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MUSIC IN POLAND UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF BISHOPS  
AT THE TURN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the musical historiography concerning Polish music at the end of the sixteenth and the first decades of the seventeenth centuries, researchers have so far focused on the royal courts, especially those of Sigismund II Augustus Jagiellon (d. 1572), Sigismund III Vasa (reigned 1587-1632) and Ladislaus IV Vasa (reigned 1632-1648).<sup>1</sup> As the extant sources are in a very bad state of preservation, little has been ascertained of musical life at the courts of magnates, either lay or ecclesiastics, although it is known that some of them fostered considerable interest in music, had close relations with Italy and assisted the monarchs in satisfying their musical ‘whims’. As far as the circles related to church dignitaries are concerned, the available information about music and its performers is usually incidental and vague. However, it nevertheless shows that not only at the royal court did the transformation of musical tastes occur, but vocal-instrumental music was also cultivated, and scores enabling the discovery and performance of the most innovative music of the time, especially Italian, were available. It can be assumed on the basis of the existing sources that Mikołaj Zieleński, organist and chapel master at the court of Wojciech Baranowski, Bishop of Płock and then of Kujawy and Pomerania (Włocławek), and later Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland, was not the only musician at the Polish bishops’ courts in this period who combined his competencies as a composer with attempts to pursue the new innovative style.

It can be said with certainty that the musical tastes of high-ranking church officials were influenced by their frequent contacts with the royal court and personal musical experiences gained during their sojourns in Italy. In most cases (Wojciech Baranowski being a possible exception), the social *milieu* in which they grew up had considerable significance, as well as contacts with Polish and Italian humanists which they experienced as a result of their high social standing.

It is my intention to make a (necessarily abridged) presentation of the context in which musical life developed at the courts of selected hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Church, ordinaries of dioceses in the central-west and northern parts of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania (in the Polish Crown), who were active towards the end of the sixteenth century, like András Báthory and Hieronim Rozdrażewski/Rozrażewski, or whose period of activity extended into (or was limited to) the seventeenth century, such as Szymon Rudnicki, Wojciech Baranowski, Stanisław Łubieński and Karol Ferdynand Vasa.

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<sup>1</sup> Almost nothing has been discovered to date about the musical life at the court of King Henry of Valois (of the French dynasty) during his brief stay in Poland (several months in 1574). Also, further research is required into the musical patronage of King Stephen Báthory from Transylvania (1576-1586).



kilometers from Warsaw). As early as this period, the king was paying for his nephew's court, including the purchase of musical books and instruments.<sup>2</sup> From 1583 onwards, András was also able to finance these and other enterprises with the income from the prepositure of the convent of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów (near Cracow).

In the same year of 1583, András Báthory traveled for the first time to Rome, where in July 1584 he received – at the age of barely 20 – the cardinal's hat from Pope Gregory XIII. As is generally known, in response to a politically motivated request from Pope, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina dedicated to Báthory his fifth book of motets for five voices (Rome, 1584), which opens with a laudatory two-part secular motet written to honour the Báthory family and Poland, and which was entitled *Laetus Hyperboream* (the second part starts with the *incipit O patruo pariterque nepote! Polonia felix*).<sup>3</sup>

The diaries of Stanisław Reszka,<sup>4</sup> who accompanied Báthory on his journey, tell us about the occasions when the young prince had an opportunity to listen to music in Italy. Apart from Roman churches and palaces, Reszka mentioned Báthory's visit to Carlo Borromeo in Milan, where the function of the cathedral chapel master was fulfilled by Giulio Cesare Gabussi, who was later to become the royal *maestro di cappella* at the Polish court,<sup>5</sup> a visit to the cathedral in Cremona,<sup>6</sup> and also a visit to Saint Mark's

<sup>2</sup> Information based on extracts from the bills of the royal treasury regarding the cost of maintaining the court of András Báthory, as well as expenses connected with his travels to Rome see in ANDREAS VERESS, *Rationes curiae Stephani Báthory regis Poloniae historiam Hungariae et Transylvaniae illustrantes (1576-1586)*, Budapest, Typis Societatis Stephaneum Typographicae, 1918 (Monumenta Hungarorum in Polonia, 1575-1668, 1), pp. 203-234. See also ILDIKÓ HORN, *Andrzej Batory*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010, pp. 28-52.

<sup>3</sup> On the subject see for instance FRANZ HIPLER, *Andreas Bathory und Pierluigi Palestrina*, «Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands», XI, 1897, pp. 97-103; BERNHARD MEIER, *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, Utrecht - Oosthoek, Scheltema & Holkema, 1974, p. 384; in Polish literature: ALINA ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, *Palestrina a Polska (1584-1865)* [Palestrina and Poland (1584-1865)], in *Polska kultura muzyczna a Europa. Z badań nad recepcją muzyki* [Polish musical culture and Europe. From research into the reception of music], Warszawa, Instytut Muzykologii UW, 1995 (Prace Zakładu Powszechnej Historii Muzyki Instytutu Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 5), pp. 5-8 (there is also information on other opportunities András Báthory had in Rome in 1584 to enjoy musical performances).

<sup>4</sup> *Stanisłai Rescii diarium 1583-1589*, ed. Ioannes Czubek, Kraków, Akademia Umiejętności, 1915 (Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce, XV/1).

<sup>5</sup> Báthory visited cardinal Carlo Borromeo twice – between 1 and 7 November 1583 and during his return journey to Poland, between 28 August and 1 September of the next year. See *Stanisłai Rescii diarium*, pp. 4, 54-56. Gabussi served as a chapel master in Milano for a long time and was highly appreciated by his patrons, cardinals Carlo and Federico Borromeo. In 1597, he was going to move to Bologna to become a *maestro di cappella* at San Petronio church, but eventually he decided to stay in Milan. See MARINA TOFFETTI, *Da Milano a Varsavia: di nuovo su Giulio Cesare Gabussi e altre presenze italiane nella Polonia del primo Seicento*, in *La musica poliorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Aleksandra Patalas - Marina Toffetti, Venezia, Fondazione Levi, 2012, p. 168. One can suppose that Gabussi's decision was somehow connected with a letter from Federico Borromeo, who asked him to do not leave Milan. See Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G. 261 inf., n. 391, c. 133r ([Rome], 15 November 1597). It appears that high-ranking personages in Poland must have enjoyed great favour with Cardinal Federico Borromeo as he gave Gabussi his permission to leave for the royal court of Sigismund III in 1601.

<sup>6</sup> On 26 August 1584. See *Stanisłai Rescii diarium*, p. 54.

Basilica in Venice on 10 September 1584, where he listened to the performance of a mass composition for three choirs accompanied by instruments,<sup>7</sup> most probably conducted by Claudio Merulo, who was the chapel master at the time.

Reszka's diary is one of the sources confirming the existence of personal contacts between András Báthory and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. In the undated dedication of his fifth book of motets to the cardinal, the Italian composer wrote that shortly before formulating the text of the dedication, he had brought Báthory some works that had obtained his approval and therefore he had decided to dedicate to the cardinal his recently prepared collection of music, knowing about his plans to leave Rome.<sup>8</sup> Reszka noted that on the eve of Báthory's departure, on 25 July 1584 (three weeks after receiving the cardinal's hat), Palestrina handed him the compositions.<sup>9</sup> The two sources justify the conclusion that Báthory and the composer must have met at least twice, and the text of the dedication was worded after the consistory of 4 July, during which the pope had announced Báthory's nomination, and before Báthory's departure from Rome on 26 July.

Nothing is known about possible contacts between Báthory and Palestrina during the cardinal's second stay in Rome, where he went in fulfillment of the king's intention to appoint him as the permanent envoy of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania to the Holy See. He spent the period between June 1586 to January 1587 there, during which he learned about his royal uncle's death (on 12 December 1586). It is nevertheless known that the months Báthory spent in the Eternal City were devoted mainly to taking part in social gatherings, feasts and other entertainment, during which there was certainly no shortage of musical performances.

On his return to Poland in 1587, Báthory was one of the candidates to the Polish throne, but these plans proved to be unsuccessful. During the subsequent years, he was to spend a lot of time in Miechów and in Lidzbark Warmiński/Heilsberg as bishop coadjutor to the ordinary of the Bishop of Warmia, Marcin Kromer, humanist, historian, and writer, whose works included, amongst others, the musical treatise *Musicae elementa* (edited in Cracow, part 1, 1532, part 2, 1534), a textbook for performers of music. Báthory also traveled to Transylvania. Following Kromer's death in 1589, he became the Bishop of

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61: «[András Báthory] deductus fuit in chorum, ut Missam audiret, quam audivit egregie apparatus tribus musicorum choris ad organa duo cum variis instrumentis suavissime concinentibus». See also ZBIGNIEW CHANIECKI, *Muzyka w Europie w relacjach polskich podróżników* [Music in Europe in accounts of Polish travellers], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe *Semper*, 2005, p. 18 (Latin quotation with errors).

<sup>8</sup> See the text of the dedication: IOANNES PETRALOYSIUS PRAENESTINUS, *Motetorum quinque vocibus liber quintus nunc denuo in lucem aeditus*, Romae, apud Alexandrum Gardanum, 1584: «Superioribus diebus (Andrea Bathori Cardinalis Amplissime) cum ad te musicae disciplinae, in qua sin minus felici eventu, at multo cum studio totam aetatem consumpsi, lucubrations quasdam attulissem, tanta mihi humanitatis tuae se lux aperuit, ut facile perspicere potuerim tibi illas minime iniucundas fuisse [...]. Cuius generis cum ego libellum novissime pertexuissem eumque in lucem proferre cogitarem, fecit perspecta semel benignitas tua, ut magnae mihi felicitatis loco ducerem te hoc tempore Romae repertum, cuius Amplissimo nomini meos hos qualescumque labores inscribere ac dedicare possem».

<sup>9</sup> *Stanisłai Rescii diarium*, p. 41: «Praenestinus musicus obtulit Ill<sup>mo</sup> [András Báthory] cantus suos».

Warmia with the principal seat in Lidzbark. The bishop's palace was then refurbished, which involved, among other things, the addition of a music hall.

According to some sources, András Báthory nurtured interest in music at an early age, played keyboard instruments himself and kept a chapel during his period of residence in Miechów, where he was the provost. Thanks to Josef Kolberg's research carried out at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and based mainly on the archive materials preserved at the time in Królewiec/Königsberg (now Kaliningrad in Russia),<sup>10</sup> it is known that Báthory's library contained musical scores, but their descriptions in the sources are too vague to allow more than the conclusion that they must have included at least three collections of Orlando di Lasso's works. In addition, research confirms that as Bishop of Warmia Báthory made efforts to expand and improve the musical instrumentarium in his possession. The cardinal bishop purchased instruments and had them repaired mainly in Prussian cities (Gdańsk/Danzig, Elbląg/Elbing, Dobrze Miasto/Guttstadt) and his musicians included among others such obscure figures as Enoch, Donatus Constantinus, a Hungarian trumpeter named Jacobus, Johannes Amen, Paulus Leopolda and Franz (or *Franciscus*) *musicus*; the last name is thought to apply to Ferenc Hunyadi, who wrote an account, in Latin verse, of Báthory's return journey to Poland after his first stay in Rome.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that these musicians not only participated in religious celebrations, but also had a representative function and accompanied feasts and dancing with their performances. One of such occasions were the celebrations of the wedding of the cardinal's brother, Stephen Báthory (1553-1601) to Zofia Kostkówna, the daughter of the late Krzysztof Kostka, which took place at the court of her brother Stanisław Kostka in Malbork/Marienburg in 1596 (it is important to add that Stanisław Kostka was a well-known patron of music, and musicians associated with his court included the lutenist Diomedes Cato and singers who joined the chapel of Sigismund III Vasa after their patron's death).<sup>12</sup>

It is unclear when and in what circumstances Gioseffo Biffi from Cesena was appointed Cardinal Báthory's chapel master. We know of two editions of his works in which the title pages describe the musician as *Maestro di capella dell' Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Cardinal Battorio*.<sup>13</sup> The first volume in question was published by Paul Kaufmann's publishing house in Nuremberg and contains the composer's *Primi frutti musicali: Il primo libro delle canzonette a sei voci per cantar et sonar insieme con alcune latine et una tedesca, et una battaglia* (the dedication signed on 1 January 1596 is addressed «All' Ill.mo et Excell.mo Principe Mauritio Lantgrave d'Hasia [Maurice,

<sup>10</sup> JOSEF KOLBERG, *Aus dem Haushalt des ermländischen Bischofs und Kardinals Andreas Bathory (1589-1599)*, «Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen am Königlichen Lyceum Hosianum zu Braunsberg», Sommer-Semester 1910, pp. 13-15, 29-30.

<sup>11</sup> FRANCISCUS HUNNIADINUS Transilvanus, *Ephemeron seu itinerarium Bathoreum, continens reditum ab urbe Roma in Poloniam illustrissimi principis ac D. Domini Andreae S.R.E. cardinalis ampliss[imi]*, Cracoviae, in Officina Lazari, 1586. See *Stanisłai Rescii diarium*, p. 71, note 5. At this point it should be added that contrary to statements found in some publications, the account concerns the journey to Poland after Báthory's first – not second – visit to Rome.

<sup>12</sup> See for instance ANNA SZWEJKOWSKA - ZYGMUNT M. SZWEJKOWSKI, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the royal chapel of the Polish Vasas], Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 1997, pp. 61-63

<sup>13</sup> Not Sigismund Báthory as suggests BARBARA KIMBALL AUSBACHER, *Gioseffo Biffi*, in NG<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 563.

Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel]»). The second volume was printed by Agostino Tradate in Milan in 1598 and is entitled *Madrigali a cinque voci* (dedicated on 20 October 1598 «All'III.mo Duca di Mantova Vincenzo Gonzaga»).

Considering András Báthory's close Italian affiliations, there are a lot of possible explanations as to how Biffi found his way to Báthory's and was appointed cardinal's chapel master. If Biffi indeed spent some time in Poland, for which the sources offer no confirmation so far, it appears that he may have traveled to Poland not simply directly from Italy, but also via Transylvania.

The research confirms the great interest in music fostered by András Báthory's cousin, Sigismund, the ruler of Transylvania until 1599 and later until 1602 after the interval of András Báthory's short reign which ended with his tragic death in the same year of 1599. It was to Sigismund that Girolamo Diruta dedicated the first part of his *Il Transilvano* (Venice 1593), probably without having had any personal experience of Transylvania. At Sigismund's court in Alba Julia, a group of Italian musicians was active in the late 1580s and in the 1590s, including Giovanni Battista Mosto as *maestro di cappella* (previously the chapel master in the cathedral of Padua)<sup>14</sup> as well as Pietro Busto and Antonio Romanino.<sup>15</sup> As a result of the threatening Turkish invasion, the musicians left Transylvania in the spring of 1594 and fled to Cracow (they were also joined by Matteo Foresto, a musician sent from the Mantua court to Transylvania and then on to Poland).<sup>16</sup> From Cracow, some of them traveled on to their homeland (like Mosto himself, who after his return to Italy dedicated his *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venice 1595, to Prince Sigismund), some went to German courts and it cannot be excluded that some of these musicians stayed on for some time in the circle of Cardinal András Báthory. The latter group may have included Gioseffo Biffi, who, however, was already looking for another position, as is evidenced by a letter sent from Prague to Mantua in June 1598.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> RAFFAELE CASIMIRI, *Musica e musicisti nella Cattedrale di Padova nei sec. XIV, XV, XVI*, part II, «Note d'archivio per la storia musicale», XVIII, 1941, pp. 113-116.

<sup>15</sup> EMILE HARASZTY, *Sigismond Bathory, prince de Transylvanie, et la musique italienne. D'après un manuscrit de 1595 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, «Revue de musicologie», XII/39, 1931, pp. 190-213. See especially p. 202: a list of Sigismund Báthory's musicians.

<sup>16</sup> ELENA VENTURINI, *Le collezioni Gonzaga. Il carteggio tra la corte cesarea e Mantova (1559-1636)*, Venezia, Silvana Editoriale, 2002, p. 358 (no. 471): Ratisbona, 26 May 1594 (a letter of Enea Gonzaga to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua): «Hoggi è venuto a trovarmi un Mattheo Foresto musico, il qual per quanto m'ha detto fu mandato da lei con lettere in Transilvania et in Polonia; fa sapere all'altezza vostra ch'egli è qua et che aspettarà in corte dell'elettore di Colonia [Ernest of Wittelsbach] quel tanto che la resterà servita di comandarli». See also ANTONINO BERTELOTTI, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli Archivi Mantovani*, Milano, Ricordi, 1890, p. 68: «È pure registrato [in Mantua] fra i cantori del 1587 Matteo Foresto; ma nel 1594 era già alla Corte dell'Elettore di Colonia, d'onde scriveva al Duca di Mantova, esser venuto colà da Cracovia, con G. B. Mosto, maestro di cappella del Principe di Transilvania. Non so se possa esser un Forestein belga».

<sup>17</sup> VENTURINI, *Le collezioni*, p. 451 (no. 730): Prague, 9 June 1598 (a letter of Aderbale Manerbio to Annibale Chieppio, counselor of the duke of Mantua): «essendo pregato da un mio caro amico, ch'è sacerdote e capellano di sua maestà cesarea [Rudolf II of Habsburg], a raccomandare costì alla protezione di qualche mio signore il signor Giuseppe Biffi da Cesena musico di non mediocre valore, e dotato d'altre virtuose et honorate qualità, acciò in cose honestissime si degni favorirlo».

In his subsequent volumes published in 1600 and after, Biffi no longer presented himself as the chapel master to András Báthory, who – as has already been mentioned – had left Poland in 1599, had assumed the throne of Transylvania and had been murdered in atrocious circumstances.

The Warmia bishopric was for a short period taken up by Piotr Tylicki (who was later to become the bishop in the dioceses of Kujawy and Cracow; his musical patronage has not been researched to date), and then by Szymon Rudnicki, who served in this position from 1605 until his death in 1621. It became his duty to settle the matters and repay debts left by Báthory. In fulfillment of the late cardinal's will, some instruments from his collection had to be handed over to beneficiaries or sold, but some were certainly left at Rudnicki's disposal, as well as the music hall in the bishop's palace in Lidzbark.

Szymon Rudnicki (1552-1621)<sup>18</sup> studied at the University of Cracow, in Padua and in Rome, where he spent the period 1574-1581. After his return to Poland, he became a secretary to King Stephen Báthory and then to Sigismund III Vasa, while at the same time assuming ever higher ecclesiastical offices. Rudnicki's connections with Sigismund III and his court became especially close and permanent in 1601, when he was appointed the Major Secretary of the Crown, and in 1604, with the monarch's strong support, Bishop of Warmia. It is certain that the bishop knew the royal musicians well, and indeed also the Italians. Most probably one of them was Giovanni Battista Cocciola, who soon found his way to the bishop's court shortly after Rudnicki had assumed the rule of the Warmia diocese. The only confirmation of this fact is an incomplete manuscript parts of his composition *Tribulationes cordis mei*, bound together with pages containing three musical prints of works by Teodor Riccio. The source, which was originally kept at the Jesuit college in Braniewo/Braunsberg, was taken as war booty by the Swedish army during the Thirty Years' War and is currently preserved in the Uppsala University Library.<sup>19</sup> In the *Altus* partbook there is an annotation next to the aforementioned composition: «Joan. Battistae / Ciozzolae Mus. / R.s. Episc. Varen. / Ad. 1606». On the basis of this source and having taken into account the (unfortunately scant) sources on the musician's biography, Irena Bienkowska concluded that Cocciola was in Bishop Rudnicki's service some time between 1605 and 1612.<sup>20</sup> It remains unclear as to whether Rudnicki had other Italian musicians among his courtiers. The surviving fragmentary sources (subject to research to date) reveal, however, that his chapel consisted of Polish musicians, including former members of the royal chapel who were 'driven out' by the Italians (the known names include Wojciech Dąbrowski and Wojciech Skoroszewski).<sup>21</sup> An active figure in the

<sup>18</sup> HALINA KOWALSKA, *Rudnicki Szymon*, in PSB, XXXII, 1989-1991, pp. 649-655.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. S-Uu, Utl. vok. mus. i tr. 394-399.

<sup>20</sup> IRENA BIENKOWSKA, *Preface*, in *Giovanni Battista Cocciola. Dzieła zebrane* [Giovanni Battista Cocciola. Collected works], ed. Irena Bienkowska, Warszawa, BelStudio, 2004 (Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Zakład Historii Muzyki Polskiej. Źródła), pp. 12, 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> See BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *La corte reale dei Vasa a Varsavia come un centro dell'educazione musicale*, in *Actes du Congrès International "Théâtre, Musique et Arts dans les Cours Européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque"*, ed. Kazimierz Sabik, Varsovie, Éditions de l'Université de Varsovie. Faculté des Lettres Modernes, 1997, p. 579; EAD., *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [The musical courts of the Polish Vasas], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007, p. 44.

bishop's circle was Adam Steinhallen, a Jesuit who lived in Warmia until his death in 1613 and carried out the post-Trent reform of singing in Catholic temples. Steinhallen went down in history as one of the parties sent from Collegium Germanicum in Rome to Stockholm in 1585, at the time when Sigismund Vasa was still residing at the court of his father, King John III Vasa of Sweden, to strengthen the young prince's Catholic faith with their singing.<sup>22</sup> As a result of the research by the Austrian historian Walter Leitsch, we know that Steinhallen was the first teacher to Prince Ladislaus Vasa, who was later to become a great lover and patron of music.<sup>23</sup>

Szymon Rudnicki is connected to a small collection of music for two-four voices by the forgotten composer Severinus Möllerus – *Applausus musicalis Illustrissimo Principi ac Reverendissimo Domino D. Simoni Rudnicki D. G. Episcopo Varmiensi in felix novi anni auspiciis humillime dedicatus*, published in Braniewo in 1615 in the printing-office of Georg Schönfels. The partbook *Bassus*, the only survivor of the edition, is kept in the Uppsala University Library<sup>24</sup> in the collection of seventeenth century war booties taken by the Swedish from the Jesuit college of Braniewo. Though it is listed in the catalogues of early music prints,<sup>25</sup> it has not been investigated by musicologists until this moment.<sup>26</sup>

The title page of the partbook which survived does not contain information about the presence of instrumental parts in the scoring of compositions. However, taking into consideration the style of the preserved bass part, it seems very likely the collection contained small-scale sacred concertos with basso continuo or at least *partitura pro organo*.<sup>27</sup> If this supposition is correct in the same year as the anthology of music connected to the Graz court *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus*, compiled by Giovanni Battista Bonometti and published in Venice<sup>28</sup> with a dedication to the Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg (soon to

<sup>22</sup> ANDREAS STEINHUBER, *Geschichte des Kollegium Germanicum Hungaricum in Rom*, 2 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1906<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 359. See also BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szwejkowskich "Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów"* (Kraków 1997) [In search of former splendour. Comments on the book by Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski: 'Italians in the royal chapel of the Polish Vasas' (Cracow 1997)], «Muzyka», XLIII/2 1998, p. 101.

<sup>23</sup> WALTER LEITSCH, *Das Leben am Hof König Sigismunds III. von Polen*, 4 vols., Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, I, p. 282, 456, II, p. 644, III, pp. 1645, 1718.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. S-Uu, Utl. vok. mus. tr. 633.

<sup>25</sup> See *Catalogue critique et descriptif des imprimés de musique des XVIe et XVIIe siècles conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Royale d'Upsala*, ed. Åke Davidsson, 2 vols., Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 1951 (Studia musicologica Upsaliensia), II, no. 257; RISM A/I, M 2916.

<sup>26</sup> It has not been mentioned in BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music in Poland*, III: *The Baroque*, part 1: 1595-1696, trans. John Comber, Warsaw, Sutkowski, 2002 nor in its Polish version, Warszawa, Sutkowski, 2006.

<sup>27</sup> It is worth pointing out that the first known composition from the Polish repertoire with basso continuo (in fact basso seguente) part is *Invitatorium in festo Nativitatis*, for five vocal parts and 'bassus organi', by the Jesuit theologian and composer Jan Brant (who died in 1602). This work is preserved incompletely in the above mentioned source kept at the Uppsala University Library (S-Uu, Utl. vok. mus. i tr. 394-399), formerly belonging to the college in Braniewo. See ZYGMUNT M. SZWEJKOWSKI, *Jan Brant (1554-1602) i jego nowo odkryta twórczość muzyczna* [Jan Brant (1554-1602) and his newly-discovered musical oeuvre], «Muzyka», XVIII/2, 1973, pp. 43-72.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. RISM B/I 1615<sup>13</sup>.



be Emperor Ferdinand II) in the northern Braniewo, a collection of music was edited in a similar style and dedicated to the Bishop of Warmia, Szymon Rudnicki. It would be the earliest known edition of small-scale sacred concerts published in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.

The extant partbook is insufficient to establish the complete content of the collection. One can list on that basis only seven works which included a bass part, published in the following order: *Qui in Sole posuit tabernaculum a 2*, *O Bone Iesu a 2*, *Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi a 3*, *Natus est Iesus a 3*, *Cantemus & exultemus & iubilemus Deo a 4*, *Quando natus est a 4* and *Induta est caro mea putredine a 4*. The source and the composer require further research.<sup>29</sup>

There is no doubt that, as Bishop of Warmia, Szymon Rudnicki had numerous opportunities to enjoy musical performances at the court of Sigismund III Vasa and was aware that apart from the financial resources he procured during regional assemblies in Prussia to support the wars waged by Sigismund, it was with gifts related to music that he could please the monarch the most. An extant source preserves the information that shortly before his death, Rudnicki made a gift of his musical instruments to the king.<sup>30</sup>

The hierarchs discussed above were ordinaries in the diocese of Warmia, which was situated in Royal Prussia and which was not subject to the control of Gniezno. It, however, enjoyed special privileges, which included the requirement, that the candidate to the bishopric possessed an *indygenat* of Prussia (a right, which limited offices to local Prussian natives). Neither András Báthory nor Szymon Rudnicki fulfilled this requirement and the fact that the Warmia chapter approved their nominations was perceived as an exceptional concession by the monarch and as such had strong political overtones. A similar case was that of Wawrzyniec Gembicki, whose career as Bishop of Chełmno (also in Royal Prussia) and Primate of Poland will be discussed later.

<sup>29</sup> The only other known testimony of the activity of Severinus Möllerus is a work for six voices preserved incompletely and without a title (probably vocal, but without text) notated in the so-called *Tabulatura pelplińska* [Pelplin tablature] compiled in ca. 1620-1630 by Feliks Trzciński in the Cistercian cloister in Pelplin, not far from Braniewo. See *The Pelplin Tablature*, ed. Hieronim Feicht, 10 vols., Graz - Warsaw, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, PWN - Polish Scientific Publishers, 1963-1970, II: *Facsimile part 1*, 1964 (*Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia*, 2), p. 270: «Severini Mölleri a 6». We have no knowledge about any possible relations between Severin Möller and Petrus and Paulus Molerus from Warmia who studied in the Collegium Germanicum in Rome respectively in the years 1595-1602 and 1604-1608; see PETER SCHMIDT, *Das Collegium Germanicum in Rom und die Germaniker. Zur Funktion eines römischen Ausländerseminars (1552-1914)*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1984 (*Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom*, 56), p. 277. Petrus Molerus, a Jesuit, was active in Braniewo college in 1620-1622; see JERZY KOCHANOWICZ, *Słownik geograficzny jezuitkich burs muzycznych (materiały)* [A geographical dictionary of Jesuit music boarding schools (materials)], Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum", 2002, p. 18. More on the print of *Applausus musicalis* in BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, «*Applausus musicalis*» (Braniewo 1615) Severina Möllera. O szczątkowo zachowanym jedynym znanym zbiorze małosłowych koncertów kościelnych wydanych w Rzeczypospolitej [The *Applausus musicalis* (Braniewo 1615) by Severin Möller. On vestigially preserved only known collection of small-scale church concerts published in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania], «*Muzyka*», LVII/3, 2012, pp. 25-34.

<sup>30</sup> PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *The History of Music*, p. 93.

These limitations did not apply to nominees to the office of ordinary in the other dioceses situated within the borders of the Crown. They included, among others, the bishoprics of Płock and Kujawy, where the bishop's office was held by Mikołaj Zieleński's patron, Wojciech Baranowski, before he rose to the dignity of the Archbishop of Gniezno.

In the bishopric of Kujawy, in the final years of the sixteenth century and approximately at the time when András Báthory governed the Warmia diocese, the office of the ordinary was held by Hieronim Rozdrażewski (ca. 1545-1600).<sup>31</sup> Rozdrażewski was the nephew of the Bishop of Cracow, Piotr Myszkowski (ca. 1510-1591), Italophile, humanist scholar, patron of the Polish composer Mikołaj Gomółka (who put to music the collection of Psalms translated into Polish by Jan Kochanowski)<sup>32</sup> and a cousin of Piotr and Zygmunt Gonzaga-Myszkowskis (ca. 1560-1601 and ca. 1562-1615, respectively). The Gonzaga-Myszkowskis were also Italophiles and great lovers of music, who were taken into the Gonzaga family by Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1597 and were frequent guests to Mantua.<sup>33</sup>

As a child, Rozdrażewski resided at the French court of Henry II and was probably educated for a short period (in 1560) at the Jesuit college in Vienna. From 1561 onwards he studied at the Jesuit university in Ingolstadt, and in the period 1565-1568 studied at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome (at the same time as Thomas Luis de Victoria). In Rome he was ordained a priest and remained there until 1570. Then, he was sent to Paris on a mission by Pope Pius V. On his return to his homeland, Rozdrażewski stopped over in Silesia, where, from 1569 onwards, he was formally the Provost of the Wrocław cathedral (he eventually relinquished the office in 1578 to Andreas Jerin, who later became Bishop of Wrocław in the years 1585-1596). In Poland, he continued his career as a man of the Church (he was engaged in the post-Trent reforms) and as a diplomat. This gave him an opportunity to befriend Antonio Maria Graziani, who was then a secretary to the nuncio Giovanni Francesco Commendone and was to become the papal internuncio in Poland and the nuncio in Venice. Finally, for many years he was to be a secretary to Alessandro Peretti Damasceni di Montalto, a famous patron of music. Graziani, as we will see later, was a great friend of Polish people. In 1582, Rozdrażewski was appointed Bishop of Kujawy, which did not however prevent him from embarking on diplomatic missions, e.g. to the Augsburg court, where the assembly of the Reich was held (1582), to Prague and Vienna (1592). He maintained both epistolary and personal contacts with Italian humanists and clerics. In the autumn of 1599, while traveling to Rome to attend the celebrations of the jubilee year and hoping to receive the cardinal's hat, his health deteriorated and he had to make a stopover at his old friend Graziani's home in Amelia, near Narni (Umbria). The documents preserved in the private archive of the Graziani

<sup>31</sup> HALINA KOWALSKA, *Rozdrażewski (Rozrażewski) Hieronim h. Doliwa*, in PSB, XXXII, 1989-1991, pp. 355-365.

<sup>32</sup> MIKOŁAJ GOMÓŁKA, *Melodiae na psalterz polski* [Melodies for the Polish psalter], Kraków, Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1580.

<sup>33</sup> See LESZEK HAJDUKIEWICZ - HALINA KOWALSKA, *Myszkowski Piotr h. Jastrzębiec*, in PSB, XXII, 1977, pp. 382-390; ROMAN ŻELEWSKI, *Myszkowski (Gonzaga-Myszkowski margrabia na Mirowie) Piotr*, *ibidem*, pp. 392-393; URSZULA AUGUSTYNIAK, *Myszkowski (Gonzaga-Myszkowski margrabia na Mirowie) Zygmunt*, *ibidem*, pp. 404-407.

family in Vada (Tuscany) contain the information that, when Rozdrażewski's health had improved a little, his host presented him with a sedan chair to enable him to continue his journey in greater comfort. Unfortunately, soon after his arrival in the Eternal City, the Bishop of Kujawy died (in March 1600).

While considering Graziani, who does not seem to have greatly attracted musicologists' attention, I will take this opportunity to make a further contribution to the hitherto collected knowledge regarding the musical interests of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Damasceni, also known as Cardinal Montalto (1570-1623). He is of special importance to us, as he was the Cardinal Protector of Poland.<sup>34</sup> The archives preserved in Vada contain the correspondence relating to the period between May and November 1597 and whose correspondents include Graziani, the bishop of Amelia and nuncio in Venice, the Cardinal Montalto, Graziani's agent in Rome Annibale Sinibaldi, and the abbot Ruggiero Tritonio, acting on Montalto's behalf. The correspondence concerns the cardinal's deep desire to purchase a violin and be taught how to play it.<sup>35</sup> The issue is made more interesting by the fact that at the time the violin certainly was still as such considered an inappropriate instrument for people of noble birth. The letters discussed here reveal Cardinal Montalto's earnest interest in the matter and contain repeated requests to Graziani who was a person well connected in Venice, where it seemed such an instrument could be easily purchased.

To return to Hieronim Rozdrażewski, music – especially sacred – performed in his circle was the subject of a monograph written by Stanisław Chodyński over a century ago.<sup>36</sup> The subject was also investigated by scholars around the mid twentieth century<sup>37</sup> and quite recently.<sup>38</sup> A relatively reliable basis of sources for research into the bishop's

<sup>34</sup> See ALBERTO CAMETTI, *Chi era "L'Hippolita", cantatrice del cardinal di Montalto*, «Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft», XV, 1913-1914, pp. 111-123; JAMES CHATER, *Musical Patronage in Rome at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century. The Case of Cardinal Montalto*, «Studi Musicali», XVI/2, 1987, pp. 179-227; NOEL O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650*, London, Royal Music Association, 1995; JOHN WALTER HILL, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997 (Oxford Monographs on Music, 2).

<sup>35</sup> Vada, Archivio Graziani, filza 34 (c. 119r: a letter of Antonio Maria Graziani to [Ruggiero] Tritonio, Venice, 7 June 1597: «Del violino mi riferisce colui che l'ha da provvedere ch'è gran differenza da l'uno a l'altro. Vostra Signoria mi scriva se ha da servire per il cardinale medesimo, perché in questo caso io vorrò de la miglior sorte»), filza 106 (fasc. 8, unnumbered: a letter of [Ruggiero] Tritonio to Antonio Maria Graziani, Rome, 14 June 1597: «Il signor cardinale [Alessandro Peretti di Montalto] ricerca il violino per sé medesimo, e non per altri; e mi ha detto che circa la forma e la materia di farlo fare si rimette a la discreta e prudente considerazione di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, dovendosi però più che ad altro haver la mira a la bontà»), filza 107 (fasc. 3, unnumbered: a letter of Alessandro Peretti di Montalto to Antonio Maria Graziani, Rome, 26 July 1597: «Ringratio poi Vostra Signoria del pensiero che si è contentata pigliarsi di far fare il violino, quale starò aspettando con la prima occasione»), filza 108 (fasc. 5, unnumbered: a letter of Annibale Sinibaldi to Antonio Maria Graziani, Rome, 29 November 1597: «Il signor cardinal Montalto spetta con desiderio il violino commesso a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima»). So far Montalto has been known to have played a harpsichord, while Scipione Dentice is believed to have been his teacher.

<sup>36</sup> STANISŁAW CHODYŃSKI, *Organy, śpiew i muzyka w kościele katedralnym wrocławskim* [Organ, chant and music in the cathedral church of Wrocław], Wrocław, Neumann, 1902.

<sup>37</sup> STANISŁAW LIBROWSKI, *Biskup Hieronim Rozdrażewski jako humanista i mecenas* [Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski as humanist and patron], «Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne», XI, 1965, pp. 201-263.

<sup>38</sup> ANDRZEJ KŁOCEK, *Repertuar późnorennesansowej kapeli biskupa wrocławskiego Hieronima Rozdrażewskiego według Inventarium thesauri z 1599 roku* [The late Renaissance repertoire of the chapel of bishop of

musical patronage is provided by the following publications from the nineteenth century: an inventory of the castle in Wolbórz, one of Rozdrażewski's three (apart from Włocławek and Raciąż/Raciążek) residences in the period immediately preceding his last journey to the Eternal City in April 1599),<sup>39</sup> a list of objects handed over to the Gdańsk Jesuits after his death, his last will drafted at the beginning of 1599 and letters.<sup>40</sup> The information contained in these sources complements the threads encountered in various accounts from the period; a particularly interesting account concerns August of 1593, when Sigismund III made a stopover at Rozdrażewski's residence during his coronation journey to Sweden, and a *Te Deum laudamus* for three choirs was performed (supposedly by the king's and the bishop's joint choirs).<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, no financial records of the bishop's court have survived to this day, so nothing is known about the size and the members of his chapel. No names of musicians are known, but it is clear that, just like Cardinal Montalto, Rozdrażewski was very determined when it came to implementing his music-related plans. This trait of his is evident in the exchange of letters that lasted almost a year (from 28 December 1582 to 5 September 1583) between the Bishop of Kujawy and Andreas Jerin, at the time Provost of the Wrocław cathedral; the correspondence concerned a trumpeter, who was being educated in Nysa/Neisse with a view to joining Rozdrażewski's chapel (the subject of the letters was the musician's transfer to Wolbórz and the costs of his accommodation and education in Silesia).<sup>42</sup>

It has also been noted that Rozdrażewski's library contained the original editions of works by such composers as Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Philipp de Monte, Christian Hollander, Jacob Handl, Johann Nucius or Andreas Pevernage as well as anthologies (including three parts of the *Gemma musicalis* by Friedrich Lindner). It can be supposed that the bishop had a vocal-instrumental ensemble at his disposal, as his last will reveals that he possessed a very large collection of instruments (well over 50 items), encompassing various types of wooden and brass wind instruments, stringed (including violins of various sizes), plucked and key instruments. From the perspective of our interest in Mikołaj Zieleński, it is particularly significant that in his last will Rozdrażewski made a stipulation that the instruments he had collected were to serve for the performers employed by his successor in the Kujawy diocese,<sup>43</sup> and after several years (in 1608) the office was assumed for a short period by Wojciech Baranowski.

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Włocławek Hieronim Rozdrażewski according to the *Inventarium thesauri* of 1599], «Studia Włocławskie», V, 2002, pp. 400-411; STANISŁAW DUDZIK, *Kultura muzyczna w kościołach diecezji włocławskiej i na dworze Hieronima Rozdrażewskiego (1582-1600)* [Musical culture in the churches of the Włocławek diocese and at the bishop's court in the times of Hieronim Rozdrażewski (1582-1600)], «Muzyka», LII/3, 2007, pp. 31-48.

<sup>39</sup> *Inventarium thesauri*, in *Monumenta historica dioeceseos Wladislaviensis*, eds. Zenon Chodyński - Stanisław Chodyński, 25 vols., Wladislaviae, Typis Hermanni Neumann, 1881-1912, III (1883), pp. 16-17.

<sup>40</sup> *Korespondencja biskupa Hieronima Rozdrażewskiego* [Correspondence of Bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski], ed. Paweł Czapplewski, 2 vols., Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe, I (1937), II (1939).

<sup>41</sup> *Geschichten vom polnischen Königshof aus der Zeit um 1600*, ed. Walter Leitsch, Wien, Obv & Hpt, 1999, pp. 63-64 (5. VIII 1593: «Hernach seint Ire Majestät alsbalt in die kirch gefahren, daselbsten das *Te Deum laudamus* gar stattlich auf 3 unterschiedliche chor gesungen, musicirt und instrumentirt worden»).

<sup>42</sup> *Korespondencja biskupa*, II, pp. 51, 86, 93, 109.

<sup>43</sup> DUDZIK, *Kultura muzyczna*, p. 37.

Wojciech Baranowski (1548-1615)<sup>44</sup> of all the personages so far discussed, had the poorest family background and probably did not receive any higher education. At a young age he was already working in the chancellery of the King Sigismund II Augustus, and then became a secretary to the King Stephen Báthory. At the same time, he was making steps in his ecclesiastical career. In 1581, Baranowski took holy orders and was appointed major secretary of the Crown and then the deputy chancellor. As a holder of these offices, he became a constant presence in the circle of King Sigismund III until 1590, when he became Bishop of Płock with the primary residences in Pułtusk, Wyszaków and Brok. Records mention only one journey to Italy undertaken by Wojciech Baranowski. He left Poland in August of 1595 and traveled to Rome to visit the tombs of Saints Peter and Paul (*visitatio liminum apostolorum*), and to report to Pope Clement VIII on the state of Płock diocese which he had visited according to the rules codified by the Council of Trent. He arrived in the Eternal City in November of 1595 and stayed there over five months. According to the information contained in *avvisi* from Rome dated 20 and 24 April 1596 he got gifts from the Pope, bought many paintings and other things, and left the Eternal City on 22 April. Before his return to Poland he was going to take a month of water-cure in Padua.<sup>45</sup> Next he visited Antonio Maria Graziani in Venice<sup>46</sup> and Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milano.<sup>47</sup> After his return to Poland,<sup>48</sup> Baranowski managed the Płock diocese, built the bishop's residences and participated in the political life of the country. In 1607, Sigismund III nominated him the ruler of the more affluent Kujawy diocese, and as early as May 1608 the king promoted him to the archbishopric of Gniezno (with the primary residences in Łowicz and Skierniewice). The sources known to date yield no information as to whether Baranowski, as the Bishop of the Płock and Kujawy dioceses, had a musical ensemble at his disposal. However, it appears that, at least from the moment of taking on the office in the latter bishopric, in which he succeeded Hieronim Rozdrażewski – albeit not as the immediate successor, Baranowski's household must have included musicians (both singers and instrumentalists), who probably used the instruments collected by Rozdrażewski. The presence of Mikołaj Zieleński in Baranowski's circle from at least 1604 onwards finds

<sup>44</sup> ADAM STRZELECKI, *Baranowski Wojciech*, in PSB, I, 1935, pp. 286-289.

<sup>45</sup> Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Urbinate Lat.*, 1064, *avvisi* from Rome, 20 April, c. 244v: «Il vescovo di Plasna [Płock] Polacco fu martedì [16 April] a basciar li piedi al Papa et a licenciarsi, stando hora di partita verso Polonia, et martedì Sua Beatitudine li mandò a donare una corona benedetta d'agata»; *avvisi* from Rome, 24 April, c. 251r: «Dopo haver il vescovo di Plosna [Płock] Polacco ottenute molte gratie spirituali dal Papa parti di qua lunedì [22 April] per la volta della sua patria animato di operar gran cose in favor della lega, et in particolare col gran cancelliero [Jan Zamoyski], di cui egli è parente, benché sia per fermarsi circa un mese a Padova a fine di purgarsi, havendo di qua portate seco molte cose belle, poi che in ritratti et altri quadri fatti per mano di valentuomini ha spesa gran somma di danari».

<sup>46</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Fondo Borghese*, IV 224, cc. 156r-157v: a letter of Antonio Maria Graziani to cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, Venice, 1 June 1596.

<sup>47</sup> More in the article by MARCO BIZZARINI published in this volume. See pp. 31-42.

<sup>48</sup> It is confirmed that on 10 October 1596 he was in Gniezno visiting the tomb of Saint Adalbertus. See JAN KORYTKOWSKI, *Arcebiskupi gnieźnieńscy, prymasowie i metropolici polscy od roku 1000 do roku 1821* [Archbishops of Gniezno, Polish primates and metropolitans since year 1000 until 1821], 5 vols., Poznań, Kurier Poznański, III (1889), pp. 602-603.

confirmation in the sources discovered by the English musicologist Delma Brough. In her synthesis of sacred music in the seventeenth-century Poland,<sup>49</sup> Brough quoted very short passages of documents, whose fragments she had concluded to be illegible, preserved in the Diocese Archive in Płock.<sup>50</sup> The passages contained the information that in 1604 Mikołaj Zieleński of Warka and his wife were granted some land in the village of Gromino (about five kilometers away from Pułtusk). Another mention, dated 1606, refers to Mikołaj Zieleński as the organist.

Having researched the quoted sources myself, I can add that the first item of information was included in the Acts of the General Chapter «pro festo Nativitatis B. V. Mariae anno Domini 1604»,<sup>51</sup> i.e. held on 8 September of that year (during the same chapter, the matters concerning the cathedral organist Jan were also discussed), while the second item of information can be found in the documentation of «Capitulum partiale 17 mens[is] Novembris 1606».<sup>52</sup> However, the commentary pertaining to these ‘revelations’ included in the work quoted above is not exactly accurate.

Obviously, at the time Wojciech Baranowski did not hold the office of Primate of Poland, as stated in the monograph of Delma Brough, but that of Bishop of Płock, residing primarily in Pułtusk.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, the granting of land in a neighbouring village to Zieleński can be interpreted as a reward for his services or a way of supplying him with a permanent source of income to reduce the burden on the bishop’s coffers. Let us recall the fact that, as archbishop, Baranowski also granted Zieleński a mill in Rudnik and the aldermanship of the village of Bocheń (these two localities were not far away from Łowicz), which were the subject of court proceedings involving the previous owners and which took place in Łowicz in march of 1611. The existing evidence for Zieleński’s presence at the trial means that he was not staying in Venice at the time when the collections *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* were printed.<sup>54</sup>

It still remains unknown when Zieleński took up residence at the bishop’s court in Płock, whereas it seems obvious that he must have left the Płock diocese with his superior when the latter assumed the Kujawy bishopric in 1607. It is possible that the musician’s affiliation with Baranowski had started several years before 1604, when a connection between them is documented in the sources for the first time, or even as early as in the 1590s. Sheer conjecture unsupported by any evidence would have us imagine Zieleński at the bishop’s side during his sojourn in Italy in 1595 and 1596. Perhaps it is then he undertook studies in Rome mentioned in the second edition of Szymon Starowolski’s dictionary of famous Poles.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> DELMA BROUGH, *Polish Seventeenth-Century Church Music. With Reference to the Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Condition*, New York - London, Garland, 1989 (Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities).

<sup>50</sup> BROUGH, *Polish Seventeenth-Century Church Music*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>51</sup> Płock, Archiwum Diecezjalne [Diocesan Archive], *Acta Capituli Plocensis*, 8a: 1604-27, cc. 5v-6r.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, c. 42v.

<sup>53</sup> He often resided also in Brok and Wyszaków.

<sup>54</sup> JAN JÓZEF DUNICZ, *Do biografii Mikołaja Zieleńskiego* [A contribution to the biography of Mikołaj Zieleński], «Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny», II, 1936, pp. 95-97.

<sup>55</sup> SZYMON STAROWOLSKI, *Scriptorium Polonicorum hecatontas seu centum illustrium Poloniae scriptorum elogia et vitae*, Francoforti, Iacobus de Zetter, 1625, p. 76.

Baranowski's correspondence in the first years of the seventeenth century reveals that, during this period, the bishop was also fostering intense contacts with the Eternal City, sending his envoys there on various missions. Although no evidence has been found so far that these envoys or their escort counted the organist among their number, such a possibility does need to be taken into account. Unfortunately, the course of Zieleński's life after 1611 still remains obscure. It can only be supposed that he outlived his patron (who died in 1615) and continued to serve as chapel master at the court of his successor.

Baranowski was succeeded by Wawrzyniec Gembicki (1559-1624),<sup>56</sup> educated at Jesuit colleges in Poland, a graduate of the Jesuit university in Ingolstadt and probably the Cracow Academy. As early as in the mid-1580s, he was already gaining experience in the chancellery of Wojciech Baranowski, who was at the time deputy chancellor of the Crown. Next, he was appointed a royal secretary by King Sigismund III at the very beginning of his reign. In 1593-1594 Gembicki visited Italy (among others Padua and Rome). From 1595 onwards, he held the office of major secretary of the Crown. In the following year, he made a journey to Rome on a royal diplomatic mission (he met Wojciech Baranowski there). After a number of previous benefices, Gembicki was granted the diocese of Chełmno in Royal Prussia in 1600, and the diocese of Kujawy in 1610. As Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland, Wawrzyniec Gembicki resided primarily in Łowicz, Uniejów or Skierniewice. Musical life at his court has not become a subject of research yet, but it is certain that Gembicki maintained a chapel, probably of high artistic merit, with excellent (maybe also Italian) musicians as members. Furthermore, he must have been known to be a lover of music since Andreas Hakenberger, once a musician at the court of Sigismund III and then the chapel master at St. Mary's church in Danzig, dedicated to him his collection of motets titled *Sacri modulorum concentus* (Szczecin/Stettin, 1615) at the time when Gembicki was still the Bishop of Kujawy. After Gembicki's death, Prince Ladislaus planned to employ selected members of the late bishop's ensemble as his musicians, and with this aim in mind he sent the royal singer Lorenzo Bellotti to Łowicz.<sup>57</sup>

Stanisław Łubieński was an exceptional figure and ruled the Płock diocese from 1627 until his death in 1640. A bishop and a scholar, well-known for his social and cultural activities, a writer himself acquainted with the most eminent literary figures of the period, including Maciej Sarbiewski (an author writing in Latin and probably also a composer), Łubieński rendered considerable service to the development of musical culture in Płock. Under his patronage the organist Adam Trześniewski was active and a private ensemble performed in the bishop's residences. After Łubieński's death and in accordance with the patron's last will, the ensemble became the nucleus of the chapel created at the Płock cathedral.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> ADAM PRZYBOS, *Gembicki Wawrzyniec*, in PSB, VII, 1948-1958, pp. 382-384; JERZY KAROL KALINOWSKI, *Wawrzyniec Gembicki jako biskup chełmiński i pomezjańskiej diecezji wieczysty administrator (1600-1610)* [Wawrzyniec Gembicki as bishop of Chełmno and perpetual administrator of the Pomezania diocese (1600-1610)], Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011.

<sup>57</sup> PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyczne dwory*, pp. 70-71; TOFFETTI, *Da Milano a Varsavia*, pp. 170, 175-176.

<sup>58</sup> HIERONIM FEICHT, *Muzyka w okresie polskiego baroku* [Music of the Polish baroque era], in *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej* [History of music culture in Poland], 2 vols., eds. Stefania Łobaczewska - Tadeusz

Stanisław Łubieński (1573-1640)<sup>59</sup> was initially educated by Jesuits in Poland. Then he became a secretary to Sigismund III and traveled with the monarch to Sweden in the years 1593-1594. After his return, he took holy orders and went to study in Graz, Perugia and Rome. When he returned to his homeland as a doctor of both laws in 1606, he again assumed the office of royal secretary. As he was surrounded by Italian musicians at the royal court, it can be assumed with certainty that he listened to music and appreciated not only its utilitarian functions. Therefore, it must be accounted a paradox that he went down in musical history not only as the founder of one of the first cathedral chapels, but also for his efforts, documented in the surviving correspondence, aimed at demoting Giovanni Francesco Anerio, the Italian chapel master of king Sigismund III, from the office of the parish priest in Brok.<sup>60</sup>

Until recently, this correspondence constituted the only piece of evidence produced and preserved in Poland, confirming the musician's stay at the court of the Vasa kings.<sup>61</sup> In the light of the extant letters, Łubieński emerges as a bishop concerned about the welfare of his congregation, who did not hesitate to oppose the monarch's decision by removing a royal protégé from his prebendary.

Another dignity who possessed a music ensemble was Karol Ferdynand Vasa (1612-1655), Łubieński's successor in the Płock diocese and at the same time the Bishop of Wrocław. The activity of his chapel is documented from the early 1640s onwards, while the musicians employed by the prince bishop included, among others, singers from Italy: Marcantonio Ferrucci – a bass singer from the cappella Giulia, Giovanni Vanerello – a soprano who had sung in the San Giovanni in Laterano church prior to his arrival in Poland, and (possibly Giuseppe) Zamponi, organist and composer known for his service to Cardinal Pietro Maria Borghese (d. 1642). In 1643, the last of the above-mentioned singers was evicted from Karol Ferdynand's court as punishment for outrageous conduct. The prince bishop's ensemble also included local musicians, e.g. the organists Skotnicki and Aleksander Daszkowicz, the trumpeter Karol Ferdynand Fokytel and Hieronim Cesari, Jan Wierzbowski, Stanisław Górski and Jacek Kluczewski of unknown competence. The function of the chapel master was fulfilled from around 1645 until death

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Strumiłło - Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, Kraków, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958-1966, I (1958), p. 168. Feicht erroneously calls bishop Łubieński with the name of his brother, Maciej.

<sup>59</sup> WŁADYSŁAW CZAPLIŃSKI, *Łubieński Stanisław*, in PSB, XVIII, 1973, pp. 498-501.

<sup>60</sup> BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka i finanse. Nieznane źródła do dziejów życia muzycznego na dworze królewskim polskich Wazów. I* [Music and finance. Unknown sources for the history of musical life at the court of the Polish Vasa kings. I], «Muzyka», XLIV/1, 1999, pp. 97-100.

<sup>61</sup> It was only recently that I managed to discover judicial documents pertaining to a dispute over property adjudicated before the court of Warsaw New Town in the late 1620s and concerning, among others, Corrado de' Priori, an Italian musician employed at the court of Sigismund III. The documents mention the chapel master Anerio (incidentally misnamed as Stanisław) as lending support to his musician. See BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i z innych zespołów rzymskich w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów* [Musicians from the Cappella Giulia and other Roman musical ensembles in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the reign of the Vasas], «Muzyka», XLIX/1, 2004, p. 46. On the circumstances of Anerio's living Poland see EAD., *Źródła do dziejów muzyki na dworach polskich Wazów ze zbiorów zamku Skokloster (Szwecja)* [The sources for research into the history of music at the court of the Polish kings from the Vasa dynasty preserved in the Skokloster castle (Sweden)], «Muzyka», LVI/2, 2011, pp. 11-12.



in 1651 by Marcin Mielczewski,<sup>62</sup> the most renowned Polish composer in seventeenth-century Europe, who ranks, like Mikołaj Zieleński, as one of the two most acclaimed artists active at the bishops' courts in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.

## ABSTRACT

A very bad state of preservation of the documentary and music sources is an obstacle to research into the musical culture of Roman Catholic bishops' and archbishops' courts in Poland at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth centuries, which was the milieu in which Mikołaj Zieleński pursued his creative activity. The objective of this article is to present the current state of research into the subject, with emphasis on contacts with Italy and interest in Italian music fostered by the Polish hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Church.

The author takes under consideration the cases of Wojciech Baranowski (1548-1615), Zieleński's patron and dedicatee of his *Offertoria* and *Communiones totius anni* (Venice, 1611), released four centuries ago, Hieronim Rozdrażewski (ca. 1546-1600), András Báthory (1563-1599), Szymon Rudnicki (1552-1621), Wawrzyniec Gembicki (1559-1624), Stanisław Łubieński (1573-1640) and Karol Ferdynand Vasa (1613-1655).

Il pessimo stato di conservazione delle fonti documentarie e musicali rappresenta un ostacolo per la ricerca sulla cultura musicale delle corti dei vescovi e degli arcivescovi cattolici in Polonia fra la fine del Cinquecento e la prima metà del Seicento, che era l'ambiente in cui Mikołaj Zieleński esercitò la sua attività creativa. L'obiettivo di questo articolo è quello di presentare lo stato attuale della ricerca sull'argomento, prestando particolare attenzione ai contatti con l'Italia e all'interesse per la musica italiana promosso dagli esponenti delle gerarchie della Chiesa cattolica romana in Polonia.

L'autore prende in esame i casi di Wojciech Baranowski (1548-1615), mecenate di Zieleński e dedicatario dei suoi *Offertoria* e *Communiones totius anni* (Venezia, 1611), pubblicati quattro secoli fa, Hieronim Rozdrażewski (ca. 1546-1600), András Báthory (1563-1599), Szymon Rudnicki (1552-1621), Wawrzyniec Gembicki (1559-1624), Stanisław Łubieński (1573-1640) e Karol Ferdynand Vasa (1613-1655).

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<sup>62</sup> See BARBARA PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski* [Music under the patronage of Polish Vasas. Marcin Mielczewski], Warszawa, Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2011, pp. 64-80.

