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Recomposition of musical works among the Jesuits: practice and theory

The setting of new texts to existing vocal works, a process known as *contrafacture*, has been part of European music history from the outset.¹ It was, however, one of a number of different types of recomposition which, for various reasons, were employed in music practice.² The process of recomposition that produced *contrafacta* entailed reworking vocal-instrumental compositions in a number of different ways. It came to the fore most prominently around 1600 when the style of musical composition was clearly being shaped by the humanistic ideal that esteemed intelligibility of the word. At the same time, music was increasingly being seen as a medium of persuasion, one with a distinctly confessional bent. Both functions accorded with ideals being espoused in Jesuit circles at a time when the Society of Jesus was at the vanguard of musical patronage.³

¹ Robert FALCK – Martin PICKER, “Contrafactum,” in: NGD2, vol. 6, 367–370.

² Important hints for the general discussion concerning the relation between the artistic creation and citation in music practice gives Stefano LORENZETTI, “«La sventurata musica si veloce nel morire». Per uno studio dei rapporti tra musica e arte della memoria tra Cinque e Seicento,” *Recercare* 24 (2002), 3–30 and Enrico FUBINI, “Creazione o citazione: un’alternativa?,” *Ladri di musica: filosofia, musica e plagio*, a cura di Alessandro Bertinetto, Ezio Gamba e Davide Sisto (Roma: Aracne, 2014) (*Estetica. Studi e ricerche*), 13–22.

³ Thomas D. CULLEY SJ, *Jesuits and Music: I. A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and their Activities in Northern Europe* (St. Louis University – Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1970).

Recently undertaken wide-ranging studies into this period have shown that the music cultivated in Jesuit institutions demonstrates, first and foremost, a characteristic concern for the textual aspects of compositions.⁴ The ramifications of this observation lead to an obvious question: what was the nature of recompositional practice in these Jesuit circles?

First, we address this question with respect to a music repertoire that was created by composers associated with musical centres representative of Jesuit circles, or that was adapted for local use by the copyists who were employed there. We then turn to issues of performance, considering texts drawn from Jesuit writings pertinent to matters of interpretation. This approach, novel though it may appear, is based on objective premisses. In the first place, the Jesuits at this time had not yet formulated a consistent theoretical position of their own on music; that stance on music performance is laid down in detail in the order's constitutions.⁵ The practices in question were initially restricted to their Roman colleges, which were committed to creating model teaching institutions) that were connected with the central administration of the order's network, and to Jesuit boarding schools established in the so-called missionary domains, i.e., those areas requiring Christianisation or re-Catholicisation. In both settings, the performance of music was something of an exception from universal norms.⁶ Moreover, professed Jesuits were forbidden from becoming actively involved in music. It is hard to imagine them therefore being given to theoretical ruminations on that very art form.

These questions are nonetheless clearly reflected in the wide-ranging discourse on these issues found in Jesuit writing that draw on a range of humanistically inclined models of poetics. And it is precisely in these texts that one can detect elements clearly corresponding to practices which go to make up the repertoire of recompositional activities, broadly understood. We shall be looking at these questions in the case of composers who were connected with

⁴ The research project, "The Music Repertoire of the Society of Jesus in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1565–1773)," was co-ordinated by the University of Warsaw and financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education as part of *Tradition 1a*, a module of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities. All publications edited thanks to this project are accessible on <http://fontesmusicae.pl/fontes-pl/>.

⁵ *Monumenta Ignatiana. Ex autographis vel ex Antiquioribus Exemplis Collecta. Series tertia. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, Vol. I (Romae: Typis Pontificiis Universitatis Gregorianae, 1934), 19.

⁶ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Instit. 40, 54v.

Roman and Central-European centres where, as a consequence of dispensations afforded them, they enjoyed greater freedom in pursuing their musical activities. It's worth adding that the model of cultural communication occurring between the Order's base in Rome and its peripheral centres proved favourable to the efficient and multifaceted transfer of models of musical culture that were being developed at that very time in the churches of the Eternal City.⁷ In the domain of didactic and the arts the hierarchical structure of the Society of Jesus made use of educational institutions, models of which were replicated everywhere. The result was that Jesuit culture – music included – was easier to define in universal terms rather than local categories.⁸

One of the composers typical of those we are dealing with in this paper was Asprilio Pacelli (1566–1623). He spent the first part of his adult life in Roman musical centres and the following two decades working in Poland at the court of Sigismund III Vasa. His output is not only a representative example of Italian musical style exported to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but also testament to the reception of the repertoire that was cultivated in the Jesuits' most important centre for liturgical and musical education – the *Collegium Germanicum*. For seven years, Pacelli was employed there as *maestro di cappella* during which time he published two collections of Latin motets⁹ and one of madrigals.¹⁰ Some of his compositions were also recomposed as spiritual madrigals in the publication by Michael Herrero.¹¹ In one of these compositions

⁷ Tomasz Jeż, *The Musical Culture of the Jesuits in Silesia and the Kłodzko County (1581–1776)* (Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Warszawa–Wien: Peter Lang, 2019) (*Eastern European Studies in Musicology*, 11), 330–331.

⁸ *Universalis et particularis. Ars et praxis Societatis Jesu in Polonia*, eds. Bogna Bohdanowicz, Tomasz Jeż (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2018) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, B/III).

⁹ *Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur. Liber primus*, Roma: Nicolò Muzi 1597. RISM A/I: P 24; *Chorici psalmi, et motecta quatuor vocum, liber primus* ([Roma: Nicolò Muzi], 1599), RISM A/I: P 26. Modern editions of both prints are respectively: *Asprilio Pacelli (1570–1623). Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur. Liber primus*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXIV); *Asprilio Pacelli, Chorici psalmi et motecta quatuor vocum liber primus*, ed. Fabrizio Mastroianni (Stroncone: Associazione San Michele Arcangelo, 2011).

¹⁰ *Madrigali ... libro primo, a quattro voci* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti), RISM A/I: P 30.

¹¹ *Hortus Musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum italae floribus consitus, Iam vero Latinos fructus, mira suavitate & artificio, V. VI. VII. VIII. & pluribus Vocibus concinendos, pie & religiose parturiens, authore R. P. Michaelae Herrerio, ad S. Nicolai Strasburgi Praeposito. Liber Tertius* (München: Adam Berg, 1609), RISM B/I: 1609¹.

(*Quam dulcia palato*), the author of *contrafacta* preserved the form and the material of the original madrigal model, while in another (*Qui ratione mundum*) he actually alluded to one of motets by Pacelli from his first book. With a view to aiding textual intelligibility, the author of *contrafacta* reduced the part-writing to a homorhythmic texture.¹²

Also Pacelli was fond of reworking his own compositions, altering their polyphonic texture or inserting quotations from his own pieces: they occur frequently in both books of motets and also in his Mass setting reduced *ad voces aequales*, preserved in manuscripts of the Cracow Chapter.¹³ That the author and composer of the reworkings are one and the same person is made abundantly clear in the introduction to the second volume of his motets, in which he presents his strategies for recomposing pieces – which the aforementioned examples amply corroborate.¹⁴ His endeavours are grounded in the religious function of music (“aiuto alla divotione”) following the universally regarded stylistic attributes (“quali hoggidi si usano in Roma”) which are adapted both to local conditions (“secondo le voci, che si troverà”) and to local customs (“conforme all’habilità de’cantori che haverà”).¹⁵

In the aforementioned introduction, Pacelli cites amongst others recompositional techniques: providing the choir with organ accompaniment; transposing the original *chiavette*, and reducing the scoring to a chamber-music setting. These changes were employed for a number of reasons: facilitating performance of the pieces (“esser più commode per il Choro”); making the performance more effective (“per meglio effetto”); giving the audience greater pleasure (“per sodisfattion di molti”); and, above all, to realise the fundamental purpose that religious music then had (“diletto spirituale”). All these techniques can be seen in the organ tablatures that have come down to us from the

¹² Aleksandra PATALAS, *De Asprilio Pacello ac illius musica. Conterfectum adhuc non perfectum* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, B/VI), 66–69.

¹³ *Asprilio Pacelli (ca. 1567–1623). Opera ex fontibus Ecclesiae Cathedralis Cracoviensis*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXVIII), 23.

¹⁴ PATALAS, *De Asprilio Pacello ac illius musica...*, 125–127.

¹⁵ Pacelli, *Chorici psalmi et motecta*, preface ‘A Lettori’. Quoted after: Noel O’REGAN, “Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico da Viadana and the Origins of the Roman *Concerto Ecclesiastico*,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6 (2000, No. 1), Appendix: <https://sscm-jscm.org/v6/no1/oregan.html#Appendix> (access: 10.10.2022).

Jesuit colleges in Braunsberg¹⁶ and Riga.¹⁷ In the first of these manuscripts, *contrafacta* of secular pieces, the Italian madrigals in particular comprise an impressive repertoire group that includes works of Giammateo Asola, Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Ferretti, Lucretio Ruffolo and Orazio Vecchi. Equipped with their new religious texts, these works could be performed in a variety of liturgical and paraliturgical settings.¹⁸ Composition by virtually the same group of composers (Giovanni Ferretti, Orlando di Lasso, Teodoro Riccio and Orazio Vecchi) were turned into *contrafacta* by the copyists of the second of the tablatures.¹⁹ In both sources, one often sees pieces that have been transposed and others that have had their reduced scoring reduced. One could note, it is works of Roman composers that most often have been subject to this sort of recomposition.²⁰

A similar compositional strategy can be found in the works of Kaspar Förster junior (1616–1673). Förster studied in the *Collegium Germanicum* during the years 1633–1636.²¹ In 1637 he turned up at the royal court in Warsaw; later in his career he worked in Gdańsk and Copenhagen. In his output we find works that make extensive use of original texts previously set in other compositions. One may presume that at least some of these settings came about during the composer's second sojourn in Rome (1659–1661) and were most likely for use by the school he has studied there some years earlier.²² In basing his pieces on models of existing works, Förster often followed their melodic and rhythmic ideas, as shown in the following two examples: his concerto *Intenderunt arcum*, which is based on a composition to the same text by Carlo Cecchelli,

¹⁶ Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, F15–284.

¹⁷ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Vok. mus. i hs. 88.

¹⁸ *Tabulaturae Braunsbergenses-Olivenses*, ed. Marcin Szelest (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXV), 48.

¹⁹ *Quarta Tabulatura Collegii Rigensis Societatis Jesu*, ed. Zofia Chankowska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXXI), 13.

²⁰ Vilnius, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, F15–284: Annibale Stabile, *Tu gloria Hierusalem* (23v–24r), *Corpora sanctorum* (28v–29r); Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Vok. mus. i hs. 88: Agostino Agazzari, *Ave stella matutina* (50v–51v), Asprilio Pacelli, *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (51v–53r).

²¹ Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Zarys biografii i Katalog tematyczny utworów Kaspara Förstera jun.* [An outline of a biography and a thematic catalogue of works by Kaspar Förster jun.], *Muzyka* 32 (1987, No. 3), 3–19.

²² *Kaspar Förster Jun. (1616–1673). Sacrae cantiones 1, 2, & 3 vocuum*, ed. Lars Berglund (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXIII), 14, 19.

published in Florido de Silvestris's anthology of 1645,²³ and *Laetentur coeli*,²⁴ which imitates Silvestro Durante's composition that appears in volume three of the Roman anthology by the same publisher.²⁵ One can find similar examples in other concertos by Förster, for example, *Repleta est malis*,²⁶ the model for which was another piece from de Silvestri's anthology.²⁷

Another composer who also based his works on popular compositions was the Moravian Jesuit, Carolus Rabovius (1619–1686). He was active in a number of important musical centres of the Order's Czech province, in Prague, for example, where he was *praefectus musicae* at the Clementinum and in the St Wenceslaus seminary located in the Old Town.²⁸ One of his three compositions that have been preserved, *Surgamus, eamus, properemus*,²⁹ is an adaptation of a well-known sacred concerto of the same title by Giacomo Carissimi³⁰. It was published in the second volume of de Silvestri's anthology, amongst other places.³¹ The popularity in Bohemia of this Carissimi's Roman works is attested to by the number of copies we find in collections there. Rabovius's adaptation, while maintaining the form and musical material, substantially bolsters

²³ R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras cantiones in unum ab ipso collectas suavissimis modulibus ab excellentissimis auctoribus concinnatas binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus curavit in lucem edendas (Roma: Lodovico Grignani, 1645), RISM B/I: 1645².

²⁴ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Vok. mus. i hs. 22:8.

²⁵ R. Floridus canonicus de Silvestris a Barbarano has alias sacras cantiones, ab Excellentissimis musicis Auctoribus Suavissimis Modulibus Vnica Voce Contextas (Roma: Franciscum Monetam, 1659), RISM B/I: 1659¹. Cf. Federico VIZZACCARO, "Florido De Silvestris (1596–1674), promotore della cultura musicale romana," in: *Miscellanea secentesca*, a cura di Roberto Gigliucci (Roma: Bulzoni, 2011), 251–286.

²⁶ Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Vok. mus. i hs. 22:2.

²⁷ Kaspar Förster Jun. (1616–1673). *Sacrae cantiones 3, 4, & 5 vocum*, ed. Lars Berglund (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXIX), 14.

²⁸ Jeż, *The Musical Culture of the Jesuits in Silesia*, 283–284.

²⁹ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, RM 6269.

³⁰ About the recompositions of Carissimi's works and its reception in Europe see: Daniele TORELLI, "I motetti con strumenti di Giacomo Carissimi: alcuni aspetti delle tradizioni testuali," in: *L'opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi. Fonti, catalogazione, attribuzioni. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 18–19 novembre 2005*, a cura di Daniele Torelli (Roma: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2014) (*L'Arte armonica. Serie III: Studi e testi*, 14), 7–31 and Claudio BACCIAGALUPPI, "Carissimi «farcito»: esempi di diffusione e ricezione nel Nord e nell'Est europeo," in: *L'opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi...*, 33–53.

³¹ R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano... (Romae: ex Typographia Ludovici Grignani, 1649) (RISM B/I: 1649²).

the scoring and the individual instrumental parts.³² His recomposition incorporates new elements as well: instrumental interludes punctuating successive formal sections; interpolated quotations from the *Salve Regina* antiphon; extended musical refrains; and considerably greater emphasis being given to the phrase, “et macula, non est in ea,” which in Rabovius’s version imparts a decidedly festive character to the composition.

A similar *modus operandi* can be seen in the works of another Bohemian Jesuit, Carolus Pfeiffer (1619–1686), who spent the final years of his life as *praefectus musicae* of the boarding school in Silesian Opava.³³ Only one of his works has come down to us, *Ubi eras o bone Jesu*,³⁴ which is based on musical material from a motet by Francesco della Porta (1600–1666), who was himself educated in the Jesuits’ *Collegium Romanum*.³⁵ Compared with the Italian original, Pfeiffer’s adaptation restricts itself almost entirely to filling out the composition with parts for two violins and two violas. These additional parts draw from material distinct from the vocal parts which they accompany; they also complement Porta’s work with an instrumental *Sonata* added at the beginning. Pfeiffer’s recomposition is yet another example of both the creation of musical works on the basis of pre-existing earlier repertoire, and its adaptation to local performance conditions and ever-changing stylistic taste.

The phenomenon of recomposing musical works described above also occurred of course in many other centres during the period of interest to us. We can see its presence, for instance, in Protestant Latin gymnasia, as well as in the many circles that espoused the principles of humanist education. In their pedagogical programmes these institutions drew from their common roots in Renaissance poetics that derived from the Greco-Roman conception of *parodia*. In Aristotle’s understanding of the concept, *παρωδή* is bound up with

³² Carolus Rabovius (1619–1686). *O Domine Jesu, Salutemus Matrem, Surgamus eamus properemus*, ed. Václav Kapsa (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2021) (*Fontes Musicae in Polonia*, C/XXVI), 21–24.

³³ Tomasz JEŻ, “Jezuicki repertuar muzyczny w klasztorze kanoniczek regularnych we Wrocławiu” [The Jesuit Music Repertoire from the Canonesses Regular convent of Wrocław], *Muzyka* 64 (2019, No. 2), 20–49: 30, 33.

³⁴ Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie, RM 6250.

³⁵ Francesco DELLA PORTA, *Motetti a due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci... libro secondo, opera terza* ([Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti], 1645), RISM A/I: P 5198.

the theory of *μίμησις*.³⁶ Quintilian explained it in terms of a composition, the form, structure and text-setting of which would undergo modification in order to realise a desired goal.³⁷ This is the understanding of *parodia* that was taken up by leading figures of the European Renaissance, among others Joachim Camerarius and Henri Estienne, whose definition of *parodia* with respect to musical practice was all-inclusive – far broader certainly than one finds in current musicological usage.³⁸ Georg Quitschreiber explained *parodia* in similar terms, referring in his definition to both Quintilian's musical exemplification³⁹, and to the Horatian ideal of *imitatio authorum* that recommends novices in the arts should hone their skills by following a model universally recognised for its excellence.⁴⁰

A distinctive example of the practice described above was the so-called *parodia christiana*, a term employed mostly in the domain of pedagogical artefacts. By and large, it had to do with different sorts of literary texts, many of which were set to music. These works – for example, fragments of classical drama (anything risqué was expunged), or metrical odes adapted for school use – would be classified as examples of the *genus scholasticum*.⁴¹ To be sure, works that came about in this way lost any artistic merit in the process; nonetheless, however, they acquired a didactic usefulness and proved utilitarian in

³⁶ Jörg ROBERT, "Nachschrift und Gegengesang. Parodie und *parodia* in der Poetik der Frühen Neuzeit," in: *Parodia und Parodie. Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds Reinhold Gleis – Robert Seidel (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006) (*Frühe Neuzeit*, 120), 47–66.

³⁷ QUINTILIAN, *Institutio oratoria*, 9,2,35: "παρωδή, quod nomen ductum a canticis ad aliorum similitudinem modulatis abusive etiam in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur."

³⁸ *Parodiae morales H[enrici] STEPHANI, In poetarum vet[erum] sententias celebriores, totidem versibus Gr[aecis] ab eo redditae* ([Geneve: Estienne], 1575): "Παρωδέω, Canticum vel carmen ad alterius imitationem compono. Sic autem compositum canticum vel carmen παρωδή et παρωδία appellatur."

³⁹ Georg QUITSCHREIBER, *De parodia* (Jena: Johannes Weidner, 1611), [6]: "Disceptatio autem ab imperitis rerum Musicarum instituitur, quod Parodia (quæ est à παρὰ juxta et ὠδή cantio, cantilena, canticum vel cantus) nullam in Musicis habeat locum, de qua tamen Quintilianus lib. 9. cap. 2. scribit, quod Parodia sit *Canticum ad alterius imitationem modulatum*."

⁴⁰ Loc. cit.: "Hinc παρωδή vel παρωδία, abusive etiam, in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur, ut multi clarissimi Poetae Parodias Horatianas cum summa laude scribunt. Ergo Musicus atque Poëta canunt nunc ambo παρωδήν: Quanta sit ars, dicat, qui bene novit eam."

⁴¹ Ryszard J. WIECZOREK, "Boezio e l'ode umanistica in Polonia," in: *Sodalium Voces* (Bologna: AMIS, 1984) (*Miscellanea Saggi Convegna*, 24), 85–100.

the school's moral and religious formation. Elements of the same intertextual strategy can be found in *παρωδή* of musical compositions (today referred to as *contrafacta*) that were recommended especially for use by boarding school students, novitiates, and members of religious communities.

The organisation that proved to be of unprecedented importance for the development of the educational institutions was the Society of Jesus. It soon became the key player in this area, notwithstanding initial objections to its becoming involved in the business of teaching.⁴² What was acknowledged as a legitimate area of activity for them was the turning of secular works into sacred repertoire and other kinds of adaptations that could prove useful in the process of religious formation. And it was in keeping with the order's strategy of recalibrating their method of operation in pursuit of specific goals and in accord with their projected image of piety. This is the very reason why the Jesuit cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), expressed himself so much in favour of this activity. According to one of his biographers, Bellarmino himself used to engage in adapting secular music for the use of Jesuit colleges.⁴³ This activity, based on the example of setting new texts to madrigals, was connected with the codification of the procedure of *παρωδή*, which can be seen in contemporary textbooks on poetics. It entailed recomposing an existing work whilst maintaining certain elements of scoring, rhetorical conception, and even verbal content if it lent itself to being incorporated into a new, religious context.

Expressing himself in a not dissimilar way was Jacob Pontanus (1542–1626), author of a textbook on poetics that was highly regarded both within Jesuit circles and more broadly. He maintained that *parodia* was a technique particularly beneficial in school-teaching methodology. He believed its purpose to be the imitation of the finest authors, which facilitated accommodating their texts to a new meaning in much the same way as cross-fertilizing

⁴² John W. O'MALLEY, "Sant'Ignazio e la missione dell Compagnia di Gesù nella cultura," in *Ignazio e l'arte dei gesuiti*, ed. Giovanni Sale (Milano: Jaca Book, 2003), 17–30.

⁴³ Angelo DE SANTI SJ, "Il Ven. Card. Roberto Bellarmino e la musica," *Civiltà Cristiana* 70 (1919, No. 3), 371–387, at 376: „ricopiando motetti, ed altre composizioni di musica, variandogli le parole, quando non eran degne di essere in bocca di Religiosi: e di queste mute se ne conservano molte in Collegio Romano.”

a tree with one of a different kind can bring forth the desired fruit.⁴⁴ Another Jesuit theorist, Jacob Masen (1606–1681), contributed further on this topic. In his treatise we see the concept of *μίμησις* being used to refer not only to textual content (understood as both concept and subject) but also to the very manner of presentation (i.e., style) and choice of technical means employed. He also drew attention to the need to avoid plagiarism when imitating the works chosen for adaptation. In keeping with the advice of the Ancients and by analogy to bees collecting nectar from diverse flowers, he recommended that models for one's compositions should be drawn from many different sources.⁴⁵

It is not difficult to see how these strategies of recomposition serve to illustrate phenomena that we observed in the examples quoted above. If we accept that the repertoire presented here came about in large measure to meet the needs of educational institutions, and we accept the meaning of *παρωδή* as it was understood at the time – the creative repurposing of a work of art towards new goals – then the reason why the practice of *parodia* played such a central role becomes clear. Put in the context of these conclusions, questions as to the artistic autonomy of composers active in Jesuit circles and observations regarding their tendency to plagiarise, can be seen as baseless. And criticism levelled at this circle of creative artists regarding their academicism, their epigonism

⁴⁴ Jacob PONTANUS, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres*, Ingolstadt: David Sartorius 1594, lib. I, cap. 9, 28: “Postremo, videntur mihi centonum, et parodiarum exercitationes fore perutiles: quibus id assequimur, ut optimos versus optimorum poetarum, propter studiosam et sollicitam lectionem, quae ad eas perquam necessaria est, penitus inbibamus, illique mentibus altissime defixi perpetuo inhaereant. Versus, inquam, poetae boni ad alium sensum convertemus, et tanquam surculos ex arbore una in aliam inseremus, qui tamen in ea nati, non in eam insiti videri possint: idque dupliciter, vel ἀπαρεπεποιήτους nulla mutatione, quomodo fecerunt Proba Falconia ex Virgilio, et Eudocia Imperatrix ex Homero, quod genus centones vocamus: vel παραπεποιημένους in parte aliqua, quod genus parodias nominant.”

⁴⁵ Jacob MASEN, *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae* (Köln: Demen, 1682), 324–347 (*Ratio imitandi per viam compositionis*), at 345: “Imitationem vero nunc rerum seu conceptuum, nunc styli; nunc etiam ornamentorum utriusque esse alibi tradidi, quanquam et simul omnia imitari liceat. Sed cavendum, ne plagi accuseris, et velut ad deprehensum furtum erubescas. Unde infirmiori ex aliis alia, more apis varios flores delibantis, eligenda erunt. Cum autem turpe sit alieno in ornatu Corniculum superbire; tamen est, cum mutuatus velut in theatro habitus, nos lepide simul ac venuste exornet: si videlicet in re prorsus disparata, inflexa modice pervulgata alterius oratio locum reperiatur.”

and their lack of originality, is shown to be misplaced; such an assessment of their works stems from a misunderstanding of the basic rules of poetics as cultivated in that circle. When viewed against the broader context sketched here, they can be seen in an entirely new light and deserve to be re-evaluated. Analogous conclusions should be applied also to other circles where the practice of contrafacture was spread in this time. In all these environments, the strategies of recomposition based on the same concept of *παρωδή* as a reason and justification for the practice of contrafacture.

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Summary

This paper deals with the adaptation of musical works that occurred in Jesuit circles. In sources of Jesuit provenance, we come across the existence of many recompositions of pre-existing works which were accommodated to local needs through various kinds of adaptational strategies. Composers who were active in Jesuit circles in Rome were only too willing to make use of these practices – for instance, Asprilio Pacelli and Kaspar Förster junior who were also connected for a while with musical centres in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Acquaintance with these practices is also attested to by the Roman provenance of organ tablatures. Similar sources of inspiration and analogous techniques of compositional adaptation are also found in Jesuit Bohemian and Silesian circles – Carolus Rabovius and Carolus Pfeiffer, *inter alia*, made their living this way.

The operative strategies employed by composers that we have been studying clearly accorded with the narrative of Jesuit authors who advanced the concept of *parodia* in their textbooks on poetics – Roberto Bellarmino, Jacob Pontanus and Jacob Masen, amongst other. Like other European humanist authors, their understanding of the concept derived from Aristotle and Quintilian. It is they who made clear the purposes for which one might have recourse to these strategies and the circumstances in which one should employ such tools. Literature and music that came about in reliance on these sorts of procedures had to serve a didactic function, first and foremost. And in point of fact, the same could also be said about the cultural context of repertoire presented in this paper.

Keywords: *contrafacta*, parody, Jesuits, Rome, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Bohemia, music repertoire.