MUSIC-RELATED CONTACTS BETWEEN THE COURTS OF THE POLISH KING AND THE ARCHDUKES OF INNER AUSTRIA AND THE DISSEMINATION OF *MUSICA MODERNA* IN CENTRAL AND EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

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Izvleček: Poroki poljskega kralja Sigismunda III. Vase z Ano (1592) in pozneje Constanzo (1605), članicama dinastije notranjeavstrijskih nadvojvod, sta imeli veliko kulturnih posledic. Razprava povzema podatke o obojesmernih migracijah glasbenikov in glasbenega repertoarja med Krakovom (tudi Varšavo) in Gradcem konec 16. in v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja.

Ključne besede: duhovna glasba, mali moteti, italijanski glasbeniki, Sigismund III. Vasa, notranjeavstrijski nadvojvoda Ferdinand II., Krakov, Gradec. Abstract: The marriages of the King of Poland Sigismund III Vasa with Anna (1592) and subsequently her sister Constance (1605), who were descendants of the dynasty of Archdukes of Inner Austria, had many cultural consequences. The article recalls some facts on the migrations of musicians and musical repertoires in both directions between Cracow (also Warsaw) and Graz at the end of the sixteenth century and during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Keywords: sacred music, small-scale motets, Italian musicians, Sigismund III Vasa, Archduke of Inner Austria Ferdinand II, Cracow, Graz.

The close ties between the court of King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland (who reigned during the years 1587–1632) and the court of the Archdukes of Inner Austria – ties that existed especially during the period 1592–1619 – extended also to musical life. The close relationships between the courts were a consequence of Sigismund's consecutive marriages with two daughters of Archduke Karl II and Maria née Wittelsbach: Archduchess Anna (Queen of Poland during the years 1592–1598), and – following her death – her sister Constance (1605–1631). Until 1619, when Archduke Ferdinand, Sigismund's brother in law, became Emperor, contacts were maintained between the Polish royal court (which was essentially mobile, but during the first years of Sigismund's reign had its primary residence in Cracow, in the years 1609–1612 in Vilnius, and later in Warsaw) and Graz, the home of Anna and Constance of Habsburg. The strong relationships between the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs did not cease when Ferdinand ascended the imperial

throne and moved to Vienna, the continuing family ties being of great significance for musical life in Poland.¹

Austrian musicologists (especially Hellmut Federhofer and Herbert Seifert) and Polish researchers (especially Hieronim Feicht, Anna Szweykowska, Zygmunt M. Szweykowski and myself) have investigated the migrations in both directions between Cracow or Warsaw and Graz and, to some extent, also the transmission of repertoire between these centres.² Drawing on the available results from existing research, I would like to address the question of the significance of the royal marriages between the Polish monarch and the Archduchesses of Inner Austria for the dissemination of *musica moderna* in Central and East-Central Europe.

On their journeys to Poland the Austrian Archduchesses, wedded by Sigismund III *per procura* in Vienna and Graz, respectively, were accompanied by retinues including inter alia musicians and dancers. They contributed to the wedding celebrations held in Cracow. Only exceptionally was their stay at the Polish court extended. Such were the circumstances of the arrival in Cracow, among the court members accompanying Anna of Austria, of Pietro Antonio Bianco, an Italian tenor singer, who was chapel master of the Graz ensemble from 1595 until his death in 1611, and the Italian dancing-master Ambrosio Bontempo.³ In the royal retinue of Constance of Austria, who arrived in Cracow in December 1605, there were Italian musicians working at the Graz court, including Bartolomeo Mutis, count of Cesena (died November 1623 in Vienna), who was soon to become the author of the first collection of monodies penned in Austria, which was entitled Musiche a una, doi e tre voci (Venice 1613).⁴ Commemorations of that royal wedding in the work of Graz composers can be found, for example, in a composition for eight parts by one of the musicians active at that court, Georg Poss. Entitled In faelicem ex Polonia reditum Serenissimae Matris et Sobolum Archiducum Austriae, this was written to celebrate the return of Constance's mother, Archduchess Maria, from Cracow, where she had attended the festivities. The composition was published in Poss's collection Orpheus mixtus vel si mavis concentus musici (Graz, 1607).⁵ It must be concluded that musicians employed at the court of the Archduke, who ruled Inner Austria during the years 1596–1619, not only travelled to Poland as visiting performers on the occasions when the Archduchesses were married, but sometimes also exchanged employers and entered the service of Sigismund III. During the period when Ferdinand still resided in Graz, a bilateral exchange of musicians continued between the courts of the Archduke and the Polish king. So far as can be inferred from the sparse sources that have survived, the migration of personnel between the two centres was not very large-scale.6

¹ See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 157–203.

² Federhofer, "Graz Court Musicians", 167–244; Federhofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 522– 526; Federhofer, *Musikpflege*; Seifert, "Polonica–Austriaca", 249–258; Feicht, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 121–128; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Włoskie wesela", 3–27; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Italian Schools of Polychorality", 53–74; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 157–203.

³ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 50 and 60.

⁴ Ferdehofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 523.

⁵ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Początek opery", 165, 365.

⁶ See Federhofer, "Musikalische Beziehungen", 522–526; Feicht, "Musikalische Beziehungen",

Although in 1595, when Ferdinand had just come of age and was about to assume the throne in Graz, Sigismund formed his Italian ensemble by importing musicians directly from Italy, mainly Rome (the first Italian chapel masters of the Polish royal ensemble were Annibale Stabile and Luca Marenzio, recruited from the Eternal City),⁷ they were soon joined by individual Italians who had previously performed at Ferdinand's or his parents' court. In 1595 or 1596 Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius), a tenor singer and composer from Rome, journeyed from Graz to Cracow.⁸ Gigli secured a place in the history of music above all by preparing the publication of an anthology of sacred music composed by musicians working at the court of Sigismund III and entitled *Melodiae sacrae* (Cracow, 1604; it is worth noting that this collection, published a year before the second royal wedding, was dedicated by Gigli to Archduke Ferdinand).⁹

Vincenzo Gigli stayed in Poland for the rest of his life; his son Franciszek (known also by the Latinized name of Lilius), an organist and composer who is regarded as a Polish musician, rendered great services as a teacher of music to local singers and composers (his students included Marcin Mielczewski, the most eminent Polish composer of the seventeenth century).¹⁰

On the other hand, there are no reasons to believe that Queen Anna of Habsburg (or her family) influenced the appointment of Luca Marenzio to the position of chapel master of the royal ensemble of Sigismund III. It cannot be excluded, however, that Marenzio's short sojourn at the Polish court (less than two years after his arrival in Cracow in December 1595) affected the reception of his music in Graz and then Vienna. This eminent composer of madrigals wrote highly acclaimed sacred polychoral compositions during his period of activity as royal *maestro di cappella*. Some of them have survived as unique copies in the manuscript choirbooks written in Graz at the beginning of the seventeenth century, today preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and in Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica in Ljubljana (Marenzio's sacred compositions that were, or may have been, composed at the court of Sigismund III have also survived in manuscript form in Bohemia, Wrocław and Dresden, as well as in Gdańsk and Pelplin in the north of Poland).¹¹

As early as the end of the sixteenth century Sigismund Vasa's court was joined by Antonio Patart, a trombonist previously connected with Graz and Munich.¹² Another musician, Andrea Battista Cocciola, who found employment at the Graz court not later than 1603 and stayed there at least until 1615, can possibly be identified as a castrato singer

121-122; Seifert, "Polonica-Austriaca", 249-250.

⁷ See Bizzarini, *Marenzio*, 208–214; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Annibale Stabile", 93–98; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Stabile, Marenzio, Gabussi e Pacelli", 89–91.

⁸ Szweykowska and Szweykowski, Włosi w kapeli, 44-45.

⁹ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Melodiae sacrae", 34–36.

¹⁰ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Marcin Mielczewski, 47–52.

¹¹ Jackson, "Marenzio, Poland", 622–631; Jackson, "Marenzio's Polish Sojourn", 503–525; Jackson, "Masses of Marenzio", 171–184; Jackson, "Marenzio Luca", 837; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Introduction", 5–6.

¹² Szweykowska and Szweykowski, Włosi w kapeli, 39, 44–45; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "W poszukiwaniu", 99.

named Andrea who is mentioned in the financial records of the Polish royal court, starting in 1599.¹³ It is almost certain that this man was related to the composer Giovanni Battista Cocciola, born in Vercelli in Piemont, who lived and worked in Poland probably for about two decades: at the court of Sigismund III during the final years of the sixteenth century; in the ensemble of the bishop of Warmia, in northern Poland, Szymon Rudnicki, during the first decade of the seventeenth century; and later under the patronage of Leo Sapieha (1557–1633), who was the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for over 20 years after 1589 and therefore spent a lot of time in the circle of the monarch.

Giovanni Battista Cocciola was the author of the small-scale motet Ave mundi spes Maria included in the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (Venice, 1615).¹⁴ I would like, however, to pay attention to his collection of small-scale church concertos for 2–5 parts with basso continuo entitled Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici (Antwerp, 1625), which has survived in incomplete form (only the bass partbook is extant). The title page of this edition names the composer as chapel master in the service of the chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Leo Sapieha.¹⁵ On the basis of this information scholars have accepted 1625 as the terminus ad quem of Cocciola' s service at Sapieha's court. It appears likely, however, that the compilation of the volume was completed, making it ready for the printer, two or more years earlier, because at the beginning of 1623 Sapieha was appointed to the position of voivode of Vilnius,¹⁶ a much more prestigious title that would certainly have been mentioned in a collection finalized in 1625. From the fact that an edition of Cocciola's *Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici* was listed (unfortunately without stating the date and place of publication) in an inventory of musical documents in Gurk Cathedral prepared by the organist Johannes Beer on 19 September 1622¹⁷ we may infer that the Antwerp print was in fact a reprint of an earlier edition unknown to us.¹⁸ It is very likely that the two editions differed in detail, since in the Gurk inventory mention is made of a "partitura" (i.e., a partitura per organo), whereas in the print of 1625 the equivalent term is "basso continuo ad organum". If this hypothesis is correct, the belief that Cocciola was still employed at Sapieha's court in 1625 founders. But if it is incorrect, and there was actually only a single edition of the Concentus harmonici ecclesiastici, one might alternatively imagine that its date is stated inaccurately. This is, however, unlikely, since the Antwerp print of 1625 is listed in the catalogues of the Frankfurt book fair among the stock of a bookseller from Augsburg, Georg Willer, in the autumn of 1625 and spring of 1626.19

Another musician among those who decided to leave the court of the Polish king, finding employment at the Archducal court in Graz, during the second decade of the seventeenth century was an alto singer and composer, Ippolito Bonanni, who travelled

¹³ Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 11.

¹⁴ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 47, 159 and 200; Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 11–12; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, individual entries in "Słownik muzyków".

¹⁵ See the title page of the edition in: Giovanni Battista Cocciola, 307.

¹⁶ Lulewicz, "Sapieha Lew".

¹⁷ Federhofer, "Italienische Musik", 172 and 175.

¹⁸ The latest identified print mentioned in the inventory was published in 1618.

¹⁹ Göhler, *Die Messkataloge*, 37; Bieńkowska, "Introduction", 10.

to Poland from Rome but was a native of the Duchy of Urbino.²⁰ Bonanni is the author of the double-choir motet *Congratulamini mihi omnes* included in the previously mentioned anthology *Melodiae sacrae* dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand. This singer left Sigismund's court around 1611 to join the court ensemble in Graz, where he remained until 1619.²¹

It was Giovanni Valentini, however, who forged the most brilliant career at Austrian courts. Having served Sigismund III for ten years, he became Archduke Ferdinand's organist in 1614, held the post of imperial organist in Vienna from 1619 and then during a period stretching from 1626 until his death in 1649 was chapel master of the imperial ensemble, an acclaimed composer and tutor of the Emperor's children. In recognition of his merit he was ennobled.²² His small-scale concertos were likewise published in the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus; their high number (five) attracts attention (one concerto for a solo voice and basso continuo, two for two voices and two for three voices, always with the organ bass notated in the form of a *partitura*²³). In this collection Valentini is represented by the greatest number of compositions except for Vincenzo Pellegrini, who held the position of maestro di cappella in Milan Cathedral from 1614. Moreover, the fact that within each group of compositions, categorized in accordance with the number of vocal parts (for one, two or three voices), Valentini's motets are always placed among the first (coming immediately after the works of Vincenzo Pellegrini or Giovanni Priuli, the newly-appointed chapel master of the Archducal ensemble in Graz) appears to confirm that soon after his arrival from Warsaw Valentini was held in high regard at the court of Archduke Ferdinand. It seems unlikely that he had not already started composing his small-scale concertos before joining the Archducal court – all the more so since the time between his arrival in Graz and the publication of the *Parnassus* Musicus Ferdinandaeus did not exceed a dozen or so months.²⁴ However, Valentini's activity in this domain during his period of service in the ensemble of Sigismund III is not documented in any extant sources.

Among other composers of music for a small number of voices included in the volume there appear two other former members of the cappella of Sigismund III Vasa: the former royal chapel master Giulio Cesare Gabussi (his contribution to the volume is the concerto *O crux benedicta* for two contraltos and basso continuo) and Giulio Osculati, royal tenor and composer, whose output during his stay in Poland included at least two published collections (Bonometti's volume contains the composition *Quid morire* for CATB and basso continuo).

²⁰ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Muzycy z Cappella Giulia", 38; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "The Music-Related Contacts", 171.

²¹ Federhofer, *Musikpflege*, 525.

²² Szweykowska and Szweykowski, Włosi w kapeli, 54–57; Saunders, Cross, Sword, and Lyre, 24–25, passim.

²³ Benedicam Dominum (B and b.c.), Maria quid ploras (CB and partitura), Deus miseratur nostri (CB and partitura), O dulcis amor Jesu (CTB and partitura) and Vulnerasti cor meum (TTB and partitura).

²⁴ Left Warsaw probably in the middle of February or later and reached the court in Graz in May 1614 the latest (see Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre*, 194; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli*, 57).

The presence in the Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus of works by musicians formerly employed by Sigismund III does not necessarily imply that small-scale sacred music was composed at the Polish royal court before 1615. A comparison of the royal and archducal ensembles reveals that the former was dominated by musicians from Rome, whereas in the case of the Graz music chapel, the majority of members had arrived from the north of Italy, especially from Venice. The musicians' origin reflected the stylistic preferences of their patrons and of chapel masters, which were mirrored also by the known repertoires.²⁵ The manifestations of family ties between patrons were more evident in the music performed at the courts of Archduke Ferdinand and the duke of Bavaria Maximilian I than in the case of Ferdinand and Sigismund III. The differences consisted mainly in the prevailing techniques of composing polychoral compositions and in the absence of any sources that would confirm the Polish reception of Magnificats ad imitationem, despite their large number in the repertoire performed in Munich and their popularity in Graz: even though Ferdinando di Lasso dedicated to Sigismund III the collection Cantiones sacrae, published in Munich in 1602 and including Magnificats ad imitationem written by himself and by his father Orlando di Lasso, the Polish sources contain no evidence that these compositions were ever performed, or that Magnificats using polyphonic pre-compositional material were composed there.²⁶

As far as monodies and small-scale church concertos are concerned, it is certain that Italian collections dating from the first decade of the seventeenth century were available in Poland. The bookshop of the Cracow bookseller Jacob Mertzenich, who supplied the royal court with books, had in stock, among other items, the two volumes of Cento concerti ecclesiastici (1602 and 1607) and the Litaniae Op. 14 (1605) by Lodovico Viadana, Le nuove musiche by Giulio Caccini (1602) and the Vesperae by Claudio Monteverdi (1610).²⁷ It is highly probable that it took a long time for newer prints, published around 1610–1612, to reach the royal musicians at court because of their sojourn of almost three years in Lithuania, where the court resided during 1609-1612 in connection with the siege of Smoleńsk. Although no relevant sources are available to researchers, we may speculate that after the monarch and his court had returned from Vilnius in 1612 to take up residence in Warsaw, music-related novelties reached the court without any hindrance. As for the subsequent years of the second decade of the seventeenth century and up to the end of the period when Asprilio Pacelli from Rome stood at the helm of the ensemble (1602–1623), there are no sources to confirm that royal musicians composed monodies and small-scale church concertos. These were written, however, by the organist and composer from Cremona Tarquinio Merula, who arrived in Warsaw in 1621. Unfortunately, Merula's volume of compositions for solo voice, entitled Il Canore Aprile and reportedly published in 1622, has not survived.28 Thus the earliest extant

²⁵ Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Italian Schools of Polychorality", 53-74.

²⁶ See Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, "Cantiones sacrae (RISM 1602¹)", 452.

²⁷ See Ms in: Narodowe Archiwum w Krakowie, Akta Miasta Krakowa 235 (*Acta controversiarum officii advocatialis Cracoviensis, 5 stycznia 1613 – 15 grudnia 1616*), 1580, 1584–1585. I am deeply grateful to Aleksandra Patalas for information about this source.

²⁸ Pontiroli, "Notizie di musicisti cremonesi", 149–192; Szweykowska and Szweykowski, Włosi w

sources of small-scale music composed by Merula are the three volumes published in Venice after Pacelli's death: *Il primo libro de' madrigaletti* for three voices and basso continuo, *Il primo libro de' madrigali concertati* for 2–8 voices and basso continuo, and *Il primo libro de' motetti e sonate* for 2–5 voices and basso continuo (including *inter alia* compositions for solo voice with an added violin part). It is noteworthy that a collection of madrigals was dedicated by Merula to Sigismund's brother-in-law and future Emperor, Ferdinand of Habsburg.

The dedication is one of the many testimonies to the enduring music-related ties between the Polish and the Austrian courts, which extended also to the courts in northern Italy linked to Austria through marriages with the offspring of Karl II and Maria of Bavaria, who were siblings of Anna and Constance, married off to the Polish King. The contacts of Sigismund's son Prince Ladislaus (the would-be King Ladislaus IV of Poland) with his aunts – the duchess of Tuscany Maria Maddalena, the empress Eleonora Gonzaga and the archduchess of Tyrol Claudia de' Medici – contributed crucially to the establishment of a royal operatic theatre at Ladislaus's court and to the penning in Poland during the first half of the seventeenth century of at least ten Italian *drammi per musica*, which were later staged not only in Warsaw but also in Vilnius and Gdańsk. These achievements, however, belong to a completely different story.

Table 1

Singers, instrumentalists and dancers who joined the court of the king of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa, during or after serving the Archdukes of Inner Austria

Name	Function	Years of activity in Poland
Pietro Antonio Bianco	tenor singer	1592; as a guest
Ambrosio Bontempo	dancing-master	1592; as a guest
Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius)	tenor singer	from 1595 until his death after 1639, but before 1641
Bartolomeo Mutis, Duke of Cesana	tenor singer	1605; as a guest
Antonio Patart	trombonist	from 1598 or earlier (not earlier than 1596) until 1612 or later
		(not later than 1614; died before 14 May 1614)

Table 2

Singers and instrumentalists who joined the court of Ferdinand, archduke of Inner Austria, after serving the king of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa

Name	Function	Years of activity at the courts of Habsburgs
Ippolito Bonanni	alto singer	from 1611 until 1619 or later
Andrea Battista Cocciola?	soprano singer	1603–15
Giovanni Valentini	organist (at the court of Archduke Ferdinand,	1614–49
	Emperor since 1619), from 1626 onwards imperial	
	maestro di cappella	

Table 3

Works by composers active before 1615 at the Polish royal court included in the *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinadaeus*

Composer	Title
Giovanni Battista Cocciola	Ave mundi spes Maria (CC and b.c.)
Giovanni Valentini	Benedicam Dominum (B and b.c.)
Giovanni Valentini	Maria quid ploras (CB and partitura)
Giovanni Valentini	Deus miseratur nostri (CB and partitura)
Giovanni Valentini	O dulcis amor Jesu (CTB and partitura)
Giovanni Valentini	<i>Vulnerasti cor meum</i> (TTB and <i>partitura</i>)
Giulio Cesare Gabussi	O crux benedicta (2 contrA and b.c.)
Giulio Osculati	Quid morire (CATB and b.c.)

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GLASBENI STIKI MED DVOROMA POLJSKEGA KRALJA IN NOTRANJEAVSTRIJSKIH NADVOJVOD TER ŠIRJENJE *MUSICAE MODERNAE* PO SREDNJI IN SREDNJE-VZHODNI EVROPI

Povzetek

Poroki poljskega kralja Sigismunda III. Vase z Ano (1592) in pozneje z njeno sestro Constanzo (1605), obe iz dinastije notranjeavstrijskih nadvojvod, sta pomembno vplivali na kulturno življenje. Muzikologi so se že v preteklosti trudili raziskati glasbene odnose med dvoroma Sigismunda III. in nadvojvode Ferdinanda, od leta 1596 vladarja Notranje Avstrije in od leta 1619 cesarja Ferdinanda II. Razprava povzema podatke o obojesmernih migracijah glasbenikov in glasbenega repertoarja med Krakovom (tudi Varšavo) in Gradcem konec 16. in v prvih dveh desetletjih 17. stoletja. Avtorica omenja glasbenike, sprva zaposlene na notranjeavstrijskem dvoru v Gradcu, ki so v spremstvu nadvojvodinj Ane in Constanze odpotovali v Krakov. Med temi so bili italijanski tenorist Pietro Antonio Bianco, od leta 1595 do svoje smrti leta 1611 kapelnik graškega dvornega ansambla, plesni mojster Ambrosio Bontempo in Bartolomeo Mutis grof iz Cesane, avtor prve zbirke monodične glasbe v Avstriji Musiche a una, doi e tre voci (Benetke 1613). V spomin na poljsko poroko Constanze je na primer skladatelj Georg Poss, ki je deloval v graški dvorni kapeli, napisal osemglasno skladbo z naslovom In faelicem ex Polonia reditum Serenissimae Matris et Sobolum Archiducum Austriae, ki obeležuje vrnitev nevestine matere nadvojvodinje Marije iz Krakova, kjer se je udeležila poročnega slavja. Skladbo je vključil v svojo zbirko Orpheus mixtus vel si mavis concentus musici, ki je izšla leta 1607 v Gradcu. Razprava se na drugi strani osredotoča tudi na vlogo, ki so jo imeli nekateri italijanski glasbeniki, ki so delovali na kraljevem dvoru Sigismunda III. Vase pri širjenju novega italijanskega sloga v srednji in srednjevzhodni Evropi. Med temi so bili na primer Luca Marenzio, Vincenzo Gigli (Vincentius Lilius), ki je bil urednik zbirke Melodiae sacare (Krakov 1604), posvečene nadvojvodi Ferdinandu, pa Giovanni Valentini, ki je leta 1614 iz Varšave odpotoval v Gradec, in Tarquinio Merula. Avtorica poda kratke življenjepise Ippolita Bonannija, Giovanija Battiste Cocciole, Giulie Cesara Gabussija in Giovannija Valentinija, štirih skladateljev malih duhovnih motetov, ki so izšli v zbirki Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus, in so pred letom 1615 delovali na dvoru kralja Sigismunda III. Vase.