

The Beginnings
of Musical
Italianità in
Gdańsk

and Elbląg of the Renaissance Era

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In the second half of the sixteenth century almost the whole of Europe was gradually engulfed by the fashion for Italian music. The madrigal became the favourite genre, which entered the repertory in different countries both in its original version and as *contrafactum*, intabulation or as the basis for *missa parodia*¹. The madrigal and related genres, such as *canzona alla villanesca*, also became the subject of imitations, often composed by musicians who had no links to Italy at all. Other genres employed by Italian composers, above all masses and motets, were also of great interest to musicians throughout the continent. Undoubtedly it was the activity of the numerous Italian, mainly Venetian, printing houses which played a decisive role in promoting these works; in terms of titles produced, they held the leading position in Europe². Italian printers also became attractive to composers of various nationalities who had their works printed by them. In turn, Italian musicians found employment in various countries, contributing to a lesser or greater degree to the proliferation of their native repertory. The fashion for musical *italianità* did not reach all the corners of the continent at the same time. The differences in the timing and the manner of reception of Italian repertory can be examined on the example of the Kingdom of Poland, where the interest in music imported from the Apennine Peninsula appeared earlier in the southern and central regions than in the north. To a large extent, this was a result of cultural differences between the various regions. In Royal Prussia the dominance of the German language and the Lutheran religion meant that the elites were educated mainly at the universities in Wittenberg, Leipzig or Königsberg, and German culture was the model they aimed to imitate. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the regions of Lesser Poland or Mazovia – where Polish-speaking Catholics were in the majority – would be more likely to travel to study at Padua and Bologna, as well as Ferrara, Florence, Siena, Perugia and Venice; they would also visit Rome as tourists and pilgrims³. These travels must have resulted in familiarity

with the Italian language and culture. A sizeable group of settlers from the Apennine Peninsula had lived in Cracow from the beginning of the century, and that community expanded significantly in 1518, after the arrival in Poland of Bona Sforza, the newly wedded wife of King Sigismund I.⁴ Those brought to Poland by Bona included musicians: Alessandro Pesenti from Verona, who had previously served as organist at the court of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, and who was active at Bona's Cracovian court during the years 1521-1550, and Lodovico Pocenin, a cantor from Modena, whose name appears in the records in 1527⁵. It is not impossible that Pesenti, as an organist, was in some way and to some degree responsible for the fact that the two Polish sources of keyboard music created ca 1548 – the tablature of Jan of Lublin and the tablature from the Monastery of the Holy Spirit – contain compositions by Italian musicians, or musicians with links to Italy: Domenico Bianchini, Girolamo Cavazzoni, Antonio Rotta, Bartolomeo Tromboncino, Philippe Verdelot and Costanzo Festa⁶. The royal chapel of King Sigismund II August also employed quite a large number of Italian musicians⁷. Even prior to 1572 the repertory of this ensemble included music imported from Italy, such as numerous villanesche and madrigals, for example by Jacopo Corfini, and works by such composers as Paulo di Bologna, Francesco Londariti, Bernardino Lupacchino, Costanzo Porta, Vincenzo Ruffo and Adrian Willaert⁸.

Poland'], in: *Sarmaci i świat [The Sarmatians and the World] (Prace wybrane / Selected Works 3)*, Cracow 2001, p. 358.

4 Ibid., Wojciech Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku [Italians in Poland in the 16th and 17th Centuries]*, Warsaw 2005, p. 53.

5 Elżbieta Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna ostatnich Jagiellonów [Music at the Court of the Last of the Jagiellons]*, Cracow 1988, p. 117; Dinko Fabris, 'Musici intorno a Bona Sforza, regina di Polonia e duchessa di Bari', in: *Muzykolog wobec świadectw źródłowych i dokumentów. Księga pamiątkowa dedykowana profesorowi Piotrowi Poźniakowi w 70. rocznicę urodzin / The Musicologist and Source Documentary Evidence. A Book of Essays in Honour of Professor Piotr Poźniak on his 70th Birthday*, Cracow 2007, pp. 115-116.

6 Cf. the list of works in: Barbara Brzezińska, *Repertuar polskich tabulatur organowych z pierwszej połowy XVI wieku [The Repertory of Polish Organ Tablatures from the First Half of the Sixteenth Century]*, Cracow 1987, pp. 159-183.

7 Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna*, pp. 97, 101, 102, 107, 108, 120, 122, 123.

8 Adolf Chybiński, 'Krakowskie inwentarze muzyczne z XVI wieku' ['Cracovian Music Inventories from the Sixteenth

1 Cf. Tomasz Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja – recepcja – przeobrażenia gatunku [The Madrigal in North-Eastern Europe. Documentation – Reception – Transformations of the Genre]*, Warsaw 2003.

2 Italian printing houses produced more than 56.5% of all the European music prints published in the sixteenth century, cf. Paweł Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku. Przemiany w kulturze muzycznej XVI wieku [Music and the Printing Revolution. Transformations in the Musical Culture of the Sixteenth Century]*, Toruń 2011, p. 76.

3 Janusz Tazbir, '„Włoszczyzna” w Polsce' ["Italianity" in

Among these compositions, of particular interest are the double choir psalms by Willaert and Jacquet de Mantua, which provide an exceptionally early example of the reception of the Venetian polychoral repertory in this part of Europe⁹. However, the real expansion of musical *italianità* at the Cracovian and then Varsovian royal court did not come until the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa. Its beginning can be dated to the year 1595 when, at the invitation of the ruler, the first sizeable group of Italian musicians, including Luca Marenzio, arrived in Cracow¹⁰. At that time the repertory of the royal chapel contained works by the Italian authors employed at the ensemble, but in agreement with the interests of the king, this was mainly religious music, and madrigals – even if they were performed – did not play a significant role¹¹.

In Gdańsk and Elbląg, the most important centres of musical culture in Royal Prussia, interest in Italian music appeared much later than in Cracow, and was not widespread until the last two decades of the sixteenth century; it also manifested itself in a different way. During the earlier period, the inhabitants of Royal Prussia had relatively few opportunities for direct contact with Italians and their culture. Although Italian merchants sometimes reached Gdańsk, and some citizens of that city were educated in Italy, this was not on a massive scale¹². A few Italians stayed in Gdańsk for a longer time and were awarded the citizenship of that city. The most famous one, who was also of great service to the local culture, was Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis d'Oria, who arrived there in 1591 together with his lifetime collection of books. His ship sank at the entrance to the port of Gdańsk, but both the marquis and the majority of the

books – almost 1200 titles – were saved. As a mark of his gratitude for being saved and provided with comfortable living conditions, Bonifacio made a gift to the City Council of his whole collection, which was the origin of what later became the city library¹³. However, this Italian humanist and bibliophile was perhaps not interested in music, since the only notated music which he brought with him is to be found on the parchment bindings of a few of his books; these are fragments of liturgical codices with the somewhat faded – probably due to being bathed in salt water – *notae quadratae*¹⁴.

Evidence of the presence of musicians from the Apennine Peninsula in Gdańsk appears relatively early. In 1567, the City Council conferred on Italian musicians the right to one year's employment in Gdańsk on condition that they take the citizenship of that city¹⁵. Specific references to this nation, not represented in the Baltic lands in large numbers, could not have been accidental. This privilege may have been established for the sake of an Italian violinist (*welsche Fiddler*), who in 1566 became a member of the guild of Gdańsk musicians. The law adopted by the councillors clearly did not have negative consequences for him, since he stayed in the city until 1575 without citizenship¹⁶. It was probably not the Council's intention to get rid of this undoubtedly highly regarded violinist, but to limit the employment of other Italians, who might take work away from the local musicians. City documents refer to the Italian musician as Karl von Derffes, which means that he may have come from Treviso¹⁷. We do not know the details of his professional activities, but, as a *Hoffiedler*, he probably played secular music at Artus Court, and his repertory may have included Italian dances, or arrangements of polyphonic vocal works, among them madrigals, performed with other instrumentalists. It remains an open question whether the violinist contributed in any

Century'], "Kwartalnik Muzyczny" 1912 No. 3, pp. 253-258.

⁹ *Di Adriano ed di Jachet: I salmi appartenenti alli vesperi per tutte le feste dell'anno... a uno et a duoi chori* (Venice: Gardano 1550 [1550/1] or 1557 [1557/6]).

¹⁰ The detailed history of the import of Italian musicians to Poland during the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa was reconstructed by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów [The Music Courts of the Polish Vasas]*, Warsaw 2007, pp. 22-65.

¹¹ Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów [Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Vasas]*, Cracow 1997, pp. 65-77, 127 ff.; Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów, passim*.

¹² Cf. Henryk Samsonowicz, chapter IV 'Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy' ['A Dynamic Commercial Centre'], in: *Historia Gdańska [A History of Gdańsk]*, vol. 2: 1454-1655, ed. Edmund Cieślak, Gdańsk 1982, pp. 158-160; Zbigniew Nowak, chapter IX 'Lata rozkwitu kultury, nauki i sztuki' ['The Years of Flourishing Culture, Science and Art'], *ibidem*, pp. 724, 725.

¹³ Zenobia Lidia Pszczółkowska, 'Wspomnienie zasług dla Gdańska Jana Bernardyna Bonifacia, markiza d'Orii' ['Remembering the Services to Gdańsk of Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis d'Oria'], in: *Gdańskie Gimnazjum Akademickie [The Academic Gymnasium in Gdańsk]*, vol. 5: *Źródła i artykuły [Sources and Essays]*, Gdańsk 2012, p. 142.

¹⁴ E.g., the cover of *Reductorii moralis fratris Petri Berchorii libri quattuordecim*, Paris 1521 (Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Hc 3550 2'; <http://pbc.gda.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=23198&from=latest>; accessed 30.09.2013)

¹⁵ Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 2, Danzig 1918, p. 385.

¹⁶ Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig*, Danzig 1931, p. 89.

¹⁷ 'Derffes' appears in documents from that period as the German equivalent of the Italian name of Treviso.

way to the growth of interest in Italian music among his contemporaries.

Other Italian musicians appeared in Gdańsk occasionally when King Sigismund III Vasa travelled to Sweden. In the summer of 1593 the royal court stayed in Gdańsk for a few weeks, and among the musicians present were two instrumentalists of Italian origin who were also composers - Francesco Maffon and Diomedes Cato; the latter decided at that time to leave the employment at court¹⁸. In June 1598 King Sigismund III, during a similar journey, stopped in Malbork (Marienburg), and probably also in Gdańsk; in his ensemble, alongside Italian instrumentalists and vocalists whose names are not known, we find the alto Francesco Mengacio¹⁹. It does not appear as if the visits of royal musicians had a significant influence on the growth of interest in Italian music in Gdańsk.

The earliest traces of the presence in Gdańsk of Italian music in the wider sense can be found in Ms. muz. 4003 at Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. These are two compositions which might have been entered ca 1563 by Franciscus de Rivulo, then cantor of the Marian church, or another musician belonging to his circle. The first of these is the quite popular anonymous canzona villanesca *Se pur ti guardo*, the authorship of which is ascribed here – in all likelihood, mistakenly – to Willaert (Vuillart)²⁰. All that survives of its original text is the incipit in the version “Si purti vardo”, which indicates that the copyist did not know Italian. He probably chose the composition for its simple, homophonic texture combined with an attractive timbre, while the name of the Venetian chapel master may have been added for reasons of prestige or commercial ones. After all, most musicians would prefer to perform a work by a renowned master rather than an anonymous one. The other composition from this manuscript is the motet *Nuptiae factae sunt* signed with the name of Arcadelt. In fact this is a contrafactum of the madrigal *Com' esser puot amor* by that author²¹. The composition

has unusual scoring – six *voci pari* in bass register – and such a texture may have made the work attractive to the copyist. However, the Italian text probably turned out to be inappropriate in Gdańsk, which is why it was replaced by a Latin one. The same work, probably a copy, is to be found in another manuscript originating from Royal Prussia, without the author's name but with the music underlaid with two alternative Latin texts - *Nuptiae factae sunt* and *Veni sancte spiritus*, thus eliminating any traces of the Italian origin of the composition²².

Probably in 1574, at the end of the set of music prints from 1569-1573 containing works by Orlando di Lassus, Cipriano de Rore, Michael Tonsor and Jean de Castro, was added Paolo Animuccia's madrigal *In dubbio di mio stato*²³. The whole set belonged to Alexander Glaser, theologian, rector of the church of St Barbara, and a music lover²⁴. The

Leszczyńska, 'On the Trail of Franciscus de Rivulo – New Clues and Hypotheses', in: *Anthropology-History-Analysis*, ed. Zofia Helman, Warszawa 2007 (Musicology Today 2007), pp. 72, 74. http://files.musicologytoday.hist.pl/files/Musicology_Today/Musicology_Today-r2007-t4/Musicology_Today-r2007-t4-s67-77/Musicology_Today-r2007-t4-s67-77.pdf

22 Toruń, Książnica Kopernikańska, 102679 olim J 4^o 24-28. See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'A Neglected Manuscript Collection of Sacred Music from Sixteenth-Century Royal Prussia', in: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis* 13, *Acta Musicologica*, Bydgoszcz 2004, p. 95.

23 This set held at Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, call number Ee 2156², carries the date 1574 on its cover and contains the following prints: *Premier livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore, Leuven: Phalèse 1570 [1570^o]; Second livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore, & Philippe de Mons, Leuven: Phalèse 1570 [1570^o]; Orlando di Lassus, Tiers livre des chansons à quatre, cinq et six parties, Leuven: Phalèse 1570 [L 836]; Orlando di Lassus, Quatriemes livre des chansons à quatre cinq parties, Leuven: Phalèse 1570 [L 837]; Orlando di Lassus, Sex cantiones latinae... quatuor vocum, Munich: Berg 1573 [L 860], *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum quatuor vocum... auctoribus Orlandus de Lassus & Ciprianus de Rore, Leuven: Phalèse 1569 [1569^o]; Liber secundus sacrarum cantionum quatuor vocum... auctoribus Orlandus de Lassus & Ciprianus de Rore, Leuven: Phalèse 1569 [1569^o]; Michael Tonsor, *Selectae quaedam cantiones sacrae*, Norymberga: Gerlach 1570 [T 963]; Jean de Castro, *Sacrarum cantionum quinque et octo vocum... liber unus*, Leuven: Phalèse 1571 [C 1470].**

24 Martin Morell, 'Georg Knoff: Bibliophile and Devotee of Italian Music in Late Sixteenth-Century Danzig' in: *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, Cambridge 1994, pp. 108, 118. Probably commissioned by Alexander Glaser; Johannes Wanning wrote *Epithalamion* for the wedding of the theologian's daughter Anna. See Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Johannes Wanning – kapelmistrz kościoła Mariackiego w Gdańsku' ['Johannes Wanning – the Chapel Master of the Marian Church in Gdańsk'], „Muzyka” 44

18 Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzyczne dwory polskich Wazów*, pp. 20-21.

19 Szweykowscy, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów*, pp. 35-36.

20 Cf. Adrian Willaert, *Opera omnia*, vol. XIV: *Madrigali e Canzoni Villanesche*, ed. Helga Meier, American Institute of Musicology 1977 (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 3), p. XI. First edition of the canzone in: *Di Baldissera Donato il primo libro di Canzon villanesche alla napolitana*, Venice: Gardano 1550 [1550^{2o}].

21 Edition of the madrigal in: *Madrigali di Verdelot et de altri autori a sei voci*, Venice: Gardano 1546 [1546¹]. More on the subject of the Gdańsk contrafactum in: Agnieszka

prints contained mainly chansons and motets, but in one of them – Orlando's *Sex cantiones latinae* – we also find German Lieder and madrigals. The import of the latter in the set as a whole seems to be accidental rather than intentional, but it is symbolic: six madrigals by the chapel master from Munich initiated the later abundance of this genre in the Gdańsk collections. Adding a composition by Animuccia at the end of the set of prints was by then the result of a deliberate choice. However, the manner of entering it may be taken to indicate that the copyist had little previous experience of madrigals. Above the notes in the tenor partbook he placed the title: *Motetz à cinq voci composees par Paul Annamucif*, while limiting the text of the composition – taken from a canzone by Francesco Petrarca – to the incipit in all the voices. He used French, which does not seem to have been his native language, in the title, perhaps trying in this way to create a link to the language of the chansons at the beginning of the set of prints. The word 'motet(us)' was probably used instead of the word 'madrigal', which the scribe did not know. The work may have been performed instrumentally or vocally as a kind of contrafactum, with a text chosen at will. We do not know the source from which Animuccia's madrigal was copied. It was first published in 1557 in an edition which otherwise contained almost exclusively madrigals by Orlando di Lassus, and which underwent numerous reprints in this context²⁵. It is also not clear why the copyist chose precisely this little-known composition and not one of the madrigals by Orlando di Lassus. Since he eliminated the madrigal's text, the choice was obviously not directed by the scribe's fondness for the poetry of Petrarch.

At some point, Animuccia's composition, together with the music prints from the library of Alexander Glaser, found its way to the collection of Georg Knofius, a bibliophile and music lover from Gdańsk, who collected 267 volumes of polyphony, mainly originating from the Venetian printing houses of Gardano (130 titles) and Scotto (39 titles), among them 196 volumes of secular madrigals²⁶. Alongside the partbooks inherited from the rector of the church of St Barbara, Knofius had in his collection only a few prints from the 1570s, the

majority of them bound together in the same cover with prints dating from a decade later²⁷. Among the oldest of these, one stands out: the set of four madrigal prints from the years 1572-1574, bound together, which contains works by Orlando di Lassus, Giovanni Pietro Cottone, Pietro Cavatoni and Jacob Regnart²⁸. If Knofius began his adventure with the madrigal from these volumes, the unconventional selection of authors is somewhat puzzling: it includes composers of international fame as well as those who were unlikely to have been heard of beyond northern Italy. By then Orlando di Lassus was an unquestioned compositional authority. Regnart, who was younger, had had over 30 motets published in various anthologies, while *Il primo libro delle canzone* was his first authorial collection, the fruit of his studies in Italy²⁹. On the other hand, the two Italian authors achieved only local fame: Cottone as organist at the cathedral in Turin, and Cavatoni as *maestro di musica* at the Accademia dei Novelli in Verona, for whose needs he composed his madrigals³⁰. We do not know whether Knofius set out to build his collection starting with these prints, whether he happened to be given them by someone, or whether he imported them in later years to add to the existing music library. Either way it seems that he did not start systematically collecting musical prints until the fifteen-eighties³¹.

We cannot be certain whether, and if so how, this private collection was used in practice, although Martin Morell draws attention to the numerous handwritten corrections in the prints, indicating that these works were performed, probably by Knofius himself and the

27 *Ibidem*, pp. 119-121.

28 Now held at Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, call number Ee 2173²: [Orlando di Lassus] *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci... con alcuni madrigali et canzoni d'altri autori aggiunti*, Venice: Scotto 1573 [1573¹⁸]; Giovanni Pietro Cottone, *Il primo libro di madrigali a 5 voci*, Venice: Gardano 1572 [C 4254]; Pietro Cavatoni, *Scielta di madrigali a quattro e cinque voci*, Venice: Scotto 1572 [C 1569], Jacob Regnart, *Il primo libro delle canzone italiane a cinque voci*, Vienna: Mair 1574 [R 738].

29 Walter Pass, 'Regnart, Jacob' in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Second edition, ed. by Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, London 2001, vol. 21, p. 118.

30 Lilian P. Pruett, 'Cottone, Giovanni Pietro', in: *The New Grove*, vol. 6, p. 548; Joanna Wiecekowska, 'Cavatoni, Pietro', in: *The New Grove*, vol. 5, p. 316.

31 The majority of prints in his collection come from the 1580s, and the earliest date appearing on the covers is 1584. The set in question, like a number of others, has no date on the cover. It is different from the other sets in containing just four titles, whereas the others contain from seven to sixteen items.

(1999) No. 3, pp. 16-18.

25 *Secondo libro delle muse, a cinque voci, madrigali d'Orlando di Lassus con una canzone di Petrarca*, Rome: Barré 1557 (1557²²); *Di Orlando di Lassus il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice: Gardano 1559 [1559²³] and later editions: 1560¹⁶; 1565¹³; 1566¹¹; 1568¹⁷; 1573²⁰; 1574⁷; 1585²⁵; 1586¹⁶. None of them has been preserved in the collections from Gdańsk.

26 Martin Morell, 'Georg Knoff', p. 109.

Table 1. Titles from the years 1572-1600 published by the Venetian printing house of Gardano and their presence in Gdańsk:

Year	1572	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Titles published by Gardano	16	12	27	17	16	3	21	28	26	23	30	30	33	25	29
Gardano editions in Gdańsk	2	1	-	2	2	-	1	3	5	8	7	17	16	13	16

Year	1587	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1600
Titles published by Gardano	38	30	29	25	26	29	29	25	29	26	14	12	17	26
Gardano editions in Gdańsk	21	7	12	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	1	2	6	1

musicians invited by him³². Interestingly, apart from possible private performances, the collector probably did not lend out his prints to professional musicians, because we do not find any compositions copied from them in any Gdańsk manuscripts from the end of the sixteenth century. Yet Knofius may have had an indirect influence on the reception of Italian music in Gdańsk. The second largest collection of music prints dating from before 1600 was compiled at the Marian church. It is likely that the majority of the items in it – only masses, motets, and other Latin religious compositions – was chosen by the Marian chapel master, Johannes Wanning. What is striking is that, of the 63 surviving titles³³, as many as 33 are Italian prints, almost exclusively Venetian ones, and 17 of these come from Gardano's printing house, while 9 are from the printing house of Vincenti³⁴. Among the Italian composers represented here, alongside those known throughout Europe, such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina or Claudio Merulo, we also find musicians of lesser fame, such as Valerio Bona, Antonio Buonavita, Andrea Feliciani, Paolo Isnardi, Giovanni Piccioni, or Gabriele Pingirolo. The oldest Italian item in the Marian Library is Claudio Merulo's *Missarum liber primus* (Venice: Gardano 1573 [M 2537]); subsequent titles come from 1587 and later years, which lets us to assume that Italian prints did not begin to be acquired for the Marian church until the end of the 1580s. At least seven prints from the Marian library, among them one Italian: Benedetto Binago's *Sacrarum cantionum liber primus* (Milan: Tradato 1598 [B 2969]), were identical

to those belonging to Knofius. It is thus very probable that, when importing these titles for his collection, he also used the opportunity to order another copy for the Marian ensemble. Wanning must have been consulted about such purchases. It is possible that Knofius, in view of his experience, helped the Marian chapel master to import other prints as well, particularly from Italian publishing houses, which he knew well.

As has already been mentioned, most prints which found their way to Gdańsk came from the Venetian printing house of Gardano. The comparison in the Table 1 demonstrates the dynamics of this process³⁵.

Assuming that the purchase of the majority of prints took place not in the year of their publication but with a delay of one, two or three years, we can see that the peak of the imports occurred during the second half of the 1580s, and was followed by a sudden decline. Knofius's collection contains no prints – and this applies not just to the Italian ones – from the years 1590-94, while the Marian Library holds only five prints from that period, all of them from Gardano's printing house. We do not know why Knofius suspended his hobby for a number of years. It may have been that his financial situation deteriorated during that period³⁶. Italian editions from the second half

³² Martin Morell, 'Georg Knoff', p. 110.

³³ 52 volumes from the years 1573-1600 and 11 from the years 1601-1604. A catalogue of these prints is given in M. Morell, 'Georg Knoff', pp. 123-124.

³⁴ Additionally there are two volumes published in Nuremberg which contain works by Italian composers – Giovanni Croce and Luca Marenzio.

³⁵ This comparison of music prints from Gdańsk is based on: Morell, 'Georg Knoff' and *Katalog mikrofilmów muzycznych* [Catalogue of Music Microfilms], iss. 2, ed. Maria Prokopowicz, Warszawa 1962 (Katalog Mikrofilmów – Biblioteka Narodowa. Dział Zbiorów Mikrofilmowych, 9). It takes into account the majority of prints from Gdańsk from that period which are known today.

³⁶ According to calculations by Paweł Gancarczyk, the price of a music print in Royal Prussia may have been the equivalent of the value of one or two piglets, see Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku*, p. 86.

of the 1590s were imported to Gdańsk more frequently, both for the Knofius collection and the Marian Library, but the scale of the imports was not as high as during the previous decade. On the other hand, the community of Italian music lovers on the Mottlau grew: in the library of the church of St Catherine we find Tiburtio Massaino's *Tertius liber missarum* (Venice: Amadino 1598 [M 1280]), followed by further items from the Venetian printing houses.

It is difficult to reconstruct the ways in which these prints were imported³⁷. In principle it did not have to be direct import from the publishers, since by the end of the sixteenth century the network of intermediaries in the book trade was quite well developed. One of them was the mysterious Salomon, about whom all we know is that in 1582 he imported to Gdańsk twenty copies of Jacob de Brouck's *Cantiones tum sacrae... tum profane* (Antwerp: Plantin 1579 [B4613])³⁸. It remains an open question whether he also engaged in importing musical items from Italian printers. Another bookseller from the Kingdom of Poland engaged in the distribution of music prints was Zacheus Kesner, who was active in Cracow from 1570³⁹. Among the titles which remained after his death in 1602, twenty undoubtedly came from Italian publishers, including a number of collections of madrigals⁴⁰. It is possible that some prints found their way to Gdańsk via Kesner, but he is unlikely to have contributed to the import of Italian repertory on a large scale. An important part in the distribution of music repertory was played by the bookfair at Frankfurt am Main (Kesner did his shopping there), where Italian prints, among them madrigals, were represented in abundance⁴¹. In the case of Knofius it is possible that he employed such an intermediary, but the almost monothematic character of his collection (madrigals from Italian printers) may point to direct contact between the collector and the publishers. We cannot know this, but perhaps some help in this

respect could have been provided by Giovanni Peltraro, a citizen of Gdańsk who came from Venice⁴².

By way of contrast to Knofius's private collection, prints from the Marian library were available to copyists – and it was from these that various compositions were copied into two manuscripts used at the church of St Bartholomew⁴³. An example of this is provided by *Missa Surrexit pastor* from Costanzo Antegnati's *Liber secundus missarum* (Venice: Gardano 1589 [A 1263]) copied to Ms. muz. 4005, or the four masses (*Benedicta es celorum regina, Susanne ung iour, Oncques amour, Aspice Domine*) from Claudio Merulo's *Missarum quinque vocum ... liber primus* (Venice: Gardano 1573 [M 2357]) copied to Ms. muz. 4007. Obviously, what was copied was only what was suitable for local performances; for example, only four parts from Antegnati's mass found their way into the manuscript, with the omission of *Credo*, which at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began to be replaced by *Wir glauben all* recited by the whole congregation.

In the Gdańsk manuscripts from the end of the sixteenth century we also find works by Italian composers which had not been copied from the Marian prints⁴⁴. In Ms. muz. 4007 we find, for example, Ascanio Trombetti's *Virtute magna*, Giulio Belli's *Missa Musarum splendor*, Orfeo Vecchi's *Quem quaeris, Surrexit pastor* and *Consolamini*, while in Ms. muz. 4004 there is an entry of Annibale Padovano's *Domine Deus rex*. Ms. muz. 4005 contains, among others, *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and an anonymous Mass *Io mi son giovinetta* based on a madrigal by Giovanni Ferrabosco. This last composition might have been written in the Gdańsk community, where Ferrabosco's madrigal was known, as testified by its keyboard arrangement from 1591⁴⁵. By using the madrigal model the author of this mass joined, in a sense, the ranks of musical Italophiles. Among the admirers of Italian music

³⁷ Cf. M. Morell, 'Georg Knoff', p. 114.

³⁸ Jean Auguste Stelfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, Brussels 1949, p. 88. Quoted after: Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku*, p. 88.

³⁹ Tomasz Czepiel, 'Zacheus Kesner and the Music Book Trade at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: An Inventory of 1602', "Musica Iagellonica" 2 (1997), pp. 23-24.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 33-69. There might be somewhat fewer Italian prints recorded in the inventory than the number resulting from Czepiel's interpretation.

⁴¹ Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Oxford 2001, pp. 90-91.

⁴² See Samsonowicz, 'Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy', p. 160.

⁴³ Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Mss. muz. 4005, 4007.

⁴⁴ Cf. Danuta Popinigis, Barbara Długońska, Danuta Szlagowska, Jolanta Woźniak (eds.), *Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Gdańsk Library*, Gdańsk 2011 (Music Collections of Gdańsk 1), *passim*.

⁴⁵ National Archive in Gdańsk, 300, R/Vv, 123 (referred to later as APG 300, R/Vv, 123). Cf. Jolanta Woźniak, Barbara Długońska, Danuta Popinigis, Danuta Szlagowska (eds.), *Thematic Catalogue of Music in Manuscript in State Archive in Gdańsk*, Gdańsk 2008 (Music Collections of Gdańsk 3), p. 46.

was also Johannes Wanning, who, ca 1582, composed a mass based on Palestrina's madrigal *Vestiva i colli*⁴⁶. If it is dated correctly, Wanning was one of the first composers to produce a parody of this madrigal. Masses based on it were later composed by Palestrina himself, as well as by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Ippolito Baccusio, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Rudolph de Lassus, Philipp de Monte, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Johannes Nucius, Lorenzo Ratti and Annibale Stabile. It is not known under what circumstances Wanning learnt of Palestrina's composition, but it is unlikely that Knofius would have been the intermediary, since he did not have this work in his collection. Beginning from 1566 the madrigal *Vestiva i colli* was published on numerous occasions in various collections, including *Gemma musicalis...studio & opera Friderici Lindneri. Liber primus* (Nuremberg: Gerlach 1588 [1588²¹]), preserved at Gdańsk Library. Presumably the copyist of Ms. muz 4007 borrowed the orthography of the title of Wanning's mass - *Festiva il i colli* - from that print, but the composer himself is likely to have made use of another, earlier transmission of this madrigal.

Johannes Wanning and Georg Knofius must have known each other from at least 1574, when both became members of the Brotherhood of St Reynold at Artus Court⁴⁷. Undoubtedly they had many opportunities to talk about music, as well as to mutually influence their attitude to Italian music. In 1584 the composer dedicated to the collector a copy of his *Sententiae insigniores ex evangeliiis dominicalibus excerptae* (Dresden: Stöckel 1584 [W 204])⁴⁸. It is possible that it was Knofius's influence which made Wanning decide, in 1590, to publish again his *Sententiae insigniores* [W 205] together with the newly composed *Sacrae cantiones quinque et sex vocum accomodate ad dies festos totius anni* [W 206] by then not in Dresden, but at the Venetian publishing house of

Gardano. It is not known whether the composer visited Venice in connection with the production of this edition, but it does seem likely⁴⁹. No information has survived on whether these two volumes of motets ever reached Gdańsk - there are no copies at Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. However, it seems unlikely that the author himself would not own these volumes, since during the 1590s he had continuous contact with the publishing house of Gardano, who were constantly supplying various prints to the Marian Library. On the other hand, the two collections of Wanning's compositions found their way to the Marian Library in Elbląg⁵⁰ - perhaps as Wanning's legacy, since he seems to have had some artistic contacts with this city⁵¹.

The picture of the reception of musical *italianità* in Gdańsk would not be complete without taking into account the manuscript with keyboard music, known as the Gdańsk tablature, which probably dates from 1591⁵². It contains instrumental arrangements of three madrigal compositions: *Io mi son giovinetta* by Domenico Ferrabosco (No 28), *O s'io potessi donna* by Jacquet de Berchem (No 33) and *Laura soave* by Germano Pallavicino (No 41)⁵³. The source for the vocal model of the last of these compositions may have been the

46 Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Ms. muz. 4007: here as *Missa Festiva il i colli* with the added annotation "Anno 82" which probably indicates the date the mass was written. Another copy has been preserved in Lübeck, at the Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck, Mus. A 203 as *Missa Vestiva i colli*. More on this composition see Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'The Parody Technique in the Works of Renaissance Composers from the Gdańsk Area', in: *Poland in Europe: Musical Sources - Repertoire - Style*, ed. Zofia Helman, Warsaw 2006 (Musicology Today 2006), pp. 79-80, 87-88. http://files.musicologytoday.hist.pl/files/Musicology_Today/Musicology_Today-r2006-t3/Musicology_Today-r2006-t3-s75-91/Musicology_Today-r2006-t3-s75-91.pdf

47 M. Morell, 'Georg Knoff', p. 111.

48 Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Ee3044³.

49 The journey between Gdańsk and Venice over land would at that time take less than 40 days: Marco Ottobon, the delegate of the Doge of Venice sent to Gdańsk to negotiate a contract for supplies of grain, took 39 days to travel from Venice to Gdańsk in the autumn of 1590, including rest breaks (Fernand Braudel, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II]*, vol. 1, trans. Tadeusz Mrówczyński, Maria Ochab, Gdańsk 1976, p. 223). If Wanning travelled to the Adriatic to supervise the edition of his motets, he did it at the beginning of the same year - the preface to his *Sacrae cantiones* was written in Gdańsk on 1 January 1590.

50 Cf. Theodor Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek in Elbing', "Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch" 9 (1896), p. 40. At present the alto of this copy is held at the University Library in Toruń, and the bass at the National Library in Warsaw. Cf. Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Zbiory muzyczne Biblioteki Mariackiej w Elblągu wczoraj i dziś' [Music Collections of the Marian Library in Elbląg Yesterday and Today], in: *Europejska kultura muzyczna w polskich bibliotekach i archiwach [European Music Culture in Polish Libraries and Archives]*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas, Stanisław Hrabia, Kraków 2008, p. 33.

51 The manuscript from the Marian Library in Elbląg is the unique source of the Mass *Dormiend ung jour* by Johannes Wanning, now Toruń, University Library, V 849.

52 Cf. footnote 45.

53 See Woźniak, Długońska, Popinigis, Szlagowska (eds.), *Thematic Catalogue*, pp. 46, 90, 102, 155.

anthology of madrigals compiled in Nuremberg in 1589 by Frideric Lindner⁵⁴. A copy of it, which, however, does not come from Knofius's collection, has been preserved in Gdańsk Library and may testify to the fact that interest in madrigals was more widespread in this city, and was not limited just to the community of musicians and music lovers known to us by name. The arrangement of the composition by Jacquet de Berchem, carrying only the title *Osi potes*, without the composer's name, was presumably produced on the basis of some manuscript copy⁵⁵. It is also impossible to establish what source was used by the author from Gdańsk who wrote the keyboard manuscript and included in it the arrangement of the madrigal by Domenico Ferrabosco, which was very popular throughout Europe⁵⁶. It was signed, intriguingly: *Iomison aut / Siginet aut / Fera Basso / Egidius Lucifer*. The initial elements of this signature seem like a version of the title and the name of the author, misspelt as a result of mistaken reading of them in some manuscript, and ignorance of the Italian language. 'Io mi son' is the actual incipit of the text, 'Siginet' may be a combination of a number of letters from a later part of this incipit, incomprehensible to the copyist (Io mi son **gi**ov**in**etta), while 'Fera Basso' corresponds to the surname of the Italian composer, but may at the same time be a play on words⁵⁷. The word 'aut' (= 'or'), which appears between the consecutive elements, was probably added by the copyist as a conjunction linking words foreign to him, which he regarded as alternative titles. 'Egidius Lucifer' appears at a place suggesting the name of the author of the composition, and probably is an addition with no direct link to this work but symbolises some person from the copyist's milieu, or another, generally known figure. The description 'Lucifer' is undoubtedly pejorative, and probably applies to some Egidius who was disliked by the copyist⁵⁸.

54 *Liber secundus Gemmae musicalis...editae studio & opera Friderici Lindneri*, Nuremberg: Gerlach 1589 [1589^o].

55 The madrigal *O s'io potessi donna* was published in: Jacquet Berchem, *Terzo libro del capriccio*, Venice: Gardano 1561 [B 1981], no trace of this print survived in Gdańsk.

56 *Io mi son giovinetta* by D. Ferrabosco was published for the first time in *Il primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi... autori*, Venice: Gardano 1542 [1542¹⁷].

57 Perhaps Latin 'fera' = 'wild animal' and 'bassus' = 'bass'.

58 In the community of Lutherans with an anti-papal attitude, Aegidius Lucifer may, for example, have been the nickname of Aegidius Romanus, thirteenth-century theologian and philosopher, supporter of the idea of the pope's absolute power

Reception of Italian music in Elbląg in the late Renaissance, analysed on the basis of the holdings of the Marian Library there, had a somewhat different form from Gdańsk. First of all, the Elbląg collections did not, on the whole, contain prints from Italy – the five volumes of *Novus thesaurus musicus* (Venice: Gardano 1568 [1568², 1568³, 1568⁴, 1568⁵, 1568⁶]) and Wanning's collection mentioned earlier, were the exception⁵⁹. However, all these prints contained only motets, mainly by Franco-Flemish composers. Masses by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and other Italians were not known in Elbląg. Motets were a different matter: works by Annibale Padovano, Palestrina, Andrea Gabrieli, Costanzo Porta, Annibale Stabile, Marcantonio Ingegneri and others reached Elbląg in several prints, including Leonhard Lechner's Nuremberg anthology from 1583⁶⁰. Similarly, madrigal works by such musicians as Teodore Riccio, Luca Marenzio or Giovanni Gastoldi found their way to that city via editions from Nuremberg and Antwerp. The oldest print in the Marian Library containing repertory of this kind was Jacopo Regnart's *Il primo libro delle canzoni italiane* (Vienna: Mair 1574) – the same edition which found its way to Knofius's collection. Teodore Riccio's *Il primo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana* (Nuremberg: Gerlach 1577 [R1295]) was another, only a little later, volume with Italian repertory in the collections in Elbląg. In this way Regnart employed at the court of Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna, and Riccio active at the court of Margrave Georg Friedrich in Königsberg, contributed to the awakening of an interest in secular Italian music in musicians from Elbląg. Evidence of this interest, apart from the prints, is provided only by two incompletely preserved manuscripts. The editions of Regnart and Riccio referred to here are located at the end of a set of eight prints from the years 1574-1584 which are bound together⁶¹. They are followed by glued-in sheets on which have been copied a number of motets, mass fragments, and two madrigals by Alessandro Striggio: *Ancor ch'io passo* and *Nasce la pena mia* – in both only the incipits

over the world and earthly goods. His writings were familiar throughout Europe thanks to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century prints and manuscript copies; some of them also reached Gdańsk.

59 Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek', p. 40.

60 *Harmoniae miscellae cantionum sacrarum... editae studio Leonardi Lechneri Athesini*, Nuremberg: Gerlach 1583 [1583^o].

61 Previously Elbląg, Marian Library, Ms. 21. Now only the cantus partbook survives at: Warsaw, Univeristy Library, SDM 1516-21.

of the texts have been entered. Striggio was at that time a well-known composer, and his *Nasce la pena mia*, published in 1560⁶², was very often copied in tablatures and vocal manuscripts written in Central Europe⁶³. *Ancor ch'io passo*, also published in 1560⁶⁴, does not seem to have been preserved in other manuscripts. Dating the prints in the set under discussion suggests that Striggio's madrigals may have been performed in Elbląg as early as the 1580s, but not with the original texts, which was probably due to poor knowledge of the Italian language in that city.

The second manuscript from the Marian Library containing Italian music was added to Orlando di Lasso's *Neue teutsche Lieder* (Munich: Berg 1567 [L 814]), but was probably written ca 1600⁶⁵. The print, together with the manuscript, was likely to have once been the basis of the repertory of Elbląg's *Convivium musicum*⁶⁶. Of the five-voice collection known under the title *Thannenwald* only *Quinta vox* survives, and thus we do not know what compositions for four or fewer voices may have been written in this source. On the basis of Carstenn's catalogue we may conclude that they included some compositions by Marenzio and Vecchi, probably madrigals. The surviving voice contains 12 balletti by Giovanni Gastoldi, which may have been copied from a print held at the same library⁶⁷. In contrast with the madrigals discussed so far, Gastoldi's balletti were written together with the text. These entries are limited to the first stanzas, but we may guess that, even so, Italian words were being sung and perhaps understood by some listeners, regardless of the fact that knowledge of that language was certainly not widespread in Elbląg. Only a few residents of that city travelled to Italy to study, for

example, to Siena⁶⁸, while the number of visitors from the Apennine Peninsula in Elbląg was even smaller than in Gdańsk.

However, some contacts between musicians from Elbląg and Italians, unrecorded in chronicles and archival documents, must have been taking place. Evidence for this is provided by a drunkards' song entered in the *Thannenwald* manuscript, with a strange macaronic text which mixes together Italian, German, Latin and perhaps even Portuguese phrases:

Ben venuto hui allegro, hui allegro Bon fratello
kombt auch her zu Javello
Semper quis viel geschreiens
Wenig wolle ein seger bolle
Bekomt wusbaß den ein beer glas
Cuium pecus thuts wuß bringen
wollen schlingen fröhlich singen
fa la la la la fa la la la la fa la la
Care frater Trinckt mihr zu eins zu zweyter quater
Musiciret alla critter, musiciret, musiciret ala critter
Wie so demens
Trinck mein bruder ein gantz fuder, ein gantz fuder
Du ligst doch gern ein luder
So trinck mir zu mein bruder
Brindes brindes campania
Bon prete faccia o mille braccia
trincken wir alle diesen guten Wein mitschalle
dieses gute bihr.

This text, difficult to translate, undoubtedly provides evidence of an international brotherhood which accompanies the tasting of various drinks. In the drunken babble we can distinguish not only the refrain *fa la la la la*, which clearly refers to the Italian balletti, but also the puzzling phrase: 'Kombt auch her zu Javello' ('come here, to Javello'). It is highly likely that the name Javello refers to the locality where this tasting took place, and where this charming song was probably composed. Javello is an estate situated at the foot of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, in the province of Prato and municipality of Montemurlo. We find there now the remains of the old castle which centuries ago belonged to the Strozzi family, and towards the end of the sixteenth century became the property of the Venturi family⁶⁹. We do not

⁶² Alessandro Striggio, *Il primo libro delle madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice: Gardano 1560 [S 6944].

⁶³ Tomasz Jeż, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej*, p. 85.

⁶⁴ Alessandro Striggio, *Il primo libro de madregali a sei voci*, Venice: Gardano 1560 [1560²²].

⁶⁵ Previously Elbląg, Marian Library, Ms. 24, now Toruń, University Library, V-829.

⁶⁶ Agnieszka Leszczyńska, 'Rękopis Thannenwald – domniemany repertuar elbląskiego convivium musicum' ['The Thannenwald Manuscript – The Presumed Repertory of Elbląg's Convivium Musicum'], "Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny" 8 (2010), pp. 25-36.

⁶⁷ Giovanni Gastoldi, *Balletti a cinque voci*, Nuremberg: Kaufmann 1600 [G 514], cf. Carstenn, 'Katalog der St. Marienbibliothek', p. 43. The first edition of this collection (Venice: Amadino 1591 [G 508]) was not available in Elbląg.

⁶⁸ Andrzej Groth (ed.), *Historia Elbląga [A History of Elbląg]*, vol. 2 part 1, Gdańsk 1996, p. 216.

⁶⁹ Fernando Giaffreda, 'Montemurlo, torre e castello della Fattoria di Javello' <http://www.mondimedievali.net/castelli/>

know the circumstances in which this estate was visited by a traveller from distant Royal Prussia, but we may be certain that he had a good time there.

The madrigal repertory and the religious works of Italian composers reached the Elbląg of the late Renaissance period mainly through prints from Nuremberg, as well as from Vienna and Antwerp. Such prints were also present in Gdańsk, but there the main influence in popularising Italian repertory was the import of Venetian editions. In Gdańsk the interest in Italian music had a systematic character owing to the efforts of Knofius and Wanning; however, there are no madrigal texts in any of the manuscripts. The repertory from the Apennine Peninsula found its way to Elbląg in a more random manner, but Italian texts do appear in the *Thannenwald* manuscript. This collection was intended for amateur music-making at *convivium musicum* gatherings, and the presence of madrigals with the original words testifies to the burghers of Elbląg being open to cultural novelties. Italian repertory from the final decades of the sixteenth century was widely represented in the prints imported to Gdańsk – from masses through motets to madrigals of both more serious and lighter character. Musicians from Elbląg had access to a much more limited range of Italian works. In both cities one of the earliest prints containing madrigals was Jacob Regnart's *Il primo libro delle canzoni italiane* (1574). It is possible that both copies were imported by a bookseller active in Royal Prussia.

Translated by Zofia Weaver