
The Careers of Italian Musicians Employed by the Polish Vasa Kings (1587–1668)

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In the years 1587–1668, the elected kings of Poland and grand dukes of Lithuania were members of the Polish branch of the Swedish Vasa dynasty: Sigismund III (Zygmunt III) and his two sons, Ladislaus IV (Władysław IV) and John Casimir (Jan Kazimierz).¹ Particularly prominent at their international courts were incomers from Italy: architects, painters, sculptors, merchants, military officers, court officials, papal diplomats, agents of Italian dukes and – most numerous of all – musicians.²

Currently, we know of over 120 Italians who ‘passed through’ the Chapel Royal during this period.³ It seems worth underlining that the number of Italian musicians at the Chapel Royal at this time was similar to that of the courts of Graz and Vienna put together. For fifty years, the ensemble was led exclusively by chapel-masters brought in from Italy (see Table 2.1). They were, for the most part, esteemed composers, who could already boast an impressive list of published collections of works prior to their arrival in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania: Annibale Stabile, Luca Marenzio, Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Asprilio Pacelli and Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Only the last of the Italian *maestri di cappella* to the Polish Vasas, Marco Scacchi, arrived from Rome at the court of Sigismund III without previous confirmed experience as a composer. For several years, he trained here under Anerio until he was ready to take over the direction of the ensemble.

Table 2.1 Italian *maestri di cappella* at the courts of Polish kings from the Vasa dynasty (in chronological order)

Annibale Stabile
engaged in Rome I or II 1595, died in Cracow (?) before 15 IV 1595
Luca Marenzio
engaged in Rome X 1595, arrived in Cracow XI/XII 1595 (?), left for Italy 1597 or 1598, died in Rome 22 VIII 1599
Giulio Cesare Gabussi
engaged in Milan, arrived in Cracow in summer (?) of 1601, left for Milan in summer (?) of 1602, back in Milan in VIII 1602, died in Milan IX 1611
Asprilio Pacelli
engaged in Rome X 1602, arrived in Cracow XI/XII 1602, died in Warsaw 14 V 1623
Giovanni Francesco Anerio
arrived in Warsaw 1624/25, left for Italy not earlier than 1629, probably in spring of 1630, died in Graz, buried 12 VI 1630
Marco Scacchi
arrived in Warsaw probably with G.F. Anerio 1624/25, <i>maestro di cappella</i> from 1632, left for Italy 1649, died in Gallese IX 1662

Besides the chapel-masters, also at the service of the kings of Poland were at least a dozen more renowned Italian composers both at home and abroad (see Table 2.2), as well as esteemed virtuoso instrumentalists and, above all, vocalists.

I would like to take a look at the historical and sociological context of the migration of Italian musicians to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, including the causes and circumstances of their departure for northern Europe and the subsequent career development of the members of the Chapel Royal – in the musical sphere as well as in other domains – including the benefits and detriment (if any) that their time at the courts of the Polish Vasa kings brought to their lives and creative work.

In considering the reasons for such a numerous migration of Italians, including musicians, towards the end of the sixteenth century and during

Table 2.2 Italian composers (excluding the chapel-masters) at the Polish royal court (selection in chronological order)

Francesco Maffon	from c. 1577 or earlier, died in Cracow (?) before II 1595, probably 1593/94
Diomedes Cato	from c. 1588 with long breaks, died in Gdańsk 1628
Vincenzo Bertolusi	1595 -1607, died in Copenhagen 1608
Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius)	from 1596, died in Poland before 1641
Antonio Patart	from 1596 (?), died in Poland (?) 1612 -1614
Giacomo Abbiati (Abbatis)	from c. 1601, died in Poland 1634
Lorenzo Bellotti	from 1601, died in Poland 1624/1625
Alfonso Pagani	1601 -1609, left for Bologna, active there until 1634
Ippolito Bonanni	1601 - c. 1611, left for Graz, active in Vienna in 1619
Giulio Osculati	1601 -1614 or shorter, left for Lodi (near Cremona)
Antonio Taroni	c. 1601 -1607, left for Parma and Mantua
Simone Amorosi	1602 -1607, left for Rome
Raffaele Veggio	1604 or earlier -1624 or longer
Giovanni Valentini	c. 1604 -1614, left for Graz, died in Vienna 1649
Tarquinio Merula	c. 1621 - c. 1625, left for Cremona, died in Cremona 1665
Pellegrino Muti	before 1625
Franciszek Lilius (Francesco Gigli)	before 1630, born in Poland (?), left for the Cathedral chapel in Cracow in 1630, died in Poland 1657
Simonelli Angelo(?)	c. 1628, left for Vienna
Vincenzo Scapitta da Valenza	1636 or 1637-1655; died in Vienna 1656
Michelangelo Brunerio	1643 or later (before 1646)-1649; left for Rome
Aldebrando Subissati	1650 or earlier-1654; died in Fossombrone (Marche) 1677

the seventeenth century to Poland-Lithuania (as well as to other countries), one must examine the historical context, and mention the disastrous famine which afflicted the Apennine Peninsula in the 1590s. This caused a huge rise in living costs, and – alongside other factors, of a chiefly political nature – a financial deficit at the courts of the rulers of duchies and principalities and in the papal coffers as well. One of the consequences of this state of affairs was a reduction in the numbers of musicians employed, or arrears in their remuneration. The same occurred in other areas of life in Italy at that time.

Due to unemployment and the continuing high prices, the promises of sizeable earnings made by Sigismund III's envoys recruiting musicians in Italy proved sufficient incentive for singers and instrumentalists who could well be described as musical craftsmen. Of crucial importance in the successful recruitment for the Polish King of the most highly renowned musicians, besides the monetary lure, proved to be diplomatic activities, and the securing of support both from the authorities of the Italian duchies and from influential cardinals, as well as Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605).

Preserved documents from the papal nunciature allow one to surmise that the decision of Annibale Stabile to resign as chapel-master of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and to leave for Poland in 1595 was influenced not only by the proposed annual salary of 1000 scudos – unheard of in Italy at that time – but also by the persuasion of church leaders. Ultimately – as we have learned only recently – Stabile died on the way to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, or shortly after his arrival in Cracow, and so failed to make his fortune there.⁴

The news of his death certainly did nothing to encourage other musicians to make the long journey. The next candidate (whose name is not known) for the post of chapel-master to the King of Poland declined the proposition.⁵ The correspondence of Luca Marenzio reveals that he too was decidedly against travelling to Poland, but received instructions to depart from his patron, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII, and from the pontiff himself. So the huge sum of 1500 scudos a year that Marenzio is supposed to have received as *maestro di cappella* at the court of Sigismund III was not the decisive factor, although it undoubtedly proved a certain consolation.⁶

In supporting the musical plans of Sigismund III, Clement VIII was motivated by political considerations – above all, the desire to win the King of Poland over to his plans for organising a league of Catholic states against Turkey. The Pope, who as Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini had previously visited Poland and met Sigismund III, also saw further tasks for him of crucial importance to the Catholic Church, including the re-Catholicisation of Sweden and the Catholicisation of Muscovy.⁷

It may be assumed that the wishes of Clement VIII also played a part in the decision to take up the post of *maestro di cappella* at the court of Sigismund III by Asprilio Pacelli, who resigned from the prestigious post of chapel-master of the Cappella Giulia after only six months in charge, leaving for Cracow in October 1602.⁸ There was undoubtedly also a political subtext to the ‘offering’ made in 1625 to the King of Poland by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII, of Baldassare Ferri, a very young castrato who went on to become the greatest star of the Polish Vasa court.⁹ After 30 years’ service there, he continued his career at the imperial court. The recruitment in Rome was very successful. We know of over 20 musicians born in Rome or sometimes active there, who were employed at the Polish royal court (see Table 2.3).¹⁰

Musicians are known to have travelled to Poland also from other centres,¹¹ and not only because of the support of the ecclesiastic authorities. Some Italians switched to the chapel of Sigismund III from the archducal court in Graz, which provided Sigismund with two successive wives. Efforts to support the endeavours of the Polish King were made by the dukes of Tuscany, Parma and Urbino, as well as by Polish magnates, including Zygmunt Gonzaga Myszkowski, the adopted son of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. However, these efforts were not always crowned with success.

In September 1595, Ferdinando de’ Medici prepared a letter of recommendation for Francesco Rasi, who was clearly lined up for service at the court of Sigismund III. However, Rasi failed to take up the recommendation, and, refusing permanent duties in the Polish King’s chapel, he travelled to the Cracow and Warsaw as a kind of tourist, in the entourage of Bishop Benedetto Mandina, who journeyed to Poland-Lithuania in 1596 for talks

Table 2.3 Italian musicians at the Polish court identified as Romans or sometimes before coming to Poland active in Rome (in chronological order)

Annibale Stabile – <i>maestro di cappella</i>	Giovanni Battista Jacobelli – <i>tenore</i>
Luca Marenzio – <i>maestro di cappella</i>	Corrado de’ Priori – <i>alto</i>
Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius) – <i>tenore</i>	Alessandro Foresti – <i>basso</i>
Ippolito Bonanni – <i>alto</i>	(Domenico) Antonio Buttafoco – <i>alto</i>
Asprilio Pacelli – <i>maestro di cappella</i>	Virgilio Puccitelli – <i>soprano</i> , librettist
Simone Amorosi – <i>alto</i>	Lodovico Fantoni – <i>soprano</i>
Fabrizio Tiranni – <i>alto</i>	Giuseppe Amadei – <i>tenore</i>
Pietro Giorgio Piccolini – <i>basso</i>	Giovanni Battista Jacobelli – <i>tenore</i>
Pellegrino Muti – <i>tenore</i> , instrumentalist	Giovanni Battista Gisleni – <i>teorbist</i> , architect, sculptor
Baldassare Ferri – <i>soprano</i>	Michelangelo Brunerio – <i>basso</i>
Giovanni Francesco Anerio – <i>maestro di cappella</i>	Pietro Crati – <i>soprano</i>
Marco Scacchi – violinist, <i>maestro di cappella</i>	Aldebrando Subissati – violinist

on the anti-Turkish league.¹² Another singer, Francesco Campagnolo, who worked at the court in Mantua, was urged to travel to Poland in 1609 by Zygmunt Gonzaga Myszkowski. He declined, deeming the country, its barbaric language and its customs disagreeable to him.¹³ Among the celebrated musicians that are known to have resisted enticements to leave for the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania was Claudio Monteverdi and Vincenzo Ugolini.¹⁴

Nevertheless, some of the Italian musicians who did end up at the Polish royal court undoubtedly gained something positive from the experience. Some assimilated themselves in Poland, started families, built houses and stayed for a long time – in some cases for the rest of their lives. One such example is Giacomo Abbiati (known in Poland as *Jacobus Abbatis*), an alto-singer born in Reggio, once in the service of the Duke of Mantua Vincenzo Gonzaga. He arrived in Cracow c. 1601, sang in the music chapel of Sigismund III, published his polychoral motet *Ego sum pastor bonus* in a collection

of music composed by members of Polish King's ensemble entitled *Melodiae sacrae* (Cracow 1604), served as royal agent to recruit Italian musicians in the 1610s,¹⁵ got married in Poland, had legal and illegal children, gained considerable fortune and died in 1634,¹⁶ after over 30 years spent there.¹⁷

It would appear that there were also those who, upon returning to Italy, encouraged their fellow countrymen to leave for the court of the Polish Vasas. This may have been the case of Giulio Osculati, who after several years' service in the chapel of Sigismund III returned to his native Lodi and became chapel-master in the cathedral there, where the organist was Tarquinio Merula. The fact that some time later Merula left for the Commonwealth suggests that Osculati did not portray his time in Poland in a particularly bad light.¹⁸

Not all the Italian musicians who came to the court of the kings of Poland remained in a musical profession. In a considerable number of cases – doubtless of less than outstanding musicians – the departure for a distant land gave them an opportunity to display other skills and to spread their wings in other domains. Among the sought-after skills at the Polish court were a knowledge of Italian and experience of the world. As a result, several musicians were appointed as royal secretaries or diplomatic agents (see Table 2.4). Under the reign of Sigismund III, the alto Antonio Taroni (Tarroni), from Parma,¹⁹ enjoyed the particular trust of the King and other European rulers in his capacity as an agent. From 1604, soon after his arrival in Cracow, he led negotiations for the transfer of several of the Italian musicians of Sigismund III to the Danish court of King Christian IV.²⁰ As a result, in 1607, the organist Vincenzo Bertolusi and the violist Jacopo Merlis left for Denmark,²¹ together with two tenors, one of them the Parman, Alfonso Paganini.²² Taroni himself transferred to Parma and then to Mantua, and after a brief spell of service with the Gonzaga family (in 1609 and 1612 as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Barbara Chapel), he took up the recruitment of Italian musicians for the King of Poland and for Archduke Charles Habsburg, Bishop of Wrocław.²³ He also became a diplomatic agent to both Sigismund III and Ferdinand II (the emperor).²⁴ In Mantua, according to Giuseppe Ot-

tavio Pitoni, Taroni was active as a composer and received a canonical office at Santa Barbara Chapel.²⁵

Among the members of the Polish royal ensemble were also agents of other courts. Alessandro Cilli was employed in such a capacity by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.²⁶ Meanwhile, the organist Angelo Simonelli, active during the 1620s at the court of Sigismund III,²⁷ later served as a royal agent in Vienna during the reigns of Ladislaus IV and John Casimir.²⁸ A great career was enjoyed in Poland by Virgilio Puccitelli from San Severino in Marche, who is likely to have arrived in Warsaw towards the end of Sigismund III's reign and was probably initially employed as a castrato-soprano. From 1634 he was royal secretary for Italian-language correspondence, travelled on diplomatic missions to Naples and France, and above all became court librettist – the author of texts to at least eight *drammi per musica* published in print and sent around Europe, and staged at the royal court during the reign of Ladislaus IV.²⁹ Two priest-singers who arrived in Warsaw from Rome c. 1633, the soprano Lodovico Fantoni, who in 1629 failed to win a place in the Cappella Sistina,³⁰ and the tenor Giovanni Battista Jacobelli,³¹ performed in the royal chapel for a dozen years or so before making careers in administration, diplomacy (especially important was position in this sphere of Fantoni³²) and the church, amassing considerable fortunes and rising to canonical office.

Of course, most members of the chapel of the kings of Poland were involved chiefly in music, where they gained honours and financial success. The first chapel-master to settle in the Commonwealth was Asprilio Pacelli. Unfortunately, it is not known how much he earned, but his salary was certainly high. From fragmentarily preserved sources, we know that he leant substantial sums of money, including to the nuncio Francesco Simonetta,³³ and before his death he established legacies for the Cappella Giulia³⁴ and the Brotherhood of Compassion in Warsaw.³⁵ Pacelli died in Warsaw in 1623, after more than twenty years at the helm of the Chapel Royal. To commemorate his service, Sigismund III funded a tombstone with a sculpted effigy of the musician's head in the collegiate church of St John the Baptist (the epitaph, destroyed during World War Two, is known thanks to the earlier made photo – see Figure 2.1).³⁶



Figure 2.1 Pacelli's tombstone in the collegiate church in Warsaw. Photo kept in the Photographic Archives of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw

Table 2.4 Italian musicians active as agents of the Polish Vasa kings or other rulers (in chronological order)

Matteo Foresti, agent of Vincenzo Gonzaga (in Poland 1593 or 1594)
Alessandro Cilli, agent of Ferdinando and Cosimo de' Medici (in the Polish chapel 1595–1617)
Giacomo Abbiati (Abbatis), agent of Sigismund III in the 1610s (in the Polish chapel from c. 1601, died in Poland 1634)
Antonio Taroni (Tarroni), agent of Sigismund III, Ferdinand II Habsburg and Archduke Charles Habsburg in the 1610s and 1620s (in the Polish chapel 1604–1607)
Ignazio Giorgio Recinetti, agent of Ladislaus IV, died during the mission in Italy in 1639
Virgilio Puccitelli, agent of Ladislaus IV in the 1630s and 1640s (at the Polish court probably from the end of 1620s until 1649; mainly as a librettist and royal secretary)
Angelo Simonelli, agent of Ladislaus IV and John Casimir in the 1640s (perhaps also earlier) and 1650s (at the court of Sigismund III at least in 1628)
Lodovico Fantoni, agent of Ladislaus IV and John Casimir from the 1630s (in the Polish chapel c. 1633–1649 or shorter; later in canonical office and diplomacy, died in Poland in 1681)
Giovanni Battista Gisleni, agent of Ladislaus IV in the 1640s (at the Polish court c. 1630–1654; mainly as an architect and sculptor)

An even longer time in Poland-Lithuania was spent by Marco Scacchi, the last Italian *maestro di cappella* at the Polish royal court in the seventeenth century. In general, according to known sources, five Italian musicians were in the service of the Polish Vasa kings (employed in musical and other spheres) more than 30 years, and 12 Italians more than 20 years (see Tables 2.5–6).

For some Italian musicians, the chapel of the Polish Vasa kings became a springboard to a further, greater career. Such was the case of Giovanni Valentini, who, after around ten years' service as organist in the ensemble of Sigismund III, with at least three published (in Venice) collections of vocal and instrumental works to his name, transferred in 1614 to the archducal

Table 2.5 Italian musicians in the service of the Polish Vasa kings over a period of 30 years

Vincenzo Gigli (Lilius) – singer
Giacomo Abbiati (Abbatis) – singer, agent
Giovanni Marco Materani (Materanus) – singer
Baldassare Ferri – singer
Lodovico Fantoni – singer, secretary, agent, priest

Table 2.6 Italian musicians in the service of the Polish Vasa kings over a period of 20 years

Asprilio Pacelli – *maestro di cappella*
Lorenzo Bellotti – singer
Abrahamo Zitte – cornetist
Antonio Taroni – singer, agent
Giovanni Maria Brancherini – singer
Alessandro Paradisi – singer
Marco Scacchi – violinist, *maestro di cappella*
Angelo Simonelli – organist, agent
Virgilio Puccitelli – singer (?), secretary, librettist
Giovanni Battista Gisleni – teorbist, architect, sculptor, agent
Giovanni Battista Jacobelli – singer, priest
Giovanni Maria Scalona – singer

court in Graz, and when Archduke Ferdinand was elected emperor, in 1619, he became imperial organist, and finally, in 1626, chapel-master – a post he held until his death, in 1649.³⁷

Sojourns in the Commonwealth were written of as something out-of-the-ordinary in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century biographies of musicians, as, for example, in a brief biography of Marenzio by Ottavio Rossi or by Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni.³⁸ Information relating to the service of musicians at the court of the kings of Poland was also given on tombstones; one example here, besides Pacelli's epitaph in Warsaw, is that of Subissati in the

Marche town of Fossombrone (which no longer survives),³⁹ on which, however, not all the information inscribed was correct. This outstanding violinist and composer was a musician not – as one could read on the stone – of Emperor Leopold, but of his uncle, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Bishop of Passau and Olomouc.⁴⁰ The epitaph gave the accurate information that he worked for the King of Poland, John Casimir, and the Queen of Sweden, Christina, when she settled in Rome following her abdication.

For many Italian musicians, their sojourn in Poland was not merely a brief episode, after which they either returned to their homeland or transferred to another European court. That was the case of Luca Marenzio. He was chapel-master of Sigismund III's ensemble for only a short time – perhaps eighteen months, perhaps two and a half years – yet this period appears to have opened up new possibilities for the composer. It was during this time that Marenzio had the opportunity to compose polychoral religious music on a greater scale, including Masses. All the extant polychoral mass cycles unquestionably composed by him are held in collections in central and northern Europe. In all probability, they were written during his time at the court of the King of Poland. With regard to the only known Mass for two choirs by Marenzio to have come down to us intact – *Missa super Iniquos odio habui* – we can surmise that it was composed in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, and performed on 13 October 1596 at the collegiate church of St John the Baptist in Warsaw.⁴¹

There is nothing to indicate that during Marenzio's time in Poland the works that he was composing were published. The weakness of Polish music publishing is certain to have constituted a powerful argument for creative musicians to relinquish their service at the court of Sigismund III and his sons. Although several Italian musicians of Sigismund III and Ladislaus IV did publish their works in Venice, Rome, Frankfurt am Main, and Königsberg / Królewiec (now Kaliningrad) during their stay in Poland, there is no doubt that the distance from printing centres severely limited the number of compositions they had published. In the case of musicians who remained for a longer time in the Commonwealth, such as Asprilio Pacelli and Marco Scacchi, this situation doubtless led to a substantial part of their composi-

tional output – their unpublished works – being lost. It is possible that the extant works by these musicians, familiar from a relatively small number of prints, are not representative of their complete oeuvre.

A significant loss for the composer, as well as for Italian and European musical culture, appears to have been caused by the sojourn in Poland of Giovanni Francesco Anerio. As we know, Anerio was intending to publish the works he had composed during his few years at the court of Sigismund III, and in 1630, with this aim in mind, he gathered up his manuscripts and left for Italy. During the journey, he fell ill, stopped off in Graz, and died, and his compositions became scattered and for the most part undoubtedly irredeemably lost. However, Anerio's activities in the Commonwealth were not without their positive aspects. For the composer himself, these may have included what was probably a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to produce (and possibly contribute to the composing of) a *dramma per musica*. The work in question is the first documented operatic production in Poland – the 'favola' *Gli amori d'Acis e Galatea*, to a somewhat altered text by Gabriele Chiabrera, which was staged in Warsaw in 1628.⁴² Of fundamental importance for musical culture in Poland was Anerio's training of a young generation of Italian and domestic composers belonging to the chapel of King Sigismund Vasa.

Among the former was Marco Scacchi, who in his mature years, as chapel-master to Ladislaus IV and John Casimir achieved renown and very high financial remuneration (during the last years of his stay in Poland, whence he left for Italy most probably in 1649, he was earning as much as 2400 florins per annum;⁴³ he also enjoyed additional privileges and endowments of land,⁴⁴ even possessing a manor house in Warsaw⁴⁵). Arrival in Poland gave him the chance to forge a career on at least a central and northern European scale. Whilst his elder brother Pellegrino, who remained behind in Rome, is known almost solely as a performer – an organist playing in the churches of Rome and occasionally for productions of *drammi per musica* in the Barberini theatre – Marco Scacchi not only led a royal chapel for 17 years, directed *drammi per musica*, madrigals and religious music in *prima* and *seconda prattica*, but also devised a classification of musical genres that was acknowledged for one hundred years. The influence of this classification

on composers active in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the second half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century may have acted more as a brake than a stimulus to their creative invention... but that is another matter entirely.

Translated by John Comber

Notes

- 1 Sigismund III (Zygmunt III) – born in 1566 in Gripsholm (Sweden), crowned in 1587 in Cracow (1592–1599 also king of Sweden), died in 1632 in Warsaw; Ladislaus IV (Władysław IV) – born in 1595 in Łobzów near (now in) Cracow, crowned in 1633, died in 1648 in Vilnius; John Casimir (Jan Kazimierz) – born in 1609 in Cracow, crowned in 1649, abdicated in 1668, died in 1672 in Nevers (France).
- 2 See Wojciech Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację* (Italians in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Centuries Poland. The Lost Chance of Modernisation) (= Biblioteka „Więzi” 178), (Warsaw: Biblioteka „Więzi”, 2005).
- 3 One can find names of about 100 Italian musicians active at the Polish Vasa’s courts in: Anna and Zygmunt M. Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* (Italians in the Chapel Royal at the Polish Vasa Kings) (= Acta Musicologica Universitatis Cracoviensis 3), (Cracow: Musica Iagellonica, 1997), pp. 122–3. All the names currently known are listed in: Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów* (Musical Courts of Polish Vasa Kings), (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2007), see especially ‘Słownik muzyków polskich Wazów,’ (Dictionary of musicians of the Polish Vasas) pp. 151–223.
- 4 Marco Bizzarini, *Marenzio. La carriera di un musicista tra rinascimento e controriforma* (Rodengo Saiano: Promozione Franciacorta, 1998), pp. 208–9; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, ‘Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli Zygmunta III Wazy,’ (Annibale Stabile and the Beginnings of the Italian Cappella of Sigismund III Vasa) *Muzyka* 46 (2001/2), pp. 93–9; by the same author, ‘Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i z innych rzymskich zespołów muzycznych w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów,’ (Musicians from the Cappella Giulia and other Roman Musical Ensembles working in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the Reign of the Vasas) *Muzyka* 49 (2004/1), pp. 33–4.
- 5 See a letter of Stanisław Reszka to Bartłomiej Kos, Naples, 28 VII 1595, edited in: Teodor Wierzbowski, *Materiały do dziejów piśmiennictwa polskiego i biografii pisarzy polskich, vol. 1: 1398-1600* (Material Relating to the History of Polish Literature and the Biographies of Polish Writers), (Warsaw, 1900), doc. 448 (quoted in: Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, pp. 23–4).
- 6 Hans Engel, *Luca Marenzio* (Firenze: Olschki 1956), pp. 72–3; Steven Ledbetter, *Luca Marenzio: New Biographical Findings* (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1971), p. 232ff; Bizzarini, *Marenzio*, pp. 208–13.
- 7 Leopold von Ranke, *Dzieje Papieżstwa w XVI-XIX wieku* (original title: *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten*), Polish translation by Jan Zaráński and

- Zbigniew Żabicki, introduction by Marian H. Serejski (vol. 2, Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981), p. 125ff.
- 8 Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Musicisti Umbri nella Cappella Giulia di San Pietro in Vaticano dalle origini agli inizi del Seicento. Con una nota sul magistero padovano di fra Rufino Cecchi Bartolucci di Assisi,' in: *Arte e Musica in Umbria tra Cinquecento e Seicento. Atti del XII Convegno di Studi Umbri. Gubbio-Gualdo Tadino. 30 novembre-2 dicembre 1979*, ed. Bianca Maria Brumana (Gubbio: Centro di Studi Umbri, 1981), p. 141; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzycy z Cappella Giulia', pp. 38-40.
- 9 Frederick Hammond, 'More on Music in Casa Barberini,' *Studi musicali* 14 (1985/2), p. 239. See also Anna Szwejkowska, 'Panorama muzycznego Rzymu,' (A Panorama of the Music of Rome) in: Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, *Między sztuką a ekspresją II. Rzym* (Between Art and Expression II. Rome), (Cracow: Musica Iagellonica, 1994), p. 35.
- 10 Musicians from Rome (Marcantonio Ferrucci - basso and Giovanni Vannarelli - soprano) were active also at the court of Karol Ferdynand (Charles Ferdinand) Vasa, stepbrother of Ladislaus IV and brother of John Casimir, Bishop of Wrocław and Płock.
- 11 The only *maestro di cappella* who did not come from Rome was Giulio Cesare Gabussi born in Bologna and active mostly in Milan, see Wiarosław Sandelewski, 'Giulio Cesare Gabussi a kapela Zygmunta III w latach 1596-1602,' (Giulio Cesare Gabussi and the Cappella of Sigismund III in the years 1596-1602) *Muzyka* 8 (1963/1-2), pp. 60-74.
- 12 Warren Kirkendale, 'Zur Biographie des ersten Orfeo, Francesco Rasi,' in: *Claudio Monteverdi. Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1986), pp. 297-335; Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, pp. 30-4; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'W poszukiwaniu dawnej świetności. Głosy do książki Anny i Zygmunta Szwejkowskich „Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów” (Kraków 1997),' (In Search of Former Splendour. Comments on the book by Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski "Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Vasa Kings" (1997)) *Muzyka* 43 (1998/2), p. 97.
- 13 Susan Helen Parisi, *Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua, 1587-1627: An Archival Study* (vol. 2, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), p. 424.
- 14 Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, p. 80-1; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Marcin Mielczewski i muzyka pod patronatem polskich Wazów* (Marcin Mielczewski and Music under the Patronage of Polish Vasas), in print.
- 15 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 1001, fasc. IV5, fol. 533-534; busta 1001, fasc. IV3, fol. 304.
- 16 Hieronim Feicht, 'Przyczynki do dziejów kapeli królewskiej w Warszawie za rządów kapelmistrzowskich Marka Scacchiego,' (Contributions to the History of the Royal Chapel in Warsaw under the Direction of Marco Scacchi) *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1 (1928) and 2 (1929), reprint in: Hieronim Feicht, *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku* (Studies on the Music of the Polish Renaissance and Baroque), (joint edition, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1980), pp. 255-6; Andrzej Sołtan, 'Muzycy warszawscy w latach 1583-1655,' (Warsaw Musicians in the years 1583-1655) *Rocznik Warszawski* 18 (1985), p. 38.
- 17 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, 'Słownik muzyków', *Abbiati [Abbatis] Giacomo* [entry], p. 151.

- 18 Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, p. 73.
- 19 See Nestore Pelicelli, 'Musicisti in Parma nel sec. XVII - La Cappella della Steccata - Musicisti alla Cappella corale della Steccata nel sec. XVII,' *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 9 (1932/3-4), p. 223.
- 20 Władysław Czapliński, 'Przyczynki do dziejów mecenatu artystycznego Zygmunta III,' (Contributions to the History of the Patronage of Arts Bestowed by Sigismund III) in: *Sarmatia artistica. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci prof. Władysława Tomkiewicza* (Sarmatia artistica. A Commemorative Book in Honour of Prof. Władysław Tomkiewicz), eds. Jan Białostocki et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968), pp. 95-100.
- 21 Angul Hammerich, Catharinus Elling, 'Die Musik am Hofe Christian's IV. von Dänemark,' *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1893), p. 72; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'W poszukiwaniu', p. 101. Jacopo Merlis, known from 1607 in Denmark, earlier was active in Poland, as confirmed in sources from 1606 kept in Cracow, Archiwum Państwowe [State Archive], Archiwum Miasta Krakowa 229: *Acta iudicii Cracoviensis 1605-1606*, pp. 1046, 1048, 1050, 1072, 1120.
- 22 On Alfonso Paganini see Nestore Pelicelli, 'Musicisti in Parma nei sec. XV-XVI,' *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 8 (1931/3), p. 212.
- 23 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Starania biskupa wrocławskiego Karola Habsburga o pozyskanie włoskich śpiewaków (1621-1622),' (The Attempts of Charles Habsburg, Bishop of Wrocław, to attract Italian Singers (1621-1622)) *Res Facta Nova* 6 (15) (2003) (as: 'Studia dedykowane Paolo Emilio Carapezzy na Jego sześćdziesiąte piąte urodziny przez przyjaciół sycylijskich i polskich' [Studies Dedicated to Paolo Emilio Carapezza, on the 65th Anniversary of his Birth, by Sicilian and Polish Friends]), 2003, p. 131.
- 24 Walter Leitsch, 'Die Bemühungen Zygmunts III. von Polen um die Kardinalswürde für Claudio Rangoni,' *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 31 (1978), pp. 42, 46-9. See also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, 'Słownik muzyków', *Taroni [Taroni] Antonio* [entry], p. 217.
- 25 Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti e compositori di musica* (= Studi e testi per la storia della musica 6), ed. Cesarino Ruini (Firenze: Olschki, 1988), p. 235.
- 26 Aleksander Poliński, *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* (An Outline History of Polish Music), (Lviv: Księgarnia H. Altenberga and Warsaw: E. Wende, 1907), p. 120; Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, pp. 58-60.
- 27 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzyka i finanse. Nieznane źródła do dziejów życia muzycznego na dworze królewskim polskich Wazów (I),' (Music and Finance. Unknown Sources for the History of Musical Life at the Court of Polish Vasa Kings (I)) *Muzyka* 44 (1999/1), p. 94.
- 28 Cf. Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory*, 'Słownik muzyków', *Simonelli Angelo* [entry], p. 211.
- 29 Among others Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski Władysława IV (1635-1648)* (The Court Theatre of Ladislaus IV (1635-1648)), (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1965), passim; Anna Szweykowska, *Dramma per musica w teatrze Wazów 1635-1648* (The Dramma per Musica in the Theatre of the Vasa Kings 1635-1648), (Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976), passim.

- 30 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, Diari 48, fol. 62.
- 31 Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, p. 119; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzycy z Cappella Giulia', p. 47.
- 32 Alberto Vimina, *Historia delle guerre civili di Polonia* (Venezia: Gio. Pietro Pinelli, 1671), p. 21, quoted in: Rita Mazzei, *Traffici e uomini d'affari italiani in Polonia nel Seicento* (Milano: F. Angeli, 1983), p. 80 and Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, p. 118. See also Karolina Targosz, *Uczony dwór Ludwiki Marii Gonzagi (1646-1667). Z dziejów polsko-francuskich stosunków naukowych* (The Learned Court of Quenn Marie-Louise Gonzaga (1646-1667). From the History of Polish-French Scholarly Relations), (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975), p. 73; Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce*, pp. 528-9.
- 33 See Adalbertus [Wojciech] Tygielski, 'Introductio,' in: *Franciscus Simonetta (1606-1612), vol 1: (21 VI 1606-30 IX 1607)* (= Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae 18), ed. Adalbertus Tygielski (Romae: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1990), p. XIII.
- 34 Rostirolla, 'Musicisti umbri', p. 141; Aleksandra Patalas, *Twórczość kapelmistrzów polskich Wazów. A. Pacelli, G.F. Anerio, M. Scacchi* (The Compositional Output of the Chapel-Masters of the Polish Vasa Kings), (Ph.D. dissertation, Cracow, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1998), p. 12; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzycy z Cappella Giulia', p. 39.
- 35 Andrzej Karpiński, *Pauperes. O mieszkańcach Warszawy XVI i XVII wieku* (Pauperes. On the Inhabitants of Warsaw in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), p. 331.
- 36 On Asprilio Pacelli see also Mateusz Gliński, *Asprilio Pacelli. Insigne Maestro di Cappella della Corte Reale di Polonia (1570-1623)* (Città del Vaticano: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1941).
- 37 Hellmut Federhofer, 'Graz Court Musicians and their Contributions to the „Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus” (1615),' *Musica Disciplina* 9 (1955), p. 242; Sołtan, 'Muzycy warszawscy', p. 57; Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre. Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1615-1637)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 64ff; Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli*, pp. 54-7; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Starania biskupa wrocławskiego', p. 129.
- 38 [Ottavio Rossi], *Elogi historici di Bresciani illustri. Teatro di Ottavio Rossi* (Brescia: Bartolomeo Fontana, 1620), pp. 490-1; Pitoni, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti*, p. 152.
- 39 Raoul Pacciaroni, 'Skrzypek kapeli Jana Kazimierza - Aldebrando Subissati,' (Aldebrando Subissati, a Violinist in the Cappella of John Casimir) *Muzyka* 25 (1980/3), pp. 118-22.
- 40 Aldebrando Subissati was in the service of Leopold Wilhelm in 1644 as tells us the source from the Klosterneuburg Archive in Vienna indicated in: Herbert Seifert, 'Polonica-Austriaca. Schlaglichter auf polnisch-österreichische Musikbeziehungen vom 17. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert,' in: *Muzyka wobec tradycji. Idee - dzieło - recepcja* (Music vs Tradition. Ideas - Work - Reception) (= Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsaviensis 14), ed. Szymon Paczkowski (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2004), p. 254. See also Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Muzycy z Cappella Giulia', p. 50.
- 41 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, '„Missa super Iniquos odio habui” - warszawska msza w formie echa Luki Marenzia?,' *Muzyka* 49 (2004/3), pp. 3-39; also English

version as: 'On the Trail of Luca Marenzio's Works Composed in Poland: 'Missa super Iniquos odio habui','*De Musica* 11: *Nuove Pagine* 2 (2005) (http://free.art.pl/demusica/de_mu_11/np_01.html).

- 42 See Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Warszawska „Galatea” (1628) – fakty i domysły,' (The Warsaw „Galatea” (1628) – Facts and Guesses) *Muzyka* 48 (2003/4), pp. 95–118; Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, 'Włoskie wesela arcyksiążąt z Grazu a początki opery w Polsce,' (The Italian Weddings of the Archdukes of Graz and the Beginnings of Opera in Poland) *Muzyka* 50 (2005/3), pp. 17–9.
- 43 See *Materialy odnosząca się k ekonomiczskomu sostojaniu goroda Vilny v XVII v.*, Vil'na 1915 (Material Relating to the Economical Position of Vilnius in the 17th Century), *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoju Archeografičeskoju Kommissieju dlia razbora drevnich aktov* (Records edited by Vilnius Archeographical Committee for Studies on the Old Documents), vol. XL (unpublished, Vilnius, Vilniaus Universiteto Biblioteka, F-3, 281).
- 44 Feicht, *Studia nad muzyką*, p. 246–52.
- 45 Mentioned in: Adam Jarzębski, *Gościniec abo krotkie opisanie Warszawy* (The Highway, or a Brief Description of Warsaw), (Warsaw, 1643), new edition by Władysław Tomkiewicz (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), pp. 163, 243.