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The Church Music of Stanisław Moniuszko: Genre, Typology, Function, Axiology

ABSTRACT: Works of church music symbolically open and close Moniuszko's creative path. Yet this species of music – by no means marginal, present during all the decades of compositional work (1839–1872) – is the least researched and not precisely ordered.

This article represents the continuation of the author's research interest in Moniuszko's church music and covers the methodological issues relating to the genre. The four components listed in the title form the key generic *ordo*. Together they make up a thematically coherent complex, not previously dealt with in Polish scholarship. The aim of this article is to precisely order the composer's church music in a scientific way. Since church music of this period is characterised by numerous literary (poetic) connections, which also applies to Moniuszko's work, scholars' statements concerning religious themes in Polish literature and Romantic music have also been taken into account.

The most general ordering of Moniuszko's works of church music is made possible by a sort of standard musical typology (employed for music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), with scoring as a chief criterion.

Axiology – the question of value – is the most difficult aspect of research into creative work, and it is of fundamental importance. Not all scholars take account of the philosophy of value. In the article, axiological issues are only signalled. Given the important connections between music and literature during the Romantic era (including in Moniuszko's works of church music), the general theory of the axiology of the literary work is taken into account. The value of a work cannot be determined solely by its axiology in reception. Seen from the perspective of a 'spiritual diary', and also of a liturgical typology, the strands and types of piety, and literary connections, Moniuszko's church music can be understood as 'music of confidence and trust', in the broader sense referring not only to individual experience, but also to collective, national experience.

KEYWORDS: genre, musical function of a work, liturgical function of a work, spiritual function of a work, a model of church music, axiology

Works of church music symbolically open and close Moniuszko's creative path. Yet this species of music – by no means marginal, present during all the decades of his compositional work (1839–1872) – has yet to be treated to

a scholarly monograph.¹ The church works are also rarely performed. A commentator would be entirely correct in stating that we know essentially little about Moniuszko's church music.

This article represents the continuation of my research interests in Moniuszko's church music.² It covers the methodological issues relating to the genre.

The four components listed in the title form the key generic *ordo*. Together they make up a thematically coherent complex, not previously dealt with in Polish scholarship. The first component is addressed in the introduction. The article will then deal in turn with typology (various possibilities for setting the works in order), function (their practical use, application, performance) and an assessment of the value of this output (the fundamental and most difficult element).

The aim of this article is to precisely order the composer's church music in a scientific way and to profile Moniuszko's model of church music, derived from the problematics of its particular components.

Since the church music of this period in general has numerous literary (poetical) connections, which also applies to the works of Moniuszko (see below), we are justified in invoking assertions made above all by scholars specialising in Polish religious music and in Romantic music in general: Zofia Stefanowska, Stefan Sawicki and musicologist Revd Karol Mrowiec CM.

Stefan Sawicki sums up: 'Total religiosity – a leading characteristic of romanticism'.³ Zofia Stefanowska elaborates: 'Romantic religiosity would not be confined to the private domain; expansive and invasive, it encompassed all the areas of reflection on the world: from politics to the railways, from art to newspaper *faits divers*. And it is this type of religiosity, aimed at a *totally* [my emphasis] deified vision of the world, that is perhaps the most Romantic feature of Norwid'.⁴ That understandably created the possibility for freer scholarly reflection, along with the danger of interpretative (including creative) distortion, which no doubt accounts for Norwid's ironical remark: 'what will become of it... for it may be Cleopatra... or perhaps the Assumption' (Chrzanowski, 1988, p. 189). One must also be aware that generalising statements reflect a particular tendency, whereas the individual religious inspirations of composers of those times were incredibly diverse and complex.⁵

By analogy with the 'total religiosity' of romanticism (in literature), one may propose the formula 'total demise – a leading feature of church music of the

¹The only text published in book form (from more than 70 years ago), Zdzisław Jachimecki's *Muzyka kościelna Moniuszki* [Moniuszko's church music] (Łódź, 1948), is not of a monographic character. The small number of later articles largely adopt and perpetuate Jachimecki's assertions, and they are of a similar popular character, confined to the basic facts. A new typological proposition is contained in Jan Węcowski's (1998) synthetic sketch.

²My previous publications in this area, detailed in the Bibliography, include *Twórczość litanijna* (the first Polish monograph of the *Litanie Ostrobramskie* [Litanies of the Gate of Dawn]) (Dąbek, 1996) and the articles 'Offertorium' (Dąbek, 2005) and 'Nowa metodologia' (Dąbek, 2016).

³'Many regard total religiosity as a leading characteristic of romanticism' (Sawicki, 1994b, p. 177).

⁴The Polish poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883), (see Stefanowska, 1968, p. 14).

⁵As the example of Mickiewicz proves (Siwicka, 2002, p. 93n).

nineteenth century' (especially the first half of that century); bearing in mind, that is, two important symptoms of that demise among the many that can be discerned. The first is laicisation, the abandonment of the style of church music. According to Moniuszko: 'all the aids to secular music have been transferred to the Church' (Dąbek, 2011, p. 14). That no doubt relates to all forms of religious music of the Romantic era, to the symphonic mass and to the oratorios by outstanding European composers, from Haydn (whose symphonic masses were criticised for being too showy, as we will see) and Beethoven, to Schubert, Berlioz, Liszt and Bruckner. The other major symptom is dilettantism, 'a parochial ineptness of technique'. This wording of the musicologist Revd Karol Mrowiec (1964, p. 22) refers in particular to Polish liturgical music: 'A low level of professional training was combined with dilettantism in church compositions during the nineteenth century, which in most cases displayed a parochial ineptness of technique.'

The 'total religiosity' of the literature makes us aware of an extremely important context for church music (and especially its texts) and a crucial tendency. It highlights an extensive biblical tradition and the Romantic interpretation of the Bible in the work of the poets Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, Zygmunt Krasiński and Cyprian Kamil Norwid (Ingłot, 2007; Kubski, 2005; Maciejewski, 1995).

That poetry also interested Moniuszko; he was particularly fond of Mickiewicz. One may speak of Moniuszko's Mickiewiczian debut (1838), 20 years after the bard. There is no need to demonstrate Moniuszko's familiarity with that rich literary context. It is justifiable, however, to take account of that important context in Moniuszko studies, due to the aforementioned literary contexts, and also the well-known Romantic synthesis of the arts (painting, poetry and music) – the theory of aesthetic equivalents (*correspondance des arts*). As we know, music was the most prominent among them at that time. The common aim was to reach, in particular, through the means proper to each of the arts, the transcendental world, to 'touch' that which was called God, the absolute, infinity. Hence symbolism, at times profound, was important to and characteristic of Romantic literature and also music. It was also present in the *Litanie Ostrobramskie* [Litanies of the Gate of Dawn], as documented in my monograph (see below).

Typology (1) musical: scoring

The most general ordering of Moniuszko's works of church music is made possible by a sort of standard musical typology (employed for music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), with scoring as a chief criterion.⁶

⁶The first nineteenth-century publications devoted to Moniuszko, and also the major publications of the first half of the twentieth century, do not contain a typology of the composer's religious music, only a general ordering or profiling of the major forms and works, with a few selected examples. A general ordering is contained in the first monograph of the composer, Aleksander Walicki's (1873) *Stanisław Moniuszko*. The quite extensive appendix ('Kompozycje Stanisława Moniuszki' [Compositions by Stanisław Moniuszko], pp. 109–140) covers a list of works ordered according to genre and forces. It begins with religious music, which is divided into works for voices alone and with

This kind of typology is contained in two published works of a scholarly character (Węcowski, 1998, pp. 113–132; Duszyk, 2000). They are presented below in chronological order. In the first typology, the original numbering is retained; in the second, a number with Roman numerals is introduced. Similarities (*) and differences (x) are indicated. The number of works in a group is given in parentheses and the total number of works at the end. The primary name of a group is given in square brackets:

Węcowski (1998)

- A. (31) Solo and duet with organ (pf., orch.)*
 - B. (10) Choral works *a cappella* x
 - C. (27) Choral works with instrumental accompaniment**
 - D. (27) Compositions of a religious mood x
 - E. Instrumental compositions a/ (17) Organ arrangements of religious works *** b/ (4) Instrumental works x
- Total: 116

Encyklopedia Muzyczna PWM (2000)

- I (29) Religious songs for voice and organ/piano *
 - II (2) Songs for voice with orchestra/chamber ensemble *
 - III (6) [Vocal duets] Religious with organ/piano *
 - IV (23) Religious [choral] **
 - V (10) Religious [for solo voices, choir and orchestra/piano] **
 - VI (23) [Instrumental] Organ arrangements of religious songs ***
- Total: 93
- Similarities of typology: A=I, II, III, IV; C=V; Ea=VI

The first typology has a division into five groups, the second into six groups, with differences in names, but with numerous similarities. Węcowski proposes three new groups. The first of them is B choral works *a cappella*. There are few such works (ten), since Moniuszko was not keen on such a scoring, although it was employed by European composers of sacred music, such as Rossini, Liszt and Gounod. D works of a religious mood, numerous (27); this is a criterion in the spirit of the age, quite subjective, sometimes used in old texts (X. J. P., 1904).

song, under which 35 works are listed. The next monograph, Bolesław Wilczyński's (1874) *Stanisław Moniuszko i sztuka muzyczna narodowa*, confines itself, in the third chapter (section on Moniuszko's songs and religious music), to remarks on organ (p. 45) and a brief profile of the Polish *Msza żałobna* [Funeral mass] in D minor and *Mszy Piotrowińskiej* [St Peter's mass] (p. 46). In the only monograph produced to date, Jachimecki's *Muzyka kościelna* (1948), this genre is ordered by means of the criteria of form (mass, litany, motet, *cantata religiosa*) and forces (solo song, vocal ensembles of different forces, organ). In each group, the author describes selected works. *Almanach Moniuszkowski 1872–1952*, ed. W. Rudziński and J. Prosnak (1952), distinguishes 'Religious works', which are listed in alphabetical order (pp. 212–221, 66 items) and 'Organ works' (p. 248).

E the group of instrumental compositions is divided internally. This is justified inasmuch as Moniuszko wrote an overture for orchestra *Kain* (*Śmierć Abła*) [Cain (Death of Abel)]. The author also includes in this group *Ojczy nasz* [*The Lord's Prayer*] for string quintet and *Anioł Pański w wiejskim kościółku* [Angelus in a rustic church] for piano. The number of works in each group of both typologies and of all the works in each typology should be regarded merely as a guide, since different criteria and different categories were used. For example, in the latter typology, the Marian cantata *Madonna* (see below n. 45) was wrongly included among secular works.

The adopted (standard) criterion of scoring (and partly of musical form) is a useful guide, taking account of all types of forces used by Moniuszko in his sacred works. They are characterised by their diversity, from reduced forces (voice and piano or organ) to large-scale ensembles (solo voices, choir and orchestra). Larger ensembles, which Moniuszko associated, as already mentioned, with laicisation and the demise of sacred music at that time, are rather infrequent (in the latter typology – 12 works). One also notes a colouristically and texturally original set of forces, for 11 solo voices, four-part mixed choir and orchestra (in the short *cantata religiosa* entitled *Requiem aeternam*). It is chamber-scale forces that dominate, employed by the composer in his works of church music.

Generally speaking, this typology is useful in Moniuszko studies. Yet it tells us nothing about the texts, functions and forms representative of the autonomous species of music that is church music.

Typology (2) liturgical: text, function, form

Further typological propositions require knowledge of theology – extremely useful, and even necessary in researching church music.

Of fundamental and representative significance for Moniuszko's church music is the proposed type of liturgical typology, derived from the structure of the Mass and the Office, which – crucially – is normative (in accordance with church prescriptions), with the principal criteria of text, function and form. Excluded on principle are editorial orderings (on account of their differing criteria), employed in sheet music editions of Moniuszko's sacred works.

In the proposed typology, adopted as an ordering principle is the degree of connection between the distinguished form and the liturgy – from the closest through increasingly loose. This was not easy and unambiguous, partly due to the rather imprecise terminology at that time, e.g. the use of the terms 'hymn' and 'prayer'.⁷

The typology covers five groups, which are set out below. Distinction is made between original, autonomous compositions (to specific texts) written by Moniuszko (comp.), which are in the majority, and arrangements of existing melodies

⁷Numbered among the hymns are works with a Latin liturgical text, while works with a Polish poetical text defined as 'hymn' or 'prayer' are classified as sacred songs.

with text (arr.). In the third group, given in square brackets is the title of the set of works from which the service comes.

- I Latin Masses (comp.), Mass cycles, parts of the Ordinary, parts of the Proper, Requiem, cycle, single movements;
- II Polish Masses/Mass songs (comp.), Mass cycles, parts of the Ordinary, parts of the Proper, *funeral mass;
- III Office, Liturgy of the Paschal Triduum (comp.), hymns (comp.), antiphons (comp.), services (arr. comp.), Vespers [*Nieszpory i Pieśń Ostrobramska* [Vespers and song of the Gate of Dawn]] (arr.), Litany (comp.), Lenten Lamentations [*Pieśni naszego Kościoła* [Songs of our Church]] (arr.)
- IV Church songs (arr.), sacred songs (comp.)
- V Sacred *Varia* (arr. comp.).

Moniuszko was well versed in the structure of the Catholic liturgy and in the music of the liturgy, as this typology shows. It covers (all) the main forms of Catholic liturgical music – both Masses and also the Office, church songs and sacred songs.

The typology encompasses Latin liturgical texts and their Polish translations (e.g. psalms) and Polish poetical texts. This rich diversity of texts adheres to the above-mentioned formula of ‘total religiosity’ and literary connections. That explains the various provenance of the texts. It is worth drawing attention to the literary tradition.

That tradition is distinctly litaneutical, of varying connotations, evoking on one hand the *Litania Pielgrzymiska* [Litany of pilgrimage] that closes Mickiewicz’s *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* [Books of the Polish nation and of the Polish pilgrimage] (Paris, 1832), with its biblical and litaneutical, but also political, context (Sadowski, 2011, p. 240n)⁸. Norwid’s *Do Najświętszej Panny Marii Litania* [Litany to the Blessed Virgin Mary] (April 1852), meanwhile, constitutes a sort of poetical commentary to the litaneutical supplications (faithfully quoted) of the Litany of Loreto (Sadowski, 2011, pp. 258–271; Sawicki, 1994a, p. 201).⁹

The ‘Polish Masses’, which are actually Mass songs, also have their poetical connections and a rich repertoire (Bielawska, 1980). Poets in those times wrote poetical Mass cycles, inspired by the liturgical structure of the Mass and by Mass texts. These were sometimes autonomous poetical works, to which music did not have to be written. Yet on account of the adopted methodological, rather than historical, character of this article, we can only mention, by way of example, the relatively late *Hymny do Mszy Świętej* [Hymns for the Holy Mass] (1854) by the then highly popular poet Władysław Syrokomla (to whose texts Moniuszko wrote a number of songs for his *Śpiewnik domowy* [Home songbook]). This is a 12-part cycle with the Latin titles of the Ordinary and Proper: Kyrie elejson, Chryste elejson, Gloria, Graduale, Credo, Et incarnatus, Et resurrexit, Offertorium,

⁸The author discusses various possibilities for interpreting this *Litany*.

⁹Sadowski (2011, pp. 258–271) compares Norwid’s *Litany* with the *Litania do Najświętszej Panny* [Litany to the Blessed Virgin] by Deotyma.

Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus, Benedictio.¹⁰ Certainly written were litaneutical texts and Mass songs that could have been familiar to Moniuszko and inspired him to write these forms. Hence that is an area which may be discussed by scholars of various disciplines: music theory and musicology, literature and theology.

Confining ourselves to a brief commentary on the typology, we can note the following:

- I The continuation, or reinterpretation, or the style of Polish Masses (4).¹¹ Moniuszko used texts by Antoni Edward Odyniec (Mass in A minor, Mass in E minor), Alojzy Feliński (Funeral Mass in D minor) and Justyn Wojewódzki (*Msza Piotrowińska* [St Peter's mass]).¹² In formal terms, this represents a continuation of Kurpiński's cycle and especially, on account of their greater number (nine), of the cycles of Elsner.¹³ Yet Moniuszko effected a crucial change of style compared to the simplicity of those composers' Polish Masses (which was a genetic premise behind the genre).
- II The introduction of an orchestral litany (justified in my monograph, and not a cantata litany, as it is defined in the Moniuszko literature), represented by the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn* (with the exception of Litany No. 4) as a new form of nineteenth-century sacred music. This is a sort of paradox, since few litanies were composed during the nineteenth century – all of them to Polish texts.¹⁴ Its greatest popularity occurred during the eighteenth century.¹⁵ It also had a literary tradition.

¹⁰ *Poezye Ludwika Kondratowicza*. Historical information can be supplemented after Bielawska (1980, p. 160n), who, in discussing nineteenth-century Mass songs, mentions, as one of the first texts, the Mass *Rozsądź mnie Boże!* ('Judge me, Lord!', 1805) by Franciszek Węzyk. Let us add that the years 1822–1825 were a period when Polish Masses with texts by Brodziński, Feliński, Węzyk and Józef Dionizy Minasowicz were very popular, with music by such renowned composers as Elsner and Kurpiński; Polish Masses, propagated by archbishops of Warsaw, were performed during High Mass on Sundays and feast days (in some Warsaw churches) (see Mrowiec, 1964, p. 26).

¹¹ Composed up to the mid twentieth century. I discuss the continuation of this tradition during the twentieth century in the monograph *Twórczość litanijna Stanisława Moniuszki i jej konteksty* (Dąbek, 2011, p. 252n).

¹² Odyniec and Feliński were well-known literary figures (Moniuszko, 1969, pp. 655, 668). The text of Feliński's Mass songs *Na stopniach Twego upadamy tronu* [We fall onto the steps of Your throne] was very popular. Karol Kurpiński included it with his music in the collection *Pienia nabożne* [Pious songs] (1825, fol. 17; Kurpiński, 1925), writing in the preface (fol. II) that it was already well known in 1821. We know little, meanwhile, about Wojewódzki (not mentioned in lexicons).

¹³ With the exception of the Mass in D minor (1844, *Boże, lud Twój czcią przejęty* [Lord, Your people rapt in devotion], with words by Franciszek Morawski), scored for orchestra, displaying more advanced composition technique that departs in style from simple Polish Masses. Let us add that the composer wrote them during the 1820s and 40s (with a break of more than ten years). See a profile of this genre in Nowak-Romanowicz, *Józef Elsner*, 220n. Kurpiński, in the preface (fol. I) to his *Pienia nabożne* [Pious songs], notes that Elsner's Masses to words by Brodziński (the first called *Msza ludowa* [Folk Mass], 1820) 'cannot be for the common folk, since they are very difficult to sing, being figural-musical.'

¹⁴ One notable example is Józef Deszczyński's *Litania do Ostrej Bramy* [Litany to the Gate of Dawn] (see Chmara-Żaczekiewicz, 1984). Also Władysław Żeleński's Litany, to a text by Zygmunt Sarnecki, which was incorporated in the opera *Konrad Wallenrod* (1885), (see Mrowiec, 1988, pp. 690–691).

¹⁵ This is discussed at greater length in my monograph *Twórczość litanijna Stanisława Moniuszki i jej konteksty* (Dąbek, 2011, p. 35n).

- III The form of the solo sacred song as an 'equal' parallel to the Romantic solo song of the *Home Songbook*, as evidenced by its publication in that collection.¹⁶
- IV Moniuszko's reforming work, serving to raise the standard of church music. This is evidenced by his organ arrangements and his liturgical organ playing, entirely neglected at that time. We can mention two sets of works, noted in the typology: *Pieśni Naszego Kościoła z harmonią Stanisława Moniuszki na organy ułożone i do grania przy Mszy czytanej przeznaczone* [Songs of Our Church with harmonies, arranged for solo organ by Stanisław Moniuszko and intended to be played with the read mass and vespers] and *Nieszpory i pieśń Ostrobramska „Witaj święta”. Melodye Kościelne ułożone na organy z harmonią Stanisława Moniuszki* [Vespers and song of the Gate of Dawn 'Hail, o saint': church melodies arranged for organ with harmonies by Stanisław Moniuszko]. The first of these sets defines in the title not only the style (the harmonisation of the melodies, actually arrangements with variation, preludes), but above all the function – liturgical playing during a read Mass. The tradition of singing sacred songs during Mass (in particular) and the liturgy dates back only to the Enlightenment, so it was relatively new, and it was developed during the Romantic era (see an extensive study in Wit, 1980; also see Mrowiec, 1982). Moniuszko takes his one-part melodies from the voluminous standard songbook by Revd Michał Marcin Mioduszewski CM,¹⁷ a standard work at that time and still a valuable source of song repertoire, as Moniuszko notes in his *Songs of Our Church* (giving the pages in the songbook). It is worth also emphasising how the significance of the Lenten Lamentations (Pol. *Gorzkie żale*) service was understood¹⁸ (with melodies harmonised in *Songs of Our Church*) – a relatively new tradition (more than one hundred years) of a folk provenance, adhering to the Romantic type of piety which was dominant at that time (as we will discuss below). With the improvement of liturgical organ playing in mind, he also harmonised Vespers melodies, which shows his familiarity with Gregorian chant: psalm tones, tones for the Magnificat.

The musical and liturgical typologies of Moniuszko's compositions complement one another. The forms in the liturgical typology, such as Mass and litany, have specific types of forces.

¹⁶ See the detailed documentation in (Nowaczyk, 1954). This form was the subject of the doctoral thesis by Gabrys (1986).

¹⁷ *Śpiewnik kościelny, czyli pieśni nabożne z melodiami w Kościele katolickim używane* [Church songbook, or pious songs with melodies used in the Catholic Church], Kraków, 1838. Moniuszko knew the priest personally and intended to visit him while in Kraków, as he informs his wife. See letter from Kraków, 1/13 May 1858: 'Today I am visiting Revd Mioduszewski, author of the church songbook which has served us so well' (Moniuszko, 1969, p. 306).

¹⁸ Possibly under the sway of the more general trend linked to this service – a 'favourite' during the nineteenth century, which supplanted the multi-part Passion in Latin (Wit, 1980, p. 263).

Typology (3) spiritual: strands to the piety of the texts, type of piety of that period

The next proposed kind of typology requires, as already mentioned, a knowledge of theology, and specifically of theology of spirituality. This is not the dimension of spirituality of a particular individual, such as the composer, but of the period. It is confined to nineteenth-century piety and devotion – notions of spiritual theology which were extremely popular for ‘both Catholic and Protestant literature’ at that time (Urbański, 1994, p. 54).

In accordance with the current tendency to expand the notional capacity of the term ‘spirituality’, it is also part of ‘cultural life, and in its highest forms’, encompassing ‘the world of normative values’ (Urbański, 1994, p. 57). It also distinguishes and characterises the currents of nineteenth-century piety (Misiurek, 1998, p. 392n).

Included in the table are the principal strands of piety to the texts in selected musical forms and in works by Stanisław Moniuszko representative of those forms.

Strands of piety	Selected musical forms	Selected works
Christocentric spirituality (the leading current in the nineteenth century)	Masses, Mass songs, church songs, religious songs	Mass in E flat, Funeral Mass in d, <i>The Lord's Prayer</i> , <i>Ecce lignum crucis</i> , ‘Boże coś Polskę’ [God, Thou who Poland], ‘Zgadanie się z wolą Boską’ [Agreeing with God's will]
Marian spirituality (also important in the nineteenth century)	Vespers, litanies, songs	<i>Vespers</i> , <i>Litanies of the Gate of Dawn</i> , <i>Song of the Gate of Dawn</i>
Hagiographic spirituality	Song (hymn), Mass	‘Cześć Tobie, naszym okolic patronie’ [Praise to Thee, patron of our land], to St Stanisław, <i>St Peter's Mass</i>
Eschatological spirituality	?	?

The various strands of piety are represented by texts ordered ‘thematically’, with theological names to the groups. These texts articulate specific theological (spiritual) truths – the aforementioned ‘normative values’. This also concerns the word, particularly important to Moniuszko, as evidenced by the detailed wordings which the 24-year-old composer included in the text of his prospect for the *Home Songbook* published in the *Tygodnik Petersburski* (1843).

As one Polish theologian has stated, the nineteenth century ‘resembles the sixteenth, [...] both were characterised by a greater variety of interpretations of the Holy Scripture than in other centuries in our culture – interpretations associated with tradition or seeking to throw it over’ (Kubski, 2005, p. 9). A crucial parallel to both centuries was consequently the dominant current of Christocentrism, as one of the features of piety. For a composer of church music, this bore a crucial influence on his choice of ‘subject matter’ for a work. One might mention well-known sixteenth-century Christocentric motets by such composers as Josquin (*Magnus es tu, Domine*), as well as by Waclaw of Szamotuły (*Ego sum pastor bonus*) and grand Christocentric oratorios of the nineteenth century, such as Liszt’s monumental *Christus* (to a Latin text!) and Berlioz’s biblical trilogy *L’enfance du Christ* (inspired by the cult of the Baby Jesus, with a text by the composer), the score of which was studied by Moniuszko (Dąbek, 2011, p. 18).

Prime evidence of this can be seen also in Moniuszko’s frequent selection of Christocentric texts, and to a lesser extent also Marian texts. The hagiographic strand, meanwhile, present in all the periods of spirituality, is represented solely by the hymn to St Stanisław and indirectly by the *St Peter’s Mass* (highlighting the miracle of St Stanisław in the title).¹⁹ The cult of the saints, meanwhile, inspired that generation of European composers, to mention but Mendelssohn’s oratorios *St Paul* and *Elijah*, Liszt’s *Legend of St Elisabeth*, *Legend of St Cecilia* and *St Stanislaus* (Golianek, 2013), and among Polish composers, Wojciech Sowiński, with his oratorio *Le martyre de saint Adalbert* (1845, to a French text), performed many times abroad, with an aria from that work also sung in Vilnius (at St John’s) during a Good Friday concert (1858) organised by Moniuszko (Szczepańska-Lange, 2002). Krasiński dwelt on religious and theological questions, especially the eschatological problem of the Apocalypse.²⁰ It is not known, meanwhile, whether Moniuszko composed music to texts in this current; that question requires detailed analysis.

An equally important consequence of the parallels between the nineteenth and the sixteenth century was no doubt the discovery and fascination with the style of sixteenth-century linear vocal polyphony from Flanders and Italy. Moniuszko notes (in a letter) a choral concert in St Petersburg (1856) with works by ‘Orlando-Lasso’ and Gomółka’s collection of psalms, receiving its first edition at that time (Kraków 1838); he appreciates its worth, donating it to Vilnius parish church and to the Library of the Berlin Singakademie (Dąbek, 2011, pp. 15–16). This also led to the stylistic variety of the music of the Romantic era, the introduction of the style of historicism, with elements of modal harmony, expressive balance,

¹⁹ This may be justified in terms of the general tendency that ‘The nineteenth century was a dead period in Polish hagiography’, which was linked to the policies of the partitioning powers, but also to the lack of beatification procedures. Yet this current also had its representatives, including Pol, Syromla, Lenartowicz and Odyniec. Works written in praise of the saints – which, however, ‘should be treated as marginalia, more important in the life of the Church than in literature’ – served generally to emphasise national unity during the times of the Partitions. This subject is discussed in (Doktor, 1995).

²⁰ This is discussed at greater length in (Sokólski, 2019, p. 407), where the author evokes the poet’s suggestive thinking about the Apocalypse: ‘As a revelation it is the truth, as inspiration – a supreme masterpiece of poetry.’

e.g. in Mendelssohn and Liszt. Stylistic historicism is also deliberately present in Moniuszko, e.g. in the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn* (Dąbek, 2011, pp. 223n), and also in other works of his church music, e.g. the D flat Mass (Sanctus).

During the nineteenth century, Catholic spirituality developed a new type of 'Romantic' piety within the historical-religious context of that period, with its customs and sensibilities. Manifestations of religiosity took both a liturgical form, linked to the current cults of the Church, such as the Blessed Sacrament and the Baby Jesus, and also a non-liturgical form. It was a type of individual and popular piety (see Boriello, Della Croce, & Secondin, 1998, pp. 15, 55, 114, passim).

In Moniuszko's times, faith was expressed by praying in a highly expressive, direct way. That was certainly influenced by the cult of the Blessed Sacrament, being introduced at that time, with the exposition of the host in the monstrance. The individual prayer associated with this was intentionally of a deeply personal character, as was the case with the cult of the Baby Jesus and with services of a popular provenance, such as the Lenten Lamentations.

Moniuszko often took an active part in the liturgy, services and church solemnities, as a believer and a musician (particularly during his Vilnius period). This type of piety, together with the strands of spirituality in the texts that he chose, certainly had an influence on the composer, on his musical interpretation of the words and the musical style of his works in general, as evident in the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, with its great contrasts and verbal symbolism. This can be seen from an analysis of these works which takes account of the context of spirituality. That analysis also enables six types of prayerful expression (supplicatory – beseeching) to be distinguished: solemn (*solemnis*), intense (*intensiva*), internal (*interna*), serene (*serena*), quiet (*secreta*) and ecstatic (*extatica*) (Dąbek, 2011, p. 231). Similar types also occur no doubt in other religious works by Moniuszko and European composers of church music.

The function of a work: liturgy, concert

During the period of the 'total demise' of church music, the norms contained in liturgical regulations were not rigorously observed. There were even instances where 'solo works for clarinet or trumpet were performed during services [...] sometimes utterly secular compositions with no connection to worship [...] even excerpts from operas' (Mrowiec, 1964, p. 16; see also Wit, 1980, p. 243n)²¹. Moniuszko's Latin Masses also contain many textual deviations at odds with liturgical prescriptions, such as an incomplete text, passages repeated many times, moved or modified, and even altered words. As an example, one may cite the Offertory from the D flat Mass; the composer's deliberate interference in this short text makes it a sort of new sentential individual prayer (Dąbek, 2005, pp. 57–67). Yet those Masses were performed, it should be stressed, as part of the liturgy at that time.

²¹ Wit documents this tendency and describes a similar situation of the demise of church music in France and German-speaking lands.

So for Moniuszko, the liturgy of the Mass and services noted in the proposed liturgical typology remained the chief possibility for the use of his church works. In more recent times, however, such figures as Revd Hieronim Feicht CM, an expert on Polish church music, have referred critically – as is understandable – to those of the composer’s works which do not comply with liturgical norms.²²

One of the symptoms of the ‘total demise’ of church music was the departure from the liturgy, ‘a lack of understanding for the requirements of the liturgy and a lack of feel for ‘church style’ [...] the cultivation of operatic repertoire or repertoire in concert style, in which operatic artists were often invited to perform’ (Mrowiec, 1964, p. 15–16). Various works, even Masses, were performed outside the liturgy, in concerts in the church and outside the church. Paradoxically, this was a new function of church music – not liturgical, of course, but one that offered the composer the possibility of using his music in broader contexts. It emerged through a gradual, lengthy process that began around the mid-eighteenth century.

Particularly characteristic of the Romantic era were concerts organised (up to the end of the nineteenth century) on Good Friday and Easter Saturday by the Holy Sepulchre, which were extremely popular (Mrowiec, 1964, p. 15–16).

One Good Friday concert is described by Moniuszko – its composer, organiser and (no doubt) conductor. It took place on 5/17 April 1857 at St John’s in Vilnius, with the financial support of the philanthropist Edward Römer (a Mass dedicated to him was performed). In a letter, the composer gave an account of the concert, with a lofty appraisal of its standard: ‘We performed here Good Friday music with pleasing success [...] It was the first time in my life that I heard my music [Mass in A minor] performed in Vilnius with such perfection.’ Singing were the female choir of the ‘school of church singers and organists’, Józef Achilles Bonoldi (a friend of the composer’s, a tenor, man of letters and participant in the January Uprising) and Ignacy Zaleski (a pupil of Moniuszko’s, a bass). A collection was also made for the Society of St Cecilia (founded by Moniuszko under the auspices of St John’s on 6 December 1854 and active, without any great success, from 1854 to 1863) (see Moniuszko, 1969, pp. 224, 230, 245, 246, 612, 652, 676). Here is the full programme of the concert (included in Moniuszko’s letter), with the composer’s information and numbering:

1 Introduction to Haydn’s *Seven Words*²³ (orchestra) [Oratorio *Die sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze*, from 1796]; 2 Mass for soprano and alto choir with melodicon – words by A. E. Odyniec, music by S. Moniuszko;²⁴ 3 *Cavatina* for baritone from the cantata *Madonna*, words by Petrarch (Bonoldi);²⁵ 4 *Tulerunt Dominum meum* – duet by Mendelssohn for so-

²² ‘Of the quite rich religious output of S. Moniuszko (†1872), the Polish Masses are wholly accomplished, whereas in the Latin Masses certain flaws occurring in the text cannot be rectified. [...] several choruses and hymns, for mixed or male choirs [...] may be used in church’ (Feicht, 1965, p. 38).

²³ Alongside Elsner, he was the most popular composer of church music performed in the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland during the first half of the nineteenth century (Tomaszewski, 2002, p. 376). This oratorio was first performed in Poland in Warsaw on 22 March 1818 (see Dziębowska, 2000, p. 135).

²⁴ Polish Mass in A minor, dedicated to Römer.

²⁵ *Vergine saggia* – the second part of a five-part cycle. The title of this cantata (which the com-

prano and alto, excellently performed;²⁶ 5 'Zgadzenie się z wolą Boską' [Agreeing with God's will, hymn by Revd Stanisław Krasieński, music by S. Moniuszko (Zaleski)];²⁷ 6 Aria for bass from Mendelssohn's *St Paul* (Zaleski);²⁸ 7 *Sub Tuum praesidium* for solo baritone – music by S. Moniuszko (Bonoldi);²⁹ 8 *Intende voci orationis meae*. Duet for soprano and alto, music by S. Moniuszko.³⁰

The programme includes five works by Moniuszko (a Mass and two works with Latin text performed outside the liturgy, and two religious works), one by Haydn and two by Mendelssohn (a liturgical motet and a religious work, some 20 years earlier than the Moniuszko works). The composer certainly valued these works. They have no connection with the Good Friday liturgy (except the Haydn), in keeping with the practice of those times. Yet they are not showy works and do not emanate an operatic aesthetic. They represent a lofty artistic standard. Carefully selected, with their restrained type of expression, they are suited to the events of Good Friday and attest to the excellent musical taste of the 38-year-old composer. Moniuszko's own works, which dominate the programme (with texts including Petrarch, enjoying something of a renaissance during the Romantic era), are of an equally high artistic standard as the Mendelssohn compositions (e.g. his duet and Moniuszko's duet, see n. 48) and conform with the aesthetic of the concert. Although this is not exclusively liturgical church music, it popularises the style of the artistically valuable religious music of those times. It represents an example of the practical work undertaken by Moniuszko to raise the (musical) standard of church music at that time.

poser also called 'Petrarch hymn') may be understood symbolically as referring to the Virgin Mary, whom Petrarch called in this hymn *Vergine bella*; Moniuszko wrote his cantata to this famous text (canzona XXIX, with a long musical tradition, including Palestrina), which ends the cycle *Canzoniere*, also including the sonnets to Laura. Another possible interpretation (merely suggested) is associated with the name of Laura (in keeping with the title of the sonnets *Rime di...Madonna Laura*), whom the poet met on Good Friday, 6 April 1327; so the concert would have taken place on the 530th anniversary of that meeting. In 1856 the cantata was successfully performed in full in St Petersburg Revd Karol Mrowiec (1988, p. 685) writes that it constitutes 'a sort of tribute prayer' (see also Prosnak, 1988, p. 96). We should also note erroneous information in the PWM music encyclopaedia concerning the text of this cantata (this is a canzona, not 'Petrarch Sonnets'; Duszyk, 2000, p. 323).

²⁶ This belongs to a cycle entitled *Drei Motetten für weibliche Stimmen mit Begleitung der Orgel*, op. 39, carrying a dedication (on the score) 'Für die Nonnen auf Trinita de'monti in Rom'. The cycle ends with the motet *Surrexit pastor bonus* (1837), while its second part is *Duetto Tulerunt Dominum meum* (with a long musical tradition, including Lasso).

²⁷ A Christocentric religious solo song. The author of the text, a future bishop of Vilnius (1859), was a man of letters and linguist, a good friend of the composer's; in the periodical *Noworocznik Literacki*, of which he was editor, he published two works by Moniuszko with the texts of his hymns (1843). After the January Uprising, he spent nearly 20 years in exile (1863–1882), before settling in Kraków (see Żywczyński, 1970, p. 166; Prašmantaitė, 2013, p. 298n).

²⁸ This was no doubt 'Gott, sei mir gnädig nach deiner Güte' from the oratorio *St Paul*, op. 36 (perf. 1836).

²⁹ A Marian antiphon, a 'wonderful' work, according to the performer (Rudziński, 1955, p. 225).

³⁰ With the liturgical offertory text and a musical tradition including Schubert, on an equally high artistic level as Mendelssohn's *Tulerunt Dominum meum* (elaborate harmonies with chromaticism, symbolically interpreting the idea of the text).

‘Spiritual diary’, a model of church music

Relevant to the subject in hand is a knowledge of the general chronology of Moniuszko’s church music. An inestimable source consists of two series of publications of the composer’s works: *Muzyka kościelna Stanisława Moniuszki* [Church music by Stanisław Moniuszko] (1860–1862, previously known as the *Śpiewnik Kościelny* [Church songbook]), Nos. 1–8 and its posthumous continuation *Msze i śpiewy kościelne Stanisława Moniuszki* [Masses and church songs by Stanisław Moniuszko] (1873–1876), Nos. 1–20, published by the Warsaw bookseller and publisher Ferdynand Wilhelm Hoesick (Duszyk, 2000, p. 334).³¹ However, many works by Moniuszko from outside this repertoire still require research and dating.

The list below covers a general chronology of Moniuszko’s church music, taking account of the main biographical periods, with selected examples (1839–1872).³²

- Vilnius period (2 August 1840 to October 1858): religious works open the Moniuszko oeuvre;
- 30s, 1839/40: (four-part) choral works *a cappella* to texts mainly from the Ordinary as counterpoint exercises;
- 40s and 50s (1843–1855): the 4 *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, *Vespers and Song of the Gate of Dawn* (1843–1845);
- 50s: two Polish Masses, the *Funeral Mass* in D minor (1850) and Mass in E minor (1855), cantata *Madonna* (1855), *Chór sprawiedliwych* [Chorus of the just] (1855), *Intende voci* (before 1857), *Sub Tuum praesidium* (before 1857);
- Warsaw period (2 November 1858 to †4 June 1872): intensive continuation of religious output;
- late 50s: *The Lord’s Prayer* (prem. 1859);
- 60s, two Masses: Polish Mass in A minor (pub. 1860), Latin Mass in E flat major (1865), *Songs of our Church* (pub. 1862?);
- 1870–1872: 5 November 1871, the composer’s last concert; religious works end his oeuvre: two Latin Masses, the Mass in D flat major (1870) and *Funeral Mass* in G minor (c.1871), *Ecce lignum crucis* (prem. 29 March 1872) and the Polish *St Peter’s Mass* (prem. 19 May 1872).

We can note at once that church music ‘accompanied’ the composer almost symbolically throughout his entire life. The first works written by the 19-year-old Moniuszko were Mass movements, and three Masses and *Ecce lignum crucis* from the early 70s bring his 33-year creative path to a close.

³¹ That list of works also includes editions of the composer’s religious works published up to 1999.

³² Based mainly on (Duszyk, 2000, pp. 307–327, 333–335); also (Rudziński & Prosnak, 1952, pp. 213–221). Generally speaking, the dating varies in different sources.

The question arises as to what church music represented for Moniuszko. As an emancipated nineteenth-century artist, he could freely decide on its forms. Why did he continue to write church music? Why was it so important to him? The answer is not easy to find. The composer said nothing on the subject. Yet there is justification for the view that church music represented for Moniuszko a sort of 'spiritual diary' or 'journal'. In a diary, one writes what is most important, especially to oneself.

So what circumstances and individuals linked to Moniuszko's works of religious music are included in this 'diary'? We can distinguish at least four possibilities/causes: 1) works written to the composer's most personal inspiration, above all the death of his parents, his mother Elżbieta (†7 October 1850; *Funeral Mass* in D minor) and his father Czesław (†12 October 1870; probably the Latin *Funeral Mass* in G minor), as well as his personal and national votive work to the Mother of Mercy – the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, with their intentional votive symbolism (see below), 2) works dedicated to specific individuals (already mentioned), Bishop Krasiński and Römer (Moniuszko, 1969, pp. 661, 670), whom the composer wished to honour during their lifetime – two Polish Masses and the hymn 'Agreeing with God's will' (words by Krasiński) dedicated to Revd Jan Menue,³³ 3) works dedicated to the memory of deceased aristocrats – Mass in D flat major, *St Peter's Mass*, 4) reforming work to raise the standard of church music in Poland, including liturgical organ playing (two published sets), as well as the Mass in E flat major, dedicated 'to the pupils of the Warsaw Institute of Music in memory of our work together', and the cantata *Requiem aeternam* for 11 solo voices and other forces, written out of pedagogic inspiration (for pupils of the school of solo singing attached to Warsaw theatres). We can also ascribe to the same group the Marian cantata *Madonna* and the religious songs in the Christocentric and Marian currents, often defined as hymns or prayers – to Jesus and to the Mother of God. They also not infrequently contained dedications to specific individuals. This was an important strand in Moniuszko's oeuvre (see below).

Moniuszko's church music, although it could not always be planned, is characterised by evident cohesion, and above all by a considered choice of circumstances, individuals and musical forms.

Unfortunately, during the period of socialist realism in Poland, this output was deliberately deprecated. In Rudziński's monograph (1955), someone – possibly the editor (for ideological reasons) – placed the (repeated) statement: 'Contrary to popular opinion, Moniuszko's religious output is of an eminently marginal ['casual', he writes elsewhere] and exclusively functional character.' Its overall assessment was low.³⁴

³³ Dean of St John's, where the composer was organist: 'Regarded as one of the most enlightened priests in Vilnius' (Moniuszko, 1969, p. 74).

³⁴ 'For this music was not a distinct, specific need on the part of Vilnius society, and neither was it a need of Moniuszko's talent or personality; hence the rather poor results of his work in this field' (Rudziński, 1955, pp. 223, 245).

Our findings thus far have referred to the scholarly ordering of this current in the composer's oeuvre, as posited in the introduction to this article. The next step is to profile the Moniuszko model of church music.

It is not a speculative model, but a *sui generis* compositional paradigm derived from the three kinds of typology of religious output – musical, liturgical and spiritual – and also linked to the compositional practice of those times. A crucial complement to this are Moniuszko's views on church music, discussed at length in my monograph (2011, p. 13n) of the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, as well as the equally important context of literary connections.

This model displays the following characteristics: 1) chamber forces, a preference for small-scale vocal-instrumental ensembles, as evidenced by the composer's criticism of symphonic Masses (Haydn, Hummel, Weber), with 'solo displays by various instruments' (2011, p. 13n), and also the typology of Moniuszko scoring, 2) a careful selection of compositional means, with the elimination of sophisticated techniques and solutions, including fugue and aria, and of overly elaborate textures, not only expressed in the composer's views, but also evident in the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn* and other works, 3) the use of the principal forms of church music, mainly liturgical forms, both Mass and Office; another important genre was that of the religious song, particularly with Polish text (see below), and he also appreciated the value of suitable organ arrangements of church songs and liturgical melodies, while he clearly eschewed large-scale forms of religious music, such as oratorios and legends, 4) a variety of texts of a literary provenance, liturgical and religious, including litaney and missal (Mass songs), at the same time as (sometimes extensive) interference in the structure of a text, evident in the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn* and also in the Latin Masses, 5) expressive variety, with the elimination of pathos, expressing the 'subjective', extremely direct Romantic piety of those times, with a preference for stylistic heterogeneity (characteristic of the Romantics), alongside historicism and an aspiration to musically interpreting the symbolism of the words of the dominant Christocentric and Marian texts; evidence to this effect includes not only the diversified style of the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*; *The Lord's Prayer*, for instance, may be defined as a Christocentric meditation.

Axiology: work – reception

The final component of our subject concerns axiology – the question of value. This is the most difficult aspect of research into creative work, and it is of fundamental importance. Not all scholars take account of the philosophy of value.

It is worth at least signalling. Given the important connections between music and literature during the Romantic era (including in Moniuszko's works of church music), it seems justified to outline this area of knowledge and draw on the experience of the literary scholar, historian, theorist and Norwid expert, Stefan Sawicki.³⁵

³⁵ He has dealt with axiology for many years, together with a group of collaborators. He is editor of the series 'Literatura w kręgu wartości' [Literature in the realm of value]. He initiated Polish research into the mutual relations between religion and literature (Chlebowski, 2018).

He distinguishes three strands to the axiology of a work: 1) values contained in a work, 2) the value of the work itself, 3) the value of the work with regard to its influence (Sawicki, 1994c, p. 76n). I have confined my selection to aspects of the value of the work itself; 'on one hand, this is the oldest question; on the other, it is the most controversial' (Sawicki, 1994c, p. 76n). I discuss it in general below, distinguishing the principal theses contained in Sawicki's article.

The axiology of the work is itself of fundamental significance for the theory of literature. Judgment = assessment derived from analysis of the work = result. A more objective and enduring evaluation of a work. Conclusion: a crucial factor in determining the value of a work is assessment derived from analysis of the work.

The axiology of the work in reception is of secondary importance for literary theory. Judgment = assessment derived from a statement concerning the work's value: 'how the value [...] of a work was assessed' = effect. The more subjective and changeable evaluation of a work in reception. Conclusion: the value of a work cannot be determined solely by its axiology in reception. It is of secondary importance, because reception can alter the appraisal of a work's value.³⁶ Of course, the reception of a work can also be the object of research.

This methodology introduces a crucial distinction between the value of a work and the value of a work in reception. As Sawicki writes: 'The value of a work cannot be a projection, so an *effect* [my emphasis] of judgment; that judgment should be a reaction, a response to value or its lack' (Sawicki, 1994c, p. 83).

It is essential above all to employ a precise method of musical analysis containing assessment criteria. This methodology is proposed for research into Moniuszko's oeuvre.

Irrespective of the presented methodology, two important forms of Moniuszko's church music have thus far been assessed in research.

The solo religious songs were evaluated in a lengthy analytical study by Jerzy Gabryś,³⁷ who numbered around 25 works in this genre. Let us add that in the proposed typology of spirituality, the texts of Moniuszko's solo songs are dominated by the Christocentric strand, several songs represent the Marian strand, and one song is of a hagiographic character. Generally speaking, this repertoire is characterised by textual and linguistic diversity, with a division into Latin liturgical texts (and Polish translations) and (proportionately dominant) poetical texts, mainly by popular authors, mostly of the composer's own generation. Importantly, these contemporary poets mainly accentuate in their 'poeticised prayers' (or hymns, which are terms frequently used in titles) not only theological ideas, but also patriotic moods, with motifs of suffering and sadness close to society at that time, together with a request for protection, such as 'look mercifully upon our suffering, inspire us with courage', from 'Modlitwa. O władco *świata*' [Prayer: O ruler of

³⁶ E.g. just 13 years after Moniuszko's death, a series of critical articles concerning his output ('evidence of demise') were published in the periodical *Muzyka Kościelna* (from 1885/5) under the unequivocal title 'Non-church music'.

³⁷ First in his doctoral thesis (Gabryś, 1986, p. 6), then in the expanded printed work *Religijna pieśń* (Gabryś, 1996).

the world], and 'but lament, o Lord, not us, but Mother Poland', from 'Modlitwa. Do Ciebie, Panie' [Prayer: to You, Lord], with words by Józef Bohdan Zaleski.³⁸

According to Gabryś, these songs represent a high artistic standard (contrary to the opinion of Rudziński), although not comparing with Moniuszko's masterworks of art song.³⁹ From an historical perspective, during the 1850s and 60s, composers developed 'a special genre of solo religious song that combined features of old patriotic song and church song' (Gabryś, 1998, p. 91). Similarly, Moniuszko's religious songs are usually of an ascetic character, without vocal virtuosity, yet at the same time closer to dramatic music (opera) than to lyrical art song. Let us add that there is no contradiction here; we are referring to the expression of these songs, some of which constitute short, ardent quasi-acts (with a 'ductile' melodic line including chromaticism). For Gabryś (1986, p. 70), these features 'make these songs ideal for performance in conditions which can only be provided by a church'.

In my monograph on the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, I not only analysed the musical style of those works, employing my own methodology,⁴⁰ but also took account of the theological aspect and the genetic model of the Latin Litany of Loreto, and also the contexts of cult worship and of poetry connected to the Gate of Dawn. I distinguished supplicatory prayer types, linked by specific musically interpreted Marian invocations, different in each of the *Litanies*. In the third work, at the moment of climax (third movement), there even appears a new supplication, 'Sancta Mater', undoubtedly symbolising Our Lady of the Gate of Dawn. These are crucial votive elements that also contribute to the work's phatic function, presupposing an intentional, necessary contact with the listener.⁴¹ The considered contexts allowed for a fuller documentation of the lofty artistic appraisal of these works, with the *Litanies* regarded as great music written by the young composer.

From an historical perspective (considered in my monograph), the *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn* represent the style of European religious music of those times. No doubt other works of church music written by Moniuszko, such as the pieces performed in that Good Friday concert in 1857 and the religious solo songs, also adhere to particular strands of this tradition, which informs the style of works by Schubert, Rossini, Berlioz, Mendelssohn and Gounod.⁴² They can be assessed using analysis that takes account of the axiological aspect.

³⁸ As Alina Witkowska (1986, p. 244) writes: 'The poem-prayers and poem-appeals to God which were frequent in Polish Romantic output were written with such things in mind as the general good, the homeland and the future of the nation.'

³⁹ It is also worth invoking Mieczysław Tomaszewski's (2005b, p. 80) generalising assertion: 'Moniuszko's art song runs the gamut of themes, genres and expressive categories'.

⁴⁰ Discussed in (Dąbek, 2008).

⁴¹ The object of this is to 'attune to a common tone – a function frequently employed by sacred, spiritual and patriotic music' (Tomaszewski, 2005a, p. 13).

⁴² In the case of organ works – miniatures by Guilmant and 'L'organist' Franck. This is merely a suggestion (not confirmed by analysis) made by Jerzy Gołoś (2003, p. 116).

The findings of the research conducted to date have afforded us general insight into the continuous composing of these works – a sort of *ostinato* – by Moniuszko. Seen from the perspective of a ‘spiritual diary’, and also of a liturgical typology, the strands and types of piety, and literary connections, they can be understood as ‘music of confidence and trust’, in the broader sense referring not

only to individual experience, but also to collective, national experience. The *Litanies of the Gate of Dawn*, religious songs and Masses analysed here confirm a musical – and not infrequently profound – interpretation of the words, an aspiration to discovering the symbolical formula (obvious to Moniuszko) of ‘confiding’ which they contain, visible on the front of the chapel in the Gate of Dawn: ‘Mater Misericordiae’, ‘Sub Tuum praesidium confugimus’ (= ‘Per Mariam ad Christum’).

Translated by John Comber

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