

THE ROLE OF ITALIAN MUSICAL CULTURE IN THE
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH,
IN LIGHT OF POLISH MUSICOLOGICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY*

In referring to Zygmunt M. Szweykowski's statement expressed in his book *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*, we should begin by remembering that all musicologists who have written about late Renaissance and early Baroque music in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth have always considered Italian musicians working there as part of their research. For, as Szweykowski admitted, the presence of Italians in the (not only musical) culture of this territory was at the time so very important that it was impossible to pass over it. And this presence was significant, if only because it was Italians (among them, the most distinguished Italian composers of the era – L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio) who occupied the most important musical posts in the Commonwealth for at least half of the 17th century. They directed the two most prestigious ensembles – the royal ensemble in Warsaw and the cathedral ensemble in Kraków – as well as many aristocratic and ecclesiastical chapels.¹ Italian musicians were able to work there thanks to the patronage of Polish kings, aristocrats and churches, and these musicians had a great impact on the works of local composers. It should be emphasized that this key role of Italian musicians in shaping the musical culture of the 17th-century Commonwealth was noticed even in those studies of Polish music history whose authors, interested in the indigenous *oeuvre*, were trying to highlight 'Polish' traits in the music.²

From the very beginning of Polish musicology's existence, works were written, dedicated specially to Polish-Italian musical contacts, which in the 17th century were very intense and decisively influential in the musical culture of the royal and aristocratic courts,

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¹ Cf. Z. M. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" ["Music"], in A. and Z. M. Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów [Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Waza Dynasty]* (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997), pp. 129-130.

² Cf. A. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie [History of Polish Music in Outline Form]* (Lwów: H. Albenberg, 1907), pp. 126-128; Z. Jachimecki, *Historia muzyki polskiej (w zarysie) [History of Polish Music (In Outline Form)]* (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1920), pp. 78, 86-87, 89; Id., "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, Her History and Culture from the Most Ancient Times to the Present Moment]*, ed. S. Lam, 3 vols., II: 1572-1795 (Warszawa: Trzaska, Evert i Michalski, 1927), p. 23; Id., *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym [Polish Music in Historical Development]* (Kraków: Księgarnia Stefana Kamińskiego, 1948), pp. 157-162, 181-182, 196-199; J. W. Reiss, *Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska [The Most Beautiful of All is Polish Music]* (Kraków: T. Gieszczykiewicz, 1946; 2nd edition, ed. Z. Sokołowska, Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958), pp. 72-75, 78-79; H. Feicht, "Muzyka w okresie polskiego baroku"

as well as of the Catholic Church – and, later in the century, the Lutheran Church as well. In these studies, two thematic threads dominated. The first concerned documentation of the sojourns of Italian musicians in Poland; the second, the dependence of Polish music at that time on Italian music – which dependence was acknowledged to be of direct character.³ It is significant that these two threads are already mentioned in the writings of the pioneers of Polish musicology. The first, chiefly in the factographical publications of Adolf Chybiński (the founder of the department of musicology at Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów [now Lviv, Ukraine] in 1913);⁴ the second, above all in a book by Zdzisław Jachimecki (the founder of the department of musicology at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków) which focuses entirely on ‘Italian influences in Polish music’ (published in 1911 – precisely the year that the Kraków Music Theory and History Seminary was formed).⁵ Here the author particularly emphasizes the significance of these ‘influences’ in the music of the 17th century.⁶ Paradoxically, however, earlier musicologists – despite attributing a huge role in Polish culture to Italian musicians, as well as emphasizing the influence of Italian music on the *oeuvre* of Polish composers – almost never discuss the subject of music composed by Italian musicians active in the 17th-century Commonwealth. While acknowledging the presence of ‘Italian influences’ in his characterization of Polish music monuments, Jachimecki did not really analyze Italian works written and performed in the Commonwealth; nor did he carry out thorough studies aiming to show exactly what these ‘Italian influences’ consisted of, or what their historical and cultural determinants were.⁷ Characterization of the Italian *oeuvre* known at the time in the Commonwealth, sporadi-

[“Music in the Polish Baroque Era”], in *Z dziejów polskiej kultury muzycznej* [*On the History of Polish Musical Culture*], 2 vols., 1: *Kultura staropolska* [*Old Polish Culture*], ed. Z. M. Szwejkowski (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1958), reprinted in H. Feicht, *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku* [*Studies in Polish Renaissance and Baroque Music*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980), pp. 91-93.

³ Cf. Szwejkowski, “Muzyka” cit., p. 129.

⁴ Cf. Chybiński, “Muzycy włoscy w krakowskich kapelach katedralnych (1619-1657)” [“Italian Musicians in the Kraków Cathedral Chapels (1619-1657)”], *Przegląd Muzykologiczny*, 1926/11-12, 1927/1-5, 7, 8; Id., “Do historii włoskich muzyków w Polsce” [“On the history of Italian musicians in Poland”], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 1930/6-7; Id., *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800* [*Dictionary of Musicians in Early Poland up to 1800*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1949), containing entries devoted to Italian musicians active in Poland.

⁵ Cf. Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* [*Italian Influences in Polish Music*] (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911). The aspect of ‘Italian influences’ was also taken into account by Adolf Chybiński and Jan J. Dunicz in detailed studies concerning the *oeuvre* of indigenous composers, cf. among others: A. Chybiński, “*Canzona* instrumentalna Marcina Mielczewskiego (†1651)” [“The Instrumental *Canzona* by Marcin Mielczewski (†1651)”], *Mysł Muzyczna*, 1928/1-3, reprinted in *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* [*Marcin Mielczewski. Studies*], ed. Z. M. Szwejkowski, «Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis», 7, (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999); Id., “Sonata triowa Stanisława Sylwestra Szarzyńskiego (1706)” [“The Trio Sonata by Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński (1706)”], *Śpiewak*, 1928/1-3; J. J. Dunicz, *Adam Jarzębski i jego “Canzoni e concerti” (1627)* [*Adam Jarzębski and His “Canzoni e concerti” (1627)*] (Lwów: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Muzyki Polskiej, 1938).

⁶ Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie* cit., p. 195. Cf. also: Id., *Historia muzyki polskiej* cit., p. 78; as well as Chybiński, “*Canzona* instrumentalna” cit., p. 31.

⁷ Cf. Szwejkowski, “Muzyka” cit., pp. 130-131.

cally mentioned by him, remained outside the main current of Jachimecki's reflections, as well as those of earlier Polish music history authors. These authors were looking for indigenous music in order to highlight national characteristics,⁸ and thorough analyses of Italian works were also, naturally, not possible without access to musical sources, which were difficult to get hold of as they were scattered all over at many European and American libraries.

It is around these two main thematic threads, drawn clearly in the studies of Chybiński and Jachimecki – as well as a third: the *oeuvre* of Italians working in the Commonwealth, barely present in earlier papers, but taken up in contributory articles from the 1970s-1990s⁹

⁸ Jachimecki (*Wpływy włoskie* cit.) presents Italian influences in the most important surviving Polish music monuments from 1540-1640, which he considers as an attestation to 'our artistic culture'. The issue of 'Italian influences' is not the only thread of his reflections – indeed, it would even be difficult to grant it significance as an organizing element of the book's material.

Aleksander Poliński, in his synthetic perspective on the history of Polish music (*Dzieje muzyki polskiej*, cit.), prepared before Poland regained statehood, focuses on the search for traits peculiar to local music which, in the case of early music, represent a prehistory for the national style of the 18th and 19th centuries – Polish opera, the *oeuvre* of Chopin and Moniuszko. Poliński treats the presence of such traits as a basis for positive assessment of the local *oeuvre*, e.g. Mikołaj Gomółka's *Melodie na psalterz polski* [*Melodies for the Polish Psalter*] (*ibid.*, pp. 88-100), as well as, on the contrary, 'a great weakening of the national *oeuvre*' in the 17th century – a low assessment of indigenous works from this period, 'maintained in the worst Baroque style' (*ibid.*, pp. 113-114). Likewise, the main idea of Józef W. Reiss' book (*Najpiękniejsza ze wszystkich jest muzyka polska* cit.), written during the final years of World War II, is the process of genesis and development of the national style in Polish music; and his object of characterization, solely the *oeuvre* of indigenous composers. For him, too, the existence of peculiar national elements in the 17th-century Polish musical *oeuvre* is of decisive significance in its high valuation (*ibid.*, pp. 60-71).

Jachimecki, in his texts on Polish music history (*Historia muzyki polskiej* cit.; "Muzyka polska od roku 1572 do roku 1795" cit.; *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* cit.) discusses in chronological order 'Polish music' monuments, profiles of composers (mainly Polish) with enumeration of their works (surviving, known), and elements of a characterization of their style, including an aesthetic and artistic assessment. Feicht ("Muzyka w okresie polskiego baroku" cit.) describes traits of the *oeuvre* of Polish composers and historic indigenous music materials in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries; he also discusses the activity of music ensembles (the royal chapel, aristocratic and ecclesiastical chapels, etc.). Neither author, however, conditions his assessment of the musical *oeuvre* on the existence in it of national elements.

In all of the studies mentioned, the distinguishing feature of 'Polishness' in music is the presence of an incipit or text in the Polish language – but above all, indigenous composers' allusion in the art music *oeuvre* to folk songs and dances ('Polish': mazurka and polonaise), as well as to religious hymns in Latin and Polish, sung in Polish churches (especially carols and Easter hymns), including those derived from the Gregorian repertoire and translated into Polish.

⁹ Mentions of the *oeuvre* of Italian composers (among others, L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, T. Merula, M. Scacchi), associated with the Commonwealth in earlier studies, cf. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., p. 127; Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie* cit., pp. 169-183; Id., *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* cit., pp. 159, 162, 181; H. Feicht, "Muzyka w okresie polskiego baroku" cit., pp. 100, 152-153, 159, 165. The issue of the *oeuvre* of Italian migrants is really only taken up, however, by researchers writing in the final three decades of the 20th century, both Italian and American, cf. among others: Szwejkowski, "'Ah dolente partita': Monteverdi - Scacchi", *Quadrivium*, 12 (1971): *Memorie e contributi alla musica dal Medioevo all'età moderna: offerta a F. Ghisi nel settantesimo compleanno (1901-1971)*, pp. 59-76; Id., "Kilka uwag o twórczości mszalnei Giovanni Francesco Aneria związanej z Polską" ["Few observations on the mass *oeuvre* of Giovanni Francesco Anerio Associated

and crowned by the synthetic perspective of Szweykowski¹⁰ – that the interests of Polish music historians writing about Polish-Italian musical relationships are focused. At the same time, however, in contributory articles, monographs and syntheses written in the past 10-20 years, it is possible to observe growth in this area of research, coupled with essential supplements – above all, in the factographic plane. In more recent studies a fundamental change in viewpoint on the role of Italian musical culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century is striking.¹¹ Consequently, in these

with Poland”], *Muzyka*, xvii (1972/4), pp. 53-64; E. Ferrari-Barassi, “Tarquinio Merula e il dialogo di Satiro e Corisca”, *Anuario Musical*, 27 (1972), pp. 131-146; V. Gibelli, “La musica strumentale lombarda in Polonia e Tarquinio Merula”, in *Primo incontro con la musica italiana in Polonia: Dal rinascimento al barocco* (Bologna: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1974), pp. 163-171; W. Sandelewski, “Giulio Cesare Gabussi in Polonia”, *Ibid.*, pp. 133-136; E. Zwolińska, “Twórczość kompozytorów włoskich z I połowy xvii wieku dla kapeli rorantystów wawelskich” [“The *oeuvre* of Italian composers from the first half of the seventeenth century for the rorantist chapel at Wawel”], *Pagine*, 2, ed. M. Bristiger (Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974), pp. 203-215; M. Perz, “*Missarum quattuor vocibus liber primus* Marci Scacchi Romani”, *ibid.*, pp. 217-237; G. Vecchi, “Il madrigale concertante e Tarquinio Merula a Varsavia”, *Quadrivium*, 18 (1977), pp. 131-205; R. Jackson, “Marenzio’s Polish Sojourn and his Polychoral Motets”, in «Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Scientifica», 7, ed. E. Harendarska (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska, 1985), pp. 503-526; E. Jasińska-Jędrosz, “*Pierwsza księga canzon* Tarquinia Meruli” [“Tarquinio Merula’s *First Book of Canzoni*”], *Pagine*, 5, ed. M. Bristiger (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1989), pp. 193-218; A. Patalas, “An Unknown *Missa Ave maris stella* by Asprilio Pacelli”, *Musica Iagellonica*, 1 (1995), pp. 23-50; Ead., “Enigmatyczna sztuka polifonii” [“The enigmatic art of polyphony”], in *Mistrzowie muzyki późnego renesansu [Masters of Late Renaissance Music]*, ed. A. Matracka-Kościełny (Warszawa: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 1994), pp. 26-37; Ead., “Marco Scacchi’s Characterisation of the Modes in his *Missa omnium tonorum*”, *Musica Iagellonica*, 2 (1997), pp. 103-129.

¹⁰ Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit.

¹¹ This change in research perspectives is also visible in the most recent synthesis of music history in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century – Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska’s book *Barok, cz. 1: 1595-1696, Historia muzyki polskiej*, ed. S. Sutkowski, 7 vols., III (Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition, 2006); English version: *The Baroque, Part 1: 1595-1696, The History of Music in Poland*, ed. S. Sutkowski, III, translated by J. Comber (Warszawa: Sutkowski Edition, 2002). This work has the character of a holistic perspective on the subject, which presents in a complex and exhaustive manner the main problems in the *oeuvre* of that time, the theory and all manner of aspects of musical culture, as well as including the most recent findings, chiefly of factographic nature. The author takes up the history of music composed in the entire territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – at the time a state of multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. She looks at its music, as well as musical-theoretical reflection, from the viewpoint of reception of European achievements in the Commonwealth, at the same time describing the scope of the Old Polish musical *oeuvre*’s impact and of the transmission of theoretical thought, functioning in this territory, to other regions of Europe. She presents the music and its theory mainly in light of the entire surviving source documentation, as well as of previous literature, utilized in minute detail (cf. bibliography, pp. 558-621). Above all, however, the author shows issues in the *oeuvre* and musical culture in the context of the socio-political and cultural situation in the 17th-century Commonwealth, taking into account the question of the international aspects of culture of the time (among other things, contacts of members of the royal family), the problem of artistic patronage, as well as the issues of socio-cultural and professional conditions for composition and performance of music. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska – in highlighting the existence of an, at that time, universal musical language, as well as the presence in the Commonwealth of many superb foreign musicians, coming especially from Italy, creating their art thanks to local patronage and impacting the *oeuvre* of local musicians – considers it inappropriate for the reality of that time to classify music according to a national criterion.

works, other detailed problems are highlighted, and the interpretation of some phenomena changes.

1. *Italian Musicians*

In more recent publications, an important place is still occupied by documentation of the activity of Italian musicians in the 17th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – with the passing years more and more complete, permitting us to significantly expand our previous factographic knowledge. Particularly important in this area are the studies of Anna Szweykowska, and then Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, which represent a summation of the previous state of research on Italian members of the chapel of the Polish Waza dynasty.¹² The authors use all kinds of sources: royal court accounts, *avvisi*, information contained on title pages and in dedications to music prints, registry books, the files of the Crown Register, correspondence, accounts of papal nuncios, memoirs, travelogues and literary works. They compile and organize scattered data, verify errors that have taken root in the literature,¹³ and interpret anew some sources already known to musicologists.¹⁴ Above all, however, they make essential archival discoveries which permit us to recreate

Of completely different character, however, is Józef M. Chomiński and Krystyna Wilkowska-Chomińska's study, presented in their *Historii muzyki polskiej [History of Polish Music]*, 2 vols., I (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1995). For this is a very general presentation of the history of Polish music, against the background of tendencies in development of Western European music, generally outlined. The authors highlight the processes of transformation of musical phenomena in themselves: musical style and language, compositional techniques, musical forms and genres in which Polish composers took part. For this reason as well, in the case of 17th-century music, they attribute the achievements of mainly local artists (M. Mielczewski, F. Lilius [Gigli] and B. Pękiel) – and, in limited scope, of foreign artists active in Poland (A. Pacelli, T. Merula, M. Scacchi) – to, above all, the most important properties of style and its transformations in European music of the time, especially Italian.

¹² Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szweykowskich *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*" ["In Search of the Splendor of Old. Voices on Anna Szweykowska and Zygmunt Szweykowski's Book *Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Waza Dynasty*"], *Muzyka*, XLIII/2 (1998), pp. 91-115; Ead., *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów [Musical Courts of the Polish Waza Dynasty]* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007); (the book contains "Słownik muzyków polskich Wazów" ["A Dictionary of Musicians of the Polish Waza Dynasty"], prepared on the basis of existing subject literature, with supplements of information obtained from the author's archival research).

¹³ Szweykowska ("Muzycy" cit., pp. 58-60) finally puts to rest, for example, the mistaken view that the chapel master of Zygmunt III was Alessandro Cilli, who was considered by Poliński (*Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., p. 120) to be the royal *maestro di cappella*. The author (*ibid.*, p. 41) also casts doubt on whether Annibale Stabile – recruited in Rome in February 1595 by Krzysztof Kochanowski, an emissary of Zygmunt III – ever managed to take up the post of royal chapel master. Cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności" cit., pp. 100-101; Ead., "Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli Zygmunta III Wazy" ["Annibale Stabile and the Beginnings of the Italian Chapel of Zygmunt III Waza"], *Muzyka*, XLVI/2 (2001), pp. 93-99.

¹⁴ For example, Szweykowska ("Muzycy" cit., p. 83) explains the meaning of a paragraph contained in a letter of Monteverdi to Alessandro Striggio of 13 June 1627 as concerning not the activity of a certain Tarroni in Poland (probably Antonio – employed in the second decade of the 17th century in Mantua), but his own recruitment of musicians for Zygmunt III to Poland. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska ("W poszukiwaniu dawnej świet-

the facts concerning Italian composers imported to the Commonwealth more precisely.¹⁵

The research subject of Szweykowska, Przybyszewska-Jarminińska and other music historians are individual Italian musicians working in the Commonwealth at that time, as well as musical ensembles who performed in the local centers of musical culture – including, in particular, the court of the Polish Waza dynasty (Zygmunt III, Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz) in Warsaw.¹⁶ Recording over 100 names of royal chapel members from Italy, both scholars focus, above all, on the figures of the chapel masters (L. Marenzio, G. C. Gabussi, A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, and especially M. Scacchi), as well as distinguished composers, virtuoso singers and instrumentalists (V. Bertolusi, G. Osculati, G. Valentini, T. Merula, D. Cato, F. Rasi, B. Ferri, M. Basile-Cattanea, L. Rubini). Also of great interest to musicologists are musicians employed at the courts of members of the royal family, especially Prince Karol Ferdynand Waza, Bishop of Wrocław and Płock,¹⁷ at the courts of aristocratic clergy and laity, among others the Radziwiłł family in Nieświerz (lutenist M. Galilei, grandson of Vincenzo – author of *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, 1581) and the Sapięha family in Wilno [now Vilnius, Lithuania] (G. B. Cocciola, chapel master and composer).¹⁸ In addition musicologists are interested in musicians associated with centers of religious worship (especially the cathedral at Wawel in Kraków – among others, Annibale Orgas, the first cathedral chapel master)¹⁹ and with urban *milieux*, among others Gdańsk (B. Borlasca, associate chapel master at the court in Munich, and then musician in the chapel of Kaiser Ferdinand II, who perhaps applied for a position in the Gdańsk City Council Chapel).²⁰ Existing documents permit us to identify persons, establish the personal data and periods of activity of Italian musicians in the Commonwealth, the nature of their relationships with local patrons, and sometimes even details of their social, family, financial and residential situations. In many cases, archival materials enable us to determine the provenance of musicians and recreate the circumstances of their arrival to the Commonwealth (and a specific music ensemble), establish the directions of chapel members' migration from the Commonwealth to other centers in Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, their type of musical and artistic education and background, as well as

ności” cit., pp. 97-98), however, based on verification of source documents utilized earlier by Szweykowska, corrects the time of importation of a group of musicians from Rome for Zygmunt III, among them Marenzio, and their arrival in Kraków (at the end of November or beginning of December 1595, not February 1596).

¹⁵ Reference to previously unknown archival materials permitted Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, for example, to more precisely recreate the manner of recruitment of Italian musicians for the Polish royal court (among them, Marenzio). Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 23-24.

¹⁶ Cf. Szweykowska, “Muzycy” cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

¹⁷ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 114-121.

¹⁸ Cf. Bienkowska, “Muzycy Lwa Sapięhy” [“Musicians of Lew Sapięha”], *Barok*, v/2 (1998); Ead., “Wstęp” [“Introduction”], in *Giovanni Battista Cocciola. Dzieła zebrane* [*Giovanni Battista Cocciola. Collected Works*] (Warszawa: BEL Studio, 2004).

¹⁹ Cf. Szweykowska, “Początki krakowskiej kapeli katedralnej” [“The beginnings of the Kraków cathedral chapel”], *Muzyka*, iv/2 (1959), pp. 12-21.

²⁰ Cf. D. Szlagowska, “Bernardino Borlasca’s Compositions Dedicated to the Gdańsk Senate”, in *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels – von den “cori spezzati” zum konzertierenden Stil*, hrsg. von D. Szlagowska (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. S. Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 2004).

links with specific stylistic traditions and cultural centers.²¹ Furthermore, a few of the cited documents from the period contain, beyond this, an assessment of the compositional and performance artistry of musicians (M. Scacchi, as well as B. Ferri and M. Basile-Cattanea), so that they can also become a basis for characterization of their artistic activity.²²

It is worth emphasizing that Italian musicians (and those of other nationalities, educated in Italy) arrived in the Commonwealth directly from Italy's major centers of musical culture in the 17th century – above all, from Rome (L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi) and cities in Northern Italy (Milan - G. C. Gabussi; Lodi - T. Merula), as well as indirectly from courts in Central and Western Europe, especially Graz (W. Lilius [V. Gigli], Vienna (M. Basile-Cattanea, L. Rubini) and other German cities.²³ They were associated with the most important centers of the musical works of the time – the Medici court in Florence and the Gonzaga court in Mantua (F. Rasi), and perhaps also the Este court in Ferrara (F. Milleville?).²⁴ Actions to recruit Italian musicians for the Polish kings, documented in sources, concerned the most famous and esteemed musicians of their time – Luca Marenzio and Francesco Rasi (a virtuoso singer and composer employed in stagings of Peri's *L'Euridice* and Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*),²⁵ though these recruitments were not always successful (as in the case of Monteverdi, A. Basile-Baroni and her two daughters).²⁶ The Commonwealth was a transit country – there was a constant turnover of musicians employed in, among other places, the royal chapel. Some came in from abroad, others left for the South. They went to Italy, the duchies of the German Reich, and above all – on account of the dynastic connections between the Polish kings and the Austrian Habsburgs – the court of the Archduke in Graz; and after 1619, the court of the Emperor in Vienna. Among others, after leaving Warsaw, royal organist G. Valentini, a student of G. Gabrieli, became organist to Archduke Ferdinand (from 1619 onward Emperor Ferdinand II), and then im-

²¹ Cf. especially: Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, cit.

²² We are speaking here of mentions contained in Albrycht S. Radziwiłł's *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce* [*Memoir of Events in Poland*] (account from 13 September 1637) and in Charles Ogier's *Dziennik z podróży do Polski* [*Polish Travel Diary*] (account concerning June 1635), as well as a quasi-review of a performance by Margherita Basile-Cattanea, placed in the printed program of the ballet *L'Africa supplicante* (Warszawa, 1638). Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., p. 98; Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 84-85, 91.

²³ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 54, 64, 97; Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 17, 22, 24, 31, 34, 41, 51, 75; as well as "Słownik muzyków polskich Wazów" cit. Cf. also: B. Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, "Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i innych rzymskich zespołów muzycznych w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów" ["Musicians from the cappella Giulia and other Roman musical ensembles in the Commonwealth in the times of the Waza dynasty"], *Muzyka*, XLIX/1 (2004), pp. 33-52.

²⁴ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 30-32, 54; Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 195, 205-206.

²⁵ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 24-32; Przybyszewska-Jarumińska, "W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności" cit., pp. 96-97.

²⁶ Cf. Fabbri, "Un soggiorno veneziano di Ladislao Principe di Polonia: un incontro con Claudio Monteverdi", *Subsidia Musica Veneta*, III (1982), pp. 27-52; A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich* [*Musical Travels of the Polish Royal Princes*] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1992), pp. 10-11; A. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 80-83; Ead., "Monteverdi in Seventeenth-century Poland", *Musica Iagellonica*, 2 (1997), pp. 71-81.

perial chapel master.²⁷ Others found work in the North, chiefly in Denmark (in the case of V. Bertolusi – in a group of musicians recruited to the court of Christian IV in Copenhagen) and Sweden (B. Ferri – after his stay in the Commonwealth was engaged at the imperial court in Vienna and also performed at the court of Queen Christina in Stockholm).²⁸ Indigenous royal chapel members educated in Italy (e.g. K. Förster the Younger, a singer at the court of Władysław IV, and then *maestro di cappella* at St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk, as well as in the Danish royal chapel of Frederik III) also emigrated north.²⁹ Local musicians also went abroad – and found employment performing and being active in court or church chapels, in Italy as well (e.g. K. Förster the Younger returned to Italy many times and attained fame as a singer in Florence, Rome and Venice).³⁰

Alluding to the trend of earlier research by Adolf Chybiński, and then Hieronim Feicht *et al.*,³¹ Szweykowska and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska present the history of music

²⁷ Shortly after the arrival of Giovanni Valentini from Warsaw at the court of the Archduke in Graz, his concertos were published in the collection *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus*, prepared by Giovanni B. Bonometti (Venezia, 1615), together with compositions by other chapel members of the future Emperor Ferdinand II, among others also Giovanni B. Cocciola. Valentini, active at that court, published the collection *Secondo libro de' madrigali a 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 et 11 concertati con voci e stromenti* in Venice in 1616; and in 1617 in Venice, his *Missae concertate* came out in print. His *Sacri concerti a due, tre, quattro et cinque voci* (Venezia, 1625), published ten years after the composer's departure from service at the court of Zygmunt III, are to be found in the collections of the Kraków Cathedral Chapel Archive, which probably represents evidence of his having maintained a relationship with the Polish royal chapel; perhaps the works contained in this publication figured among the repertoire performed in Kraków and had an impact on the local *oeuvre*. Cf. H. Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians and their Contributions to the *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus* (1615)", *Musica Disciplina*, 9 (1955), pp. 167-244; Id., *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967); M. Pielech, "Do repertuaru kapel wawelskich. Starodruki muzyczne zachowane w archiwum Katedry Wawelskiej" ["On the Repertoire of the Wawel Chapels. Early Music Publications Preserved in the Wawel Cathedral Archive"], *Muzyka*, XLVI/2 (2001), pp. 59-91.

Beyond this, a reflection of the connections of the court of the Polish Waza dynasty with that of Ferdinand II are the following collections: *Missae* (Venezia, 1624) by Giovanni Priuli, chapel master to Emperor Ferdinand II, dedicated to Zygmunt III, and *Madrigali a cinque concertati* (Venezia, 1634) by Marco Scacchi, dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand II. Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 241, 252.

²⁸ Cf. Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* cit., p. 172; Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 43, 117; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "W poszukiwaniu dawnej świętości" cit., pp. 101, 106.

²⁹ Cf. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Kacper Förster junior. Zarys biografii" ["Kacper Förster the Younger. A Biographical Outline"], *Muzyka*, XXXII/3 (1987), pp. 57-69.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

³¹ Cf. Chybiński, "Muzycy włoscy w krakowskich kapelach katedralnych" cit.; H. Feicht, "Przyczynki do dziejów kapeli królewskiej w Warszawie za rządów kapelmistrzowskich Marka Scacchiego" ["Contributions to the History of the Royal Chapel in Warsaw during the Administration of Chapel Master Marco Scacchi"], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny*, 1928/1, pp. 20-34, 1929/2, pp. 125-144; reprinted in H. Feicht, *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku* [*Studies in Polish Renaissance and Baroque Music*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980), pp. 243-288; Szweykowska, "Przeobrażenia w kapeli królewskiej na przełomie XVI i XVII w." ["Transformations in the royal chapel at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries"], *Muzyka*, XIII (1968/2), pp. 3-21; Ead., "Kapela królewska Jana Kazimierza w latach 1649-1652" ["The royal chapel of Jan Kazimierz 1649-1652"], *Muzyka*, XIII/4 (1968), pp. 40-48; Ead., "Notatki dotyczące kapeli królewskiej w XVII wieku" ["Notes concerning the royal chapel in the 17th century"], *Muzyka*, XVI/3 (1971), pp. 91-98.

Comments on the royal chapels of Zygmunt III and Władysław IV, as well as their personnel and Italian mu-

ensembles in the 17th-century Commonwealth, and especially of the royal chapel in Warsaw, which remained at a high level for over half a century, and is considered to be one of the most important phenomena in the history of culture in Poland.³² On the basis of source documents, the authors recreate the processes of organizing the chapels of the Polish Waza dynasty, emphasizing the historic significance of the founding in 1595 of the ‘Italian’ chapel of Zygmunt III.³³ They show how specific artists from Italy were brought to Poland, chiefly during the reign of Władysław IV, the restitution of music at the court of Jan Kazimierz after the war with Sweden, as well as the functioning of the episcopal chapel of Karol Ferdynand.³⁴ Beyond this, Szweykowska reconstructs the personnel and structure of the ensemble of successive members of the Waza dynasty (quantitative proportions: singers and instrumentalists; nationality: Italians proportional to local musicians, including those educated in Italy), showing the fluctuation and tendency towards changes in the personnel in the chapel.³⁵ Surviving sources permit us to determine, for example, that during the reign of Zygmunt III, at least three large recruitments were undertaken, as a result of which, in the years 1601-1602, ca. 1612 and ca. 1625, larger groups of Italians came to the court; and that in his chapel – which numbered 35-40 members and was dominated by Italian musicians, and whose composition was stable only to a slight degree – a total of over 130 musicians were employed.³⁶ During the times of Władysław IV – when recruitment of Italian virtuosi to Warsaw was the responsibility, in 1643, of royal theorbist and architect Giovanni B. Gisleni, and the next year, of Kaspar Förster the Younger – over 90 Italian musicians were working in the chapel, only slightly more than the number of the local musicians, though decidedly more among the singers.³⁷ Musicologists’ attention is also focused on the historically documented activity of the chapels – facts concerning performances of musi-

sicians active in them (including those represented in W. Lilius’s [V. Gigli’s] publication *Melodiae sacrae*, Kraków 1604), are to be found already in the oldest treatments of Polish music history, cf. among others: Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., pp. 120-131; Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* cit., pp. 168-185.

It is, however, symptomatic that Jachimecki (*Historia muzyki polskiej (w zarysie)* cit., p. 89; “Muzyka polska” cit., p. 23; *Muzyka polska w rozwoju historycznym* cit., pp. 200-201), in speaking of the 50 canons by royal chapel members, contained in *Xenia Apollinea*, an annex to Marco Scacchi’s *Cribrum musicum* (Venezia, 1643), mentions the names of only Polish composers, focusing on discussion of the *oeuvre* of the most important of them.

³² Cf. Szweykowska, “Muzycy” cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

N.B. the high level of Zygmunt III’s chapel and Władysław IV’s opera ensemble, numbered among the best in Europe, which employed distinguished Italian musicians (singers and composers), has already been emphasized by Poliński (*Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., pp. 116, 128, 134).

³³ It is worth emphasizing that Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska (*Barok* cit., p. 14) considers the organization in 1595 of the Italian chapel at the court of Zygmunt III – which shortly thereafter came under the direction of Marenzio – to be the most essential change, of decisive importance in the level of musical culture and style of music cultivated at the court for many decades; thus, it was of landmark significance for the musical life of the Commonwealth at the time. For this reason, as well, this date became the one marking her book’s initial time boundary.

³⁴ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 114-121.

³⁵ Cf. Szweykowska, “Muzycy” cit., pp. 86-87, 113-114.

³⁶ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Barok* cit., p. 65.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 69, 73.

cal ensembles and the circumstances in which these performances took place.³⁸ A few documents cited proof of the great respect contemporaries had for the high standard of musicianship in the ensemble of the royal chapel.³⁹

In discussing the activity of Italian musicians associated with the Commonwealth, Anna Szweykowska and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, as well as Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, also point out the role Italians had in the process of educating indigenous musicians, particularly in court and church music ensembles, and the influence this educational process had on the artistic level of the music composed by locals.⁴⁰ Particular significance is attributed by the authors to the role of the royal chapel as a school with musician-teachers recruited to the royal ensemble in Italy and at the Austrian courts of the Habsburgs, to educate musicians in Italian compositional technique. And so, for example, Marco Scacchi, having come from Rome, made great advances in musical education at the Polish court, probably under the direction of Giovanni F. Anerio; he could also have learned much from Tarquinio Merula; Marcin Mielczewski could have become acquainted with the compositional tools of polychoral music in the royal chapel, as a pupil of Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli), studying the works of Tarquinio Merula, Anerio, and perhaps Giulio Osculati as well.⁴¹ Thanks to the presence in the royal chapel of Italian musicians, the Polish court became, beyond this, a center for music education, whose work had an impact throughout the Commonwealth in addition to the countries of Central and Northern Europe. The Italian masters taught Italian musicians belonging to the chapel, but also musicians coming from various parts of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Music education at the court of the Polish Waza dynasty, at the same time, influenced the careers of musicians who had arrived from Italy – Giovanni Valentini and Marco Scacchi (the co-creators of the *drammi per musica* staged at Władysław IV's opera theater). Existing documentation permits us to determine, beyond this, that local musicians went to Italy to study. Such composers included Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli) – a Polish composer of Italian ancestry who probably was educated at the court of Zygmunt III, but also in Rome,

³⁸ Cf. especially Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit. The book contains several dozen quotes from historical sources concerning the functioning of music, organization and performances of the chapels, referring to various musicians active in these ensembles. In some cases, they were taken from heretofore unpublished manuscript materials recovered by the author.

³⁹ Information concerning the aesthetic values of the royal chapel's performances, as well as the artistic mastery of the ensemble, is to be found in: The diary of Giovanni P. Mucante (account of a mass of thanksgiving on the occasion of the birthday of royal Princess Katarzyna, celebrated at the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw on 29 September 1596); Adam Jarzębski's *Gościniec abo krótki opisanie Warszawy [Souvenir or Short Description of Warsaw]* (Warszawa, 1643); Jean de Laboureur's *Histoire et relation du voyage de la Reine de Pologne* (Paris, 1655); The anonymous *Relatione de funerali celebrati in Cracovia alla Maestà Ludovica Maria, Regina di Polonia e Svezia* (in September 1667). Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 29-30, 91, 100, 134.

⁴⁰ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit.; Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

⁴¹ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., p. 103; Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., p. 177; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., p. 96.

where he was a student of Frescobaldi in the 1620s; Kaspar Förster the Younger who studied during the 1630s with Carissimi at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, and in the 1650s, he could have become acquainted with the oratorio *oeuvre* of the Roman master.⁴²

It should be emphasized that the authors of studies written in the last twenty years present the activity of Italian musicians and music ensembles at the courts of the Polish kings (and also royal princes and princesses) of the Waza dynasty, as well as in centers of religious worship, in the context of cultural⁴³ as well as historical and socio-political conditions.⁴⁴ Szweykowska and Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska show their activity, in particular, through the prism of the artistic patronage of rulers whose tastes focused on Italian music and culture; and Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska treats the activity of Italian musicians as an essential element of court musical life, as well as emphasizing the culture creating significance of the royal court *milieu*, representing a pattern in the 17th century for the cultivation of music for the aristocracy, wealthy nobility and the middle classes, as well as for the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches.⁴⁵ The authors highlight factors conducive to reception of Italian musical culture such as international political and cultural contacts of kings, as well as aristocracy (including the Italophiles Z. Gonzaga Myszkowski with Mantua and Venice, M. Wolski with Rome and Munich), and the international nature of Commonwealth culture at the time. Particular significance is attributed by them to the wedding celebrations of Zygmunt III with Anna Habsburg, which took place in Kraków in 1592, and whose participants included Italian musicians who had come with the bride from Graz, considering this event as an important impulse for the reorganization of the royal chapel.⁴⁶ But above all – like earlier historians of Polish music⁴⁷ – they emphasize the significance of Prince Władysław's travels with his entourage all over Europe (including nearly all of Italy, staying the longest in Rome, Florence and Venice) in 1624-25, during which Władysław encountered vocal artistry and dramatic works with music, as well as meeting the most distinguished artists (C. Monteverdi) and virtuosi (S. Caccini, A. Basile, L. Vitorri) of the time. This tour probably influenced the aesthetic tastes of the future patron, had a decisive effect on the shape of Polish court culture, and definitely became a reason for the future ruler's love for the *dramma per musica*.⁴⁸ This love also contributed to the organization by King Władysław IV of a theatrical ensemble (involved in both writing and

⁴² Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., p. 150; Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, "Kacper Förster junior. Zarys biografii" cit.

⁴³ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

⁴⁴ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.; cf. also D. Brough, *Polish Seventeenth-Century Church Music. With Reference to the Influence of Historical, Political, and Social Conditions* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1989).

⁴⁵ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.; Ead., *Barok* cit., pp. 30-37.

⁴⁶ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 16-21; cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Barok* cit., p. 57; Ead., *Muzyczne dwory* cit., p. 19.

⁴⁷ Cf. Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., pp. 125-126; Jachimecki, "Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej" cit., p. 269; Id., *Historia muzyki polskiej* cit., pp. 85-86; Feicht, "Muzyka w okresie polskiego baroku" cit., p. 94.

⁴⁸ Cf. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich*, cit., pp. 9-17; Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 77-83; cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 71-72.

performance), as well as his financing of the activity of an opera theater for over a decade, considered to be a phenomenon unique at that time in Central Europe.⁴⁹

2. *The Music of Migrants from Italy*

In studies from the last forty years, more and more importance has been given to the musical works (surviving or otherwise) of Italians associated with the Commonwealth.⁵⁰ This association is confirmed in dedications addressed to local personages (especially rulers and aristocrats),⁵¹ and in the occasional character of compositions, sometimes commissioned specially by Polish rulers (a *dramma per musica* on the subject of St. Zygmunt the martyr, commissioned by Prince Władysław from F. Caccini).⁵² Music by Italians – probably coming from the period of their local activity – was, only exceptionally, published in the Commonwealth. (This was the case with the collection *Melodiae sacrae*, Kraków, 1604, dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand Habsburg. It was prepared for printing by W. Lilius (V. Gigli), a musician in Zygmunt III's chapel and contained monochoral and polychoral works by composers who, at the time and somewhat earlier, had been chapel members at the court of the Polish king – among others, L. Marenzio, G. C. Gabussi and A. Pacelli).⁵³ Predominantly, however, the works of Italian royal chapel members were published in Italy (in Venice, T. Merula published *Satiro e Corisca, dialogo musicale a due voci*, 1626; and M. Scacchi, *Madrigali a cinque, concertati*, 1634, as well as *Cribrum musicum*, 1643) – including works with dedications to Polish personages. Such dedications were supplied particularly for collections of religious compositions and madrigals (for Zygmunt III: V. Bertolusi's *Sacrarum cantionum*, 1601; G. Osculati's *Missae quinque vocum*, 1604; A. Pacelli's *Sacrae cantiones*, 1608, and *Missae*, 1629; G. Valentini's *Canzoni*, 1609; T. Merula's *Il primo libro de' madrigali concertati*, 1624; for Prince Władysław: T. Merula's *Il primo libro de' madrigaletti*, 1624, published in Venice; as well

⁴⁹ Issues associated with cultivation of *dramma per musica* in the Commonwealth have been the subject of detailed studies by Polish musicologists, theater and culture historians, cf. especially Szweykowska, *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów 1637-1648* [*Dramma per musica at the Waza Court Theater 1637-1648*] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976).

⁵⁰ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

About the *oeuvre* of individual Italian composers associated with the musical centers of the 17th-century Commonwealth, including in particular royal chapel masters and members, several monographic studies have been written – and above all, numerous monographs and contributory articles, cf. e.g.: Patalas, "Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów. A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi" ["The *oeuvre* of the chapel masters of the Polish Waza dynasty: A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi"], doctoral dissertation, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, 1998. Cf. also footnotes nos. 9 as well as 58-60, 63-64, 68, 70.

⁵¹ Cf. Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli* cit., pp. 55-56, 65-77, 86, as well as Annex I: "Dzieła dedykowane polskim Wazom" ["Works dedicated to members of the Polish Waza dynasty"], containing the texts of the dedications, pp. 231-253.

⁵² Cf. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyczne podróże królewiczów polskich* cit., pp. 11-12; Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., p. 89.

⁵³ Cf. Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., pp. 40-41; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Melodiae sacrae* (Kraków 1604) – ślad muzycznych związków dworów Zygmunta III Wazy i arcyksięcia Ferdynanda z Grazu" [*Melodiae*

as for Władysław IV: M. Scacchi's *Missarum quatuor vocibus liber primus*, 1633, published in Rome).⁵⁴ Sometimes these works were published outside of Italy, in other parts of Europe, proof of the popularity and dissemination of the works of Italian composers associated with the Commonwealth outside its borders.⁵⁵

In studies of this topic, above all in the most recent synthesis of the history of music in the 17th-century Commonwealth, where this is discussed, great importance is given to having as complete source documentation as possible for music masterpieces.⁵⁶ The surviving or only documented *oeuvre* of the Italians – which seem mainly to have been composed in the *milieu* of the Waza dynasty's artistic patronage – encompass a quite extensive repertoire of vocal and vocal-instrumental music (religious and secular), as well as instrumental music, and also music theater and paratheatrical works. Among the surviving works, there is a decided predominance of religious music; in particular the polychoral *oeuvre*.⁵⁷ These are:

1) Masses in *stile antico* and *stile imbastardito*, written mainly by royal chapel (*capella rorantistarum*) members (L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, M. Scacchi and T. Merula, as well as D. Jacobi), some based on Italian borrowed material (A. Pacelli), as well as representing parodies of Italian compositions (A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi) or arrangements of Italian works (G. P. da Palestrina - G. F. Anerio).⁵⁸ Of important significance in the repertoire are:

2) Motets in *stile antico* authored by Italians active in the Rorantist chapel in Kraków (A. Orgas) and at the royal court (L. Marenzio, V. Bertolusi, A. Patart, A. Pacelli, G. Osculati, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi, including those contained in *Melodiae sacrae* compiled by

sacrae (Kraków 1604) – A mark of the musical relationships between the courts of Zygmunt III Waza and archduke Ferdinand of Graz”], *Gazeta Antykwaryczna*, 1998/11, pp. 34-36.

⁵⁴ Cf. Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli* cit., Annex I.

⁵⁵ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Barok* cit., pp. 180-181.

⁵⁶ Cf. Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit.

An extensive discussion of sources for music repertoire performed in the Commonwealth in the 17th century is included by Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska in her monograph *Barok* cit., pp. 166-208 (there, as well, bibliographic information, including items concerning inventories and catalogs of manuscript and printed collections, pp. 214-219 and 554-558). The author also presents in a systematic manner, by genre and stylistic variant, the music of that time created by indigenous and Italian composers associated with this territory, *ibid.*, pp. 223-487.

⁵⁷ N.B. a cult of church music, including also polychoral works, in Warsaw appears to be attested in Adam Jarzębski's *Gościniec abo krótki opisanie Warszawy*, as was pointed out by Jan J. Dunicz (*Adam Jarzębski* cit., pp. 24-25).

⁵⁸ Cf. Szweykowski, “Kilka uwag o twórczości mszalnej” cit.; Zwolińska, “Twórczość kompozytorów włoskich” cit.; Patalas, “An Unknown *Missa Ave maris stella*” cit.; Ead. “Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów” cit.; Ead., “*Missa* parodia w twórczości Monteverdiego i Scacchiiego w świetle teorii Angela Berardiego” [“The *Missa parodia* in the *oeuvre* of Monteverdi and Scacchi in light of the theory of Angelo Berardi”], *Muzyka*, XLIII/2 (1998), pp. 47-64; R. Jackson, “Marenzio, Poland and the Late Polychoral Sacred Style”, *Early Music*, XXVIII/4 (1999), pp. 622-631; D. Popinigis, “Twórczość Daniela Jacobiego” [“The *oeuvre* of Daniel Jacobi”], in *Complexus effectuum musicologiae. Studia Mirosłao Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. T. Jeż (Kraków: Rabid, 2003), pp. 107-116; B. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, “*Missa super Iniquos odio habui* – warszawska msza w formie echa Luki Marenzia?” [“*Missa super Iniquos odio habui* a 8 – A Warsaw mass in echo form by Luca Marenzio?”], *Muzyka*, XLIX/3 (2004), pp. 3-39.

W. Lilius [V. Gigli]), and motets with elements of *stile concertato* (G. B. Cocciola);⁵⁹

3) Church concertos – polychoral (A. Pacelli, G. Osculati, A. Orgas, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi), monochoral (T. Merula, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi), small ensemble and solo (G. Valentini, G. B. Cocciola, T. Merula, M. Scacchi).⁶⁰ Sparsely represented are:

4) Dialogues (G. F. Anerio), and

5) Religious hymns (D. Cato, A. Pacelli); however, no music has survived for the oratorios⁶¹ or *drammi per musica* on religious subjects (*Giuditta*, 1635, and *La Santa Cecilia*, 1637), performed at the court of Władysław IV.⁶²

Decidedly more weakly represented is the secular *oeuvre*, namely:

1) Compositions belonging to the Italian *dialogo* genre (T. Merula's *Satiro e Corisca* to a text by G. B. Guarini, drawn from *Il pastor fido*, publ. Venice 1626),⁶³ and

2) Madrigals created, probably, by Italian madrigalists active at the royal court and in aristocratic circles (F. Maffon, D. Cato; and especially L. Marenzio, as well as G. C. Gabussi, A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, V. Bertolusi, G. Valentini) and, above all, published during their sojourn in Warsaw (T. Merula, M. Scacchi),⁶⁴ as well as stage works with music that has unfortunately been lost:

⁵⁹ Cf. Zwolińska, "Twórczość kompozytorów włoskich" cit.; Jackson, "Marenzio's Polish Sojourn" cit.; Patalas, "Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów" cit.; I. Bieńkowska, "Muzyka Giovanniego Battisty Coccioli" ["The Music of Giovanni Battista Cocciola"], doctoral dissertation, University of Warsaw, 1999; Jackson, "Marenzio, Poland and the Late Polychoral Sacred Style" cit.

⁶⁰ Cf. Patalas, "Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów" cit.; Ead. "Utwory *concertato* w twórczości Giovanniego Francesca Aneria" ["*Concertato* Works in the *Oeuvre* of Giovanni Francesco Anerio"], in *Affetti musicologici. Księga Pamiątkowa z afektem ofiarowana Profesorowi Zygmuntowi M. Szweykowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin* [*Affetti musicologici. A Keepsake Book Offered with Affection to Professor Zygmunt M. Szweykowski for His 70th Birthday*], ed. P. Poźniak (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999), pp. 143-152.

⁶¹ We are speaking here of the oratorios *San Casimiro*, *Prencipe reale di Polonia* with text by Ottavio Santa Croce and music of uncertain authorship, perhaps by Giovanni Bicilli (1678); and *Il transito di San Casimiro* to a libretto by Giovanni B. Lampugnani (Warsaw, 1695), dedicated to Queen Maria Kazimiera, with music probably by Viviano Agostini. Cf. A. Ryszka-Komarnicka, "Alessandro Scarlatti's *S. Casimiro Re di Polonia*", in *Two Thousand Years of Christian Tradition in Music*, «Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Scientifica», 12 (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska, 2000), pp. 171-180; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 347-348.

⁶² Cf. Szweykowska, *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów* cit.

⁶³ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 195-198; A. Patalas, A. Szweykowska and Z. M. Szweykowski, "Wstęp" ["Introduction"], in *Tarquinio Merula. Satiro e Corisca*, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 1, ed. Z. M. Szweykowski (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997).

⁶⁴ These are, in particular, Merula's *Il primo libro de' madrigali concertati* and *Il primo libro de' madrigaletti* (Venezia, 1624), as well as *Il Canoro Aprile* (Venezia, 1622, lost) and *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venezia, 1623, lost), and also Scacchi's *Madrigali a cinque, concertati* (Venezia, 1634), for the most part to texts by G. B. Guarini. Two madrigals are also to be found in a manuscript collection of works by Bernardino Borlasca, entitled *Accentus musicalis*, which the composer dedicated in 1633 to the City Council of Gdańsk. Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 211-220; D. Szlagowska, "Gdańskie madrygały Bernardina Borlasca" ["Bernardino Borlasca's Gdańsk Madrigals"], in *Complexus effectuum* cit., pp. 65-74. Cf. also: Bizzarini, "Luca Marenzio i jego kompozycje świeckie opublikowane po podróży do Rzeczypospolitej" ["Luca Marenzio and His Secular Compositions Published After Traveling to the Commonwealth"], *Muzyka*, XLVIII/4 (2003), pp. 7-20.

- 3) *Drammi*, including at least ten specially written and composed for the court theater of Władysław IV;⁶⁵
- 4) Ballets;⁶⁶
- 5) Italian dramatic works.⁶⁷

The sparsely represented instrumental repertoire includes the following:

- 1) Chamber and church ensemble compositions (V. Bertolusi, D. Cato, G. Valentini, T. Merula);⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Considered to be the first *dramma per musica* staged at the Polish royal court theater is *Gli amori di Aci e Galatea*, with text based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whose main textual skeleton came from Gabriello Chiabrera, with music by Santi Orlandi (1628). This was probably an expanded form of the work, presented for the first time in 1617 in Mantua on the occasion of Ferdinando Gonzaga Duke of Mantua's wedding to Catherine de' Medici. Works written specially for the theater of Władysław IV are, on the other hand, *drammi per musica* to libretti by Virgilio Puccitelli, and among them: *Il ratto d'Elena*, with music by Scacchi (1636), as well as *Dafne* (1635, libretto authorship uncertain) and *Narciso Trasformato* (1638) – with threads drawn from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as *Armida abbandonata* (1641) – utilizing threads from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.

The authorship of the music to the majority of *drammi per musica* staged at the court of Władysław IV is, however, unknown. Based on assessments of potential artistic capabilities of the *milieu*, made from the perspective of documented compositional experience of the Italians and the Poles, it is supposed that the music was composed by Scacchi with participation of royal chapel members. Scacchi also directed the productions, in which Italian singers participated, among others Margherita Basile-Cattanea, Lucia Rubini, Baldassarre Ferri. Cf. Szweykowska, *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów* cit.; Z. M. Szweykowski, *Musica moderna w ujęciu Marka Scacchiego* [Musica moderna from the Perspective of Marco Scacchi] (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977), pp. 220-243; Id., "Muzyka" cit., pp. 195-211; A. Żórawska-Witkowska, "Warszawska *Galatea* – fakty i domysły" ["The Warsaw *Galatea* – Facts and Speculations"], *Muzyka*, XLVIII/4 (2003), pp. 95-118; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Włoskie wesela arcyksiążąt z Grazu a początki opery w Polsce" ["The Italian Weddings of the Archdukes from Graz and the Beginnings of Opera in Poland"], *Muzyka*, L/3 (2005), pp. 3-27.

⁶⁶ These were, among others, *La prigion d'amore* (1637), *L'Africa supplicante* (1638), staged at the Warsaw court. Cf. Szweykowska, "Widowiska baletowe na dworze Zygmunta III (4 czerwca 1592, 13 oraz 18 grudnia 1605)" ["Ballet Performances at the Court of Zygmunt III (4 June 1592; 13 and 18 December 1605)"], *Muzyka*, XI/1 (1966), pp. 27-36; Ead., "Imprezy baletowe na dworze Władysława IV" ["Ballet events at the court of Władysław IV"], *Muzyka*, XII/2 (1967), pp. 11-23.

⁶⁷ In this category are, among other things, Italian comedies – of unknown title – staged at the royal court in the times of Władysław IV, as well as Torquato Tasso's *Amyntas*, translated by Jan A. Morsztyn, presented in 1650 at the Ossoliński Palace in Warsaw. Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 390.

⁶⁸ These are Bertolusi's *Fantasia* and *Ricercata primi toni*, known from an organ tablature from the Jesuit College in Kražiai, in the Samogitian region of Lithuania; Cato's *Canzona*, Valentini's *Canzon quarta*, Merula's sonatas included in the collection *Il primo libro de' motetti et sonate* (Venezia, 1624). It is possible that the repertoire of Jan Kazimierz's chapel included Aldebrando Subissati's sonatas for violin solo with *basso continuo*, contained in his manuscript collection *Il primo libro delle sonate di violino* (1675), among which are ten based on settings of antiphons by G. F. Anerio published in the collection *Antiphonae, seu Sacrae Cantiones* (Rome, 1613). Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 223-224, 227-228; J. Trilupaitienė, "Nieznany XVII-wieczny rękopis z Kroź" ["An unknown 17th-century manuscript from Kražiai"], *Muzyka*, XXXVIII (1993/1), pp. 97-102; P. Wilk, "The *Sonata da chiesa* by Aldebrando Subissati – the Court Violinist to Jan Kazimierz, King of Poland", *Musica Iagellonica*, 4 (2007), pp. 49-78.

2) Works for organ and other keyboard instruments (V. Bertolusi, G. Valentini, T. Merula *et al.*);⁶⁹ as well as

3) Works for lute (the Venetian D. Cato, including intabulations of the madrigals *Vola pensier* and *Donna crudel*).⁷⁰

It should be emphasized that inclusion of religious works by Marenzio, as well as instrumental and – above all – vocal works by Valentini and Merula, written in the Commonwealth, has permitted us to present their artistic personalities in a different light.⁷¹

The music of Italian composers which influenced or could have influenced local *oeuvre* is also becoming the object of more and more detailed analyses, sometimes comparative and carried out from the perspective of the European *oeuvre*.⁷² These analyses represent the basis for a characterization of surviving works, defined in terms of genres and stylistic variants, and not infrequently also aim to indicate similarities in traits of Italian musical compositions written in the Commonwealth with the properties of works written by composers active in Italy. For example, in the works of Osculati (among others, in the psalm *Laudate pueri*), published shortly after his return from the Commonwealth to Italy, in the collection *Sacra omnium solemnitatium vespertina psalmodia* (Venezia, 1615), Szweykowski discerns the presence of elements of Roman polychoral technique (lack of coloristic contrast between choirs, observance of octave-unison relationships between the bass voices in the *tutti* parts). However, at the same time, there are clearly properties analogous to traits of Giovanni Gabrieli's *concertato* works contained in the collection *Symphoniae sacrae*, published in Venice in the same year (introduction of solo voices and contrasting of virtuoso solo and homorhythmic choral segments). These probably attest to the reception in the Commonwealth of the Venetian polychoral concerto, in the form composed in Northern Italy from the first decade of the 17th century onward.⁷³ In the polychoral music of G. F. Anerio, the octave-unison voice-leading in contrary motion of the bass voices, as well as the lack of coloristic contrast among the individual choral ensembles, is thought to prove relationships with the works of Roman center. However, at the same time, in his works there are ensembles singled out from the voices of the various choirs, as well as homorhythmic parts in triple meter, typical of Venetian compositions.⁷⁴ In Scacchi's small-ensemble church concertos, it is possible to observe a smaller proportion of Roman traits, and a greater proportion of Northern Italian stylistic language, which

⁶⁹ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 220-222.

⁷⁰ Cf. Poźniak, "Wstęp" ["Introduction"], in *Diomedes Cato. Preludia, fantazje, tańce i madrygały* [*Preludes, Fantasies, Dances and Madrigals*], «Wydawnictwo Dawnej Muzyki Polskiej», 67, vol. 1 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970), vol. 2 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1973).

⁷¹ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit.; Jackson, "Marenzio, Poland and the Late Polychoral Sacred Style" cit.; Bizzarini, "Luca Marenzio i jego kompozycje świeckie" cit.

⁷² For a list of contemporary publications of the *oeuvre* of Italian composers associated with the Commonwealth, cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 515-550.

⁷³ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 146-147. Cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 297.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-155.

is manifested in the relatively frequent introduction of solo parts and in a preference for a trio scoring with *basso continuo*.⁷⁵ The melodic language of Merula's chamber compositions from *Il primo libro de motetti e sonate* (Venezia, 1624), with a predominance of short phrases, appears close in character to formations typical of the music of Monteverdi and Alessandro Grandi,⁷⁶ and the formation of the recitative in his *Satiro e Corisca*, saturated emotionally and dramatically tense, as well as very varied and strictly dependent on the poetic text (its structure and content) – closest to the recitatives of the Mantuan *drammi*.⁷⁷ Relationships with the *oeuvre* of Monteverdi can also be seen in the madrigals of Scacchi, especially those which are settings of the same texts, similarly interpreted musically.⁷⁸

Documentation of sources for musical repertoire and characterization of Italian compositions written in the Commonwealth is not infrequently accompanied by an explanation of the issue of the function and intention of these works, confirmed in historic sources. Music historians have recently noticed not only that *drammi per musica*, ballets and paratheatrical works were performed for a specific purpose and on the occasion of particular court and state celebrations, as well as important political events,⁷⁹ but also, as is the case with *concertato* works (masses), during important church or church-state ceremonies (e.g. the polychoral music and masterful Divine Office composed by Scacchi, heard during the coronation of Cecilia Renata at the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw, 1637).⁸⁰ Finally, the authors of studies written in the last decade emphasize that the assortment of genres of works by migrants from Italy was conditioned by the tastes of their patrons and by local preferences, which contributed to the modification of composers' predilections. We are speaking here, in particular, of Marenzio's works written during his time in Warsaw, in which this can be seen in his tendency to focus on mass works – chiefly polychoral, particularly esteemed by Zygmunt III.⁸¹ Finally, it is worth noting that some of the views cited, contained in period documents, could be a basis for factographic data, in addition to conclusions about the traits of religious compositions (e.g. Marenzio's new mass, composed by him in echo form, performed on 13 May 1596 at the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw) and dramatic performances (e.g. the *favola pescatoria* entitled *Gli amori di Aci e Galatea*, presented on 27 February 1628 in Warsaw “with lavish *intermedia*, machinery and other such things”), as well as the reception of music by audiences of the time (the pleasant sound effect produced by polychoral music).⁸²

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-179.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁷⁸ Cf. Szweykowski, “‘Ah dolente partita’: Monteverdi-Scacchi” cit.; Id., “Muzyka” cit., p. 218.

⁷⁹ Cf. Szweykowska, “Widowiska baletowe na dworze Zygmunta III” cit.; Ead., “Imprezy baletowe na dworze Władysława IV” cit.; Ead., *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów* cit., pp. 273, 315.

⁸⁰ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 18, 29-30, 91, 126, 134.

⁸¹ Cf. Jackson, “Marenzio, Poland and the Late Polychoral Sacred Style” cit.; Bizzarini, “Luca Marenzio i jego kompozycje świeckie” cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., p. 30.

⁸² We are speaking here of notes contained in: The diary of Giovanni P. Mucante, in a letter of papal nuncio Antonio Sancta Croce to Francesco Cardinal Barberini; Albrycht S. Radziwiłł's *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*

3. Reception of Italian Music

In studies written in recent years, much significance is being given to a matter not previously taken up on a broader scale, namely: the question of the reception in the Commonwealth (and, more broadly, in North-eastern Europe) of Italian music from the late Renaissance and Baroque – and in particular, of the Italian madrigal repertoire. It is viewed mainly on the basis of surviving source documentation attesting to the effect of Italian musical culture on the Baltic Sea basin area.⁸³ Musicologists indicate all presently-known historical and musical sources – direct and indirect – recording the appearance of Italian works, and especially of madrigal genres, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as in Prussia, Russia, Livonia, the Duchies of Silesia and Pomerania, and also in Denmark and other Scandinavian countries. These are printed music publications which – as attested by surviving book inventories and catalogues from the second half of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries – were imported to the Commonwealth. In an inventory from 1572 of Jerzy Jasińczyc, chapel master to Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory, there is mention of publications of madrigals and *villanelle*. Italian imports were noted in an inventory of Kraków bookseller Zacheusz Kesner, drawn up in 1602 after his death; they encompass items of vocal music by the best-known composers of the end of the 16th century, also including Venetian printed publications, editions of madrigals and *canzonette*, anthologies of Italian secular vocal music. Some of them were available in the Commonwealth shortly after publication, including the collections *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio. Gabrieli* (Venezia, 1587) and *Sacrae symphoniae* by Giovanni Gabrieli (Venezia, 1597), which could have influenced the formation of the church concerto in this territory.⁸⁴ It should be emphasized that the bookshop in Kraków was probably the main supplier of music to the royal chapel.⁸⁵ However, from the 1620s onwards, Italian repertoire was imported for the royal chapel from abroad by Kaspar Förster the Elder – a bookseller from Gdańsk. Much importance was probably given to compositions in this repertoire in *stile moderno*, which appears to be suggested by Förster in discussions between Marco Scacchi and Paul Siefert.⁸⁶ Italian printed publications were collected by music lovers,⁸⁷ bought abroad by

[*Memoir of Events in Poland*] cit. (account from 13 September 1637). Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 30, 56, 91.

⁸³ Cf. especially: T. Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja – recepcja – przeobrażenia gatunku* [*The Madrigal in North-eastern Europe. Documentation – Reception – Transformations of the Genre*] (Warszawa: Semper, 2003); Id., “Recepcja Madrygałów Luki Marenzina w Europie północno-wschodniej” [“Reception of Luca Marenzio’s Madrigals in North-Eastern Europe”], *Muzyka*, XLVIII/4 (2003), pp. 77-96; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 166-219. The issue of reception in North-eastern Europe of the Italian music repertoire is also touched upon in numerous monographs, devoted mainly to musical sources.

⁸⁴ Cf. Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit., pp. 127-128, 133-134, 211-212.

⁸⁵ Cf. A. Chybiński, “Die Musikbestände der Krakauer Bibliotheken von 1500-1650”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, XIII (1911/1912), pp. 382-385; Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit., pp. 127-128, 133-134; T. Czepiel, “Zacheusz Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. An Inventory of 1602”, *Musica Iagellonica*, 2 (1997), pp. 23-70.

⁸⁶ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, “Kacper Förster junior. Zarys biografii” cit.

⁸⁷ One collector of musical materials was, for example, Georg Knofius – a Gdańsk patrician who collected

musicians and their patrons, and also imported by Italian musicians who, traveling to work in the Commonwealth, probably took with them printed editions of works written by themselves or by other composers.⁸⁸ Some of these were offered and dedicated to Polish personages (including aristocrats from the Radziwiłł lineage and to Z. Myszkowski), city councils and wealthy members of the middle class.⁸⁹ Printed collections of Italian music containing, among other things, madrigals (by L. Marenzio, C. Monteverdi, A. Grandi, F. Anerio), as well as religious compositions, also by artists associated with the Commonwealth (M. Scacchi, G. Valentini, G. Osculati), also survive in Central and North-eastern European libraries.⁹⁰ They could potentially have served in the music practice of the 17th century (and practical use was made of those which contain corrections and annotations – e.g. collections of madrigals from collections in Gdańsk and Wrocław);⁹¹ which could then prove that Italian repertoire was performed in the Commonwealth and – more broadly – north of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountain ranges, subsequently influencing local music.

Also recorded in the subject literature are manuscript copies (in vocal notation or tablature form) of selected compositions or complete printed publications, as well as manuscript and printed anthologies of works published for the first time in individual and collective publications (including ones prepared outside of Italy), or contained in manuscripts, sometimes based on copies of entire printed publications. These attest to an active reception of the Italian *oeuvre*. Among these are copies of music by Italian composers, including those associated with the court of the Polish Waza dynasty, prepared in, among other places, the Kraków and Gdańsk *milieux*, and located in the Archive and Library of the Kraków Cathedral Chapel (by A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio) and in the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk (by L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. Osculati, A. Patart, T. Merula, M. Scacchi).⁹² A kind of anthology is the Pelplin Tablature – a manuscript of collector's

numerous printed music publications from the 16th and 17th centuries, among them editions of madrigals. They are presently held by the collections of the Academy of Sciences Library in Gdańsk. Cf. D. Szlagowska, *Reper-tuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów gdańskich* [*Music Repertoire from Seventeenth-Century Gdańsk Manuscripts*] (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna, 2005), pp. 23, 38.

⁸⁸ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 167, 185.

⁸⁹ These are author's collections and anthologies of madrigals or *canzonette* from the end of the 16th century by Italian composers not active – at the time of publication or at all – in the Commonwealth (among others, G. Gabrieli, L. Marenzio, O. Vecchi, A. Orologio), which were located and utilized in this territory. Cf. Perz, “Ze studiów w bibliotekach i archiwach włoskich (Dedykacje włoskich dzieł muzycznych XVI i XVII w. Polakom)” [“Studies in Italian libraries and archives (dedications of 16th- and 17th-century Italian musical works to Poles)”], *Muzyka*, xv/2 (1970), pp. 93-105; Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej* cit., pp. 37-38.

⁹⁰ Cf. Pielech, “Do repertuaru kapel wawelskich” cit.; Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej* cit., pp. 25-33, 189-210; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 184-190.

⁹¹ Cf. E. Wojnowska, “La raccolta gedanese di madrigali italiani”, in *Miscellanea, Saggi, Convegni*, 22 (1984), pp. 105-138; Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północnowschodniej* cit., pp. 26, 29.

⁹² Cf. E. Głuszczyńska, “Katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce” [“A Thematic Catalog of Manuscript Monuments of Early Music in Poland”], in *Musicalia vetera*, 7 vols., 1: *Zbiory muzyczne proveniencji wawelskiej* [*Music Collections of Wawel Provenance*], vol. 2 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1972), vol. 6 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983); A. Sienkiewicz,

character, encompassing works by 65 Italian composers, mainly from Lombardy and Rome, some of which are also known from printed publications held by the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk. In this manuscript there are also works by Italians active in the Commonwealth (L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. B. Cocciola, G. Osculati, G. Valentini, T. Merula, including all of his *canzoni d'aria francese* from *Il primo libro delle canzoni a quattro*, Venezia, 1615).⁹³ Reception of the Italian repertoire is also proven by the anthologies of Ambrosius Profe, published in 1627-1649, containing mainly *contrafacta* of madrigal genres (by C. Monteverdi, L. Marenzio, G. Rovetta, G. Priuli, F. Turini *et al.*). The anthology also includes four madrigals by Marco Scacchi, coming from *Madrigali a cinque, concertati* (Venezia, 1634), known from a copy of the works of the entire book, provided with German language texts of religious subject matter (which was prepared in Silesia and is held by the Wrocław collection of E. Bohn).⁹⁴ It is worth emphasizing that some copies represent a reflection of the process of adapting prototypes to the needs of a specific *milieu*. We are speaking here not only of adapting the text of a composition (exchange of Italian for German, Latin or Polish) to the needs of audiences who speak a different language (as, for example, in the case of the aforementioned madrigals by Scacchi),⁹⁵ but also of modifying the composition in terms of scoring and style, as well as number of movements, on account of the specifications of local performance practice (as, for example, in the case of Pacelli's *Missa Ave maris stella a 8* in a four-voice version

“Katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce” [“A Thematic Catalog of Manuscript Monuments of Early Music in Poland”], in *Musicalia vetera* cit., vol. 5 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1982); Z. Surowiak, “Katalog tematyczny rękopiśmiennych zabytków dawnej muzyki w Polsce” [“A Thematic Catalog of Manuscript Monuments of Early Music in Poland”], in *Musicalia vetera* cit., vol. 4 (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974); A. Patalas, “Wstęp” [“Introduction”], in *Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Missa Pulchra es per due cori*, ed. A. Patalas, «Sub Sole Sarmatiae», 3, ed. Z. M. Szwejkowski (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1994); D. Popinigis and D. Szlagowska, *Musicalia Gedanenses. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Katalog [Musicalia Gedanenses. 16th and 17th-century music manuscripts in the collections of the Polish academy of sciences library in Gdańsk. Catalog]* (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna, 1990). Cf. also list of madrigals in vocal manuscripts located in North-eastern European libraries: Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północnowschodniej* cit., pp. 178-183.

⁹³ Cf. A. Osostowicz, “The Pelplin Tablature as a Source to the History of Polish-Italian Ties”, *Miscellaneae, Saggi, Convegni*, 8 (1970), pp. 75-80; M. Perz, “La musica sacra lombarda al mare protestantarum”, in *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, eds. A. Colzani, A. Luppi, M. Padoan (Como: AMIS, 1988), pp. 357-365; Szwejkowski, “Muzyka” cit., pp. 222, 224; E. Wojnowska, “Tabulatory pelplińskie w sieci repertuaru muzyki wokalne” [“The Pelplin tablatures in the network of vocal music repertoire”], in *Complexus effectuum* cit., pp. 75-82.

⁹⁴ Cf. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Recepcja repertuaru kapeli Władysława IV Wazy w Europie Środkowej i Północnej w świetle *Iuridicum Cribri musici* Marka Scacchiego” [“Reception of the repertoire of the chapel of Władysław IV Waza in central and northern Europe in light of Marco Scacchi's *Iudicium Cribri musici*”], *Barok*, 1/2 (1994), pp. 95-102; T. Jeż, “Kontrafaktry madrygałów w antologiach Ambrożego Profiusa” [“Madrigal *contrafacta* in the Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe”], *Muzyka*, XLVII/2 (2002), pp. 5-38.

⁹⁵ Cf. Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północnowschodniej* cit., pp. 107-121.

An attempt to adapt the madrigal genre to German texts was undertaken, however, by Andreas Hakenberger, active in Gdańsk after leaving the chapel of Zygmunt III. Cf. D. Popinigis, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hakenbergera [The Music of Andreas Hakenberger]* (Gdańsk: Akademia Muzyczna, 1997).

with *basso continuo* held by the Archives of the Kraków Cathedral Chapel at Wawel),⁹⁶ and of the demands of the liturgy of a different denomination (e.g. limitation of the movements from Marenzio's *Missa super Ego sum panis vivus* and *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* to the Kyrie and the Gloria in versions held by the library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk and intended for Protestant churches).⁹⁷

There is also documentation of Italian repertoire brought to and re-arranged in the Commonwealth and North-eastern Europe. This consists of keyboard and lute intabulations and transcriptions (in particular, of madrigals and related genres, disseminated in the Transalpine area in 16th-century printed publications) written there in the 16th- and first half of the 17th-century. (N.B. several lute intabulations of madrigals were supplied with a double title in Italian and Polish, a trace of the practice of making Polish-language adaptations of madrigal genres).⁹⁸ Italian compositions are sometimes, beyond this, a source of musical material for instrumental ensemble works (in A. Jarzębski's *concerti* from the collection *Canzoni e concerti*, 1627, utilizing as models motets by Palestrina, G. Gabrieli, C. Merulo, as well as the madrigals *Nasce la pena mia* by A. Striggio and *Vestiva i colli* and *Io son ferito, ahi lasso* by Palestrina, hidden here beneath Latin incipits),⁹⁹ and also *parodia*-type masses and magnificats (e.g. G. Belli's *Missa super Mentre qual viva pietra*, based on a madrigal by Marenzio from a manuscript of Wrocław provenance).¹⁰⁰ Madrigals serve, finally, as a model for original compositions written by local artists, in which one can discern imitations of the Italian style and inspiration from the stylistic language of the madrigal. The effect of *stile madrigalesco* becomes visible, namely, in indigenous religious music in the Latin language: in the concertos of Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli), Bartłomiej Pękiel's *Dulcis amor Jesu* and *Audite mortales*, Kaspar Förster the Younger's Biblical dialogues; and this music conveys the idea of *imitazione della natura*

⁹⁶ Cf. Patalas, "An Unknown *Missa Ave maris stella*" cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, *Barok* cit., p. 242.

⁹⁷ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarمیńska, "*Missa super Iniquos odio habui a 8*" cit.

⁹⁸ Cf. Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północno-wschodniej* cit., pp. 18-22, 88-107, 152-178.

⁹⁹ Cf. Chodkowski, "Adama Jarzębskiego transkrypcje instrumentalne dzieł mistrzów włoskich" ["Adam Jarzębski's instrumental transcriptions of works by Italian masters"], *Pagine*, III (1979), pp. 111-117; M. Szelest, "Io son ferito, ahi lasso" Giovanniego Pierluigiego da Palestrina i "Venite exultemus" Adama Jarzębskiego – wokalny pierwowzór w instrumentalnym opracowaniu" ["Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's "Io son ferito, ahi lasso" and Adam Jarzębski's "Venite exultemus" – A Vocal Prototype in an Instrumental Setting"], *Muzyka*, XLV/3 (2000), pp. 49-62; F. 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; Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północno-wschodniej* cit., pp. 122-125. One can suspect that the Latin titles of Adam Jarzębski's *concerti*, whose prototypes come from the madrigal repertoire, indicate that the composer utilized Latin *contrafacta* of these works, and – as Piotr Wilk suggests ("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. Z. Fabiańska, A. Jarzębska, A. Sitarz, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2007, pp. 306-307) – Jarzębski's compositions were performed at the time during services in place of the psalms, as *concerti da chiesa*. Cf. also comments on the issue of vocal prototypes for Jarzębski's concertos in Jan J. Dunicz's monograph, *Adam Jarzębski* cit., pp. 117-119.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północno-wschodniej* cit., pp. 125-127, 186-188.

and musical expression of the word, as well as a wealth of harmonic solutions and chromaticism.¹⁰¹

In examining the issue of the *oeuvre* of Italians composed and performed in the 17th century in the Commonwealth, musicologists have taken into account theoretical and musical reflections from the time – and above all, the views of Marco Scacchi, which represent the way Italian music theory was received there.¹⁰² Scacchi's views were clearly formed under the influence of the theory of Giovanni M. Artusi, and generally prove familiarity with the famous discussion between Artusi and Monteverdi in Warsaw court circles. This discussion between Artusi and Monteverdi at the beginning of the 17th century was about the question of stylistic dualism and the dissimilarity of compositional principles in *prima* and *seconda prattica*. At the same time, they affected European theoretical thought: the classification of musical styles and genres formulated by Scacchi was expanded by Christoph Bernhard and Angelo Berardi; it was also alluded to by Johann J. Fux and Johann Mattheson. The compositions of the royal chapel master were to be found in the theoretical writings of Hieronymus Ninius (*Examen breve*, Braniewo, 1647) and A. Berardi (*Documenti armonici* and *Miscellanea musicale*, Bologna, 1687 and 1689).¹⁰³

4. 'Italian Influences in Polish Music'

Still an object of careful attention from musicologists is the thread of 'Italian influences in Polish music', remaining, however, somewhat in the shadow of other aspects of the issue of Italo-Polish musical relations in the 17th century – as well as attracting a different kind of attention. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska *et al.* interpret the *oeuvre* of indigenous composers of that period, written in the multi-national

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

¹⁰² Cf. Szweykowsky, *Włosi w kapeli* cit., pp. 103-112, 155-156, 203-205; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok* cit. (systematic discussion of genres and stylistic variants of music created in the 17th century in the Commonwealth by indigenous and Italian composers associated with this territory, referring to Scacchi's classification of musical genres and – indirectly – to the categories of *stile antico* and *nuovo*, pp. 223-487); Ead., *Muzyczne dwory* cit., pp. 95-96.

¹⁰³ Concerning Scacchi's theoretical system and the relationships of his theory with musical practice, the polemic triggered by the publication of *Cribrum musicum* (Venezia, 1643), the distribution of this publication and popularization of Scacchi's views, as well as attestations to interest in his music in Europe, and also the influence of Artusi's theory on the views and compositions of Scacchi, cf. especially Szweykowski, *Musica moderna w ujęciu Marka Scacchiego* cit. (in which Scacchi's theory was confronted with the traits of his own musical compositions and those of works composed by members of the chapel of Władysław IV); Id., "Marco Scacchi and his Pupils on the Polychoral Technique", *Musica Iagellonica*, 2 (1997), pp. 131-150; M. Heineemann, "Scacchi, Seifert i Ninius. Przyczynek do dyskusji wokół prawdziwej muzyki kościelnej w XVII wieku" ["Scacchi, Seifert and Ninius. A contribution to the discussion of real church music in the 17th century"], *Muzyka*, XLIII/2 (1998), pp. 7-25; A. Patalas, "Myśl teoretyczna Marka Scacchiego w kontekście twórczości kompozytorów niemieckich" ["Marco Scacchi's Theoretical Thought in the Context of the *Oeuvre* of German Composers"], in *Europejski repertuar muzyczny na ziemiach Polski [European Music Repertoire in Polish Lands]*, ed. E. Wojnowska (Warszawa: Związek Kompozytorów Polskich, 2003), pp. 195-208, in English as *Theoretical Ideas of Marco Scacchi in the Context of Works by German Composers*, in *Musicology Today, 2006: Poland in Europe*:

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in strict correlation with source documentation attesting to real or potential relationships of local artists with specific Italian musical centers which conditioned the nature of ‘Italian influences’.¹⁰⁴ Taking into account documentation of Italian-Polish personal contacts, the *oeuvre* of Italians active in the Commonwealth, and reception of Italian repertoire in Central Europe, musicologists are making attempts to characterize the technical and stylistic traits of the local *oeuvre* subject to ‘Italian influences’ not only from the ‘abstract’ perspective of the Italian musical legacy of that time (as Zdzisław Jachimecki had once done, as well as, more recently, Józef M. Chomiński).¹⁰⁵ They also compare the music in which indigenous composers were engaged – including the most distinguished ones active mainly at the royal chapel of the Polish Waza dynasty – to non-randomly selected Italian works, certainly or presumably known to Polish composers. They present this music against the background of the Italian repertoire, whose use in the Commonwealth is confirmed by sources – but above all, they relate it to works by Italian composers active in the *milieu* of the common royal court patronage.¹⁰⁶

Analyzing the works of indigenous artists, modern researchers highlight stylistic parallels linking general or specific traits of indigenous compositions with the *oeuvre* of Italian centers and composers, but also with the music of Italian chapel members active in the Commonwealth, which they present in the context of many different types of historically-confirmed conditions. Like Jachimecki, Szweykowski and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska relate, for example, the offertories from Mikołaj Zieleński’s collection *Offertoria et communiones totius anni* (Venezia, 1611) – written in a polychoral technique in which the composer manipulates various combinations of voices, as well as linking voices with instruments for dynamic and coloristic purposes – to Venetian music and the works of Giovanni Gabrieli. However, at the same time, they emphasize familiarity with the works of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in Kraków, documented in inventories of printed publications imported by booksellers there. In addition Przybyszewska-Jarmińska highlights the

Musical Sources – Repertoire – Style, pp. 23-38; Ead., “Music Theory of Giovanni Maria Artusi in the Polemical Writings and in the Music of Marco Scacchi”, *Musica Iagellonica*, 4 (2007), pp. 19-48.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. among others: Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit.

¹⁰⁵ Jachimecki (*Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* cit.), focusing on a discussion of the local *oeuvre* in the 16th and 17th centuries, points out the form of a work – a form considered to be Italian or created in Italy – as well as general traits of compositional style considered to be Italian or associated with the properties of a specific Italian composer’s or musical center’s music. For the most part, the phenomenon of Italian influences taken into account in the course of analyses of musical monuments is attributed by Jachimecki only to the characterization of traits of Italian genres and forms, as well as styles of works by Italian composers associated with Poland, contained in theoretical writings and in German music history literature from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Cf. also Chomiński, Wilkowska-Chomińska, *Historia muzyki polskiej* cit.

¹⁰⁶ Szweykowski (“Muzyka” cit.) examines, thus, not so much music of the Baroque era created in the Commonwealth in a European, above all Italian – at the time the most important – context, as the music of Italians written in this territory during their period of activity in the patronage *milieu* of the kings of the Polish Waza dynasty; and then he studies the effect of the Italian composers on the local *oeuvre*, indicating stylistic similarities and differences of works by indigenous composers relative to the music of Italian royal chapel members. After acquainting himself with surviving works of royal chapel members from Italy, he attempts to establish in what measure their music influenced the local *oeuvre*.

reception in the Commonwealth of the *oeuvre* of G. Gabrieli, whose posthumous collection *Symphoniae Sacrae* [...] *liber secundus* (Venezia, 1615) perhaps reached the royal court – a reception attested by numerous copies of his compositions in the Pelplin Tablature.¹⁰⁷ Szweykowska and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska also recall the information, known by Jachimecki, that some works by G. Gabrieli were supposed to have been offered by him to Zygmunt III; and Przybyszewska-Jarmińska adds that students of the Venetian master (among others, royal organist G. Valentini) were also active at the king's court.¹⁰⁸ Szweykowski points out, additionally, Zieleński's use of antithetical phrases – characteristic of the *oeuvre* of G. Gabrieli, but also of the compositions of F. Lilius (Gigli), Merula and Polish composers of vocal and instrumental music.¹⁰⁹

According to the views cited by Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, the textural traits of Adam Jarzębski's *Canzoni e concerti* (surviving in a manuscript dated 1627) probably written during the composer's sojourn at the court of Jan Zygmunt, Elector of Brandenburg, in Berlin (ca. 1612-1615), where he was able to acquaint himself with collections of William Brade's orchestral suites, directly after that in Italy, and then, as well, after his return to the Commonwealth (in 1617 or slightly later) prove that the composer was familiar with the latest tendencies in Italian instrumental music, present in the *oeuvre* of Salomon Rossi and Biagio Marini; and in the second and third decade of the 17th century, also in the music of Dario Castello, Carlo Farina, Ottavio M. Grandi and Francesco Turini. Jarzębski alluded to the concept of the trio sonata cultivated by Rossi already in the years 1607-1608 (*Il primo libro delle sinfonie e gagliarde* and *Il secondo libro delle sinfonie e gagliarde*); in his works, he attempted to adapt vocal or organ ornamentation to the technical properties of melodic instruments – especially the violin, contributing to the formation of the violinistic idiom. The artistry of the variational technique used by Jarzębski permits us to compare his music with that of masters of this technique from the time, among them Frescobaldi.¹¹⁰ Jarzębski's chamber music *oeuvre* also displays relationships with the instrumental music of Merula, whose *Il primo libro delle canzoni a quattro*, published in 1615 – before the composer's arrival in Poland – was copied in its entirety in the

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 134-135, 139-140; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 278, 284-285, 302-303.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* cit., p. 205; Szweykowska, "Muzycy" cit., p. 65-66; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 284-285, 302-303.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 164-165.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 449, 451. Cf. also P. Ludwig, "Twórczość instrumentalna Adama Jarzębskiego na tle włoskiej muzyki skrzypcowej I ćwierci XVII w." ["Adam Jarzębski's instrumental oeuvre against the background of Italian violin music of the first quarter of the 17th century"], Master's thesis, University of Warsaw, 1966. The relationships of Jarzębski's works with the Italian instrumental *oeuvre* (of G. Frescobaldi, as well as G. Gabrieli, C. Merulo, G. B. Buonamente, F. Turini, B. Marini, S. Rossi, C. Farina), as well as with English music (W. Brade) were also pointed out by Dunicz (*Adam Jarzębski* cit, *passim*). He perceived these relationships especially in the area of melodic language (manipulation of variationally-transformed motifs, types of ornaments), technique of paraphrasing vocal models, form (among other things, frame structure), texture (trio scoring). Dunicz also noted the coincidence of ornamental formulae applied by Jarzębski to vocal and instrumental ornaments cited by Caccini (*Le nuove musiche*, Firenze, 1602) and Diruta (*Il transilvano*, Venezia, 1593).

Pelplin Tablature. In particular, however, the formal features of Jarzębski's four-voice *canzonas* have the same form as Merula's compositions written in the Commonwealth (repetition of the beginning of the work in its finale). Common traits in the music of both composers appear, however, rather to indicate their knowledge of the current Italian *oeuvre* than to represent proof of connections between their music.¹¹¹ The figurations in Marcin Mielczewski's *Canzona seconda a 2* or *Canzona prima a 3* – in Piotr Wilk's opinion – show an allusion to the mainstream repertoire of diminutions codified in the textbooks of Francesco Rognoni Taeggio (*Selva de varii passaggi*, Milano, 1620, N.B. written on commission from Zygmunt III), as well as of Girolamo Diruta (*Il Transilvano*, Venezia, 1593) or Girolamo Dalla Casa (*Il vero modo di diminuir*, Venezia, 1584).¹¹²

In Mielczewski's polychoral vocal-instrumental works, Szweykowski discerns a set of stylistic traits considered to be typical of the Roman and Northern Italian – Venetian and Bolognese – *oeuvre*. On the one hand, the composer manipulates four-voice choirs of *a voce piena* disposition, of non-differentiated sound color, in a typical manner of Roman works; on the other, in the majority of his works he utilizes the Venetian model: instrumental ensembles, which sometimes play parts of the composition independently. In addition he occasionally writes for vocal-instrumental choirs with *obbligato* scoring, introducing segments in triple meter, as well as small-ensemble and solo segments of virtuosic melodic language. Finally, alluding to Bolognese practice, known in the Commonwealth probably from publications of Girolamo Giacobbi's *oeuvre*, Mielczewski uses choirs in which the individual parts are executed in alternation by voices and instruments. The combination in Mielczewski's music of Roman and Venetian traits also occurs in the *oeuvre* of composers active in Rome, also associated with the Commonwealth (A. Orgas and G. F. Anerio) and with the chapel of the Polish Waza dynasty (G. Osculati, G. F. Anerio). Thus, it is necessary to suspect that the style sources of Mielczewski's works lie in the music of Italian royal chapel members (N.B. his own solo and small-ensemble setting of verses of prose in *Victimae paschali laudes* resembles the formation of G. Osculati's psalm *Laudate pueri*, 1615). In Mielczewski's *oeuvre*, Szweykowski also observes detailed stylistic concurrences with the compositions of Monteverdi: in the concerto *Virgo prudentissima*, repetitions of a melodic phrase from the litany to Our Lady – *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis* – in the highest voice of the fourth choir, of *cantus firmus* character, similarly to Monteverdi's *Sonata sopra la Sancta Maria* from *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (Venezia, 1610), as well as in the concerto *Sancta Maria* for two sopranos and *basso continuo*, published in Giovanni B. Ala's *Primo libro di concerti ecclesiastici* (Milano, 1618). N.B. the same solution was used by Merula in his setting of the psalm *Credidi*, published in the collection *Arpa Davidica* (Venezia, 1640).¹¹³

¹¹¹ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 224-226.

¹¹² Cf. P. Wilk, "Idiom skrzypcowy w utworach Marcina Mielczewskiego" ["The violin idiom in the works of Marcin Mielczewski"], in *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* cit., pp. 187-204.

¹¹³ Cf. Z. Szweykowski, "Z problemów techniki polichóralnej Marcina Mielczewskiego" ["On issues in the polychoral technique of Marcin Mielczewski"], in *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* cit., pp. 125-137; cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 305.

According to Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, the melodic language in the solo concertos of Kaspar Förster the Younger – with contrasts between recitative and aria-like type of melody (lyric and virtuoso) – was inspired by the *oeuvre* of Carissimi. For Förster, while studying with the Roman master, had occasion to acquaint himself with the art of creating emphatic recitatives and constructing a melody in which individual, expressively strong words were subjected to musical interpretation, as well as of manipulating harmonic resources with the aim of conveying the emotions of the text.¹¹⁴ Concurrence of traits is also displayed by the Latin dialogues of Förster and Carissimi – and in particular, by the features of the literary texts and music (solo-choral complexes).¹¹⁵ In Szweykowski's opinion, Bartłomiej Pękiel's concerto *Dulcis amor Jesu* displays stylistic relationships with the *concertato* compositions of Merula and Scacchi, as heard in the *concertato* relationship of the solo voices and small ensembles, as well as the use of small motives in the melody-line.¹¹⁶ However, as Przybyszewska-Jarmińska observes, the musical shape of the work was influenced in essence by the choice of literary text – close in intensity of expression to the text *Virgo clemens, virgo pia*, set by Förster.¹¹⁷ Pękiel's *Audite mortales* – in which he used the same subject matter as Carissimi in *Iudicium extremum* – is close to the Roman Latin dialogues from the 1630s and 40s, which NB. was discerned already within Pękiel's lifetime by the scribe of a copy of the work lost today, which was once in the possession of Johann Ph. Krieger, who attributed the work specifically to Carissimi.¹¹⁸

It is worth noting that the migration to and the reception of Italian style repertoire in Europe, documented in the sources, sometimes provides a basis for the interpretation of stylistic relationships in the music of composers active in the Commonwealth, as well as that written in Italy and in other European centers. In particular, Przybyszewska-Jarmińska observes that (compared to Carissimi and other Roman composers) Kaspar Förster the Younger introduces in his dialogues larger instrumental ensembles – perhaps under the influence of Northern European performance practice, which the composer encountered while active in Denmark and Germany. (Förster's dialogues were probably presented by the renowned Collegium Musicum in Hamburg, directed by M. Weckmann).¹¹⁹ According to the same author, the melodic language in the solo concertos of Stanisław S. Szarzyński displays affinity not only with the melodic features of works by Roman composers (e.g. G. Carissimi or B. Graziani) known in the Commonwealth in the second half of the 17th century, as well as of works by musicians active at the Imperial court in Vienna (e.g. A. Draghi or J. K. Kerll) writing under their

¹¹⁴ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 336.

¹¹⁵ Cf. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Kaspar Förster junior. Tekst i muzyka w dialogach biblijnych* [*Kaspar Förster the Younger. Text and Music in His Biblical Dialogues*] (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1997), pp. 208-211.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Szweykowski, "Muzyka" cit., pp. 163-164.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 313.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Kaspar Förster junior. Tekst i muzyka w dialogach biblijnych* cit., pp. 194-206, 212-215.

influence, but also with works by Förster, a student of Carissimi active at the Polish royal court.¹²⁰

It should be emphasized that in studies from recent years, stylistic traits of music composed in the 17th-century Commonwealth are interpreted as a manifestation not only of passive imitation of foreign works, but also of creative reception and modification of the Italian musical language (*prima* and *seconda pratica*);¹²¹ thus, at the same time, the esteem expressed in them for the achievements of local composers is growing (though it is, of course, no longer linked with the value of ‘Polishness’ as in earlier studies).¹²² At the same time, these studies emphasize the universal character of the musical language of that time – shaped, above all, in Italy – the existence of which was considered an essential factor facilitating the rapid assimilation outside of Italy of the Italian repertoire, as well as of compositional technique resources that were new in Europe (chiefly in Italy).¹²³ For this reason as well, music written in the Italian style in the 17th century by the most distinguished Polish royal chapel members, similar stylistically to compositions known universally in Italy, and rivaling them in level (N.B. scarcely available in print), did not contrast with the European *oeuvre* of the time, and was not perceived in Europe as being separate from the Italian style;¹²⁴ thus, it is difficult today to differentiate it from foreign music.¹²⁵ In the most recent study of the history of music in the 17th-century Commonwealth, the opposition of ‘Polish’ music (with peculiarly local characteristics) and ‘Italian’ (not possessing such characteristics) – known from earlier historical perspectives – has lost its sharpness.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 342-343. Szarzyński’s *Sonata*, however, has elements in common with works by such Roman composers as L. Colista, A. Stradella, C. A. Lonati, as well as with the early sonatas of Giovanni B. Vitali or Johann H. Schmelzer. Cf. M. Szelest, “Sonata Stanisława Sylwestra Szarzyńskiego w kontekście repertuaru europejskiego” [“Stanisław Sylwester Szarzyński’s Sonata in the Context of the European Repertoire”], *Muzyka*, XLVI/1 (2001), pp. 5-40.

¹²¹ Szweykowski points out, for example, that the *concertato* technique of indigenous composers active in the chapel of the Polish Waza dynasty is sometimes more developed and mature than that of the Italian chapel members. Thus, it seems possible that local composers absorbed it in contact with the broader repertoire – including Italian printed music – at the ensemble’s disposal. For this reason, as well, he attributes to them a role of contribution to the style of music composed here. The author also supposes that the instrumental chamber music composed by Polish members of the ensemble (among others, Mielczewski) very quickly took on a separate character within Baroque conventions. Cf. Szweykowski, “Muzyka” cit., pp. 165, 227-228.

¹²² Cf. footnote 8.

¹²³ Cf. especially Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 17.

¹²⁴ In a certain measure, this phenomenon has already been pointed out by Poliński (*Dzieje muzyki polskiej* cit., pp. 132-133), in mentioning the printing of Mielczewski’s concerto *Deus in nomine tuo* in Johannes Havenmann’s publication *Jesu hilf. Dreissig lateinische concerte berühmter Italiener* [emphasis by Poliński] (*Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten*, Jena, 1659) – which is meant to be (in his opinion) proof “that Mielczewski was esteemed abroad at the same level as the famous Italians”.

¹²⁵ In the countries of Western and Southern Europe, on the other hand, what piqued interest were ‘Polish dances’ and popular music, as well as the forms and genres of Eastern, Turkish and Cossack music which had been assimilated into the culture of the Commonwealth. They were also probably perceived at the time as being peculiar to the Commonwealth. Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., p. 505.

¹²⁶ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., as well as footnote 11.

5. *Transmission of Music in the Italian Style*

Finally, an issue taken up in Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska's book is the problem of transmission of Italian music in the 17th century, via the Commonwealth, as well as music in the Italian style composed there – from West to East (and *vice versa*), as well as from Southern to Northern Europe.¹²⁷ This phenomenon is reflected in historical documentation (concerning the activity of musicians – also permitting us to establish the directions of migration – and especially their works themselves and their reception), which at the same time is proof of strong cultural connections in the entire Baltic Sea basin area. For on the basis of surviving music practice sources, we need to assume that works of Italian and indigenous composers written in the court *milieu* of the Polish Waza dynasty were performed not only by Roman Catholic monastic and ecclesiastical chapels in the Commonwealth, but in Upper Hungary and in Czech lands; as well as being known in Lutheran centers in Gdańsk and Silesia, Northern Germany, Ducal (East) Prussia and Sweden, and even in Uniate and Orthodox Christian *milieux*. We can also see that distinguished local artists enjoyed renown outside the Commonwealth – in particular, Adam Jarzębski, Marcin Mielczewski, Bartłomiej Pękiel and Kaspar Förster the Younger. The sources attesting to the reception and dissemination of Italian music there are individual and anthological printed publications containing works by Italian composers active in the Commonwealth and, above all, manuscripts with compositions by local artists and Italians employed by Polish and Lithuanian patrons. They were prepared abroad in the 17th century for musicians and audiences there, as well as for music ensembles active there, to whom these copies belonged.¹²⁸

Among the individual prints of Italian composers associated with the Commonwealth there are reprints of Pacelli's collections, which came out in print in Frankfurt-am-Main while the composer was employed at the Polish royal court.¹²⁹ Anthologies printed mainly at German publishing houses include the *oeuvre* of Italian composers active in the Commonwealth at the end of the 16th and in the first half of the 17th centuries – including, in part, that written during their sojourn in Poland. These are works by Marenzio, Bertolusi, Osculati, Pacelli, printed, for example, in Erhard Bodenschatz's collections *Florilegium portense* (Leipzig, 1618) and *Florilegii musici portensis* (Leipzig, 1621), as well as Abraham Schadaeus and Caspar Vincentius' *Promptuarii musici* (Strasbourg, 1611-1617) – very popular in Northern and Central Europe; works by Cocciola (also known from the Pelplin Tablature) to be found in Giovanni B. Bonometti's

¹²⁷ Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok* cit., chapter entitled “Migracje muzyków oraz recepcja powstałej w Rzeczypospolitej twórczości muzycznej i teoretyczno-muzycznej w Europie” [“Migrations of musicians, as well as reception in Europe of the musical and theoretical-musical *oeuvre* written in the Commonwealth”]. Cf. also Jeż, *Madrygal w Europie północnowschodniej* cit.

¹²⁸ Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 500-506.

¹²⁹ Cf. A. Patalas, “Madrigale spirituale w siedemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej – kompozycje Asprilio Pacellego” [“The *madrigale spirituale* in the 17th-century Commonwealth – Compositions by Asprilio Pacelli”], *Muzyka*, XLVIII (2003/4), pp. 49-50; Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Barok* cit., p. 180.

anthology *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandus* (Venezia, 1615, containing works by members of the chapel of Archduke Ferdinand of Graz) and Johannes Donfrid's *Promptuarii musici* (Strasbourg, 1627);¹³⁰ and compositions by Merula and Scacchi which are part of the aforementioned publications of religious music in *stile moderno* assembled by Ambrosius Profe – organist at St. Elizabeth's Church in Wrocław – published in the 1640s, predominantly in Leipzig.¹³¹ Works by indigenous composers were to be found in the anthologies only very exceptionally, as in the case of Mielczewski's solo church concerto *Deus in nomine tuo*, which was included by Johannes Havemann in his collection *Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten* (Jena, 1659), together with works by “the most renowned Italian and other authors”.

Valuable evidence of the broad dissemination of the *oeuvre* of Italian and indigenous composers active chiefly at the courts of the Polish Waza dynasty are manuscript copies presented in vocal or tablature notation. They document the presence of their works in the repertoire of musical ensembles not only of Lutheran churches in Wrocław (works by L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. Osculati and M. Scacchi, as well as A. Hakenberger, A. Jarzębski, F. Lilius [Gigli], M. Mielczewski *et al.* from the collections of E. Bohn)¹³² and in Gdańsk (works by L. Marenzio, A. Pacelli, G. Osculati, T. Merula and M. Scacchi, as well as F. Lilius [Gigli], M. Mielczewski, B. Pękiel, J. Różycki),¹³³ but also of the royal chapel in Stockholm (copies of works by G. B. Cocciola, M. Scacchi, B. Pękiel, K. Förster the Younger, prepared and collected by the family of Swedish royal chapel masters Andreas and Gustav Düben),¹³⁴ and also at the Jesuit colleges in Kražiai, in the Samogitian region of Lithuania (among others, instrumental works by V. Bertolusi) and in Braniewo, as well as at the Cistercian abbey in Oliwa (works by G. B. Cocciola, D. Cato and A. Hakenberger, as well as Italian madrigals and *canzonette*, to be found in the so-called Oliwa tablatures).¹³⁵ Proof of knowledge beyond Commonwealth borders of music written within the Commonwealth can be found in inventories drawn up at the end of the 17th century at the

¹³⁰ Cf. also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 86, 180-181; I. Bieńkowska, “The Polychoral Works of G. B. Cocciola from the Pelplin Tablature within the Context of the Stylistic Changes of the Epoch”, in *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels* cit., pp. 45-60.

¹³¹ Cf. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Recepcja repertuaru kapeli Władysława IV Wazy” cit.; Jeż, “Kontrafaktery madrygałów w antologiach Ambrożego Profiusa” cit.

¹³² Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Ocalałe źródła do historii muzyki w Polsce XVII stulecia ze zbiorów dawnej Stadtbibliothek we Wrocławiu” [“Surviving Sources for the History of Music in 17th-century Poland from the Collections of the former Stadtbibliothek in Wrocław”], *Muzyka*, xxxix/2 (1994), pp. 3-10; Ead., “Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów kościoła św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu” [“Copies and settings of compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other musicians of the Polish Waza dynasty in the 17th-century music materials collection at St. Mary Magdalene's Church in Wrocław”], *Muzyka*, l/1-2 (2006), pp. 117-146; Ead., *Barok* cit., pp. 202-203.

¹³³ Cf. Szlagowska, *Repertuar muzyczny z siedemnastowiecznych rękopisów* cit.

¹³⁴ Cf. B. Grusnick, “Die Dübensammlung. Ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung” (in two parts), *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, XLVI (1964), pp. 27-82, XLVIII (1966), pp. 63-186.

¹³⁵ Cf. Trilupaitienė, “Nieznany XVII-wieczny rękopis z Kroź” cit.

Piarist Colleges in Podolinec and Prievidza (at the time located in Upper Hungary, now in Slovakia), which list, among others, compositions by royal chapel members (F. Lilius [Gigli], M. Mielczewski, B. Pękiel, J. Różycki *et al.*).¹³⁶ Surviving documents also permit us to observe the effect of music in the Italian style and of Italian compositional principles on the musical *oeuvre* and theoretical thought in Russia and Ukraine. Historical and literary sources indicate Russian interest in the second half of the 17th century in Polish and Italian music composed in the Commonwealth, and Italian music theory is reflected in the textbook *Gramatyka muzyczna* [*Musical Grammar*] (before 1677) by Ukrainian theorist and composer Mikołaj Dylecki, a student of the Wilno Academy. In his textbook, known from many copies, Dylecki justified theoretically the so-called *partiesny* style in Orthodox Church music, recalling examples taken from the works of Marcin Mielczewski and Jacek Różycki.¹³⁷

In the Polish musicological literature of recent decades devoted to the role of Italian musical culture in the Commonwealth in the 17th century, the emphasis has been on source documentation of facts about musicians (Italian and indigenous) employed there, their surviving legacy, reception of Italian music and theory in Central and North-eastern Europe, as well as the relationships of the countries of the Baltic Sea basin with Italian culture. This documentation is becoming the foundation for interpretation of the *oeuvre* of composers active in the Commonwealth – an interpretation more and more versatile and multi-aspected. Musicologists present musical repertoire from the perspective of artistic patrons of the court, in the context of the function music had in cultural life at the time, as well as cultural and historical factors. They also examine the musical *oeuvre* ('Polish' and 'Italian') written in the 17th-century Commonwealth in terms of stylistic traits, against the background of the European (Italian) *oeuvre*. Nevertheless, they characterize 'Polish' music not so much as subject to 'Italian influences', but rather as a reflection of the reception of Italian compositional technique, which then gains universal significance.

¹³⁶ Cf. A. Patalas, "Polonica w inwentarzach słowackich z lat 1581-1718" ["Polish materials in Slovak inventories from 1581-1718"], *Muzyka*, XLVII/2 (2002), pp. 97-107.

¹³⁷ Cf. J. Kazem-Bek, "Marcin Mielczewski w Gramatyce muzycznej Mikołaja Dyleckiego" ["Marcin Mielczewski in Mikołaj Dylecki's Musical Grammar"], in *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia* cit., pp. 177-186; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Barok* cit., pp. 495-496, 503-504.

Abstract

The paper discusses musical ties between Italy and Poland in the 17th century, a topic which has been of key interest to Polish musicologists since the beginning of musicology here. In the Polish musicological literature of recent decades the emphasis has been on source documentation of facts about musicians (Italian and indigenous) employed there, their surviving legacy, reception of Italian music and theory in Central and North-eastern Europe, as well as the relationships of the countries of the Baltic Sea basin with Italian culture. This documentation is becoming the foundation for interpretation of the *oeuvre* of composers active in the Commonwealth – an interpretation more and more versatile and multi-aspected. Musicologists present musical repertoire from the perspective of artistic patrons of the court, in the context of the function music had in cultural life at the time, as well as cultural and historical factors. They also examine the musical *oeuvre* ('Polish' and 'Italian') written in the 17th-century Commonwealth in terms of stylistic traits, against the background of the European (Italian) *oeuvre*. Nevertheless, they characterize 'Polish' music not so much as subject to 'Italian influences', but rather as a reflection of the reception of Italian compositional technique, which then gains universal significance.

L'articolo prende in esame nella sua globalità il fenomeno dei legami musicali italo-polacchi nel diciassettesimo secolo, argomento che ha costituito il principale centro d'interesse dei musicologi polacchi sin dalle origini della musicologia in questo Paese. Nella letteratura musicologica polacca degli ultimi decenni l'accento è stato posto soprattutto sulla ricerca archivistica e documentaria dedicata ai musicisti (italiani e autoctoni) attivi in Polonia, sulla loro eredità musicale, sulla ricezione della musica e della teoria musicale italiane nell'Europa centrale e nord-orientale, così come sui rapporti intercorsi fra i paesi del bacino del Mar Baltico e la cultura italiana. Questa documentazione ha poi costituito la base sulla quale si è fondata l'interpretazione dell'opera dei compositori attivi nella repubblica – un'interpretazione che si è fatta vieppiù versatile e articolata. I musicologi considerano il repertorio musicale dal punto di vista del mecenatismo di corte, nel contesto delle funzioni svolte dalla musica nella vita culturale dell'epoca, prendendo in esame altresì aspetti culturali e storici di varia natura. Non mancano inoltre indagini incentrate sugli aspetti propriamente stilistici delle opere ('polacche' e 'italiane') composte nel diciassettesimo secolo nella Repubblica di Polonia-Lituania, proiettate sullo sfondo della produzione europea (e italiana) dell'epoca. Ciò nondimeno, la musica 'polacca' non è considerata come semplicemente soggetta a 'influenze italiane', ma come il risultato della ricezione di tecniche compositive di ascendenza italiana profondamente assimilate e dunque finalmente dotate di un significato universale.