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FROM THE OPERA STAGE TO THE CHURCH: CASTRATI ARIAS IN THE COLLECTION OF CISTERCIANS IN SILESIA

Abstract. Collections from Silesian Cistercian monasteries, particularly Lubiąż, preserve numerous opera arias, including castrato repertoire. This article examines their use in the monastery—both liturgical and non-liturgical—explores methods of adaptation and considers possible performers. Adapting castrato arias for the monastery resulted not only transforming the text into religious content, but also altering the performance space, both acoustically and visually. In both opera and church, arias were intended to move the audience emotionally.

Keywords: castrato arias; contrafactum; Cistercians; Silesia; 18th century music; religious music; performance practice

ZE SCENY OPEROWEJ DO KOŚCIOŁA. ARIE KASTRATÓW W ZBIORACH CYSTERSÓW NA ŚLĄSKU

Abstrakt. W zbiorach klasztorów cysterskich na Śląsku, zwłaszcza w Lubiążu, zachowało się wiele arii operowych, w tym z repertuaru kastratów. W artykule przedstawiono ich wykorzystanie w klasztorze (liturgiczne i pozaliturgiczne), ukazano sposoby ich adaptacji oraz przedstawiono możliwych wykonawców. Adaptacja arii kastratów na potrzeby klasztoru wiązała się nie tylko z przekształceniem tekstu na religijny, ale także ze zmianą miejsca i okoliczności wykonania, zarówno w warstwie akustycznej jak i wizualnej. Zarówno w teatrze, jak i w kościele, wykonanie arii miało na celu poruszenie emocji słuchacza.

Słowa kluczowe: arie kastratów; kontrafaktura; cystersi; Śląsk; muzyka religijna; muzyka XVIII wieku; praktyka wykonawcza

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INTRODUCTION

After the Thirty Years' War, Cistercian monasteries in Silesia became prominent centres of artistic patronage in the region during the second half of the 17th century. They maintained large vocal-instrumental ensembles, trained musicians, acquired contemporary repertoire and purchased instruments. Unlike courts or aristocratic estates, monastic music was accessible to both monks and laypeople from various social strata attending religious ceremonies.

1. ARIAS IN A MONASTERY: A REQUESTED REPERTOIRE

The Cistercian Monastery in Lubiąż (German: Leubus) possessed an exceptionally large number of operatic arias, with nearly half of the surviving works belonging to this genre (129 arias and 10 duets). Most were adapted for liturgical use, replacing the gradual, Alleluia, or *communio*, which in the chant tradition were sung by a cantor or cantors.¹ Arias were also performed outside Mass—during services, especially those with texts in the vernacular, as well as during guest visits or monastic recreations. Many were contrafacted with one to four Latin or German texts.

This practice suggests a positive reception of operatic arias within the Cistercian milieu in Silesia. Although the monasteries lacked in-house composers of the highest calibre, they pursued refined music by adapting existing works to their needs. However, it should not be seen as derivative; rather, it allowed religious orders to obtain high-quality repertoire economically.

This phenomenon resembles the practice of *pasticcio* in opera houses, where pre-existing arias offered an economical advantage for theatre managers.² *Pasticcio* was perceived by audiences as newly composed and the use of arias “verified” in other venues denoted quality and a guarantee of success.³ As opera served both as

¹ John Harper, *Formy i układ liturgii zachodniej od X do XVIII wieku*, trans. Małgorzata Kowalska (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997), 92. For more on the coexistence of chant and figural music in the liturgy of the Silesian Cistercians, see Ewa Hauptman-Fischer, *Kultura muzyczna cystersów w prowincji śląskiej (1651–1810)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2025), 182–83.

² Jana Spáčilová, “Local Conditions of *Pasticcio* Production and Reception: Between Prague, Wrocław and Moravia,” in *Operatic pasticcios in 18th-century Europe. Context, Materials and Aesthetic*, ed. Berthold Over and Gesa zur Nieden (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2021), 498.

³ Jana Spáčilová, “Počátky opery ve Slezsku – současný stav pramenů,” *Musicologica Brunensia* 51, no. 2 (2016), 164, <https://doi.org/10.5817/MB2016-2-12>.

esteemed entertainment and a source of religious repertoire, monastic centres treated contrafacta as music of established value.⁴

Opera titles and aria performers were rarely recorded in monastic copies, requiring detailed identification of arias composed for castrati. This study was prompted by a source containing arias from Johann Adolf Hasse's opera *Didone Abbandonata*, whose title page lists performers: "Aria 1ma Sigr Anibali" and "Aria 2da Signiora [in pencil:] Faustina".⁵ This inscription suggests an awareness of the castrati phenomenon within monastic circles and a familiarity with prominent performers. In the course of research, 31 arias originally intended for castrato voices were identified in the Lubiąż collection (see Appendix).

2. CHANGING FROM OPERATIC TO MONASTIC REPERTOIRE: THE FUNCTION AND CONTEXTS OF PERFORMING ADAPTED ARIAS

The examined collection reveals several strategies for adapting operatic arias for monastic use, including the replacement of the text with a religious one in Latin or German, the retention of the original text, and adaptation for instruments.

The most common method was the replacement of the original operatic text with a religious one. Liturgical terms and occasionally the texts themselves, allow most contrafacta to be assigned to specific liturgical periods or feasts. Only five arias bear generic labels, their added texts implying flexible use across various unidentifiable feasts (Appendix, nos. 6, 17, 26, 29, 31).⁶ Other castrato arias correspond to the temporal cycle (Advent, Pre-Lent, Lent, Easter, Trinity) and to the sanctoral cycle (feasts of the Virgin Mary). The most significant contrafacta are presented below.

Among the few Advent arias is the duet *Dimmi una volta addio* from the opera *Angelica e Medoro* by Carl Heinrich Graun,⁷ with the text of the Great Advent Antiphon *O sapientia quae ex ore altissimi*, sung during the last week before Christmas, on December 18.

Several castrato arias are associated with both Pre-Lent (*Tempus Septuagesimae*) and Lent (*Tempus Quadragesimae*) (Appendix nos. 17, 19, 24, 26, 27). Intended

⁴ The contrafactum technique, which became widespread in monastic circles in the 18th century, was also employed by Cistercians beyond Silesia, as evidenced by examples from Poland (in Odra, Mogiła, and Pelplin), Alina Mądry, *Barok 1697–1795* (Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition, 2015), 425–27; earlier literature cited therein.

⁵ The manuscripts discussed (unless otherwise indicated) are located in the University of Warsaw Library, Music Department (PL-Wu), RM 4310.

⁶ RM 4452/3: "pro omni festivitate," RM 5044: "de festo quocumque," RM 4428/1: "de Tempore et Quadragesima," RM 4418/9: "Ariae due de Tempore."

⁷ RM 4421.

for Lent, they were also suitable for Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and Good Friday, and weekday services. For example, the aria of Enea *Se resto sul lido* from *Didone Abbandonata* by J. A. Hasse would be performed on the second Sunday before Ash Wednesday.⁸ Another manuscript of Hasse's aria *Rondinella a cui rapita* from *Semiramide riconosciuta*, lacking the vocal part, bears the note "Quadraret mutato Textu ad S. Sepulchrum", indicating its adaptation for performance at the Holy Sepulchre.⁹

Of particular interest is an aria with as many as three Lenten texts.¹⁰ Hasse's *Tornerò perdon ti chieggiò*, Plistene's aria from *Ipermestra*, contains contrafactum in Latin, *O mi Jesu*, while the remaining two texts, *O Sünder komm* and *Seht Jesus Jael*, are contrafacta in German. Parallel contrafacta allowed a single aria to be used in diverse contexts: the Latin version for Mass or Liturgy of the Hours, the German, permitted for use in the liturgy, for non-liturgical services. Further parallel contrafacta are evident (Appendix nos. 8, 14–18, 26).

Two castrato arias are marked *pro tempore paschali*, that is, for Easter (see Appendix nos. 22 and 23). The aria of Poro *Vedrai con tuo periglio* from Hasse's *Cleofide*, is designated "pro Ascensione Domini".¹¹ The feast of the Ascension of the Lord was celebrated on a Thursday, forty days after the Resurrection. The Latin contrafactum *Aurora lucis rutilat, caelum laudibus* is a liturgical text taken from the breviary hymn for the Easter.

Three other contrafacta were adapted for Trinity Sunday, which falls on the Sunday after Pentecost, all with text in Latin *O lux beata trinitas* (Appendix nos. 1, 20, 21).

The Lubiąż collection includes eight arias in Latin dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Appendix nos. 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 27, 30). Two of these were contrafacted using the Marian hymn *Omni die dic Marie*. Their originals were arias from Graun's operas: *È in ogni core diverso amore* from *Catone in Utica*¹² and *Ora sarai contenta che per te vado* from *Cinna*.¹³

Castrato arias were also adapted for the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*, which were used at the end of the compline. This prayer was also recited by the Cistercians after the morning prayer, at the end of the rosary, during funerals,¹⁴ during the

⁸ RM 4310: "Aria pro Dom: Sexagesimæ."

⁹ RM 5383.

¹⁰ RM 5521.

¹¹ RM 4457/5.

¹² RM 4420/4.

¹³ RM 4419/1, with parallel text "O feminarum femina".

¹⁴ Rudolf Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau: Von Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Aufhebung im Jahre 1810* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), 135.

procession on All Souls' Day and at Mass on Marian feasts. Two *Salve Regina* were prepared using Graun's *Demofonte*:¹⁵ aria of Cherinto *No non chiedo amate stele*, and Timante's famous aria *Misero pargoletto*. Vocal-instrumental performances of the *Salve Regina* were probably reserved for major Marian feasts, funerals, and commemorative Masses, rather than the daily Liturgy of the Hours conducted with Gregorian chant.

Extant narrative sources describe funerals of individuals befriended by the monastery and came from local aristocratic families. Secular individuals rarely received the burial in the monastery crypt; notable exceptions are the eminent Baroque painter Michael Willmann in Lubiąż¹⁶ and Gabriel Wychowski, the Marshal of the Court of Prince Jakub Sobieski in Oława, in the Rudy monastery. During his funeral in 1720, music was performed by a vocal-instrumental ensemble.¹⁷ Prince Jakub Sobieski attended a commemorative mass incognito the same year.¹⁸ The contrafactum of *Misero pargoletto* was likely performed at equally ceremonial liturgies in Lubiąż.

The Marian antiphon *Ave Regina caelorum* was used for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the patronal feast of the Cistercian Order on 15 August. In the Baroque era, the solemn liturgy was accompanied by vocal-instrumental music, including the above-mentioned aria of Plistene, *Tornerò perdon ti chieggio* from Hasse's *Ipermestra*.¹⁹

The final group of works associated with the Cistercian liturgy in Lubiąż are two arias defined "de Venerabili Sacramento" that have Eucharistic texts.²⁰ A contrafactum of Garzia's aria *Più del costume questa mia spada* from Hasse's *Alfonso* contains two texts, one in Latin, *En rex supreme*, the other in German, *O großes Sakrament*.²¹ The aria in German could accompany, for example, the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. An adaptation in Latin could be performed in the place of *communio*, or during the celebration of Corpus Christi feast.

The following section examines the second approach adapting castrato repertoire in the monastery—retaining the original text of the arias. Three manuscripts include, alongside the contrafactum, the original Italian libretto text (Appendix nos. 7, 12, 31). These sources may reflect the adaptation process, but could also have been performed as fragments of popular operas in less formal circumstances.

¹⁵ RM 5461.

¹⁶ Andrzej Koziół, *Michael Willmann i jego malarzka pracownia* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UWr, 2013), 33.

¹⁷ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, entry under date: 11.05.1720.

¹⁸ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 10.09.1720.

¹⁹ RM 5521.

²⁰ RM 4457/24, RM 4458.

²¹ RM 4458.

A prime example of this transformation process is provided by the manuscript of the aria *Più del costume questa mia spada* from Hasse's opera *Alfonso*, copied in 1750 by Carl Wilhelm Sedlack, the rector of the music ensemble of the female Cistercian convent in Trzebnica.²² He noted the original title of the aria on the cover and inscribed the Italian text incipit in the instrumental parts. The manuscript later reached the Cistercian monastery in Lubiąż, as indicated by the provenance note "Chori Lub.". A *folio* containing the Italian text, not suitable for the liturgy, was removed and another *folio* with parallel Latin and German contrafacta was inserted in its place. The *folio* from 1750 with the Italian text has not survived.

*Se mi vuole oppresso il fatto*²³ is unique in the repertoire of the Silesian Cistercians due to the German contrafactum *Hohes Paar dein Wohlergehen*, which transforms the aria into an occasional congratulatory composition, associated with a wedding ceremony. It may have been performed during a reception. Such a repertoire in Silesian Cistercian circles is known only from narrative sources; a documented example is the 1719 wedding of Baron von Praschma of Ujazd with Baron Sonek's daughter at the Rudy monastery, where music for the newlyweds was played in the monastery garden.²⁴

A third strategy for adapting castrato arias in the Lubiąż monastery was arranging them for instruments. A notable example includes *Dal labbro che t'accende* from Graun's *Adriano in Siria*, transcribed for a traverse flute solo, two violins, viola and basso.²⁵ Later the contrafactum *O lux beata trinitas* was added to the flute part. The duet *Ora sarai contenta che per te vado* from Graun's *Cinna* was also transcribed for a traverse flute and oboe d'amore, with the note that these instruments were optional when singing.²⁶ The duet *Parto da te ben mio* from Graun's opera *Rodelinda regina de' Langobardi* was adapted for the same instruments. A note on the title page clearly states that the instruments substitute for the vocal parts.²⁷

3. CHANGE OF THE PERFORMANCE SPACE

The primary venue for adapted arias with Latin or German religious texts was the monastery church. This repertoire includes both virtuosic and lyrical compositions. Examples range from elegantly melodic arias, such as Hasse's *Vedrai con tuo periglio*

²² RM 4458: "Ex Musicalibus Caroli Sedlack Rect[or]. Trebn[icensis] descrip. 1750 die 6 Febr."

²³ RM 4424/13. The source includes the text both in Italian and German.

²⁴ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 21.08.1719. Other examples, see entries under dates: 20.06.1728, 25.11.1731.

²⁵ RM 4424/6.

²⁶ RM 4419/1: "Non obligatis dum canitur."

²⁷ RM 4519: "Traveur, Hobo Amour Loco Canto et Basso."

and Graun's *Colla frode chi pretende*, to moderately paced lyrical works such as *Varcherò le flebil onde*, *Più del costume questa mia spada*, *Padre ingiusto sposo ingrato* by Hasse, and expressive, affective arias like Graun's *Misero pargoletto*.

Some arias featured fast tempos and ornamentation characteristic of the castrato voice, including repeated trills, appoggiaturas, intervallic leaps, the transitions between the vocal registers known as the *passaggi*, note repetition, or *messa di voce* technique.²⁸ Works such as Hasse's *Generoso risvegliati o core*, *Rondinella a cui rapita*, and *Se resto sul lido*, present challenges to modern listeners when imagined as Lenten music. However, Cistercians during the Baroque may have viewed these compositions differently. In 1774, the abbot of the Henryków monastery asserted that the purpose of figural music was to serve God's glory and to inspire and move the listeners,²⁹ a view consistent with contemporary literary sources.³⁰ Following the Council of Trent, particularly in multi-confessional regions like Silesia, music was recognised as an effective means of attracting people to the church. Priest Jindřich Ondřej Hoffmann observed in 1642: "If we do like to go where music and gaiety rules, why should not we go to the church, where God is praised in songs?"³¹ Both virtuosity and lyricism could thus perfectly fulfil the task: to move, to enthuse, to strengthen liturgy's message for believers, who were usually not part of the musically educated elite.

The remaining adaptation strategies implied further changes in the performance space, including reception areas such as the refectory, the representation hall, or monastery gardens, as well as places of recreation like monastic houses or the countryside. Arias with Italian text, wedding arias, and arrangements for instruments could have been performed during informal banquets following the significant monastic events, as a *Tafelmusik* for guests, or during the monks' recreation. This hypothesis is supported by the 1706 inventory of the Cistercians from Osek, in which music for amusement, recreation, and the table was distinguished as a separate category: "Tafel

²⁸ Patrick Barbier, *The World of the Castrati: The History of an Extraordinary Operatic Phenomenon*, trans. Margaret Crosland (London: Souvenir Press, 1996), 53.

²⁹ Archdiocesan Archive in Wrocław (PL-WRK) shelfmark V B 6 k: "[...], ut musica figuralis sit pro honore Dei et aedificatione et commotione audientium. Ita resolvi A[nn]o 1772 die 1ma Januarij. Constantinus Abbas."

³⁰ Review of literary sources from Bohemia in the 17th and at the turn of the 18th century, referring to religious music, see Vladimír Mañas, "Music in the Mirror of Religion: On the Discourse of Liturgical Music in the 17th Century (from Scherer and Beyerlinck to Hoffman and Beckovský)," in *Musikalische und literarische Kontexte des Barocks in Mitteleuropa / in der Slowakei*, ed. L. Kačic (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jana Stanislava SAV, 2015), 93–98.

³¹ Mañas, 96.

Musik id est Cantus aliquot jucundi, tempore tabulae et Recreationis producendi” (1706).³² The inventory included vocal-instrumental and instrumental compositions.

Banquets attended by many guests took place after the abbots’ installation in office, the celebration of jubilees of monastic profession following 50 years of service, the establishment of monasteries, on the name days of abbots or monastic officials, and weddings. The compositions in question were also performed by monks during recreation and informal visits by guests.

In the Silesian province of the Order instrumental works such as sinfonias, concertos, chamber and solo works were previously known only from the Krzeszów monastery. One source is inscribed: “Zum Gebrauch bei der Tafelmusik”.³³ Preserved musical sources corroborate the description of the practice in the monastery documents. For example, flute music was performed during a meal in the forest in Rudy in 1717.³⁴ Music also accompanied recreation at the Pilchowice manor in 1725 when five monk-musicians went there “cum instrumentis musicis”.³⁵ Instrumental music was also performed for the guests during meals.³⁶

Determining the function of individual arias and their performance spaces shows that they lacked special status, serving as valuable and essential component of the repertoire. They were valued for the prominence of castrati in 18th-century music, whose vocal timbre evoked associations with virility, nobility, heroism, and strong emotional impact for audience.³⁷

The initial performers of the arias in question were eminent castrato singers, highly esteemed and employed at the royal court in Berlin or the Saxon court in Dresden with superstar status (see Appendix). In the monastery, their arias were sung by other performers. For Cistercian monasteries in Silesia, it remains unclear whether these were women, boys, men, or castrati.

³² “Tafelmusik or songs that will produce a delightful time at table and for recreation.” Barbara Ann Renton, *The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia, with Special Emphasis on the Music Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross* (New York: The City University, 1990), 519–21, see also the inventory from 1720, 522–25.

³³ PL-KRZ, XV-12, RISM ID: 30016100, Sinfonia from *Le feste galanti* by Graun.

³⁴ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 13.05.1717: “musica cum flautnis fuit”.

³⁵ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 13.05.1725.

³⁶ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 29.01.1730: “Tempore mensae musica fuit in variis instrumentis.”

³⁷ Aneta Markuszewska, *W cieniu korony. Muzyka w polityce Jakuba III Stuarta i jego żony Marii Klementyny Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1719–1735)* (Wilanów: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2024), 100.

4. FEMALE PERFORMERS

In Rome and Bologna, successive papal edicts prohibited women from singing or playing in theatres, hence all female roles were performed by castrati.³⁸ Outside the papal estate, women appeared on opera stages and replaced castrati. The repertoire discussed here also includes arias sung by both castratos and women. For example, in 1732, in Rome's Teatro Capranica, the role of Sestia, in Hasse's *Cajo Fabrizio* was created by castrato Angelo Maria Monticelli, described as a contralto with a developed high register, or a mezzo-soprano with a low register. In a Dresden performance in 1734 the role was sung by the renowned Faustina Bordoni-Hasse.³⁹

The employment of women vocalists at the Cistercian female monastery in Trzebnica is well-documented.⁴⁰ Some sopranos also served as the abbess's maids, including Florentina Senfleben, famed for exceptional vocal abilities.⁴¹ However, evidence for women in ensembles at male monasteries is scarce. It is only known, that in Rudy, on the major feasts, the local ensemble was accompanied by external musicians, including sopranos such as the daughter of Matthaeus Jonderko,⁴² the musician from Koźle. Although direct testimonies are limited, it cannot be excluded that these arias were performed by women.

5. BOYS WITH SOPRANO OR ALTO VOICE

Cistercian monasteries in Silesia provided boys' education, also in music. Latin schools operated in Krzeszów, Henryków, Kamieniec, Jemielnica, Rudy,⁴³ and an elementary parish school in Lubiąż.⁴⁴ Over time, several were transformed into gym-

³⁸ Barbier, *World of the Castrati*, 20 and 59; Markuszewska, *W cieniu korony*, 101–2.

³⁹ RM 4457/19. The same change of performers also applies to the RM 5563. In 1754 Violante Menecini Masi, replaced one of the greatest castrati of the era, Giovanni Carestini (premiere in 1748). An opposite example is the aria *Tardi s'avvede d'un tradimento* with Vittoria Peruzzi, during the premiere 1737 and castrato Niccolò Pozzi in 1738, RM 4418/9.

⁴⁰ Hauptman-Fischer, *Kultura muzyczna cystersów w prowincji śląskiej*, 389–406.

⁴¹ PL-WRk, shelfmark 560 h, 560 h, Book of Funerals from St. Bartholomew's Parish in Trzebnica, entry under date: 15.09.1806: "Ein gut gebildetes Weibchen.... Waren zuvor Kammer Mädchen bey der Frau Aebtistin und eine vortreflich Discantissin." Since it was common practice to employ singers as servants of the abbess, this suggests that music was performed in the abbess's private rooms.

⁴² *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 19.03.1729.

⁴³ Heinrich Grüger, "Heinrichau, Zisterzienserabtei (Schlesisches Klosterbuch, 6)," *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 23 (1982): 43.

⁴⁴ Rudolf Walter, "Leubus, Zisterzienserkloster," in *Schlesisches Musiklexikon*, ed. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht (Wißner-Verlag, 2001), 421.

nasia modelled on Jesuit schools (Rudy,⁴⁵ Henryków,⁴⁶ Jemielnica and Krzeszów⁴⁷). After the dissolution of the monasteries, the Cistercian Order, alongside the Jesuits, was recognized as a leading institution of music education in Silesia.⁴⁸

Boys demonstrating musical aptitude were educated at the monastery's expense.⁴⁹ After mastering the fundamentals of music playing, singing and Latin, they could join the ensemble upon the regent's recommendation.⁵⁰ The diary from Rudy monastery confirms the activity of the *Schola Puerorum*, recording its participation in Count Gabriel Wyhowski's funeral in 1720,⁵¹ as well as the organist's instruction of the boys in singing and playing the violin.⁵² The presence of pupils in the ensembles in Lubiąż, Jemielnica and Kamieniec is confirmed by their signatures in the music manuscripts;⁵³ several examples from the Krzeszów monastery were reported by Rudolf Walter.⁵⁴ However, the system of music education in the Cistercian Order is poorly documented. A single document mentions the music education at the Krzeszów Gymnasium in 1801, with two hours of music for all pupils, overseen by violinist Father Cornelius Knoblich. By 1805, 18 of the 35 pupils were musicians.⁵⁵ Music lessons, both vocal and instrumental, were also held at the monastery in Henryków.⁵⁶

Boys typically entered five-year gymnasia around the age of 10, often completing schooling before voice mutation, which occurred at about 15.⁵⁷ Johann Friedrich Agricola, pupil of Bach, stated in his 1757 treatise, that boys' voices typically deepen

⁴⁵ Heinrich Grüger, "Der Orden der Zisterzienser in Schlesien (1175–1810). Ein Überblick," *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 23 (1982): 115.

⁴⁶ Grüger, "Heinrichau, Zisterzienserabtei," 43.

⁴⁷ Grüger, "Der Orden der Zisterzienser in Schlesien," 115.

⁴⁸ Carl Julius Adolf Hoffmann, "Einige Worte über die Anwendung der Musik in den katholischen Kirchen Schlesien," *Breslauer Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, no. 6 (1832): 9.

⁴⁹ Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, 41.

⁵⁰ Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, 114–15.

⁵¹ *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 10.05.1720.

⁵² *Diarium Raudense*, PL-WRk, shelfmark V 26 a, 25.03.1720: "Dominus Abbas permisit Organistae ut pueros instrueret in cantu et fidib[us]."

⁵³ Hauptman-Fischer, *Kultura muzyczna cystersów w prowincji śląskiej*, 119.

⁵⁴ Walter, *Musikgeschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Grüssau*, 42–43.

⁵⁵ Walter, 47.

⁵⁶ Remigiusz Pośpiech, *Muzyka wielogłosowa w celebracji eucharystycznej na Śląsku w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Opole: Uniwersytet Opolski, 2004), 259.

⁵⁷ Data from antiquity to modern times, Martin Ashley and Ann-Christine Mecke, "'Boyes Are Apt to Change Their Voice at about Fourteene Yeeres of Age': An Historical Background to the Debate about Longevity in Boy Treble Singers," *Reviews of Research in Human Learning and Music* 1 (2013): 9, <https://doi.org/10.6022/journal.rhlm.2013001>.

around the age of 14.⁵⁸ Excellent vocal skills, highly valued by choir conductors, appeared between the ages of 13 and 15.⁵⁹

Could Silesian boys perform nicely such demanding repertoire without the intensive training characteristic of young castrati? Even Jesuit *convicti*—boarding schools emphasizing practical musical training—devoted little time to vocal technique.⁶⁰ The education of castrati was meticulously planned, aiming at proficiency within 6–10 years.⁶¹ The daily lessons, lasting several hours, included breathing techniques and enabled mastery of Baroque ornamentation, such as *passaggi*, repeated trills, *messa di voce*, *martellato* agility, *gorgheggi*, mordents and appoggiaturas.⁶²

It seems implausible that boys educated in Cistercian monasteries possessed the vocal skills for the repertoire requiring a long-breathing technique that the castrati owed to a combination of childlike vocal cords, an expanded man's chest and several years of specialised training. There is no evidence of the teaching of young castrati in Silesia, and the practice, widespread in Italy, appears to have had no equivalent north of the Alps.

6. A TEENAGER'S AND A MAN'S REPERTOIRE: *VÒ SOLCANDO UN MAR CRUDELE* (RM 5044) AS AN EXAMPLE

This copy is exceptional due to its provenance, linked to Father Maurus Brandtwein (1719–1783), regent of the Lubiąż ensemble and copyist of the source.⁶³ He was educated by the Jesuits at the St. Joseph's Convict in Wrocław (German: Breslau). As a teenager, Brandtwein performed soprano solo parts in school plays, for instance in *Novus Homo sanctus Aethiopiae rex Elesbaan* (1734), at the age of 15.⁶⁴ In 1743, at the age of 24, he entered the Cistercian Order and was later esteemed as an expert in music.⁶⁵ The manuscript bears the copyist's monogram "F.B.", referring to his lay name, Franciscus (see example 1). This suggests that the copy was made before his entry into the monastery, presumably in Wrocław. Brandtwein's

⁵⁸ Julianne C. Baird, ed. *Introduction to the Art of Singing by Johann Friedrich Agricola*, trans. Julianne C. Baird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 72.

⁵⁹ Ashley and Mecke, "Boyes Are Apt," 2.

⁶⁰ Tomasz Jeż devoted an extensive chapter of his monograph to the musical practice of Jesuit *convicti* in Silesia, see his *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej (1581–1776)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2013), 379–418.

⁶¹ Barbier, *World of the Castrati*, 48.

⁶² Barbier, 53.

⁶³ Hauptman-Fischer, *Kultura muzyczna cystersów w prowincji śląskiej*, 330–32, 355–57.

⁶⁴ Jeż, *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku*, 366.

⁶⁵ PL-WRK, sygn. V 5 [unnumbered page]: "factus musices gnarus".

education at the Jesuit school coincided with the decline of Italian theatre in Wrocław (1725–1734), when the castrati Filippo Finazzi and Giovanni Dreyer appeared in the city.⁶⁶ Although Vinci's opera *Artaserse*, from which the aria *Vò solcando un mar crudele* originates, was not staged in Wrocław,⁶⁷ his arias featured in pasticcios performed there in 1728. Among the singers was the castrato Finazzi, active in the Wrocław theatre until 1730,⁶⁸ who also participated in performances of sacred music, for example in the Jesuit church on the Feast of St. Ignatius in 1728.⁶⁹ It is highly probable that Brandtwain transcribed the aria in question through his contacts with Italian opera performers in Wrocław.

These singers introduced the so-called trunk or suitcase arias (*arie di baule*), which could be inserted into an existing opera at the performer's request to showcase vocal prowess.⁷⁰ Brandtwein copied the aria as a teenager for personal use, indicating he had achieved sufficient vocal mastery to perform it. Later, he brought the aria to the monastery, where a religious text was subsequently added. The aria was preserved until the monastery's dissolution, reflecting its practicality and frequent performance. The performer was likely Brandtwein himself, though whether he sang in falsetto, like contemporary singers,⁷¹ or was a castrato cannot be determined.

⁶⁶ For more on Wrocław's opera theatre, see Walentyna Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Opera włoska we Wrocławiu (1725–1734) i jej związki z innymi ośrodkami muzycznymi," *Italica Wratislaviensa*, no. 5 (2014). In the last decade several musical sources related to Wrocław opera performances have also been found in Spáčilová, "Počátky opery ve Slezsku."

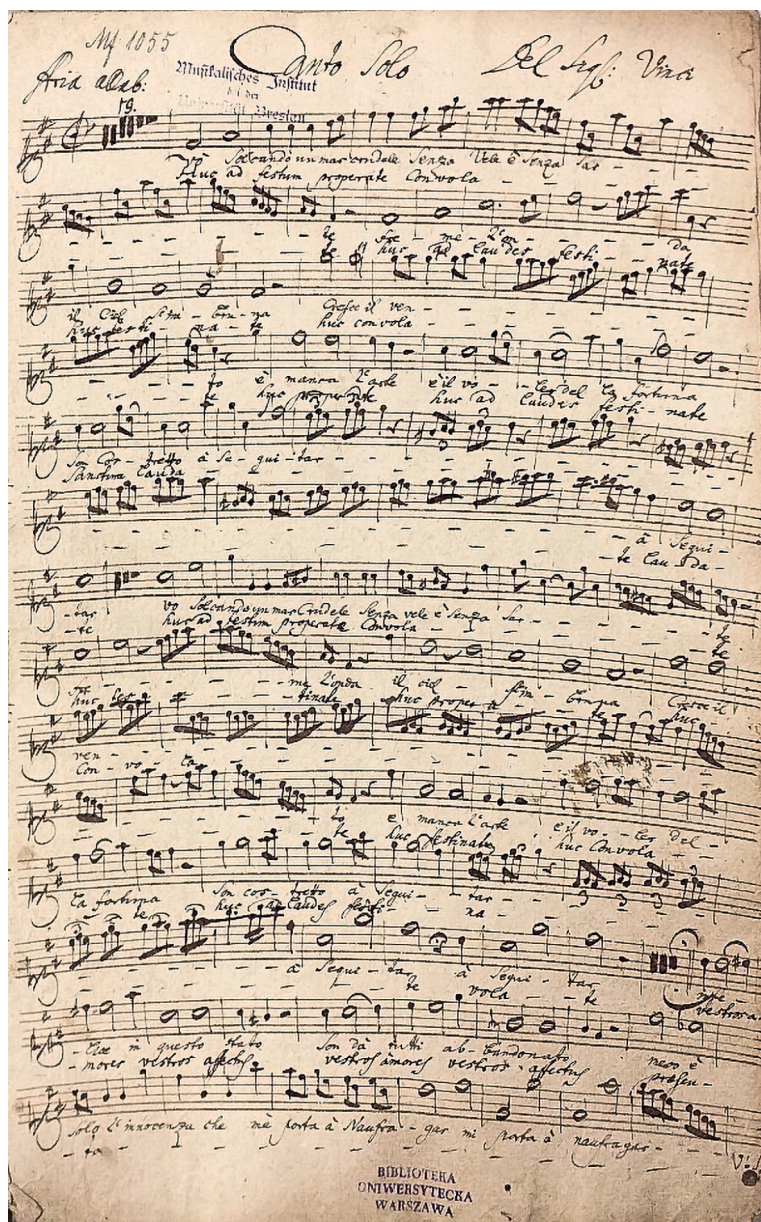
⁶⁷ Johann Mattheson, "Verzeichnis aller welschen Opern, welche von 1725 bis 1734 auf dem breslauischen Schauplatz vorgestellt worden sind," in *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der Tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler etc. Leben, Werke, Verdienste etc. erscheinen sollen um fernern Ausbau angegeben* [...] (Hamburg: In Verlegung des Verfassers, 1740), 374–78.

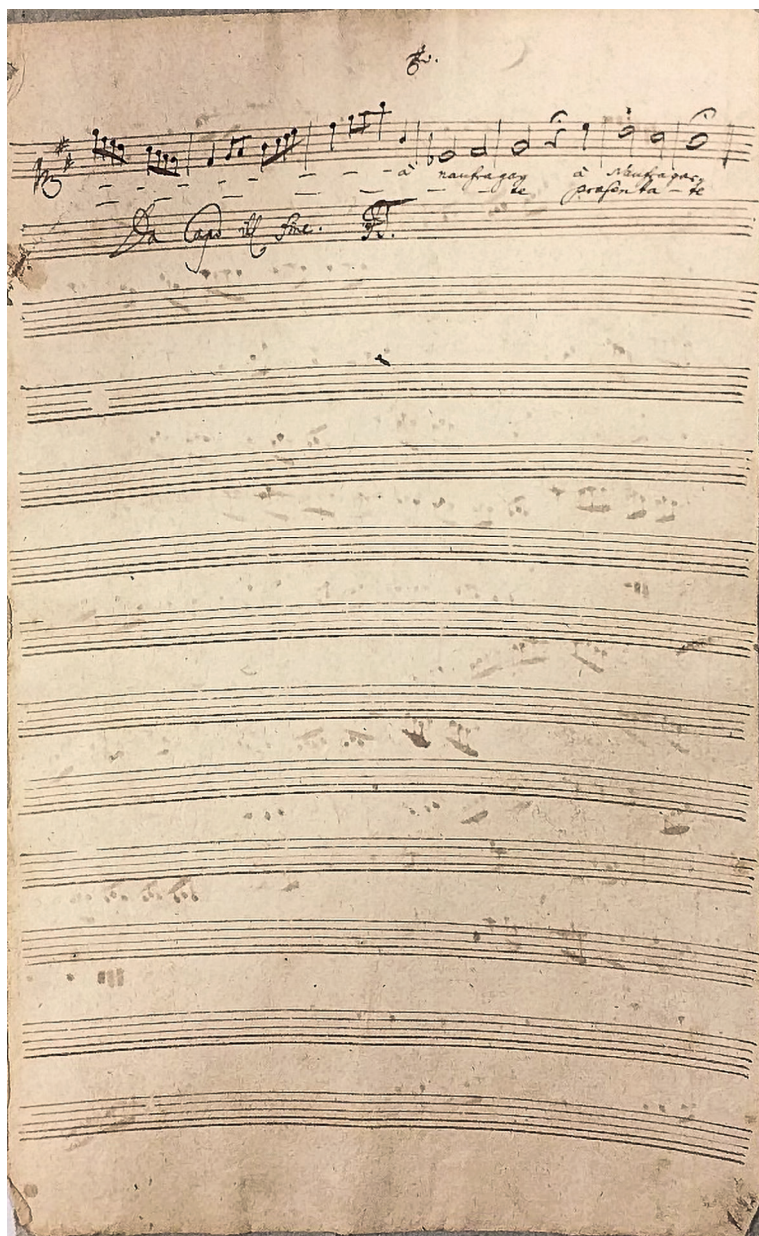
⁶⁸ Walentyna Węgrzyn-Klisowska, "Działalność muzyczna i kompozytorska weneckiego kastrata Filippo Finazziego i jej śląskie odbicie," *Zeszyt Naukowy Akademii Muzycznej we Wrocławiu*, no. 74 (1999): 125.

⁶⁹ Tomasz Jeż, "The Reception of Neapolitan Music in the Monastic Centres of Baroque Silesia," *Pergolesi Studies*, no. 8 (2012): 343.

⁷⁰ Daniel Brandenburg, "Italian Operisti, Repertoire and the Aria Di Baule: Insights from the Pirker Correspondence," in *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe: Contexts, Materials and Aesthetics*, ed. Berthold Over and Gesa zur Nieden (Transcript Verlag, 2012), 272–73, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839448854-014>.

⁷¹ Franco Fagioli is one of the most renowned countertenors, in fact a falsettist, performing castrato parts, including this aria. He performed the role of Arbace in a production of *Artaserse* by Vinci at the Opéra National De Lorraine in 2012.





Example 1. Aria *Vò solcando un mar crudele* Leonarda Vinci,
Canto Solo, RM 5044

7. MALE PERFORMERS

Monasteries housed excellent vocalists among monks and lay staff. Extant documents record only basses and tenors, or provide a generic term, as with Father Gregorius Bukovetz (1716–1768), described as *musicus vocalis virtuosus*. It remains unclear whether high parts were sung by falsettists (soprano, alto) or castrati, as the repertoire may suggest.

Some castrati arias were transposed an octave lower. *Più del costume questa mia spada*, composed for contralto castrato Domenico Annibali, was transposed from alto clef C-3 to bass F-4 clef in the Trzebnica monastery.⁷² Similarly, *Saggio guerriero antico* written for soprano castrato Paolo Bedeschi, was adapted for tenor voice in Lubiąż.⁷³ A comparison of *Padre ingiusto sposo ingrato* from Lubiąż with the Berlin version⁷⁴ reveals omitted trills and appoggiaturas in the monastery copy. In other passages the creative adaptation is evident: the copyist supplemented the vocal line with excerpts from the violin melody to fit the lengthy Latin text.

A significant number of arias were transcribed in their original alto or soprano range. These may have been performed by castrati or falsettists. In Italy falsetto was considered unmasculine and often replaced by castrati, especially in church choirs,⁷⁵ whereas in German- and English-speaking regions, male falsetto voices were valued. The alto range is relatively easy to train and accessible to most baritones.⁷⁶ A possible indication of falsettists in the Jemielnica monastery is a salary list of 13 lower officials, which includes a male soprano and alto.⁷⁷

There are no extant references to castrati in Silesian Cistercian monasteries. Some castrati joined monasteries after their careers, as in the cases of Giovanni Dreyer⁷⁸ and Filippo Balatri at Fürstenfeld.⁷⁹ The Pauline monk, castrato Father Piotr Polakowski

⁷² RM 4458. The aria was also transposed for soprano (a fifth higher), e.g. in the collection Maria Antonia Walpurgis, transposition from A to E major, RISM ID: 451500624.

⁷³ RM 5429.

⁷⁴ Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, shelfmark, Am.B 305, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001C44300000000>.

⁷⁵ Barbier, *World of the Castrati*, 19 and 59; Markuszewska, *W cieniu korony*, 100.

⁷⁶ Laura E. DeMarco, “The Fact of the Castrato and the Myth of the Countertenor,” *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2002): 175. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3601006>.

⁷⁷ Augustin Weltzel, *Das fürstliche Cisterzienserstift Himmelwitz* (Breslau: Druck von R. Nischkowsky, 1895), 148.

⁷⁸ Paolo Piccardi, “La Cappella Musicale della Santissima Annunziata attraverso i documenti di archivio dalle origini al XVIII secolo,” *Biblioteca della Provincia Toscana dei Servi di Maria*, no. 10 (2014): 83.

⁷⁹ Klaus Mohr, *Die Musikgeschichte des Klosters Fürstenfeld* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1987), 24.

was active in Czeszochowa, alongside many male falsettists.⁸⁰ Although each of the performance practices presented here is possible, they cannot be fully confirmed. The arias may have been sung by women or male falsettists. The hypothesis of the presence of castrati in Silesian monasteries also appears plausible, with the preserved magnificent repertoire providing the basis for searching for traces of this practice.

CONCLUSION

Opera was among the most fashionable Baroque entertainments, with castrati embodying the era's pursuit of affectation and sensuality. Their repertoire drew audiences into churches and deeply moved both believers and monks. The cultural transfer and creative reception of those arias to the Cistercian monastery was enabled by a well-established network of musical contacts. It was presumably acquired from Dresden and Berlin court theatres around mid-century (see Appendix), with some arias reaching the monastery only a few years after their creation, perhaps through Abbot Tobias Stusche's⁸¹ direct ties to Frederick II's court in Berlin.⁸²

The transfer of arias from theatre to church significantly altered the performance space in both acoustics and visual elements.⁸³ In church, arias were performed at significantly reduced volume by vocalists such as falsettists, female singers, and possibly young boys. The audience's reactions also differed: in the theatre, arias received resounding applause and vocal admiration ("One God, one Farinelli!"),⁸⁴ while church services were usually quiet.⁸⁵ The opera theatre, as a performing art form, created a captivating alternate reality. However, during the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic Church engaged adherents through Baroque churches adorned with perfect

⁸⁰ Paweł Podejko, *Kapela wokalnoinstrumentalna na Jasnej Górze* (Kraków: PWM, 1977), 36–45.

⁸¹ Father Tobias Stusche was the abbot of the monasteries in Kamieniec (German: Kamenz; 1742–1757) and Lubiąż (1747–1757).

⁸² Gregor Frömrich, *Kurze Geschichte der ehemaligen Cistercienser Abtey Kamenz in Schlesien* (Glatz: gedruckt bey Pompejus Erben, 1817), 153 and 157; Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Martin Sebastian Dittmans Chronik der Äbte von Leubus," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, no. 1 (1856): 296.

⁸³ Initially, these modified arias may have resembled oratorio arias, combining operatic music with religious text, but in both cases the performance lacked stage action, with the text delivered by designated characters conveying the biblical narrative.

⁸⁴ "One God, one Farinelli!" This spontaneous exclamation was raised during Farinelli's performance by one of the women present in the audience; Barbier, *World of the Castrati*, 183.

⁸⁵ David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns," *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (2003): 18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44598520>.

“religious scenography” subordinated to the ideological concept of the church.⁸⁶ The interior of the Lubiąż church was certainly visually breathtaking, with numerous Baroque artworks, including wooden stalls with an angelic orchestra of 56 figures playing instruments,⁸⁷ and sixty paintings by Michael Willmann (1630–1706).⁸⁸

The adaptation of operatic arias at Cistercian monasteries had a significant social dimension. As prominent institutions within the Silesian elite, the monasteries provided access to operatic repertoire originally composed for European courts, performing it not only for monks but also for local authorities and the aristocracy during Sunday services, feasts, weddings, funerals, and visits. While opera theatres were primarily accessible to the elite, Cistercian monasteries enabled local communities to experience it in their immediate surroundings. Opera was a democratic form of entertainment, with tickets available to all; yet the Cistercian church was far more inclusive, open to everyone free of charge. During services in its exceptional interior, local residents—including monastery officials and villagers under the monastery’s authority—listened to famous castrati arias. This moving and delightful music was intended to inspire spiritual reflection and to underscore the immense authority and power of the Church during the Baroque era.

⁸⁶ The theatrical concept of church interior design, developed in the Baroque period, assumed a “scenographic composition of altars and the combination and synchronisation of all elements of painted, sculpted, and stucco decorations, as well as movable furnishings with architecture”; Wojciech Bałus, *Gotyk bez Boga? W kręgu znaczeń symbolicznych architektury sakralnej XIX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 2011), 59, <https://doi.org/10.12775/978-83-231-6002-1>.

⁸⁷ Romuald Nowak, “‘Orkiestra anielska’ w rzeźbie śląskiej XVII i XVIII wieku,” in *Musica Sacra. Motywy muzyczne w sztuce śląskiej XIII–XVIII w., katalog wystawy, Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu*, ed. Maria Zduniak et al. (Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1997): 28–29.

⁸⁸ Andrzej Kozieł, “Doskonała szkoła malarstwa czyli słów kilka o zespole obrazów Michaela Willmanna z dawnego kościoła klasztornego cystersów w Lubiążu,” in *Opactwo cystersów w Lubiążu i artyści*, ed. Andrzej Kozieł (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UWr, 2008), 243.

APPENDIX

List of arias originally performed by castrati in the repertoire of the Cistercian Monastery in Lubiąż (Silesia, Poland)

No.	Author and title	Aria and contrafactum	Copy date	Premiere	Role	Castrato singer
1.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Adriano in Siria</i>	<i>Dal labbro che t'accende</i> PL-Wu, RM 4424/6 [<i>O lux beata trinitas</i>] ¹		Berlin, Hofoper, 1746	Adriano	Huber, Antonio alto castrato
2.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Adriano in Siria</i>	<i>Saggio guerriero antico</i> RM 5429 [<i>O sole virgo pulchrior</i>]	before 1758*	Berlin, Hofoper, 1746	Aquilio	Bedeschi, Paolo soprano castrato
3.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Angelica e Medoro</i>	<i>Dimmi una volta addio</i> (duetto) RM 4421 [<i>O sapientia quae ex ore altissimi</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1749	Medoro, Angelica	Salimbeni Felice soprano castrato Astrua, Giovanna, soprano
4.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Catone in Utica</i>	<i>È in ogni core diverso amore</i> RM 4420/4 [<i>Omni die dic Mariae</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1744	Arbace	Huber, Antonio alto castrato
6.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Cesare e Cleopatra</i>	<i>Colla frode chi pretende</i> RM 4418/9 [<i>O amor cordis mei</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1742	Lentulo	Huber, Antonio alto castrato
7.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Cesare e Cleopatra</i>	<i>Se mi vuole oppresso il fatto</i> RM 4424/13 [<i>Hohes Paar dein Wohlergehen</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1742	Tolomeo	Triulzi, Giovanni soprano castrato
8.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Cinna</i>	<i>Ora sarai contenta che per te vado</i> RM 4419/1 [<i>O feminarum Femina</i>], [<i>Omni die dic Mariae</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1748	Cinna, Emilia	Salimbeni Felice soprano castrato Astrua, Giovanna, soprano
9.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Cinna</i>	<i>È più lieto e più content</i> RM 4401/7 [<i>Ave virgo gloriosa</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1748	Augusto Ottavio	Huber, Antonio alto castrato

¹ All sources listed in the table are held in the University of Warsaw Library, the PL-Wu siglum will be further omitted.

* Date based on the handwriting of the copyist, Carolus Leyhel (c. 1708–1758).

** Date based on the handwriting of the copyist, Casparus Raff (1683–1738).

10.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Demofonte</i>	<i>Misero pargoletto</i> RM 5461 [<i>Salve regina</i>]	1753	Berlin, Hofoper, 1746	Timante	Salimbeni Felice, soprano castrato
11.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Demofonte</i>	<i>No non chiedo amate stiele</i> RM 5461 [<i>Salve regina</i>]	1753	Berlin, Hofoper, 1746	Cherinto	Porporino [Huber, Antonio] soprano castrato
12.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i>	<i>Di questo core soave amore</i> RM 4424/11 [<i>Ad te cor volat</i>]		Berlin, Hofoper, 1748	Agamennone	Huber, Antonio alto castrato
13.	Graun, Carl Heinrich <i>Rodelinda regina de' Langobardi</i>	<i>Parto da te ben mio</i> RM 4519 [<i>Christe Jesu fons bonorum</i>]		Berlin, Schlosstheater, 1741	Bertarido, Rodelinda	Santarelli, Giuseppe alto castrato, Gasparini, Giovanna, soprano
14.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Alfonso</i>	<i>Più del costume questa mia spada</i> RM 4458 [<i>En rex supreme</i>], [<i>O großes Sakrament</i>]	1750	Dresden, Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater, 1738	Garzia	Annibali, Domenico alto castrato / soprano
15.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Antigono</i>	<i>Piango è ver ma non procede</i> RM 5701 [<i>Verbum iniquum</i>]	before 1758*	Dresden, Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater, 1744	Demetrio	Annibali, Domenico alto castrato /soprano
16.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Arminio</i>	<i>Se ripigliarmi volevi il cor</i> RM 5701 [<i>Caelum plaude terra</i>], [<i>In te Domine speravi</i>]	before 1758*	Dresden, Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater, 1745	Segimiro	Bindi, Giovanni soprano castrato
17.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Artemisia</i>	<i>Verterò se vuoi contento</i> RM 4428/1 [<i>Ach liebster Jesu</i>], [<i>In Deo meo securus gaudebo</i>]	1761	Dresden, Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater, 1754	Idaspe	Belli Giuseppe soprano castrato
18.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Cleofide</i>	<i>Vedrai con tuo periglio</i> RM 4457/5 [<i>Ibo et ibo</i>], [<i>Aurora lucis rutilat, caelum laudibus</i>]	before 1758*	Dresden, Opernhaus am Zwinger (1731)	Poro	Campioli, Antonio alto castrato
19.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Cleofide</i>	<i>Generoso risvegliati o core</i> RM 6513 [<i>Denket nach ihr harte Herzen</i>]	before 1738**	Dresden, Opernhaus am Zwinger, 1731	Poro	Campioli, Antonio alto castrato
20.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Cajo Fabricio</i>	<i>Padre ingiusto sposo ingrato</i> RM 4457/19 [<i>O lux beata trinitas</i>]		Roma, Teatro Capranica, 1732	Sestia	Monticelli, Angelo Maria soprano / alto castrato

No.	Author and title	Aria and contrafactum	Copy date	Premiere	Role	Castrato singer
21.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Cajo Fabricio</i>	Varcherò <i>la flebil onda</i> RM 4457/19 [<i>O lux beata trinitas</i>]		Roma, Teatro Capranica, 1732	Volusio	Fontana Agostino soprano castrato
22.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Demofoonte</i>	<i>Se ardire e speranza</i> RM 5563 [<i>O flora mundi</i>]	1754	Dresden, Opernhaus am Zwinger, 1748	Timante	Carestini, Giovanni soprano castrato
23.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Demofoonte</i>	<i>Prudente mi chiedi?</i> RM 5563 [<i>Fideles devoti convolate</i>]	1754	Dresden, Opernhaus am Zwinger, 1748	Timante	Carestini, Giovanni soprano castrato
24.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Didone Abbandonata</i>	<i>Se resto sul lido</i> RM 4310 [<i>Natantes Syrenae cantantes</i>]	1755	Hubertusburg, 1742	Enea	Annibali, Domenico alto castrato /soprano
25.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Didone Abbandonata</i>	<i>Fra lo splendor del trono</i> RM 4457/24 [<i>Pater summe majestatis</i>]	1750	Hubertusburg, 1742	Jarba	Rocchetti, Ventura alto castrato
26.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Il re pastore</i>	<i>I voi che fausti ognor donate</i> RM 4452/3 [<i>Inter tristes corporis luctus</i>], [<i>Ad hoc festum venite gentes</i>], [<i>Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus</i>]		Hubertusburg, 1755	Alessandro	Bruscolini, Pasquale alto castrato
27.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Ipermestra</i>	<i>Tornerò perdon ti chieggiò</i> RM 5521 [<i>Ave regina caelorum</i>], [<i>O Stünder komm</i>], [<i>O mi Jesu</i>], [<i>Seht Jesús Jael</i>]	before 1758*	Hubertusburg, 1751	Plistene	Annibali, Domenico alto castrato /soprano (1752)
28.	Hasse, Johann Adolf <i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i>	<i>Rondinella a cui rapita</i> RM 5383	1755	Venezia, Teatro Grimani di S. Gio. Grisostomo, 1747	Mirteo	Gherardi, Lorenzo soprano castrato
29.	Hasse, Johann Adolf Tito Vespasiano (<i>La clemenza di Tito</i>)	<i>Tardi s'avvede d'un tradimento</i> RM 4418/9 [<i>O si instar thuris liceat</i>]		Pesaro Pubblico Teatro, 1737	Publio	Peruzzi Vittoria
30.	Latilla, Gaetano <i>Gismondo</i>	<i>Amore e un gran furbetto</i> RM 5026 [<i>Salve virgo Christi parens</i>]	before 1758*	Naples, 1737	Giocondo	
31.	Vinci, Leonardo <i>Artaserse</i>	<i>I'o solcando un mar crudele</i> RM 5044 [<i>Huc ad festum properate</i>]		Roma, Teatro delle Dame, 1730	Arbace	Carestini, Giovanni (Cusanino) soprano castrato

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V 5 Nomina Fratrum Lubensium ab Anno 1659 usque ad praesens saeculum, Taufmatrikel Kloster Leubus, Traubuch Kloster Leubus, Totenbuch Kloster Leubus

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