

Research on
18th-Century
Music in Poland.

An Introduction

SZYMON PACZKOWSKI

University of Warsaw

Email: sz.paczkowski@uw.edu.pl

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ABSTRACT

Research on 18th-century music has been one of the key areas of interest for musicologists ever since the beginnings of musicological studies in Poland. It initially developed along two distinct lines: general music history (with publications mostly in foreign languages) and local history (mostly in Polish). In the last three decades the dominant tendency among Polish researchers has been, however, to relate problems of 18th-century Polish musical culture to the political history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and more generally – to the political history of Central Europe at large. The most important subjects taken up in research on 18th-century music include: the musical cultures of the royal court in 18th-century Warsaw (primarily in the works of Alina Żórawska-Witkowska) as well as Polish aristocratic residences (e.g. studies by Szymon Paczkowski and Irena Bieńkowska), the ecclesiastical and monastic circles (publications by Alina Mądry, Paweł Podejko, Remigiusz Pośpiech and Tomasz Jeż); problems of musical style (texts by Szymon Paczkowski); research on sources containing music by European composers (e.g. by Johann Adolf Hasse); the musical culture of cities (of Gdańsk, first and foremost); studies concerning the transfer of music and music-related materials, the musical centres and peripheries, etc.

Keywords: research history, 18th century, royal court, Warsaw, Dresden, aristocratic courts, urban centres, Gdańsk, monastic centres, Jasna Góra, J.A. Hasse

18th-century music is one of the key and best recognised areas of interest for historical musicology in Poland. Studies concerning this historical period already have a tradition that extends back over more than a hundred years, starting with the contributions of Adolf Chybiński, Łucjan Kamieński, Alicja Simon, Zdzisław Jachimecki and many other eminent Polish scholars of the generation working in the early 20th century. It was this generation, educated at the best German and Austrian universities in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries (when Poland was still partitioned and did not exist as a state) who first introduced Polish musicology to the world with their numerous publications – many of which are still considered as fundamental in their respective fields. These include the still commonly read and quoted works of Adolf Chybiński, such as *Die deutschen Theoretiker im 16.–18. Jahrhundert und die polnische Musik*, as well as Łucjan Kamieński's *Die Oratorien von Johann Adolf Hasse* and Alicja Simon's *Polnische Elemente in der deutschen Musik bis zur Zeit der Wiener Klassiker*.¹ Notably,

the above-listed studies and dissertations from the very beginning managed to attract an international audience, both owing to their significance at the time of creation and to their academic accuracy and reliability – as well as due to the fact that they were published in German, which in the 1st half of the 20th century remained the musicologists' *lingua franca*.

Already in the early decades of the 20th century Polish musicologists made bold progress in a field that seemed reserved exclusively for German scholars – namely, research into the life and work of Johann Sebastian Bach. Wanda Landowska was respected not only as an eminent pianist, harpsichordist and pioneer of historically-informed performance practice, but also as an excellent musicologist and a Bach expert, whose papers on the Leipzig cantor, French harpsichord masters and other 18th-century composers, as well as her then ground-breaking analyses of the *Goldberg Variations* and *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* – were published in leading musicological periodicals almost throughout Europe, including such titles as the "Bach-Jahrbuch", "Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musique", "Revue musicale", and many others.² Landowska's pioneering study *Musique Ancienne. Style – Interpretations – Instruments – Artistes* (Paris 1909),³ which focused mostly on 18th century music, was considered in its own time as a fundamental work on early music interpretation and performance, a source of knowledge and inspiration for many generations of musicians and musicologists. It was translated from French into, among others, German, English and Russian. In more recent times this publication has in itself become a subject for musicological research. Every reliable theoretical study or work on the history of

tionalen Musikgesellschaft. No. 13, pp. 56–65; Ł. Kamieński, (1912). *Die Oratorien von Johann Adolf Hasse*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; A. Simon (1916). *Polnische Elemente in der deutschen Musik bis zur Zeit der Wiener Klassiker*. Zürich: Gebr. Leemann & Co.

2 Cf. e.g. W. Landowska, (1910). *Le clavecin chez Bach*, *Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musique*. S.I.M. 6^e Année, No. 5, pp. 309–322; eadem, (1910). *Bach und die französische Klaviermusik, Bach-Jahrbuch*. No. 7, pp. 33–44; eadem, (1933). *Sur les 'Variations Goldberg' de J. S. Bach*, *Revue musicale*. Vol. 14 No. 136, pp. 321–336.

3 W. Landowska, H. Lew-Landowski, (1909). *Musique Ancienne. Style – Interpretations – Instruments – Artistes*, Paris: Mercure de France. It is regrettable that this work has never been translated into Polish as a whole.

1 A. Chybiński, (1911). *Die deutschen Theoretiker im 16.–18. Jahrhundert und die polnische Musik*, *Zeitschrift der Interna-*

performance practice will quote Landowska's book in the bibliography of the subject.⁴

Naturally, with the development of Polish musicology came the understandable need for exploring the history of Polish music in greater detail, and the pressure to publish in Polish led to a situation in which research on 18th-century music split into two distinct 'currents': one dedicated to general, the other – to local history. This is also reflected in the language of publications, with some scholars aiming to present their works simultaneously in two languages. For instance, Bronisława Wójcik's study *Johann Fischer von Augsburg (1646–1721) als Suitenkomponist* (1922) was also published in a (somewhat abbreviated) Polish version as *Tańce polskie Jana Fischera z Augsburga [Polish Dances by Johann Fischer of Augsburg]*.⁵ This peculiar two-directional development of research on 18th-century music – separated into general and national history – has continued until our day. In this context we should stress that modern Polish researchers strive not only to publish works on local subjects in international conference languages, but also – to relate those subjects to the European context, and to weave Polish topics into publications of more universal interest.

Defining the 18th century as a separate category in music history – as a historical period distinguished in all kinds of handbook-type publications – is acceptable as part of a clear-cut method of periodisation, but in fact results in considerable confusion. To a historian of music, the 17th and 19th centuries appear stylistically coherent on the whole, whereas the 18th century turns out to have been considerably more diversified. The period between 1701 and 1800 comprises both the final phase of what is commonly known as the Baroque in music and nearly the whole of the musical Classicism (also sometimes referred to as the Enlightenment). If we also add the many transitional stages (variously defined in musicology as galant, rococo, etc.), presenting a coherent synthesis of '18th-century music' becomes a serious if not formidable

challenge for the music historian. This may explain why the need to talk of the 18th century as a separate period in music history appeared in musicological writings relatively late, mostly thanks to German musicologists. In the series "Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft" (ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Laaber-Verlag, 1980–1995) music history is divided by century, each volume being dedicated to one of them; Volume 5, entitled *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, deals with the 18th century.⁶ Richard Taruskin adopted a similar approach in his monumental project *The Oxford History of Western Music*, whose second volume bears the title *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.⁷ Likewise the editors of *The Cambridge History of Music* in the volume entitled *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*.⁸ Since identifying stylistic qualities common to all 18th-century music (or categories that would show that century as a coherent period in music history) is impossible – the proper subject and aim of studies focusing on the 18th century is not so much the demonstration of its coherence, as observation of transformations taking place within individual genres, an attempt to understand the dynamics and multi-directionality of the changes occurring in that era, tracing back the decline of some old genres and birth of new ones, as well as relating these processes to political storms and acceleration of social changes, the study of music culture and its development in various centres, and observing the evolution of musical ensembles, among others.

In present-day research on 18th-century music it is that relation between art and the socio-political reality in which the artists lived that has become the proper context and justification for distinguishing the 18th century as a separate unit in the system of periodisation. The industrial revolution in early 18th-century England and the French Revolution with which the century came to its close; the apogee of Prussian, Russian and Habsburg absolutism; the rising cultural status of the bourgeoisie, etc. – all these form the proper (though historically specific) background for an understanding of changing styles and genres in 18th-century music. This methodological approach seems logical, and has its ardent adherents

4 J.-J. Eigeldinger, (2006). Wanda Landowska. Situation historique, position artistique. In: M. Latchman (Ed.), *Musique ancienne – Instruments et Imagination. Actes des Rencontres Internationales Harmoniques Lausanne 2004* (pp. 213–238). Berne-Berlin-Bruxelles-Frankfurt am Main-New York, Oxford-Wien: Peter Lang.

5 B. Wójcikówna, (1922). Johann Fischer von Augsburg (1646–1721) als Suitenkomponist, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*. No. 5, pp. 129–56 (Polish version: *Tańce polskie Jana Fischera z Augsburga [Polish Dances by Johann Fischer of Augsburg]*). In: eadem, (1923). *Szkice muzykologiczne [Musical Sketches]* (pp. 2–17). Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff).

6 *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (= Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 5), (1985). C. Dahlhaus, L. Finscher (Eds.), Laaber: Laaber-Verlag.

7 R. Taruskin, (2010). *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

8 *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, S.P. Keefe (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014.

also among contemporary Polish musicologists. The stance also proves attractive in the Polish context because the 18th century was a consistent (in a negative sense) historical period in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Pol. Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów). It marked itself as a period of decline of a once powerful country which in 1795 eventually disappeared from the political map of Europe for nearly 130 years as a result of partitions by its much stronger neighbours. Relating the political history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the last century of its history to transformations of musical culture taking place in its territory in the same period seems to be appropriate and convincing as a research postulate.

This has also been the approach adopted in their research by a leading Polish expert on 18th-century music – Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, who has for the last three decades focused first and foremost on the musical culture of the royal court in 18th-century Warsaw. Her research has yielded three vast monographic publications which can be ranked without exaggeration among the most significant achievements of Polish musicology in our times: *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [Music at the Court of August II, in Warsaw], *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III, Część I* [Music at the Polish Court of August III. Part One] and *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta* [Music at Stanisław August's Court and Theatre].⁹ These works offer not only a methodologically coherent presentation of the subject clearly defined in their titles, but also – a model example of how history of music can be interpreted in conjunction with general history. The three studies cover the years 1697–1795, that is, the reigns of the last three elective Polish kings: August II (called the Strong), his son August III, and Stanisław August Poniatowski.

Żórawska-Witkowska's publications reconstruct little known facts, most of which had not previously been studied by historians of music culture in Poland. The author has re-interpreted many events, challenged numerous stereotypes (such as the one concerning the collapse of music culture in Poland under the Saxon rule), and filled the gaps in the factual documentation of Polish

historiographic studies concerning the 18th century. These three monographs meticulously reconstruct the musical repertory of the 18th-century Polish royal court on the basis of widely scattered and often not easily accessible documents, provide a chronology of concerts, theatrical and operatic productions as well as social events at the court. But the scope of interest in these books extends far beyond the courtly context, as they provide an in-depth study of music culture in Warsaw and (in some cases) also the Commonwealth's other 18th-century cultural centres at that time. Thanks to these volumes, our hitherto knowledge of music culture in 18th-century Poland and Central Europe has gained continuity. There is now a pressing need to publish these books in English or German. Żórawska-Witkowska's synthetic presentation of music history at Warsaw's royal court, covering the entire 18th century, is an unprecedented achievement also in the international context¹⁰ and can be considered as a model for those studying music culture at other European courts. We still experience a severe shortage of synthetic contemporary publications on the music culture of the electoral court in 18th-century Dresden, which adds value to the publications on the music of August II and III court in Warsaw (which shared with Dresden the same composers, a similar repertoire and a historical context in common). These works therefore provide an important point of reference for students of music culture in 18th-century Saxony.¹¹ The significance

¹⁰ Alina Żórawska-Witkowska's predecessors in this field included Hieronim Feicht, Karyna Wierzbicka, and Andrzej Chodkowski; cf. e.g. H. Feicht, (1964). *Nowe spojrzenie na muzykę polską XVIII wieku* [A New Look at 18th-Century Polish Music], *Z dziejów muzyki polskiej*. No. 7, pp. 7–23 (reprinted in: idem, *Studia nad muzyką polskiego renesansu i baroku* [Studies in Polish Music of the Renaissance and the Baroque], Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo 1980, pp. 499–517); A. Szwejkowska, (1961). *Do historii polskiej kultury muzycznej w okresie saskim* [Toward a History of Polish Musical Culture under Saxon Rule], *Muzyka*. No. 6/1–2, pp. 68–104; K. Wierzbicka-Michalska, (1964). *Teatr warszawski Sasów* [The Saxon Kings' Warsaw Theatre]. Wrocław: Zakład Narod. im. Ossolińskich; A. Chodkowski, (1973). *Repertuar muzyczny teatru saskiego w Warszawie* [The Music Repertoire of the Saxon Theatre in Warsaw]. In: J. Lewański (Ed.), *Opera w dawnej Polsce na dworze Władysława IV i królów saskich* [Opera in Old Poland, at the Courts of Ladislaus IV and the Saxon Kings] (pp. 151–167). Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.

¹¹ Fundamental to the study of 18th-century music culture in Dresden is Moritz Fürstenau's *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden. Zweiter Teil* [Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen Friedrich August I. (August II.) und

⁹ A. Żórawska-Witkowska, (1995). *Muzyka na dworze i w teatrze Stanisława Augusta* [Music at Stanisław August's Court and Theatre]. Warsaw: Arx Regia; eadem, (1997). *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie. Część I* [Music at the Polish Court of August II, Part One]. Warsaw: Arx Regia (Part II – in preparation); eadem, (2012). *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III* [Music at the Court of August III in Warsaw]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Muzyczne Polihymnia .

of Żórawska-Witkowska's monographs goes far beyond the scope of musicology, since her studies also contain in-depth analyses of the historical conditions that constitute the proper context and point of departure for a comprehensive understanding of musical life and events. Her works therefore also support historians working in other areas by providing important findings. They open up multi-faceted possibilities and research perspectives thanks to intense research into hitherto neglected 18th-century sources, some of which seem to be far removed from the subject of music history.¹²

In the context of research into the history of music at Warsaw's royal court, Żórawska-Witkowska was the first to point to a number of facts related to the history of music culture in 18th-century Poland – elements that had previously been quite neglected, such as Johann Adolf Hasse's visits and stays in Poland and his role as the royal Kapellmeister.¹³ Also the same author's most recent publications on the music of Georg Frederick Handel, studied from the perspective of the courts in Warsaw and Dresden, reveal a network of interconnections between Handel's London ensembles, Dresden and Warsaw, as well as the presence of stylised Polish dances in that composer's operatic scores.¹⁴ At this point one should also recall that the figure of Johann Adolf Hasse has played a major role in Polish research on 18th-century music in the last two decades – mainly in the context of the reception of his work in Poland. Interest in this

Friedrich August II. (August III.) [Dresden: Verlagsbuchhandlung von Rudolf Kunze]. Notably, in the collective publication entitled *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities* (2011; S. Owens, B.M. Reul, J.B. Stockigt (Eds.). Woodbridge: Boydell Press), the first two chapters were dedicated to the music of the Saxon courts in Dresden and Warsaw. Cf. ibid.: J.B. Stockigt, *The Court of Saxony-Dresden* (pp. 17–50) and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *The Saxon Court of the Kingdom of Poland* (pp. 51–78).

12 A. Żórawska-Witkowska, (2002). Archiwalia królewskie jako przedmiot badań muzykologicznych [The Royal Archive Documents as a Source for Musicological Research], *Muzyka*. Nos. 3–4, pp. 63–75 (German version: eadem, (2005). Königliche Archivalien als Gegenstand musikwissenschaftlicher Forschungen, *Fontes Artis Musicae*. 52/4, pp. 193–203).

13 Cf. eadem, e.g. I drammi per musica di Johann Adolf Hasse rappresentati a Varsavia negli anni 1754–1763. In: *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, Irena Poniatowska and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Eds.). Warsaw: Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw 1995, pp. 123–48.

14 Eadem, (2011). Über die polnischen Elemente im dramma per musica Ottone, re di Germania (London 1722–1723) von Georg Friedrich Händel, *Händel-Jahrbuch*. No. 57, pp. 49–76.

figure was first inspired by Andrzej Chodkowski, later – by Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, and bore fruit in the form of two international conferences organised by the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw in 1993 ("Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen", Warsaw 10th–12th December 1993) and 1999 ("Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart", Warsaw 8th–10th November 1999), as well as the publication of conference proceedings.¹⁵

Research into the musical culture of Warsaw's royal court, so intensively furthered by Żórawska-Witkowska, also provided a state-of-the-art methodological model which has later been imitated in the studies of the musical cultures of other aristocratic centres of the 18th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Naturally, this field of study already has a long tradition in Polish musicology,¹⁶ but it is after the year 1990 that we have observed a significant growth of interest in those apparently only local topics. The large number of musical centres which held their own ensembles (their number can only be compared, paradoxically, to the number of court orchestras active at minor ducal courts throughout the German Reich), the dispersion and displacement of sources, which have in many cases only been fragmentarily preserved due to ravages of war and shifting state borders – do not make it possible to create (in the foreseeable future) a synthetic monograph or even a collective work similar to *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*.¹⁷ But the situation is changing also in this area. Again, research is primarily progressing as a result of contributions by scholars associated with Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw: the already mentioned Alina

15 Cf. *Johann Adolf Hasse und Polen*, (1995). I. Poniatowska, A. Żórawska-Witkowska (Eds.). Warszawa: Institute of Musicology / University of Warsaw; *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart. Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, (2002). Sz. Paczkowski, A. Żórawska-Witkowska (Eds.). Warsaw: Institute of Musicology / University of Warsaw.

16 Already Hieronim Feicht in his paper *Nowe spojrzenie na muzykę polską XVIII wieku* [A New Look at 18th-Century Polish Music] (op. cit.) pointed out the existence of 150 aristocratic, ecclesiastical and monastic ensembles in 18th-century Poland. Cf. also e.g. Z. Chaniecki, (1972). *Nieznane kapele polskie z XVII i XVIII wieku* [Unknown Polish 17th- and 18th-century Music Ensembles], *Muzyka*. No. 17/4, pp. 84–96; A. Szwejkowska, (1971). *Mapa muzykowania w Rzeczypospolitej w połowie XVIII wieku* [Map of Music-Making in Mid-18th-Century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], *Muzyka*. No. 16/1, pp. 85–105.

17 *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, (2011). Op. cit.

Żórawska-Witkowska with her works on the musical patronage of Jan Branicki in Białystok and Mateusz Rzewuski in Podhorcze, as well as Irena Bieńkowska, who mostly focuses on ensembles held by Lithuanian aristocrats, and finally – myself, Szymon Paczkowski, the author of the present paper, currently exploring the musical patronage of ministers and aristocrats associated with the Polish-Saxon courts in Dresden and Warsaw.¹⁸

Irena Bieńkowska's dissertation *Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła* [Music at the Court of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł] is the most extensive publication so far dedicated to this subject, and it does confirm the great promise of studies on aristocratic court culture in 18th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹⁹ The dissertation describes the musical life in residences (in Slutsk in Lithuania and in Biała) belonging to Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł – one of the country's most powerful magnates in mid-18th century. The book also analyses the character of that magnate's patronage of music. The author's major contribution to

studies on 18th-century music does not consist in merely defining the line-ups of music ensembles held by that local prince and in reconstructing (as far as possible) their repertoire, in describing the organisation of music life and the prince's attitude to the musicians he employed, etc. The main value of Bieńkowska's work lies in making the reader aware of just how strongly 18th-century music culture – even in the most remote and provincial (from today's perspective) centres of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – was related to the international context, and how intensive the migration of musicians and the circulation of music-related sources was at that time. The dissertation also provokes us to verify our image of the centre and the peripheries, to revise the musical map not only of the 18th-century Polish-Lithuanian territories, but also of the entire Central and Eastern Europe.

The validity of viewing the 18th century as a consistent period in music history is confirmed by Alina Mądry's most recent dissertation *Barok. Część druga 1697–1795: Muzyka religijna i jej barokowy modus operandi* [The Baroque, Part 2: 1697–1795. Religious Music and its Baroque Modus Operandi] published in the series of "History of Polish Music" initiated and edited by Stefan Sutkowski, former director of Warsaw Chamber Opera.²⁰ Mądry suggests an "extension" of the Baroque in Poland until 1795, which may seem controversial. Still, the author's arguments related to style and composition technique, based on her analyses of religious works written in the territory of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century, paint a surprisingly consistent picture of sacred music in Poland, whose composers persisted in their adherence to the Baroque models long into the age of ripe Classicism. The "longevity" of the Baroque in sacred music was not an exclusively Polish phenomenon. It resulted from the conservative tastes cherished in the Catholic church, which can easily be interpreted as care for the continuity of tradition. Alina Mądry sums up and expands our hitherto knowledge of such subjects as: 1) the organisation of vocal-instrumental ensembles at Catholic churches and monasteries, 2) their performance practice, 3) the preserved collections of music-related sources from 18th-century churches and monasteries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 4) music genres

18 Cf. e.g. A. Żórawska-Witkowska, (2005). *Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego* [Music at the Court of Jan Klemens Branicki]. In: T. Kostkiewicz, A. Roćko (Eds.), *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe* [Aristocratic Courts in the 18th Century. Their Cultural Functions and Significance] (pp. 221–44). Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG; I. Bieńkowska, 1996). Notatki o muzykach Jakuba Henryka Flemminga [Notes on the Musicians of Jakub Henryk Flemming], *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka*. No. 3, pp. 155–167; eadem, (2014). Kompozytorzy w służbie księcia Pawła Karola Sanguszki (1680–1750) [Composers in the Service of Prince Paweł Karol Sanguszko (1680–1750)], *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka*. No. 21, pp. 261–274; Sz. Paczkowski, (2009). *Muzyka na dworze marszałka Jakuba Henryka Flemminga (1667–1728)* [Music at the Court of Marshal Jakub Henryk Flemming (1667–1728)]. In: U. Augustyniak (Ed.), *Środowiska kulturotwórcze i kontakty kulturalne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od XV do XIX wieku* [Culture-Forming Circles and the Cultural Contacts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15th–19th Centuries] (pp. 67–82). Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN / Instytut Historyczny UW / Instytut Historii Prawa UW / Neriton; idem, (in print). Christoph August von Wackerbarth (1662–1734) and his Cammer-Musique. In J. Guzy-Pasiak, A. Markuszewska (Eds.), *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age. Centres and Peripheries – People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN; on the music related to the figures of Mateusz and Waclaw Rzewuski, see also: B. Vogel, (2015). *Do dziejów tradycji muzycznych zamku w Podhorcach* [Toward the History of Music Traditions at the Castle in Podhorcze], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*. No. 13, pp. 99–124.

19 I. Bieńkowska, (2013). *Muzyka na dworze księcia Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła* [Music at the Court of Prince Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

20 A. Mądry, (2013). *Barok. Część druga 1697–1795: Muzyka religijna i jej barokowy modus operandi*. Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition (= Historia Muzyki Polskiej [-History of Polish Music] 3); English version: eadem, (2015). *The Baroque, Part 2: 1697–1795. Religious Music and its Baroque Modus Operandi*, J. Comber (Transl.). Warsaw: Sutkowski Edition Warsaw.

which are most representative of church music in Poland in that period, 5) the reception of sacred music by foreign composers in Polish centres of religious cult, 6) problems of contrafactum, parody and arrangement. Alina Mądry's book is still a far cry from a complete synthesis of the topic presented in the title, but it does sum up the hitherto research on Polish 18th-century sacred (Catholic) music and constitutes an excellent guide to the existing literature of the subject. It also maps out directions of future explorations. The book makes it possible to reject radical, extreme views that are still quite frequently present in Polish musicology: on the one hand, the dismissal of Polish 18th-century church music by Aleksander Poliński – a doyen of Polish musicology – as 'dilettantish', and on the other – the exaggerated enthusiasm of Adolf Chybiński, who once claimed he had found "evidence of a strongly developed sense of modernity."²¹

The state of knowledge represented by Mądry's dissertation, and the call for further studies which that book contains, make us aware of the need to continue archival research in selected monastic and ecclesiastical centres which were part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century. In the last 30 years, Polish musicologists have conducted intensive research in, among others, the Pauline Monastery on Jasna Góra, Częstochowa. This intense development of our knowledge of Jasna Góra's musical culture is largely due to two Polish musicologists: Paweł Podejko (author of, among others, *Katalog tematyczny rękopisów i druków muzycznych kapeli wokalno-instrumentalnej na Jasnej Górze – Thematic Catalogue of Manuscripts and Music Prints Related to the Vocal Instrumental Ensemble of Jasna Góra*, 1992, and the monograph *Kapela wokalno-instrumentalna na Jasnej Górze – The Vocal Instrumental Ensemble of Jasna Góra*, 2001), as well as Remigiusz Pośpiech (who has published, among others, the study entitled *Bożonarodzeniowa muzyka na Jasnej Górze w XVIII i XIX wieku – Christmas Music on Jasna Góra in the 18th and 19th Centuries*).²²

21 A. Poliński, (1907). *Dzieje muzyki polskiej w zarysie* [An Outline History of Polish Music]. Lwów-Warszawa: Wende i spółka, p. 154; A. Chybiński, (1925). Przyczynki do historii krakowskiej kultury muzycznej w XVII i XVIII wieku [Contributions to the History of Music Culture in 17th- and 18th-Century Kraków], *Wiadomości Muzyczne*. No. 9, p. 249.

22 P. Podejko, (1992). *Katalog tematyczny rękopisów i druków muzycznych kapeli wokalno-instrumentalnej na Jasnej Górze* [Thematic Catalogue of Manuscripts and Music Prints Related to the Vocal Instrumental Ensemble of Jasna Góra], *Studia Claromontana*. No. 12, pp. 1–885; idem, (2001). *Kapela wokalno-instrumentalna na Jasnej Górze Górze* [The Vocal Instrumental Ensemble of Jasna Góra], *Studia Claromontana*.

It was the Paulines themselves – in the person of Nikodem Kilnar, OSPPE – who came up with the initiative of documenting 18th-century music life on Jasna Góra. This project resulted in a series of music score publications entitled "Jasnogórska Muzyka Dawna" ("Early Music on Jasna Góra", under the scientific supervision of Remigiusz Pośpiech) as well as in numerous recordings collected in an eponymous series. The impressive and perfectly preserved historical 18th-century musical instruments of the Jasna Góra ensemble were presented at an exhibition entitled "In the Service of the Sacrum. On the Musical Culture of Jasna Góra and Poznań", held in 2013 at the National Museum in Poznań and at the Jasna Góra monastery.²³ Research dedicated to music from Jasna Góra has also led to the publication of monographs on composers directly connected with that centre, such as Maciej Jochymczyk's (Jagiellonian University) dissertation on *Muzyka religijna u progu klasycyzmu. Amandus Ivanschiz OSPPE (1727–1758)* [English version: *Amandus Ivanschiz: His Life and Music. With a Thematic Catalog of Works (1727–1758)*], discussing, among others, the reception of that composer's music on Jasna Góra.²⁴

Research concerning the music practice in other 18th-century monastic circles in Poland (and in a broader perspective – on the musical patronage of other monastic orders in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) – proves to be much less advanced. Two works completed in the last five years can be described as monographs: *Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku* [With Figure and in Fractus. The Musical Culture of Polish Benedictine Nuns in the 17th and 18th Centuries] by Magdalena Walter-Mazur and *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej (1581–1776)* [The Music Culture of the Jesuits in Silesia and the Kłodzko County (1581–1776)] by Tomasz Jeż. The latter publication, albeit presenting a wide and

No. 19, pp. 5–429; R. Pośpiech, (2000). *Bożonarodzeniowa muzyka na Jasnej Górze w XVIII i XIX wieku* [Christmas Music on Jasna Góra in the 18th and 19th Centuries]. Opole: Theological Department, University of Opole.

23 Cf. *W służbie sacrum. Z kultury muzycznej Jasnej Góry i Poznania w XVIII wieku* [In the Service of the Sacrum. On the Musical Culture of Jasna Góra and Poznań], (2012). P. Frankowski, A. Mądry (Eds.), catalogue of an exhibition held between 30th December 2012 and 10th March 2013. Poznań: The National Museum in Poznań.

24 M. Jochymczyk, (2014). *Muzyka religijna u progu klasycyzmu. Amandus Ivanschiz OSPPE (1727–1758)*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Muzyczne Polihymnia (English version: idem, (2016). *Amandus Ivanschiz: His Life and Music. With a Thematic Catalog of Works*. Kraków: Musica Jagiellonica).

universal historical-social context of Jesuit music practice, deals only marginally with Jesuit activity in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.²⁵

Monographs dedicated to music life in selected cities of the 18th-century Commonwealth form a separate category. In this area, the achievements of Polish musicologists are – sadly – very modest. No large-scale work on the music life of Warsaw (apart from the royal court) and other urban centres has been published since the time of Jan Prosnak's *Kultura muzyczna Warszawy XVII wieku* [The Musical Culture of 18th-Century Warsaw].²⁶ In this context, one should distinguish the activity of musicologists from Gdańsk, such as Danuta Popinigis, Danuta Szlagowska, Piotr Kociumbas (now a lecturer at the Institute of German Studies, University of Warsaw), who have studied the musical history of their city in the wide context of urban cultures of the Baltic region and Northern Europe. Kociumbas' study *Słowo miastem przepojone: kantata okolicznościowa w osiemnastowiecznym Gdańsku* [The Word Imbued with the City: The Festive Cantata in 18th-Century Gdańsk] presents Gdańsk as a cosmopolitan hub, the wealthiest city of 18th-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and one of the major centres for the development of the Protestant cantata. Gdańsk was a place of activity for the pupils of Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Philipp Telemann – on a par with Hamburg and other Baltic coast metropolises.²⁷ Archival research and source studies on the music of 18th-century Gdańsk have yielded such publishing projects as the three-volume catalogue *Music Collection from Gdańsk*²⁸ and the recording series "Gdańskie królestwo kantat" ("The Realm of Gdańsk Cantatas").

25 M. Walter-Mazur, (2014). *Figurą i fraktem. Kultura muzyczna polskich benedyktynek w XVII i XVIII wieku* [With Figure and in Fractus. The Musical Culture of Polish Benedictine Nuns in the 17th and 18th Centuries]. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk; T. Jeż, (2013). *Kultura muzyczna jezuitów na Śląsku i ziemi kłodzkiej (1581–1776)* [The Music Culture of the Jesuits in Silesia and the Kłodzko County (1581–1776)]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa.

26 J. Prosnak, (1955). *Kultura muzyczna Warszawy XVIII wieku* [The Musical Culture of 18th-Century Warsaw], Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne.

27 P. Kociumbas, (2009). *Słowo miastem przepojone: kantata okolicznościowa w osiemnastowiecznym Gdańsku* [The Word Imbued with the City: The Festive Cantata in 18th-Century Gdańsk]. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Atut / Wrocławskie Wydawnictwo Oświatowe.

28 *Music Collection from Gdańsk. Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript*, (2007–2011). D. Popinigis, B. Długoska, D. Szlagowska, J. Woźniak (Eds.), Vols. 1–3. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwa Akademii Muzycznej im. Stanisława Moniuszki / Kraków: Musica Jagiellonica.

As I have already emphasised in the introduction, the focus on general music history has been present in Polish studies on 18th-century music on a par with strictly local subjects. Interestingly, already in the 1960s and 70s a group of Polish musicologists (Zofia Lissa, Andrzej Chodkowski, Irena Poniatowska²⁹) made an important contribution to Beethoven studies, while in the last two decades Polish scholars have notched up achievements in the study of music by Johann Sebastian Bach and his circle. The present author may also have had his part in this success, in the context of his publication *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* [English version: *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*.³⁰] This book attracted the interest of international musicological circles partly because it filled an important gap in research on national styles in the late Baroque in general, and on the Polish style in particular. Despite numerous attempts, no comprehensive study had previously been undertaken with regard to the understanding of the Polish style in 18th-century music theory (and, in particular, in German theoretical writings of that period), nor had the presence of the Polish style in Bach's music, its manifestations and significance been properly analysed. My publication focuses on Bach's links to the musical environment of the royal-electoral court in Dresden and on that composer's successful efforts to obtain the title of the Polish king and Saxon elector's court composer. The book demonstrates how intensively Bach's desire to obtain the rank of *Hof-Compositeur* motivated him to use elements of the Polish style in his music, including direct application of polonaise dance models. The social and political background of these phenomena is related to the personal union of Saxony and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which existed for 63 years following the election of the Saxon Elector Friedrich August as August II, King of Poland in 1697. My publication also proves that Bach's use of

29 Cf. A. Chodkowski, (1964). *Klasyczna forma sonatowa w twórczości kameralnej Ludwiga van Beethovena* [The Classical Sonata Form in the Chamber Music Output of Ludwig van Beethoven], Ph.D. dissertation supervisor: Z. Lissa. Warsaw: Institute of Musicology / University of Warsaw; Z. Lissa, (1970). *Polonica Beethovenowskie* [Beethoven-Related Polonica], Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne; I. Poniatowska, (1972). *Faktura fortepianowa Beethovena* [Beethoven's Piano Texture]. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne (2nd revised ed., 2013).

30 Sz. Paczkowski, (2011). *Styl polski w muzyce Johanna Sebastiana Bacha*. Lublin: Polihymnia (English version: idem, (2016). *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, P. Szymczak (Transl.). Lanham-New York-London: Rowman & Littlefield).

Polish dance rhythms was a conscious reference to the ceremonial music of the Dresden court in the 1st half of the 18th century, in which Polish dances – and in particular the polonaise – gained a privileged status, this emphasising the royal status of the court itself (which until 1697 had only been an electoral and ducal institution). In broader perspective, Bach's use of the polonaise became in the course of time an act of conscious symbolisation, through the association of the Polish dance with the musical image of royal, ceremonial, majestic character, both in the spheres of sacred and secular music.

Polish musicologists' recent studies in the field of general 18th-century music history also include such significant publications as: Zbigniew Skowron's *Mysł muzyczna Jeana-Jacques'a Rousseau* [Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Concept of Music*],³¹ Aneta Markuszewska's *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimierzy Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699–1714)* [Feasts and Music at the Court of Maria Kazimiera Sobieska in Rome (1699–1714)],³² Marek Nahajowski's *Sonaty fletowe Johanna Joachima Quantza. Między teorią a praktyką* (with a Polish translation of Quantz's treatise *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* of 1752) [Flute Sonatas by Johann Joachim Quantz. Between Theory and Practice],³³ Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka's *Oratoria Pasquale Anfossiego w Polsce* [Pasquale Anfossi's Oratorios in Poland],³⁴ Alina Mądry's *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Estetyka – Stylistyka – Dzieło* [Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Aesthetic – Style – Works],³⁵ and Beata Stróżyńska's

Drezdeńska sonata na instrumenty klawiszowe w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku [The Dresden Keyboard Sonata in the 2nd Half of the 18th Century].³⁶ The majority of these publications in the field of general music history also naturally involve the Polish aspects of their respective subjects.

* * *

The above introduction to problems of Polish musicological research into the 18th century is at best an overview of the key trends and, for many reasons, presents a subjective selection of major achievements chosen at the author's discretion. A complete and systematic presentation of the vast bibliography of 18th-century music studies in Poland and its comprehensive discussion would not have been possible in this kind of paper. I have also consciously omitted the critical editions of musical sources belonging to 18th-century Polish culture. Work on the volume dedicated directly to the music of August III's court is still in progress. Scholars continue their studies of music in 18th-century secular centres of culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and more and more new, previously unknown documents are being discovered, which shed a new light on the quality of music life at Polish aristocratic courts. Systematic studies of the migrations of musicians and repertoire are still lacking. Many sources for the music of that period have not been published yet. An unspecified number of such sources remain in manuscript, kept in Polish libraries and archives as well as abroad. Also most of the Polish composers living and working in the 18th century have not become the subject of satisfying monographic publications – though admittedly we have two collective works dedicated to Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki and Marcin Józef Żebrowski, ranked by music historians among Poland's most eminent composers of the 18th century.³⁷ The need for continued research is therefore enormous. On the other hand, there are many new scholarly initiatives in the area of research

31 Z. Skowron, (2010). *Mysł muzyczna Jeana-Jacques'a Rousseau* [Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Concept of Music*]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

32 A. Markuszewska, (2012). *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimierzy Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699–1714)* [Feasts and Music at the Court of Maria Kazimiera Sobieska in Rome (1699–1714)]. Warsaw: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie.

33 M. Nahajowski, (2013). *Sonaty fletowe Johanna Joachima Quantza. Między teorią a praktyką* [Flute Sonatas by Johann Joachim Quantz. Between Theory and Practice]. Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi; J.J. Quantz, (2013). *O zasadach gry na flecie poprzecznym* [On the Principles of Playing the Transverse Flute], M. Nahajowski (Transl.). Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi.

34 A. Ryszka-Komarnicka, (1996). *Oratoria Pasquale Anfossiego w Polsce* [Pasquale Anfossi's Oratorios in Poland]. In: *Recepja wzorów włoskich w polskiej kulturze muzycznej* [The Reception of Italian Models in Polish Musical Culture] (= Prace Zakładu Powszechnego Historii Muzyki [Publications of the Chair of General Music History], Vol. 6) (pp. 1–102). Warsaw: Institute of Musicology / University of Warsaw.

35 A. Mądry (2003). *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Estetyka – Stylistyka – Dzieło* [Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Aesthetic – Style – Works]. Poznań: Rhytmos.

36 B. Stróżyńska, (2002). *Drezdeńska sonata na instrumenty klawiszowe w drugiej połowie XVIII* [The Dresden Keyboard Sonata in the 2nd Half of the 18th Century]. Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów w Łodzi.

37 Cf. Grzegorz Gerwazy Gorczycki I-II (thematic catalogue and studies), (1986–1990). Z. Szwejkowski (Ed.). Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne; Marcin Józef Żebrowski (XVIII w.). *Kompozytor i muzyk kapeli jasnogórskiej* [Marcin Józef Żebrowski (18th c.), Jasna Góra Composer and Ensemble Member], (2013). E. Pośpiech (Ed.). Opole: Theological Department, University of Opole (= Musica Claromontana 3).

on 18th-century music, which hold much promise for the future. One can only hope that this academic activity will continue and one day make it possible to present a comprehensive synthesis of music in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century.

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Szymon Paczkowski is a lecturer at the Institute of Musicology, University of Warsaw for the last 30 years. His research focuses on Baroque music history and aesthetics (problems of style, the doctrine of the affections) as well as the history of the opera in 17th–19th-century Europe. He is an active member of international societies and research groups studying the music of Bach: the American Bach Society, the Neue Bach-Gesellschaft and Bach Network UK. He was the chairman of the 12th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music in Warsaw, 26th–30th July 2006. Author of two books: *Nauka o afektach w myśli muzycznej I połowy XVII wieku* [The Theory of Affections in Writings on Music in the 1st Half of the 17th Century] (1998) and *Styl polski w muzycie Johanna Sebastiana Bacha* (2011), also published in English as *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Rowman & Littlefield 2016).