III FROM LEUVEN, MUNICH, AND NUREMBERG VIA LESSER POLAND TO MAZOVIA: THE STORY OF THE PARTBOOKS UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW LIBRARY, 7.41.5.14

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In the more than two hundred years of its history, the University of Warsaw Library has faced many challenges, including two events that drastically compromised the integrity of its collections. First, as part of the repressions following the November Uprising, in 1832–33 Russians carried off to St. Petersburg approximately 100,000 valuable prints, manuscripts, drawings, and numismatic items.[1] Only some of them were returned to Warsaw pursuant to the Treaty of Riga signed between Poland, Russia, and Ukraine in 1921, after Poland had regained its independence.[2] Following the outbreak of World War II not even two

1 Kozerska, *Warszawska Biblioteka Uniwersytecka*, 1–3.
2 Olczak et al., "Kalendarium", 449.

decades later, the library began to suffer serious losses, both in terms of its personnel and its collections. This process culminated in the dramatic events of October 1944, when the German occupying forces purposely set fire to the building of the Krasiński Library among others, where the rarest and most precious items from the national library and a vast portion of the University of Warsaw's special collections were kept. These stocks were completely destroyed.[3] As a result of these historical calamities, music-related sources were lost in bulk (the precise numbers are difficult to estimate precisely today).

Of special note in this context are the dozen or so surviving partbooks that have been kept at the University of Warsaw Library since its earliest years. Evidence such as ownership notes and other information proves that eight of them had already made their way to Poland as early as the sixteenth century. Their story forms the subject of this chapter. They are now stored at the University of Warsaw Library's Music Department (in Polish, Gabinet Zbiorów Muzycznych) under the joint shelf mark 7.41.5.14. In the nineteenth century these numbers designated the room, bookcase, shelf, and position on the shelf respectively. The shelf mark was assigned to fragments of four separate sets of partbooks by the librarian, who was probably not an expert on music prints. It is still in use owing to its historical character, although modern catalogue numbering is likely to replace it soon.[4] In the second half of the twentieth century, the partbooks from this group were marked with letters, which were in turn recently replaced with Roman numerals: I–III for the first set, IV–V for the second, VI for the third, and VII–VIII for the fourth. What all these partbooks have in common is that they were used in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Małopolska (Lesser Poland), a region located in today's southern and south-eastern Poland of which Kraków was the main city. Along with the manuscripts of Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków, the partbooks are among the few surviving sources of Renaissance vocal polyphony associated with this region. All four sets became part of the collection of the Royal University of Warsaw's Public Library at more or less the same time, in the summer of 1819, as a result of the library director Samuel Bogumił Linde's initiative

3 Olczak et al., "Kalendarium", 491.

4 I was told about the plan to re-catalogue these sources by Piotr Maculewicz, head of the University of Warsaw Library's Music Department. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Maculewicz and to his collaborators Magdalena Borowiec and Ewa Hauptman-Fischer for their kind support in the process of preparing this paper.

to incorporate into the university library the collections of monasteries and collegiate churches dissolved on the strength of Pope Pius VII's bull *Ex imposita nobis*.[5] These, then, are the partbooks that managed to survive the various historical disasters and became, already half a century ago, the subject of a detailed investigation by Mirosław Perz, who summed up his studies in two papers.[6] Many of Perz's findings are still relevant today; some, however, can now be complemented or corrected.

III.1 PARTBOOKS FROM THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH IN SANDOMIERZ (PL-WU 7.41.5.14 I–III)

The first of the sets under study, comprising superius (I), contratenor (II), and quinta vox (III), was kept in Sandomierz from at least 1589 onwards, and consists of twelve volumes bound together:

1 Jacobus Clemens non Papa, *Liber primus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1559); RISM C 2686, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 60.
2 ---, *Liber secundus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1561); RISM C 2691, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 78.
3 ---, *Liber tertius cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1560); RISM C 2695, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 71.[7]
4 ---, *Liber quartus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse,1562); RISM C 2699, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 84.
5 ---, *Liber quintus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1559); RISM C 2702, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 64.
6 ---, *Liber sextus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1559); RISM C 2705, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 65.
7 Thomas Crequillon, *Liber septimus cantionum sacrarum*, 4 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1567); RISM C 4408, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 117.
8 *Liber octavus cantionum sacrarum*, 6–8 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1560); RISM 1560[3] and 1561[1a], Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 81.[8]

5 Ptaszyk, "Biblioteka Publiczna", 103.
6 Perz, "Szesnastowieczne księgi głosowe"; Perz, "Rękopiśmienne partesy olkuskie".
7 This is the sole surviving copy of this edition.
8 Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, 89, after Mendysowa, *Katalog*, 127, incorrectly states that the print contains the inscription "Pro Ecclesiae Hrusciensis Sancti Andreae". This inscription is in fact found on another set of partbooks, 7.41.5.14 (VII–VIII), and in a slightly different form.

9 Adrian Willaert, *Moteta… liber primus*, 4–6 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1561); RISM W 1128, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 79.

10 ---, *Moteta… liber secundus*, 6–7 vv. (Leuven: P. Phalèse, 1561); RISM W 1128, Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, № 80.

11 Orlando di Lasso, *Fasciculus aliquot cantionum sacrarum*, 5 vv. (Munich: Berg, 1572); RISM L 851.

12 Johann Knöfel, *Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones*, 5–7 vv. (Nuremberg: T. Gerlach, 1571); RISM K 989.

The original owner of editions 1–10 (all Leuven publications) is not likely to have added new print titles to this collection over the years. It is rather more probable that the volumes were compiled during a relatively short period of time. No earlier than 1567, it seems, the compiler purchased selected titles available from Phalèse's publishing house. This explains why first editions (RISM C 2686, C 2702, C 2705, W 1128) are interspersed with second (C 2691, C 2695, C 2699), third (C 4408), or even fourth ones (1560[5] and 1561[1a]) in this collection. The choice of titles is far from random. The collector was only interested in motets, and preferred single-composer editions. The only anthology in this set, *Liber octavus*, appears to have been selected because, as the number in its title suggests, it is a continuation of earlier volumes containing works by Clemens and Crequillon. The presence in this collection of as many as ten volumes published by Phalèse shows that the collector had relatively easy access to editions from that publishing house, and may even have had some association with the Low Countries. The German editions of motets by Lasso and Knöfel are most likely later purchases, attesting an increased interest in contemporary music. It is also possible, however, that the Leuven prints changed hands before they were bound together and that the last two publications were added later by a different person. While the selection of the famous Orlando's works seems quite obvious, the addition of a debut volume of music by a Silesian composer like Knöfel may have been motivated by individual circumstances, such as possible contact between the collector and the artist, either direct or via shared friends. Be that as it may, the prints were then bound in brown leather tooled in gold. The date 1575 was added on the front cover, while the initials of the then owner, "SHT", can be found on the back cover. The identity of this "SHT" cannot be ascertained, but he is unlikely to have

been active in Sandomierz.[9] Izabela Wiencek-Sielska of the University of Warsaw Library's Early Printed Books Department (in Polish, Gabinet Starych Druków) claims that books were probably not bound in this manner in Poland. Of note is the oval plaque on the front cover that contains, besides floral ornaments, the unusual motif of a half-length naked female figure with a crown on her head (▶ Fig. III.1). This motif has no equivalents in the available online catalogues of European bookbindings from the second half of the sixteenth century.[10] If it is identified at some point in the future, this would help to establish where the partbooks were bound, and, consequently, in what environment their original collector lived and worked.

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The dominance of Pierre Phalèse's editions of 1559–67 in the set likewise supports the thesis of a non-Polish provenance. In fact, German, Italian, and French publications of the time were much more readily available in Poland than those from the Low Countries. Such conclusions are based primarily on the situation in Kraków, the capital of the Kingdom of Poland and the main city of Lesser Poland, as explained below. We can assume that access to imported publications was certainly no better in smaller towns of the region. Only a few music editions used in sixteenth-century Kraków have survived to the present day, but other primary sources provide evidence on the circulation of music prints in the Polish capital. For instance, music-related sources are listed in the Wawel Royal Castle collection's inventory drawn up by Jerzy Jazwicz (1572), as well as in the posthumous inventories of the stock owned by the city's booksellers Jan (Jean) Thenaud (1582) and Stanisław Szarfenberg (1585).[11] Of the numerous items catalogued in these inventories, we can approximately reconstruct the contents of c. 120 volumes. Of those hypothetically identified, however, only two may have come from Phalèse's printing house: *Praestantissimorum divinae musices auctorum missae decem* (Leuven, 1570; RISM 1570[1]), listed in the Wawel collection, and *Cantiones de Latrae in 4* from the Thenaud

9 Perz assumed that the owner was related to the city of Sandomierz. Cf. Perz, "Szesnastowieczne księgi głosowe", 24.

10 E.g., Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, *Baza opraw zabytkowych XV-XVIII wieku* (https://ptpn.locloud.pl/collections/show/3); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Einbanddatenbank* (https://www.hist-einband.de), British Library, *Database of Bookbindings* (https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/bookbindings/), accessed 12 September 2023.

11 Chybiński, "Krakowskie inwentarze", 253–60, Głuszcz-Zwolińska, *Muzyka nadworna*, 73–76.

inventory, which might be identified with Petit Jean de Latre's *Livre des chansons à 4* (Leuven, 1552; RISM L 1060).[12] The owner of this latter print, Thenaud, was a Bourges-born pupil of John Calvin who had come to Poland as a teacher in 1558, several years after completing his studies in Geneva. Though reluctant to move to this faraway country (he was in fact forced to do so by complex life circumstances), after several years he started a family in Poland (marrying a Polish woman) and spent the last decade of his life in Kraków as rector of the Calvinist school and the royal bookseller.[13] He may have brought De Latre's chanson collection with him from his homeland as a remedy for homesickness and nostalgia for his native French tongue. The volume was most likely not for sale in his bookstore.

In Royal Prussia, a northern Polish province, the situation seems to have been similar: Leuven music prints did find their way there, but likely only as the result of private imports. Only two cases of early prints from Leuven present in this region are known: in Gdańsk and in Toruń. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Brandes family in Gdańsk owned twelve volumes of chansons and motets published by Pierre Phalèse in 1554–60, bound together with a manuscript of works by Orlando di Lasso.[14] According to Paweł Gancarczyk, the original owner of this set lived in the Netherlands.[15] Heinrich Stroband from Toruń (the future mayor of that city) purchased Sebastian Vredeman's tablature *Nova longueque elegantissima cithara ludenda carmina* (Leuven: Phalèse, 1568; RISM V 2566) in Tübingen during his studies there in 1569.[16] This and other Leuven prints were thus imported to Poland only incidentally and, it seems, exclusively through private channels, probably because of the lack of an efficient international distribution network. It was only after 1570, when Pierre Phalèse joined forces with Jean Bellère of Antwerp, that prints from their publishing house began to appear at the Frankfurt Book Fair.[17] We know that at least from the early seventeenth century onwards booksellers imported various music prints to Poland

12 Chybiński, "Krakowskie inwentarze", 257, 259.
13 Birn, "Francuz wśród kalwinów", 41–45.
14 Gancarczyk, "Origin, Repertory, and Context", 300.
15 Gancarczyk, "Origin, Repertory, and Context", 301–2.
16 Leszczyńska, "Music and Musicians", 174.
17 Gross, "The Firm of Phalèse", 277.

(via the Frankfurt Book Fair), including Phalèse's books produced in the Antwerp workshop.[18]

Considering the circumstances presented above, it seems almost certain that the partbooks known as 7.41.5.14 (I–III) were compiled and bound together in Western Europe, and that they reached Poland as a private import. No later than 1589 they made their way to Sandomierz, where they became the property of one Józef Piotrucha, as we learn from the inscription: "Jozephus Piotrucha Sand[omi]rien[sis] nec non etiam Mansionarius Eccle[siae] Collegi[atae] Sand[omi]ri[ensis] possesor Anni 1589" ("Józef Piotrucha of Sandomierz, and also even the *mansionarius* [holder of a small benefice] at the collegiate church in Sandomierz, the possessor in 1589") (▶ Fig. III.2). Piotrucha was ordained on 4 April 1586 at Kraków Cathedral as a *mansionarius* at the Sandomierz collegiate church. His name was entered in the examinations book as Josephus Martini Piotrucha Kozak Sandomiriensis,[19] which means he was a son of Marcin nicknamed "Cossack", possibly a hint that his ancestors may have come from the south-eastern, Ruthenian part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Piotrucha was evidently pleased to record his name in the partbooks (his signature can be found there in as many as nineteen places), though he did not care to mention his possible Cossack origins. Instead, he flaunted his erudition, quoting the scriptures on several occasions as well as some Latin dicta. We could perhaps interpret the quotation from Claudian's panegyric, "Virtutem decet, non sanguine niti" ("one should rely on virtue, not on blood"), which Piotrucha entered on the title page of Lasso's *Fasciculus* (superius), as his personal response to certain comments related to his own origins.

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Piotrucha probably learned Latin and the basics of Classical literature at one of the three schools then operating in Sandomierz,[20] most likely the collegiate school, where he may also have received some education on musical matters. The school's pupils provided the music for the

18 Czepiel, "Zacheus Kesner"; Gancarczyk, *Muzyka wobec rewolucji druku*, 92–93. I am extremely grateful to Louisa Hunter-Bradley, who kindly shared the results of her unpublished research with me. She stated that Plantin's publishing house from Antwerp, working with Polish booksellers, also acted as an intermediary in the import of Phalèse's musical prints to Gdańsk and Cracow. So far, no trace of the sale of such editions in Poland has been found to predate 1570.

19 Pietrzyk (ed.), *Księgi święceń*, 278. I am grateful to Izabela Wiencek-Sielska for drawing my attention to this record.

20 Rutkowski, "Z dziejów Sandomierza", 299–305.

daily conventual masses and vespers and were required to sing matins and other parts of the Divine Office, particularly on Sundays and feast days.[21] They received a small remuneration for these services.[22] This practical training was a good foundation for a career in both music and the church. In order to become a *mansionarius*, one had to enter a competition. First, the name of the candidate was hung up on the collegiate's door for twelve days. Then he presented his skills before the chapter, whose members decided whether or not to employ him.[23] As a member of the *collegium mansionarium*, which derived substantial profits from the lease of houses, gardens, and other property in Sandomierz and its environs,[24] Piotrucha probably did not live on the breadline, and his income may well have contributed to his receiving holy orders without much difficulty. Funding in the form of a benefice, private property, or a high salary was a necessary condition for obtaining a canonical title and being ordained. Other aspects, such as an appropriate background in theology, were less important.[25] The Sandomierz collegiate chapter sometimes exerted pressure on members of *collegium mansionarium* who delayed taking holy orders, threatening to take away their benefice.[26] It is therefore difficult to judge whether the choice of priesthood was purely Piotrucha's personal preference. As a *mansionarius*, he had numerous obligations, such as singing the canonical hours and masses in honour of the Holy Virgin on all weekdays, participation in sung and recited masses for various intentions at least four times a week, as well as in processions on Sundays and feast days, plus other occasional duties.[27] The Sandomierz collegiate *mansionarii* did not always fulfil their responsibilities. Their neglect could earn them reprimands or even penalties imposed by the chapter.[28] Nevertheless, there are no records of any such neglect regarding Józef Piotrucha.

Archival collegiate documents contain no records of either the *mansionarii* or any other singers (including other vicars, *altaristae*, school pupils, and confraternity members) performing polyphonic

21 Rutkowski, "Z dziejów Sandomierza", 302.
22 Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz*, 153.
23 Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 10.
24 Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz*, 123–38.
25 Pietrzyk (ed.), *Księgi święceń*, 8.
26 Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 10.
27 Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz*, 297–98; Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 16.
28 Burdzy, *Szesnastowieczny Sandomierz*, 300.

music during the liturgy. If there ever was such a practice, it was certainly of marginal importance. Nor does the organ seem to have been used for everyday liturgical purposes at the collegiate church. This is suggested by a document of 1584 relating to an increase in salary for the appointed organist Stanisław Trestka, in which the chapter requires him to play during the Easter liturgy (for three days), as well as on Pentecost, Christmas, the Nativity of Mary, and in church services on other major feast days when the responsories, hymns, and *Te Deum laudamus* were sung.[29] Apparently the instrument remained silent during regular Sunday masses. Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, probably worried by this situation, issued (following his visitation in 1595) an order that the organ must be played during the liturgy on all Sundays throughout the year and on virtually all the major feasts.[30] Thus, although the collegiate church was filled with music every day from morning to night, this music was first and foremost plainchant according to the customs of Kraków Cathedral and (to a smaller extent) organ music.[31] We simply do not know whether any motets from the collection of the mysterious SHT were ever performed there during or outside the liturgy.[32]

The partbooks thus appear to have been of limited use, which may be the reason why Józef Piotrucha donated them to the choir of the Dominican Church of St. James the Apostle in Sandomierz in 1602. He commemorated this gift on the pages of the prints in several places in his sprawling, ornamental, somewhat affected handwriting. Next to two such entries he added an entreaty for prayer: "ora pro me frater" ("pray for me, brother"). He clearly trusted that the Dominicans would use these books and grant his request. The donor's inscriptions also inform us of a change in his ecclesiastical status. Under the table of contents in the superius of Willaert's *Moteta… liber secundus* we find this entry: "V[e]n[e] rab[ilis] Jozephus Pjotrucha Sandom[iriensis] plebanus in Zaleszani pro choro s. Jacobi Aposto[li] Sandomir[iensis] Anni 1602. D[onavit]" ("Venerable Józef Piotrucha of Sandomierz, a parish priest in Zaleszany, donated it in 1602 for the choir of the church of St. James the Apostle in Sandomierz") (▶ Fig. III.3). It transpires that at that time Piotrucha was ▶ p. 190

29 Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 3; Perz, *Księgi głosowe*, 24.
30 Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 21.
31 Wiśniewski, *Katalog prałatów* (2), 4.
32 The pronouncement made many years ago that "mainly motets by Clemens non Papa were sung" at the collegiate church unfortunately seems highly improbable. Cf. Perz, *Mikołaj Gomółka*, 96.

no longer a *mansionarius* at the collegiate church, but a parish priest in Zaleszany, a village located about fourteen kilometres south-east of Sandomierz, on the other side of the River Vistula. He was thus now working at St. Nicholas's Church, which had previously (before 1577) been taken over by Protestants for a period of time.[33] Records of a 1599 inspection suggest that the church had no organ.[34] Though becoming a parish priest was a promotion, moving from a prestigious collegiate church located in the town centre to a rural post may not have been all that pleasant for Piotrucha. To get to Sandomierz from Zaleszany, one had to use a ferry crossing in the village of Kamień, around four kilometres from the town.[35] This rendered access to the town more difficult, and Piotrucha certainly could not visit Sandomierz as frequently as he might have liked. It was probably also the loss of daily contact with his singing colleagues, the potential performers of the motets, that persuaded him to give away the partbooks. Why he offered them to the Dominican church choir rather than to someone at the collegiate church is not clear. There may have been some conflict related to his parting with the *mansionarii*. Nothing is known about the music performed at St. James's at that time, but the church must have had a vocal ensemble, since Piotrucha donated the prints to the choir rather than a specific person. A date entered on the back cover flyleaf of the contratenor proves that the partbooks were examined in 1603.

How the partbooks had come into the hands of Józef Piotrucha cannot be established for certain. Someone must have brought the prints from Western Europe. This someone could not have been Piotrucha himself, whose longest ever journey was most likely to Kraków (where he received three degrees of holy orders, those of subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter, during a single trip between 1 March and 5 April 1586).[36] He had not even studied at a seminary prior to being ordained, since Kraków seminary was only founded in 1601. Nor is Mikołaj Gomółka, the greatest musician associated with sixteenth-century Sandomierz, a likely source of these prints. Born in that town around 1535, he worked mainly in Kraków first as a child and youth serving at the royal court

33 Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji*, 407, 438.
34 Kumor, *Dzieje diecezji*, 548.
35 Rutkowski, "Drogi", 124.
36 Pietrzyk (ed.), *Ksiegi święceń*, 278.

(1545–62), and later at the courts of Bishop Piotr Myszkowski and Jan Zamoyski (1580–91).[37] Gomółka was resident in his home town between 1566 and 1578, but his duties were not related to music during that period, and thereafter he probably did not return to Sandomierz.[38]

It probably was an educated person with international contacts, interested in Western European polyphony, who brought the partbooks to the musically provincial Sandomierz. One hypothetical importer of the collection is Kasper Cichocki, who is associated with the city from 1588 onwards. He was later a canon at the collegiate church and parish priest at St. Peter's. Born in 1545 in Tarnów, he studied at Kraków University (1560–61), and later at Leipzig University (1567–69, as guardian of the young nobleman Jan Herburt). Having returned to Kraków, Cichocki obtained a bachelor's degree in liberal arts (1570). He later also studied at Ingolstadt University (1574) and Vilnius Academy (1584). He spent several years in Kraków as secretary to Jakub Uchański, the primate of Poland. In late 1584, he travelled to Rome to study philosophy and theology at the Collegium Romanum, staying in that city until early 1587.[39] This provided him with numerous opportunities for listening to music of the highest quality (both plainchant and polyphony) and meeting musicians. Cichocki was undoubtedly a music lover. He commented on music in a book he wrote late in his life, *Alloquiorum Osiecensium sive variarum familiarium sermonum* (Kraków, 1615). Conceived as a series of conversations with friends, the publication reflects its author's Counter-Reformation views. Cichocki's virulent statements concerning the English king James I made this print an international scandal.[40] Not all of his book concerns relations with the "infidels", however. In Chapter VII, Section I, titled "Musices laus…", the author lists the popes and emperors who composed music (plainchant) and makes cutting remarks about the low level of music education among the Polish clergy.

Having returned from Rome, Cichocki took holy orders in Kraków in 1588. He then travelled to Sandomierz, where in 1588 he donated a large proportion of his book collection to the collegiate library.[41] Piotrucha, it

37 Perz, *Mikołaj Gomółka*, 85, 92, 116–22.
38 Perz, *Mikołaj Gomółka*, 94–104.
39 Barycz, "Cichocki Kasper", 21.
40 Barycz, "Cichocki Kasper", 22; Smoła, "Kasper Cichocki", 66–69.
41 Barycz, "Cichocki Kasper", 21.

should be recalled, came into possession of the partbooks no later than in 1589. It is therefore possible that the prints were a gift from Cichocki, who may have got hold of them either in Rome or on his way back to Poland. Though his itinerary is unknown, one of the typical routes to Kraków led through Bologna, Innsbruck, Vienna, and Prague. Cichocki must have had some stopovers on the way, to eat, sleep, and possibly rest a while. He may also have visited acquaintances from his time in Leipzig and Ingolstadt. All this created plenty of opportunities for obtaining the partbooks. Having later arrived in Sandomierz with the volumes that he intended to contribute to the collegiate library, he may have realized that the partbooks were of next to no use to anyone there, since, unlike in the Roman churches, polyphonic music was not performed in Sandomierz. He may therefore have offered his acquisition to the first *mansionarius* who happened to express an interest in the music. Naturally, this is only a hypothesis. What we do know for certain is that the partbooks were not brought to Sandomierz by the people responsible for performing music in the collegiate church.

Whether Józef Piotrucha and his fellow vicars or (later) the Sandomierz Dominicans ever sang motets from these prints is a matter of conjecture. However, the numerous corrections on their pages as well as other traces indicate that these editions were indeed used in accordance with their purpose, though by which of their successive owners it is now impossible to determine. Some of these corrections could not have been added in Sandomierz. For instance, in the *superius* of Jacob Clemens's *Nobilis illa intere septenas* (RISM C 2686, № 1), four notes, missing as the result of a printer's error, were added at the end of the penultimate stave. This handwritten amendment tallies with the correct version of the same passage in *Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum* (Antwerp: Susato, 1553; RISM 1553[8]), to which musicians from Sandomierz did not have access, however, and so they are unlikely to have supplemented the missing notes with such precision (▶ Fig. III.4). In the same composer's *superius* part for *Timor et tremor* (RISM C 2699, № 7), the word "omnes" is supplemented by hand, again possibly on the basis of the Antwerp edition (RISM 1553[8]). There are many other corrections in the Sandomierz partbooks, clearly made by a professional who had access to various other sources containing Clemens's music (besides the one listed above). The multiplicity of these corrections incidentally also confirms Anne

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Tatnal Gross's opinion that Pierre Phalèse's prints from his early years were not very accurate.[42]

III.2 A PARTBOOK FROM THE JESUIT COLLEGE IN SANDOMIERZ (PL-WU 7.41.5.14 VI)

A bass partbook (VI) consisting of the three volumes of *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (RISM 1558[4], 1559[1], 1559[2]) is also associated with Sandomierz. An incomplete ownership inscription has survived on the damaged title page of the first volume. On the basis of similar entries present in other books in the University of Warsaw Library, Izabela Wiencek-Sielska (personal communication) recently deciphered the inscription as "Inscriptus catalogo librorum Collegio San[domiriensis] Societatis Jesu" ("Entered into the catalogue of books of the Jesuit College in Sandomierz").[43] The partbooks were bound in wooden boards covered with blind embossing leather. The front and back covers feature a composition with concentric rectangular frames created by using three kinds of roll tool: (1) with female half figures symbolizing the theological virtues "FIDES" ("faith"), "SPES" ("hope"), and "CARITAS" ("charity"); (2) with a floral ornament; and (3) with half figures of saints and biblical quotations: "TV ES PETR[VS] ET SVPER HANC" ("You are Peter, and on this [rock]", Matt. 16:18), "APPARVIT BENIGNI[T]AS" ("The generosity is manifested", Titus 3:4), "ECCE ANGNVS [!] DEI ("Behold, the Lamb of God", John 1:21), and "DATA EST MIHI OMNIS" ("All [power] has been given to me", Matt. 28:18). In the central panel a repeated flower motif resembling a daisy is visible. The name of the voice ("BASSVS") and the date 1562 are embossed on the front cover. This binding was thus produced forty years before the first Jesuits arrived in Sandomierz (1602). It was probably made outside Poland, perhaps in Germany, and the bass book, probably together with other partbooks, came to Sandomierz as a result of private import. This print could, for example, have been brought from abroad by the previously mentioned Kasper Cichocki, and then become the property of the college library. Cichocki was one of the

42 Gross, "The Firm of Phalése", 270.

43 Previously the partbook's origin had been associated with the Jesuit College in Łomża as a result of a misinterpretation of a damaged word read as "Lom[sensis?]" instead of "San[domiriensis]". Perz, "Księgi głosowe", 13.

masterminds behind bringing the Jesuits to Sandomierz and, as parish priest of St. Peter's Church, in 1603 he invited them to share this house of worship.[44] At least from 1624 onwards, there was a dormitory in the city, whose inhabitants—poor students of the Jesuit college—were expected to sing and play instruments in certain circumstances.[45] The motets by composers of Josquin's and Gombert's generation included in *Novum et insigne opus musicum* were of course not new in the seventeenth century, but they could still have constituted an attractive repertoire, useful for performing on various occasions. The college chapel did not limit its activities to the Jesuit circle, but were also frequently invited to perform in the Sandomierz churches of the Dominican monks and Benedictine nuns.[46] After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, St. Peter's Church began to experience decline[47] and the college's books were dispersed. It is possible that this print ended up in the library of one of the abovementioned orders, from whence, half a century later, Samuel Bogumił Linde took its bass partbook to Warsaw.

III.3 PARTBOOKS FROM ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH IN OLKUSZ (PL-WU 7.41.5.14 IV–V)

The other two sets of partbooks stored in Warsaw under shelf mark 7.41.5.14, that is, Nos. IV–V and VII–VIII, are likewise incomplete (only two partbooks from each set). Both were once the property of St. Andrew's Church in Olkusz, as confirmed by inscriptions entered by the same hand. Set IV–V comprises the alto and bass parts respectively of six volumes of *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum* (Nuremberg: J. Montanus & U. Neuber, 1554–56, RISM 1554[10], 1555[10], 1555[11], 1555[12], 1556[8], 1556[9]), with the inscription "Pro usu Ecclesiae Ilcusien[sis] in quinq[ue] partes compos[te]" ("For the use of the Olkusz church, composed for five voices") on the title page of volume one. The partbooks are half-bound in light brown blind-tooled pigskin (spine and part of the cover sides), while the rest of the sides are covered in parchment from an earlier manuscript (▶ p. 191 ▶ Fig. III.5). This kind of half-binding was common in German-speaking lands and in Royal Prussia.[48] The partbook name and the date 1561 are

44 Kunkel and Mrozowski, "Kościół św. Piotra", 150.
45 Burdzy, "The Orchestra", 292.
46 Burdzy, "The Orchestra", 300–3.
47 Kunkel, Mrozowski, "Kościół św. Piotra", 155.
48 Wagner (ed.), *Oprawy*, 80.

tooled onto the front cover. This is one of the two surviving copies of the edition formerly used in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The other one, now kept in Uppsala University Library, belonged to the Jesuit college in Braunsberg (Braniewo) until 1626; before this (until c. 1565) it belonged to at least two persons residing in Royal Prussia, first to Albrecht von Drebben and later to Jakub Kostka.[49] The six-volume edition of the gospels by the Nuremberg printers Johannes Montanus and Ulrich Neuber, compiled with a Lutheran audience in mind, thus also proved to be of use in the eminently Catholic environment of the Jesuit college. As for the copy from Olkusz, its history is hard to reconstruct since, apart from the inscription quoted above, it contains no other entries. I nevertheless consider it unlikely that it was imported to St. Andrew's in Olkusz directly from Nuremberg. I believe the print found its way to the parish church after the great fire that destroyed the city and the church itself in 1584.[50] The extent of damage to St. Andrew's is unknown, but its book collection almost certainly perished in the fire, whereas the partbooks bear no traces of fire damage.[51] The church extension, which had already been planned before disaster struck, gained fresh impetus after the fire. Although the construction work was at its most intense around the turn of the century, the library room was probably built above the chancel and the adjacent treasury as early as 1592.[52] This date may thus be taken as the starting point for the accumulation of a new book collection following the town fire. The Olkusz citizens spared no expense to rebuild the church, and they likely contributed to replenishing the library collection as well. Olkusz's population encompassed not just families who had lived there for generations, but also numerous Kraków citizens who had their seasonal residences there as well as settlers from Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy, who included mining experts (flocking to the city's silver and lead mines), the personnel of the local mint, and specialized builders working on the parish church extension.[53] Identifying the possible donors of the partbooks in this veritable melting pot is currently impossible, though the volumes are most likely to have

49 Leszczyńska, *Musicalia* 37, 53, 180.
50 Molenda, "Dzieje Olkusza", 256.
51 According to Perz, "Księgi głosowe", 18, these editions were already used at St. Andrew's before the fire, the date of which he set (in agreement with the data available at the time) as 1588.
52 Molenda, "Dzieje Olkusza", 258, n. 148.
53 Molenda, "Dzieje Olkusza", 265–66.

been brought from the capital by Kraków citizens who had their part-time residences in Olkusz.

Evidence of some slightly later publications by the Nuremberg printers Montanus and Neuber having been imported to Kraków can be found in the abovementioned inventories by Jazwicz (1572) and of Thenaud's holdings (1582). The former lists a "Thesaurus partes 6", the latter a "Thesaurus musicus a 4".[54] Both these entries undoubtedly refer to the 1564 edition of *Thesaurus musicus*, specifically to its third (6 vv., RISM 1564[3]) and fifth (4 vv., RISM 1564[5]) volumes. The fifth volume may have been imported to Thenaud's bookshop because of a motet it contains, *Ego sum pastor bonus* by Wacław of Szamotuły, a composer in the service of Polish king Sigismund II Augustus until 1555. Susan Jackson proposes an interesting hypothesis concerning links between Montanus's publishing house and Wolf Kern's Nuremberg-based trading company in the 1560s. The latter also had an office in Kraków.[55] Nevertheless, this firm only played an incidental role in the transfer of music prints to Poland. The *Evangelia dominicorum* collection found its way to St. Andrew's Church in Olkusz no earlier than in 1592 (the date of the church's reconstruction after the fire), most likely as a private import. Previously the volumes may have been bound and used in German-speaking lands. The collection contains a few corrections of printer's errors, made at an unknown stage of its history. These corrections for the most part could have been made without the need to compare the musical text with another, correct source. Motets from *Evangelia dominicorum* could possibly have been sung in Olkusz by the four *mansionarii* employed at the parish church from 1603 onwards.[56] However, it is probable that they only sang Gregorian chant, just like their counterparts from Sandomierz.

III.4 ANOTHER SET OF PARTBOOKS FROM ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH IN OLKUSZ (PL-WU 7.41.5.14 VII–VIII)

The last set of partbooks, 7.41.5.14 (VII–VIII), in which the surviving volumes are those for the bass and *quinta vox*, is a compilation of three prints:

54 Chybiński, "Krakowskie inwentarze", 257. The author wrongly identifies "Thesaurus novus a 4" from Thenaud's inventory as a print by Montanus and Neuber, cf. Chybiński, "Krakowskie inwentarze", 259.
55 Jackson, "Berg and Neuber", 53–54.
56 Molenda, "Dzieje Olkusza", 266.

1 Ivo de Vento, *Latinae cantiones*, 5 vv. (Munich: A. Berg, 1570); RISM V 1115.
2 Johannes Knöfel, *Dulcissimae quaedam cantiones*, 5–7 vv. (Nuremberg: T. Gerlach, 1571); RISM K 989.
3 Gallus Dressler, *Opus sacrarum cantionum*, 4–8 vv. (Nuremberg: K. Gerlach, heirs of J. Berg, and W. Kirchner, 1577); RISM D 3522.

This printed set ends with a manuscript comprising forty-six compositions (PL-Wu 7.41.5.14). The inscription on the title pages of both partbooks is as follows: "Pro usu ecclesiae Ilcusiensis Sancti Andreae in sex partes compactae" ("For the use of the church of St. Andrew in Olkusz, composed for six voices"). These prints, along with the handwritten source, similarly seem to have come into the collection of St. Andrew's Church in Olkusz as a gift, most likely from Kraków. Both partbooks are bound in brown leather tooled in gold, with the name of the part and the date 1579 on the front cover. In the middle between the heading and the date, we find a tooled oval plate representing the bust of Christus Salvator, the border surrounded with the words: "IESVS CHRISTVS FILIVS DEI VIVI SALVATOR MVNDI REX REGVM DOMINVS DOMIN[antium]" ("Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Saviour of the world, King of kings, Lord of lords"). All this is placed within a rectangular frame with a plaited motif (▶ Fig. III.6). Judging by the description, similar elements (the plate and frame) feature on covers created, according to Michał Muraszko, in the workshop of Kaspar Rajman Senior, who was a Silesian bookbinder living in Kraków from 1566 onwards and the creator of numerous covers for municipal books.[57]

▶ p. 191

It is not known how the editions in this set were collected. The surviving inventories do not indicate when exactly prints by Nuremberg's Gerlach and Munich's Berg became available to purchase from Kraków's booksellers. Admittedly, Theodor Gerlach's 1567 edition of Orlando di Lasso's *Magnificats* (RISM L 805) was listed in the Wawel collection as early as 1572,[58] but the royal library probably had its own import channels inaccessible to the general public, so this case may not be relevant. Some of the volumes hypothetically identified as early prints by Gerlach

57 Muraszko, "Wybrane oprawy", 266–68.
58 Chybiński, "Krakowskie inwentarze", 257.

and Berg are listed in Kessner's inventory of 1602,[59] which, however, does not tell us when they were first brought to Poland.

If Kaspar Rajman was indeed the person who bound the third set of partbooks, he may also have contributed to its content. This Kraków-based bookbinder from Liebenthal (Lubomierz) stayed in regular contact with Silesia and supported his compatriots by employing boys from his home town and from Wrocław (Breslau) at his workshop.[60] His path may have crossed that of the abovementioned Johannes Knöfel, a musician born in Lauban (Lubań, not far from Rajman's birthplace), who was active in cities such as Goldberg (Złotoryja), Liegnitz (Legnica), and Wrocław. Rajman may thus have become a sort of intermediary in the sales of Knöfel's debut collection. Be this as it may, the key element of this set—that is, the print that seems to have inaugurated the whole collection—is the edition of *Latinae cantiones* by Ivo de Vento, organist of the Bavarian ducal chapel. Whoever compiled or commissioned the manuscript (possibly the owner) appears to have been focussed on music from Munich circles.[61] Motets by Orlando di Lasso take pride of place in the manuscript portion of PL-Wu 7.41.5.14. There are twenty-five of them, copied from various editions, with twelve pieces from *Fasciculus aliquot cantionum* (Nuremberg, 1582, RISM L 937).[62] *Audi tellus* (P18) by Georgius Schwaiger (d. 1581), who worked in Munich late in his life, survives only in this manuscript and was probably inspired by Orlando's setting of the same text.[63] Next comes the anonymous and otherwise unrecorded *Omnia vertuntur* (P19) to words by Sextus Propertius, which, like the preceding work, betrays an interest in humanist thinking. Another unicum is the motet *Veni in hortum meum* (P43) by Marcin Leopolita, who worked at Kraków's royal court in 1560–61. Compositions with single concordances include a textless seven-part canon (P20) later identified as the *Agnus dei* from a Mass by Georg Brack that survives solely in PL-Kj 40634,[64] attesting to the fact that this repertoire was still

59 Czepiel, "Zacheus Kesner".
60 Chmiel, "Oprawy introligatora", 16.
61 For a detailed list of works in this manuscript, see Perz, "Partesy olkuskie", 35–42. References to these compositions will hereafter be marked with the letter P (for Perz catalogue) followed by their catalogue number.
62 *Exultet caelum mare* (P22), *Angelus ad pastores ait* (P24), *In me transierunt* (P27), *Nuntium vobis fero* (P29), *Stabunt iusti* (P30), *Venite ad me omnes* (P31), *Pater Abraham miserere* (P32), *Noli regibus o Lamuel* (P33), *Quid tamen* (P34), *Veni in hortum meum* (P35), *Hispanum ad coenam* (P36), and *Credidi propter* (P45).
63 The text of *Audi tellus* gained popularity in the late sixteenth century, see Szelest, "*Psalm Davida*", 120.
64 Zwolińska, "Musica mensuralis", 483–85; Leszczyńska, "Unique Masses", 21.

being copied approximately seventy years after its creation. The only concordance to have been found for the anonymous *Estote fortes in bello* (P14) is in the manuscript SK-KE N 69 192, which, according to Marta Hulková, may have come to Kežmark from Silesia in the sixteenth century.[65] Of the four motets by Jacobus Clemens copied into PL-Wu 7.41.5.14, *Me oportet minui* (P16) is a rarity since its only other source is V-CVbav CS 38. The source used by the scribe for this piece is unknown, but the following inscription was added: "Authore J C non Papa (vel ut quidam volunt Mart[inus] Leop[olita])" ("Author Jacobus Clemens non Papa (or, as some people want, Martinus Leopolita") (▶ Fig. III.7). This suggests that in the copyist's milieu, the motet may have circulated in multiple copies and sometimes have been attributed to the abovementioned Polish composer Marcin Leopolita.

▶ p. 192

There are at least five contrafacts in PL-Wu 7.41.5.14. Mirosław Perz already pointed out the first of these. Alessandro Striggio's madrigal *Nasce la pena mia*, popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,[66] was copied into the manuscript without a composer attribution and with the text *Diligam te Domine* (P3).[67] The motet *Cor mundum crea in me* attributed to Lassus (P40)[68] is the *contrafactum* of *Ich weis mir ein festes gebawet haus* by Antonio Scandello.[69] The other three cases were discovered by Marcin Szelest. The anonymous motet *Cantate Domino* (P6), with an inscription that suggests authorship ("Anno Domini 1587 per me Sobestianum X"),[70] is in fact a contrafact of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's madrigal *Vestiva i colli*.[71] The motet *Domine non est elatum cor meum* (P5), which appears without a composer's name in the Olkusz manuscript, turns out to be a contrafact of Orlando di Lasso's *Et d'ou venez vous madame*. Szelest compares this setting with the tablature version in S-Uu vmhs 89, where the incipit of Psalm 131, "Domine non est exaltatum", has been altered in the same manner ("elatum" instead of "exaltatum") and observes that such contrafacts only appear in sources

65 Hulková, "Hudobný konvolút", 275, 285.
66 Jeż, *Madrygał*, 85.
67 Perz, "Partesy olkuskie", 36.
68 There is an incorrect title *Cor meum* in Perz, "Partesy olkuskie", 41.
69 I am grateful to Ewa Hauptman-Fischer from the University of Warsaw Library for this identification.
70 Quinta vox, fol. 7^{v}.
71 Szelest, "*Psalm Dawida*", 114. Information on later instrumental versions of this contrafact found in Polish sources can be found in the same publication.

associated with Poland.[72] The text alteration results from the positioning of rests in the chanson incipit, which precludes the use of a four-syllable word. The copyist also encountered other problems when aligning the psalm text with Lasso's music, which led to two alternative text alignments being entered under the later sections of the piece.[73] The organ tablature setting in S-Uu 89a does not appear to be based on the vocal version of *Domine non est elatum* from Ms. PL-Wu 7.41.5.14. Rather, it seems that there were other sources containing this contrafact, which was quite well known in the then Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and that the organ tablature drew upon these. The same can be said of the contrafact of Orlando di Lasso's *Ardant amour* recently discovered in PL-Wu 7.41.5.14, where the music is aligned with the words of Psalm 6 in Jan Kochanowski's Polish translation: "Czasu gniewu i czasu Twej zapalczywości" ("in the time of anger and in the time of your wrath") (P17).[74] That this contrafact was known in Kraków circles is confirmed by the fact that in the copy of the *Theatrum musicum* tablature (Leuven, 1571, RISM 1571[16]) once kept in the Jagiellonian Library, the French incipit *Ardant amour* (fol. 66^{v}) was replaced with the handwritten words: "Psalm Czasu gniewu y czasu swey zapalczywości".[75]

PL-Wu 7.41.5.14 was copied on four types of paper with watermarks indicating their provenance in three paper mills located near Kraków: in Prądnik (now a district of the city), Młodziejowice (15 km from the city centre), Krzeszowice (25 km from the city centre) and in another Polish paper mill of unknown location.[76] The main copyist was thus likely associated with Kraków. His native language was probably Polish, for the abovementioned text *Czasu gniewu* and one further annotation in Polish contain no errors.[77] Two of the works he copied were probably created in Poland, or maybe even in Kraków: the motet *Veni in hortum meum* by Marcin Leopolita, the composer active at the royal court, and the contrafact *Czasu gniewu*, with music by Lassus (*Ardant l'amour*) and text by

72 Szelest, "*Psalm Dawida*", 114, 116.
73 Quinta vox, fol. 7^{r-v}.
74 Szelest, "*Psalm Dawida*", 99.
75 Chybiński, "Kult muzyki Orlanda", 200. The Jagiellonian Library's copy (shelf mark Artes 807) listed there as well as in Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, 182 (on the basis of a microfilm?) is lost. Its Cracovian provenance was confirmed by an ownership note bearing the name of Szymon Gołkowic, who was a professor at Cracow Academy in 1638 (Vanhulst, *Catalogue*, 187). *Ardant amour* enjoyed popularity in Cracow for a long time. With the words *Sancte Paule apostole*, it can be found in the manuscript PL-Kk Kk I.286, from the first half of the eighteenth century.
76 Perz, *Rękopiśmienne partesy*, 19–20.
77 "Skrzypicè to zmelely abo skrzypczy" ("The violin got it wrong or the violinist"), bassus, fol. 28^{v}.

Kochanowski. As mentioned earlier, the contrafact of the same work by Orlando is also present in other Kraków sources.

Taking into account all the circumstances presented above, it seems likely that the manuscript PL-Wu 7.41.5.14 and the prints with which it is bound together were associated with the Kraków milieu. They may originally have belonged to an educated Kraków citizen who travelled for some time, possibly studied in Ingolstadt, and came in contact with music from Munich in this context. The presence of this set in the collection of St. Andrew's in Olkusz is, again, probably mere chance.

III.5 CONCLUSIONS

The hypothetical history of these eight partbooks accounts only for the first few decades of their existence. The last traces of their use—ownership inscriptions—date to the beginning of the seventeenth century at the latest. It is not known what happened to the partbooks over the following two centuries before they were found in monastery libraries in 1819 by Samuel Bogumił Linde, director of the Royal University of Warsaw's Public Library, mentioned earlier. Linde was aware that the old prints and manuscripts of many monastery and church collections, forgotten, deemed unnecessary, and stored in damp rooms, had been irretrievably damaged. In Kalisz, he saw stacks of books from the Jesuit college lying on local stalls—their pages were being used to package the goods on sale.[78] The situation of church collections was not always so dramatic, but Linde decided to act quickly to save what he regarded as Poland's cultural heritage. And so it happened that on 25–27 July 1819, he and his assistant Wiktor Skarbek took possession of the Sandomierz churches' book collections on behalf of the Royal University of Warsaw's Public Library. From the Dominican church they took 208 volumes, which must also have included the partbooks once belonging to Józef Piotrucha (7.41.5.14 I–III) and probably also the bass book formerly owned by the Jesuit College (7.41.5.14 VI). On Linde's instructions, these acquisitions were sent to Warsaw down the River Vistula.[79] Several days later, on 4–9 August 1819, librarians from Warsaw emptied the library of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre in Miechów, taking

78 Łodyński, *Materiały*, 39.
79 Ptaszyk, "Biblioteka Publiczna", 166–68.

away 4644 volumes that were conveyed from Hebdów to Warsaw, once again by river.[80] Though Miechów has not previously been mentioned in the literature in the context of the 7.41.5.14 partbooks, thanks to Izabela Wiencek-Sielska's expertise it is now known that both sets kept in Olkusz around 1600 must subsequently have found their way to the monastery of the Canons Regular in Miechów. This is evident from shelf marks entered on the inside of the covers, which are characteristic of the Miechów library.[81] Thus one of the puzzles related to the Olkusz partbooks has been solved, for until recently it was unclear how they could have found their way to Warsaw in 1819 if neither Linde nor Skarbek had explored the Olkusz church collections. It is our hope that the collaboration of experts representing many disciplines, the growing accessibility of digitized resources from various libraries, and the expansion of RISM databases and watermark and bookbinding catalogues will make it possible in the future to answer further unresolved questions concerning the partbooks that form the subject of this chapter.

80 Ptaszyk, "Biblioteka Publiczna", 166–68.
81 The characteristic qualities of these shelf marks are discussed in Skrzyniarz, "Księgozbiór historyczny", 76.