

ZOFIA DOBRZAŃSKA-FABIAŃSKA
Jagiellonian University, Cracow

ZDZISŁAW JACHIMECKI'S *ITALIAN INFLUENCES IN POLISH MUSIC*:
AN INVITATION TO STUDY THE SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
RECEPTION OF ITALIAN MUSICAL CULTURE IN POLAND

Zdzisław Jachimecki's book on Italian influences in Polish music (*Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej*),¹ his *habilitation*, takes up a special place in history of Polish musicology and in Polish musicological historiography. At the time it was published in 1911, a Seminar of Theory and History of Music was established at the University of Cracow, which meant musicology became a university discipline in Poland.² Jachimecki's treatise itself proved to be seminal. It initiated an important domain of research of music historians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries devoted to Italo-Polish relationship in musical culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It reflects both the state of knowledge on early Polish music and a specific understanding of how this art was related to Italian.

1. *Italian influences in Polish music. Type of approach. Notions of 'Italian music', 'Polish music' and 'universal style'*

Jachimecki did not claim his book was a synthesis. On the contrary: it comprises nine separate studies-chapters, «not bound by historical causality» (p. VII), but arranged chronologically. The author intended to provide «an assessment and analysis» of the primary preserved (and known at the time) «monuments of music» of 1540-1640 and their «historical elucidation». Most of these «monuments», proofs of «our artistic culture» (p. VII), had neither been published before, nor researched upon to any large extent. Jachimecki studied: (I) works included in the Jan of Lublin tablature (1540), (II) motets, masses and songs by Waclaw of Szamotuły, Marcin Leopolita and Tomasz Szadek, as well as by Krzysztof Borek and Walenty Gawara (second half of the sixteenth century), (III) the Mikołaj Gomółka *Melodie na Psalterz polski* (Cracow, 1580), (IV) lute music by Wojciech Długoraj, Diomedes Cato and Jakub Polak (second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century), (V) motets and songs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – by Jan Polak and Jan Borzym, monochoral and polychoral motets included in the Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius) *Melodiae sacrae* (Cracow, 1604)³ and Krzysztof Klabon's *Pieśni Kalliopy*

¹ Cf. ZDZISŁAW JACHIMECKI, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej. Część I. 1540-1640* [Italian influences in Polish music. Part I. 1540-1640], Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1911 (Studia do Historii Muzyki w Polsce).

² The first university chair of music history could be established only after Jachimecki had been habilitated and employed as a *Privatdozent* and head of the Seminar of Theory and History of Music at the Uniwersytet Jagielloński.

³ RISM B/I 1604².

Słowieńskiej (Cracow, 1588), *Hymn rokoszan Zebrzydowskiego* (1607) and others, (VI) Mikołaj Zieleński's *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* (Venice, 1611), (VII) libretto *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* in Stanisław S. Jagodyński's Polish translation (*Wyzwolenie Ruggiera z wyspy Alcyny*, published in Cracow in 1628), (VIII) Adam Jarzębski's *Canzoni e concerti* (1627) and (IX) works by Bartłomiej Pękiel (died ca. 1670).⁴

Jachimecki's research is pioneering in taking scientific interest in early Polish music in general. The scholar concentrated primarily on discussing monuments of 'Polish music' themselves and provided information on the sources and legacy of Polish composers. In particular he described the form of the works and its factors as well as texture and did not refrain from mentioning their expressive values and assessing their esthetic and artistic qualities. As a matter of fact he did not treat 'Italian influences' as a primary plot of his argument. Consequently one cannot regard the issue stressed in the title of the treatise as something essential for the structure of the book. Nothing but Jachimecki's indication of the time, in which 'Italian influences' intensified, helped to emphasize the historical position of the seventeenth century musical output in Poland. As late as in chapter V's conclusion, before chapter VI dedicated to Mikołaj Zieleński's works from the *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* (Venice, 1611), Jachimecki wrote as follows:

The influence of Italian music on Polish became distinctive shortly before 1600 and thereafter. We have seen it in various musical forms, both instrumental and vocal. From 1600 on for an entire span of more than one hundred years it permeates the production of Polish composers, gathering them in one large musical Italian school. Giving them a number of new forms by no means did it stifle their talents or implant mannerism on them. On the contrary, it incited them to intensify their expression in highly original works, which sometimes were perfect.⁵

This means let Jachimecki call particular attention to works by Mikołaj Zieleński, Adam Jarzębski and Bartłomiej Pękiel written in the first half of the seventeenth century, or – additionally – when Italians dominated in «the world of music». At the same time cultural relations between Poland and Italy became particularly strong, taking form of personal contacts (only occasionally mentioned by Jachimecki).

Tracing Italian influences in Polish music, sometimes artistically perfect, Jachimecki set 'Italian music' against 'Polish'. He associated the notion of 'Italian music' mainly

⁴ In the next volume Jachimecki intended to write on other composers of the first half of the seventeenth century – Marcin Mielczewski, as well as on Annibale Orgas, Franciszek Lilius and Marco Scacchi active then in Poland. (JACHIMECKI, *Wpływy*, p. VII). However, he failed to carry out this plan.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 195. The author expressed this idea more clearly in his *Historia muzyki polskiej (w zarysie)* [History of Polish music (in outline form)], Warszawa, Geberthner i Wolff, 1920, p. 78. In the end of chapter III on sixteenth century music he stated: «The style of Italian music and Italian musicians dominated musical writing and practice in Poland. It was quite natural, since it were Italians who had then dominated the musical life for a long time. New forms, created in Italy at the end of the 16th century, came to Poland together with this guidance of Italian art. These forms were to become a vehicle of expression of our most eminent and gifted composers of the 17th century». The scholar added (in chapter IV on musical writing of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, p. 98) that «Italian concert style entirely dominated over all the forms of religious music of Polish composers».

with forms of vocal works written to the words in Italian (i.e. with villanella, frottola and madrigal), as well as with melodiousness and «predilection to *coloratura*» (pp. 44, 96, 184, 265). Instead he connected 'Polishness' in music with dances and dance songs with incipits in the Polish language as well as with characteristic metro-rhythmic features and manners of performance (in form of bourdon accompaniment; pp. 32-33, 37-38, 132, 144, 147-149). In religious polyphony it was also expressed by quotations of 'pious songs' of 'folk' tinge, sung in Polish churches in Latin or in Polish translations (pp. 77, 112-113, 253-254, 264). At the same time, however, Jachimecki seems to have attributed a universal role in European music of the time to the musical language of «the one great Italian school».⁶ In this way he subtly weakened the aforementioned opposition.

2. Italian influences in Polish music and their symptoms. Italo-Polish thematic plots

In Jachimecki's discussion of 'Italian influences' in Polish music, particularly conspicuous in the first half of the seventeenth century, four plots can be discerned.

The main one is to be found in analyses of the music by Polish composers, exceptionally published in Italy (Mikołaj Zieleński's *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni*, Venice, 1611); it concerns 'Italian' features in works by Mikołaj Gomółka, Mikołaj Zieleński, Adam Jarzębski, Bartłomiej Pękiel and others, written under an 'Italian influence' or imitating Italian musical compositions. Once these connections have been pointed out, Jachimecki usually refrains from describing the circumstances under which a given work was created, relation between local and Italian composers and Italy, which was difficult to document at the time. Only when discussing the Mikołaj Zieleński *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* printed in Venice did Jachimecki suppose that the composer had stayed in Venice – the city where, according to him, he had written his works and dedication and where he studied with Giovanni Gabrieli (pp. 203-204);⁷ he also mentioned the latter's relations with the Warsaw court, quoting (after Max Seiffert) Kaspar Förster senior's letter of 1628 to the Danzig town council. According to this document the illustrious organist of St. Mark's was supposed to have given some compositions to the Polish king (p. 205). In addition, describing the Adam Jarzębski *concerto Chromatica* the scholar considered the influence of Luca Marenzio, «who [...] some 28 years before Jarzębski's writing his composition had worked in the selfsame chapel as our composer» (p. 294). He also called attention to the inspiring role of the Italian composers employed in the Warsaw royal chapel, where Jarzębski was active (pp. 284-285). In the chapter on the first libretto of dramatic work with music in Polish translation by Stanisław S. Jagodyński,

⁶ Jachimecki connected the universal ('international') character of musical language with Renaissance polyphony, composed particularly by Netherlandish composers (p. 30). In addition, he (pp. 95-96) pointed at Netherlandish art as a source for Palestrina's composer technique (after August W. Ambros) and stated that in the Roman master's works one fails to detect «the spirit of his nation». But, more importantly, he declared that in his madrigals the composer had not achieved the same mastery as other Italians (he quoted the opinion of Peter Wagner) and that he «had stifled melodic impulse» in his polyphony in a surprising way (suggestion by Hugo Riemann).

⁷ A similar view had earlier been expressed by ALEKSANDER POLIŃSKI (*Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* [History of Polish music in outline form], Lwów, Albenberg, 1907, p. 84, who believed that Zieleński had studied in Venice under Giovanni Gabrieli. The scholar supported this hypothesis with common features of style, form and harmony of both composers.

Jachimecki emphasized that Italian *dramma per musica* had been received in Poland very early, which might have been a result of royal Prince Władysław Zygmunt Vasa Italian journey and his attendance at wedding ceremonies at the Medici court in Florence in 1625 (pp. 269-270).

Observing the relations of early Polish and Italian music, Jachimecki occasionally tried to find 'universal' features in vernacular works, which were commonly associated with Italian music in general and quoted examples from the nineteenth century. When describing the melodic line of the subject in the Andrzej Staniczewski motet *Beata es virgo Maria* (published in the Lilius *Melodiae sacrae*) as «artful and full of sentiment», he probably meant melodiousness. The subject itself appeared to him «so much Italian that it would reappear still in Verdi's *Aida*» (p. 184).⁸

In most cases, as a symptom of 'Italian influences' in Polish music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jachimecki considered compositions (1) in the form (of madrigal, fantasia, canzona, accompanied monody) practised in Italy at the time, but primarily those that feature (2) stylistic elements peculiar to the Italian Renaissance and Baroque music, particularly typical for contemporary (a) dances and other instrumental forms (toccata) and for secular vocal music with an Italian text (villanella, frottola and madrigal), for the legacy of (b) Palestrina and Giovanni Gabrieli as representatives of two main musical centres in Italy (Roman and Venetian), as well as for (c) other composers of late Renaissance and early Baroque (Luca Marenzio, Lodovico Grossi da Viadana, Giulio Caccini, Jacopo Peri, Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Cristofano Malvezzi, Claudio Monteverdi, Claudio Saracini, Luigi Rossi, Giacomo Carissimi and others). Analysing Polish musical works Jachimecki also characterized features of Italian musical genres and forms, of the style of Italian composers and of Italian performance practice. He quoted opinions by writers, theorists of music and composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pietro Bembo, Pietro Cerone, Ludovico Zacconi, Michael Praetorius, Viadana and others; pp. 21, 97, 117, 216-217, 250, 261), but primarily of German and Austrian historians of music of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Carl von Winterfeld, Friedrich Chrysander, Peter Wagner, August W. Ambros, Hugo Leichtentritt, Arnold Schering and others; pp. 96, 117, 127, 179-181, 205-207, 283-284); he had also recourse to Italian compositions available then in secondary literature and in a few editions.

1. Discussing works expressed in a form originating in Italy Jachimecki mentioned the organ composition starting with the words *Aleć nade mną Wenus* in the Jan of Lublin tablature and signed with the initials N. C. He called it «a madrigal in three parts», the first Polish work of the genre and recognized Mikołaj of Cracow as the author (pp. 20-28).⁹ Italian formal inspirations were supposed to be proved by *fantasie* by Wojciech Długoraj (p. 125) and Jakub Polak (p. 136), as well as by Adam Jarzębski's *concerti*. A common form of a canzona, but in

⁸ In the Staniczewski motet ZDZISŁAW JACHIMECKI, *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* [Polish music in historical development], Kraków, Księgarnia Stefana Kamińskiego, 1948, pp. 163-164, noticed reminiscences of the subject deriving from the Palestrina madrigal *Donna gentil* in *Il secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venezia, 1586).

⁹ The composition proved to be an intabulation of the villotta *De là da l'acqua sta la mia amorosa* by Francesco Patavino. Cf. PIOTR POŹNIAK, *Koniec legendy o polskim madrygale* [The end of the legend on Polish madrigal], «Muzyka», XLI/3, 1996, pp. 59-71.

particular titles created from town names allowed Jachimecki to refer Jarzębski's compositions to (18) works by Viadana included in the *Sinfonie musicali a 8 voci*, op. 18 (1608-1610), according to the scholar certainly known to the Polish composer (p. 295). The author was also convinced that in comparison to the works by Biagio Marini, Pietro Lappi, Antonio Cifra and Giovanni B. Fontana «Jarzębski did not create any new forms or instrumental-technical procedures; he took them over from the Italian authors of modern instrumental music» (p. 299). Jachimecki also mentioned the *solo* song with lute accompaniment to the Jan Kochanowski text with the Krzysztof Klabon music *In nuptias [...] Joannis de Zamoscio [...] ac Griseldis Bathorrae [...] Epithalamion* (1582), which was «possibly the first Polish essay at imitating the *stile recitativo* that Vincenzo Galilei performed in the Florentine *camerata*, when playing two songs of the *Divine Comedy* to a lute accompaniment» (p. 153).

2.a Formal, melodic and metro-rhythmic shape of dances by a monogrammist N.C. in the Jan of Lublin tablature was recognized by Jachimecki as characteristic for Italian dances. He compared them to Antonio Casteliono's dances in the *Intavolatura di Liuto*, Milan, 1536 (p. 41). In his opinion, the virtuoso character in Długoraj's *Finale* had made the composition resemble «completely a toccata» by Andrea Gabrieli or Claudio Merulo (pp. 126-127). The scholar noticed stylistic traits of villanella and frottola in Mikołaj Gomółka's psalms, in which he spotted parallels of perfect consonances (fifths), simple note-against-note texture and melodies «easy to pick up, straightforward as for folk, and nice» (pp. 116-117).¹⁰ He saw such features also in the Wojciech Długoraj villanelle included in the *Thesaurus harmonicus* by Jean Baptiste Bésard (Cologne, 1603), similar to other compositions from the same tablature, whose rhythmic and melodic features imparted them folk and Italian character (pp. 127, 131-132). Finally, he detected a stylization «in the spirit of villanella» in the Diomedes Cato *choreae polonicae* (p. 151). In Gomółka's psalms Jachimecki observed examples of word-painting, which he treated as a proof of a relation between his music and madrigal (pp. 104-109). The scholar believed this kind of Italian music to be a source of illustrative character of the composer's works (pp. 116-117) and openly declared that «as far as the effects of musical realism are concerned, Gomółka does not cede to the best Italian madrigalists» (p. 107).¹¹ In his opinion echoes of Italian *madrigali di guerra* also resounded in Klabon's *Pieśni Kalliopy Słowieńskiej*, which feature martial illustrative motifs (p. 193).

2.b In Jachimecki's estimation 'Italian influences' are proved primarily by the characteristics of Polish music that he associated with Palestrina's and Gabrieli's work, the

¹⁰ Mirosław Perz criticised the interpretation of parallels of fifths as a means of stylization peculiar to villanella. He recognized single parallel fifths as licence characteristic for Netherlandish polyphony. Cf. *Mikołaj Gomółka. Monografia* [Mikołaj Gomółka. A monograph], Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1981² (1 ed., Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969), p. 292.

¹¹ Perz (PERZ, *ibidem*, pp. 231-246 and *Melodie na Psalterz polski Mikołaja Gomółki. Interpretacje, komentarze* [Mikołaj Gomółka's Melodies for the Polish psalter. Interpretations, commentaries], Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1988) clearly demonstrated that in his psalms Gomółka reverted to the madrigal idea to illustrate a text.

representatives of the two main Italian compositorial schools, Roman and Venetian. These characteristics refer mainly to the texture, but also to the form, harmony and expressive values of compositions.

According to the scholar a connection with the style of Palestrina's and other composers of the Roman school can be seen in homophony and simplicity of texture (present in the Jan Borzym motet *Rorate coeli*, 1619, p. 188)¹² and in welding polyphonic with homophonic factor (in motets by Jan Polak, pp. 157-158, 162).¹³ In addition the same is proved by simplicity of contrapuntal treatment of motifs in imitation, a clear structure and unity of style, resulting from the fact that the composition is permeated with one subject (in the Tomasz Szadek *Officium in melodiam motetae Pisneme*, p. 87).¹⁴ A mere «trace» of Palestrina's influence, in turn, is initial imitation in a composition, which occur in the Zieleński *Offertoria*, because «polyphonic parts» abound in motets by both Gabrieli and by other Venetian masters. The latter stylistic feature relates his compositions with motets for eight voices by the Roman composer, whose technique «was undoubtedly well known to Zieleński» (p. 236). Other elements of Palestrinesque origin, recalled by Jachimecki after Adolf Chybiński, are also: tenderness of melody and harmonic mysticism, sincerity, effusiveness and almost religious rapture (in the Szadek mass quoted above, p. 87).¹⁵ Jachimecki noticed simplicity, earnestness and solemn expression in Jan Polak's motets (p. 162).¹⁶

According to Jachimecki the influence of Giovanni Gabrieli's and/or Venetian school style on Polish music reveals itself mainly in polychorality. In his opinion the Waclaw of Szamotyły mass for eight voices in two choirs (not preserved; quoted in Jerzy Jasińczyc's catalogue [1572], p. 57) may have proved the connections with the Venetian creative

¹² For ascribing the compositions signed with the initials I.B. in the manuscript Kk.I.1 in the Archiwum Krakowskiej Kapituły Katedralnej (PL-Kk) at Wawel (among others the motet *Rorate caeli*) to Jan Borzym (Borimius) – holding the prebend of the Rorantists chapel (*capella rorantistarum*) between 1602 and 1619 and its prefect between 1619 and 1623 – see PIOTR POŹNIAK, *Repertuar polskiej muzyki wokalne w epoce Renesansu. Studium kontekstualno-analityczne* [Repertory of Polish vocal music at the time of the Renaissance. A contextual-analytical study], Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 1999, pp. 28-30.

¹³ The *oeuvre* of Jan Polak (Johannes Polonus, Hans Pohle) was hinted at only marginally in the history of sixteenth century polyphony in Poland by Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski (ZYGUNT M. SZWEJKOWSKI, *Rozkwit wielogłosowości w XVI wieku* [The bloom of polyphony in the 16th century], in *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej* [On the Polish musical culture], 2 vols., Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958-1966, I (1958): *Kultura staropolska* [Old Polish culture], ed. Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, p. 106). The writer argued that Polak, as a Silesian composer, was subject to influences of German culture. The subsequent syntheses of history of Polish music at the time of the Renaissance fail to discuss his motets. In his book *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* (p. 166) Jachimecki recognized the stylistic features of the Johannes Polonus motets, which strike a balance between polyphonic and homophonic factors, as akin to Palestrina's and Felice Anerio's Roman style.

¹⁴ Jachimecki quoted (pp. 87-88) Adolf Chybiński's view expressed in his *Stosunek muzyki polskiej do zachodniej w XV i XVI wieku* [The relationship of Polish music to the western music in the 15th and 16th centuries], «Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki», XXXVI, 1908, extract Kraków, 1909, p. 42.

¹⁵ However, Jachimecki did not fully share Chybiński's ideas, cf. pp. 87-89.

¹⁶ Jachimecki saw connections with Palestrina's style also in masses by Bartłomiej Pękiel (*Missa pulcherrima ad instar Praenestini*, *Missa brevis* and *Missa secunda*), which tend to approach «the sphere of influence» of the Roman master. Cf. ZDZISŁAW JACHIMECKI, *Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795* [Polish music from 1572 to 1795], in *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura od czasów najdawniejszych do chwili obecnej* [Poland, its history and culture from the most ancient times to the present moment], ed. Stanisław Lam, 3 vols., Warszawa, Trzaska, Evert i Michalski, 1927-1930, II (1929), p. 23.

milieu. The «double-choral style», which opposes high and low voices made the scholar count the *Hymn rokoszan Zebrzydowskiego* of 1607 to the «Venetian current» and believe the composition epitomized Italian influences (p. 199).¹⁷ To be sure, polychorality was the reason for subscribing Zieleński and his *Offertoria* to «Giovanni Gabrieli's school» (pp. 216, 236). Jachimecki referred polychoral texture of Venetian type in works by Polish composers to other features of Gabrieli's *sacrae sinfoniae*: contrast or variety of sound colour (which occurs in the Andrzej Staniczewski motet *Beata es virgo Maria*, published in the *Lilius Melodiae sacrae*, pp. 184-185, and in the Zieleński *offertorium Justus ut palma*, p. 225), as well as to the simplicity of counterpoint structure and clear architectonic design of composition (in Zieleński's *offertoria*, pp. 225, 229). The Venetian character of works by Zieleński and their relations to the style of Gabrieli's *sacrae sinfoniae* was determined, according to Jachimecki, by a *concertato* style, which consisted in cooperating between voices and instruments, particularly as an organ accompaniment (pp. 215-216, 236). In Zieleński's *communio Beatus servus* the scholar noticed a similarity of a phrase to Gabrieli's subjects (p. 259).¹⁸ The style of Andreas Hakenberger's motets, however, published in the *Harmonia sacra* (Frankfurt, 1617) dedicated to King Sigismund III of Poland, was called by Jachimecki as «an alliance of Roman and Venetian manners», whereas describing the motet *Memento Domine David* the scholar pointed at *ostinato cantus firmus*, which forms a basis of the composition and at colouristic contrast of four-voice choirs cooperating with each other (pp. 173-175).¹⁹

2.c Relating works by the Polish composers of the first half of the seventeenth century to the music of other Italian composers of the late Renaissance and early Baroque, Jachimecki pointed at chromaticism of melody and dissonant harmony in works by Adam Jarzębski and Bartłomiej Pękiel, as well as at the features of monodic and chamber works by Zieleński and Pękiel. He associated the shape of melodic design in the Jarzębski *concerto*

¹⁷ In his discussion of the *Hymn rokoszan Zebrzydowskiego*, Jachimecki (pp. 196-199) also emphasized that the text is onomatopoeic and music illustrative, which renders the angry yells and martial turmoil. Later (*Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym*, p. 165) these features made him associate the *Hymn* with the programmatic French chanson or *madrigale di guerra*. The connection with French music only has been underlined by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, who has called the *Hymn* a song of «*La guerre type*» patterned on programmatic chansons. Cf. BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music in Poland, III: The Baroque*, part 1: 1595-1696, trans. John Comber, Warsaw, Sutkowski, 2002, pp. 428, 441.

¹⁸ Derivations from Venetian style were identified by Jachimecki also in the eight-voice *Missae sine ceremoniis* and *Missa concertata La Lombardesca* by Pękiel. In the latter the division of the eight voices into two choirs «would correspond [...] to the practice of the Venetian school at the Gabrielis time». Cf. *Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795*, p. 23. In addition he stated that «in Pękiel's masses one can notice a kind of historic development from a slightly archaic style of the mass with *cantus firmus* through a Palestrinesque-Venetian style to an entirely contemporary style of vocal-instrumental mass». Cf. *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym*, p. 207.

¹⁹ Referring the Hakenberger motets to both Roman and Venetian styles, Jachimecki possibly also meant his using whole choirs as compositional units, which was typical for the sixteenth century tradition, as well as using organ as accompaniment. For the features of Hakenberger's works cf. DANUTA POPINIGIS, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hakenbergera* [The music of Andreas Hakenberger], Gdańsk, Akademia Muzyczna, 1997; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, p. 292.

Chromatica with the technique of Luca Marenzio's madrigals, whereas Jarzębski's use of daring dissonances, with works by Carlo Gesualdo, Cipriano de Rore, Marenzio and Nicolò Vicentino. He admitted that the dissonant technique in this Jarzębski *concerto* surpass works by «over-sensitive» Italian madrigalists and Monteverdi (pp. 294-295).²⁰ The harmony of the Pękiel «cantata» *Audite morales*, characterized by daring combinations of chords and sharp dissonances, introduced for their dramatic effect, provided the means of comparison of the work by the royal chapel master to the «intermedia» *Orfeo dolente* by Domenico Belli and to the *Stabat Mater* by Claudio Saracini (s. 306).²¹

Jachimecki looked for hypothetical sources of inspiration for Zieleński's *communiones* for solo voice in the Lodovico Grossi da Viadana *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, Venice 1602 (he also pointed at differences in both composers' approach: Zieleński's making the solo voice an integral element of four-voice structure and writing out coloraturas in it, and Viadana's making it independent, clearly separated from the instrumental parts and his prohibition of adding ornaments).²² He also likened these compositions to monodies by Giulio Caccini and passages from the Jacopo Peri *Euridice* «and from other examples of the Florentine style» (pp. 249-251). He thought the relation of the vocal parts to organ accompaniment in two-voice *communiones* with imitative beginnings to be similar to those in Luzzasco Luzzaschi's solo madrigals (p. 252). He recognized, however, that in works for one vocal voice Zieleński united the motet method with monodic style and, having decorated them with «*coloratura* ornamentation», rather than to dramatic he tended towards *concertato* style. In the scholar's opinion the style of Zieleński's monodies resembled «most closely and almost exclusively *intermedia* and *concerti* by Cristofano Malvezzi (Venice, 1591)». In Zieleński's monodies Jachimecki also noticed the leading

²⁰ Jachimecki (*Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795*, p. 17) saw that the style of Jarzębski's canzonas is similar to that of works by Adriano Banchieri, Giovanni Gabrieli and Biagio Marini. In addition Jachimecki mentioned (p. 284) Jarzębski's and Banchieri's works may have had similar functions. In particular he suggested that «in his collection Jarzębski intended some works for ecclesiastical services, whereas others, for musical use at home», possibly following «Adriano Banchieri, who a few years before had had the *Raccolta di Concerti da Camera e da Chiesa* published». The idea that Jarzębski's compositions were performed at services instead of psalms as concertos *da chiesa* was expressed recently by PIOTR WILK, *O niektórych funkcjach "da chiesa" włoskich sonat i koncertów epoki baroku* [On some of the 'da chiesa' functions of Italian sonatas and concertos of the Baroque era], in *Donum natalicum. Studia Thaddaeo Przybylski octogenario dedicata*, eds. Zofia Fabiańska - Alicja Jarzębska - Andrzej Sitarz, Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 2007, pp. 306-307.

²¹ According to Hieronim Feicht the comparison of Pękiel's daring juxtaposition of chord and harsh dissonances to the harmony in Belli's and Saracini's works is much exaggerated. Cf. FEICHT, «*Audite mortales*» *Bartłomieja Pękiela* [Bartłomiej Pękiel's *Audite mortales*], «Kwartalnik Muzyczny», 1929/4, reprinted in HIERONIM FEICHT, *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku* [Studies in Polish Renaissance and Baroque music], Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980, p. 388. Jachimecki, *Historia muzyki polskiej (w zarysie)*, p. 90, compared the Pękiel *Audite mortales* (in particular the fragment *Heu! me miserum*) also to operas by Monteverdi, who – in his opinion – «failed to compose such a ravishing melody, such a pathos in harmonic passages even once», and also in *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym*, pp. 210-211, to Heinrich Schütz's works in the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte*, operas by Luigi Rossi, Francesco Cavalli and Claudio Monteverdi. For a critic of Jachimecki's idea expressed in the former work, cf. FEICHT, «*Audite mortales*» *Bartłomieja Pękiela*, in *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku*, pp. 392-394.

²² For comparison of Zieleński's 'pseudomonodies' to compositions in Viadana's collection cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 287-288.

of accompanying voices and formation of the *continuo* part in the score similar to those by Malvezzi (pp. 251-252). In addition he pointed out that *communiones* were called polyphonic compositions (tercets) in spite of the fact that they are indeed written for one solo voice with an instrumental accompaniment (p. 258). The *Partitura pro organo* in Zieleński's *Offertoria* appeared to him close to the organ accompaniment in Italian works of the late sixteenth century – inter alia in the *Spartitura per sonare nel organo accomodate al primo choro nei Concerti di D. Adriano Banchieri*, Venice, 1595 (pp. 237-238).²³ Finally, discussing Pękiel's «cantata» *Audite mortales*, Jachimecki estimated the work by the royal musician as «by no means inferior to the contemporary Italian monodies, both dramatic and in *concertato* style». In his opinion the melodic invention and dramatic expression of the work are comparable to «more than one passage in Monteverdi's operas or in monodies and cantatas by Saracini, Rossi and Carissimi» (p. 306).

Only in a few cases did Jachimecki notice parallel features in specific works of Polish and Italian composers. In the *Alec nade mną Wenus* in the Jan of Lublin tablature, signed with the initials N.C., he recognized «psalmodic» formation of the phrase, which was, according to him, typical for Italian madrigals and frottole and a similar one, as, for instance, in the Costanzo Festa frottola *Amor che mi consigli?* (1531). He thought it proved that «the spirit of music in the N.C. madrigal [...] had been shaped under the influence of Italian music». He also mentioned the Festa madrigal *Cosi soav'e'l fuoco* (1541), one of many works of the kind related to the N.C. «madrigal» as far as the construction of melodic lines and harmonic successions are concerned (p. 28). Jachimecki considered the rhythmic qualities of the Jan Polak motet *Virtutum pietas* as similar to the sharply rhythmized, march-like motifs in the Felice Anerio motet *Factus est silentium* (p. 163).²⁴ He also observed similarities between the motets by Polak and Palestrina: the four-voice *Virtutum pietas* and the *Ad Dominum cum tribulater - secunda pars*, the *Exaltate* and the *O quantus luctus hominum*, as well as six-voice the *Domine perface gressus* and the work *In festo purificationis Beatae Mariae Virginis*, distinguished by division of the choir ensemble into opposing groups of voices (pp. 163-165).²⁵ According to Jachimecki, the three-voice *communio Feci iudicium et iusticiam* by Zieleński resembles the Viadana motet *Quis dabit capiti meo* (p. 258).

The remaining three thematic plots are far less important in Jachimecki's reflections on Italo-Polish relations.

²³ In later works Jachimecki compared Zieleński's composition in the *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* (*Magnificat, offertoria*) also to works by Asprilio Pacelli, Costanzo Porta, Giovanni G. Gastoldi, Andrea Gabrieli and others. Cf. JACHIMECKI, *Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795*, p. 15; Id., *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym*, pp. 169, 172-173.

²⁴ Jachimecki quoted here Hugo Leichtentritt's characteristics of the rhythm in F. Anerio's motet. Cf. HUGO LEICHTENTRITT, *Geschichte der Motette*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908, p. 182.

²⁵ In his book *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* (pp. 204-206) Jachimecki noticed also a similarity of formation of the Pękiel *Missa pulcherrima ad instar Praenestini* to the Palestrina *Missa Aeterna Christi munera*, which consists on the common subject's recurring in all their parts.

The first one concerns the Italian musicians active in Poland, in particular in the Polish Vasa court chapel²⁶ and occurs primarily in the scholar's characterization of the contents of the *Melodiae sacrae* by Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius; see chapter V, pp. 169-185). Jachimecki listed the names or discussed the figures of 14 Italian composers of King Sigismund III Vasa's chapel (Asprilio Pacelli, Vincenzo Bertolusi, Giulio C. Gabussi, Antonio Patarto, Giulio Osculati, Lorenzo Bellotti, Raphaello Veggio, Luca Marenzio, Annibale Stabile, Ippolito Bonanni, Simone Amorosi, Alfonso Pagani, Jacopo Abbiati and Vincenzo Lilius himself), whose works are found in Lilius's publication. He provided information on their origin (Asprilio Pacelli born in 1570 in Vasciano near Narni, Vincenzo Bertolusi possibly from Muro near Naples, Annibale Stabile born in Padua), their teachers, places where they were active and dates of their stay in Poland (Bertolusi, ca. 1601 organist at King Sigismund III's court; Gabussi, Costanzo Porta's disciple, chapel master at the Milan cathedral between 1582 and 1611; Stabile, Palestrina's pupil, chapel master at the church of St. John Lateran, thereafter at the German college and finally at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, possibly in 1595 arrived to Warsaw; Pacelli, chapel master at St. Peter's in Rome, then between 1603-1623 at the Polish royal court);²⁷ and, exceptionally, their earnings (Marenzio «owned his summoning to the Polish court with a yearly salary equal to 1000 *scudi* to his wide reputation», p. 179). In one case he mentioned later vicissitudes of an Italian musician of King Sigismund III, Bertolusi, who in 1607 moved from there to the chapel of King Christian IV in Copenhagen and died there in 1608, p. 172.²⁸ In other places in his book Jachimecki also mentioned a certain Domenico from Verona, instrumentalist employed in the royal chapel in 1546 (p. 46) and the musicians active at the Warsaw court ca. 1624 at the time of Adam Jarzębski, the organ player and composer Tarquinio Merula (whose «*Sonata cromatica* may have been known to Jarzębski») and the «excellent violinist» Alfonso Pagani, a disciple of Grandi (p. 299).²⁹ He called Diomedes Cato a Venetian (pp. 120, 147).

The next secondary thematic plot refers to the *oeuvre* by the Italian composers working in the Polish royal chapel. Jachimecki mentioned this question again while discussing the contents of the Lilius *Melodiae sacrae*. He either characterized briefly or merely mentioned

²⁶ First and foremost documentation of the stay of Italian musicians in Poland was a subject of works by ADOLF CHYBIŃSKI, *Muzycy włoscy w krakowskich kapelach katedralnych (1619-1657)* [Italian musicians in the Cracow cathedral chapels (1619-1657)], «Przegląd Muzykologiczny», 1926/11-12, 1927/1-5, 7, 8; *Do historii włoskich muzyków w Polsce* [On the history of Italian musicians in Poland], «Kwartalnik Muzyczny» 1930/6-7; *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800* [Dictionary of musicians in early Poland up to 1800], Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1949, containing entries on Italian musicians active in Poland.

²⁷ Providing biographical information Jachimecki relied on Robert Eitner's *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 10 vols, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900-1904.

²⁸ This fact was repeated by Anna Szweykowska without quoting Jachimecki's work. Cf. ANNA SZWEYKOWSKA, *Muzycy* [The musicians], in ANNA SZWEYKOWSKA - ZYGMUNT M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the royal chapel of the Polish Vasas], Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 1997, p. 43.

²⁹ Quoting the Pagani motet *Confirmatum est cor virginis (Melodiae sacrae, Cracoviae, 1604)*, Jachimecki (p. 183) called him «a good violinist and teacher» who «educated» Ottavio M. Grandi. The problem of the activity of Italian musicians in royal chapel in Warsaw and Wawel royal chapels in Cracow recurs in Jachimecki's works on Polish music. Cf. *Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795*, p. 23; and *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym*, pp. 181, 198-199.

the compositions by the Italian members of the court chapel of King Sigismund III Vasa (pp. 169-185). Not only did he include the works comprised in the anthology (quoting their fragments as musical examples), but also other works by some of them, not written during their stay in Poland such as Pacelli's motets (ms. 16703 of the then Imperial Library, now Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, p. 170),³⁰ as well as madrigals by Marenzio (quoting their very summary characteristics after Ambros, Winterfeld and Leichtentritt, pp. 179-181). Sporadically he referred their legacy to the stylistic features of Italian music believed to be connected with the Roman and Venetian centres, as well as with the work of Palestrina. According to Jachimecki, the motet *Exurgat Deus* for eight voices by Asprilio Pacelli reflects the interconnection between the Roman and Venetian styles (p. 170), whereas the Ippolito Bonanni motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes*, for two choirs led in a responsorial manner, reveals that the composer was «probably an adherent of the Venetian style» (p. 182). The homophonic texture imparts a distinctive Palestrinesque air to the Stabile motet *Lux perpetua lucebit* (p. 181).³¹ Discussing the issue of Marenzio's madrigal compositions and pondering a possibility of his influence on Polish composers, the scholar also mentioned two Italian prints dedicated to Polish personalities: the Orazio Vecchi *Madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1583), dedicated to Albrycht Radziwiłł (and thought to prove a reception of the Italian madrigal in Poland) and the Tarquinio Merula *Il primo libro de' madrigali concertati* (Venice, 1624), dedicated to King Sigismund III (pp. 180-181). At the beginning of the chapter VII concerning «the first opera libretto in Polish» Jachimecki quoted a passage from the title page of *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* with music by Francesca Caccini and text by Ferdinando Saracinelli (Florence, 1625), dedicated to Prince Władysław Zygmunt Vasa, *dramma per musica* performed earlier in honour of the royal prince during his stay in Florence in 1625 (p. 269).

The third plot is formed by hints on the reception of Italian repertoire and performing practice in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century and first decades of the seventeenth century. Jachimecki registered proofs of Polish knowledge of Italian vocal and instrumental works (in the form of their copies and transcriptions included in primary sources from Poland), as well as adaptations of Italian dramatic works. Characterizing the repertoire of the Jan of Lublin tablature, believed to be the second, after the ms. 52 Krasieński Library in Warsaw, «richest primary source to prove Italian influences in Polish music up to the year when it was written» (p. 1), the scholar quoted copies of Italian instrumental works (Girolamo Cavazzoni's *Canzona*, pp. 10-12) and organ intabulations of madrigals (*Con lacrime sospir*, which he referred to Philippe Verdelot's composition, 1553, and compared with its model, as well as *Se amor* by unidentified author, pp. 6-8, 12). He also mentioned three dances called (*choreae*) *italicae*, which is to suggest their Italian origin (pp. 13-15). In his discussion of the Jarzębski *Canzoni et concerti* Jachimecki hinted at the problem of models for *concerti*

³⁰ It is a choirbook which contains a copy of five compositions by Pacelli deriving from the collection *Asprilii Pacellii [...] motectorum et psalmodum [...] liber primus*, Romae, 1597. I owe this observation to Aleksandra Patalas.

³¹ In his discussion of songs at the turn of the sixteenth century (in the selfsame chapter), Jachimecki included Pacelli's song *Bogu w Trójcy jedynemu* ([Kraków], 1604?). He believed a transformation of its melody by introducing *proportio* to be an Italian feature (p. 195).

provided with incipits of vocal works, inter alia the *concerto Cantate Joh. Gabrielis*, which – in his opinion – presupposed the knowledge of the work by the great Venetian composer. In addition he believed that possibly this *concerto* played the role of an instrumental compliment to Giovanni Gabrieli's composition, which he did not know (pp. 297-298).³² The subject of a separate chapter was a Polish translation of the already mentioned drama *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* by Ferdinando Saracinelli, staged in 1625 with the music by Francesca Caccini. This translation, written by Stanisław S. Jagodyński and published as the *Wybawienie Ruggiera z wyspy Alcyny*, was compared by Jachimecki to the excerpts from the original included in the work of Hugo Goldschmidt (pp. 269-280).

Jachimecki associated Italian practice of ornamental singing with the activity of the Rorantists vocal ensemble (*capella rorantistarum*) at Wawel, who was obliged to perform daily the *Rorate*, «*praenobili arte italiana*» (hinted at Queen Anna Jagiellonka's letter to the parish priest Zajączek of Pabianice, pp. 42, 45). Knowledge of Italian ways of ornamentation, however, was supposed to be proved primarily by works by Mikołaj Gomółka and Mikołaj Zieleński – melodic figurations in the psalm *Serce mi każe śpiewać* by Gomółka (p. 104) and *coloratura* in the Zieleński *communiones*, widely used in Italian musical performance of the early seventeenth century, i.e. «at the time when Zieleński stayed in Italy». According to Jachimecki «common predilection of *coloratura*» was, «in a way, an expression of the spirit of Italian music» (p. 265). In addition the way the Polish composer decorated the melody, modest and attuned to the content and mood of the text, is supposed to correspond to the recommendations of Italian theorists of the late sixteenth century: Giovanni B. Bovicelli and Ludovico Zacconi (pp. 266-267).

3. The importance of Jachimecki's book in Polish musicological historiography

Jachimecki's work became an impulse for the musicologists of the twentieth and early twenty-first century who dealt with late Renaissance and early Baroque works of music in Poland and their relation with Italian music. Took up as they did all the plots present in his treatise, they concentrated on those that were of secondary importance in the *Italian Influences in Polish Music*.³³ They focused their research on work and activity of Italians, which were connected with the Kingdom of Poland (preserved or merely documented), and particularly with the Warsaw royal court. In addition an important issue became the problem of reception of music repertoire created in Italy on this territory; and – finally – a question of transmitting Italian music and that in Italian style via the Polish-Lithuanian

³² In his book *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* (p. 186) Jachimecki declared that adaptations of vocal models in Jarzębski's concertos were enabled by his perfect command of the music by contemporary Italian masters, particularly Girolamo Frescobaldi and Biagio Marini.

³³ For a discussion of the literature on Italo-Polish relations in the Polish musical culture of the seventeenth century, including numerous contributions, monographs and syntheses of the music history of the then Polish Commonwealth, see ZOFIA DOBRZAŃSKA-FABIAŃSKA, *The Role of Italian Musical Culture in the 17th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in Light of Polish Musicological Historiography*, in *La musica policorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento*, eds. Marina Toffetti - Aleksandra Patalas, Venezia, Fondazione Levi, 2012, pp. 3-33.

Commonwealth to other European areas (it was practically not touched by Jachimecki).³⁴ In the course of one hundred years from the publication of the *Italian Influences* Polish, Italian and American scholars widened the scope of their research and considerably enlarged the number of primary sources they used. Hence, in comparison to Jachimecki's data, they established a number of important facts in the effort to fully document the life and work of Italian musicians in the Polish Kingdom in the seventeenth century³⁵ and knowledge of Italian music in north-eastern Europe.³⁶ They collected the sources of the vast repertoire that was performed and composed here, which became popular in northern, central and eastern Europe. It comprises works of various styles and genres, vocal and vocal-instrumental (religious and secular) and instrumental, as well as theatrical and paratheatrical with music. Musicologists have prepared critical editions of works³⁷ and detailed analyses and interpretations of the legacy of some Italian composers, setting it against the vast context of work and theoretical reflection both European and local as well as historical documents of the epoch.³⁸

In effect Anna Szweykowska, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and Aleksandra Patalas³⁹ have established when Italian musicians stayed in the Polish Kingdom, the vicissitudes of their artistic career and, sometimes, even some details of their familiar and financial situation. They have reconstructed the ways how specific artists were summoned from Italy and how they arrived. They also dwelt on the staff, structure and transformations of the music ensemble of the Vasa kings. They have found out the provenance of Italian

³⁴ Jachimecki only touched the problem of the migration of the musicians employed at the Polish Commonwealth. He mentioned Bertolusi's passage from King Sigismund III Vasa's ensemble to the chapel of King Christian IV in Copenhagen (p. 172).

³⁵ In particular cf. SZWEYKOWSKA, *Muzycy*, pp. 13-123; BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szweykowskich "Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów"* (Kraków 1997) [In search of former splendour. Comments on the book by Anna Szweykowska and Zygmunt Szweykowski book *Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Vasas*], «Muzyka», XLIII/2, 1998, pp. 91-115; EAD., *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [Musical courts of the Polish Vasas], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007. For an extensive discussion of the sources of the music repertoire performed in the Commonwealth in the seventeenth century cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*.

³⁶ In particular cf. TOMASZ JEZ, *Madrygal w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja - recepcja - przeobrażenia gatunku* [The madrigal in Northeastern Europe. Documentation - reception - transformations of the genre], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2003; ID., *Recepcja Madrygalów Luki Marenziana w Europie północno-wschodniej* [Reception of Luca Marenzio's madrigals in Northeastern Europe], «Muzyka», XLVIII/4, 2003, pp. 77-94.

³⁷ For a list of contemporary editions of works by the Italian composers connected with the Commonwealth cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 519-551 and EAD., *Historia muzyki polskiej*, III: *Barok*, cz. I: *1595-1696*, Warszawa, Sutkowski, 2006, pp. 515-550.

³⁸ In particular cf. ZYGMUNT M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka* [The music], in SZWEYKOWSKA - SZWEYKOWSKI, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*, pp. 127-228; ALEKSANDRA PATALAS, *Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów. A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi* [The oeuvre of the chapel masters of the Polish Vasas: A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi], doctoral dissertation, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1998; EAD., *Polichóralne msze G. F. Aneria. Technika parodii* [Polychoral masses of G. F. Anerio. Parody technique], «Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska», Sectio L, Artes II, 2004, pp. 163-187; EAD., *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria* [At church, chamber and theatre. Marco Scacchi. Life, music, theory], Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 2010.

³⁹ Cf. SZWEYKOWSKA, *Muzycy*; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów*; PATALAS, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze*, pp. 26-142.

musicians, the kind of education they received, as well as their relations with specific stylistic trends and cultural centres; the places where musicians migrated from the Commonwealth. Finally they have discussed the importance of Italians for the education of indigenous musicians. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski and Aleksandra Patalas in particular⁴⁰ have thoroughly characterized the work of royal chapel masters: Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni F. Anerio, Marco Scacchi and other Italian musicians, by establishing its specific features and comparing them with the work of Italian composers active in Italy, as well as with the main stylistic currents in the European music of the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Besides, in his analyses of polychoral motets by Pacelli, included in the *Motectorum et psalmodum [...] liber primus* (Rome, 1597) and the *Sacrae cantiones* (Venice, 1608), Szweykowski corroborated Jachimecki's postulate to connect them with Roman style (p. 170). In the light of what has been preserved from Pacelli's *oeuvre*, it is legitimate only the hypothesis that he referred at the same time to the Venetian style.⁴¹ The aforementioned authors have shown the socio-cultural context of the artistic activity of Italian musicians, emphasizing the role of the Vasas' artistic patronage; they have also studied the function of their work in contemporary musical life. Tomasz Jeż has presented the reception of madrigal repertoire in the basin of the Baltic Sea,⁴² documented by imports of Italian musical prints, manuscript copies of compositions, anthologies of madrigals and their *contrafacta*, adaptations and transcriptions of Italian works, also revealing itself in following the *stile madrigalesco* by local composers. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska has observed the directions of both the migrations of Italian musicians and transmissions of Italian works or those composed here in Italian style via Poland from the West to the East (but also conversely), as well from the south to the north of Europe.⁴³

Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and others have discussed the problem of 'Italian influences in Polish music', clearly dominated in the literature by other aspects of Italo-Polish relations in the musical culture of the seventeenth century. They have intended to discuss those 'Italian influences' in the work of contemporary indigenous composers in the light of the documented relations of local musicians with the traditions of specific Italian composers' schools rather than of the 'general' perspective of the Italian music of the time (as done by Jachimecki). Vernacular compositions themselves have been discussed primarily on the background of the repertoire composed and performed in the selfsame *milieu* of Polish courts and known in the Polish Commonwealth. Not by chance have they compared them to purposefully selected Italian musical works,⁴⁴ indicating even

⁴⁰ Cf. note 38.

⁴¹ This hypothesis was put forward by Szweykowski, who relied on the information included in the foreword to the latter collection, dedicated to King Sigismund III Vasa and published during the composer's activity in Warsaw. Pacelli mentioned there that he had written more magnificent «symphonies» for voices and instruments. Therefore Szweykowski believed that Pacelli, «initially faithful to the practice of the Roman school, after a few year stay in Poland [...] yielded to the Venetian school». Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, pp. 142-144.

⁴² In particular cf. JEŻ, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej*.

⁴³ In particular cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 505-512.

⁴⁴ Among others cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 225-492; EAD., *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski* [Music under the patronage of the Polish Vasas. Marcin Mielczewski], Warszawa, Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2011.

close analogies to works by Italian masters.⁴⁵ Consequently they have discerned specific stylistic features of local composers, including the most eminent active mainly in the chapel of the Polish Vasa: Marcin Mielczewski and Zieleński, Jarzębski, Pękiel and others, from the characteristics typical for Italian music and from conventional musical language of the time.

However, it is necessary to say that from the perspective of later research Jachimecki's remarks concerning in particular general stylistic parallels between vernacular work with that representative for Italian musical centres and for composers active there have proved right (although in the light of the subsequent factographical findings and interpretations some of his comparisons of 'Polish' and Italian music have been falsified or proved unfounded).⁴⁶ Just like Jachimecki, Szweykowski have treated for instance the Andrzej Staniczewski double-choir motet *Beata es virgo Maria* as an example of Venetian style since it was written for choirs contrasted in sound and included an opposition of homorhythmic parts in triple metre to artful imitative polyphony. In this way he has pointed at one of the elements of the style described by Jachimecki (pp. 184-185).⁴⁷ Szweykowski and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska have also compared Zieleński's polychoral technique to the *sacrae sinfoniae* by Giovanni Gabrieli, which distinguishes itself in his *Offertoria* with various combinations of voices and linking voices with instruments for dynamic and colouristic purposes.⁴⁸ Also this time they thus recalled the compositional features quoted by Jachimecki (pp. 216, 225), but concurrently they have proved that the work of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli was known in Cracow and received in the Polish Kingdom and have called attention to the activity of the Venetian master's disciples at the Polish royal court (among others the organist Giovanni Valentini).⁴⁹ They have also noticed the stylistic details (antithetical phrases) that connect compositions by Zieleński and Gabrieli, but also by Franciszek Lilius, Tarquinio Merula and Polish composers of the time.⁵⁰

Contemporary scholars have also shared an opinion that Jarzębski referred to the most actual trends of Italian chamber music, which corresponds to Jachimecki's general conviction (p. 299). Those trends, in particular in works by Salomone Rossi and Biagio Marini, as well as in the music of Dario Castello, Carlo Farina, Ottavio M. Grandi and Francesco Turini, are revealed in the *trio* texture of the *Canzoni e concerti*, in the developed form of

⁴⁵ They meant particularly the Mielczewski concerto *Virgo prudentissima* and his using there a phrase from the litany *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* in a way similar to Monteverdi's *Sonata sopra la Sancta Maria* in the *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (published in *Sanctissimae Virgini missa [...] ac vespere*, Venetiis, 1610) and concerto *Sancta Maria* (published in *Primo libro di concerti ecclesiastici*, Milano, 1618) and to Tarquinio Merula's version of the psalm *Credidi* (published in *Arpa Davidica*, Venezia, 1640). Cf. ZYGMUNT M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Z problemów techniki polichóralnej Marcina Mielczewskiego* [On issues in the polychoral technique of Marcin Mielczewski], in *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* [Marcin Mielczewski. Studies], ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 1999, pp. 132-135; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, p. 308.

⁴⁶ Cf. notes 9, 10, 13, 17, 21.

⁴⁷ Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, p. 135.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 134; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 280, 286-287, 304-305. Anna Szweykowska (*Muzycy*, pp. 65-67) and Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska (*The History of Music*, pp. 304-306) recalled the information known to Jachimecki (p. 205) that G. Gabrieli possibly dedicated some of his works to King Sigismund III.

⁵⁰ Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, pp. 164-165.

canzona and in transformation of vocal works into compositions instrumental *par excellence*.⁵¹ They have likened Jarzębski's masterful variation technique to the same art of Italian musicians, in particular that of Girolamo Frescobaldi.⁵² They have also identified the models of Jarzębski's concertos with vocal incipits, which were unknown to Jachimecki.⁵³ At the same time Szweykowski and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska noticed similarities in the formal shaping of Jarzębski's canzonas to that of Tarquinio Merula's works written in Poland.⁵⁴ And – as Jachimecki mentioned – Adam Jarzębski could know Merula's *Sonata cromatica*. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska's and Szweykowski's research has corroborated Jachimecki's comparisons of Pękiel's *Audite mortales* to Giacomo Carissimi's and Claudio Monteverdi's works (p. 306). Przybyszewska-Jarmińska has seen an affinity of Pękiel's *dialogo*, where the composer took up the same subject matter as Carissimi in the *Iudicium extremum*, to the Latin Roman works of this genre of the 30s and 40s of the seventeenth century, which, by the way, was discerned already within Pękiel's lifetime by the scribe of a copy of the *Audite mortales* lost today, which was once in the possession of Johann Ph. Krieger, who attributed the work specifically to Carissimi.⁵⁵ Szweykowski in turn has recognized «melodious» recitative parts tending towards *arioso* in the *Audite mortales* as close to the type of recitative which occurs in the last *drammi* by Monteverdi,⁵⁶ describing them in a way similar to Jachimecki (p. 306).⁵⁷

The ultimate result of interpretation of musical repertoire written in the Kingdom of Poland ('Italian' and 'Polish') in the context of European music and various historical factors is the basic change in the concept of 'Italian influences in Polish music' as formulated

⁵¹ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 225. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 452-453. Also JAN J. DUNICZ, *Adam Jarzębski i jego "Canzoni e concerti" (1627)* [Adam Jarzębski and his *Canzoni e concerti* (1627)], Lwów, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Muzyki Polskiej, 1938, *passim*, discussed the relations of Adam Jarzębski's work with Italian instrumental music (by Girolamo Frescobaldi and Giovanni Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, Giovanni B. Buonamente, Francesco Turini, Biagio Marini, Salomone Rossi, Carlo Farina) and with English music (by William Brade).

⁵² Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, pp. 225-226; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, p. 455.

⁵³ The problem of the models of Jarzębski's concertos and their identification was discussed by DUNICZ, *Adam Jarzębski*, pp. 117-129, ANDRZEJ CHODKOWSKI, *Adama Jarzębskiego transkrypcje instrumentalne dzieł mistrzów włoskich* [Adam Jarzębski's instrumental transcriptions of works by Italian masters], «*Pagine*», III, 1979, pp. 111-117, MARCIN SZELEST, "Io son ferito, ah! lasso" Giovanniego Pierluigiego da Palestrina i "Venite exultemus" Adama Jarzębskiego - wokalny pierwowzór w instrumentalnym opracowaniu [Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Io son ferito, ah! lasso* and Adam Jarzębski's *Venite exultemus* - a vocal prototype in an instrumental setting], «*Muzyka*», XLV/3, 2000, pp. 49-62 and FILIP BERKOWICZ, *Nowo odnalezione wokalne pierwowzory utworów ze zbioru "Canzoni e concerti" Adama Jarzębskiego* [Newly-recovered vocal prototypes of works from Adam Jarzębski's collection *Canzoni e concerti*], «*Muzyka*», XLVII/1, 2002, pp. 97-105.

⁵⁴ Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, pp. 224-225; PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 452, 456. According to Szweykowski (*ibidem*) the common traits of the music by both composers seem to imply their knowledge of contemporary Italian works rather than prove affiliations linking their music. Cf. also DUNICZ, *Adam Jarzębski*, p. 216.

⁵⁵ Cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, pp. 350-351. Cf. also FEICHT, "Audite mortales" Bartłomieja Pękiela, in *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku*, p. 385.

⁵⁶ Cf. ZYGMUNT M. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Musica moderna w ujęciu Marka Scacchiego* [Musica moderna from the perspective of Marco Scacchi], Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977, p. 237.

⁵⁷ JACHIMECKI (p. 306) called the style of solo passages of the *Audite mortales* «the resultant of *arioso* and free recitative».

by Jachimecki. The authors of recent works, primarily Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska in her sythesis of the Polish music of the seventeenth century,⁵⁸ while emphasizing the role of Italian culture in the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the seventeenth century, have noticed in vernacular music symptoms of adaptation of Italian style, which was acquiring universal significance. These scholars have interpreted the features of this style not only as a result of imitating foreign musical language, but also as its creative reception and modification.⁵⁹ Consequently they have refrained from contrasting 'Polish music', written by eminent royal musicians, to contemporary 'Italian' musical legacy, a trait marked clearly in the Jachimecki book.

ABSTRACT

In his book Jachimecki discussed the Italian features of works by Polish composers, Italian musicians active in Poland and their *oeuvre* and the Polish reception of both the Italian repertoire and their performing practice. The book proved to be important for the musicologists of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. They shifted their attention, however, to the music by Italians and to the reception of Italian compositions. Jachimecki's successors also interpreted 'Polish' music in the context of the 'Italian' repertoire created in Poland and of the European repertoire. Consequently, they identified Italian components present in vernacular music.

Nel suo libro Jachimecki aveva preso in considerazione i tratti stilistici italiani delle opere dei compositori polacchi, i musicisti italiani attivi in Polonia e le loro opere e la ricezione polacca del repertorio e della prassi esecutiva italiani. Il suo volume si è rivelato importante per i musicologi del XX e XXI secolo. I successori di Jachimecki hanno poi spostato la loro attenzione sulla musica dei compositori italiani e sulla ricezione delle composizioni italiane, prendendo in considerazione anche la musica 'polacca', proiettandola sullo sfondo del repertorio italiano prodotto in Polonia e del repertorio europeo e individuando eventuali elementi italiani all'interno della produzione autoctona.

⁵⁸ In particular cf. PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*.

⁵⁹ Cf. SZWEYKOWSKI, *Muzyka*, pp. 165, 227-228.

