

4

Italian “Schools” of Polychorality from the Perspective of the Courts of the Polish Vasas and the Austrian Habsburgs

Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska

Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

In the introduction to his synthesis *Cori spezzati*, published in 1988, which has become the basic point of reference for researchers studying these issues, Anthony F. Carver said that he did not pretend to present a complete history of polychoral music, this being impossible in view of the abundance of preserved sources¹. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, editor of *Historia muzyki XVII wieku: Muzyka we Włoszech*, in the second half of that publication, published in 2000 and devoted to polychorality, gave it clearly to understand that the musical repertory of the varieties of this technique has so far been investigated to an uneven degree, and as far as the Roman music of the second half of the seventeenth century was concerned, only a negligible part of that repertory was known². The problem for the researchers is the sheer number of extant compositions for *cori spezzati*, resulting from the great popularity of this technique and performance practice in the sixteenth and particularly in the seventeenth centuries, not just in Italy but almost in the whole of Europe; another difficulty is the necessity of time-consuming preparation of polysystemic scores prior to analysis. A significant problem in defining the polychorality characteristic of particular “schools”, or centres, is the dynamic process of changes in this technique and performance practice, and the mutual influences between the centres.

However, work continues and new publications keep appearing which are concerned with Italian music (most recently in particular the Roman music³),

and also polychorality practised in various centres of Central and Northern Europe. The conference in the *Musica Baltica* series, which took place in November 2002 at the Music Academy of Gdańsk, demonstrated that these issues are indeed current⁴; it concentrated on studies of transformations from *cori spezzati* to the *concertato* style, and reports by the conference participants used examples of music created and performed mainly in the Baltic centres. Taking as the point of departure the descriptions of polychoralities typical for various Italian centres given in the collection of essays edited by Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (primarily the polychoralities of Venice and Rome, and to a lesser degree those of Bologna and other centres in northern Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century), my aim is to demonstrate the distinctiveness of their reception and influence on local creative output in Central Europe. I will concentrate on two examples. On the one hand, these will be the courts of kings of Poland from the Vasa dynasty, which ruled in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the years 1587–1668 (with particular emphasis on the reign of Zygmunt III, who died in 1632, and the initial period of the reign of his son, Władysław IV). On the other hand, I will examine the evidence provided by the courts of Ferdinand Habsburg, first that of the Archduke in Graz (until 1596), and then the imperial court (with its main seat in Vienna), when the Archduke became Emperor and ruled as Ferdinand II (1619–1637). It seems likely that music executed at selected courts should provide good material for comparative studies, assuming that one is looking for different attitudes displayed under similar conditions. We know about the dynastic connections between the two families referred to above (Zygmunt III married in succession two Archduchesses from Graz, Anna and Constance, sisters of Ferdinand, while Archduchess Cecilia Renata, Ferdinand's daughter, became the first wife of Władysław IV). We also know that the two courts shared religious beliefs, and that Zygmunt Vasa and Ferdinand Habsburg (especially after he became Emperor) were engaged in counter-Reformation activities. The two rulers, related by marriage, also shared an extraordinary love of music, and maintained at their courts excellent musical ensembles, made up in significant part of Italian musicians. It is also important that both the personnel of the chapels, and the repertory performed

at each court, are sufficiently well-known to allow one to draw conclusions on the basis of the literature of the subject. However, it will be necessary to make some references to unpublished or insufficient known sources.

Synthetic approaches to the problem of polychorality at the courts of the Polish Vasas have been presented in a number of works. One should mention here the introductory part of the monograph about the music of Andrzej Hakenberger by Danuta Popinigiś⁵, published in 1997; a much more extensive chapter on “Polychorality and the concertato technique” in a book by Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*⁶, published in the same year; and the relevant parts of the chapter devoted to religious music in the textbook by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska⁷, published in 2002. There has also been a number of studies devoted to the music of the members of the ensembles maintained by the Polish Vasas who composed (among other things) polychoral works⁸, as well as studies devoted to the specific issues of polychorality in the output of particular composers⁹, various aspects of compositional technique in selected individual works¹⁰, or theoretical discussions of the subject¹¹.

In the case of the courts of the Archduke and Emperor Ferdinand, issues relating to polychorality are touched on in a synthetic work by Hellmut Ferderhofer devoted to the archducal court at Graz at the time of Ferdinand and his father Karl II¹², and are discussed in some depth in the doctoral thesis of Steven Saunders entitled *Sacred music at the Hapsburg court of Ferdinand II (1615–1637): The Latin vocal works of Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini* (University of Pittsburgh 1990)¹³. Previously, these issues tended to be discussed in monographs concerning the output of particular archducal and imperial musicians, including the compositional heritage of Georg Poss¹⁴, or the Masses of Giovanni Valentini¹⁵. However, in a number of articles we find discussions of detailed questions relating to particular works by musicians working for Ferdinand — as archduke and emperor¹⁶ — and to performance practice of polychoral music at his courts¹⁷.

We know almost nothing about polychorality at the court of Zygmunt III before 1595, the year when Italian musicians engaged by the king arrived in Poland — among them the prominent Roman composers Annibale Stabile and Luca Marenzio. However, in the inventory of a bookseller from Kraków, Zacheus Kesner, dating from 1602, whose abbreviated entries Tomasz Czepiel attempted to decode¹⁸, we find a few prints with religious polychoral music, most frequently for 8 (exceptionally for 12) voices, published prior to that period. These are: the Venetian *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio[vanni] Gabrieli* (publ. 1587), but mainly Flemish and German prints: *Sacrarum cantiones* and *Novae cantiones sacrae* for 5–8 voices by Jean de Castro (Antwerpen 1571 and 1588), probably *Sacrae cantiones...* for 5–12 voices by Rinaldo del Mel (Antwerpen, perhaps 1588 or 1589) and anthologies of Friedrich Lindner (publ. Nürnberg 1588, 1589 and 1590). From the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the inventory contains, among others: *Sacrae symphoniae* for 6–16 voices and instruments by Giovanni Gabrieli (Venezia 1597), one of the books of motets by Giovanni Croce (perhaps for 8 voices, publ. Venezia 1594, 1596 or 1599) and *Sacra omnium solemnitatum vespertina psalmodia* for 8 voices by Pietro Lappi (Venezia 1600); also, published by German printers: *Modi sacri sive cantus musici* for 4–8 and more voices by Christian Erbach (Augsburg 1600), anthologies of motets for 4–16 voices prepared by Kaspar Hassler (Nürnberg 1598, 1600), *Missae sacrae* for 5–8 voices by Jacob Regnart (Frankfurt 1602), *Missae* for 4–8 voices by Hans Leo Hassler (Nürnberg 1599), the anthology *Magnificat octo tonorum, diversorum excelentissimorum auctorum* for 4–12 voices (published by the printing works of P. Kauffman, Nürnberg 1600¹), *Magnificat octo vocum ... cum motetis aliquot 8. et 12 vocum* by Hieronim Praetorius (Hamburg 1602) or *Prima pars Cantionum sacrarum* for 6–8 and more voices by Melchior Vulpius (Jena 1602). On the basis of research carried out so far¹⁹, one can make the initial assumption that a similar repertory was to be found at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries also in Royal Prussia, and in the neighbouring Duchy of Prussia, in collections containing works for *cori spezzati*, which were being edited and published as early as the sixteenth century, such as *Secundus liber sacrarum cantionum* by Teodoro Riccio (Königsberg 1580)²⁰.

We do not know the extent to which prints with polychoral music available in the Commonwealth were used at the court of Zygmunt III. It seems worthwhile to note, however, that in this repertory the Netherlandish polychorality is clearly dominant; it gradually gives way to the Venetian one, often in the works of German composers, or Italian ones working in centres located north of the Alps. Roman composers are hardly represented there at all (although in Lindner's anthologies we find single polychoral compositions by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina or Annibale Stabile). On the basis of preserved sources we cannot tell whether, at the court of Zygmunt III at the beginning of his reign, as well as at the courts of his predecessors, especially Zygmunt August and Stefan Batory, compositions for *cori spezzati* had already achieved popularity. We only know that they were being collected and probably composed, as the inventory of Jerzy Jazwicz from 1572 seems to confirm, where there is a mention not only of works for 8 voices by Adrian Willaert and Antonio Scandelli, but also "Msza Waclawowa vocum 8"; however, on this basis we cannot tell whether Waclaw of Szamotuły wrote it for *cori spezzati* or for actual 8 voices²¹.

However, it is well known that the father of Archduke Ferdinand of Graz, Archduke Karl II, was extremely fond of music for *cori spezzati*. We know about the close musical ties between the courts in Graz and Munich, the birthplace of Karl's wife and Ferdinand's mother, Archduchess Maria. She was the daughter of Duke Albrecht V Wittelsbach, patron of Orlando di Lasso. The wedding of Prince Wilhelm, Albrecht's son, and Renata of Lotharingia, in 1568 in Munich, made history, when polychoral works on a scale previously unknown were performed by voices and instruments under the conductor Orlando di Lasso. This was a motet for 40 voices by Alessandro Striggio and a Mass for 24 voices by Annibale Padovano, the organist of Archduke Karl of Graz. The latter has survived to our day, unfortunately in incomplete form, in choirbooks produced at that city at the beginning of the seventeenth century (and thus during the reign of Archduke Ferdinand), which today are held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Mus. Hs. 16702²². This and other manuscripts originating from Graz and now held in Vienna demonstrate the popularity of music for *cori spezzati* at the court of Karl II (who died in

1590), and then also Ferdinand. It was imported from Italy (mainly from Venice), copied from prints and written by composers from northern Italy employed at Graz. This group, at the time of Karl II, included, apart from Annibale Padovana, such musicians as Simone Gatto and Francesco Rovigo, a pupil of Claudio Merulo, and in the days of Archduke Ferdinand, Francesco Stivori, Giovanni Priuli, a pupil of Giovanni Gabrieli, Giovanni Valentini, to whom we will refer again in view of his links to the court of Zygmunt III Vasa, and also musicians sent specially from Graz to study with Giovanni Gabrieli — Alessandro Tadei and Georg Poss²³.

The choirbooks (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 16702, 16703, 16707, 16708) written by the copyist of the Archduke Ferdinand, the bass singer Georg Kuglmann and dated to the first decade of the seventeenth century, are unfortunately partially incomplete. They contain Masses and polychoral motets for 8–33 voices (for 2–4 choirs), mainly by Venetian and Northern Italian composers, as well as German and Flemish ones, and were written in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth. Among the few Roman composers whose works are represented there are the two *maestri di cappella* of Zygmunt III Vasa: Luca Marenzio and Asprilio Pacelli²⁴.

The contents of the codices have not yet been edited as a whole, but on the basis of external features it is possible to say that a significant majority of these compositions has properties which Zygmunt M. Szwedkowski regarded as characteristic of the Venetian style of the times of Giovanniego Gabrieli²⁵, and a large part of the repertory from as early as the sixteenth century carries some of the indicators of this style. The collections are decidedly dominated by compositions for choirs of different registers, notated using various sets of keys. Researchers emphasise that the notation used in these choirbooks, especially those for 12 and more voices, corresponds precisely to the information about Venetian practice which has been transmitted by Michael Praetorius in *Syntagma musicum*. This concerns separating out of the whole ensemble of a four-voice choir in natural keys ($c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$), described by Giovanni Gabrieli as a *cappella*, in which all the parts are obligatorily performed by singers, and choirs with higher and lower registers, notated using other sets

of keys, in which there is only one vocal part, and the other voices are realised instrumentally²⁶. It is worth noting that not only the works of composers born or educated in Venice were notated in this way; this notation was also used for works of composers from other Italian centres and from Germany. Among them is at least one composition by Luca Marenzio, born in Brescia and linked to the Roman style — whose basic feature, according to Szweykowski, was manipulating choirs with similar registers, notated in the same sets of keys, most frequently the set of natural keys ($c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$)²⁷.

In the two extant volumes of the codex Mus. Hs. 16707, created in 1610, there are two four-voice choirs of the three-choir *Missa a 12 super Laudate Dominum de coelis* by Luca Marenzio (vol. II, k. 32^r–57^r, vol. III, k. 35^r–56^r; vol. I has been lost). This is a *missa parodia* based on the material of the 12-voice motet *Laudate Dominum* by Marenzio, preserved in an incomplete state in manuscript partbooks at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome (mus. ms. 33–34, 40–46) and the even more incomplete printed anthology of Wincenty Lilius's *Melodiae sacrae* (Kraków 1604²⁸). In the opinion of Roland Jackson²⁹, with which I agree, it may have been written at the time when Luca Marenzio was maestro di cappella at the court of Zygmunta III Vasa. A different opinion was given in a monograph about the composer by Hans Engel, who expressed doubts about Marenzio's authorship in relation to this Mass³⁰. Both in the manuscript record and in the published version the preserved voices show that the motet which constitutes the basis of the parody was written "in the Roman manner" — for three equal choirs, notated in keys $c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$. However, in the record of the Mass composed on its basis in the Austrian source we find choir II notated in keys $c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$ and choir III, the lower one, notated in keys $c^3 c^3 c^4 f^4$. The work was published by Roland Jackson³¹ with reconstructed choir I, with the CATB arrangement of voices. However, in the preserved transmission of just the two first parts of this Mass cycle, held in the Bohn collection at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, in manuscript Slg Bohn Ms. mus. 104, created in Wrocław at the latest in 1614, choir II is notated in the same way as in the codex in Vienna, in keys $c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$, but choir I in *chiavette*: $g^2 c^1 c^3 c^4$. By virtue of this, Marenzio's composition was written, or at least preserved

by the copyist of the Graz chapel and the copyist from Silesia, in a manner which accords with the practice regarded as Venetian, characteristic of the mature polychoral works of Giovanni Gabrieli.

On the other hand, in the two surviving volumes of codex Mus. Hs. 16708 from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna there are notated 9 voices of *Te Deum laudamus* and 13 of Marenzio. According to Roland Jackson's hypothesis, this might have been the setting of the hymn the performance of which in September 1596 at the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw was reported by Giovanni Paolo Mucante. The latter was the papal master of ceremonies who was visiting Poland at that time together with Cardinal Enrico Caetani, in connection with negotiations concerning the anti-Turkish League³². It is worth noting that, according to the record in the Austrian choirbooks, the 13-voice *Te Deum laudamus* is a two-choir composition, comprising a four-voice choir I notated in keys $c^1 c^2 c^3 f^3$ (vol. I, k. 208r–215r) and a nine-voice choir II, according to the note in the source, of which five voices, notated in keys $c^1 c^3 c^4 c^4 f^4$ have survived (vol. II, k. 190r–200r). The text has been entered under all the voices, which means that if the work contained voices intended to be performed on instruments, these would have to be among the four lost ones³³.

The second of the maestri di cappella of Zygmunt III Vasa whose works are present in the Austrian choirbooks, Asprilio Pacelli, is represented by five fully preserved 8-voice motets for two choirs, notated in one choirbook, ref. Mus. Hs. 16703 (k. 150v–199r). These were copied from the print *Motectorum et psalmorum liber primus* (Roma 1597), and include: *Quare fremuerunt gentes*, *Exurgat Deus*, *Regina terrae*, *Cantate Dominum canticum novum* and *Jubilate Deo omnis terra*. All of them are for two choirs notated in the same sets of keys, but, as in the printed version, in three compositions these are natural keys ($c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4$), while in two there are sets indicating choirs of higher register ($g^2 c^2 c^3 c^4$). Here it may be worthwhile to remember that the collection of motets from which copies were made was dedicated by Pacelli (then Prefect and maestro di cappella at the Roman Jesuit Collegium Germanicum) to Archduke Ferdinand. Perhaps this provides an explanation for the fact that, out of the 20 compositions for two choirs contained in the print, there are

eight intended for performance by choirs with different registers, notated in sets of higher keys — $c^1 c^1 c^2 c^3$ — juxtaposed with natural keys $c^1 c^3 c^4 f^{434}$. There might also have been another reason. The Austrian choirbook in which Pacelli's motets were recorded, created during Ferdinand's journey to Italy in 1598³⁵, demonstrates the fallibility of differentiating between the polychorality of the Venetian and Roman "schools" at the end of the sixteenth century on the basis of *chiavetti* (this differentiation seems better justified at the end of the first and beginning of the second decade of the seventeenth century). The codex in question contains numerous two-choir motets by Giovanni Gabrieli, a large proportion of which had been notated in the same sets of keys, as had a few compositions by Giovanni Croce, and single compositions by Simone Gatto, Lodovico Viadana, Orlando di Lasso, Horazio Vecchi and Costanzo Porta. The presence (allegedly typical for Venetian polychorality) or lack of metric contrasts (exchange of duple and triple metres) cannot be regarded as an indicator of belonging to one of the "schools" either. They frequently appear in, for example, Asprilio Pacelli's motets from the 1597 collection which has already been mentioned. Neither does the extant repertory from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries confirm Roman composers' inclination to create works for many choirs. Although sources do confirm performances in Rome of polychoral compositions during that period, these are exceptional cases. Among printed Roman polychoral works, and also those in manuscript form from the first decades of the seventeenth century, decidedly the dominant kind is the composition for 8 voices divided into two choirs, alongside which one finds a smaller number of compositions for up to 12 voices.

Polychoral music copied and composed at the court of Ferdinand Habsburg, particularly in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, is stylistically different from that known from the repertory of the *cappella* of Zygmunt III at that time. The basic differences concern precisely the use of contrasted rather than uniform choirs, scale and the manner of using instruments, the appearance (or not) of longer solo or few voice segments. The musicians of the Archduke, and then Emperor Ferdinand remained in constant touch with Venice; they learned about the new repertory as it came

out, followed the changes taking place in the polychorality of that “school” and took them into account in their compositions, which were modelled on the Venetian ones. At the court of Zygmunt III, there was a — probably gradual — change of polychorality paradigm, which took place seemingly against local preferences, the permanence of which is testified to by the works of Miłkołaj Zieleński, Andrzej Hakenberger or Giovanni Battista Cocciola, written almost certainly, or at least most probably, outside the royal cappella,.

In my view, this process was initiated during Luca Marenzio’s short period of activity in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. The name of this musician is so closely associated with madrigal compositions that other areas of his compositional work are either ignored or made light of by researchers. A glaring example of this is provided by the entry *Marenzio Luca* in *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM*³⁶, in which there is no mention of religious music in the legacy of this artist; however, things are not much better in recently written entries devoted to the composer in the new editions of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*³⁷. Yet extant historical sources and musical compositions provide evidence that, before arriving in Poland, Marenzio organised Lent celebrations for the Roman congregation of Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini (in 1584 and 1592) and probably composed special works for these occasions³⁸. After the death of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Marenzio was appointed by Pope Clement VIII to continue work on the reform of musical liturgical books in accordance with the guidelines of Council of Trent³⁹. Throughout centuries, among the most valued musical treasures at Cappella Sistina has been the 8-voice *Magnificat* composed by Marenzio about 1590 — a work for two choirs with the same sets of voices, notated in natural keys⁴⁰ (published in 1592 in the anthology of the papal singer Giovan Luca Conforti⁴¹). On the other hand, musicians from Cappella Giulia took pride in possessing his 8-voice setting of *Laudate Dominum*, also for two choirs with *a voce piena*⁴² arrangement. Marenzio’s stay at the court of Zygmunt III, apart from the works preserved in codices held in Vienna which were referred to earlier, can be hypothetically associated with three 8-voice, two-choir Masses. These do not show contrast of register between the choirs, and are intended for spatially

distributed performance, as is indicated by the manner of leading the basses from all the choirs mainly in octaves and unisons, exceptionally in thirds. These have been preserved in collections from Gdańsk, Dresden and Berlin (the latter being of Silesian provenance), and in one case also in Pelplin (in the Pelplin tablature). Two of them — *Missa super Jubilate Deo* and *Missa super Ego sum panis vivus* — were copied in two-part form to serve the needs of Lutheran communities — as *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. The third, *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*, has survived to our day in a number of transmissions of the first two parts, but also as the full cycle *ordinarium missae* (at the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlinie, Slg. Bohn Ms. mus. 94, and in the Pelplin tablature, which notates the version used during performances within the alternatim practice). This last cycle, also intended for two four-voice choirs with a *voce piena* arrangement, notated in the source kept in Berlin in keys c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4 , corresponds to the description of a Mass in echo form given in the report by Giovanni Paul Mucante about the Mass liturgy with the participation of the king and court at the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw on 13 October 1596⁴³. Moreover, one cannot exclude the possibility that other works were written during Marenzio's stay at the court of Zygmunt III, such as the motets published in Wincenty Lilius's *Melodiae sacrae* (Kraków 1604), which will be discussed later, and perhaps also some of the 8-voice motets familiar from German anthologies, especially that of Kaspar Hassler from 1598⁴⁴ and its continuation published two years later⁴⁵, as well as the collections prepared by Abraham Schadeus from 1611 and 1612⁴⁶ and by Caspar Vincentius in 1617⁴⁷.

Clearly, musicians from Rome were not the only Italian composers working at the court of Zygmunt III at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An artist respected also outside Poland was, for example, Vincenzo Bertolusi, an organist from Venice and author of the collection *Sacrarum cantionum liber primus*, published in 1601, that is, during the musician's stay in Poland. It contains 29 motets for 6–10 voices, including eleven works for two four- or five-voice choirs. They correspond — according to Zygmunt M. Szweykowski⁴⁸ — to the early stage of the style of Giovanni Gabrieli, which manifests itself through, among other things, strong differentiation in the

sound of particular choirs. However, it should be added that even in such a “Venetian” collection one finds motets where both choirs are maintained in the same register and are notated in natural keys.

Polychorality plays a significant part in the anthology *Melodiae sacrae*, prepared by Wincenty Lilius and published at a time when Asprilio Pacelli had already been the royal maestro di cappella for over a year. The collection contains 20 works for 5 to 12 voices, composed both by musicians currently employed at the court in 1604, and those who worked there in the past. The unique copy of this old print, held at the Proskesche Musikbibliothek in Rattisbone, is incomplete. Three books have been preserved: Cantus, Altus and Tenor, which, in my view, allow a largely hypothetical but still valid critical evaluation of the style of the works in the collection. Apart from single-choir compositions it contains seven two-choir motets for 8 voices and three three-choir motets for 12 voices. Three voices have survived out of each eight-voice composition, and five out of each twelve-voice ones (the Cantus book contains one voice each, and Altus and Tenor books contain two voices each). Among the authors of 8-voice motets there are four musicians about whom we know that they arrived in Poland from Rome — Annibale Stabile, Luca Marenzio, Ippolito Bonanni and Simone Amorosi; there were also two from northern Italy — Alfonso Pagani from Bologna and Iacopo Abbiati [Abbatis] from Reggio, and also one Pole, Andrzej Staniczewski, who probably received his education in Italy but we do not know where. Where the first choirs are concerned, one can assume that in the motets of Marenzio, Amorosi, Pagani and Abbatis these were notated in natural keys (cantus, altus and tenor in keys c^1 c^3 c^4 have been preserved, bass in key f^4 is certainly missing), and in the compositions of Bonanni and Staniczewski they had a higher, but often encountered in the Roman “school” (used, among others, by Pacelli in compositions for two choirs with the same set of voices), set of keys g^2 c^2 c^3 , which might have supplemented the fourth voice in key c^4 . As to the second choirs, it is only a guess that they have been notated in the same sets of keys. The colour contrast between choirs might have been particularly apparent in Annibale Stabile’s motet *Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis*, where the three

voices of the first choir were described as cantus I, cantus II and altus, and notated in keys: c^1 c^2 c^3 .

Where three-choir motets for 12 voices are concerned, Luca Marenzio is the author of two of them (*Iubilate Deo omnes terra* and *Laudate Dominum*), and the third (*Congratulamini mihi*) — is by the compiler of the collection, Wincenty Lilius, who described himself as "Romanus". In all the cases the second choir is notated in natural keys, and the extant cantus and altus voices of the first choir (in the respective keys c^1 and c^3) may suggest that the set of voices in this choir was identical to that of the second choir. Moreover, since Marenzio's motets *Iubilate Deo* and *Laudate Dominum* have also been preserved in manuscript form at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome (the second of these compositions without the highest voice of choir I and the two lowest voices of choir III), one can assume that it is almost certain that both works for 12 voices by Marenzio published in *Melodiae sacrae*, and probably also Lilius's motet, were intended for performance by three identical choirs arranged *a vicoe piena*. They would thus belong to the Roman "school", if the use of choirs with the same sets of voices is in fact an indicator of this, but with the proviso that one can discern in them some devices usually regarded as Venetian. These are not only the relatively frequent changes of metre, but the ritornello (quasi-rondo) form, with the refrain in triple metre, which appears in Marenzio's *Laudate Dominum* and Lilius's *Congratulamini mihi*.

As a whole, the publication *Melodiae sacrae* seems to be intended to honour Marenzio who died five years earlier, by Wincenty Lilius and his colleagues from the music ensemble of Zygmunt III. It is also a statement in favour of polychorality without colour contrast of the choirs, such as characterises most strongly all three of Marenzio's compositions in this collection. One should add that only Marenzio is represented in the anthology by as many as three compositions, those being polychoral works. Moreover, the seven-voice motet by Asprilio Pacelli *Iniquos odio habui* included in the anthology might also have been homage paid by the current royal maestro di cappella to the dead master, the author of the eight-voice motet to this text and the *missa parodia* which made use of his material.

It is difficult to disagree with the opinion of Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski⁴⁹ regarding the enormous significance of Asprilio Pacelli, who directed the ensemble of Zygmunt III for twenty years, in popularising polychoral technique in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. It seems that his influence on local compositions was the result not only of the duration of his working life, but also of what might be called the “ecumenical” attitude of the Roman musician, who succeeded in popularising the style of the Roman “school” in a community more familiar with the polychorality of the Venetian “school” and tending to imitate that model, while at the same time demonstrating Venetian models in his own compositions.

The first preserved collection of new motets by Asprilio Pacelli, published already during his stay in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania (in 1608), provides an excellent illustration of this attitude. This was *Sacrae cantiones*, where out of 28 motets 14 are polychoral: four for 8 voices, one each for 9, 16 and 20 voices, two for 10 and as many as five for 12 voices. In view of the interrelationships between the lowest voices of the choirs it can be established that they were designed for spatially distributed performance. The majority is composed for identical choirs, but in five cases the composer used ensembles contrasted in respect of voice registers. In the 12-voice motet for three choirs, *Mulierem fortem*, and in the five-choir *Dum eset rex* for 20 voices, he clearly refers to the practice of Giovanni Gabrieli, in the approach popularised some years later by Michael Praetorius, notating the middle choir (in *Dum esset rex* the three middle choirs) in natural keys, adding to this choirs with higher and lower registers⁵⁰. The differentiation of choir registers can also be observed in the incompletely preserved motet for 8 voices *Vulnerasti cor meum* by Pacelli, in the manuscript collection from the church of St Bartholomew in Gdańsk (now held at the PAN Library there, Ms. 4006). Agnieszka Leszczyńska drew attention to this composition in the context of reception of polychorality at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Royal Prussia, supposing that this might have been the first polychoral work from the court of Zygmunt III to have found its way to Gdańsk⁵¹. Copies of two Masses by Luca Marenzio (*Missa super Ego sum panis vivus* and *Missa super Iniquos odio habui*), pre-

sent in the same manuscript and also incomplete, probably reached Gdańsk about the same time.

History has shown that, while Pacelli's contemporaries who composed outside the court, including Mikołaj Zieleński and Andrzej Hakenberger, kept to the paradigms established by Giovanni Gabrieli and present (even if in a minority) in the works of the Polish king's Roman director of music, it was the vision of polychorality demonstrated by Marenzio and promoted by Pacelli which became dominant in the chapel of Zygmunt III and also of his sons. Operating (with exceptions) with four-voice choirs with the same set of voices (notated in keys c^1 c^3 c^4 f^4) with time became virtually a principle adhered to by Italian musicians from various regions of Italy working at the court of the Vasas, and members of the chapel from the Commonwealth. It is also true that with time new solutions of various kinds came to be introduced, drawn from the practice of Venice, Bologna or other centres from Northern Italy. There was also differentiation of polychoral works into those composed in *prima* and *seconda pratica* — apart from works for *cori spezzati*, the number of polychoral compositions for *concerto* performances continued to grow.

At the court of Zygmunt III, under the supervision of Asprilio Pacelli, the organist Giovanni Valentini, who arrived in Poland about 1604, shaped his compositional technique. After ten years he changed patrons and became organist at the court of Archduke Ferdinand in Graz. In 1619 he moved, together with the court of Ferdinand (who by then had become emperor), to Vienna. There, following the death of Giovanni Priuli, a musician from Venice who imitated Giovanni Gabrieli, he was given the position of the Emperor's director of music, which he occupied until his death in 1649 (by then Ferdinand III was emperor). Sources, and not just the accounts which provide evidence of high remuneration, but also imperial private correspondence⁵², demonstrate that Valentini was held in great esteem both by Ferdinand II and his son, Ferdinand III. He was regarded as a Venetian composer, and this opinion, passed on almost as a statement of fact, became entrenched owing to the writings of Antimo Liberati who visited the imperial court during the 1640s. In his *Lettera scritta dal Sig. Antimo Liberati in risposta ad una del Sig. Ovidio Persapiegi*, published in 1685, he said that, during his stay in

Vienna, “Giovanni Valentini Veneziano, della famosa Schola de’ Gabrielli”⁵³, was still living. Steven Saunders, after a fruitless search through the sources for confirmation of Valentini’s links to Venice, does not seem to be convinced as to the veracity of Liberati’s claim, but agrees with the opinion as to the Venetian style of the composer’s music⁵⁴. However, it does not seem that such a view is justified in relation to Valentini’s polychoral works published in print during the years after he left the court of Zygmunt III. I have particularly in mind the collection *Missae concertate quatuor, sex et octo vocum, una cum basso ad organum*, Venezia 1617, dedicated to the bishop of Wrocław, Karl Habsburg, as well as *Musiche concertate con voci & istromenti a 6, 7, 8, 9 & 10. Con basso continuo*, Venezia 1619 and *Missae quatuor, partem octonis, partem duodenis vocibus*, Venezia 1621. All the polychoral compositions in these collections are designed for performance by four-voice choirs with the voices arranged *a voce piena* as the basic unit. In the last of these prints the composer’s fondness for the Roman polychoral practice of *missa parodia* is not even affected by the fact that among the parodied compositions is one by Giovanni Gabrieli (an 8-voice motet *Diligam te Domine*, published in *Sacrae symphoniae* from 1597, a copy of which is also to be found in one of the codices referred to above, created in Graz in the first decade of the seventeenth century⁵⁵). Valentini made use of it in his *Missa Diligam te Domine a 12*, intended for three identical choirs notated in natural keys, in a style which is certainly more reminiscent of the “Roman” compositions of Asprilio Pacelli than the “Venetian” compositions of Giovanni Priuli, who at that time directed the cappella of Ferdinand II⁵⁶.

Valentini’s compositions for *cori spezzati* (and thus in *prima pratica*), composed probably during a later period, often preserved in manuscript form and not always dated precisely, demonstrate features of either the “Roman” or “Venetian” schools. On the other hand, *concertato* compositions (in *seconda pratica*) not infrequently combine devices employed in various Italian centres, a phenomenon quite common during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

The musical repertory of the court of Polish kings during that period (last years of the reign of Zygmunt III, the reign of Władysław IV and the beginning of the reign of Jan Kazimierz) also showed clear opposition of polychorality in *prima* and *seconda pratica* (or at least in *stile imbastardito*). The first was practised by Pacelli's successors to the position of the royal maestro di cappella — Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Marco Scacchi⁵⁷ — as well as, in some of their compositions, local musicians influenced by them, including Bartłomiej Pękiel (composer of two *Missae senza le cerimoniae* a 8) and Marcin Mielczewski (the author of *Beata Dei Genitrix Maria* a 8 and *Iubilate Deo* a 12)⁵⁸. There is no doubt that their extant compositions for *cori spezzati* in the old style belong to the Roman "school". In the case of *concertato* compositions, as in the repertory of the imperial court, one can discern a conglomeration of various influences, and in the case of the legacy of Marcin Mielczewski, whose works have survived in sizeable quantities, also familiarity with specific technical solutions and performance practices of various Italian centres or various composers (I have in mind the reference to *Sonata sopra la Sancta Maria z Vespro della Beata Vergine* from 1610 by Claudio Monteverdi in *Virgo prudentissima*, or invoking the practice used by Girolamo Giacobbi in Bologna's San Petronio in the four-choir *Laudate pueri* and a number of other polychoral concertos⁵⁹). Apart from two known exceptions constituted by Mielczewski's compositions for "Venetian" vocal-instrumental choirs of varying registers, the extant polychoral output in the old style and in *concertato* style from the courts of Polish Vasas in the second quarter of the seventeenth century displays a striking preference for the practice of employing identical choirs, with the arrangement of voices: soprano, alto, tenor, bass, notated in natural keys. This was the mark imprinted on the Vasa musicians by the maestri di cappella from Rome — Luka Marenzio, Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Marco Scacchi.

Notes

- 1 Anthony F. Carver, *Cori spezzati*, vol. I: *The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to the Time of Schütz*, Cambridge 1988, p. IX.
- 2 Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, *Historia muzyki XVII wieku. Muzyka we Włoszech*, part II: *Technika polichóralna*, Kraków 2000, see T, p. 53.

- 3 Of particular significance here are the results of research published both by Arnaldo Morelli (particularly *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, in the series *Analecta Musicologica*, vol. 24, Laaber 1991; see also 'The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the Church, Music for the Oratory', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, No. 1, 2003 — <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Morelli.html>), and Noel O'Regan (among others, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome. Music at Santissima Trinitè dei Pellegrini 1550–1650*, London 1995).
- 4 See *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels — von den "cori spezzati" zum konzertierenden Stil / In the Course of Change — from "cori spezzati" to the Concerto Style*, ed. Danuta Szlagowska, Akademia Muzyczna im Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku: Prace Specjalne 64, Gdańsk 2004.
- 5 Danuta Popinigis, *Muzyka Andrzeja Hakenbergera*, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 45–48.
- 6 Anna and Zygmunt M. Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*, Kraków 1997, pp. 133–165.
- 7 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *The History of Music in Poland*, vol. III: *The Baroque*, part 1: *1595–1696*, trans. John Comber, Sutkowski Edition Warsaw 2002, pp. 225–347.
- 8 Among them: Wojciech Typrowicz, *Sztuka kontrapunktu w utworach Vincenzo Bertolusiego — próba analizy*, typescript of M.A. thesis, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1987; Aleksandra Patalas, *Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów. A. Pacelli, G. F. Anerio, M. Scacchi*, computerscript of Ph.D. thesis, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1998.
- 9 Roland Jackson, 'Marenzio's Polish Sojourn and his Polychoral Motets', in: *MAEO VII, Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz 1985, pp. 503–525; by the same author: 'Marenzio, Poland and the late polychoral sacred style', *Early Music* XXVII, No. 4, 1999, pp. 622–631 (Polish version: 'Marenzio, Polska i późny styl polichóralny', trans. Wojciech Bońkowski, *Muzyka*, No. 4, 2003, pp. 129–143); Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Z problemów techniki polichórальной Marcina Mielczewskiego', in: *Marcin Mielczewski. Studia*, ed. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, in the series *Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis VII*, Kraków 1999, pp. 125–137; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Polychoral Compositions and/or Polychoral Performances. On Sacred Works by Marcin Mielczewski from Sources Originating from Gdańsk and Silesia', in: *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels — von den "cori spezzati" zum konzertierenden Stil*, op. cit., pp. 256–264; Aleksandra Patalas, 'Utwory concertato w twórczości Giovanniego Francesca Aneria', in: *Affetti musicologici. Księga pamiątkowa z afektem ofiarowana Profesorowi Zygmuntowi Marianowi Szweykowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Piotr Poźniak, Kraków 1999, pp. 143–152.
- 10 Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, 'Introduction' in: Franciszek Lilius, *Missa brevissima*, publ. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, in the series *Źródła do Historii Muzyki Polskiej* 31, Kraków 1989; by the same author, 'Introduction' in: Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missa Constantia per tre cori*, publ. Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, in the series *Sub Sole Sarmatiae* 8, Kraków 1997; Aleksandra Patalas, 'Nieznana msza Asprilia Pacellego "Ave maris stella"'. Traktowanie cantus firmus', *Muzyka*, No. 2, 1994, pp. 11–26 (English version: 'An Unknown "Missa "Ave Maris Stella"' by Asprilio Pacelli', *Musica Jagellonica* I 1995, pp. 23–50); by the same author, 'Introduction' in: Giovanni

- Francesco Anerio, *Missa "Pulchra es" per due cori*, publ. Aleksandra Patalas, in the series *Sub Sole Sarmatiae* 2, Kraków 1994; by the same author: 'Marco Scacchi's Characterisation of the Modes in his "Missa Omnium Tonorum"', *Musica Iagellonica* II 1997, pp. 103–129; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Monodia w polichoralności. Proza "Victimae paschali laudes" w realizacji Marcina Mielczewskiego', in: *Affetti musicologici...*, op. cit., pp. 171–181; by the same author: "'Missa super Iniquos odio habui" — warszawska msza w formie echa Luki Marenzia?', *Muzyka*, No. 3, 2004, pp. 3–39.
- 11 Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, 'Marco Scacchi and his Pupils on the Polychoral Technique', *Musica Iagellonica* II 1997, pp. 131–150 (Polish version: 'Marco Scacchi i jego uczniowie o technice polichoralnej', *Muzyka*, No. 2, 1998, pp. 27–46).
 - 12 Hellmut Federhofer, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand (1564–1619)*, Mainz 1967.
 - 13 Published as Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre. Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg*, Oxford 1995.
 - 14 Hermann J. Busch., *Georg Poss. Leben und Werk. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutsch-venezianischen Schule in Österreich am Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, München 1972.
 - 15 Elisabeth Urbanek, *Giovanni Valentini als Messenkomponist* doctoral thesis, Universität im Wien, 1974.
 - 16 For example: Albert Biales, 'Giovanni Priuli's Sacrarum concentuum pars prima (1618)', in: *Analecta musicologica* 12, Köln 1973, pp. 97–108; Steven Saunders, 'Giovanni Priuli's *Missa sine nomine* and the Legacy of Giovanni Gabrieli', *Journal of Musicological Research* XIV 1995, pp. 169–191; by the same author: 'Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II and the "Messa, Magnificat et Iubilate Deo a sette con le trombe" (1621) of Giovanni Valentini', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XLIV, No. 3, 1991, pp. 359–403.
 - 17 See Richard Charteris, 'The Performance of Giovanni Gabrieli's Vocal Works: Indications in the Early Sources', *Music and Letters*, No. 3, 1990, pp. 336–351.
 - 18 Tomasz Czepiel, 'Zacheus Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: an Inventory of 1602', *Musica Iagellonica* II 1997, pp. 23–29.
 - 19 See, for example, Danuta Popinigis, 'Die Mehrhörige Musik in Danzig um die Wende des 16./17. Jahrhundert', in: *Die Musik der Deutschen im Osten und ihre Wechselwirkung mit den Nachbarn. Ostseeraum–Schlesien–Böhmen/Mähren–Donauraum. Kongreßbericht Köln 1992*, ed. Klaus W. Niemöller, Helmut Loos, (in the series *Deutsche Musik im Osten* 6), Bonn 1994, pp. 27–31; Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'The Polychoral Repertoire in Royal Prussia during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', in: *Musica Baltica. Im Umkreis des Wandels — von den "cori spezzati" zum konzertierenden Stil*, op. cit., pp. 166–179.
 - 20 A. Leszczyńska, op. cit., pp. 167–168.
 - 21 See Elżbieta Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna ostatnich Jagiellonów*, Kraków 1988, pp. 74–75; A. and Z. M. Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, op. cit., pp. 133–135.
 - 22 A. F. Carver, Op. cit., pp. 3–4, 70–78.
 - 23 More on that subject can be found in H. Federhofer, Op. cit., passim.
 - 24 In volume Mus. Hs. 16708 in the index there is also a mention, including page

references to where the work should be found, of an 8-voice composition *Ave Regina Coelorum* by yet another maestro di cappella of the Polish king — Annibale Stabile. In reality, however, there is no record of such a composition in the codex. The contents of the choirbooks in question were given by Joseph Mantuani in: *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum Praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindebonensi asservatorum. Edidit Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis*, vol. IX (*Codicum musicorum pars I*), cod. 15501–17500, Vindobonae 1897 (Nova Editio. Photomechanico impressa notulis marginalibus aucta, vol. IX–X, Cod. 15501–19500, Graz 1965), pp. 208–210, 216–221.

- 25 Z. M. Szweykowski, *Historia muzyki XVII wieku...*, part II, op. cit., pp. 14–20.
- 26 Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (Wolfenbüttel 1619), ed. facs. Kassel 1958, vol. III, chapter. II, p. 134; see also . S. Saunders, *Cross...*, op. cit., p. 69 and the following ones.
- 27 Z. M. Szweykowski, *Historia muzyki XVII wieku...*“ part II, op. cit., pp. 49, 54.
- 28 RISM 1604².
- 29 R. Jackson, *Marenzio, Poland...*, op. cit., pp. 625–626; B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, ‘Missa super Iniquos...’, op. cit., pp. 5–6.
- 30 Hans Engel, *Luca Marenzio*, Firenze 1956, p. 252.
- 31 Luca Marenzio: *Opera omnia*, ed. Bernhard Meier & Roland Jackson, *Musica sacra*, vol. VII, in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 72, Neuhausen–Stuttgart 2000.
- 32 R. Jackson, *Marenzio, Poland...*, op. cit., pp. 623–625.
- 33 Incomplete *Te Deum laudamus*, publ. Roland Jackson, in: Luca Marenzio, *Opera omnia*, ed. Bernhard Meier & Roland Jackson, *Musica sacra*, vol. III, in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 72, Neuhausen–Stuttgart 1979.
- 34 It is thus difficult to agree with the opinion of Zygmunt M. Szweykowski (A. and Z. M. Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, op. cit., p. 142.), that “The most striking feature of Pacelli’s polychoral technique in the area of his compositions for two or more choirs is the almost total levelling out of the contrast of colour of particular ensembles. In the majority of his works both choirs have the same sets of voices and are notated in *chiavi naturali* (thus in keys: c¹ c³ c⁴ f⁴), which is especially apparent in the volume from 1597”.
- 35 S. Saunders, *Cross...*, op. cit., p. 39.
- 36 See Maria Pamuła, *Marenzio Luca*, in: *Encyklopedia muzyczna PWM, część biograficzna: m*, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, Kraków 2000, pp. 83–92.
- 37 See Steven Ledbetter, James Chater, Roland Jackson, *Marenzio Luca*, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 15, Macmillan Publishers Limited 2001, pp. 835–845 and Bernhard Janz, *Marenzio Luca*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, *Personenteil*, vol. 11: *Les-Men*, Kassel–Basel–London–New York–Prag 2004, cols. 1062–1075.
- 38 N. O’Regan, *Institutional Patronage...*, op. cit., pp. 32, 42–43, 73–74.
- 39 Marco Bizzarini, *Marenzio. La carriera di un musicista tra rinascimento e controriforma*. Rodengo Saiano 1998, pp. 219–220.
- 40 Manuscripts at Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (in the next appearances here BAV), Cappella Sistina 29 and 152. See Noel O’Regan, ‘The Introduction of Polychoral Music into the papal Chapel in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries’,

- in: *Collectanea II. Studien zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Kapelle. Tagungsbericht Heidelberg 1989*, ed. Bernhard Janz, Cittf del Vaticano 1994 (in the series *Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque Collectanea Acta Monumenta* 4), pp. 438, 445, 447.
- 41 *Psalmi, Motecta, et Antiphona, Salve Regina diversorum Auctorum: Octo vocibus concinnenda, selecta a Jo. Luca Conforti*, Roma 1592 (RISM 1592²). See also Ugo Giani, 'I due Magnificat VIII toni', in: *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzi and Mariella Sala, Brescia 1990, p. 221.
- 42 Manuscript at BAV, Cappella Giulia 25.
- 43 Cf. B. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Missa super Iniquos...', op. cit.
- 44 *Sacrae symphoniae...*, Nürnberg 1598, RISM 1598.
- 45 *Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio*, Nürnberg 1600 (RISM 1600²)
- 46 *Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias*, Strassburg 1611, 1612 (RISM 1611¹RISM 1612³).
- 47 *Promptuarii musici... pars quarta*, Strassburg 1617 (RISM 1617¹). On the presence of compositions from these anthologies (among them Marenzio's motets) in th Pelplin tablature, see Elżbieta Wojnowska, *Tabulatury pelplińskie w sieci repertuaru muzyki wokalne*, w: *Complexus effectuum musicologiae. Studia Mirosłao Perz septuagenario dedicata*, ed. Tomasz Jeż, Kraków 2003, pp. 75–90, in particular 81, 87.
- 48 A. and Z. M. Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, op. cit., p. 136.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 50 More information on this subject can be found in A. Patalas, *Twórczość kapelmistrzów...*, op. cit.
- 51 Cf. A. Leszczyńska, op. cit., p. 170. Probably not long after that Pacelli's compositions from *Sacrae cantiones* also became popular in Royal Prussia, which suggests they were copied from the 9-voice *Ecce sacerdos magnus* in a manuscript, fragments of which survive, indicated by Elżbieta Zwolińska, *Fragmenty rękopiśmienne partesów z początku XVII wieku z Archiwum Prowincji Małopolskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie (PL-KrATJ 1631)*, in: *Complexus effectuum...*, op. cit., pp. 53–64.
- 52 Cf. Eva-Katharina Ledel, *Private Briefe Kaiser Ferdinands III. an Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm 1640–1643, 1645. Eine Studie*, Wien 1995, for example pp. 28, 55–56.
- 53 Roma 1685, p. 52.
- 54 S. Saunders, *Cross...*, p. 64 and the following ones.
- 55 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus. Hs. 16703.
- 56 For example, included in the collection *Sacrorum concentuum pars prima* (Venezia 1618) by Priuli, see A. Biales, Op. cit. Also published in *Sacrorum concentuum pars altera* (Venezia 1619) and in *Missae [...] quatuor, sex et octo vocibus* (Venezia 1624), a collection dedicated to Pope Urban VIII.
- 57 In his opinion all polychorality "was contained" within the framework of *stile antico*. See Z. M. Szwejkowski, 'Marco Scacchi i jego uczniowie...', op. cit., pp. 27–46.
- 58 The (unfortunately) lost Mass by Marco Scacchi performed during the wedding of Władysław IV and Cecilia Renata in Warsaw in September 1637 was undoubtedly composed for the "Roman" *cori spezzati*. Performed spatially, according to some sources by 17 choirs, according to others by 14 or even 20 choirs, it constituted a Polish example of the colossal Baroque Roman style (see Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Włoskie wesela arcyksiążąt z Grazu a początki opery w Polsce', *Muzyka*, No. 3, 2005, p. 21).

59 Z. M. Szweykowski, 'Z problemów...', op. cit., pp. 130–137.