

The Role of Heinrich Schütz and Silesian Musicians in the Dissemination of the Repertoire of the Polish Royal Chapel led by Marco Scacchi in Silesia, Saxony and Thuringia

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The Italian ensemble, employed at the court of Polish kings from 1595, was organised and maintained at a very high cost by King Sigismund III Vasa (who reigned during the years 1587–1632), and then by his sons Ladislaus IV (1632–1648) and John II Casimir (1648–1668). From its beginnings the ensemble drew the attention of foreign diplomats and probably other visitors to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania¹. For musicians who belonged to it the decision to leave Italy for a country that was distant, cold, and not infrequently described as barbarian, meant a chance to earn a relatively large sum of money. For the most prominent, renowned composers it also posed a risk of »dropping out« of the market and being forgotten in their homeland².

During the initial period of Sigismund's ensemble, its chapel master was Annibale Stabile, recruited in Rome by special royal envoy Krzysztof Kochanowski. After Stabile left the Eternal City, all trace of him was lost and the approximate date of his death was established from sources discovered only towards the end of the twentieth century³. In fact the musician died in the spring of 1595, either during his journey to Poland or immediately following his arrival in Kraków. It was also only recently that details have come to light about the circumstances of the departure of the king's next chapel master, Luca Marenzio⁴. We now know that the decision regarding the arrival of the maestro in Kraków involved the highest echelons of the church, including Pope Clement VIII himself, and that it took place towards

1 Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the Chapel Royal of the Polish Vasa Kings], Kraków 1997; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The History of Music in Poland III: The Baroque*, part 1: 1595–1696, transl. by John Comber, Warsaw 2002; eadem, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* [The Music Courts of the Polish Vasas], Warszawa 2007.

2 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The Careers of Italian Musicians Employed by the Polish Vasa Kings (1587–1668)*, in: *Musicology Today* 6 (2009), pp. 26–43; eadem, *Niezauważona »Fantazja« na 4 instrumenty Francesca Maffona. Rękopis GB-Och Mus. 372–376 jako ślad misji dyplomatycznej Pawła Działyńskiego do królowej Anglii Elżbiety I w 1597 roku?* [An Overlooked »Fantasia« for Four Instruments by Francesco Maffon. Ms. GB-Och Mus. 372–376 as a Vestige of Paweł Działyński's Diplomatic Mission to Elizabeth I, Queen of England, in 1597?], in: *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 7 (2009), pp. 103–122.

3 Marco Bizzarini, *Marenzio. La carriera di un musicista tra Rinascimento e Controriforma*, Rodengo Saiano 1998, pp. 208–214; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli Zygmunta III Wazy* [Annibale Stabile and the Beginnings of the Italian Chapel of Zygmunt III Vasa], in: *Muzyka* 46 (2001), pp. 93–99.

4 The state of research settled in the precious book by Hans Engel (*Luca Marenzio*, Firenze 1956) has been changed by Steven Ledbetter, *Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings*, Ann Arbor 1981; Bizzarini (footnote 3); B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szweykowskich »Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów« (Kraków 1997)* [A Quest for the Splendour of the Past. Remarks on the Book »Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów« by Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski (Kraków 1997)], in: *Muzyka* 43 (1998), pp. 97–98.

the end of 1595; however, the date of his return to his homeland still remains approximate (it may have been as early as 1597, but 1598 is also a possibility; in either case, Marenzio did not stay in Poland very long and we know very little about his creative output from that period). We encounter a similar situation in the case of the next Italian chapel master at the court: Giulio Cesare Gabussi came from Milan to Poland and stayed there for about a year (from the summer of 1601 to the summer of 1602)⁵.

The activities of these three chapel masters as well as a number of other Italian musicians at the court of Sigismund III have left behind them a trail in the form of the anthology *Melodiae sacrae* (Kraków 1604)⁶, prepared for print by one of the members of the royal chapel, Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius), who came from Rome. The compositions it contained may have been (although that is not necessarily the case) composed in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. In the case of Luca Marenzio, one could hypothesise that during his employment at the court he composed a number of Masses which today are known only from copies made at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Silesia, Saxony, Royal Prussia and Czech Kingdom⁷. The paths along which these works were transmitted have not as yet been identified.

During the life of Sigismund III his chapel was directed by two other outstanding musicians and composers brought from Italy, from Rome: Asprilio Pacelli (maestro di cappella during 1602 until his death in 1623) and Giovanni Francesco Anerio (from 1624 or 1625 until 1630, when the musician died in Graz while travelling to his homeland in order to have his works printed there). A number of Pacelli's compositions, dating from the long and very important period in the life of the ensemble when he was its director, have been preserved in Polish sources as manuscripts. A large collection of his motets composed in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania was published in print (*Sacrae Cantiones*, Venice 1608). His Masses were published posthumously, as was the wish of the King, but unfortunately they have not survived in complete form. As far as Pacelli's works from his »Polish« period are concerned, in the seventeenth-century collection of Wrocław provenance we find both the 1608 print itself and manuscript copies of individual motets from that edition⁸.

It is worth noting that both mentioned editions of Pacelli's compositions written in Poland were published in Italy. Unfortunately, Polish music printing, which saw a period of excellent development during the sixteenth century, underwent a deep crisis during the seventeenth century, as a result of which it was impossible to publish polyphonic vocal and vocal-instrumental compositions there. It was for this reason that Giovanni Francesco Anerio was transporting a chest full of his compositions to Italy in

5 Wiarosław Sandelewski, *Giulio Cesare Gabussi a kapela Zygmunta III w latach 1596–1602* [Giulio Cesare Gabussi and the Cappella of Zygmunt III in the years 1596–1602], in: *Muzyka* 8 (1963), pp. 60–74.

6 RISM B/I 1604², preserved in only one incomplete copy.

7 See Roland Jackson, *Marenzio's Polish Sojourn and his Polychoral Motets*, in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis, Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz 1985, pp. 503–525; idem, *Marenzio, Poland and the late polychoral sacred style*, in: *EM* 27 (1999), pp. 622–631; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *On the trail of Luca Marenzio's works composed in Poland: »Missa super Iniquos odio habui«*, in: *De Musica/Nuove Pagine* 2, vol. 11 (2005) (http://free.art.pl/demusica/de_mu_11/np_01.html); Jan Baťa, *Luca Marenzio and the Czech Lands*, in: *Hudební věda* 44 (2007), pp. 117–126; idem, *»Quod laudat praesens, omnis mirabitur aetas«: The Trubka z Rovin Gradual, its Repertoire of Music, and its European Context*, in: *Miscellanea musicologica*, forthcoming. I am deeply grateful to Jan Baťa for access to the text before publishing it.

8 See Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden*, Berlin 1883, reprint Hildesheim etc. 1969; idem, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau 1890; Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn*, [Holzgerlingen] 1999 (= *Musical Studies and Documents* 53).

1630 in order to have them published there. Unfortunately, he died without being able to accomplish this project, and the chest was lost somewhere along the way⁹. At present we know nothing about the reception of Anerio's works which were written in Poland – not in Silesia, nor Saxony, nor Thuringia.

Annibale Stabile, Luca Marenzio, Giulio Cesare Gabussi and Giovanni Francesco Anerio – all these consecutive Italian chapel masters were persuaded to come to the court of Sigismund III at a period of their lives when they were mature musicians and composers, with a large body of printed works to their credit. Their activities at the court of the King of Poland were of important educational significance and a factor in raising the level of music education not only of the less sophisticated Italian members of the ensemble, but also of those from other countries and from the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania itself¹⁰. There are no proves however that they influenced music written by Polish composer Adam Jarzębski who was up to date with Italian instrumental music of the second decade of seventeenth century thanks to his travels. We know nothing about the way his *Canzoni e concerti*, preserved only in a copy of 1627 prepared probably by Johann Georg Beck in Frankfurt am Main¹¹, reached the Daniel Sartorius collection and the library of St Elizabeth Church in Breslau¹² (since nineteenth-century it belonged to the Stadtbibliothek there, and now is kept in Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Slg. Bohn Ms. Mus. 111). According to Brian Brooks one could »imagine Sartorius, accustomed to travel far afield in his quest for music for the Breslau churches, in Frankfurt in 1638, and [...] acquiring at least two volumes of violin music, the volume with Jarzębski pieces [...], and, on his return to Breslau, depositing the music volumes in one of the churches (probably that of St Elizabeth, with which he was closely associated), or perhaps keeping them in his personal library«¹³.

Among the Italian musicians who entered the Polish royal chapel without having reached musical maturity was Marco Scacchi. He arrived to Poland as a young man, probably with his teacher, Giovanni Francesco Anerio. At that time the court resided mainly in Warsaw and Scacchi perfected his skills there. After Anerio's death Sigismund III without success tried to engage Vincenzo Ugolini, a former chapel master of Cappella Giulia¹⁴. When in 1632 Sigismund Vasa died, Marco Scacchi was nominated the maestro di cappella by his son and successor Ladislaus IV¹⁵, and remained in that post throughout the King's reign, as well as, for a brief period, under the reign of John II Casimir. It is now assumed that Scacchi remained in Poland from the end of 1624 until 1649 or even 1650, as the royal maestro di cappella from 1632. After his departure for Italy, he worked in Rome and mainly in his native Gallese. It was there that he taught Angelo Berardi, a young Italian composer and theorist who played a part in spreading his master's theoretical ideas in Italy. Scacchi never returned to Poland; he died in Gallese in 1662¹⁶.

9 See Hellmut Federhofer, *Ein Beitrag zur Biographie von Giovanni Francesco Anerio*, in: *Mf* 3 (1949), p. 210 ff.

10 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *La corte reale dei Vasa a Varsavia come un centro dell'educazione musicale*, in: Kazimierz Sabik (ed.), *Actes du Congrès International »Théâtre, Musique et Arts dans les Cours Européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque«*, Varsovie 1997, pp. 577–588.

11 Brian Brooks, *Étienne Nau, Breslau 114 and the early 17th-century solo violin fantasia*, in: *EM* 32 (2004), pp. 56–57.

12 See Barbara Wiermann, *Die Musiksammlungen und Musikpflege im Umkreis der St. Elisabethkirche Breslau. Kirchliches und bürgerliches Musikleben im Kontrast*, in: *SJb* 30 (2008), p. 109.

13 Brooks (footnote 11), p. 58.

14 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów. Marcin Mielczewski* [Music under Patronage of Polish Vasas. Marcin Mielczewski], Warszawa 2011, p. 7.

15 Szwejkowski (footnote 1), pp. 104–105.

16 Aleksandra Patalas, *W kościele, w komnacie i w teatrze. Marco Scacchi. Życie, muzyka, teoria* [In church, in palace room, and in theatre. Marco Scacchi. Life, music, theory], Kraków 2010, pp. 81–83, 90–142.

During his employment at the court of Ladislaus IV, Scacchi was accustomed to send his works to be printed in Italy. Out of the larger number of his authorial prints which were once in existence, works extant today include *Missarum quatuor vocibus liber primus* (Rome 1633) and an incomplete collection of *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice 1634). Scacchi's compositions are also known from printed anthologies, editions in musical / theoretical works and from manuscript copies; these will be discussed later. Unfortunately, the *drammi per musica* composed by Marco Scacchi and performed at the court of Ladislaus IV have not survived to our day. However, his writings on the theory of music have come down to us as prints and partly in manuscript form¹⁷. These contributed significantly both to making Scacchi's name famous in Europe, including the areas of Silesia, Saxony and Thuringia, and to spreading abroad his own compositions, as well as compositions by other musicians working in the ensemble under his direction.

The reception of the music associated with the Vasa courts in Poland varied in intensity between these three regions. This was largely the result of the different histories of their relationships with the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania.

Silesia obviously had the closest ties with Poland, since it was still part of it in the fourteenth century (by the seventeenth century, when it belonged to the Czech Kingdom, it formed together with it a dominion of the Austrian Habsburgs). A significant percentage of the inhabitants of Silesia were Polish-speaking; traditionally there were strong trade contacts between the Commonwealth and Breslau and – what seems extremely important in that multi-faith region – the Roman Catholic bishopric of Breslau

17 They made a subject of interest of musicians starting from the eighteenth century (first of all of Johann Mattheson, *Critica Musica* II, Hamburg 1725, reprint Amsterdam 1964, pp.77–83) and many musicologists from different countries. In the large bibliography there are among others: Hellmut Federhofer, *Marco Scacchi's »Cribrum musicum« (1643) und die Kompositionslehre von Christoph Bernhard*, in: Horst Heussner (ed.), *Festschrift Hans Engel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Kassel etc. 1964, pp.76–90; Carl Dahlhaus, *»Cribrum musicum«. Der Streit zwischen Scacchi und Siefert*, in: idem and W. Wiora (eds.), *Norddeutsche und nordeuropäische Musik. Referate der Kieler Tagung 1963*, Kassel etc. 1965 (= Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 16), pp. 108–112; Claude V. Palisca, *Marco Scacchi's Defense of Modern Music (1649)*, in: Laurence D. Berman and E. Forbes (eds.), *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honour of A. Tilmann Merrit by Sundry Hands*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1972, pp.189–235; Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Musica moderna w ujęciu Marka Scacchiego [Musica moderna as understood by Marco Scacchi]*, Kraków 1977; Marco Scacchi, *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna*, Warsaw 1649, new Italian-Polish and Italian-English edition by Tim Carter and Z.M. Szweykowski, *Polemiki wokół »musica moderna« [Polemics on the »Musica Moderna«]*, Kraków 1993 (= Practica Musica 1); B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Recepcja repertuaru kapeli Władysława IV Wazy w Europie Środkowej i Północnej w świetle »Iudicium Cribri musici« Marka Scacchiego [The Reception of the Repertoire of the Cappella of King Władysław IV Vasa in Central and Northern Europe in the Light of »Iudicium Cribri Musici« by Marco Scacchi]*, in: *Barok* 1 (1994), pp.95–102; Walter Werbeck, *Heinrich Schütz und der Streit zwischen Marco Scacchi und Paul Siefert*, in: *SJb* 17 (1995), pp.63–79; Michael Heinemann, *Der Streit zwischen Marco Scacchi und Paul Siefert Musiktheorie und kompositorische Praxis im protestantischen Deutschland des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 2. *Edition der Texte*, Habilitationsschrift TU Berlin 1996, unpublished; Z. M. Szweykowski, *Marco Scacchi and his Pupils on the Polychoral Technique*, in: *Musica Iagellonica* 2 (1997), pp.131–150; Aleksandra Patalas, *Missa parodia w twórczości Monteverdiego i Scacchiego w świetle teorii Angela Berardiego [The Missa parodia in the Œuvres of Monteverdi and Scacchi in the Light of the Theory of Angelo Berardi]*, in: *Muzyka* 43 (1998), pp.47–64; eadem, *W poszukiwaniu formy krytyki. »Cribrum musicum« Marco Scacchiego i »Censura« Filippo Kesperlego [A Quest for the form of criticism of »Cribrum musicum« by Marco Scacchi and »Censura« by Filippo Kesperle]*, in: Zofia Fabiańska et al. (eds.), *Donum Natalicum Studio Thaddaeo Przybylski Octogenario Dedicata*, Kraków 2007; eadem, *The Writing of Marco Scacchi and the Problem of Reception of Italian Music Theory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and in Neighbouring Countries during the Baroque Era*, in: *Early Music. Context and Ideas* 2, Kraków 2008, pp.409–437; eadem, *W kościołach* (footnote 16).

remained a part of the Polish Gniezno archbishopric, while the bishop during the relevant period was the brother of the King Ladislaus IV of Poland, Prince Karol Ferdinand.

Evidence confirms the existence of close trade and official contacts between Silesia and the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, and these included the royal court. Representatives of the royal family with their retinues visited Breslau and other cities in the region; in particular, there were visits by Ladislaus IV as king (in 1638) and earlier, as prince (in 1618, 1624 and 1625), and Karol Ferdinand, bishop of Breslau, in 1637, in 1650 and in 1652–1653, spent in total about two years in Silesia, not visiting however Breslau. Obviously, there were also contacts between Catholics in Silesia and those in the Commonwealth, including the hierarchs from the Breslau chapter and bishop Karol Ferdinand and his circle, in addition to contacts between monks from different orders with monasteries in Silesia and Poland. However, the sources available to us at present indicate that the activities of the musicians from the Lutheran communities in Silesia were of particular importance in promoting the reception of music by composers from the entourage of Ladislaus IV and his brothers (John II Casimir and bishop Karol Ferdinand) – in particular, musicians from the churches of St Elizabeth and St Mary Magdalene in Breslau¹⁸.

These activities intensified in the 1640s, probably in connection with the famous debate on the theory of music between Marco Scacchi and Paul Siefert initiated by Scacchi's *Cribrum musicum* (Venice 1643). This polemic also attracted the attention of musicians active in various duchies of Saxony and Thuringia and as a consequence led to correspondence and personal contacts between them and Scacchi. As I will try to show, this may have led to the flow of compositions by musicians under the patronage of the Polish Vasas to those regions.

It is thought that, in view of the personal conflict between Kaspar Förster Sr (ca 1574–1652) and Paul Siefert (1586–1666), respectively chapel master and organist at the Marian church in Gdańsk, and the hostility to the quarrelsome Siefert among local musicians, it was Förster who persuaded Scacchi, with whom he had a close acquaintance and whose trust he had, to write and publish the criticism of Siefert's *Psalmen Davids, nach französischer Melodey componieret* [...] (Gdańsk 1640)¹⁹.

It has only recently been noted that the Venetian print of Scacchi's essay was also in circulation as a result of its publication by Johan van Meurs of Antwerp and Kaspar Förster of Gdańsk, and that it was

18 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Ocalale źródła do historii muzyki w Polsce XVII stulecia ze zbiorów dawnej Stadtbibliothek we Wrocławiu* [Extant Sources for the History of Music in Seventeenth-Century Poland from the Collections of the Former Stadtbibliothek in Breslau], in: *Muzyka* 39 (1994), pp. 3–10; eadem, *Die Überlieferung der geistlichen Musik von Marcin Mielczewski († 1651) in Schlesien, Mähren und Sachsen*, in: *JbMBM* 2004, pp. 261–271; Barbara Wiermann, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 2005 (= *Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte* 14); B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów kościoła św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu* [Copies and Elaborations of Compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other Musicians of the Polish Vasas in the Seventeenth-century Musical Collection of the Church of St Maria Magdalena in Breslau], in: *Muzyka* 51 (2006), pp. 117–146.

19 See Max Seiffert, *Paul Siefert 1586–1666. Biographische Skizze*, in: *VfMw* 6 (1891), pp. 403–420; Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig. Von den Anfängen bis zur Auflösung der Kirchenkapellen*, Danzig 1931 (= *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens* 15), pp. 143 ff.; Danuta Popinigis, *Sylwetka Pawła Sieferta w świetle źródeł* [A Profile of Paul Siefert in the Light of Known Sources], in: *Muzyka w Gdańsku uczoraj i dziś* 1, Gdańsk 1988 (= *Kultura muzyczna północnych ziem Polski* 3), pp. 57–71; A. Patalas, *W poszukiwaniu* (footnote 17).

included as such in the catalogue of books at the Frankfurt book fair in 1646²⁰. It is highly probable that these editions did not appear until 1645 and that it was they, together with the title pages of these two bookseller-publishers, which were distributed in Northern and Central Europe. The campaign to send these editions to various important musicians and centres of that region was headed by Förster, who by then was suffering from a very serious eye disease; we may thus suppose that he was helped in that task by his son Georg, who just at that time (in 1643) was taking over from his father the bookshop and the publishing business. This campaign undoubtedly promoted Scacchi and his theoretical ideas, but it seems that primarily this was an attempt to damage the reputation of Siefert, to ensure that he would not be a threat as a rival to Kaspar Förster Jr, son of Kaspar Förster Sr, in the forthcoming competition for the post of chapel master at the Marian church in Gdańsk; at the same time, this was an opportunity to promote the newly created Förster publishing house²¹.

The propaganda campaign resulted in a number of letters being sent to Förster Sr, to Christian Schirmer, his acquaintance in Gdańsk, and directly to Scacchi, by musicians from various centres in that part of Europe, who in general and to a greater or lesser degree supported the Polish king's chapel master. Scacchi collected 16 of these letters and published them as *Judicium Cribri musici* (Warsaw, no date, most probably 1649) immediately before leaving Poland²². The earliest letter in the collection dates from January 1646 and the latest from January 1649. Since most letters were sent during the middle and the second half of 1646, we may hypothesise that they were the result of the campaign of sending the Scacchi print at the turn of 1646.

The list of authors of letters published in *Judicium Cribri musici* includes (in the order in which the letters appear in the collection): Heinrich Schütz, then chapel master of the Saxon Elector court ensemble, residing mainly in Dresden and Weissenfels (2 letters), Valentin Thilo, humanist from Königsberg (1), Laurentius Starck, musician from Anklam (2), Tobias Michael, cantor at the church of St Thomas in Leipzig (2), Benjaminus Ducius from Opole who worked as a cantor in Byczyna in Upper Silesia (1), David Cracovita, organist at the Marian church in Thorn/Toruń (1), Christoph Werner, cantor at the church of St Catherine in Gdańsk (1), an anonymous musician from Stockholm on behalf of Swedish royal

20 At the book fair in Frankfurt in 1646 one could obtain *Cribrum musicum* by publishers in Venice (A. Vincenti), Antwerp (J. Meursius) and Gdańsk (K. Förster). See Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*, Leipzig 1902, reprint Hilversum 1965, p. 72, item 1288 (there were also four other items relating to Scacchi's compositions, also published in collaboration by these three publishers); see also Patalas, *The Writing of Marco Scacchi* (footnote 17), pp. 416–417. It is also worth adding the information for which I am grateful to Jerzy M. Michalak, which confirms that there existed copies of *Cribrum musicum* where Gdańsk was given as the place of publication. See M. C. Hanow, *Abgesonderte Monatliche und Wöchentliche Danziger Erfahrungen von den Jahren 1741 und 1742 mit einigen Erläuterungen mancherley ungemeyner natürlicher Begebenheiten begleitet* with an index of prints published in Gdańsk in 1643 including »Marc. Schacchii Cribrum Musicum ad Triticum Pa. Syferti Fol.«.

21 See B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Kompozytorzy krytykami. Pytając o motywacje uczestników słynnych sporów wokół siedemnastowiecznej »musica moderna«* [Composers as Critics. Asking about Reasons of the Participants of Famous Polemics on the Seventeenth-Century »Musica Moderna«], in: Michał Bristiger et al. (eds.), *Krytyka muzyczna. Teoria, historia, współczesność*, Zielona Góra 2009, pp. 50–54.

22 See Wolfram Steude, *Wrocławski organista Ambrosius Profius (1589–1661) jako edytor i wydawca muzyki wokalnej XVII wieku* [The Breslau Organist Ambrosius Profius (1589–1661) as an Editor and Publisher of Vocal Seventeenth-Century Music], in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Muzycznej we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 1992, pp. 51–59; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Recepcja* (footnote 17); Werbeck (ibidem).

chapel master Andreas Düben²³ (1), Maciej Rymkovijs / Rimkovijs (Rymkowicz)²⁴, who came from the Duchy of Prussia (Marggrabowa, now Olecko), a musician working then in Vilnius, who later became a cantor in Königsberg²⁵ (2), and Ambrosius Profe, organist at the church of St Elizabeth in Breslau (1).

Nearly all the correspondents expressed interest in buying Scacchi's compositions, or asked directly to have them sent to them. Some provided information about the performances of his works which had already taken place in their cities, some wrote about musicians from other centres who had received Scacchi's *Cribrum musicum* through their mediation, some requested to have it sent to them.

It is undoubtedly the case that, owing to *Cribrum musicum* itself, as well as Scacchi's further writings which arose out of the conflict with Siefert, he became a composer and theorist of music known not only in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania (including Gdańsk), but also in various centres based on the Baltic and Northern Seas, such as Anklam, Stralsund, Hamburg²⁶, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Stockholm, and the areas of particular interest in this article: Saxony, Thuringia and Silesia.

The facts that Heinrich Schütz wrote above mentioned letters and that he tried to avoid to be an arbiter in the polemic have been known for a long time²⁷. There are also testimonies of his interest for Scacchi's output. Writing in the introduction to *Geistliche Chormusik* (Dresden 1648), Schütz referring to a treatise on counterpoint which was announced by Scacchi in his *Cribrum musicum* but never published, informs us that the chapel master of Ladislaus IV was a musician »well known to him, both in theory and in practice«²⁸. However, as far as the practice is concerned, it seems that that acquaintance was relatively new. In a letter published in *Iudicium Cribri musici*, written to Christian Schirmer from Kalbe near Magdeburg on 7 September 1646, during a journey, Schütz requested, among other things, that Kaspar Förster Sr should obtain for him Scacchi's published Masses as well as his sacred concertos and madrigals²⁹. In the second of the letters published in that collection (which was sent from Dresden in 1648 without a precise date) he thanked the bookseller and chapel master from Gdańsk for his promise to send the compositions he wanted, and asked for a similar favour for August Fontana, his successor as chapel master at the Danish royal court, who had just visited him in Dresden³⁰.

23 In the only known manuscript copy of the print by mistake the name sounds »Triben«.

24 In the source the name by mistake sounds »Kimkovijs«, and in such form was mentioned among others in: Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Recepcja* (footnote 17), p. 97; Werbeck (footnote 17), p. 73.

25 See EitnerQ 8 (1903), p. 239; Georg Küsel, *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Pr.*, Königsberg 1923 (= Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2), pp. 26, 38.

26 Letters relating to the conflict were held in the collection of Thomas Selle, who was active there from 1641 as a cantor at the Johanneum.

27 Hans Joachim Moser has written about the relationship between the musicians (Moser, p. 161) and recently Michael Heinemann, *Heinrich Schütz und seine Zeit*, Laaber 1993, pp. 90–94; Werbeck (footnote 17), pp. 73–75.

28 Heinrich Schütz, *Geistliche Chor-Musik*, Dresden 1648: Preface: »[...] ein, mir wohlbekandter / so wohl in Theoria als Praxi hochehrfahner Musicus«. See Schütz GBr, p. 195, Schütz Dok, p. 280.

29 »Quandoquidem vero mihi innotuit praedictum Dominum Scacchi aliquas missas in lucem edidisse, eundem Dominum Forsterum humanissime peto, ut has mihi pro gratissima persolutione procuret, item (quia hactenus parum vel nihil ex illius concertis et madrigalibus vidi) ex illius scriptis compositionibus saltem aliquid mihi communicet, quod mihi quam gratissimum erit« (Marco Scacchi, *Iudicium Cribri musici* Warsaw [1649], letter II: »Datum Kalbae in archiepiscopali civitate, 7 septembris anno 1646«). See Schütz GBr, p. 170, Schütz Dok, p. 244f.

30 »Porro summas habeo gratias pro humanissima Domini Forsteri facta promissione, qui se mihi aliquot Domini Marci Scacchi compositiones, praesertim missas in folio regali ad pulpitem decantandas procuraturum recepit, qua de re cum quodam quoque musico Danico (qui hactenus apud me aliquandiu Dresdae, cuius nomen Augustinus Fontana,

Although we have no confirmation of this in the sources, it is highly probable that it was owing to the involvement of Heinrich Schütz, or the publicity gained by Scacchi in Saxony and Thuringia through his argument with Siefert, that Adam Drese (ca. 1620 in Thuringia, died 1701 in Arnstadt)³¹, the young chapel master of the Weimar ensemble belonging to Duke Wilhelm IV of Sachsen-Weimar, arrived in Warsaw. We do not know exactly when he was a pupil of Marco Scacchi, and there is no confirmation of this in any of the Polish sources, but this was common knowledge among German musicians as late as the eighteenth century and is confirmed in the inventory of court musicalia (no longer extant) made by Adam Drese and his colleagues from the Weimar ensemble in 1662, after the death of Duke Wilhelm IV³².

In view of the dates of the publication of Drese's early compositions and the period of Scacchi's stay in Poland, it seems that Drese's visit to the court of Ladislaus IV may have taken place in 1647, immediately after Heinrich Schütz's visit to Weimar (at the turn of 1647), where the chapel master from Dresden participated in the celebrations of the birthday of Eleonora Dorothea, wife of Duke Wilhelm (in the February of 1647)³³. The inventory referred to earlier confirms that returning from Poland to Weimar Drese brought with him compositions from the repertoire of the Polish royal court. It is highly probable that these included instrumental compositions by Francesco Gigli (Franciscus Lilius), a musician at the court of Sigismund III Vasa and chapel master of Wawel Cathedral in Kraków from 1630 until his death in 1657, as well as those by musicians of Polish origin (such as Marcin Mielczewski, whose name appears in that inventory as »Mikephski«). It is possible that these provided the basis for the copy of what is now the only known preserved composition for an instrumental ensemble (aria for two violins) by Lilius, as well as arias and canzonas by unidentified composers with Polish-sounding distorted surnames, preserved in the manuscript book of scores at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek (Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug. 2°). The collection, which includes about 100 compositions for instrumental ensembles, mainly by composers associated with Central European courts, was created by Jakob Ludwig (1623–1698), who from at least 1653 was employed as a singer (tenor) at the court of August, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who resided mainly in Wolfenbüttel and in Gotha. Ludwig dedicated his work to August and his wife Duchess Sophie Elizabeth on the occasion of the Duke's birthday in 1662 in Gotha³⁴.

commoratus est) egi ac pactus sum, ut si ipse Dantiscum in persona propria non venerit, saltem Domino Antonio Gratta per litteras significabit atque meam voluntatem explicabit, ut coemat aliqua musicalia« (Scacchi ibidem, letter III: »Anno 1648«). See Schütz GBr, p. 189 f., Schütz Dok, p. 288.

31 WaltherL, p. 217: »Drese (Adam) wurde in seiner Jugend von Wilhelmo IV. Hertzogen zu Sachsen-Weimar, nach Warschau zu dem Königl. Polnischen Capellmeister, Marco Scacchi, geschicket, um von selbigem in der Music zu profitiren, und hierauf zu seinem Capellmeister angenommen.«

32 Eberhard Möller, *Die Weimarer Noteninventare von 1662 und ihre Bedeutung als Schütz-Quellen*, in: SJB 10 (1988), pp. 62–85; see p. 75: in the inventory, under ref. No. 267 (originally No. 74): »Viel unterschiedene feine Sonaten von 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9 undt mehren stimmen, unterschiedener Authores, als: Schmeltzers, Bertali, Davit Pohl, Caspar Kerll, Mikephski, Valentini, Clemens, Arnoldt. und anderer«. These works were supposed to have been brought to Weimar from Warsaw by Adam Drese, when he was returning after studying with Marco Scacchi. See also Adolf Aber, *Die Pflege der Musik unter den Wettinern und wettinischen Ernestinern*, Bückeburg and Leipzig 1921 (= Veröffentlichungen des Fürstlichen Institutes für Musikwissenschaftliche Forschung zu Bückeburg 1), p. 158; the surname, probably referring to Mielczewski, is given as »Milepski«. The same also in: Adolf Chybiński, *Canzona instrumentalna Marcina Mielczewskiego* [Instrumental Canzona by Marcin Mielczewski], in: *Mysł Muzyczna* 1928 nos. 1–3, reprint in: Z. M. Szwejkowski (ed.), *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia*, Kraków 1999 (= Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis 7), p. 220.

33 See for example Moser, p. 168.

It may be the case that Adam Drese also brought with him vocal works performed at the courts of the Polish Vasas. We do know that on his journey back from Warsaw, probably towards the end of the 1640s (perhaps in 1648) he visited Jena. There Johannes Havemann published his anthology *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten mit 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 und 7 Stimmen [...]* aus den berühmtesten, italiänischen und andern Autoribus in 1659³⁵. Alongside works by Italian composers (such as Giovanni Francesco Capello, Gasparo Casati, Giovanni Cocci, Paolo Cornetti, Giovanni Pietro Finetti, Alessandro Grandi, Claudio Monteverdi, Antonio Rigatti, Giovanni Rovetta, Simone Vesi), it also contains compositions by Alberik Mazak and Johannes Stadlmayr who were employed in imperial Austria, as well as the church concerto *Deus in nomine tuo* for bass, 2 violins, bassoon and basso continuo by Marcin Mielczewski. Mielczewski's works were also present in Merseburg, although we do not know which works these were and how they found their way there. However, we do know that a city lawyer called Herzog did possess such works in the first half of the eighteenth century, during the lifetime of Johann Gottfried Walther³⁶.

To return to Heinrich Schütz: according to my hypothesis, as a former chapel master at the court of the king of Denmark (during the years 1633–1635 and 1642–1644), he may have influenced the appointment to that post of Kaspar Jr, the son of Kaspar Förster Sr from Gdańsk³⁷. That outstanding singer and composer studied with Giacomo Carissimi in Rome, and after more than a dozen years of employment in the ensemble of the Polish kings under the direction of Marco Scacchi and after the latter's departure under Bartłomiej Pękiel, he became maestro di cappella at the court of Frederick III, King of Denmark, in 1652 (he remained in that post during the years 1652–1656 and 1660–1667)³⁸. There, during the 1660s, his pupil was Johann Philipp Krieger (1649–1725), who, after leaving Denmark, frequently moved location and collected works by various Italian and German composers wherever he went³⁹. In the list of sacred music which was in use of Krieger as a chapel master in Weißenfels in 1684–1725 alongside his own compositions, there are many items by other musicians, among them those by Krieger's master from Copenhagen, Kaspar Förster Jr⁴⁰. Thus, if my hypothesis is correct and it was Schütz who supported Förster's candidature for the post of the royal chapel master in Denmark

34 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Rękopiśmienna księga partytur D-W Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug. 2^o jako źródło muzyki instrumentalnej Franciszka Liliusa oraz innych twórców związanych w XVII wieku z Rzeczpospolitą* [The Ms. Scores D-W Cod. Guelf. 34.7 Aug. 2^o as the Source of Instrumental Music by Francisus Lilius and Other Composers with Links to the Seventeenth-Century Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania], in: *Muzyka* 53 (2008), pp. 139–150.

35 RISM B/I 1659³.

36 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (1812–1814)*, vol. 3, new edition by Othmar Wessely, Graz 1966, p. 427.

37 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Musica moderna – the Ways of Dissemination in the Baltic Centres*, in: Ekkehard Ochs et al. (eds.), *Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum. Konferenzbericht Greifswald-Gdansk 28. November bis 3. Dezember 1993*, St. Augustin 1996 (= *Deutsche Musik im Osten* 8), p. 417.

38 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Kasper Förster jun. Zarys biografii* [Kaspar Förster Junior. A Biographical Sketch], in: *Muzyka* 32 (1987), pp. 3–19; Jerzy M. Michalak, *Zwischen Kunst und Alltag. Caspar Förster der ältere, seine Familie und Verwandtschaft*, in: Danuta Szlagowska (ed.), *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels – von den »cori spezzati« zum konzertierenden Stil*, Gdańsk 2004, pp. 205–212; idem, *Od Förstera do Frühlinga. Przyczynki do dziejów życia muzycznego i teatralnego dawnego Gdańska* [From Förster to Frühling. Contributions to the History of Musical and Theatrical Life in the Old Gdańsk], Gdańsk 2009 (= *Kultura muzyczna północnych ziem Polski* 12), pp. 29–37.

39 See Max Seiffert, Preface in: Johann Philipp Krieger 1649–1735, *21 Ausgewählte Kirchenkompositionen*, new edition by Hans Joachim Moser, Wiesbaden-Graz 1958 (= *DDT* 53/54), pp. V–XV.

40 Ibidem, pp. LV–LVI.

or at least advised him to accept the proposition, he indirectly contributed to the transmission of his compositions (perhaps partly composed still at the court in Warsaw) to Weißenfels.

It was probably during the second half of the 1640s that the compositions from the Polish royal court, primarily those by Marco Scacchi, reached Leipzig. In the aforementioned collection of letters concerning the conflict between Scacchi and Siefert there are two by Tobias Michael. In a letter sent from Leipzig on 17 June 1647 he wrote that he would very much like to see the published works by Marco Scacchi, which he would buy for a goodly sum⁴¹, which were impossible to obtain in that city.

It seems, however, that at that time, even in Leipzig, Michael could have had access to the German-language contrafactures of madrigals for five voices by Scacchi, in the anthologies produced by Ambrosius Profe, organist at the Lutheran church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław. It was probably in the case of *Cunis solennibus Jesuli* (1646)⁴² and especially *Vierter Theil geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* (Leipzig 1646)⁴³. They included four such compositions, originally published with an Italian text in Scacchi's authorial collection from 1634. As we know, all the madrigals from this edition (15), with German texts of religious content (different from those in Profe's edition), have been preserved in manuscript copy in the old library of St Elizabeth church in Breslau, from the nineteenth-century until the end of Second World War belonged to the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau, and is now held at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, Slg. Bohn Mus. ms 197⁴⁴.

These two editions also seem to indicate that Profe was interested in Scacchi's works prior to the latter's polemic with Siefert, and in any case prior to Heinrich Schütz. When the master from Saxony in September 1646 wrote his first letter concerning *Cribrum musicum*, in which he announced that the print had been delayed and had only just reached him, the contrafactures of Scacchi's madrigals were already available in Profe's editions. The latter wrote to Scacchi from Wrocław on 4 January 1649, informing the Polish king's chapel master that he was in possession of the edition of his madrigals and that he had taken part in their performance (undoubtedly that was a performance of madrigals with German religious texts, those known from the manuscript from the Bohn collection or those published in the anthologies referred to earlier). Profe also informed his correspondent that he had not been able to buy other works by Scacchi in Venice: his madrigals, four-voice Masses (ed. 1633) and church concertos. He asked the addressee to send him works for one, two, three, four, five and six voices, which he was willing to pay for. The intermediary was to be a person in Warsaw, not mentioned by name but clearly known to both correspondents⁴⁵.

41 »Domini Marci Scacchii opera musica publici iuris facta libenter oculis videre manibusque meis tractare et ea si habere possem, iusto pretio comparare vellem« (Scacchi, *Judicium Cribri musici*, letter XVI: »Lipsiae, die 17 iunii anno 1647, stylo veteri« [27 VI 1647]).

42 RISM B/I 1646³.

43 RISM B/I 1646⁴.

44 See Adam Adrio, *Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) als Herausgeber italienischer Musik seiner Zeit*, in: Heinrich Hüsch (ed.), *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962*, Regensburg 1962, pp. 20–27; Steude (footnote 22); Kristin Marie Sponheim, *The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of the Italian Music in Germany*, PhD Yale University 1995; Tomasz Jeż, *Kontrafakture madrygałów w antologiach Ambrożego Profiusa* [Madrigal Contrafacta in the Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe], in: *Muzyka* 47 (2002), pp. 23–46, especially pp. 35–39, 42; idem, *The Italian Baroque Repertoire in St Elizabeth Church in Wrocław*, in: *Early Music. Context and Ideas* 2, Kraków 2008, pp. 399–408, especially pp. 402–403.

We do not know whether Profe's efforts were successful. On the other hand, it is a fact that more or less at the same time there appeared in Wrocław manuscript copies of at least some sacred works (church concertos and one Mass) by Scacchi, church concertos by Franciscus Lilius, and over 30 vocal-instrumental religious compositions⁴⁶ by Marcin Mielczewski, who at one time had been a musician at the court of Ladislaus IV Vasa, and from 1645 (or even earlier) was chapel master to Karol Ferdinand Vasa. However, copies of these works, now held at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Slg. Bohn Ms. Mus. 197a, 197b, 197c, 197d, 197e (by Marco Scacchi), 167, 167a, 167b (by Franciscus Lilius) and 170 (by M[arcin] M[ielczewski])⁴⁷, were not part of Profe's collection, nor the collection of the church of St Elizabeth, with which he was associated, but were held at the church of St Mary Magdalene, while the cantor of that church, Michael Büttner, was involved in making the copies⁴⁸. It is highly probable that, for the reception of such a large group of compositions by musicians linked to the courts of the Polish Vasas, the contacts between the Silesian Protestant and Catholic communities, including those involving the bishop of Wrocław, Karol Ferdinand Vasa and his entourage, were of greatest significance. These could have taken place in the 1640s, or even 1630s, but a particularly good opportunity would have been provided by the visits of the bishop and his court to Silesia (primarily to Nysa and Opole) during the first half of the 1650s. The bishop's first longer visit to this area took place in the spring and summer of 1650 (about five months in total). At that time he was accompanied by a chapel led by Marcin Mielczewski. The musician died a year later in Warsaw and in his will (written in September 1651) he left all his compositional output to Karol Ferdinand Vasa. It is thus more than likely that during the bishop's second stay in Silesia, which lasted over one year (from 1652), compositions by the late chapel master as well as works by other composers of the Polish Vasas, including Scacchi and Franciscus Lilius, remained in the repertoire of that ensemble and were copied by local musicians⁴⁹. Single works by Mielczewski have been found in a number of manuscripts of Silesian provenance which have survived until the present (in particular this concerns two copies of *Missa super O gloriosa Domina*⁵⁰). A large collection of manuscript copies made in the seventeenth century in the circle of the church of St Mary Magdalene provides the best evidence of the interest shown by musicians from Breslau in the music

45 »Postquam enim elapso aliquot annorum spatio madrigalia quinque vocum Dominationis Tuae ad manus mihi pervenerunt et ego cantu musico ea cum aliis expressi, e vestigio Venetias scripsi et mihi compositiones ac alia eiusmodi concerta Dominationis Tuae acquirere et transmittenda curare constitui, sed nihil tamen consecutus sum. Quoniam vero a monacho quodam relatum mihi fuit Dominationem Tuam complures compositiones edidisse ac inter alia missas quasdam 4 vocum typis mandasse, maxime optarem habere prae caeteris compositiones Dominationis Tuae. [...] Rogo igitur amice Dominationem Tuam, ut si aliquid compositionis a sola, duabus, tribus, 4, 5, 6 vocibus superfluum habuerit, mihi communicare ac per bonum istum amicum, qui semper Varsoviae moratur, transmittere velit, qui certe aequo bonoque animo pretium pro eis exponet« (Scacchi, *Judicium Cribri musici*, lettera XVI: »Vratislaviae, quarta ianuarii anno 1649«).

46 Plus variants of them.

47 See Bohn 1890 (footnote 8).

48 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Ocalale* (footnote 18); Greta Konradt, *Die Instrumentalbegleitung in Historienkompositionen der Schützzeit*, in: SJB 19 (1997), p. 23; Wiermann (footnote 18), pp. 356–372; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Die Überlieferung* (footnote 18), pp. 262–269; eadem, *Odpisy* (footnote 18).

49 B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Marcin Mielczewski – życie i dorobek* [Marcin Mielczewski – His Life and Works], in: Szwejkowski (footnote 32), pp. 7–26.

50 See PL-Wu, Ms. RM 6243, D-B Ms. Amalienbibliothek 600, f. 365–369, PL-Kj, Mus. Ms 40300 together with D-B, Ms. Mus. 40073.

composed in the third quarter of that century at the courts of the Polish Vasas. It is worth emphasising that the works preserved in that collection were not only collected but also performed, and in a number of cases adapted to local needs through changes in the verbal text, and at times in the musical setting as well. They thus travelled from the repertory of the chapels of the Catholic kings of Poland – Ladislaus IV and John II Casimir (former Jesuit and former cardinal) – and their brother Bishop Karol Ferdinand to the liturgy of the church of St Mary Magdalene, one of Breslau's two main Lutheran churches. We may only be thankful to fate that the character of seventeenth-century music was so universal, and that the Wrocław Protestant community was so receptive to good music regardless of its provenance, because that ensured the survival of compositions whose autographs and all other copies which might have been made in the Commonwealth have probably been irretrievably lost.

Translated by Zofia Weaver