocal bass parts) in the Library of the Warsaw Music Society.

Sarmatiae» 12, Kraków, 2007; Damian Stachowicz, *Concerti e Motetti*, Maciej Jocнумсzyк (ed.), «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 13, Kraków, 2008.

⁶⁶ The first measures of the violin part in the copy of *Ave Virgo* contain no rests. It is also the beginning of the composition with the accompaniment of basso continuo part alone (bars 1–4). It is likely that the preserved copy is incomplete.

⁶⁷ Most Stachowicz's compositions in the Chybiński's collection are filed in several copies: as a score, as partbooks, and as a piano reduction. They vary in the form of notation, as well as the degree of the scrivener's interference.

- 11. *Lauda Jerusalem*, for CATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript (b.c. part missing), as above.
- 12. *Litaniae de B.M.V.*, for CATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript probably in private hands; microfilm in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw.
- 13. *Missa Requiem*, for CCATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; the manuscript probably in private hands; microfilm as above.

Moreover, two works preserved as anonymous can be ascribed to the composer on the basis of the most recent research:

- Laudate Pueri, for CCCC [?], 2 vn, b.c.; manuscript (only the part of b.c.) Štátny Oblastný Archív, Bratislava (call number H-393).⁶⁸
- 2. *Laudate Dominum*, for CAT, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c.; manuscript with the vocal bass part added later, kept in the collection of the Library of the Warsaw Music Society (call number 2349-R).

Completorium Solenne listed in the register of the Piarist ensemble in Wieluń from 1751 is still missing.⁶⁹

Many works that have not survived are mentioned in the inventories of music produced in the monastic houses of Podolinec and Prievidza. These registers list the following compositions signed "P. Damiani" or "a P. Damiani SS. Trinitate e Scholis pijs" (the description in the brackets stands for a name of a group in which the work was filed in the inventory):

- 1. (Concertus de Beata) Ave Virgo singularis a 7.
- 2. (Concertus de Beata) Eia Rosa sine spina a 9.
- 3. (Concertus de SSma Trinitatae) Tres sunt qui testimoniu[m] a 3 CCC.
- 4. (Salve Regina) Item a 7. Solo Canto cum clarinis.
- 5. Dixit D[ominus] Solenne [...] cum clarinis.
- 6. Laudate pueri a 4 CCCC.
- 7. (Vesperae. Laudate D[ominum] o[mn]es gentes) Item a 7.
- 8. Litaniae [...] a 5. C.A.B. 2 W.

⁶⁹ Jan BUBA and Anna and Zygmunt M. SZWEYKOWSKI (1965: 28). In the Library of the Warsaw Music Society there is an anonymous manuscript of *Completorium* for CATB, 2 vn, 2 clni, b.c. brought from Łowicz. This composition shows several features common to Stachowicz's technique. Nevertheless, at this stage the departures from his style make it impossible to ascertain the authorship.

⁶⁸ Attributed on the basis of the inventory of music in Podolinec, compare with Jana Kali-NAYOVÁ (1994: 110), Stachowicz's authorship was also suggested by Ladislav Kačic (1994: 89).

- 9. (Litaniae B[eatae] M[ariae] V[irginis]) Item a 6.
- 10. Litaniae a 7.
- 11. (Litaniae de No[m]i[n]e Jesu et B. V. M.) [...] a 5. C.A.B. 2. W. [signed "P.D."].
- 12. Missa solemnis a 12. 2. C.A. T.B. 2. Viol. 2. Clar.
- 13. (Missae) Item Solennis a 9.
- 14. Item Missa a 9.
- 15. (Missae pro Defunctis) Item a 5. 2 CC. B. 2 VV.
- 16. (Missae pro Defunctis) Dies irae a 6.
- 17. Missa Viatica [...] a 7 2 Can: A.T.B 2 Viol. (signed "F.D".).
- 18. Completorium a 6.
- 19. Magnificat [...] a 9. 2C.A.T.B. 2W. 2Clar.
- 20. (Magnificat) Item a 7. 2Can. A.T.B. 2 Violini. (signed "PD.").
- 21. Sonata [...] a 3. 2 W. 1Clar.⁷⁰

This information has fundamentally changed the previous notion of the scope of Stachowicz's work. Twenty items have been added to the fourteen compositions known before (including thirteen that were preserved completely or in fragments). Out of the works mentioned in the registers there are few (*Dixit Dominus*, possibly *Litaniae B. M. V.*) that can be identified as those known before. Remarkable is the note on *Sonata a 3*, as purely instrumental compositions of Father Damian have not been retained. Even though the question about the condition of Stachowicz's works listed in Slovak inventories remains unanswered, according to preliminary research there is no hope of tracing well-preserved compositions. The post-Piarist collections⁷¹ contain mainly 18th-century music, whereas the few older manuscripts are incomplete and damaged.

Compositions to liturgical texts (masses, litanies, psalms and magnificat, an antiphon, a hymn and a sequence) constitute a substantial majority of the aforementioned body of works. The remaining share (about 1/10) comprises arrangements of the Scripture in the form of *concerti* and religious poetry (e.g. *Eia Rosa sine spina, Tres sunt qui testimonium, Veni Consolator*). These proportions remain unchanged for the preserved compositions and those known only from the inventories – both groups display a preference for Marian motifs. In their text and poetic expression the few-voiced concertos allude to popular

⁷⁰ The Latin quotation as in: Aleksandra PATALAS (2002: 102).

⁷¹ Štátny Oblastný Archív – Bratislava vidiek, a collection of Piarist music manuscripts from the monasteries in Sv. Jur and Podolinec.

liturgical forms (e.g. it is possible to pinpoint analogies between *Ave Virgo* and a sequence *Ave mundi spes Maria*, or between *Veni Consolator* and the sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus*). Such pieces could replace liturgical texts.⁷²

The fully preserved compositions usually are set for four or five voices accompanied with two violins and b.c., frequently supplemented with two trumpets, a device typical of Father Damian's compositional style. Much less favoured were the pieces for a small number of performers (there remain only one solo concerto and one for two parts).

2. Technique, texture and harmony

In order to illustrate Stachowicz's compositional technique this part of the paper will focus on the analysis of textural solutions, with a broad perspective applied to this term. That is, the problems to be considered are sonority distribution within a piece (concertato technique, scoring), the means of constructing succeeding sections of compositions (homorhythm, polyphony, homophony) as well as horizontal relations (counterpoint, voice leading).

2.1. Sections with full-scoring

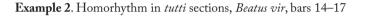
We can distinguish two types of texture in the compositions for a four- or five-part vocal ensemble accompanied by instruments: homorhythm (which through the isolation of the melody in the treble resembles homophony) and polyphony with a relative independence of parts (on rare occasions imitational). It is worth stressing here that the absolutely predominant structure for vocal groups is homorhythm, present in all compositions involving many performers. It is overriding in *tutti* sections, seldom yielding to polyphony. The homorhythm comprises the much preferred by Stachowicz type of arrangement, in which one note in some parts is equivalent to two (rarely more) notes in the remaining parts, however, the text is rendered in a synchronous manner. Next to homorhythm (Example 2), the composer diversified rhythm structures so that within *tutti* sections he isolated smaller groups⁷³ (e.g. *Dies irae*,

⁷² Compare: James Armstrong "The «Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones» (1613) of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: A Liturgical Study", *Analecta Musicologica* 14, 1974.

⁷³ We do not take into account the cases of insignificant rhythmic diversification (e.g. dotted rhythms and equal note values), which can predominantly result from the negligence of the scrivener.

bars 118–120, *Laudate pueri*, bars 14–15⁷⁴). Moreover, he occasionally applied groups in dialogue (Example 3). If combined, all the aforementioned means of structuring a composition bring about diversity in *tutti* sections and prevents monotony and schematism.

The composer rarely used polyphony. It was only applied at the points which in the compositions of the 18th century will employ polyphony as a standard practice, i.e. on the word "amen", in the final sections of psalms, e.g. *Dixit Dominus* (bars 146–155; Example 4) and partly in *Laetatus sum* (bars 93–100). The application of the polyphonic structure at other points may be justified by rhetorical reasons, e.g. on the words "magna opera" in the incomplete *Confitebor* (bars 27–35).





⁷⁴ The numbers of bars not illustrated in examples refer to the following edition of Stachowicz's works: Damian Stachowicz, *Missa Requiem*, Maciej Jochymczyk (ed.), «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 11, Kraków 2007; Id, *Litaniae de BMV*, Marcin Комік (ed.), «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 12, Kraków 2007; Id, *Concerti e Motetti*, Maciej Jochymczyk (ed.), «Sub Sole Sarmatiae» 13, Kraków 2008.



Example 3. Dialogues of groups of voices, Dixit Dominus, bars 60-64

Example 4. Dixit Dominus, bars 147-155



In the final section of *Dixit Dominus* (Example 4) the vocal ensemble was reduced to four voices (soprano 1 and 2 sing in unison). Even though instruments do not play *colla parte* they often double vocal parts. The entire musical idea is based on the juxtaposition of falling and rising scale passages complemented with mixtures in thirds. Consequently, voices intersect and form a sequence of transitory dissonances, including parallel seconds (bar 147). None of the parts is rhythmically or melodically (due to the arrangement in thirds) independent. Thus, the polyphony in the discussed works is not much different from the homorhythm used by Stachowicz – also in this type of texture the parts displayed some degree of autonomy (see below).

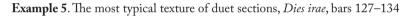
Another type of polyphonic texture most likely appeared in Father Damian's *Confitebor* [in D]. Admittedly, nearly all parts of this composition are missing, however, the structure of a few-bar imitation can be recreated on the basis of basso continuo, as it doubled the succeeding entries of the subject. For what can be decided on the basis of the preserved part of basso continuo and clarino 2, it was a typical imitative presentation (answer in a fifth) spanning over four or five parts, and after several bars it surely transformed into a homorhythmic *tutti* (it can be inferred from the parallel lines of the two preserved parts).

A special type of polyphonic texture is represented by the technique of *cantus firmus* used in *Assumpta est*, the only known composition of Stachowicz that was arranged in *stile antico*. Unfortunately, its condition makes a thorough analysis of the piece impossible. Most probably, the work was aimed at four parts arranged as *ad voces aequales* and *basso sequente*. The *cantus firmus* moving in equal note values was set in the part of tenor 2. The Alleluia verse from the plainsong mass *In Assumptione B.M.V.* served as a source for its melody.

The text in *tutti* sections is easily distinguishable, with its clarity not disturbed with long melismas or polyphonic texture. It rarely happened that Stachowicz simultaneously introduced distinct lines of the text in separate parts (*Litaniae* bars 61–68). This form of multi-text practice arises from the intention to fairly quickly reproduce the whole liturgical text. It additionally exemplifies an early use of solutions that were to become commonplace in works by the 18th-century Polish composers (E. Brikner, F. Gotschalk, W. Neumann, F. Perneckher, and M. J. Żebrowski, to name but a few). Another composer who applied it in Stachowicz's time was, for instance, S. S. Szarzyński in the psalm *Qui habitat* from *Completorium*.

2.2. Solo parts

As it was in *tutti* sections, the fundamental means of structuring reduced scoring was homorhythm. The parts constituting ensembles are usually led in thirds or sixths, with the sole points adding variety in the form of dissonances being cadences. Due to distinct isolation of melodious arioso-like melodic lines this texture can be aptly defined as "continuo homophony", a description employed by Manfred Bukofzer in *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, London 1947) (see Example 5). Because of the melodic predominance of the treble, the ensemble sections most closely resemble homophony.

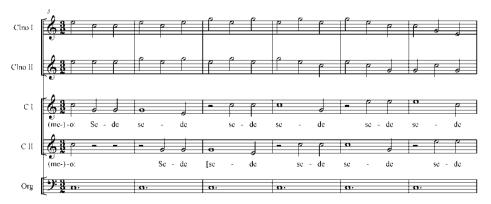


Λ	o - ro sup-plex et ac - cli - nis,	Cor con-tri-tum cor con - tri-tum qua-s	i qua-si ci - nis; Ge-re	cu-ram ge - re	cu-ram me-i fi - nis.
т	8 o - ro sup-plex et ac - cli - nis.	Cor con - tri-tum qua-s	i qua-si ci - nis; Ge - re	cu-ram ge - re	cu-rum me-i tī - nis,
Org	9°6				

It is again the psalm *Dixit Dominus* that employs a special solution, also in reduced scoring where polyphony comes to the fore (see Example 6a–b), including the technique of canon. One imitational statement in homorhythm can be found in *Litaniae* (bars 106–109).

Example 6. Polyphony in the ensemble sections of Dixit Dominus

a) bars 5–10







Rare imitations also occur between a voice and instruments (*Dixit Dominus*, bars 38–39). Stachowicz used this device on a large scale in *Veni Consolator*. The entire composition is permeated with imitative technique: long, over-twenty-note phrases are repeated between a voice and a trumpet, and at several moments they overlap and form canon-like structures. Seemingly, like in *Dixit Dominus*, and probably in *Laudate Pueri*, the canon-like relation is a by-product arising from the fascination with the effect of echo (see Example 7).





2.3. Counterpoint, voice leading

In respect of texture formation, Stachowicz's works belong to the transition period when the compositional design had an in-between conception: neither fully linear nor entirely vertical (homophonic). In the vocal *tutti* the parts are shaped nearly entirely through homorhythm, still, they display some autonomy. Most typically, the part of alto and tenor were aimed at filling in the harmony, whereas external voices were led in a contrapuntal manner. Linear structuring of parts present in Father Damian's compositions now and again renders transitory dissonances against the backdrop of a chord in basso continuo. Regardless of the presence of homorhythm, it would often be difficult to pinpoint exactly the part that had melodic function in *tutti* sections. It can be illustrated with the *Kyrie* section from *Requiem*, where a standard echo is performed by soprano 2, which repeats its part from the *tutti* section. It implies that the composer did not treat the highest part as the only melodic line (cf. Example 8).



Example 8. Requiem - Kyrie, bars 7-16

In *tutti* sections Father Damian usually avoided mutual duplication of parts for longer stretches of a composition, although it was a principle that he did not always follow. In a five-part vocal ensemble it is most common for so-prano 2 to redouble in unison the part of soprano 1 (e.g. *Dixit Dominus*, bars 97–104; *Requiem – Sanctus*, bars 15–25, 44–54, *Agnus Dei*, bars 21–26). Voices can move in parallel thirds and sixths over several succeeding chords, then they become autonomous or enter a parallel relation with other parts. In the majority of compositions we observe occasional voice crossing, especially between the parts of sopranos in a five-voiced ensemble (*Requiem*), most frequently on the ground of fanfare-like melody (e.g. *Requiem – Dies irae*, bars 19–23; *Dixit Dominus*, bars 5–10).

The early researchers into the topic had already remarked on Stachowicz's parallel perfect consonances.⁷⁵ Parallel fifths and octaves can be mainly noted

⁷⁵ Aleksander Poliński Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie [The Outline of the History of Polish Music]. Lwów, 1907: 146.

in dense *tutti*. They are exercised as a rather particular contrapuntal licence in a structure containing six up to nine fairly autonomous parts.⁷⁶ Usually they are barely audible, unless, like in *Laetatus sum* (bars 9/10, 24/25, 34), they come between doubled external parts of the vocal ensemble. Typically, there occur two parallels in a row, however, instances of particular concentration of fifths in various parts also happen (cf. Example 9). Occasionally parallels appear in the sections of reduced scoring (cf. Example 9d) as well as in the compositions for a small-size ensemble (*Ave Virgo, Veni Consolator*).

One of the more interesting solutions is represented by superimposed fifths that occur simultaneously in two pairs of voices in *Beata nobis gaudia* (see Example 9a) led in opposite direction, whereas in *Dies irae* (see Example 9b) the pairs proceed in parallels and consequently produce a series of parallel ninths. Due to the fact that Stachowicz frequently applied cadences with progressions of parallel seconds on purpose (compare with Example 9a–d), such points call for special attention while revising the source material. In order to distinguish a cadence of this sort from a scrivener's mistake one should analyse it in detail. Unfortunately, the mechanical practice in the course of recording and editorial preparation is to 'correct' these parallels into the succession of a second and a third.⁷⁷ In the 17th century such compositional devices were common. Their application evolved from a powerful musical-rhetorical figure (e.g. Heinrich Schütz, *Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?* SWV 415, bars 1–17) to a standard cadential formula. In Polish music it can be found in compositions by S. S. Szarzyński or M. H. Wronowicz, to name but two.

⁷⁶ Series of parallel perfect consonances are to be found in works of many Polish composers of the 17th and 18th century. It partly arises from the fact that the foundations of their technique had not been formed through analysing treaties on counterpoint, but through their contact with temporary compositional and performing practice.

⁷⁷ See, for instance, *Damian Stachowicz, Missa Requiem*, Tadeusz MACIEJEWSKI (ed.): «Pro Musica Camerata Edition», Warszawa, 2003.; compare: Maciej JOCHYMCZYK "Uwagi na marginesie wydania «Requiem» Damiana Stachowicza pod redakcją Tadeusza Maciejewskiego" ["Marginal remarks on the publication of Damian Stachowicz's 'Requiem' edited by Tadeusz Maciejewski"], *Młoda Muzykologia* 2008: 26–35; also available online at http://www.muzykologia.uj.edu.pl/mloda_muzykologia/2008/MM_2008_MJochymczyk.pdf.

Example 9. Parallel motion



a) Beata nobis gaudia, bars 6–9

b) Requiem - Dies irae, bars 42-50





c) Requiem - Domine Jesu, bars 1-6

d) Beata nobis gaudia, bars 50-58



The preserved fragments of *Assumpta est* are constructed according to *contrapunctus floridus*. Although the parts (the two known vocal parts in particular) are led and determined by the principles of counterpoint (including the licence taken by the majority of composers of that period⁷⁸), the contrapuntal correct-

⁷⁸ The common flaws involve, for instance, in relations between vocal parts: the triad motion (bars 14–15), a leap departure from a dissonance (bars 20/21), parallel octaves (bars 25/26), part intersection (bar 29); in relations of *basso seguente* and vocal parts: parallel fifths (bars 13/14), an interval leap to the dissonance of a seventh off the *cantus firmus* (bar 4), a leap

ness is not the sole factor shaping the sound of the composition. The impact of the chordal approach to music formation on developing the parts is evident (e.g. the transition G^7 –C in bars 4/5 was employed regardless of two contrapuntal violations: taking a dissonance by an interval leap up in reference to *cantus firmus* and jumping off the dissonance).

2.4. The role of instruments

As it has been stressed before, wide application of clarino trumpets stands out as one of the most characteristic features of Stachowicz's compositional method distinguishing him from the Polish composers of his time. Trumpets were used in the scoring of nine compositions that we know today (also in Beata nobis gaudia from which parts were removed). In some works (Litaniae, Laudate pueri, Requiem) they were deployed more frequently than the violin. Clarino was the only instrument Stachowicz granted solo parts to, making it equal to vocal parts (Veni Consolator). In Requiem the number of sections rendered by a pair of trumpets (61 measures) is disproportionately greater than the number of autonomous sections of the violin (merely 5 measures). It is the clarini that start the piece and play the instrumental sonata preceding Sanctus, and it is they that conclude nearly all movements of the composition (also without the accompaniment of basso continuo, i.e. Requiem aeternam, bars 35-37). Ending a piece with an instrumental echo of the last phrase is one of the favourite devices used by the composer. He applied it in Requiem, Laudate pueri (clni without b.c.), Beatus vir (vni without b.c.), and most likely in Ave Virgo.79

The rudimentary functions that instruments have involve (1) concerting with voices mainly through repetition of their parts in the echo-like manner and (2) reinforcing the *tutti* sections of the ensemble. The difference between using the violin in solo and *tutti* sections is distinct. In the sections of reduced scoring, they mostly play in parallel thirds, whereas as the accompaniment for the whole ensemble they are led more independently and intersect much more

departure from a dissonance (bars 4/5), two interval leaps in one direction equalling an eleventh (bars 4–5), a phrase ranging a seventh (bars 8–9); however, not all of these clumsy departures had to occur also in the vocal bass (some of them could have been avoided by transferring a note up an octave). Moreover, in the second half of the 17th century some of these solutions were allowed by the theorists (especially if external parts remained unaffected). Compare: Christoph BERNHARD *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, ms. c. 1660, pass.

⁷⁹ Its presence in *Ave Virgo* relies on the method of revision of the source material.

often. This discrepancy might have resulted from the composer's attempt to avoid perfect consonances in parallels. If that had been true, he failed (see Example 9a–d). The equally autonomous approach to structuring the parts of trumpets was obstructed by the limited scale of the instrument: there are only four notes available below c''(c', e', g', b flat' and possibly b'), which does not offer a full scope of contrapuntal arrangement. Therefore, both in *tutti* and in the sections of reduced scoring clarini play in a higher register, usually in thirds, whereas in lower registers fourths, fifths and sixths prevail. The trumpet parts become more autonomous and intersect in *Dixit Dominus* (bars 5–10, 62–72, 147–152).

Apart from filling in the harmony and amplifying the dynamics, *tutti* sections become for instruments the opportunity to lead independent melodic lines (especially for clarino 1, e.g. in *Requiem – Kyrie*, bars 1–12, *Dies irae*, bars 149–156), or to mould timbre. In the case of trumpets the tone colour comes to the fore at the points when they repeat a note in a low register in unison (e.g. *Laudate pueri*, bars 50–53; *Litaniae*, bars 142–145).

When set against the vocal group, both trumpets and violins proceed in homorhythm with occasional diminutions. The typically instrumental figurations in semiquavers based on arpeggiated chords and scale passages are rare in the *tutti* sections. For instance, we may find them in sections of the psalm *Laetatus sum* in the part of the violin (bars 75–82, 87, 94–99). They are more frequent when the violin accompanies solo sections of the vocal bass (*Dixit Dominus*, bars 86–90; *Laetatus sum*, bars 65–73; *Lauda Jerusalem*, bars 49–57). Stachowicz did not redouble parts over longer stretches. As in the case of relations within the vocal group, the parallel motion (unisons, thirds, sixths, octaves) between voices and instruments usually occurs in several succeeding chords, then the instrument moves in parallel with another part or develops an autonomous line. Sporadically, violin and the first trumpet can play in unison (*Dixit Dominus*, bars 11–14).

2.5. Concertato technique and types of scoring

Stachowicz's oeuvre may serve as a good example to observe how the technique of concertato altered over the 17th century, especially in its second half. Some compositions (*Laudate pueri*, *Litaniae*) exploited quick modifications in the size of the performing group and motivic exchange between parts, which resembled works from the first half of the 17th century, e.g. by Franciszek Lilius, and Marcin Mielczewski (cf. Example 10). Marked, however, was the aforementioned tendency to lengthen the sections of homogenous scoring (compare with Table 4), which stems from reduction or complete removal of the texture comprising concertato interchange of short motifs.



Example 10. Laudate pueri, bars 111–120

composition	changes in scoring (on average)
Dixit Dominus	every 5.2 bars
Laudate Pueri	every 2.4 bars
Laetatus sum	every 2.6 bars
Lauda Jerusalem	every 5.6 bars
Beatus vir	every 8.1 bars
Confitebor	every 8.2 bars
Laudate Dominum [anon.]	every 3.8 bars
Litaniae de B.M.V.	every 3.4 bars
Beata nobis gaudia	every 11.4 bars

Table 4. Statistical frequency of changes in scoring⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The table does not include *Requiem*, which comprises movements close to the form of cantata, with the scoring modified approximately every 5 bars (especially in *Dies irae*), as well as movements of multi-sectional structure (*Requiem aeternam* and *Domine Jesu*) with the average changes in scoring taking place every 2.5 and 3.5 bars.

A solution consisting of instruments repeating longer phrases introduced in vocal parts is a form of structuring a composition close to the technique of concertato. It was employed by Stachowicz more or less frequently in all works, sometimes becoming the prevailing technique. In order to illustrate this type of texture we have chosen an excerpt from *Litaniae*, and presented in a form of chart the sequence of changes in scoring within succeeding melodic repetitions (see Chart 1).

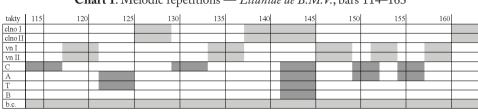


Chart 1. Melodic repetitions - Litaniae de B.M.V., bars 114-163

It is mainly the few-voiced sections that are shaped analogically.⁸¹ Characteristic restatements of entire phrases or their parts are at times enriched with diminutions (cf. Example 11a), but they normally do not involve a change of key (they do not modulate).

The tendency to extend sections of homogenous scoring entails transformation in the way of constructing the compositions. In some pieces (*Beatus vir*, *Lauda Jerusalem*, *Laetatus sum*, *Beata nobis gaudia*) strict repetitions between voices and instruments occurs rarely or never. Therefore, the role of instruments alters too. Instrumental sections either become isolated and grow in size (*Beata nobis gaudia*) or are abandoned (*Laetatus sum*, *Beatus vir*). Their role to repeat vocal phrases is replaced by recurrence limited to one part or a group of voices. That is how sections of uniform scoring and of a design close to *abb* are formed (cf. Example 11b). It also refers to *tutti* sections in which the former concertato *tutti*-trumpets or *tutti*-violin was replaced by repetitions of a final phrase in full scoring (e.g. *Laetatus sum*, bars 14–17, 81–82, 93–100; *Beatus vir*, bars 87–93, 100–102). The rare repetitions with altered scoring which occur in this group of works are formed according to the pattern of 'question-answer',

⁸¹ The passages for bass solo accompanied by two violins are an exception. Usually in these sections a voice and instruments play at the same time (e.g. *Dixit Dominus*, bars 85–90), although there are some departures from this principle (e.g. *Dixit Dominus*, bars 108–119).

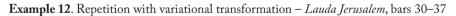
and display a considerably greater application of variation technique engaging, for instance, figurative, and asymmetrical restructuring of a phrase (cf. Example 12). Possibly (as in *Beata nobis gaudia*) the repetition could be exact, but the phrase was so extensive that one might lose the impression of direct concertato between the violin and a voice (bars 11–46).

Example 11. Diverse methods of textural formation in melodic repetitions a) *Dixit Dominus*, bars 15–27



b) Beatus vir, bars 1-13







The discussed types of concertato technique are clearly observable in the group of psalms, therefore they do not arise from the differences in the structure of the verbal text. We cannot rule out that they depend on the time of origin of the pieces, but they cannot become a sole basis for establishing the chronology of Stachowicz's works. A similar diversity of textural solutions is present in the music of other composers active at that time.

The feature characterising the compositions of Father Damian was particular attention to the timbre of his compositions, related to modifications in scoring and diversity of applied combinations. Simultaneous combinations of parts used by Stachowicz in compositions of extended scoring are presented in Table 5. Next to assorted variations of full scoring, the composer readily employs solo parts. A crucial role can be played by soprano (in most compositions), alto (especially in Laudate pueri) and tenor (e.g. in Confitebor, Requiem). This fact should be re-emphasised as his contemporaries - Jacek Różycki (Magnificat, Psalms) and Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński (Completorium) did not implement solo sections to this extent.⁸² However, the combination Father Damian exploited most was the bass accompanied by two violins. It was highly popular and used on a large scale by the Polish composers of that time, including Stachowicz who employed it in each piece. Only exceptionally did autonomous bass come with basso continuo accompaniment. Other combinations of solo parts with instruments (tenor-vni, canti-clni) played a more significant role solely in Dixit Dominus. Among ensemble sections, a duo of C and A gained the greatest popularity. There is even a separate composition Stachowicz wrote for such scoring, i.e. Ave *Virgo*. Clearly, his preferable pairing involved adjacent parts. He did not connect C and B or A and B, and only once formed a duo of C and T (one bar in *Beatus*) vir). Twice he referred to a trio of the three higher parts, a combination that performed an important function in Magnificat by Różycki.

The above description provides only a partial representation of the musical constitution of Father Damian's compositions in which successive combinations play an equally significant role. The composer applied the principle of *varietas*, which took the form of kaleidoscopic changeability of succeeding scoring and opposition of the sections solo and tutti. For repetition of vocal phrases he employed both the violin and the trumpet. One might pinpoint

⁸² Due to a significant role of polyphony in these compositions (even in the form of initial imitations) their musical constitution differs substantially from Stachowicz's works.

Combinations of	composition bars in	Dixit	$Laudate^{**}$	Lauda	La etatus	Beatus	Confitebor	Litaniae	Beata nobis	Requiem
	total	155	123	101	100	114	124	257	91	341
tutti	tutti	50	32	55	52	66	51	58	22	91
	tutti without clni		4	10	10			31	<i>n</i> .	58
	<i>tutti</i> without vni							6		
solo	C (I)			12	5	14	13	14	5	10
	Α	15	23						18	8
	T	9		3	4		13			23
	B	5								1
duets	C I, II	4	15							13
	C I, II without b.c.									15
	C (I), A	10	1		8	14	15	22		2
	C, T					1				
	A, T		4				10	27		32
	T, B				8	12				1
trios	C, A, T	13						4		
solo+instr.	B, 2 vni	9	10	16	11	9	13	15	12	13
	T, vni	14								
	C I, II, clni	12								
	C II, clni									5
	C, vni				2					
instr.	2 vni	13	11	5			6	36	18	5
	2 clni	7	23					44	$[16]^{***}$	59
	2 clni without b.c.									3
	clno I									2
	2 vni without b.c.					1				

ns of extended scoring (number of hars)* o itio 2. ŝ ni buc Table 5 Combinations of whices

Fields referring to the instruments or voices not included in the scoring of a particular piece were marked with gray. Data referring to the C I part are based on the reconstruction by Maciej Jochymczyk, see: Stachowicz, Damian (2008: 12–15, 86–96). Data on the basis of a fragment of the organo part which was crossed-out in the score.

some regularities in this respect. For instance, the duo of C and A is usually linked with the violin whereas the duo of C 1–2 and A–T is typically connected with trumpets. Furthermore, clarini are contrasted against the entire group of performers, perhaps due to their sound volume. *Litaniae* was an exception, as the composer practised in it solutions absent from other works. Namely, Stachowicz split repeated phrases between two groups of instruments (usually, the first part was rendered by the violins, while the second one by the trumpets; Example 13) and contrasted the violin (instead of clarini, as it was the case with pieces that involved trumpets) against a group of *tutti* (compare Chart 1). Even though within specific compositions we may pinpoint predilections for particular types of combinations (e.g. in *Laudate pueri* it is the combination of alto and trumpets) we do not observe the schematism that characterised some compositions by Różycki (*Psalms, Magnificat*). A given succession of voice combinations serves as a means to integrate cyclic compositions.



Example 13. Repetitions in Litaniae, bars 33-42

To restate, the composer employed the following techniques: concertato, polyphony (sporadically imitative), variation and *cantus firmus* (in the partly preserved *Assumpta est*) which he administered in various proportions. In his works we may find both the solutions essential to the composers of previous generations, such as extensive concertato interchange, as well as those that mark the initial stage of the twilight of the concertato and polyphony that governed the Polish music of the 17th century. His compositional output allows for observing a moment when the internal structure of a piece started to forgo the principle of alternating short sections and when the concertato technique was losing its power to shape a work.

2.6. Harmonic language

While analysing the tonal aspects of compositions of the 17th century one may experience serious methodological problems. As the works were created in a period of transition from the modal system to the major/minor tonality, it is possible to look at them from both perspectives. What is more, these perspectives do not exclude one another, and elements of both systems coexist in compositions of that time contributing to the richness of their musical language and precluding simple interpretations. One should distinguish here two analytical problems: first, identifying the key or mode of a composition; second, selecting the language for describing the principles organising the sonorities of the work. Even though modality rules were still referred to by the theorists about the mid seventeenth century (e.g. by Athanasius Kircher Musurgia universalis, Rome 1650), the end of that century brought the first ideas of limiting the convoluted and inconsistent modal classification exclusively to two scales.⁸³ The most radical stand on that issue was taken by a German theorist Andreas Werckmeister, who proposed to single out solely two modes called 'dur' and 'moll', modelled on diatonic scales starting with notes C and A.⁸⁴ He envisaged that there would be twelve transpositions and suggested marking all necessary accidentals at the clef, not in the course of a composition.⁸⁵ It was, therefore, an early formulation of principles constituting the emerging major/minor system; thus, bringing Stachowicz's compositions to this perspective seems justifiable.

The second methodological problem, however, appears to be more complex. A considerable number of compositions by Father Damian are based on a formulaic cadential pattern rooted on I-II-IV-V-I scale degrees and transposed to various keys. In addition, the relations between cadential degrees and tonal planes can be easily explained from the angle of the system of functions. Ad-

⁸³ Codification of the evolving system was rather slow to take its definite form. Since the age of Zarlino the idea of dividing all scales into two (less often three) categories had been gaining popularity, which can be traced in the treaties of Johannes LIPPIUS (*Synopsis musicae*, Strasbourg, 1612) or Daniel SPEER (*Unterricht der musicalishen Kunst*, Ulm, 1687), to name but some. Compare: John W. HILL *Baroque Music. Music in Western Europe*, *1580–1750*. New York, London, 2005: 316–317.

⁸⁴ In his first formulations WERCKMEISTER suggested the second 'mode' should be the diatonic scale beginning with *D* (*Musicae mathemaicae*, Frankfurt, 1687), later, however, he considered the scale founded on *A* more suitable (*Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse*, Quedlinburg, 1707). Compare: John W. HILL (2005: 317).

⁸⁵ John W. Hill (2005: 317).

mittedly, the first theoretical accounts of the principles of functional harmony had not been provided until the treaties of Jean-Philippe Rameau came out in the 1720s, and the terminology was ultimately specified retroactively in the writings of Hugo Riemann at the turn of the 20th century. Still, the auditory analysis of Stachowicz's compositions, and other works from the second half of the 17th century proves that the compositional practice anticipated theoretical formulations. Furthermore, we have to do with compositions of the last quarter of the 17th century, that is the period just before Rameau formulated his concepts. Consequently, regardless of the fact that the fully developed terminology of the functional system may seem chronologically misplaced for the analysis of Stachowicz's works, it has been applied here as a useful method allowing for detailed and generally comprehensible description of harmonic construction and features of compositional language of the studied works.

Out of the twelve pieces whose authorship has been confirmed, six are in D major. The remaining ones were noted in C major (2), E minor (3) and B flat-major (1). Doubtlessly, the frequent use of keys D major and C major is connected with employing natural trumpets, commonly tuned in D and C. None of the compositions in E minor features clarini, as their range makes their use in this key rather impractical. Although the source notation of *Missa Requiem* contains only one flat at the clef, its main key is B flat major,⁸⁶ covering about 55% of the composition. Remarkably, performance of this composition requires the use of trumpets tuned in B flat. This device must have been aimed at producing darker timbre suitable for the setting of words in requiem. The low tuned trumpets were used for reflecting similar contexts, e.g. by Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki (*Conductus funebris*).

Apart from the main key, all compositions had longer sections in the dominant (for minor keys minor dominants were more typical) and relative key. Less frequently, the composer applied modulations to the key rooted on the second degree (usually the standard minor, sporadically the major, which was in fact a secondary dominant). Most pieces also contained short passages in the subdominant key, which played a more significant role only in *Dixit Dominus*. In addition, there are excursions to the minor key based on the third scale degree (in major) and to a major key on the lowered seventh degree (in minor), which from

⁸⁶ It is a well-known fact that notation with a smaller number of clef markings in relation to the key of a composition was a common practice in the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century.

the perspective of the functional harmony should be regarded as the dominant of the relative key. We only take into consideration the examples in which the new key has been established with a cadence. However, in some cases this modulation is reduced just to the cadential formula and musically it reaffirms the main key (especially, if the cadence emphasises one of the main scale degrees). Sometimes the new key is introduced through simple juxtaposition, without modulation. Frequently this solution is applied to illustrate the text, although it may be employed at rhetorically neutral points, e.g. where a melody is repeated.

The most exploited sequence of functions was $S_{II}^{-}-D^{4-3}-T$, sometimes supplemented with S⁷ following S_{II} . Cadences in the rudimentary form of S–D–T were chosen rarely. Out of the subordinate chords S_{II} appears often (usually with added seventh), T_{VI} (typically in the connection T– T_{VI} –S, only sometimes as a deceptive resolution of the dominant), T_{III} occurs infrequently. Several times we see the secondary D⁹ with omitted root progressing to the dominant (*Dies irae*, bars 39, 41; *Domine Jesu*, bar 12). The composer's predilection for the dissonance forms of the subdominant is a noteworthy phenomenon, relatively common in all his works, in particular as a cadential compound. The dominant almost invariably assumes a suspended fourth (resolving to the third), at times complemented with added seventh. It is the 4–3 suspension, not the dissonance of the seventh, that explicitly identifies the function of the dominant and highlights the local tonic on the next chord.

What is more, Stachowicz's works contain a number of solutions, which in the context of the developed major/minor system seem unorthodox. To name but a few, they include the occasional fluctuation in the key's systems, both aimed at stressing the meaning of the text and used when no text representation was intended. The lowered third degree happened to be used as a minor seventh of the subdominant (*Dixit Dominus*, bar 56). The oscillations between major and minor resulted also from using a Picardy third, i.e., a major chord concluding a passage in a minor key.⁸⁷ Another strategy unconventional for the functional harmony (a remnant of the modal order), which the composer

⁸⁷ Some scholars view this solution as a remnant of the modal system (Jan TROJAN "Modální prvky v nástrojové tvorbě P.J. Vejvanovského", *Hudební věda*, 1978: 234–245). In reality the phenomenon of Picardy third is connected with tuning, or a performing practice rather than with a modal system as such. Unequal temperament meant that an off-key chord built from minor thirds did not give the impression of having the harmonic tensions resolved. Thus, a passage in a minor key was ended with a tertian chord of major third. Stachowicz did not follow this rule consistently.

pursued in *Requiem* and *Dixit Dominus*, was using a minor dominant, as well as a major chord constructed on the sixth scale degree. It is worth noting, however, that the typical relations, such as a major dominant or a minor sixth degree, prevail. On the other hand, in *Requiem* the chord F minor signals abandoning the key B flat major. By applying a chord which does not belong to the key, the composer stresses modulation to F major, as a result F minor does not perform the function of the dominant but of a minor parallel chord.

The changes of tonal reference points take place rather frequently, usually every three up to five bars, although they concern the keys which are closely related. Not infrequently they are connected with the words of a composition: opposites present in the text (e.g. "qui in altis habitat et humilia respicit in caelo et in terra", *Laudate pueri*, bars 42–48) might become a reason for altering the keys often; lines of particular emotional load are usually coupled with unstable tonal setting (e.g. "Recordare Jesu pie", *Requiem – Dies irae*, bars 78–85). The words "Hosanna in excelsis" (*Requiem – Sanctus*, bars 29–58), which were traditionally arranged in euphonic manner, are framed within a tonally stable, nearly thirty-bar section in B flat major, intercepted only with a two-bar cadence to F minor/major. The sections whose tonal volatility (alterations approximately after each bar) is not related to the text can be observed in *Beata nobis gaudia* (bars 6–10, 87–91).

Tonality serves also to highlight the architecture of a composition. Introduction of a succeeding part of the text is usually accentuated not only with a modified scoring but also with a shift of key. Typically, modulation takes places at the beginning of a new section and then the key is reaffirmed. In *Requiem* symmetrically designed keys become an additional factor that organises the structure of some movements. It was Delma Brough who pointed to the symmetrical sequence in the scoring of this composition. However, she overlooked the fact that the tonal arrangement formed a similar system.⁸⁸ The movement *Requiem aeternam* consists of two proportional sections of correspondent tonal scheme which are separated with a plainsong intonation: B flat major – F minor/F major – B flat major – F major – B flat major. When it comes to the layout of sonority tensions, a superb example is made by the first section of *Domine Jesu*: a sequence of tonal references G minor – B flat major – D major – B flat major – G minor is linked with an arch-framed melodic

⁸⁸ Delma Brough (1989: 240–241).

line progressively ascending to the climax on words Jesu Christe Rex gloriae, and descending to its point of departure. Symmetrical design of tonal planes can be also found in Sanctus with the pivot placed on two sections accompanying the words "gloria tua" (bars 22–25; Table 5).

Table 5. Symmetrical systems of tonal references in Requiem by Stachowicz a) Requiem aeternam

)	1 wymen						
bars	s 1–7	7-8	9–13	13–16	16–19	20	21–26	26-30	30-32	32–33	33–37
key	B flat major	F minor/ F major	B flat major	F major	B flat major	plainsong	B flat major	F minor/ F major	B flat major	F major	B flat major

					2) 101						
bars	9	10–18	18–19	20	21–22	22–24	24–25	26–29	29–46	46–47	48–58
key	plainsong	B flat major	F minor/ F major	B flat major	E flat major	C minor/ C major	B flat major	E flat major	B flat major	F minor/ F major	B flat major

b) Sanctus

Because the change of chords in specific parts does not occur simultaneously, multi-note sonorities, such as S_{II}^{9} comprising the elements of S_{II} and S^{7} are formed (e.g. Dixit Dominus, bar 101), and S⁹ as superimposed S and T (e.g. Laudate Pueri, bar 50; Requiem - Dies irae, bar 150). Other extended chords include S_{π}^{7} with a fourth instead of (or beside) the fifth, formed through anticipation of the root of the dominant against the backdrop of the chord built on the second degree (e.g. Requiem - Dies irae, bar 69, Domine Jesu, bar 11), as well as D11 formed by the superimposed dominant chord and the subdominant (the role of the eleventh is more anticipatory towards the root of the tonic rather than dissonant; Beata nobis gaudia, bar 87). Stachowicz's approach to harmony and dissonances is close to the method of his contemporary S. S. Szarzyński.89

⁸⁹ Compare: Piotr PoźNIAK Intruduction to: Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński, Completorium, Piotr РоźNIAK (ed.), «Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej» 76, Kraków 1980: 4.

Summary

In spite of the fact that the Polish musicologists and performers have been familiar with selected works of Father Damian Stachowicz for many years, his output has received neither a proper academic review nor a source critical revision. Consequently, he has been known to the wider public as the author of just one composition *Veni Consolator* for soprano, trumpet and basso continuo – an interesting piece, however, hardly representative of his style. The archival resources that have been studied put his work in a new light. Stachowicz himself emerges as a comprehensively educated person, theologian, rhetorician and musician active in a large area belonging to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the author of pieces as diverse as *Veni Consolator*, *Requiem*, *Beata nobis gaudia* or *Assumpta est*.

References and comparisons to the output of other Polish composers made in the body of this paper show that among those who worked in the second half of the 17th century, the only one conspicuously close to him in respect of the applied technique was Szarzyński. It might be difficult to distinguish the works of both composers solely on the basis of compositional features. However, some basic differences can be pointed at. Compositions by Szarzyński display a greater application of polyphonic texture, which is observable both in solo and in *tutti* sections, with the former frequently shaped through imitation. The prevalent principle organising compositions by Stachowicz is homorhythm, and in the sections of reduced scoring even homophony, with the highest part markedly taking the leading role in melody. In addition, the analysis proves that repetitions between voices and instruments were constructed in a slightly diverse manner by each composer. While Szarzyński (similarly to other Polish composers of that period) repeated modulating phrases, which together with repetitions form tonally integrated phrasings of musical tension, Stachowicz nearly exclusively applied exact, echo-like imitations. It is also the subject matter of their works that differentiates the two composers: the proportion of liturgical genres (masses, litanies, psalms) and the concerts with non-liturgical texts is the reverse.

Compositions by Father Damian stand out due to the increased, in comparison with Różycki, Szarzyński and Wronowicz, role of solo parts in extensive scoring. In this respect we may see analogies with *Dixit Dominus* by Father Władysław Leszczyński, the one preserved piece of this composer maintained in *seconda pratica*. Nevertheless, it is the only common feature between these compositions, as the highly imitative work by the chapel master from Jasna Góra dates back to 1662 and precedes all pieces by Father Damian.

We will not find in his compositions vocal virtuosity founded on simple ornamental figures used more extensively by Wronowicz (*In dulci iubilo*), for instance. Melody in Stachowicz's works is permeated with arioso-like tunefulness, even though it can be at times described as rooted in the plainchant repertory. Hardly ever does it become as expressive as the melody in compositions by Szarzyński, for example, which is achieved by the exploitation of *intervalli falsi*.

Noteworthy in Stachowicz's music is his care for the timbral element, to be perceived in the continuous changes in vocal and instrumental scoring. There are no schematic patterns in his scoring, a property present in psalms or in the *Magnificat* by Różycki, to give but one example.

Comparative analysis of the works composed by Father Damian and the music written in the Habsburg Lands indicates Stachowicz's inspirations drawn from those circles, especially in the formation of texture and in the use of clarino trumpets. Undoubtedly, he became acquainted with the style of sacred music characteristic of those regions during his stay in the Piarist colleges in Podolinec and Prievidza, which had belonged to the Polish province of the order.

Sporadically, the instrumental parts (the violin in particular) in Father Damian's compositions form an independent timbral plane (usually as figurations thematically separate from vocal parts), which illustrates a very popular textural solution of the 18th century. Said to have originated in the Neapolitan School at the time of Francesco Durante, it had been employed before by Bolognese composers.⁹⁰ Stachowicz's work clearly exemplifies that some textural features (with the most vivid being the limited polyphony and declamatory nature of choral parts) often ascribed to the influence of opera and linked to the names of Neapolitan composers⁹¹ (F. Durante, A. Scarlatti) gradually and independently developed in the sphere of sacred music.

The features of Stachowicz's compositional technique which should be particularly emphasised are those whose importance grows in the works of

⁹⁰ John W. Hill (2005: 415).

⁹¹ Remigiusz Pośpiech "Z zagadnień stylu narodowego i stylu neapolitańskiego w polskiej muzyce religijnej" ["The problem of national and Neapolitan style in Polish sacred music"], *Pagine* 5. Kraków, Warszawa 1989: 227; compare with John W. HILL (2005: 415–416).

succeeding generations, and contributes to shaping the classical style in sacred music. They involve nearly complete abandonment of polyphony and absolute predominance of homorhythm, rudiments of homophony in ensemble sections, narrow-scope melody in *tutti* sections, clear division of form close to the structure of German sacred cantatas (in particular due to the adaptation of strophic texts, e.g. *Beata nobis gaudia, Dies irae*), as well as predominance of simple harmonic relations, the majority of which can be described with the terms of the system of functional harmony. These features become most apparent when we compare Stachowicz's works with the music of other Polish composers of his days.

Translated by Agnieszka Gaj